

THE AGES DIGITAL LIBRARY  
**HISTORY**

**THE GLORIOUS RECOVERY BY THE  
VAUDOIS OF THEIR VALLEY**

*by Henri Arnaud*

**Books For The Ages**  
AGES Software • Albany, OR USA  
Hartland Publications • Rapidan, VA USA  
Version 1.0 © 1997

# THE GLORIOUS RECOVERY

BY THE VAUDOIS OF THEIR VALLEYS.

## DEDICATION

*To Her Sacred Majesty Anne, Queen Of Great Britain, France, Scotland,  
And Ireland, Protectress Of The Faith.*

**MADAM**

One of the most striking events in history is the cause why this book has not sooner seen the light. This event consists in the fact, that his royal highness the Duke of Savoy was seen, in the same campaign, at the head of the allied army in Piemont, and of the army of France in Italy. It was easy to perceive in this, a stroke of fine policy on the part of that prince, rather than the result of his inclination. Time has made this known to all Europe.

Europe knows too that France shamefully disarmed the troops which this prince had in her service in the Milanese, and at that period the second book<sup>1</sup> of this history will commence. The first, which I now take the liberty of presenting to your majesty, has been composed from the memoirs of two men of letters, the one a Vaudois and the other a Frenchman, who had orders to note down, from day to day, the most remarkable events with respect to the Vaudois, while they were traversing the highest mountains of Savoy to return into their own country. It is true that some essential facts are added which men, while running, could not commit to writing; but they will be remembered by French, Italians, Savoyards, Swiss, and Spaniards; for not one circumstance is advanced which is not supported by thousands of living witnesses. All those nations have been employed by France and the Duke of Savoy for the utter destruction of the poor Vaudois, who have, nevertheless, by the marvellous mercy of the God of armies, always maintained themselves since their return into their valleys.

The histories of Morland, Perrin, Gilles, Leger, etc. prove to the world, that in these valleys of Luzerne, Perouse, St. Martin, and Valcluson or Prajelas, the purity and simplicity of the holy gospel has been preserved from time immemorial. And it is also to be seen that they have suffered thirty-three wars or persecutions for the sake of this gospel, an instance not to be found among the other nations of the earth. France, which has had a design upon Piemont for two hundred years, had taken her measures so justly, that she already said, *it is finished*. In fact, if the omnipotent hand of the great God had not checked the rapid progress of this terrible crown, republics, kingdoms, religion itself, all would have been destroyed by this nation, who carried the terror of her arms to the end of the world. Bear witness of it Messina and Gyger<sup>2</sup>; bear witness the bombardment of Algiers, the burning of Genoa, the conquest of the greater part of Holland, the betraying of Strasburg and Bri-sac, the sale of Pignerol<sup>3</sup> and Casal, the excitement of dark conspiracies in England, Ireland, and Scotland<sup>4</sup>, the intrigues and the spies in all courts of the world, and the gold and silver profusely distributed; France having descended to bestow pensions even on the wives of counsellors. These intrigues with cabinets, and with commanders of armies, by sea and land, have made your majesty see clearly that France already held the kingdom of Spain and all Europe in her hand. But the pride of titles is often the precursor of their fall. Pharaoh is cast into the sea; Moab the all-haughty is destroyed; and Herod stricken and devoured by vermin. This lofty, wide, and strong tree of France spread too broad an umbrage over the earth. God has sent not one angel, but three, to lop its branches. Great and incomparable queen, these three angels are the King William and the Queen Mary, of glorious and immortal memory, and in the present time your majesty, reigning with the wisdom of Solomon, the strength of Samson, and the firmness and heart of King David. Your majesty is, in this happy age, the only Esther opposed to this cruel and proud Haman, who had every where ordered the destruction of the people of the living God. The orders of your majesty from your cabinet to those two incomparable heroes of our age, the Prince and Duke of Marlborough, and his most Serene Highness the Prince Eugene, are given with so much wisdom, and executed with such fidelity, courage, and promptitude, that they are the admiration of all the world. And these two incomparable princes will be ever blessed on earth, and their names will never die. I have the honor to know the latter, and each is worthy of the

finest principality in Italy, Germany, or France. I leave to more sublime spirits the glory of displaying their brilliancy in history. For my part, I can praise in your majesty no single virtue; but can only say that you possess all in a sovereign degree, and above all, that which God has called the greatest, *charity*. This your majesty diffuses secretly in your kingdom, and universally over the pastors in the valleys of Piemont, and the seven exiles who exercise their ministry in the duchy of Wirtemberg and neighborhood of Francfort. I am delighted, also, in making known to the public that your majesty, of your own self, has deigned to honor my family with your royal pension, and that you have always the goodness to remember a servant of God who has lived sixty years, and forty of them as a minister persecuted from his youth upwards; who has run from one adventure to another, from mountain to mountain, and from rock to rock, while resisting for months together, with a handful of men, the arms of France and of the Duke of Savoy. This history has rolled over precipices, and sprang from valley to valley: it will then be rude and rough, but not the less true; and if it has not the polished language expected in this age, yet it shall possess pure sincerity and truth. Before I finish this epistle, your majesty, all good, all wise, and all charitable, will permit me to represent that it has been said of Europe, "If England breaks not Europe's chains, Europe must become a slave." Blessed be for ever the God of Heaven, who has taken your majesty by his good right hand, to place you on the throne where you reign so gloriously. The chains of Europe *are* broken. The same great God wills not that your majesty should forget the Sion of his Son, nor that you should make peace, unless the lamp of Christ be rekindled where persecution had extinguished it; as, for example, in Hungary, France, and the valleys of Perouse, etc. May your majesty, also, have at heart the deliverance of the poor galley-slaves, as well French as Vaudois; some of whom have been loaded with chains for more than twenty years, on account only of their religion. The good offices which Christians presume to hope from the natural goodness and charity of your majesty will bring blessings from heaven and earth on your sacred person, and will incline the Omnipotent to prolong your life; to render your reign glorious and happy; to cause your arms and armies to flourish by sea and land; to bless your wise, penetrating, and enlightened council; and to grant increasing prosperity to the great, intrepid, and warlike nation of your kingdoms, till the time shall come, marked by the finger of God, who will

change the crown of this world into a crown eternal, glorious, and immortal, according to his irrevocable promises. And to this purpose do I pray continually to the God of heaven from the bottom of my heart, being always with the most lively gratitude, profound submission, and the greatest respect, to the last moment of my life,

*Madam,*

*Your majesty's most humble,*

*Most obedient, and most obliged servant,*

*HENRY ARNAUD,*

*Pastor and Colonel of the Vaudois.*

## PREFACE

BY THE AUTHOR

### PICTURE: La Tour & Lucere

The extraordinary courage displayed by the Vaudois in the late war between France and Savoy, as testified by report, by private letters, and public despatches, is such as to compel a recognition of the hand of the Almighty, and of his pleasure that the magnificence of his power should be illustrated by this little band of the faithful.

Report, however, speaks only for a time; and as Europe may be anxious to be more intimately acquainted with this people—their origin—their religion—the persecutions they have suffered—and the firmness with which they have adhered to the genuine faith during the general apostasy of the western churches, it has been thought proper to present this little history to the public. Doubtless, reader, you will feel surprised that events so remarkable should not have been sooner made public. You will conceive that the notoriety of such illustrious examples of disinterested martyrdom would have been a stimulus to the reformers, and have increased their love and respect for the pure religion they profess. But do not suffer this seemingly unaccountable silence to perplex your mind. Be content to know that it was the result of sound policy, and that the reasons for it have now ceased to exist.

Were I to attempt to satisfy the curiosity which every where exists, but especially in England and Holland, concerning every thing connected with the Vaudois, I should write a much longer history than will now be produced. Their origin, antiquity, creed, mode of worship; the persecutions and massacres undergone at the instigation of idolatrous Rome; their constancy and courage; the inviolable attachment shewn by their poor church to the purity and simplicity of the gospel; and the almost miraculous means by which it has pleased God to preserve them through many wars, and especially those of the latest date: these are, indeed, all of them matters worthy of attention, but, I repeat, beyond the limits of the present work.

I must content myself with remarking, that the Vaudois inhabit three valleys at the northern extremity of Piemont, viz., those of Luzerne, St. Martin, and Perouse, under the dominion of the Duke of Savoy.

Their proper name, Vallenses, is derived from the Latin word *vallis*, and not, as has been insinuated, from Valdo, a merchant of Lyons, who sold all his substance to purchase the pearl of great price. The valley of Prajelas, or the Clusone, is also inhabited by Vaudois, but subject to the King of France<sup>1</sup>.

That their religion is as primitive as their name is venerable, is attested even by their adversaries. Regnerus the inquisitor, in a report made by him to the pope on the subject of their faith, expresses himself in these words, “Che sono da tempo immemoriabile,” that they have existed from time immemorial. It would not be difficult to prove, that this poor band of the faithful were in the valleys of Piemont more than four centuries before the appearance of those extraordinary personages, Luther, Calvin, and the subsequent lights of the reformation. Neither has their church been ever reformed, whence arises its title of *Evangelic*. The Vaudois are, in fact, descended from those refugees from Italy who, after St. Paul had there preached the gospel, abandoned their beautiful country and fled, like the woman mentioned in the Apocalypse, to these wild mountains, where they have to this day handed down the gospel from father to son in the same purity and simplicity as it was preached by St. Paul.

Their sufferings surpass the power of imagination, as well on account of their duration as their individual cruelty. They are related by Jean Leger in his history, published at Leyden, and are such, that it may be truly said, that were the demons let loose from hell their fury and rage against Christians could not exceed the cruelty of the papists to the Vaudois. But it is of later events that I am to treat. They who wish for more ample information concerning the earlier history of this little flock, may obtain it from Leger, Gilles, and Perrin.

Louis XIV. having driven his most faithful subjects, i.e. the protestants, out of his kingdom, resolved that his neighbors should do so also, or rather, perhaps, thus sought a pretext for extending his frontiers. He therefore intimated to the Duke of Savoy that his own example was worthy of imitation, and that it was the duty of his royal highness to

abolish the church of the Vaudois, and compel them to embrace the Roman catholic religion.

This prince, who was young, and endowed with discernment and prudence, was unwilling to take such measures against subjects who served him loyally; and he strenuously opposed their adoption, till Mons. de Feuquieres hinted that his master would undertake this measure himself with 14,000 men, and would retain the valleys inhabited by these heretics as a recompense for his trouble. This menace produced its effect; for his royal highness, fearful of the interference in his dominions of so powerful a neighbor, issued an edict to the following effect.

The Vaudois were commanded, under pain of death, to raze their churches, and submit their children to the Romish priests for baptism. This poor flock, in their first surprise at so cruel a decree, attempted by repeated supplication to avert its execution. Finding this measure ineffectual, they resolved, in case of any attack on their lives and liberties for conscience sake, neither to abandon their country, nor desert their worship, but to defend themselves after the example of their forefathers.

Their prince, who neither expected such a resolution, nor was prepared for resistance, and feeling a point of honor at stake, accepted the aid which had been offered by France. The Vaudois put themselves on the defensive, and were attacked on the 23d of April, 1686.

The French, commanded by Mons. de Catinat, were desirous of the honor of striking the first blow; and did so on the side of St. Germain: they had also the honor of being well beaten; for they were dislodged with so much spirit from the positions they had taken up, that they were compelled to seek their safety in flight, pass the Clusone in confusion, without gaining the bridge, and retreat to Pignerol. The number of killed and wounded lost by them in this first action was never known, for they took care to conceal it, and to carry the wounded into the town during the night. It was discovered, however, within a few days, that the regiments of Provence, of Dauphiny, of Plessis, and Clerambaud, with the dragoons of Provence and Lalande, had been severely handled. Yet the Vaudois had only two wounded, and these at the church of St. Germain, into which Mons. de Villevielle had thrown himself with a strong detachment. He knows what that affair cost him, of which there is some account, though it was never

published. People may, therefore, be glad to hear that, after the French had been driven from their positions above St. Germain, Mons. de Villevielle saved himself in the church, where he was invested by the Vaudois. Mons. Arnaud, arriving at this moment with a small detachment, gave orders that the church should be scaled, and the tiles from the roof thrown down on the enemy within, while, at the same time, they encompassed it with trenches to conduct water in to drown them. This order was instantly obeyed; but those employed in it being overtaken by the night, its execution was checked, and Mons. de Villevielle and his party made their escape from a window under favor of the darkness.

As the Vaudois beat the French on the first day, so the day following they had the glory of arresting the progress of the duke's army on the heights of Angrogna.

One would have thought that two such brilliant days would have raised the courage of the victors; but, unhappily, and by a fatality altogether unaccountable, these people, who at first so intrepidly followed the example of their forefathers, who had surmounted thirty-two wars for the sake of the same religion, became suddenly enervated, and with frozen hearts laid down their arms on the third day. Thus was the war at once extinguished, not by the blood of the Vaudois, but by their unexpected submission.

No sooner had these unfortunate people laid down their arms, than they recognised their error. Fourteen thousand persons were thrown into prison, of whom a greater number was destroyed than would have fallen in the rudest war. Eleven thousand souls perished in thirteen prisons from cold or heat, hunger or thirst. Such a destruction may appear incredible; but it is indisputable, that only 3000 saw the light again, and these only to be banished from their property and country.

Yet did this remnant from the fury of their persecutors become the seed which God, in his mercy, used to replant his truth in the valleys. Their history will here be related from their arrival and refuge in Switzerland to the time when peace was happily re-established between them and their prince. In its progress, reader, you will be made acquainted with events so infinitely admirable that you cannot but believe that the hand of God was with the Vaudois, as with David, Gideon, and Joshua. You will see in how

surprising a manner these sheep, scattered and dispersed in every quarter, reunite, as if by divine inspiration, for the purpose of returning to their heritage in opposition to the powerful of the earth. But, lest you hesitate to believe that so wonderful an enterprise could have been undertaken by persons ruined, poor, and in every way destitute, know that in England, Holland, Germany, and Geneva, there exist pious and zealous souls, who, thinking it a service to God and a prop to his true church, contributed out of their riches towards this attempt. And though I know that by publishing his name I shall offend his modesty, yet so vast is the debt of gratitude from the Vaudois to Mons. Clignet, postmaster at Leyden, that I cannot refrain from acknowledging, that without his assistance the affair had been altogether impossible.

And, reader, after having contemplated the many wonders related in this history, you will behold the Vaudois not only in glorious possession of their inheritance and at peace with their sovereign, but nobly defending their prince against France<sup>2</sup>.

Why then, you will ask, as the Vaudois are in quiet possession of their own country, are so many of them to be found still scattered, like colonies, in foreign countries?

I am anxious, respected reader, to remove from you all suspicions on this head. Know then, that as long as his royal highness felt himself in want of the services of the Vaudois, he overwhelmed them with fair promises, but that as soon as he could dispense with them, he dispensed also with the appearance of kindness to them.

Thus Mons. le Comte de Martianne, governor of Pignerol<sup>3</sup>, was directed to tender to them all the oath of allegiance, and a promise of perfect tranquillity in their valleys, while, at the same moment, he had in his pocket an order for the banishment of a part of this small body.

In fact, the Duke of Savoy, aware that his honor would be compromised by abruptly driving out of his dominions people who had performed so gallant and important service, and yet jealous of the valor which he had well estimated both in opposition and alliance, sought for some pretext to weaken this little nation. Accordingly he published an edict through the valleys, ordering, on pain of death, all those who were not born within

them, to remove from his dominions within two months. Thus did a great prince reward his devoted servants. Exile was their recompense for having repelled his enemies, and for having prevented his own expulsion. Such, I say, is the conduct of the papists towards the faithful in Christ. They use their attachment, fidelity, lives, blood, and property, while they can devote them to their own interest, and afterwards they glory in not keeping good faith with them. In the face of heaven and earth they openly violate both justice and honor, and consider the faithful as dogs, who, when wearied for their pleasure by the chase, may be turned out to a handful of straw. Beware, then, all you who read this history, of confiding in the promises or flatteries of the papists; since there is nothing so solemn, nothing so sacred, but they will trample it under foot in the course of their ambition or interest. Remember that a thousand years and more, during which the papal arts have been practiced against genuine Christianity, are so many loud and piercing trumpets which sound to you a warning whom to distrust.

The Duke of Savoy was resolved on the rigid execution of the edict which I just now mentioned, viz., that these proscribed Vaudois, who had now been domiciliated for forty years in the valleys, and all the inhabitants, of their faith, of the valley of Clusone, who were now become genuine Vaudois by the attachment of Pignerol to his royal highness's dominions, should immediately depart from his territories. Affecting, however, to soften this measure, he gave an order for provisions to these exiles on their march through Savoy. But no sooner did they, in number of 3000, approach the boundary of Savoy, than they were overtaken by courier upon courier, who demanding to see the order alluded to, carried it back with them from the top of the dreary Mont Cenis.

Who could have imagined, that in order to spare a prince the expense of a little bread, it would have been taken from those who had not spared their blood for him!

These, reader, are the Vaudois whom you still see scattered over foreign countries. In the first place, they obtained refuge in the evangelical cantons, by whose charity and that of England and Holland, they for some time subsisted. At last, through the mediation of Mons. Valkenier, envoy at Zurich from the United Provinces, they obtained grants of land, with

certain privileges, from some of the German princes. The principal colony thus formed settled in the duchy of Wirtemberg, the others in the states of the Margraves of Durlach<sup>4</sup> and Hesse Darmstadt, and of the Count of Hanau, where there still remain fourteen Vaudois churches, which, together with the reformed French church at Canstatt, in Wirtemberg, form a synod.

Seven of the ministers of these churches, and as many schoolmasters, are paid by her Britannic majesty<sup>5</sup>, to whose generosity Mons. Arnaud owes also a pension, that he may bring up his family with honor. Four others receive salaries from the United Provinces, and the remaining three from their princes and flocks. All the colonies, loaded with benefits, and under the influence of mild legislations, live peaceably, in constant prayer for their benefactors.

Having thus attempted to gratify the curiosity which the mere title of this book may occasion, let us now proceed to the circumstances of the glorious return of these exiles to their valleys. It is trusted, reader, that you will then agree with Mons. Jurieux, the professor at Rotterdam, in his belief, that the two witnesses mentioned in the eleventh chapter of the Apocalypse, as overcome and slain by the beast, are typical of these very Vaudois, who contended against the Roman beast for more than 1,100 years. If, indeed, it is affirmed that the woman who fled into the wilderness to avoid the fury of the dragon is the type of this poor church, who has dwelt in the mountains, and there been nourished of God for a time, and times, and half a time, it may equally be typified in the two resuscitated witnesses. For it was at the end of three *years* and a half, the just time interpreted from the eastern and scriptural allegory of three *days* and a half, that this church having been as it were dead, and its doctrines and services extinct in the valleys, its professors again entered on their native soil and re-established the gospel in its purity.

# HISTORY

## CHAPTER 1

**CONTAINING SOME ACCOUNT OF THE VAUDOIS FROM THE PERIOD OF THEIR EXPULSION FROM THEIR COUNTRY TO THAT OF THE DISEMBARKATION OF THE EIGHT HUNDRED ON THE SAVOY SIDE OF THE LAKE OF GENEVA.**

### PICTURE: Lausanne

The history now presented to the public is so wonderful in all its details that their bare recital, without the aid of art, will produce an ample interest in the reader.

I shall be content, then, to report them in order and with strict fidelity. This could not be done by those persons who, carried away by avidity for profit, have published accounts with a precipitation attended (as it always is) by imperfection and error. The following statement has been drawn up from the notes taken by those who had the chief direction of the affairs it relates.

The name of “Vaudois” designates a handful of persons who inhabit the valleys of Piemont; and from these valleys the name is derived, as has been unquestionably proved by Jean Leger in the first part of his history, published thirty years ago. Their constant opposition to the court of Rome had made them notorious under this name in the earliest part of the twelfth century. They could not, therefore, derive it from Valdo the reformer, who was not known till about 1170.

Their history is a series of persecutions by the ecclesiastical tribunals, or of attacks by armed forces. Yet of all the wars, thirty-three in number, sustained on their part with much conduct and valor, the last was undoubtedly the most violent and deplorable: for by this they were expelled from their abodes, an effect which none of their former shocks could produce. Their numbers, indeed, had been sadly diminished, partly

by massacre, and partly by proscription: for no peace was ever granted to them which did not add to the previous loss, by the sword, a farther one by banishment, by retrenchment of territory, and abrogation of rights.

I shall not dilate on the conduct of the persecuting powers, but be content with stating that the one has always excused itself by the plea of compulsion by the other; in support of which a manifesto has lately been published. Nor shall I dwell on the ejection of the Vaudois from their hearths, an account of which is already in possession of the public<sup>1</sup>.

The able author has exposed the cruelties by which 14,000 Vaudois, imprisoned in violation of the written promise of a prince of the house of Savoy, were reduced to a remnant of 3,000, who, more like spectres than men, were at last released by his royal highness of Savoy, and allowed to retire to Switzerland only in virtue of a treaty with the protestant cantons. He has also so feelingly painted the arrival of these moving skeletons at Geneva, that I feel grateful for being spared a description which I could not have dwelt on without abandoning myself too much to grief. And the more so, when I picture to myself the joy of those who recovered their relations, contrasted to the feelings of those who learnt the death of the objects most dear to them, from the parties that arrived from day to day at the bridge of the Arve. The Genevese vied with each other in taking to their houses the most wretched of these exiles, and carried many of them in their arms from the frontier, where they went to meet them. Some arrived only to die, and others scarcely in time to be susceptible of assistance. These were put in a state to follow their countrymen who had previously been recovered, and who, after being clothed according to their wants, had already proceeded to Switzerland in performance, on their part, of a treaty, many articles of which had been violated towards them.

Let us now follow them a little among the protestant cantons, where they had all arrived in February, 1687. The Swiss, who had procured their liberation, now afforded them sustenance. The greater number of them were spread among the towns and villages of the canton of Berne, where they had abundant reason for content, if they could have forgotten their birthplace. But, not valuing life unless spent where it was received, they resolved, whatever might be the penalty, to return thither. Three times they made the attempt, and though the last only was effectual, I shall

briefly mention the former, especially as their failure nearly destroyed all hopes of success for the future.

With respect to the first, made, as it was, tumultuously and at hazard, almost without arms, and totally without chiefs, arrangement, or the privity of their protectors, its failure is by no means astonishing. This occurred at Lausanne, the bailiff of which place prevented their embarkation at Ouchy, and ordered them, on the part of their excellencies of Berne, to return each to his own home. This first attempt attracted but little attention; not so, however, the second, which led much nearer to a conclusive result.

The first measure taken by these good people was to send three persons to reconnoiter the country. One was a native of the valley of St. Martin; another of the valley of Quayras; and the third of that of the Cluson or Prajelas. These men were ordered to discover the most retired passes over the highest mountains, in order to cross the rivers near their sources. They were also to endeavor to induce those of their countrymen who might still be hovering near the valleys to provide and conceal bread, which is there baked to the hardness of biscuits<sup>2</sup>.

The messengers were fortunate enough in going, but less so in their return. For two of them, being suspected to be robbers, were arrested in a wild part of the Tarentaise, and examined as to their motives in avoiding the ordinary roads. They answered, that they were dealers in lace; and as they knew that much was made in that country, were going about from place to place to purchase it. Plausible as this answer might appear, it did not exempt them from a strict search. A few sheets of white paper were found on them, which increased suspicion. These were exposed to fire, but no writing was discovered. Some lace was then submitted to their inspection, which test of their knowledge in that way proved nearly fatal to them: for the native of Prajelas offered six crowns for a piece of lace not worth three. This so confirmed the castellan, and other inhabitants of the place, in the notion that they were spies or robbers, that they were stripped of their money, thrown into prison, and interrogated in all the forms of justice. Still they persisted in their first story; and the native of Quayras, who had actually carried a pack in Languedoc, stated that he could give a good account of the places in that province; and, among others, of Montpellier

and Lunel. Upon this, a person of the same profession, who had often been in those places, was sent for; and as he affirmed that all the prisoner said of them was true, our three Vaudois were released after a week's confinement; but their money, to the amount of ten crowns, was not restored.

The report of these men being considered favorable, both as to the possession of their country by foreigners, and as to passes over mountains hitherto deemed impracticable, the directors of the Vaudois held a council, at which it was resolved to make a second attempt. It was agreed that it should be made through Le Valais and by Mount St. Bernard. The rendezvous was fixed in the plain of Bex, a village at the extremity of the canton of Berne, and at a small league's distance from St. Maurice, a little town of Le Valais.

They attempted to reach this spot without being discovered. For this purpose they marched by night, and by different roads. They could not, however, escape the vigilance of their excellencies of Zurich, Berne, and Geneva. At the latter place the discovery was caused by the desertion of sixty Vaudois, who were serving in the Genevese garrison, and who withdrew to the Pays de Vaud. The communications between these cities on the subject of this new attempt prevented the Vaudois from receiving in due time a boat laden with arms, which was to have landed near Villeneuve, a little town at the upper end of the lake of Geneva and not far from Le Valais. As soon as the report of this new enterprise reached the Savoyards and inhabitants of Le Valais, they lighted their signal fires, put themselves on the defensive, and posted a strong guard on the bridge of St. Maurice; over which the Vaudois must necessarily pass, unless they crossed the Rhone below it. This they would have attempted if boats could have been procured.

While these poor Vaudois, not exceeding six or seven hundred in number, were yet deliberating on the best measure to be adopted in this painful dilemma, they were visited by Mr. Frederic Toronan, bailiff and governor of Aigle. He ordered them to assemble in the church, and there delivered to them a most edifying address. He exhorted them to patience, and told them, with tears in his eyes, that God would not forget the poor Vaudois, but would infallibly lead them back into their own country at some future

period, in approval of their zeal to reestablish religion where it had never before been extinct. At the same time he skilfully pointed out the rashness, and even madness, of persisting in such an enterprise after it had got wind. Thus he partially raised their spirits, which were completely restored by Mr. Arnaud, their pastor and chief of the expedition, in an exposition of the short verse of the 12th chapter of St. Luke: "Fear not, little flock," etc.

This generous bailiff, having made them comprehend that God hath his own time, conducted them to Aigle, where he distributed bread and lodgings to them, charging himself with Mr. Arnaud and the principal officers; and to fill up the measure of his humanity, he lent 200 crowns to assist on their journey those who had to return to the distant parts of Switzerland.

This humane and gentle treatment made the Vaudois more sensible of the harshness of the inhabitants of Vevay. The council of this town, not content with prohibiting the Vaudois from entering its walls, or lodging in its vicinity, issued an order, enforced by a heavy penalty, that no one should procure them provisions. This they learnt from a widow, who, in spite of the edict, and at the risk of having her house pulled down, supplied the Vaudois with food in a meadow on which they had encamped. It is true, that this inhumanity on the part of the citizens of Vevay was but in compliance with a superior mandate<sup>3</sup>; the political object of which was to compel the Vaudois, by necessity, to retire from the frontier. Yet it would be difficult to remove an opinion generally entertained, that Vevay was punished for this act, by heaven, with a fire, which, shortly after, destroyed almost the whole town, without damage to the house of the charitable widow, though in the center of the conflagration.

The failure of this second attempt, which was made in June, 1688, was doubly prejudicial to the Vaudois. For the Duke of Savoy, thus rendered aware of their intention, and of their power of putting into execution any plan which they had well digested, was no longer satisfied with the "corps de garde" which occupied all the roads, under the command of his officers of militia. These were stationed principally in the environs of Geneva, (e.g.) at St. Julien, Lancy, Tremblieres, Chene, and Belle Rive. The whole of the eastern coast of the lake was also lined by them. But the duke now

ordered two regiments of 1000 strong, into the Chablais district, commanded by officers of high birth and merit. The Comte de Bernex, of the house of Rossilion, commanded the regiment of Chablais, and the Marquess of Caudree, of the house of Alinges, that of Montserrat. The latter officer had also the rank of major-general, "marechal de camp," or, as it is termed in Piemont, general of battle. These troops were followed up by some dragoons, at which the republic of Geneva took umbrage, and reinforced its garrison.

The second inconvenience, which attached to the Vaudois from this abortive attempt, was the pretext afforded by it to their prince to quarrel with the Bernois, whom he accused of bad faith, in favoring an attempt to invade his states. The Bernois were so indignant at a reproach thus affecting their honor, and fidelity in observance of treaties, that their guests became offensive to them; and they proposed, in order to remove such suspicion from the Duke of Savoy, to expel the Vaudois from their territories. The citizens of Zurich partook of this feeling of indignation, and convoked an assembly of the evangelical cantons at Arau. To this meeting the Vaudois of the greatest consideration were summoned, and informed that they would no longer be borne with, and were therefore ordered to withdraw, with the rest of their people, from the cantons in which they resided. The Vaudois were not a little surprised at this order; for, during two months which had elapsed since the failure of their enterprise, the Swiss had continued to provide them with subsistence; and their excellencies of Berne had even offered them the islands on the lakes of Yverdun and Morat to inhabit and cultivate as their own. A proposal was made to them to emigrate to Brandenburg, to which they objected the great distance; an objection from which the true state of their feelings, and their unconquerable desire to return to their own country, was justly inferred.

To overcome an obstinacy which was thought dangerous, an order was issued, that all the Vaudois in the canton of Berne should depart within a fixed period. They obeyed; and, passing through the capital, had the satisfaction to discover, that the harsh tone adopted towards them was the result only of state policy: for they were not only much caressed, but received money from the secretary of the city, when they embarked, on the Aar, to seek the territories of Zurich and Schaffhausen, and, ultimately, spots still more remote, as opportunity might arise.

The country of Wirtemberg was not far distant from the places to which they had been ordered, and appeared well calculated for their residence, being fertile both in pasturage and vineyard. They therefore sent three deputies to the Duke Frederick Charles, who was at that time administrator, uncle, and guardian of the present reigning prince, the Duke Eberhard Louis. They found his royal highness and his council disposed to bestow all they asked; and, in fact, some lands were granted to them.

The Vaudois, however, whose object was to keep united in a body, finding that this would not be allowed them, implored the cantons of Zurich and Schaffhausen to permit them to pass their winter quarters in those territories.

The intercession of the ministers of other cantons, and of some Genevese, contributed not a little to procure this permission: nor was their cause injured by the large sums collected for them in England and Holland. From the latter country alone were derived 92,000 crowns; and his most serene highness the Prince of Orange, who has since so gloriously become king of Great Britain, sent Mr. de Couvenant to make a just and economical distribution of that sum.

Here was ample provision for the nourishment and maintenance of these poor exiles; but the question of finding them fixed abodes was always agitated, nor could it be easily resolved. The power, liberality, and offers of his late Electoral Highness of Brandenburg at length determined the Swiss cantons and all those who participated in their interest for the Vaudois, to propose to them again that they should depart for the frontiers of Brandenburg, and take possession of the lands which were offered to them on very advantageous terms.

Some of the Vaudois had already visited that country, and described it as very distant, and highly inconvenient both as to language and climate, which is in fact very different from their own. The consequence was, that notwithstanding all the favors of the late Elector of Brandenburg, they at last openly declared, to the authorities who communicated with them on the part of the canton of Zurich, that they could not resolve to undertake the journey.

So obstinate a refusal was imputed to waywardness, or at least to an ill-timed nicety. They were therefore treated without ceremony, or rather with rudeness, and few sermons were preached without allusion to their case. Prepared, as they were, by the manner in which they had been already pressed, for extreme severity, this conduct produced no effect on them. The Swiss were scandalised by the want of complaisance in these poor people, shown in their refusal of so advantageous an offer, provoked by their obstinacy, and resolute, moreover, in not swerving from their adopted purpose. They therefore *compelled* the Vaudois to sign an instrument by which they promised to go wherever they were ordered. Mr. Arnaud himself signed this instrument, but at the same time protested against it, as extorted by violence.

The necessity of departure for Brandenburg was now so adroitly insinuated, that 800 (men, women, children, and servants) determined to comply. As these persons were considered the most reasonable, they were escorted as far as possible; passports, and all other facilities, were obtained for them, from the princes through whose states they had to pass on their road to Francfort on the Maine. Here they were met, on the part of his Electoral Highness of Brandenburg, by Mr. Choudens de Grema, a refugee from Gex, who conducted them to Berlin. At Berlin they were received by his electoral highness in person, with a cordiality worthy of his magnanimity.

Let us now return to the main body of the Vaudois, whom we left in Switzerland, in need of the greatest constancy, to bear up against the cold treatment adopted towards them. This tone was affected in order to convince them that they must absolutely remove from the cantons, and find for themselves places of abode, as in refusing to accompany their countrymen, they had rejected those which had been, with so much trouble, procured for them.

The Vaudois, seeing that it must be so, determined on departing each on his own way. It is true, that they were strongly inclined to slip back on the side of Geneva, but, as the magistrates of this prudent republic had taken measures against this step, they were forced to spread about the Grisons, the frontier of Wirtemberg, and some parts of the Palatinate which were assigned to them by order of the Elector, Philip William of

Neuberg, who was then living, and anxious to repeople his desolated territory.

It now seemed that these poor wanderers had at last found what they were in search of, and that their only care would be to settle themselves comfortably. But their views were far different. Mons. Arnaud lost no time in proceeding to Holland with a Vaudois captain, Batiste Besson of St. Jean, to communicate with the Prince of Orange, afterwards king of Great Britain, and some other noblemen who had the interests of the Vaudois at heart. This prince, of glorious memory, having learnt, in an audience granted to Mons. Arnaud, that the Vaudois persisted in their design to re-enter their valleys, commended their zeal and piety, and exhorted him to keep them together, that so ancient a church might not be lost by separation. He recommended yet a little patience to the deputies, animated their courage, and gave to them the means of returning to their own people.

It would seem that Providence, who preserved this little flock for an example of wonders that will be related hereafter, was unwilling to lead it to a country where it could remain. In fact, they were scarcely beginning to be settled before the train of proceedings between the dukes of Orleans and Neubourg compelled them to seek their safety in flight, lest they should fall victims to the French, from whose fury they had already too severely suffered. Thus they at once resigned the estates and privileges granted them by the Elector Palatine, and the offers of the Duke of Wirtemberg, who would have employed the effective, and supported the remainder. But the question was, where to retreat. To advance into Germany would, on account of the incumbrance of their families, be to fall a certain prey to those from whom they were fleeing. In this dilemma they determined, as though by the inspiration of God, to seek their former asylum in Switzerland. And here it may be proper to reflect on the wonderful means by which God restored the Vaudois to their inheritance, in permitting the French, who had driven them out of it, to force them into the way of recovering it.

This new disaster in a country where they had hardly surmounted the discouraging difficulties always attendant upon a settlement on a new soil, increased by the disappointment of resigning to their enemy the harvest

sowed with the sweat of their brows, so touched the heart of the Swiss, that, forgetting the disagreements which had occurred, they again received the Vaudois with open arms.

Mons. Speyseiger, a secretary, and Mr. Daude, a minister and refugee from Languedoc, made a most pathetic appeal in their behalf to the citizens of Schaffhausen; insomuch that the latter authorised Mons. Speyseiger to represent to the other cantons the smallness of theirs, and to request that they would receive a part of the Vaudois. This representation, backed by one from Zurich, induced the canton of Berne to follow their example, and once more to extend their christian charity to the Vaudois.

Behold them now scattered over different parts of protestant Switzerland, gaining a livelihood by their labor, principally with the peasants, and always inoffensively.

It may here be remarked to their credit, that during the whole of their exile from the valleys not a complaint was made against them of bad conduct, with the exception, that one of their soldiers carried off a musket from his master at Zurich. But no sooner was this circumstance known to their principal persons, than the musket was sent back to its owner. Having now time for reflection, they recognised, in the misfortune of having been so long tossed about, a judgment for their inclination to forget their country: and conceiving that God had permitted this affliction only to make them better understand that they should never find rest but in their own houses, they resolved forthwith to reenter them, cost what it might. This resolution was strengthened by the account of the spies, whom they had sent more than a year before, and also by the knowledge that the Duke of Savoy had recalled the troops from this side of the mountains since the spring of 1669, either because he no longer feared the Vaudois, who were farther removed, or because he was in want of his forces to quell the Mondovians, who, according to their laudable custom, had again revolted.

The great and happy revolution which took place in England confirmed them in this resolution. They saw that their avowed protector, the Prince of Orange, having been invited to that kingdom to re-establish, by one of the most noble and heroic enterprises ever undertaken, the power of the trampled laws, had been proclaimed king of Great Britain. The natural antipathy between this new king and the king of France; the zeal of the

former for the protestant church, which looked up to him as her chief protector; his obligations to the powers which had favored his accession to the crown, promised, and soon effected, a rupture between England and France. This event was justly considered, by the Vaudois, so pregnant with important occupation for Louis XIV., that their return to the valleys would no longer be matter for his attention. They resolved, therefore, to take advantage of this indifference on the part of their most implacable enemy.

Their chiefs, aware that want of secrecy had been fatal to their former attempts, determined to remedy this error. Thus Savoy might remain unguarded, and Berne, in its ignorance, be prevented from being an obstacle to their departure, and at the same time justified from any reproach, by the Duke of Savoy, of privity to their measures. And so well did they succeed, that all their force was in march, without any knowledge, on the part of the subordinate individuals, of the object immediately in view.

Their rendezvous was in a large forest in the Pays de Vaud, called the Wood of Nion, between the town of that name and Rolle. A place well adapted for their purpose; secrecy being insured by the nature of the ground, provisions by the abundant neighborhood, and facility of embarkation by its vicinity to the lake.

The greater part had now arrived safely at this rendezvous, and were only waiting for some comrades, who could not indeed be expected to arrive so soon, as they had to come from the extremities of Switzerland, from Wirtemberg, and from the Grisons, and therefore ran more risk of being discovered. And in fact they were so. For some suspicious reports having reached Mons. le Comte de Cassati, ambassador from Spain to the Cantons, he immediately communicated them to Mons. le Comte de Govon, envoy of the Duke of Savoy. This nobleman instituted so strict an inquiry, that he discovered, on their route, 122 of these unfortunate people, comprising some strangers ignorant of the plot, who shared, however, the same fate as the rest. Not only was their money, to the amount of 500 crowns, taken from them, but they were stripped, bound, and marched to Turin, under every species of insult and cruelty, through the popish countries which lay on their way. Being ultimately imprisoned, we must leave them to languish for many miserable months, till their

delivery was effected by the wonderful events which will terminate this history.

Their companions, to the number of eight or nine hundred, whom we left waiting in the forest of Nions, ignorant of what had taken place, weary of delay, and fearful of discovery, determined on crossing the lake. And it was indeed time; for a whisper was already afloat that there were persons concealed in the forest. This apparently untoward report was, by divine grace, highly favorable to them. For, many wagers being laid that this mystery would be solved by some new enterprise of the Vaudois, many persons were led by curiosity to visit the suspected places in boats. The Vaudois, who had only four small boats, a number obviously insufficient for their transportation, seized on this additional supply, amounting to ten more, and having joined in prayer offered up by Mr. Arnaud, now called Mons. de la Tour, they embarked between nine and ten o'clock of the night of Friday the 16th of August, 1689.

It happened that the day before a general fast had been observed throughout protestant Switzerland, a circumstance which contributed not a little to their uninterrupted passage over the lake. One insidious, but abortive, attempt to frustrate this undertaking was alone known to have been made. A Mons. Prangin, son of the late Mons. de Baltazar, who had bought an estate near Nions, attracted by the general curiosity, happened to hear Mons. Arnaud's prayer. Like another Judas, he immediately hastened, during the rest of the night, to Geneva, and informed the French resident of what he had witnessed, who went instantly to Lyons and ordered off a party of dragoons in an ineffectual pursuit of the exiles. Their first trip across the lake was fortunate. They landed between Nernier and Ivoire, with no other accident than the separation, by a squall of wind, of their boats, which proved the means of their falling in with one from Geneva with eighteen of their countrymen. But when they sent back the boats for those who could not cross the first time, they had the misfortune to see all the boatmen but three, though paid in advance, take flight. This obliged them to leave behind more than two hundred of their men, as immediate departure from a spot so exposed to danger was imperative. They had the further disappointment to find that many good men, who were brought by the boats which had remained faithful, would not proceed unless they were provided with arms; and also of learning that many

others who left Lausanne on the night of the 15th, had been arrested, and released too late to arrive in time for the embarkation.

I shall not enter into the motives which led the boatmen to use the Vaudois in this manner; but fear of loss of life if they were caught in Savoy, and of ill treatment if they were detected in Switzerland, probably contributed towards it.

I can well imagine the reader's impatience to know the result of a measure in which we find a handful of Vaudois, disembarked in an hostile state, with the resolution of traversing it sword in hand, of recovering their native country, and replanting in it the true church of Christ, in opposition to all the arts of papacy supported by the armies of two powerful princes.

And as every act in the attainment of an object apparently impracticable by so small a number of persons is in itself extraordinary, I shall now report with the greatest fidelity what happened from day to day.

## CHAPTER 2

**CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF TEN DAYS' MARCH OVER THE ALPS, AT THE END OF WHICH THE VAUDOIS FOUND THEMSELVES ONCE MORE ON NATIVE GROUND.**

### PICTURE: Arch at Susa

#### FIRST DAY

Mons. Arnaud having, with fourteen others, set foot on the eastern shore of the lake of Geneva, immediately planted sentries at every avenue, and then applied himself to put his force into order as it disembarked. When all had arrived, they were formed into one corps, the command of which was to have been entrusted to an inhabitant of Neufchatel, named Bourgeois. He failed, however, at the rendezvous, for reasons which shall not be mentioned here, as enough will be said of him in another place. This corps was divided into nineteen companies, of which six were composed of foreigners<sup>1</sup>, chiefly from Languedoc and Dauphine, and the other from the different communes of the Vaudois, as follows:

Corps	Companies	Captains
Angroqua	3	Laurent Buffe, Etienne Frasche, and Michel Bertin
St. Jean	2	Bellion and Besson
La Tour	1	Paul Peline.
Bobi	2	Martinat and Moudon <sup>2</sup> .
Prarustin	1	Daniel Odin.
St. Germain and Pranrol	1	Robert.
Macelle	1	Philippe Trone Poulat
Prali	1	Peirot
Foreign	6	Martin, Privat, Lucas, Turel, Tonfrede, and Chien.

And as there were still many soldiers who objected to fall into any of these companies, they were formed into an extra corps of volunteers.

The whole was divided into three bodies, avant guard, rear guard, and center, according to the system of regular troops, which the Vaudois always pursued. Besides Mons. Arnaud, whom they termed their patriarch, there were two other ministers, Mons. Cyrus Chion, formerly minister of the church of Pont-a-Royan, in Dauphine, and Mr. Montoux, of Prajelas, who had served the church of Chambons, in his own country, and afterwards that of Coire, in the Grisons, where he had left his family when he followed the fortunes of his countrymen.

Having taken such human precautions for their safety, they invoked the succor of the Most High; praying that he would take charge of their undertaking. After this, the minister Chion went to the first village to obtain a guide; but a Savoyard horseman, who had discovered our people, gave the alarm, and the minister was taken prisoner and sent to Chambery, where he remained till peace was concluded between the Duke of Savoy and our Vaudois. The same horseman rode towards our men, pistol in hand, and was immediately met by Mons. Arnaud and the Sieur Turel with six fusileers; but he displayed such expertness in performing “la volte face,” (wheeling about) that he escaped a shot fired at him, while running away.

It being then evident that alarm was general, and that there was no time to lose, some officers and twelve privates were sent to Ivoire, to persuade the inhabitants to lay down their arms and grant a passage.

The inhabitants understanding that a refusal would expose them to the perils of sword and fire, granted all that was required of them; but did not the less omit to light up their beacon, which might have entailed on them the performance of the threat, had not the Vaudois, by good luck for them, been in a disposition to admit of the proffered excuse, “that some children had done it in mistake.” As a condition, however, of pardon for this offense, the castellan and a garde du sel<sup>3</sup> were required to perform the office of guides; but they were sent back after half a league’s march.

Hostages were then secured in the persons of the castellan of Nernier and the sieurs of Caudrees and Fora, gentlemen of the country; these also were

soon released, as the Vaudois would commit no breach of humanity, so long as resistance was not offered. They observed, in fact, so strict a discipline, that the peasantry and their cures came out to see them pass by, and could not help blessing them, and hailing them with a “God go with you.” The cure of Filli even opened his cellar to them, and would receive no payment.

Shortly afterwards some Savoyard gentlemen, well mounted and armed, rode towards this little army, till they were checked by the avant guard. They then demanded the order by which the Vaudois were marching under arms. They were answered, that it was not their business to ask for this order; and that the reason for this appearance under arms was well known by every body. These gentlemen, indignant at this reply, commanded the avant guard to lay down their arms: but no sooner had these words escaped them, than they saw the main body approaching. They then suddenly changed their tone, and ordering some peasants who were with them to fall back, would have taken flight themselves, had they not been stopped, and obliged to alight and walk at the head of the Vaudois troop. This was only done to make them repent of their rashness in ordering the surrender of arms. The Vaudois now ascended a hill, where they found themselves opposed by 200 armed peasants. A detachment was ordered to their pursuit, while the main body defiled in the wood to discover if there was any ambuscade. The peasants, commanded by Mons. Gropel, a quarter-master in the army of his royal highness, and the Sieur Mouche, castellan of Boege, made no great resistance. Their arms and drums were broken, and some of them taken as guides, under the threat of being hung from the nearest tree if they did not acquit themselves faithfully. One of the commanders was also detained, in order that he might bear witness that no disorder was committed on the march. This gentleman made an offer of refreshment as they passed by his house, which was not listened to, partly from want of confidence, and partly from fear of delay. As it was expected that the whole country would assume a hostile appearance, this person was obliged to write a letter to the following purpose.

“These persons (the Vaudois) have arrived here to the number of 2000<sup>4</sup>. They have begged us to accompany them, that we may be enabled to give an account of their behavior, which we can assure you to be perfectly reasonable. They pay for every thing they

take, and only require a free passage. We therefore entreat you not to sound the alarm bells, nor beat the drums, and to dismiss your men if they are under arms.”

This letter, signed by this gentleman and others, was sent to Viu, and produced a very good effect; for on the rest of this day's march the inhabitants emulated each other in supplying the wants of the Vaudois. The peasants were every where ordered to lay aside their arms, and to supply horses and waggons to carry the baggage; and these orders were executed with so much promptitude, that our travelers met with no delay. However, as acts of individual transgression can never be prevented, a peasant shot at a Vaudois soldier, but missed him. The soldier pursued him and made him prisoner. On the other hand, a Vaudois killed a peasant, as he was running away under arms. Among those who attempted to escape, but were taken, was a Dominican friar, or hermit of the Ouarons, or Voirons, as it is pronounced. He had a dagger under his cassock: but proved a useful mediator on the march.

As night came on, they stopped near Viu, a little town of Foucigni, to which the letter that I have mentioned had been sent, and released one of the gentlemen who could not well support the fatigue of walking. After they had halted long enough to give time to the inhabitants to disperse, in case they had assembled under arms, they entered at twilight; and, having obtained refreshments for money, departed again two hours after the moon had risen. After an hour's march they were overtaken by the night, and the hostages were desired to write another note to the town of St. Joyre, through which they had to pass. On their arrival at this place, instead of opposition, they met with a most friendly reception from the inhabitants, who crowded to see them; and the magistrates even ordered a cask of wine into the middle of the street to be used by the soldiers at their discretion. Some partook of this hospitality, while others abstained from a suspicion of poison. Leaving this place, they crossed some shelving ground till they came to a little hill, where they halted in an open plain called Carman. It was midnight, and rainy; yet it was resolved to wait for daybreak, in order that their strength might be recruited by a little rest and sleep, before they crossed the river at Marni, where they feared that the bridge had been cut away. Here they released the hostages taken at Boege, and replaced them with two brothers of the name of Georges.

## SECOND DAY

On the 16th of August, which was Sunday, the Vaudois found the bridge of Marni in a good state; and, passing it without resistance, entered a pleasant little valley, which the peasants had deserted, and which afforded some fruit. About ten in the morning they approached Cluses, a pretty fortified town on the river Arve, through which it was absolutely necessary to pass. The inhabitants, however, had armed and lined the trenches; while the peasants, who had descended from the mountains, loaded the Vaudois with abuse; who, advancing within musketshot under an incessant rain, determined to force the passage.

At the same time Mons. de Fova heard some one say, that, in case of resistance, it would be necessary to kill the hostages; and being alarmed for his own safety, requested permission to write to the principal persons of the town. This he did, and represented his own danger, as well as the peaceable conduct of the Vaudois wherever they were not opposed.

At the moment that this letter was put in the hands of a messenger, the Chevalier des Rides, Mons. de la Charbonniere, and Mons. de Lochen, gentlemen of distinction, came out of the town to capitulate. The two first were detained; and at their request the latter was sent back with a Vaudois officer. When he arrived in the town, the order for march was demanded from this officer, who sternly answered, "that it was on the point of their swords."

The inhabitants now saw that the affair was serious, and without farther hesitation granted the passage, on condition that the Vaudois should go straight through, and pay for their provisions. The town was then traversed through a lane of the armed inhabitants. Mons. Arnaud perceiving that there was no guard at the gates, set one at that by which the Vaudois defiled, for the purpose of greater security. In the mean time, Mons. de la Rochette came forward and invited some of the officers to dine with him. They, however, declined his invitation; but leading him insensibly out of the town, told him that they expected five hundred weight of bread and five charges of wine to be sent to them within half an hour. He wrote a note on the spot to his father, who instantly sent a cask of wine and as much bread as was wanted. The delay occasioned by this arrival of provisions being thought by some to be prejudicial, they threw

the cask into the river, to the great displeasure of those who were well disposed to quench their thirst. Mons. de la Tour (i.e. Mons. Arnaud) paid five louis d'or to the inhabitants, with which they appeared well satisfied.

While the Vaudois were refreshing themselves, they observed some children running towards Salenche, a small mercantile town, and the capital of the district of Foucigni; and suspecting that it was with a view to give information of their approach, they compelled the young messengers to return. When the order was given to march, Mons. de la Rochette and Mons. de Rides expressed a wish to be set at liberty under pretext of going to mass; but were not permitted to do so. The valet of the former gentleman being observed to mix with the troop, some suspicion was excited against him; and, in fact, on searching him, letters were found from Mons. de la Rochette (the father) to the chief persons of Salenche. In these letters was an exhortation to arms, and a direction to attack the Vaudois in front, while the people of Cluses would do so on the rear.

Expecting opposition, and resolved on defense, the Vaudois defiled along a very narrow valley, hemmed in by lofty mountains, where a whole army might be stopped with stones; and this the more easily at that time, when the Arve, swollen by frequent rains, left scarcely room enough for the road. In the middle of this pass they came upon a village and castle called Maglan. The peasants were under arms, but contented themselves with being idle spectators of the march. Mons. de Loche, seigneur of the district, notwithstanding his affected civility to the officers, was obliged to proceed with them; but to console him his cure accompanied him. On this occasion they affected to march in confusion, in order that their numbers might not be counted. A horseman at speed was now seen on the opposite side of the river, whose errand was justly presumed to be that of announcing the approach of our Vaudois to the people of Salenche. In order to arrive at this place, the possession of a large wooden bridge was necessary.

Here it was that, in the ensuing year, Lieutenant-Colonel Mallet, with one battalion of protestants (religionnaires) stopped short the army of Mons. de St. Ruth.

When within a hundred yards from the bridge, which they expected to be disputed, the officers formed their men into platoons, to one of which were consigned the hostages, among whom were at least twenty persons of consideration. An order to put them to death, in case the Savoyards should fire, was given rather with a view to intimidate the enemy, than any intention that it should be put into execution. While they were forming in order of attack, three captains, with an escort of six privates, were despatched with orders to request a free passage through the town. On their way they met six of the chief persons of the place on horseback, who immediately fled; but our soldiers were so quick upon their heels that they caught one of them and brought him away. When the rest saw that their comrade was taken, they returned and came boldly to us. They proved to be Mons. de Carmillon, Mons. de Cartan, chief syndic of the town, Mons. Fontaine, the castellain, and the Sieurs Bergerat and St. Amour. Mons. de Cartan represented that the question of a free passage was too important to be decided on by them alone, and that they must therefore return and assemble in council to deliberate on it. It was finally agreed that half an hour should be granted for consideration, but that at the expiration of it the bridge should be stormed.

These gentlemen soon returned, and said that the time granted was insufficient for determining on such a proposition; and perceiving that the Vaudois were not in humor to be kept waiting till more force should be collected against them, were about to return. The Sieurs St. Amour and Fontaine were, however, requested very civilly to dismount and augment the number of hostages. This compliment was not to their taste, so they begged that one of them might be sent into the town with some other, to point out to the inhabitants the danger they were in. The Vaudois could indeed have easily forced their way without waiting for all these parleys; but as they had resolved, as good Christians, to spare human blood as long as it was possible, and as it was their policy to reserve their strength for occasions when the exertion of it should be indispensable, they were willing to make one more attempt. With this view they allowed one of these gentlemen and another hostage to depart, under condition of bringing back immediately a decided answer. But instead of seeing them return, they heard the sound of the alarm bell, and saw 600 armed men take up a position near the bridge.

Our champions now conceiving that they must cut their way with their swords, formed several small detachments, two of which advanced to the charge at the moment that four capuchins came forward from their opponents. As christian charity induced a belief that soldiers of that sort seek peace rather than war, they were honourably received. They came, they said, as plenipotentiaries from the town, to offer a passage on condition that the hostages and horses were released. They offered, at the same time, to replace them with two of the principal inhabitants. This proposal to give up hostages of distinction, who, under the influence of fear for their own lives, had paralysed all attempts at hostility wherever they had passed, appeared at first highly objectionable. On the other hand, the Vaudois considered that two more were offered to them, and that chance might give them possession of others; they therefore accepted the proposal. However, when the two hostages were brought to them they found that, instead of syndics, as they had been promised, two pitiable wretches were delivered to them. Indignant at this shameful fraud, Mons. Arnaud advanced with the intention of detaining the capuchins. His countenance seemed to betray his intention; for so cleverly did the good friars tuck up their gowns for a race, that two only were secured. These demanded why they were thus arrested contrary to the law of nations, which did not allow of the capture of persons treating of capitulation. They were answered, that it was because, in degradation of their profession and character, they had deceived the Vaudois, and unnecessarily lied, in offering the miller as the syndic; and with this answer for payment, they were enrolled in the number and company of the hostages.

It must be owned, to their honor, that they were of the greatest assistance. For, whenever a free passage was wanted, their remonstrances, intercessions, and prayers, with any who wished to dispute it, were always so efficacious, that the Vaudois were more than ever astonished at the power these good fathers possessed over the minds of those of their own religion. I leave to the reader to determine, whether the zeal they thus manifested emanated from fear, or a sound christian motive.

To return to the bridge in question, the capitulation being now void, a detachment was marched forward, which passed it without opposition, and lined it with forty soldiers for the security of the main body. When

they had all crossed, they formed in line of battle close to the hedges, behind which the inhabitants had drawn themselves up. The latter, however, did not fire, but, on the contrary, fearing that their town might be burned, sent back two Vaudois soldiers whom they had seized. Our people thus advanced quietly, and, after a tortuous route, arrived at the village of Cablau, where they halted for the night.

The repose so necessary after a long march over bad roads and in incessant rain, was but incomplete; for neither could they procure provisions to allay hunger, nor fire by which they might dry themselves. Yet, drenched and fatigued, this poor flock had reason to be grateful for the rain, as the means of preventing a pursuit of which they had abundant cause to be in continual fear.

### **THIRD DAY**

If on Monday the 19th the Vaudois were no longer disturbed by the motions of the people of Clure, Maglaw, and Salenches, they were not a little alarmed when they learned the difficult nature of the day's journey before them, for they had to cross two of the rudest mountains of Savoy; on which account they purchased a good stock of wine at the nearest village.

Early in the morning the trumpets were sounded, and, as soon as they were collected, their fire-arms were discharged for the purpose of re-loading them. Proceeding on their march, they passed through several deserted villages, till they came to a little town called Migeves, or Beaufort. Here the inhabitants were under arms; but as they offered no resistance, the Vaudois created no disorder. Having passed through this place they gained the summit of the mountain, where they found some deserted huts, in which they took shelter from the rain. On each side of the mountain were some places where the cattle are folded and the laitages<sup>5</sup> prepared during the season of alpine pasturage. The Vaudois touched none of these things, so that the hostages expressed their astonishment, that so large a troop should show such moderation on their march; and not being able to accommodate themselves to so frugal a way of living, intimated that it was customary for soldiers to take provisions, without ceremony, wherever they could find any. This hint, or rather reproach, from men who

were in the interest of the country, their example, and the desertion of their huts by the shepherds, joined to extreme hunger, induced the Vaudois to transgress their rule in this instance, by helping themselves to some bread, cheese, milk, and other food, for which they would have certainly paid if they could have found the owners. They succeeded at last in ascending the second mountain, called the mountain de Haute Luce, the mere approach to which produces fear; for it is at all times one of the rudest, and, at the period here spoken of, its dangers were increased by rains, snows, and a thick fog. So dense was the mist, that the guide, in his astonishment, was easily persuaded that God had providentially directed it to conceal the Vaudois from their enemies. They found on the summit, which they had thus gained with a difficulty to be imagined but not expressed, a deserted grange<sup>6</sup>, from which they took some milk and other trifling articles of food. They then beat up the country in search of some peasants to supply the place of the guide, who, on account of the mist, had lost all knowledge of the passes. It was soon seen that these peasants were conducting them by the longest and most dangerous paths, not from ignorance, but with the intention of delay till the Savoyards should overtake and destroy them in these frightful defiles: a remedy to this was found by Mons. Arnaud in a determined threat to hang them.

As the leader of this little flock knew how to subdue traitors by fear, so did he understand how to rally, by holy exhortation, the courage of those among his followers who were ready to sink under the complicated load of hardships to which they were exposed; and which, in this instance, was increased by the extreme fatigue of crossing a pass cut out of the rock like a ladder, where twenty men might easily have checked twenty thousand. If the ascent of an abrupt mountain is difficult, the descent is not less so. Thus here they were obliged to descend, seated and sliding, as though on a precipice, and with no other light than what proceeded from the whiteness of the snow. In this manner they arrived, late at night, at St. Nicolas de Verose, a parish peopled only by a few shepherds. On this spot, deep as an abyss, desert and cold, the Vaudois were compelled to halt, with no fuel but what they obtained by unroofing the huts which sheltered them from the rain, thus escaping one misery at the expense of encountering another.

## FOURTH DAY

### PICTURE: The Col de Bonhomme

On the morning of Tuesday the 20th, two serious accidents resulted from the impatience of the Vaudois to quit the bad quarters of the preceding night. The one, that Captain Meynier, a Vaudois, and good soldier, was wounded in both thighs by a shot accidentally fired in the dark. The other, that in consequence of a report that 200 Savoyards had insinuated themselves among the troop in order to attack it in favorable time and situation, a Vaudois, who mistook the Sieur Baillif (a refugee) for such a person, fired at him, slightly wounded him with the bayonet, and would have destroyed him, had he not discovered his error when Mons. Baillif requested time for prayer. Here, also, the Captain Chiar deserted, disheartened by fatigues too great for his delicate constitution. He carried off with him a very fine horse from a place where six others were left.

The course now lay over one of the steepest points of the mountain called Bon-homme, knee deep in snow, and with the rain pouring on their backs. They marched in continual expectation of a bloody action, for they knew that, during the preceding year, good forts, intrenchments with embrasures and counterscarps, had been made in this quarter, in situations so commanding, that thirty men might not only have checked but defeated them.

But the Eternal, who was ever present with this troop of the faithful, permitted them to find these fine fortifications unguarded; the troops having evacuated them in weariness of so long and useless occupation—a blessing from heaven for which they rendered thanks on the spot. After a long descent, always over snow, they came to some houses, where they bought a cask of wine. Perceiving that the rear guard were lingering behind, they halted for it in a little village; but as it did not make its appearance, they fired some shots, on which those who composed it, supposing that there was an attack, left the wine, which was the cause of their delay, and came up with all haste. They were now in the valley of the Isere, which they frequently crossed on account of the serpentine course of that river. This valley was so narrow and so flooded that the troop was sometimes obliged to march in single file. They were in constant expectation too of resistance, and, in fact, it was not long before they discovered a quantity

of peasants on the summit of a small hill. They were armed in part with guns, and had also provided a large stock of stones, effective weapons in so confined a spot. In truth, the Vaudois reckoned on nothing less than paying dearly for their passage, if they could force it. They were therefore agreeably surprised when, contrary to all hope, the peasants made no attempt to check them, but returned as quickly as possible to their village, when they perceived that their measures did not deter the Vaudois. They then sounded their alarum bell, and immediately a horrible chime was heard of all the bells in the valley, which did not, however, prevent the Vaudois from arriving at a bridge for which they had been pushing forward. It was found to be barricaded with great beams and interwoven trees, and guarded by men armed, some with guns, and others with scythes, pitchforks, etc.

While dispositions were making for an attack on them, Mons. le Comte de la Val d'Iserre, seignior of the valley, came forward to parley, or rather to grant the passage. The peasants themselves were at the pains of clearing the bridge, and even the cure was seen to lend a hand to the work: after having done so, they withdrew to their village, which was at a musket shot's distance on the other side of the river, for fear of being burnt, as had been threatened. As for Mons. le Comte, as soon as he had completed his embassy, he galloped off with a slack rein, that he might not be enrolled among the hostages, who, whenever they saw a person of distinction, said to Mr. Arnaud, "there is a fine bird for our cage." As it was, two priests were put to sing there, and a third was released on account of his age.

The little town of Sey was now passed in tranquillity, though it had made a sad noise with its bells, and the inhabitants had taken up arms. The Vaudois encamped near this place, whence they purchased as much provision as they wanted. They had bread in such abundance, that the inhabitants came to buy it back again from the soldiers. Thus terminated the fourth day of their march.

### **FIFTH DAY**

On Wednesday the 21st, the Vaudois were en route before daybreak: all the villages which they passed through were deserted. One man only, who did not think proper to accompany the rest, shut himself up in his house and sold bread to the soldiers from a gallery.

When it was time to halt, they rested near a little town called St. Foi, where they bought bread, wine, and meat, without the least disorder; as a precaution against which good sentries were set every where. Here they were astonished at the obliging reception they met with. Many gentlemen, and a large portion of the peasantry, came out to meet them, and addressed them with great civility, expressing joy at seeing them, and praise of their purpose to return to their own country. They even pressed us to pass the night among them, and said they would bake bread, slay cattle, and give wine to refresh the soldiers.

All these fine speeches were insensibly producing effect on our people, who might perhaps to their misfortune have been persuaded to yield to them, had not Mons. Arnaud, who was with the rear guard, advanced to know the reason of the delay. The officers told him all the kind offers which had been made; but he paid no attention to them, having laid down for a maxim, that he would always distrust the apparent kindness of an enemy. He therefore not only made the troops advance, but compelled these flattering gentlemen to accompany them, as persons who had, beyond doubt, intended their destruction in the midst of the good things which they had proffered.

They soon entered a valley, narrowly compressed by mountains, bearing forests of thick and lofty trees, and abounding in passes which might easily have been obstructed; for the removal of the beams which were suspended over the little river which watered it would have rendered it impossible for our people to proceed. We arrived, however, in safety at Villar Rougy, where the avant guard made prisoners a cure and some peasants who were in flight with him. As they escaped from this horrible valley, many of the inhabitants were observed who had deserted their houses and retreated to the opposite side of the river. At Entigne, a little village situated in a plain surrounded by mountains, no one was to be seen, excepting on the heights, and armed. A detachment was ordered to pursue those under arms; and a Frenchman, who had loitered behind, was wounded. In the evening our Vaudois made a large fire in a meadow, near a village called Laval, and passed the night there. They found provisions in some deserted houses, and the chief of the village treated the officers. And here, at the end of eight days and nights, passed almost without food or sleep, Mons. Arnaud and his colleague Mons. Montoux supped and lay

down on beds for three hours; and truly can they say that never was repast or repose more sweet to them.

### SIXTH DAY

On the morning of Thursday the 22d, the Vaudois passed through the little town of Tigne, where they demanded the repayment of the money which had been there taken from the two spies, of whom we made former mention. The inhabitants were, indeed, well pleased to escape on making this simple restitution; for they had expected exemplary punishment.

At this place many of the hostages were released; and as some others had escaped, it was thought prudent to replace them by two priests and an advocate.

After this they began to ascend the mountain of La Maurienne, sometimes called Tisseran, instead of Mont Iseran, whence the river Isere derives its name. Here a boy, who had been compelled to follow us, broke a gun which had been given him to carry, and endeavored to escape by the deep and tedious channel of a torrent. He was shot at three times, and at last wounded. When the next halt was made the companies were separated, and some new officers appointed. After this, some very painful ground was traversed among Alps<sup>7</sup>, where there was a great abundance of cattle. The shepherds, instead of running away, regaled our travelers; and gave them at the same time to understand that they would have great difficulty in returning to their own country; for though their march had not yet been opposed, it would be so, strenuously, at the foot of Mont Cenis, by a considerable force, who were there firmly awaiting them.

This news, instead of discouraging them, inflamed their courage. For, knowing that the success of their arms depended only on that God for whose glory they had taken them up, they had no doubt that he would open them a way through whatever obstacle might be opposed to them.

In this confidence they descended the mountain of Maurienne and passed through the little village of Bonneval, the cure of which offered to the officers refreshment from his cellar: and, although a peasant, who would not proceed with them as guide, was well beaten, yet every thing was granted to them which they desired. Thence they proceeded to Besas,

where they were prepared to encounter the vilest rabble under Heaven. When they arrived there they found the inhabitants extreme in arrogance and menaces; insomuch that by their insolence they compelled the Vaudois to take vengeance, which they did by carrying off some mules, the cure, the castellan, and six peasants, who, by way of disgrace, were bound. On getting out of this place they crossed the river, and encamped for the night, without shelter, near a small deserted village in a drenching rain.

### SEVENTH DAY

On Friday, the 23d, they passed through Lannevillard, where they took the cure and some peasants as hostages; but on arriving at Mont Cenis they released the cure, considering him too fat and old for so high and steep an ascent. Having gained the summit, and knowing that there was a post-house near it which might forward a true account of their progress, they sent a party to seize on all the horses which they could find.

The sufferings of the Vaudois in crossing the Great and Little Mont Cenis surpass imagination. On the summit of the latter an idle show of resistance was for a short time offered by some ill armed peasantry. Here they found a little bread and wine, but unfortunately lost their way on their descent; an accident which might have originated either from the malice of their guides, the density of the fog, or from the new, and therefore trackless, snow. In consequence of this error, their descent from the summit of the Toulis was over precipices rather than by a path. To complete their misery the night overtook them; and many, overcome by toil and weariness, were left behind, separated from each other and lost in a wood, where they passed the night wretchedly. The main body gained the valley of the Jaillon, where, benumbed with cold and wet, they deemed themselves fortunate in finding dry wood for fire.

### EIGHTH AND VERY MEMORABLE DAY

#### PICTURE: Near Mont Cenis

When the light of the 24th appeared, the Vaudois had the good fortune to reunite, and resolved to incline in the direction for Chaumont, a little above Susa. Some soldiers were sent to reconnoiter, who discovered on the summit of a mountain a great number of peasants, and some French

soldiers from the garrison of Exiles<sup>8</sup>, who were incessantly rolling down large masses of rock, to add to the many natural impediments of the passage; for the valley is so narrow, and the Jaillon so rapid, that the Vaudois felt as if they were entering their sepulcher. However, they determined to advance intrepidly; and having reinforced the avant-guard with 100 men, pushed on within fifty paces of the enemy. They then despatched messengers, as usual, to treat for the passage. This commission was intrusted to Captain Paul Pelene with a small escort. Two curds from the hostages were also sent with him to facilitate the matter; but these contrived to escape, and prevailed on the enemy to make prisoners of the captain and his attendants.

The Vaudois were now assailed by a heavy fire of musketry and grenades, and a shower of stones rolled from the heights. The avant-guard was forced to retreat, each individual sheltering himself from rock to rock, till they could defile through a wood of Spanish chestnut trees on the right bank of the river, which was crossed with great difficulty and danger. The sieur Caffarel, of Bobi, was made prisoner, after receiving a wound in the stomach from one of his own people, who mistook him for an enemy. He was, in fact, clothed in the uniform of a French soldier whom he had slain. Those who had crossed the Jaillon, finding they were not pursued, retraced their steps and joined the main body. It was now determined to attempt to regain the heights, from which they had lately descended, as the danger of being surrounded in a hole, enclosed by perpendicular rocks, was but too evident.

To regain these heights it was necessary to climb, with inconceivable pain, on the hands rather than the feet. Some notion may be formed of it from the fact, that the hostages entreated that they might suffer death as preferable to such extreme hardship. The Vaudois, indeed, succeeded in regaining the heights, but with a confusion which cost them dear; for many of their men were left behind in the woods. Among others, were the captains Lucas and Privat, and two good surgeons, the former of whom have never since been heard of. Jean Malanet, one of the surgeons, with some soldiers, remained concealed for four days in a cave, with no other nourishment than water, which they fetched in the night. They were eventually made prisoners and taken to Susa, whence they were sent, bound hand and foot, to the prisons at Turin, where they lingered in

dungeons for nine months. For those who were captured within the dependencies of Savoy were thrown into the prisons of that state; while those who had the misfortune to be taken within the territories of France were carried to Grenoble, and thence to the galleys; where such, as death has not yet taken pity on, still remain, though both ransom and exchange have been offered for them. Among these poor innocents is Mons. Jean Muston, of St. Jean, the other surgeon, whose firmness and constancy during so long a martyrdom entitles him to a place in this history.

This defeat sadly weakened this little flock in respect to both stores and men. But it did not weaken the hearts of our Vaudois, who consoled themselves by their conviction, that it is neither by force, nor skill, nor numbers, that God fulfils his marvellous designs. Thus encouraging one another, they resolved to reascend the mountain of Touliers.

The trumpets were a long time sounded as a signal to those who were lost, and after waiting two hours they proceeded, though many of their comrades were still missing, being apprehensive that an insurmountable force might be collected to dispute the passage.

So great was their precipitation that poor Meynier of Rodovet, whose wound has been mentioned, was left behind sleeping against a rock, with provisions by his side, as his only consolation. Two hostages took this opportunity of flight; some shots were fired at them, and one appeared to take effect; be that as it may, they both made their escape.

When our Vaudois gained the summit, they perceived, through a thick fog, some 200 soldiers, divided into two or three troops, marching with their drums beating. The Vaudois advanced intrepidly; on which the commander of the enemy sent a note disclaiming any hostile intention, provided the Vaudois would pursue their march in a line above him. In this case he also offered them provisions. Should they, however, resolve on forcing his position, he requested eight hours to deliberate on what course he should adopt.

Although the Vaudois were aware that this officer, the commandant of Exiles, was not to be trusted, yet they thought it more prudent to accept the proposed route than to force a passage which was strongly guarded.

They therefore filed to the right, but soon discovered that the enemy were softly following them under favor of the night.

This step convinced them that there was an intention to place them between two fires when they should attempt the bridge of Salabertrann. This would indeed have been an infallible mode of exterminating a handful of men wasted by fatigue and misery.

In this suspicion they sent to inquire why those troops thus acted in opposition to their word; who replied that they had no intention of violating it: and immediately feigned a retreat.

The Vaudois continued their march through many obstacles, closely united, and halting from time to time, till they approached a village about a league from Salabertrann. Here they asked a peasant if they could have provisions for money. He answered, "Go on, you will have all you want, a good supper is prepared for you." These last mysterious words, pronounced with equal significance and coolness, were understood as pregnant with danger. Unmoved, however, in their purpose, the Vaudois ordered the peasants to bring them some wine, and after a moment's rest resumed their march. When they were within half a league of the bridge, they discovered thirty-six fires below them, which they rightfully considered as indications of troops; for within a quarter of an hour afterwards the avant-guard fell into an ambuscade, which retreated after firing one volley, and left five dead on the field.

As there was no longer any doubt of immediate battle, the Vaudois united in prayer, and having scoured the country on either side in search of ambuscades, advanced close to the bridge. The enemy, who was intrenched on the opposite bank, hailed them with a "qui vive." "Friends," was the answer, "provided they were permitted to pass." The enemy would have no such friends on those terms, and shouting out, "To slaughter!" opened a fire of more than 2000 shots in a volley. Mons. de la Tour ordered his men to lie down on their faces, and only one was wounded. A Savoyard gentleman, a hostage, who had grown gray under arms, declared he had never seen so heavy a fire with so slight an effect. Still more remarkable is the fact, that Captain Mondon of Bobi<sup>9</sup> (a generous and valiant officer, who still lives), and Mons. de la Tour, with two refugees, not only made head against, but actually checked, two companies who were making a

charge on them in the rear. Our Vaudois, now between two fires, saw, that without loss of a moment, all must be hazarded. In this desperate crisis some one shouted, "Courage! the bridge is carried!"—though it was not. But our soldiers were so animated by the exclamation, that, throwing themselves headlong, with sabre and bayonet, on the bridge, they succeeded in gaining it, rushed impetuously on the intrenchments, carried them on the first attack, and pursued the enemy so closely as to seize many of them by the hair. Never was a charge more severe. The Vaudois sabre shattered the swords of the French, and made itself dreaded by the fire it struck from the muskets, no longer used excepting to guard off the blows of the victors. So brilliant and complete was the victory that Mons. le Marquis de Larrey, who commanded the enemy, exclaimed, with oaths according to French custom, "Is it possible that I lose my honor and the battle!" and despairing of any remedy, added, "Sauve qui peut!" He himself was dangerously wounded, and carried off, with some other officers, to Briançon<sup>10</sup>, but not conceiving himself safe even there, he was removed on a litter to Embrun. The battle lasted two hours; and so great was the disorder into which the enemy were thrown, that many of them, as the only chance of escape, mixed among the Vaudois; but mistaking the Vaudois watchword, "Augrogne," for "Grogne," more than 200 of them fell a sacrifice to this little word. The field of battle was covered with the dead, many of the enemy's companies being reduced to seven or eight men, without a single officer. The greatest part of the baggage, and all the ammunition, fell a prey to our victorious Vaudois. The moon rose, but did not show one remaining foe. Mons. Arnaud, always under the appellation of Mons. de la Tour, then called together his little band, and directed that thirteen chests which were found should be broken up, and that such of the booty as they could not carry should be thrown into the river. He also ordered every man to supply himself with ball and powder, after which the rest of the ammunition was set on fire. The trumpets were then sounded, and all of them throwing their hats towards heaven, made the air ring with the following joyful acclamation: "Thanks to the Eternal of armies, who has given us the victory over our enemies!"

What! a handful of men beat 2500 troops well intrenched, among whom were fifteen companies of regulars and eleven of militia, with all the peasants that could be collected, besides the troops which attacked this

handful in the rear! Belief in so improbable a fact must be grounded on a conviction, that the hand of God not only fought with the Vaudois, but blinded the French. For how else can we account for their not thinking of cutting away the wooden bridge, and thus effectually checking the Vaudois: for the Dora was so swelled, that any attempt, to wade through it, would have been to court inevitable death?

If this glorious victory is matter of surprise, the small loss of the Vaudois in obtaining it is not less so. It amounted only to ten or twelve wounded, and fourteen or fifteen killed, in addition to one of the hostages, six only of which failed in making their escape during the conflict.

Though, after such an action, repose was more necessary than ever, especially when it is remembered that three days and nights had been occupied by heavy marches, with insufficient food, yet it was thought right to advance, lest the enemy should receive a reinforcement. The remainder of so glorious a night was therefore employed in climbing the mountain of Sci by the light of the moon. It was a business of infinite pain, for the men fell down from drowsiness and fatigue at every step; and many more would have been lost than were so, had it not been for the peculiar care, taken by the rearguard, to awaken such as thus fell asleep on the ground, and compel them to proceed.

## NINTH DAY

### PICTURE: Salabertraun

On Sunday the 25th, at break of day, the Vaudois found themselves at the top of the mountain of Sci. There they waited for those whom weakness had compelled to linger behind. When they had all rejoined, Mons. de la Tour collected the whole troop, and having remarked, that, from that spot they could see the tops of their own mountains, exhorted them to return thanks to God, who had so miraculously assisted them through so many difficulties, and already granted to them the partial sight of the places to which they aspired. Prayers were then offered up, which produced a most reanimating effect. Having returned thanks to God, they descended into the valley of Pragelas, crossed the Clusone, and halted opposite to the church of La Traverse, from which village they procured provisions, which they paid for, notwithstanding the refusal of the inhabitants, who had once

been their brothers in religion, to supply them. They had the pleasure of hearing that their loss in the late action was allowed to have been only fourteen, while their enemies were said to have left twelve captains, many other officers, and 600 privates dead on the field. But, on the other hand, they had the misfortune to hear that thirty-six of their own party who had been taken near the Jaillon, and eighty more who had been left at the bottom of the mountain of Sci, had been carried in chains to Grenoble.

Although it was Sunday, no mass was celebrated that day in the valley of Prajelas; for all the priests, more intent on their safety than their duty, had taken flight, as well as the rest of the papists. The son of the Castellain indeed formed a company, the command of which he took on himself; but his only exploit was the capture of four Vaudois, who had lost themselves in the woods.

About three in the afternoon dispositions were made for gaining the valley of St. Martin. Some dragoons now appeared from the quarter of Cestrieres, but when they saw that we were meeting them firmly they retreated. We passed the night in the village of Jaussaud, the highest on the Col du Pis. Provisions were procured at an extravagant price, and not in sufficient quantity. The inhabitants were reproached for this unkindness, so opposed to their former connection with us, but they excused themselves by saying, that if it were known that they had in the smallest degree favored us, their utter destruction would be the consequence. In truth, their priest, on coming to take away the communion cup, told them, that if they did not secure every Vaudois they could catch, they deserved to be burnt in their houses.

### **TENTH DAY**

On Monday the 26th, the Vaudois did not set out till late, on account of the rain. When they reached the foot of the Col du Pis, they saw some troops of his royal highness posted advantageously on the Champ Bouchars. They halted for prayers, which were offered up by Mons. Arnaud. They then formed three detachments, which marched in column, two of them keeping the sides, while the third held to the bottom of the mountain. When the Savoyards saw the firmness with which these detachments advanced, they sent forward an officer, who showed a desire

to parley, but finding that he would not be listened to, he took flight, as did the rest of the troops, abandoning their baggage to the Vaudois. A thick fog saved them from being pursued, but three shots which were fired at them took effect. Our men now descended to the Alp of Pis, where they halted below Seras, near one of the huts where the shepherds make cheese. Eight guards of his royal highness approached them, who were pursued, and six were taken. They were put to death, after having been examined and exhorted to pray to God<sup>11</sup>. They knew so little how to do so, that they asked what they ought to say.

Six hundred sheep, with their shepherds, were carried off from this place, but the greater part was restored in consideration of a small sum of money. As we did not resume our march till late, we were overtaken by the night in a deluge of rain, and obliged to descend one of the worst passes with torches, till we came to a grange which was almost unroofed, under the Col de Damian. Here we passed the night, not in sleep, but in drying ourselves before small fires.

## CHAPTER 3

### CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE EVENTS DOWN TO THE SEPARATION OF THE VAUDOIS.

#### ELEVENTH DAY

On Tuesday the 27th the Vaudois arrived at the Balsille, the first village in the valley of St. Martin.

Much surprise was occasioned here by the discovery that twenty soldiers had deserted. This desertion was the more extraordinary as it was made at the moment that they were setting foot in the country which had been the object of so severe trials.

It had been feared the village of the Balsille would be occupied by an armed force; in this we were fortunately mistaken, and seized the opportunity of obtaining repose and refreshment. For the last purpose some sheep were killed, and eaten, partly with bread and partly without, as none could be procured from the inhabitants. While we were thus employed, a party was discovered advancing over the Col du Pis, who, mistaking the Vaudois for some of their own party, made signs to us that they were troops of his royal highness. They were immediately taken and disarmed, and proved to be forty-six men of the militia of Cavors, under the command of a sergeant, and with orders to guard the Col. A council of war was held on them in a meadow; and having been exhorted to pray to God, they were put to death on the bridge of the Balsille, and thrown into the river. Two revolted peasants<sup>1</sup> shared the same fate. After this the Vaudois pushed on to Marelle, where they found bread and some other provisions, which the peasants had not had time to bury.

#### TWELFTH AND CONSOLING DAY

On Wednesday the 28th our travelers were rapidly approaching the last point of their career. They directed their march towards Prali; and when they arrived at the top of the Coline<sup>2</sup> they divided into two troops, one of which marched straight to Rodoret, over the mountain, while the other

held to the valley, and went through Fontaines. This plan was adopted in order more easily to discover any soldiers who might be in the neighborhood. A few Savoyards only were met, and were put to the sword. Having heard that the Marquis of Parelle, lieutenant-general and commander of the ducal forces on the Col de Lapiere, was at Perrier, those who had marched on Rodoret rejoined the rest at Prali. Here they burnt a chapel which had been built since their expatriation. They had the infinite pleasure of finding their church at Guigon, which is the parish church of Prali, still standing. They removed every thing which savoured of Romish worship, and sang the seventy-fourth psalm, "O God, wherefore art thou absent from us so long," etc. etc. Mons. Arnaud then mounted a bench in the doorway, that he might be audible to those within and without the church; and after the 129th psalm had been sung, "Many a time have they fought against me, from my youth up," etc. preached in exposition of some of the verses in these psalms.

It is, perhaps, worthy of remark, that the church in which God first granted to the Vaudois to perform service on their return, was formerly served by Mons. Leidet; who, being detected singing psalms under a rock, boldly proclaimed his pure faith in the gospel, and was therefore hung on a gibbet at St. Michel, near Luzerne, in 1686.

### THIRTEENTH DAY

On the 29th, after prayers were offered up publicly by Mons. Arnaud, the Vaudois departed with the intention of crossing the Col de Julien, and descending to the valley of Luzerne. Near the Ferrouillarie they found a horse by itself, which led them to suspect that the enemy was not far off. Shortly afterwards they met with a peasant, who was killed in attempting to escape. A sergeant with a peasant as his guide were also taken. The latter was put to death, but the sergeant was spared for the sake of the information which he promised. He, in fact, confessed that he had been sent into the valley of St. Martin, to discover the state of the Vaudois; that he was one of the avant-guard of the enemy; and that 200 of his royal highness's guards, strongly intrenched, were waiting for the Vaudois on the top of the Col de Julien. He informed them also that the regiment of guards had marched from Nice seventeen days ago, that is, three days before the departure of the Vaudois.

On this intimation they formed into three troops; one of which kept to the right; another to the left; and the main body held straight to their point. The one on the right had gained the higher edge of the wood, and was going to halt for repose, when it was discovered by one of the enemy's sentries. Every effort was instantly made to pre-occupy a favorable position above them. There was but just time to succeed, as the enemy exerted himself strenuously for the same purpose. As soon as the guards perceived that the Vaudois had anticipated them, they retreated in great haste under cover of a very thick fog, and called out, with all their might, "Come on, you barbets<sup>3</sup> of the devil, we are in possession of all the posts, and 3000 strong." The Vaudois advanced steadily; and as they approached, the sentries called out more and more vociferously, "Qui vive, qui vive? Speak, or we will fire." None of them, however, did so, so completely were they panic-struck. The Vaudois, on the other hand, eager for the conflict, nobly resolved to attack these cowards, even in the intrenchments where they fancied themselves so secure. But they, perceiving it was all in good earnest, fired some sharp volleys, and shamefully abandoned all their posts; leaving behind, their provisions, ammunition, and baggage, even to the superb clothes of their commander. All this took place with a loss, on the part of the Vaudois, of only one man, Joshua Mundon, of Luzerne. He was a valiant soldier, and died of his wounds the next morning at the Pausettes, where he was buried under a rock.

The fugitives made their retreat to the convent of Villars with so much fear and precipitation, that they did not even take the precaution of communicating with their troops in Serre le Cruel, under the Aiguille, or at Bobi.

Having thus carried the Col de Julien, the Vaudois pushed on to the Passarettes de Julien, where they overtook and slew thirty-one of the fugitives. They took also three horses, among which was that of the commander, with his pistols at the saddle-bow. They passed the night under the Aiguille, much incommoded by the rain. This inconvenience favored the escape of the serjeant who has been mentioned, which he effected by sliding and rolling down over the mountain.

## FOURTEENTH DAY

On Friday the 30th, the weather being fine, the Vaudois started at daybreak, and spent all the day in pursuit of their enemies, who fled instantly on their approach, and fell back upon Bobi, a little town on the Pelice, at the foot of the mountain Julien. Even here they were afraid of being attacked, and retired behind it. As soon as the Vaudois perceived this, they thought it time to refresh themselves; and for this end stopped at Sibaud, a little hamlet of five or six granges, at about a musket-shot distance above Bobi.

## FIFTEENTH DAY

On the last day of August the Vaudois divided into two troops, one of which took a direction along the top of the mountain of Mendron, and the other along its flank. The latter soon descried some of the enemy's sentries, whose rapid retreat appeared to indicate a general disposition to flight. The Vaudois, therefore, quickened their march in order to overtake them; but their opponents, after firing a single volley, ran away as fast as possible to Bobi. This place was also entered by our people as masters, and some fugitives were captured and put to death.

The inhabitants abandoned every thing, and fled over the bridge without firing a single shot; and it must be allowed, to the shame of the Vaudois, that, instead of following up the pursuit, the greater number amused themselves with pillaging the town.

The other division employed themselves more nobly, and pursued the enemy into the woods, where they made twelve prisoners, ten of whom were sentenced to be shot by a council of war. One of the twelve, named Jean Gras, who had his sister-in-law with him, and his father, were spared at the intercession of a Vaudois captain of his acquaintance, who said that, though he had never done them any good, neither had he done them any harm.

Let not the reader be surprised that the Vaudois should thus put to death those who fell into their hands. We had no prisons to confine them; our numbers were too small, and the warfare too desultory to admit the possibility of guarding them; and to have released them, would have been

to have published our plans, our weakness, and every thing on which depended the success of our enterprise. The relaxation of this unavoidable maxim, in the instance of Gras and his father, was eventually highly prejudicial to the Vaudois, from the injury they received through the means of these two ungrateful wretches, who, however, received in the end the just reward of their perfidy.

### SIXTEENTH DAY

On Sunday the first of September, the Vaudois remained at Bobi and Sibaud. Mons. Montoux, the only associate of Mons. Arnaud, standing on a door placed on two rocks, preached a very fine sermon on these words of our Savior, "The law and the prophets were until John: since that time the kingdom of God is preached, and every man presseth into it." After the sermon, they continued together to form some regulations. The first was an oath of fidelity, which Mons. Arnaud read aloud: the following is its formulary."

God, by his divine grace, having happily led us back into the heritage of our forefathers, there to re-establish the pure service of our holy religion, by the completion of the enterprise which the great God of armies has hitherto conducted in our favor: We, the pastors, captains, and other officers, swear before God, and at the peril of our souls, to observe union and order amongst us; never willingly to separate nor disunite, while God shall grant life to us; not even though we should be so miserable as to be reduced to three or four; never to parley, nor treat, with our enemies, as well of France as Piemont, without the participation of our whole council of war; and to put together the booty which we have, or shall have, to be applied to the wants of our people, or to extraordinary cases. And we, soldiers, swear this day before God, to obey the orders of all our officers; and we swear fidelity to them with all our hearts, even to the last drop of our blood; also to give up to their care the prisoners and booty, to be disposed of as they shall think fit. And in order to more perfect regulation, it is forbidden, under heavy penalties, to any officer or soldier to search any enemy dead, wounded, or prisoner, during, or after battle; but persons shall be appointed for this purpose. The officers are enjoined to take care that the soldiers keep their arms and ammunition in order; and, above all, to chastise severely any one who shall swear or blaspheme. And, to render

union, which is the soul of our affairs, inseparable among us, we, the officers, swear fidelity to the soldiers, and we, soldiers, to the officers; promising, moreover, to our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, to rescue, as far as may in us lie, our brethren from the power of the cruel Babylon, and with them to reestablish and maintain his kingdom unto death: and by this oath we will abide all our lives.”

The oath was then taken with uplifted hands. They then made a list of the booty, and consigned it to the care of four treasurers and two secretaries, who were also to act as commissaries. A major and an adjutant were appointed, and it was agreed that the soldiers might change their companies, on showing good reason for so doing. The day was finished by taking down the bell from the belfry at Bobi, and burying it under a large heap of stones; where it was, however, afterwards found by the enemy, when they undertook the fortification of that place.

### SEVENTEENTH DAY

On Monday, the 2d of September, after they had joined in prayer, the Vaudois put themselves in marching order to attack Villar. At Pianta they formed into two detachments, the largest of which kept the great road, while the other filed along the upper edge of the vineyards, in order to make an attack on the side of Rospard. A sad blunder was committed in the removal of the wounded and the baggage to La Combe, where an ambuscade of the enemy had nearly surprised them. The enemy's guard before Villar fled towards the combe<sup>4</sup> of Val Guichard, as soon as they perceived the approach of the Vaudois, and those in the town retired into the convent, from the belfry of which they kept a harassing fire.

To protect themselves from any surprise from this quarter, the Vaudois burnt some intermediate houses which concealed the movements of their antagonists, and continued their approaches under cover of casks which they rolled before them, and thus gained possession of some buildings attached to the convent itself, the fire from which they could now return through loop-holes made for the purpose. The Vaudois quickly lost three men, one of whom, the sieur Turin of Switzerland, was deeply regretted: for he was not only a brave soldier, but a very skillful tactician. He

belonged to the company of volunteers, formed on the 2d of August, and met with his death by too bold exposure of his person.

Having learnt from their prisoners that the besieged were without provisions, and considering the loss to which they would be exposed in carrying the convent by storm, the Vaudois determined to blockade and starve it out. The necessary operations for cutting off all communication were immediately made; and shortly afterwards, a convoy of fourteen mules appeared under the escort of a company of soldiers. Fifty resolute men were ordered to attack it: they did so, and secured it. Ten soldiers and a drummer were made prisoners. The mules, and the bread and wine which composed their burden, were distributed among the companies; after which, in order to be more secure, they posted a strong guard at Rospard, and sentries at Pertusel, to discover the approach of any succours to the enemy.

The besieged, who were soon sensible that their convoy had recruited the spirits of the Vaudois, while theirs were weakened by its loss, made a gallant sortie, sword in hand. They were, however, so well received, that they retreated into the convent, and that so precipitately, as to drag with them the body of the Baron du Chouate, their commander, by the heels.

### **EIGHTEENTH DAY**

Early on the 3d of September, the sentry posted at Pertusel made the signal that reinforcements were advancing to the enemy. At the same moment the Vaudois discovered that the besieged had escaped from the convent, crossed the river, and fled to the woods. A detachment was sent in pursuit of them, who effected a great slaughter, with a loss on their own side of only one wounded. This pursuit favored the entry of the reinforcements, under the command of the Marquis of Parelle. For, although such of the Vaudois as had remained in Villar took possession with all possible haste of the bridge of Rosparo, and kept up a heavy fire, still they could not maintain themselves there; for the enemy had detached some companies to the farther end of the valley, with a view of surrounding them. The marquis, however, suffered a severe loss, including an officer of quality.

Perceiving the great number of their enemies, composed of dragoons, guards, and other well disciplined soldiers; and being themselves divided, without the power of reuniting, as the enemy was between them, the main body of the Vaudois resolved to husband the strength of their little flock, to give up Villar, and fall back upon Bobi. The other party, about sixty strong, after having straggled in all directions, at length miraculously met on mount Vendelin, whence they went to the highest Alps of Angrogna. As to Mons. Arnaud, after having three times given himself up, and six soldiers who were with him, for lost, and as often united with them in prayer, he succeeded in joining the party on mount Vendelin. Mons. Montoux was not so fortunate; for he was taken by the peasantry at Cruzzel, and sent to the prisons of Turin, where he languished till the peace with the Duke of Savoy.

## CHAPTER 4

### CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE MAIN BODY.

#### NINETEENTH DAY

#### PICTURE: The Serre le Cruel

The main body of the Vaudois, who had encamped near the granges of Dupuy, above Bobi, sent, on the 4th, a detachment to the mountains of Augrognna to reinforce Mons. Arnaud, that he might be enabled to face the enemy quartered in that neighborhood. They took up a position themselves, with the sick and wounded, in the granges of Le Serre le Cruel.

#### TWENTIETH DAY

On the 5th of September the main body proceeded to the Infernet, a very high and insulated Alp, and were joined, during the day, by Mons. Arnaud. The out-posts having discovered a sergeant and a peasant, the latter was killed while attempting to escape, and the former made prisoner. The sergeant informed them that there were 150 soldiers at Perrier, and that they would find, at a quarter of a league's distance below them, eleven mules, ten of which were laden with tents, and the remaining one with a calf, a sheep, and other food, the whole under the charge of only two men. Mons. Arnaud went himself, with six men, to the foot of the mountain to look for them, and having found them, burnt the tents, and destroyed the mules, excepting the one which carried the provisions. These were speedily devoured, for, in truth, our soldiers were in great want. On their way back they found a load of grenades, from which they supplied themselves with powder, and scattered the rest among the rocks. Parties were then sent to reconnoiter the mountain on all sides, lest on account of the fog they should fall into any ambuscade. After this they continued to ascend, and at the end of two hours' march discovered a barrel of wine which had been left by a detachment of the enemy who were surprised. This happened very opportunely; for a party which had been looking for

provisions in the neighborhood of Augrognna could only find a little chestnut paste<sup>1</sup>, not sufficient to satisfy their own hunger.

### TWENTY-FIRST DAY

Early on the morning of the 6th, Mons. de la Tour made two prisoners, who were put to death. Two peasants also who ran away in their shirts might have been shot; but the captain who was in command had given orders that no one should be killed, but taken alive to be examined and dealt with accordingly. For the Vaudois were extremely apprehensive of doing injury to some of their brethren, who might yet be wandering about these quarters. In fact, shortly afterwards, they met a woman who in the preceding war had effectually assisted those who defended their religion and their country. Since that time she had become wife to a Savoyard, and unhappily allowed herself to be persuaded to change her religion, or at least to appear to do so. However, she still considered the Vaudois as her brethren, and gave them twenty-four loaves, of four or five pounds each, and promised to render any service in her power. She begged quarter for her husband, who was one of those who had been suffered to escape, and departed with a promise that he should not be molested.

This little party now perceived that the enemy was endeavouring to surround them: they therefore retreated in haste with their bread. On the summit of the Vachere three soldiers of Savoy were surprised, one of whom was shot in the act of flight, and the other two were made prisoners. From them our Vaudois learnt that there were four sentries a little higher up. An ineffectual attempt was made to impose themselves on these men for a detachment from the Marquess of Parelle. The foragers now rejoined the camp with the two prisoners and the bread. The latter was immediately distributed, together with some wine and rice which had been obtained by some other parties. The prisoners were then examined, and one, a sergeant, was shot. The other, a good surgeon, was spared under a promise on his part that he would render professional service.

The provisions thus obtained being insufficient, another detachment was sent towards Damian, to look for more: they could not however procure any, but returned with hollow stomachs and empty hands. On arriving at the camp they were agreeably surprised by seeing a detachment of 200

men from Bobi, who had come to join Mons. de la Tour, enter it with them.

Mons. Arnaud had commenced a public thanksgiving for this timely reinforcement, when their devotions were stopped short by the appearance of the enemy endeavoring to render themselves masters of a position commanding the Vachere. A detachment moved off to oppose them, and so well did it perform its duty, that not only was the position gained at the very beard of the enemy, but a slaughter of more than 100 men was made without any loss on the part of the Vaudois. The remainder of the enemy was compelled to seek safety among the rocks.

A party which had been absent for some days, during the last two of which they had eaten nothing, now returned. The little bread remaining was given to them in pieces scarcely larger than walnuts. After this the Vaudois, impelled by their zeal, went in search of the enemy on Mont Servin, where they maintained an action which lasted seven hours. They lost only four men, Jacques Robert, Michael Gardion, Jean Rostaing, and the Sieur Bailli, who remained behind on account of his wounds. The loss of the enemy was considerable, but its amount was not known: it included however six officers, among whom was Mons. Dutry. A heavy fog at length put an end to the battle. Moreover, the Vaudois, who were ill provided with ammunition, would not fire unless they had a distinct view of their object. Neither had they any thing to eat, nor even water to drink, unless they fetched it under the fire of the enemy: considering, therefore, that they might ultimately be compelled to give way, the Vaudois thought it best to retreat under advantage of the fog. This they did with so much skill, that the enemy, 600 strong, did not discover them; though they remained in a little hamlet not a league off, situated on one of the rocks known by the name of Turin. Here they were obliged for their only repast to eat raw cabbage, as fire might have betrayed them. The enemy encamped within a quarter of a league, but did not venture on a nearer approach.

## TWENTY-SECOND DAY

On the morning of the 7th the Vaudois, reinforced, as has been mentioned, moved upon Perrier. The passes were so intersected with precipices that a

single false step would have been fatal; and in spite of every precaution, the mule which had been taken on the 20th, fell and was destroyed. They passed through many hamlets where nothing but a few apples could be found. When they reached Fayet, which is on a little eminence at a musket shot's distance from Perrier, they discovered that the 150 men who had been reported to be there, were still in possession of it. As soon as the inhabitants saw the Vaudois approach, they deserted the soldiers and fled. The soldiers, after receiving two volleys, retreated into the convent. Some of the Vaudois wished to storm this place, but the contrary opinion prevailed; for not only were they in too weak a state from want of nourishment, but at any time it would have been the height of temerity to have encountered the probable loss of carrying a place so well intrenched, fortified with bastions, advantageously situated, and protected by a height called the Croix de l'Escape. Moreover, the enemy had cut away the bridge over which was the approach. When the Vaudois found that there was nothing for them to do, they mounted as far as Crouzet, where they made some soup of cabbage, peas, and leeks, without meat, salt, or any other seasoning. They ate it, however, with a good appetite, and then detached eight men to Prali to reconnoiter and to look for provisions.

### **TWENTY-THIRD AND TWENTY-FOURTH DAYS**

One of the eight messengers having returned, reported that Prali was open: the Vaudois marched thither on Sunday the 8th. The first thing they did on their arrival was to make bread, to satisfy the cravings of hunger; and considering the opportunity favorable for repose, they resolved on remaining there two days. In the meantime they sent out foraging parties and persons to reap what corn might be left on the fields. Michael Bertin's company was then detached to join the Vaudois who were at Bobi, and who were the same that were separated from the main body after the action with the Marquis de Parelle at Villar.

Mons. Arnaud accompanied this detachment with the view of administering the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to his brethren in the valley of Luzerne, as he had already done to those in the valley of St. Martin. The surgeon also, who had been made prisoner, was taken to attend the sick and wounded at Bobi, who were in severe want of his assistance. Several wounded Vaudois had also been left in the valley of

Prajeles, after the battle of Salabertrann; three messengers were therefore sent to inquire after them. They were joined by five men of that country and a soldier of Low Dauphiny, who volunteered into the service of the Vaudois, and, thus reinforced, they made a capture of 180 sheep. These were known to be the property of two apostates, Jean Passegouet, consul of the commune, and one Perrou, a physician, who, since his apostasy, had become a violent persecutor. These persons sent money to ransom their flock, but their proposal was rejected. It was indeed just that the perfidy of these two traitors should be punished by such a loss; for they had both acted as guides to a French force of 200 cavalry and 400 infantry on the preceding day, and failed only by two hours in surprising the Vaudois. Though so skilfully guided, and strong enough to seek their enemies, the ducal troops did not dare to advance, but contented themselves with displaying their valor in sacking the village of Jaillaud, under the pretext that the Vaudois had been allowed to sleep there on their march to the valley of St. Martin. It was in vain that the inhabitants protested that they were not, in that instance, masters of their own village, and had only submitted to force: nothing could check the pillage. The wretch of a consul was delighted with this havock; and having discovered three Vaudois who had been wounded at Salabertrann, and were concealed in bushes, gave them up to the French. This accident provoked a more rigid search, which ended in the discovery of eleven more Vaudois. These poor victims were carried to Briancon, and thence, as soon as their wounds would permit, to Grenoble. The perfidious consul did not escape the vengeance of God; for on the same day on which he thus became a seller of human flesh, he tumbled from the top of a ladder, and though he did not absolutely break his neck, he received so severe an injury as to lead him to recognize in it a reward for his treachery.

### **TWENTY-FIFTH DAY**

On the 10th of September a detachment of soldiers was sent to the Balsille to bring away some arms which had been taken from the enemy and concealed there. As they returned by Macel they found a great smoke spreading itself over the whole valley, and gaining a height in order to ascertain the cause, they discovered that the enemy was burning all the villages about Perrier. This measure was considered as a symptom of his

retreat, and eighty men were ordered to observe his movements, but most of them stopped on the road, or returned to the camp, not being able to brave the severity of the weather. Fifteen, however, of the most hardy, succeeded in approaching Perrier, when they perceived that the enemy had broken up their camp and left only a guard, which, on seeing our resolute Vaudois, fled without an attack.

Thus fifteen Vaudois entered Perrier triumphantly, and when they saw the strength of the intrenchments, were astonished beyond measure at the cowardice which had induced the desertion of such a place. They found that the enemy had left proof of their presence by burning every thing in the neighborhood.

After this example, and to the eternal shame of those who had suffered fifteen men to make themselves masters of such a post, our Vaudois set fire to the church, the convent, and the houses, and returned, late in the evening, to Prali and Rodoret.

### **TWENTY-SIXTH DAY**

On Wednesday the 11th another detachment, 120 strong, was ordered to advance as far as the bridge of Pomaret, generally called the bridge of Macel, where there was an advanced guard of the enemy. Twelve of this party halted at the bridge of Raut, and discovered that a body of peasantry had taken possession of a height named the Fort; they attacked and dislodged them, killing one and taking another prisoner, who was a renegade; they then descended towards the bridge of Macel, where seeing the advanced guard of the enemy, they made a signal to their comrades to push forward. Some twenty did so, but the rest remained in the vineyards. They then attacked the guard, who fled, and left the post in possession of our Vaudois. Four of the enemy, including the renegade, were killed, and two men, two women, and three children, were taken. Pursuit was proposed, but the two prisoners, who were French, gave information that the troops of the King of France were continually mounting towards the valley of Prajelas with the intention of investing the Vaudois. As in this case their whole force would be required, it was thought right to rejoin the main body at Prali with all haste. The prisoners were spared, because they had in the first instance offered to surrender, and were moreover stray

brethren who had never been persecutors. One of them voluntarily joined the Vaudois, and the other promised to be of any service he could on his return to his own troops. Four messengers, however, were sent to Prajelas to ascertain the truth of the report respecting the advance of the enemy; the rest fell back on Prali and Rodoret.

### **TWENTY-SEVENTH DAY**

On the 12th these four messengers returned and confirmed the information. The king's forces had defiled from Casal and Pignerol, ascended the valley of Prajelas, and crossed over to the bridge of Salabertrann, where they had encamped to the number of 8000; but, on a report that Casal was invested by the Spaniards, had withdrawn again in that direction. This was good news for the Vaudois; but scarcely had they heard it when its effect was counteracted by accounts from their brethren in the valley of Luzerne, in which direction the enemy had entered with a strong force both of cavalry and infantry, driven the Vaudois beyond Bobi, and taken possession of that town. In consequence of this, a council of war was called, which resolved that a detachment should be sent towards Angrogna, to divert the attention of the enemy from the quarter of Bobi. Eighty men set out on this service, and slept that night on the mountain of Lazara.

### **TWENTY-EIGHTH DAY**

On the 18th, this detachment set off four hours before daylight, and marching by the light of the moon, found itself at sunrise within sight of Pignerol, and not far from the convent of Angrogna. Here they halted, and sent two soldiers to reconnoiter, but they could discover none of the enemy. In the mean time, a captain perceived seven or eight peasants entering a grange which belonged to him, and sent thirty men in pursuit of them, in case there should be any ambuscade. Two peasants, who were concealed among the rocks higher up, warned the rest of their danger; but though none of them were made prisoners, three were shot. The soldiers pursued them under the walls of the convent, and then retired, after having received several volleys. Shortly afterwards, the detachment made a capture of six men, two girls, a mule, and two asses, and were informed that 300 of the enemy had arrived at the convent the day before, and that a strong body of cavalry lay at St. Germain. It was, therefore, not deemed

prudent to proceed farther in that direction; so they took up their quarters for the night in the granges of the Pra del Tor.

### **TWENTY-NINTH DAY**

On the morning of the 14th, the above mentioned detachment, having released the two girls and shot the other prisoners, moved in the direction of Bobi, in order to join the Vaudois of the valley of Luzerne, who were encamped higher up. They met, on their march, four Vaudois soldiers, who brought orders to them to burn all the villages in the neighborhood of Angrogna. At the moment that they wheeled about for this purpose, they discovered 500 of the enemy close to the summit of the mountain. The greatest efforts were made to get first possession of so advantageous a position, but without success, as the enemy was much nearer to it. Our detachment then filed to the left, and posted themselves on another height, close to the enemy, but not without being exposed to a heavy fire. The action lasted for a good hour, and would have been continued, and with greater spirit, if the fog, the rain, and the approach of night had not compelled the enemy to retreat, with some loss. Our soldiers retired to the huts on the Infernet Alp, which they were obliged to unroof, in order to get wood for fires: here they were met by three out-scouts, who reported that the enemy had altogether retraced his steps.

### **THIRTIETH DAY**

On the 15th, the same detachment, finding that it could not penetrate into the valley of Luzerne, returned to the valley of St. Martin, and joined the main body at Villeseche, who, during their absence, had been employed in gathering the vintage. Some of the inhabitants of Prajelas, who had vineyards near Villeseche, obtained permission to work their produce, in consideration of a hundred crowns, which they offered for it. Two detachments were now sent out. One of 116 men was ordered into the neighborhood of St. Germain, to give chase to an advanced guard, placed at Girbaud for the protection of those who were gathering the grapes and chestnuts. It arrived there early in the morning; and after it had made its observations, attacked the enemy while he was employed in firing at the target. In fact, the Vaudois opened their fire at the moment when one of the guards was exclaiming, "Ha! what a capital shot that would have been

if a barbet had been there." Peasantry and soldiery immediately fled, and with so much rapidity, as to cross the bridge of Pinache, which they immediately cut away, before they could be over-taken. The Vaudois, however, would not have crossed the river, if the bridge had remained, as they did not choose to violate the territory of the King of France, who did not then appear to have any design against them. The enemy's guard being thus dispersed, this detachment rejoined the main body at Villeseche.

The other, which had descended in the direction for Perouse, made a great many prisoners; but all those who professed themselves French subjects were immediately released. The principal capture was that of two infamous renegades, who had served as guides to the Marquis de Pardie to the destruction of their former brethren.

They were carried under the doors of the guard-house of Perouse, where a gibbet was erected, and one was obliged to hang the other, and was then shot for his pains. It happened to be the day of the fair; so there was a very large concourse of people at Perouse, who imagined, to their inexpressible pleasure, that these were two barbets hung by order of the Marquis de Parelle. But as soon as they were undeceived, their joy was turned into sadness and fear, and the traders, with all the people who were collected, fled into the country in confusion.

### **THIRTY-FIRST DAY**

On the 16th, the Marquis de Parelle broke up from Prajelas, made a forced march, during the whole night, over the Col de la Bussu, and fired Villeseche, which the Vaudois had abandoned the night before for Busset. The Vaudois thought it their duty to attack him, and no less a duty to make this attack under circumstances favorable to his defeat.

While they were waiting for such an opportunity, the Marquis fell back on the valley of Perouse, and encamped near Pomaret. He ordered strong detachments to fortify themselves at Riauclaret and the summit of the Zarra, and every exertion to be made to prevent the Vaudois from beating out the corn which they had reaped, and which they laid up in stores at Rodoret. For the protection of those who were thus employed, the Vaudois detached a flying camp, which did its duty so effectually that every attempt of the enemy was disconcerted. Frequent skirmishes, to the

advantage of the Vaudois, took place in the neighborhood of Pomaret, and many rich convoys fell into their hands.

Thus, a little more than a month after their departure from Switzerland, the Vaudois were in possession of their principal valley, and a plentiful harvest of corn, wine, apples, and nuts, which they had collected in spite of their enemies. Their satisfaction at this success was, however, checked by two circumstances: one was the desertion of the Captain Turel, with a sergeant, corporal, and two privates, effected under the plea of going into the valley of Prajelas to establish some necessary communications; the other was anxiety on account of their brethren in the valley of Luzerne, who had never been able to join the main body, nor had the latter been able to assist them. The fate of the Captain Turel was miserable. Deserting the Vaudois from fear of death, which would, at least, have been glorious, he encountered it in its most terrible and ignominious form: for, after being racked on the wheel, he was hung between twelve other prisoners at Grenoble. Many more were sent to the galleys, or compelled to enter the service of the King of France. The adventures of the Vaudois in the valley of Luzerne will be related in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER 5

### PICTURE: Pra Del Tor

The reader will remember that, after a severe action at Villar on the 3d, eighty Vaudois found themselves separated from the rest, and were joined in the evening on Mont Vendelin by Mons. Arnaud, who quitted them again on the 5th for the main body, whom we have left in possession of the valley of St. Martin.

The feats performed by this little troop, since that time, are so astonishing, that I cannot help remarking, that God often selects the smallest instruments for the greatest effects.

On the night after the separation, these eighty Vaudois continued to traverse the mountains till they reached some huts above the Pra-del-Tor, where they slept, with nothing to eat but some small plums and hazel nuts, which they had gathered on their road.

For three following days they lived patiently on some apples, till, on the 7th, weary of this state of half-existence, and desperate from hunger, they resolved on running every risk to procure provisions. Fifty men made a successful attempt on Quayras, and carried off 700 or 800 sheep and some yearling cattle. The peasants did not fail to come and demand them; but some young cows only were restored, in consideration of some money, drugs, and salt. Thus refreshed, bodily, this little band sought to be so, spiritually, and more essentially; and to this end, partook of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, administered by Mons. Arnaud, who, as was mentioned in a former page, had left the main body for this purpose. At the same time, Samuel Gras, and some others from Quayras, who had deserted their faith during the last persecution, were received into the peace of the church. The occupation of the convent of Villar by his royal highness's troops being highly prejudicial to the Vaudois, they made several attempts to burn it, which failed, on account of the thickness of the walls: at last, on the 20th of September, they succeeded in destroying it by mines. After this, they beat up the country about Cabriol, to observe the enemy who was quartered in La Tour, and were obliged to permit him to

advance and take possession of Bobi; and after gaining several petty advantages over the peasantry, were at last confined to the mountains by a strong body of cavalry, which they, nevertheless, contrived to harass with considerable effect.

On the 24th of September, our little band, having slept at Villar, encountered a party of the enemy, which, after a short resistance, made a feint of retreat, in order to lead them into an ambuscade. Finding that this did not succeed, the enemy united and drove the Vaudois to the mountains, without killing or wounding one of them. An evident proof that the hand of God protected them. Though the enemy had only to contend with so small a force, yet their fear was such, that they intrenched themselves strongly in Bobi, and rarely ventured out of their intrenchments; and even within them, there was no small panic whenever it was reported that the Vaudois were approaching. Thus, the latter were again at liberty to beat up the country, either in search of provisions, or in attacks on places not sufficiently guarded. In a descent upon Rora, they killed thirty of the enemy, destroyed the church, burnt all the houses and mills, while the garrison of St. Michel's remained inactive spectators of their operations. They then crossed the mountains, descended into the valley of the Pelice opposite to Essart, and proceeded without opposition to Pont Vieil, where they captured twenty-eight cows, and twenty or thirty sheep and goats.

Upon this, the enemy procured a reinforcement of cavalry at Bobi, and took up a position on the Collet de Garin, in the persuasion that the Vaudois must pass in that direction. But, thanks be to God, who always watched over them, they chose another road, by which they reached the Combe de la Ferriere in safety.

On the 6th, an ambuscade of the enemy was discovered at Cercena; and in order to entice the Vaudois into it, another party ascended le Serre le Cruel. The vigor of the attack on the part of the Vaudois was equalled by the rapidity of the flight of their opponents, who lost only one killed, and three or four wounded.

The Vaudois, finding that they could no longer scour the country, nor descend into the plain, on account of the cavalry stationed at Bobi, resolved on depriving it of the means of subsistence. For this purpose,

they made a descent on the nights of the 11th and 12th, and burnt all the neighbouring granges which contained forage. On one of these days, a detachment of the enemy was discovered forming an ambuscade among the vineyards, while Mons. Arnaud was preaching.

A party was sent to dislodge them, which they did, without any loss, though they killed and wounded several of their opponents, and drove them back into Bobi.

The enemy being desirous of sending supplies to the fort of Mirabouc, and fearful lest they should be intercepted by the Vaudois, determined to make a general attack. At day-break, on the 13th, they were seen by our sentries on the summits above Cercena. Our little troop immediately fired the granges in le Serre le Cruel, and fell back on the Paussettes, at the foot of the Aiguille. Here they maintained an action all day, which cost them one killed and four wounded, two of whom died a few days afterwards. The loss of the enemy was seven or eight killed, and as many wounded. Some hostages, and the wounded, who had been stationed for greater security at the Aiguille, were removed to Prali, over the pass of the Col de Julien—a work of difficulty, on account of the depth of the snow.

While the Vaudois were thus employed at the Paussettes, the enemy's convoy arrived safely at Mirabouc. The detachment which escorted it burnt the mills at Laurent and every thing found there, unroofed all the houses, and destroyed every article of food in the gardens, in hopes that the Vaudois, houseless and without food, would perish from cold and hunger. This result, apparently inevitable, must have followed in fact, had not God interposed for their preservation. In this miserable state, a part of this unfortunate troop retired to the Clos de Ferrand, under a single roof which had escaped the fury of the enemy; the remainder took up their abode among the rocks. They, however, exerted themselves to build some huts at the Aiguille, in which they might preserve the provisions which had been brought from Prali; every thing being destroyed in the commune of Bobi. A short respite was now allowed them, which was employed in fortifying, to the best of their power, the Paussettes. In the mean time, the enemy was no less attentive to his security. Bobi was strongly intrenched; an advanced guard of sixty men was set every evening at Cibaud; and the guardhouse was encompassed by a deep ditch. A detachment was also

sent to burn the houses at the Tour de Clerret, but was immediately pursued, and put to flight.

Encouraged by this advantage, the Vaudois, who, since the action at the Pausettes, were reduced to the number of sixty, resolved on attacking the guard at Cibaud. For the better chance of success, it was agreed that, at the moment the sentry was fired at, each individual should rush headlong on the intrenchments. The spot on which the sentry was posted was accurately remarked, and they succeeded in approaching close enough to shoot him. Every man now did his duty: the intrenchments were cleared in an instant, and a few only of the guard escaped the unexpected attack, by throwing themselves over the rock of Cibaud. And even this precipitous flight was in some cases arrested by trees, on which the fugitives were suspended. Thirty-four were killed, and their arms taken by the Vaudois, who, on their side, had only one man slightly wounded. So great was the consternation at Bobi, that the presence of a body of cavalry could not reassure the troops. Looking on this affair as a preliminary only to the attack of that place, they razed the intrenchments and houses to the ground, not leaving one stone on another, and then retreated in disgrace. The following is an exact copy of the account given at Turin of this affair. "The Vaudois of Luzerne cannot maintain their ground before our troops, but are scattered about in small parties. They frequently harass our advanced guards: if they find them on the alert, they retreat; but last Saturday they surprised a guard at Cibaud, and the officer, with three or four privates only, escaped, and these wounded."

On the following Saturday, the ducal forces were observed ascending le Serre le Cruel, in conformity with their practice of attacking the Vaudois on a Sunday. A party of the latter, however, who were coming from the Val Guichard, appearing in their rear, the duke's troops retreated in the utmost haste. Towards the end of the ensuing week, the enemy having collected all his regular force, strengthened it by the union of the peasantry, and of every one, even bandits, who could march.

It was evident to the Vaudois, that a desperate attack impended. They, therefore, despatched messengers to their brethren in the valley of St. Martin, to inform them of their danger, and their inability to maintain possession of the Col de Julien. At the same time, they sent out scouts to

observe the operations of the enemy. These scouts returned on Saturday morning, and reported that the duke's forces had defiled from Bobi, some hours before daylight, in three detachments; the largest in the direction of the Combe de Ferriere, the second in that of Cercena, while the third encamped at the Clos de Ferraud, after posting a guard at Balangier. Two men were instantly sent to watch the larger detachment, which was moving in the direction of Mirabouc. But they soon made the signal that an attack was obviously intended. The Vaudois, aware of their inability to sustain it, abandoned their intrenchments at the Paussettes, and retreated among the rocks of the Aiguille, whence they sent another messenger to their brethren of St. Martin, saying that, unless succor instantly arrived, the Col de Julien must be lost. This apprehension was too well justified: for though, had they done their duty, they could never have been forced from their position on the Aiguille, yet they deserted it in a fear, unusual to them, of the apparently overwhelming numbers of their antagonists, who entered it on the following morning without opposition. The huts and the chestnuts contained in them were burnt, and the other provisions thrown over rocks; and, unfortunately, the shepherd who had charge of the flock belonging to the Vaudois of Rodoret, ignorant of these events, led it on the same day to the pastures near the Aiguille<sup>1</sup>, so that they, also, became a prey to the enemy.

Among other things which were captured was a very accurate journal of every occurrence among the Vaudois from the time of their embarkation on the lake of Geneva to the 17th of October. It was carried to Turin, where, having passed through many hands, it eventually fell into those of a literary man of Geneva, who recognised the hand-writing as that of the *Sieur Renaudin*, who had been a student in that city, and felt, together with many Swiss friends, the most lively interest in this account of their departed proteges. For even in Switzerland nothing was known about the event of our enterprise, nor did we, on the other hand, know of any thing beyond the limits of the valleys. After the loss of the Aiguille the condition of this little troop was truly deplorable; they were without provisions or skillful leaders, and surrounded by an overpowering force. Their escape, apparently impracticable, was at first favored by a thick fog, and then continued during the night along the edges of the Alp of Sabiasque. The darkness and precipices in which they were involved were

such as to compel them to grope for their road, which wound in every direction, so that a party of twelve took the line of Angrogna, while the others held to the mountains above Prali. To complete their misfortune, a division of opinion arose among the larger body as to the direction in which they should proceed; some proposing the Val Guichard, and others Balmadaut. The latter was found impracticable, as it was defended by two bodies of advanced guards, which, weakened as were the Vaudois by separation, they were incompetent to attack: as to the Val Guichard, it was out of their reach, on account of the time lost in discussion. In this dilemma they were obliged to hide themselves during the day among some rocks called the Viailles, where they suffered severely from the cold, not daring to show themselves to the sun lest they should be discovered; for their enemies surrounded them on every side, and were searching narrowly every mountain, and even encamped and intrenched themselves close to their hiding-place.

Darkness was hailed by these poor Vaudois with more joy than men usually feel when awakened to the brightness of the morning, for to them it was the only means of preserving their lives, which, at whatever price, must have been yielded in the attack which would inevitably have been made on them the following morning, had they remained in the same spot. As soon, therefore, as night had sufficiently advanced, they resumed their flight, which, in spite of all their precaution, was nearly betrayed by the sound of the stones which rolled over the precipices from the edges of which they had been dislodged by the fugitives. The enemy fired three shots at hazard, but the Vaudois continued to advance in silence, till, under Divine Providence, they arrived at Bastier, which fortunately was unoccupied. Under Divine Providence, I say, for was it not miraculous, that, while the summits of all the mountains were in the possession of the enemy, who was making every search for them, the Vaudois should pass by Cercena to the plain, cross the Pelice, and gain the Val Guichard, without once being seen? Here they remained till the attention of the enemy was diverted towards Angrogna, where the gallant Captain Laurent Buffe was committing great ravages with a detachment from the main body in the valley of St. Martin.

This diversion allowed our little band once more to show its face; nor did they delay to take advantage of it; they went first to the Combe de la

Ferriere to gather chestnuts, which were a great resource in their total want of provisions. For the enemy, with a view of destroying them by famine, had posted guards in all the combs; but as the soldiers were sometimes relieved on this duty by the peasantry, the Vaudois found no difficulty, on such occasions, in forcing their way to procure food. A party which had been sent in the direction of Bobi having reported that the enemy were leaving that place, an ambuscade was immediately laid at Marbee. The troops, who thought that the Vaudois were in the neighborhood of Angrogna, were thrown into the greatest confusion when this ambuscade opened its fire. Among many others who fell was a captain who wore the cross of Malta.

After this achievement, our gallant band revisited the Aiguille to see what the enemy had been doing there; and while they were employed in collecting the chestnuts and bread which yet remained scattered among the rocks, they were delightfully surprised by the arrival of a party of their brethren from the valley of St. Martin, who had been compelled to a precipitate flight from Rodoret by the unexpected appearance of a large French force, which had marched over the Col d'Abries.

This had happened on the same day on which the Vaudois, who are the subject of this chapter, abandoned the Aiguille. The duke's troops were aware of this, and falsely imagining that those driven from Rodoret were all that were left in the valley of St. Martin, conceived that the moment for the total extermination of the Vaudois had already arrived.

This idea, indeed, was not confined to the enemy; for some French refugees, of the party from Rodoret, knowing that the King of France had sent ten thousand men, and the Duke of Savoy twelve thousand more, into the valleys, gave up all for lost, and withdrew in tears at the prospect for the Vaudois.

A memorandum had been found on the person of the captain who was killed at Marbec, in which was a correct list of all the spots, however secret, where the Vaudois had concealed provisions: and as it was presumed that the object of the detachment he commanded was to find and destroy them, the Vaudois made all haste to remove them.

A party having returned with this view to the Val Guichard, the enemy were so much at a loss to imagine whence they could have come, that they retreated in astonishment and confusion.

The Vaudois had again the mortification to find themselves deserted by nine more refugees, who had joined them previous to the taking the oath of union near Bobi.

Though regardless of so solemn a pledge, they endeavored to alleviate the loss occasioned by its rupture, by sending to the Vaudois upwards of eighty goats, which they seized at Pra. Some of these were captured by the enemy; and a party of our men who attempted their rescue were kept in check by an advanced guard, which at last compelled them to retreat. They heard, at the same time, that seven of the deserters had been made prisoners.

The enemy seeing that the Vaudois always found means to escape, at last had recourse to stratagem. A sergeant was sent with instructions to tell them, that Mons. de Haye, one of the Piemontese commanders, was desirous of a conference. This plot originated with Jean Gras, a revolter, who has already been mentioned as having had his life spared by the Vaudois when made prisoner near Bobi. He had the temerity to accompany the sergeant, but, though he kept at a respectful distance, he could not save himself from capture. His father, who had participated in his guilt, came to see him, but he was spared on account of his age, and sent back with a note expressive of the willingness of the Vaudois to meet Mons. de Haye at Beirela, on the Tuesday following, if he would come attended by only one soldier. On the following morning, the same sergeant returned, and pressed them to keep their word. Though this unnecessary display of anxiety on the part of their enemies corroborated the suspicion of treachery, they answered that they should come: but in order to prevent any surprise they sent soldiers to all the bridges to observe the smallest motions of the enemy, and soon discovered that an ambuscade was set. However, at the appointed hour, some of their chiefs betook themselves to the place of rendezvous, the ambuscade being held in check by a detachment ordered for that purpose. Mons. de Haye never made his appearance, but sent a note demanding the restoration of Jean Gras, which was refused. There was in this note an expression which led the Vaudois

to suspect, that measures of the last extremity were in hand against them; they therefore retired to Marbee and Armaglier, and soon discovered that the enemy was in motion; they then fell back, in one body, on Barione, a very strong position, where they determined to make a desperate stand in case of attack.

The ducal forces were now in possession of all the combs, searching accurately every spot; yet, though they found almost all their deposits of provisions, they could not discover the Vaudois. No effort was spared for this purpose; the summits of the mountains were lined by peasantry to watch for them, and to attack them from above, while the troops should do so from below. At last, the Vaudois, compelled to descend for food, were seen by the peasantry at Essart: information was instantly given to the troops, and they were invested on every side. Resigned to the fate which appeared inevitable, and supported by the religious motives which had induced them to encounter it, they calmly shut themselves up in an old house, made loop holes, and maintained themselves in it during the whole day. The enemy, who had anticipated an easy conquest, disappointed and enraged, determined so completely to surround them, that not one should ultimately escape. No sooner did the Vaudois perceive their design than they made a sortie, which put an instant stop to such operations. In the evening, the foe was reinforced from Bobi; but the Vaudois were assisted by night, who buried in her darkness the image of death, which had been before their eyes during the entire day. But still the morning could be expected only as the herald of their destruction; and their escape in the night appeared impossible, for every avenue was guarded, They attempted, however, to glide separately through the enemy, and they did so; and, on the following morning, were scattered in the Val Guichard, at Balmadaut, Cumien, and other places, where they concealed themselves to the best of their power. During the whole of this action the Vaudois lost only one man, who was wounded, and fell into the hands of the enemy the day afterwards. His name was Francois Martinat; and to him was chiefly attributed the success of the attack on the guard at Cibaud, which has already been related. He fought, though wounded, to the last; for when he could no longer use his musket, he defended himself with his bayonet, till a sabre-cut on the head put an end to his existence.

After their miraculous escape from Essart, they once more united in the comb of Malpertus, where they met one another in search of chestnuts, and were again exposed to an attack, in which they lost two men. Confined to the highest mountains by the restless pursuit of their enemies, unable to procure food, and in danger of being overwhelmed by the snows, they now came to a determination that each should seek his own safety, and, if possible, escape the destruction which appeared inevitable from the frost; when it pleased God to inspire their brethren of St. Martin with the idea of sending parties to look for them: and, in fact, they soon found themselves reunited with the main body, from which they had been so long separated.

We have still to account for the twelve poor wanderers, who strayed on the night after the desertion of the Aiguille. They at first concealed themselves in a large cave above Essart, which they dared not quit, lest their traces on the snow should lead to their discovery. At the end of some days, however, extreme hunger overcame all feeling of fear. One Sunday, then, when it snowed very hard, they ventured out in search of a little corn or flour, and on the following morning were tracked on the snow by some peasants, who, to the number of 125, immediately commenced their pursuit; they were not overtaken till they had secured a very advantageous position on the summit of the mountain, and here they gave such a reception to the peasants as induced them to offer a truce. The latter confessed a loss of twelve killed on the spot and thirteen wounded, while our little band did not lose a man. Well may this rencounter be termed marvellous. Twelve men, half dead with fatigue, hunger, and cold, make head against one hundred and twenty-five, effect the above-mentioned slaughter, and are permitted to retire undisturbed!

Having passed over precipices the bare idea of which might alarm the boldest hearts, they retreated into the cavern of Biava. At the end of two days they found the cold so intense as to render longer existence there impossible; they therefore resolved to retire to the banks of the torrent of Lauze, concealing themselves there for the winter, and, in case of discovery, to shed the last drop of their blood on the point of some rock. With this melancholy resolution they set out on their march, which was suddenly interrupted by the appearance of an armed force. Ever apprehensive of an enemy, they shrunk behind the corner of a projecting

rock, and having discharged a volley, had at once the delight and the pain of recognising the supposed foe as a party of their brethren, and themselves as the instruments of death to one of them. This party had been despatched in search of them from the valley of St. Martin, and having thus found them, wept for joy at the meeting, and for sorrow at the loss of their unfortunate brother, who had fallen a sacrifice to it. They then crossed the Col du Julien and entered the Balsille, which they found under a process of intrenchment by the main body, whose history will be resumed in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONTAINING ALL ACCOUNT OF THE OCCURRENCES UP TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE SECOND CAMPAIGN.

#### PICTURE: Prali

It has been mentioned, at the end of the third chapter, that the Marquis of Parelle having withdrawn his forces to the valley of Perouse, left the main body of the Vaudois in undisturbed possession of the valley of St. Martin. This interval, though short, was of infinite service to the Vaudois, as it enabled them partially to collect the harvest, and to lay up magazines of provisions for the approaching winter.

A month having thus passed away, a French force suddenly appeared above Rodoret: expresses were instantly sent to Prali requesting immediate assistance. The Vaudois, who were there, departed the same evening, and arrived at Rodoret several hours before daybreak. Shortly after their arrival they discovered some troops on the top of the mountain, and were deceived into an idea that they were friends; nor did they discover their mistake till, having advanced within musket-shot, they received the fire of the enemy. Their surprise was so great that they instantly fled in confusion: some, after crossing tremendous mountains in the direction of the valley of Luzerne, accidentally joined the party who had lost the position at the Aiguille, as was mentioned in page 124th; others lost all courage and deserted; while the remainder, averse to both of these steps, retired for the night to the alp of Salsa, and on the following morning were united with the main body.

On the 16th of October the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered by Mons. Arnaud, in a meadow near Besse. On the same day, the Marquis of Parelle having again crossed the mountain of Buffa in the night, descended on Villeseche. The Vaudois retreated at his approach, and were obliged to submit to the painful sight of the destruction of every thing by fire, from Villeseche to Perrier. Yet such was the fear with which they had inspired their enemies, that the Marquis de Parelle was compelled to have recourse to execution in order to check the complaint

among his troops, that they were led on to a slaughter-house. Nor were the Vaudois in fact inactive; for a detachment of 100 men, directed to harass the enemy, actually carried off a convoy in the face of two of his battalions.

Still the situation of these brave men was daily becoming more precarious: a detachment of the enemy had been observed advancing from their quarters at Salabertrann; 2000 French troops had entered the valley of St. Martin from the Prajelas, and occupied Salsa; and the Marquis de Parelle succeeded, by a feint, in gaining possession of the Col du Clapier. Amidst these difficulties they were also harassed by the infidelity of a spy, which, though it did not induce any fatal event, added greatly and uselessly to their toils.

They had also to regret the diminution of their numbers by desertion. Among the most melancholy instances of this sort was the following: the Captain Fonfrede with his lieutenant and twenty soldiers, though discovered, and prevented in their first attempt, eventually succeeded. These wretched men were shortly afterwards taken by the enemy, and though no longer in arms with the Vaudois, were immediately hung, with the exception of Antoine Belion, who ended his days a prisoner in the citadel of Pignerol.

About the same time, letters were distributed among the Vaudois from a Swiss captain in the enemy's service, quartered at Perouse. He offered to admit any of them into his own company, and promised them the kindest reception, setting before them the desertion of Captain Turel as an example. It would seem that he was ignorant of the fate of this Turel, or that he presumed the Vaudois were so; and was answered, that the case of this unfortunate man was indeed a fine mirror<sup>1</sup>.

In the mean time the French were constantly approaching; and the detachments ordered to harass them in their march found that they could no longer resist so great a superiority of numbers. Retreating with difficulty among the rocks, they joined the main body one evening at Rodoret, while the French, who had taken possession of Salsa, were at a distance only of three leagues over one small mountain. As it was clear that Rodoret was no longer tenable, a council of war was called in the night.

The danger of the Vaudois, at this moment, may be conceived from the necessity of having a guard on the Collet, the mountain between Salsa and Rodoret, to prevent a surprise during this nocturnal deliberation.

Much diversity of opinion arose among the deliberators. Some recommended a retreat into the neighborhood of Bobi, and others on the side of Angrogna. Neither party was inclined to adopt the opinion of the other; and in adhering each to his own course, both were on the point of rushing to destruction.

Mons. Arnaud now came forward, and said that, in such distress, they ought to have recourse to God. Prayers were immediately and unanimously offered up. Mons. Arnaud then urged on them the absolute necessity of union, and pointed out that neither of the plans proposed was advisable, as the Aiguille, a position necessary in each case, was in the hands of the enemy. He then proposed the Balsi as the post, the occupation of which offered the most advantages. This proposal was instantly agreed to, and as quickly acted upon.

It was, however, deemed expedient to heighten the intrenchments on the side by which the enemy would approach Rodoret, in order to deceive him into the idea that the Vaudois were still there, and determined on a desperate resistance. This was done in order to gain time on the following morning.

A great part of the night having been thus occupied, the Vaudois commenced their march about two hours before daylight; and so intense was the darkness that, in order to be seen, the guides wore the whitest linen over their shoulders. As Salsa was, of course, to be avoided, their road lay necessarily among frightful precipices; so that they were constantly obliged to creep on their hands and feet. The confusion consequent on such difficulties offered an opportunity for the remaining hostages to escape, as well it might, when every man had enough to do in taking care of his own neck. Those who have not seen such places can form no notion of the danger, and those, who have, may be inclined to discredit this statement. It is, nevertheless, perfectly true; and, moreover, many who performed this dangerous exploit, have since visited the scene by day, and were struck with horror at the recollection that they passed in darkness over spots which they never would have traversed in light<sup>2</sup>.

At last, they arrived at the Balsi, and took up the position which was called the castle, in the unalterable resolution to await their enemies with firmness, and no longer encounter the fatigue of running from mountain to mountain.

In order to maintain this post the more successfully, they immediately commenced a regular process of intrenchment. Covert ways and walls were constructed, and cabins, to the number of eighty, were dug in the ground and surrounded with drains. The walls were such as the soil would permit them to make, and backed by a ditch which might assist the defending party in case of a breach. They were seventeen in number, one above the other; so that when driven from one, they might retreat behind the next; and thus the enemy be compelled to a succession of attacks of the same dangerous nature, even to the summit of the mountain. A guard was mounted every evening, to protect the bridge, the mill, and the entrance of the path to the Balsi. The mill, indeed, was at first of no service, for there was no grinding-stone to it. But two of the Vaudois, natives of the village of Balsi, mentioned that they had thrown it, more than three years before, into the river, saying at the time, "that the day may arrive when it will be useful<sup>3</sup>." It was soon recovered from the bed of the Germanesque, and restored to its ancient place, where it performed its proper office during the whole time that the Vaudois maintained themselves in the Balsi. They had another mill at Macelle, half a league from their quarters; but the road to it was exposed: it was not, therefore, so much used as the other; yet as one was not altogether sufficient, some persons would run all risks in frequenting it.

When the enemy arrived at Rodoret, the morning after the nocturnal flight of the Vaudois, he was in no small astonishment at their absence. The French, under the command of Mons. de l'Ombraïl, could not conceive where, nor how, those people had retreated with their ammunition, who had left, as a mark of their late presence, so much bread, wine, chestnuts, and other provisions. They presumed, however, that they should find our little band at Prali, and immediately marched thither. Again disappointed, they remained there some days, and then proceeded to occupy the principal posts in the valley of St. Martin, while the duke's forces, according to a concerted plan, took possession of the Col du Julien; and thus cut off all communication with the valley of Luzerne.

The Vaudois, for the better security of the Balsi, kept an advanced guard at a place called Passet. The enemy discovered and attacked this guard; and ably taking advantage of a thick fog, succeeded in dislodging it. It was, indeed, an evident interposition of Providence, that not one of the Vaudois should have been lost on this occasion. For the French, aware that their manoeuvre could not be observed, left a handful of men to make much noise in front of the post, and succeeded in gaining the rear, and attacking the guard by surprise.

Having thus opened an approach to the Balsi, the enemy, on Friday, the 29th of October, advanced in a body to attack the Vaudois in their intrenchments. For this purpose, he appointed several detachments, who remained, from Friday to Sunday evening, in woods almost uninhabitable. During all this time they were exposed to an incessant snow, and so overwhelmed with cold, that, as was afterwards discovered, many of them were frozen in their feet. Had this distressed state of their enemy been known in time to the Vaudois, important advantages might have resulted.

During this blockade, terms were repeatedly offered to the besieged, and as often rejected. An attempt on the part of the French, to cross the bridge, and burn the village of the Balsi, was in the first instance abortive; but, being repeated, it obtained partial success, though at the expense of not less than sixty lives, without any loss on the side of the Vaudois.

Finding that all efforts for the reduction of the Balsi were ineffectual, suffering from the weather, and in dread of the desultory attacks of the Vaudois, the French, at the end of a week, fell back on Macelle and Salsa. They still retained possession of the Col du Classier, a principal key of communication with the valley of Prajelas. As it was of importance to the Vaudois to be able to pass into that valley, to procure provisions, a strong detachment was ordered to attack the French guard. They did so with the most decided success; many of the French were slain; and the Vaudois lost one of their captains, who died of a wound in the shoulder from want of proper remedies.

Some days afterwards, three natives of the valleys, renegades to their faith, came to visit the Vaudois, accompanied by the sister of Jean Frache, who commanded the company of La Tour.

One of them having observed that the mill at Macelle was unprotected, no sooner returned to Bobi, than he transported himself to Perouse, to inform Mons. de l' Ombraille, that some of the Vaudois might easily be caught while grinding corn there. A detachment of 500 men was immediately ordered for the mighty purpose of breaking up a mill and the apprehension of a few stragglers. Some Vaudois were discovered making bread in a neighboring village, all of whom escaped with the exception of three French refugees. Two of these, who were sick, were shot, while running away in no clothing but their shirts. Their heads were cut off, and the third, who had been made prisoner, was compelled to carry them to Perouse.

The Juge du Pays, though a Romanist, interceded in this man's behalf; but Mons. de l' Ombraille, in his zeal for extermination, threatened, in reply, to hang his intercessor with him. The pious courage and resignation with which this poor refugee met his death, is worthy of particular mention. His last prayer was offered up in so affecting a tone of simplicity and fervour, that none of those who assisted at his execution could refrain from tears. When he had ascended the ladder, he assured the judges and chief executioner, that he was well pleased to die, seeing that his death was a sacrifice to a just cause, and a pure religion. He reproved their hopes of ultimately destroying the Vaudois, stating, that their situation was not so bad as was supposed; for they had plenty of bread, corn, salt, and powder; and he prophesied that, in the stead of one man taken away from them, many would be raised up by the arm of God—a prophecy partly verified after the proclamation of peace from their sovereign, which happened some months afterwards. It was, indeed, in the service of charity that this man met his death; for he had gone out of the Balsi on the morning of the day on which he was taken, only to administer to his two sick brethren, and assist them, if possible, to return.

This is not an unfit opportunity to express the gratitude of the Vaudois to another French refugee, Mons. Huc. He served them from the beginning in the capacity of lieutenant; and so distinguished were his zeal and fidelity that, after the Vaudois were reconciled to the duke, he was appointed captain of a company by his Britannic majesty, and was invested with the same rank by the United States of Holland. This slight digression in praise

of this man is the more due to him, because he contributed largely by his notes to the correct recital of facts in this little history.

Suffering under the inclemency of the season, and disappointed by the obstinacy of the Vaudois, the French now resolved on deserting the higher parts of the valley of St. Martin. They destroyed the villages, burnt the granges and barns, and carried off every thing which was transportable; and having bid the Vaudois expect them again at Easter, they fell back on Maneille and Perier, without having dared to attempt the intrenchments of the Balsi. Nor did they neglect to secure themselves from being insulted in their winter quarters, by completely intrenching all their guard-houses and advanced posts.

This retreat, sufficiently disgraceful to the enemy, left the Vaudois at liberty to breathe a little more freely. They were, indeed, now reduced to the number of 400, and were threatened with fresh hostilities; but this did not alarm them; they were in the habit of implicitly confiding on God, who had so visibly delivered them from the hands of their enemies, and from the famine by which their destruction had been so confidently foretold.

Nor let it be supposed that the decided interposition of Providence in their behalf is rashly inferred: not only did the Vaudois, on their first return into the valleys of their inheritance, find an abundance of produce reaped to their hands, or ready to be reaped, but, owing to an early fall of snow, they were prevented from immediately reaping a part which ultimately proved their only means of subsistence. Had the entire crops been collected, they must have shared the fate of the magazines and barns burnt by the French previously to their retreat into winter quarters. But a part was preserved alike from the Vaudois and their foes, to supply the former in the spring, when their winter stock would be consumed. During the months of February and March large quantities of corn were extricated from the snow, in very tolerable condition, after being eighteen months in the ground. And is it not miraculous, that a few hundred persons, imprisoned, as it were, by two powerful armies, in a spot whence they dared not apparently show their faces, and where cold might be presumed to be a sufficient enemy, should nevertheless repulse their attackers, lay the neighboring villages under contribution, and finally effect their escape? The Vaudois now enjoyed a period of comparative quiet. Mons. Arnaud

preached two sermons every Sunday, one on Thursday, and read prayers publicly every morning and evening. After the morning prayer, the detachments selected for the purpose beat up their own valley to collect the corn, that of Prajelas in quest of bread, and the Val du Quayras to obtain salt and meat.

Among other places frequently visited in these excursions was the little town of Bourset. The syndic, annoyed by the frequency of these visits, represented to the detachment that the inhabitants would prefer paying a certain contribution, and requested that three or four of the principal Vaudois would come there, on a fixed day, with an escort, to agree on the necessary conditions. He invited the captain to partake of his hospitality, and gave him a note expressing that he had an advantageous communication to make to the main body. Accordingly, on the appointed day, the Vaudois sent the captain Michael Bertin with some soldiers. No sooner, however, had he reached Bourset, than he found himself in an ambuscade of 200 Frenchmen, invited for that purpose by the syndic. Their fire took immediate effect on the captain, whose head they afterwards cut off. Two soldiers were also wounded, and scarcely one escaped without shot-holes in his clothes.

This black act of treachery cost the enemy dear, and did not much benefit the arch-traitor. The French in their pursuit discovered a handful of Vaudois on the Col du Clapier; and in attempting to surprise them were themselves surprised by another detachment, and routed with a loss of sixty men killed and wounded. The Vaudois then burnt all the houses in the neighborhood of Bourset, and the entire village of Tronchee. The syndic had also the pleasure of having a French garrison quartered on his town, at an expense to which he was compelled to be the principal contributor.

At the same time that the French had retired from the higher parts of the valley of St. Martin, the duke's forces withdrew from the Col du Julien, and evacuated Bobi, which place was immediately taken possession of by some Vaudois. A party of these, in opposition to the advice of their comrades, made an excursion in the direction of the enemy, and even approached his advanced posts. Here they discovered three soldiers, on their road to the fort of Mirabouc, one of whom they shot. They found on his person letters to the governor of that place, containing essential

information. It is worthy of remark, that these messengers had departed from Briquieras as the Vaudois had from Bobi, in direct opposition to the advice of their respective comrades, and also that, of three, the one should be shot who was the bearer of the letters.

Nothing of interest occurred during the months of February and March, if we except a constant intercourse by letter between the Vaudois at the Balsi and their relations and friends who were under the government of the enemy. The tendency of all these letters<sup>4</sup> was to induce the Vaudois, individually or generally, to resign their obstinate defense, which could only end, according to the writers, in the destruction of the whole body, and to throw themselves on the mercy of the duke. The Vaudois, however, convinced by experience of the danger of an uncompromising surrender to their prince, paid no attention to these arguments. The soldiers, indeed, expressed their displeasure at the excessive complacency of the officers in permitting the messengers to enter the Balsi, and thus perform the office of spies.

On the 17th of April terms of surrender<sup>5</sup> were proposed to the Vaudois, directly from the Marquis de Parelle. A council of war was called to deliberate on them, who returned the following answer.

“My lord,

“It is not the first time that the people of the valleys have to recognize your interest in their affairs. You still continue, my lord, to bestow on us marks of your generosity, by sending messengers to us with propositions affecting our public weal. Having assembled in council, we take the liberty of writing to your excellency, entreating that you will prolong your good offices, by submitting the following representations, on our part, to his royal highness the Duke of Savoy.

“**1st.** That his subjects in the valleys have been in possession of their estates from time immemorial, having received them by inheritance from their ancestors.

“**2dly.** That they have at all times faithfully paid the imposts and subsidies which it has been his pleasure to require.

“**3dly**. That they have, in all commotions of the state, rigidly obeyed his royal highness’s orders.

“**4thly**. That, at the time when the last persecution was instituted against his faithful subjects, from another source than his royal highness, there was not one criminal process throughout the valleys. Each Vaudois was dwelling peaceably in his own home, rendering to God the worship which is his due, and unto Caesar the things which are Caesar’s. That, notwithstanding this fidelity, this people found themselves, after much suffering in prisons, scattered wanderers through the world.

“Your excellence will not deem it strange, that we should have had at heart a desire to return to our own land. Alas! the birds, who have no reason, return in their season to their nests and their dwelling-place; nor does any one hinder them: but this liberty is now refused to men, created in the image of God.

“It is not the intention of the Vaudois to shed blood, unless in the defense of their own. They would do wrong to no man, in dwelling on their own property; but they would become, as formerly, good and faithful subjects of his royal highness, whom God has set over them as king.

“With submission, therefore, we entreat your excellency to support and advocate this just remonstrance, and to believe that, as we have long known your excellency, so we hold your person in the highest estimation. We shall redouble our prayers for your preservation, and also for that of his royal highness. And, above all, we shall pray to the Eternal, that his anger, which appears incensed against all Europe, be abated<sup>6</sup>.

“If your excellency may deign to honor us with an answer, the two bearers will bring it in safety.

“We hope that, in all these things, good faith will be observed towards us, which it is our pride to keep, on our parts, as it is also to be

“Your excellency’s  
 “Most obedient and humble servants,

(Signed for all the Vaudois) “Henri Arnaud.”

**“P. P. Odin.”**

Another letter, to the same purport<sup>7</sup>, and dwelling forcibly on their right to return to the land of their inheritance, was addressed to the Chevalier Vercelles, who commanded the fort of La Tour.

The spring was now advancing, and all attempts at conciliation were at an end. The Vaudois were assured of a speedy and desperate attack; but, in the mean time, lost no opportunity of harassing their implacable foes.

A detachment was sent into the neighborhood of Pramol, where they attacked and pursued an advanced guard, burnt several houses, and pushed forward as far as St. Germain. Here they were opposed by a larger force, and lost two men killed and three wounded. The enemy, however, confessed that this incursion of the Vaudois had been fatal to not less than 120 of his troops and peasantry. A large number of cattle were also taken; and though many were left on the road, the remainder were of great use at the Balsi, especially in restoring strength to the sick.

About this time a messenger from Switzerland arrived at the Balsi, who gave great hopes of a reinforcement. He also brought information of the melancholy result of the expedition, attempted under the command of Bourgeois, the details of which shall be related at another time. This messenger was betrayed on his return, arrested at Susa, and sent to the dungeons at Turin.

Some French soldiers now advanced from Maneille to Macelle, and planted ten piquets there, and were strenuous in their endeavors to provoke desertion among the Vaudois.

On the 22d of April, a detachment of 100 Vaudois made a sortie with a view to surprise the convoy which passed every other day from Perier to Maneille. They shot ten or twelve soldiers at the bridge of La Tour, and retired without any loss, after having burnt the enemy’s barracks at Penet. These and some other trifling advantages did not prevent their affairs from assuming, every day, a more critical appearance.

This history is indeed a drama, in which, the nearer we approach to the catastrophe, the more we shall feel alarmed for the fate of the principal characters.

## CHAPTER 7

### CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE SECOND ATTACK ON THE BALSÌ.

#### PICTURE: The Balsi

On Sunday morning, the last day of April, the Vaudois perceived some movements of the French, indicating a determination to execute their threats of the preceding autumn. Troops were observed to defile along the bottom of the valley, and over the passes of the Cols du Clapier and du Pis. The latter division remained two days upon the mountain on the snows, and without fire, lest their approach should be discovered. This delay was in order that all the divisions might reach their appointed posts at the same time, so that no chance of escape to the Vaudois should be left. Fourteen hundred peasants had been employed to clear the roads over the mountains and carry provisions.

Before we proceed farther in this account, it will be proper to give a more minute description of the Balsi, or (as it was called) the Castle. It is a lofty and very steep rock, rising by three different terraces, on the top of each of which is a small flat space, in which a sort of barracks had been excavated in the ground. It possesses also three springs. It has been mentioned that intrenchments had been constructed, and these were pierced with loop-holes. Each post was also provided with a large store of stones to hurl on the heads of the assailants. The access to it is everywhere difficult; the side on which it is the least so is from a torrent which runs at its feet. As this was the only side on which an attack could be made, Mons. Arnaud had caused it to be fortified by good palisades and parapets of dry wall. Moreover, trees had been cut down, and so disposed, that the branches should be opposed to the assailants. A layer of trees was loaded with large stones, on which were again placed trees, secured in the same manner, and so on.

The enemy, however, imagined that nothing could resist him in an attack on so small a force, and immediately made his dispositions.

A body of dismounted dragoons encamped, on the Monday morning, in a wood to the left of the Balsi. On the same day they crossed the torrent, and took up a position along its side, so that its bank might cover them from the fire of the Vaudois. In this, however, they were deceived, for they suffered severely. Some hundred of his royal highness's troops did no more than occupy their appointed position, being willing perhaps to cede to the French the glory of the impending attack, a glory which the latter would very willingly have resigned. The main body of the enemy approached from the valley and attempted to possess themselves of the ruins of the village, but were repulsed with a heavy loss. An engineer now examined the spot more attentively with a telescope, and recommended an attack on the right.

Ten thousand French troops, and 12,000 of those of his royal highness, were to be witnesses, though not altogether idly so, of this attempt. Five hundred picked men, chosen by order of Mons. de Catinat, immediately proceeded to make it. Covered by the fire of their main body, they gallantly gained the first barricade of trees; this their utmost efforts were unable to remove. The length of the trees was now the distance between them and the Vaudois, who opened a tremendous fire, which quickly stretched on the ground the major part of those who had been thus led on to be butchered. The younger soldiers among the besieged were employed in loading muskets for the older and more perfect marksmen. When the confusion of the assailants was complete, the Vaudois sallied from their intrenchments, and cut to pieces the remainder of the detachment, with the exception of ten or twelve, who lived to report to Mons. Cartinat the result of the attack so disastrous to the French, and honorable to the Vaudois. Mons. de Parat, who commanded the assault, was found between two rocks, wounded in the thigh and arm, and was conveyed a prisoner into the very barrack which, only a few hours before, he had pointed out to his men with this expression, "My lads, we must sleep there to-night!" Two sergeants were also captured. These were afterwards unfortunately shot while attempting to make their escape, it being important to the Vaudois that their condition, so accurately known to these men, who had then been prisoners some days, should not be reported to the enemy.

The most astonishing fact of this bloody day is, that the Vaudois did not lose a man.

The French, in their astonishment, fell back, the same evening, on Macelle; and the Piemontese, who had been inactive spectators of the defeat of the French, and the gallantry of the Vaudois, encamped on the Champ de Salsa. On the following morning, Mons. de Parat was informed that it would be necessary for him to send for a surgeon to dress his wounds, as the one who had been so fortunately captured near Angrogna the preceding year had died only a few days before the assault. He accordingly wrote a note requesting the attendance of the surgeon of his staff. The note was attached to a stick which was fixed in the ground near Maneille.

The surgeon shortly arrived, but on some doubt being expressed as to his skill by Mons. de Parat, desired to return: but he was placed under guard, and obliged to extend his attendance to the sick and wounded among the Vaudois. The following order from Mons. de Catinat relative to this unsuccessful assault was found on the person of Mons. de Parat.

*“Order for the Regiment D’Artois.*

“The colonel will select 500 of the best men of his regiment, including sergeants and drums, with ten captains, ten lieutenants, and ten sub-lieutenants.

“He will order four days’ biscuit to be served out to these men as they pass through Perouse, and will give them notice to provide themselves with other provisions for the same number of days. Three hundred pounds of powder and ball, and one hundred of match, will also be given to them.

“He will march on the 28th, and encamp on the same day at Chios, otherwise called the Clos de Malonot.

“On the 29th he will halt near Maneille, a little above it, in the direction for the Col du Clapier.

“Fifty tents, and as many kettles, are to be taken with them.

“At Maneille a detachment is to be formed of fifty men and two sergeants, commanded by a captain, one lieutenant, and two sub-lieutenants, who shall occupy that post on the morning of the 30th, whence the regiment of Cambresis, according to orders which it has received, will march forward.

“The fifty tents and kettles will be left with the detachment of fifty men at Maneille.

“Care will be taken that these soldiers are provided with hatchets, that they may cut wood for firing.

“They will be provided with small nails to fix in the heels of their shoes<sup>1</sup>.”

When Mons. de Parat was asked how many men the attacking detachment was composed of, he replied, 450 soldiers and 700 peasants: but, a few days afterwards, some Vaudois were told in the Prajelas, that there were 7000<sup>2</sup> soldiers, and as many peasants, and that the killed and wounded amounted to 400.

On Thursday the enemy, distressed with fatigue and confusion, and half dead from the sufferings incidental to mountain warfare, retired within the French territory to recruit; expressing, at the same time, their determination to return, being unable to swallow the disgrace, and willing to perish rather than fail in their object. On the same day Mons. Arnaud preached, according to custom, and so affected were they all by the late event, that when he dwelt on it in his discourse, the whole congregation shed tears.

The reader will perhaps be interested in the following account of this affair, which was sent from the enemy’s camp.

“Mons. de Catinat, lieutenant-general in the French army, on his return into Piemont received orders for the extermination of the Vaudois, with an implied expectation that he would succeed better than Mons. de l’Ombraille, with whose conduct his court was far from satisfied.

“The recent snows were an obstacle to this purpose, which, however, at the beginning of May, the lieutenant-general could no longer defer, on account of his other duties.

“Having resolved on making the attempt, he determined to surround the Vaudois, so that he might annihilate them at one effort.

“With this view he reconnoitered the position occupied by these people, who are also called Barbets.

“He found it was situated in the valley of St. Martin, bearing the name of the Balsi, near the foot of a line of mountain projecting between the Guignevert, the highest of these alps, on one side, and the Col du Pis on the other.

“The access to this spot appeared almost impracticable, as it rises in the shape of a cone, and is broken towards the top into distinct rocky points, which serve the purposes of so many forts, the natural strength of which had been increased by intrenchments.

“Mons. de Catinat however undertook to make himself master both of the Balsi and the Fortin<sup>3</sup>, for the capture of the one without the other would have been useless, as a secure retreat would still have remained for the Vaudois. “In order that the force should be amply sufficient, Mons. de Catinat ordered on the attack the regiments of Bourbon, Vexin, Cambresis, Artois, Lasarre, and Duplessis, with the dragoons of Languedoc, and 400 Savoyards, furnished by the duke, under the command of Mons. de Rouanette.

“They were disposed in the following order.

“The regiments of Cambresis, Vexin, and Duplessis, with the Savoyards, were to attack the Fortin, which communicates with the Balsi by the series of rocky points already mentioned. Mons. de Catinat put himself at the head of the regiments of Bourbon, Artois, and Lasarre, and the dragoons of Languedoc, to carry the Balsi. “In order to ensure success against the Fortin it was thought necessary to obtain possession of the heights on either side, viz. the Guignevert on the left, and the Col du Pis on the right. The regiment of Cambresis with the Savoyards took to the left, and that of Duplessis to the right. It was with the greatest difficulty that the ascent of the Guignevert was effected. The intention was to reach the summit on the morning of the second day, and then to make a simultaneous attack. But the fear of the insurmountable difficulties generally produced by night on the side of so precipitous a mountain induced those employed on this service to

make every effort to gain the summit on the first day. Three long leagues of the ascent lay over ground of such a nature that the soldiers could not look back without being giddy; the snow also was so deep that the assistance of the pioneers was at all times necessary. They at length fortunately gained the summit before dark: fortunately, it is said, for immediately on their arrival there came on so heavy a snow storm, and so thick a fog, that had they been still on their march they would infallibly have perished among the precipices.

“The idea of this escape was their only consolation in spending a night on the top of a frightful mountain, without water, wood, or tents, amidst wind, snow, and hail, which never ceased. Thus, on the following morning, the regiment of Cambresis and the Savoyards were seen in possession of the Guignevert, while those of Vexin and Duplessis occupied the Col du Pis.

“The two latter were three leagues in advance of Cambresis, and two at least in advance of the Savoyards, who had received orders to take possession of the Pelvou, another horrible mountain, as the only passage by which the Vaudois could escape when they should be driven from their hold. This latter event, however, it was soon perceived, was much farther off than had been expected.

“Vexin and Duplessis formed, at ten o’clock, in two columns, for the attack. For the space of an hour they advanced in good order and abreast, but, at the end of that time, the left column was obliged to remount and join the right, finding progress impracticable in its own line.

“Having surmounted incredible difficulties, they at last arrived at the edge of a rock so abrupt that they dared not descend it. At the bottom of this, and at the distance of a musket-shot, was the Fortin, the intervening space between which and the rock was intersected by three strong intrenchments. The pioneers were ordered into the front, and occupied three hours in rendering the approach practicable. This being done, the period had arrived when we thought ourselves secure of the Vaudois.

“At this instant a fog so dense, and a storm so horrible, arose, that a large part of the regiments, including myself and several officers, who had often witnessed the same accidents at equally critical moments, were convinced that Heaven took a visible interest in the preservation of this little people. This circumstance now declared in their favor, as the attack was immediately abandoned; both French and Savoyards expecting to be swallowed up in the ravines and lavanges<sup>4</sup>. In fact a retreat was effected by them almost by miracle, across frightful precipices, leaping from rock to rock during three hours, and sometimes up to the arms in snow for half an hour together.

“In the attack below on the Balsi, the French met with worse success; for hardships and fright were the only penalties in the one case, but in the other these served only as appendages to ruin and slaughter.

“On hearing the firing from above, which was to serve as a signal for the attack on his side, Mons. de Catinat ordered the grenadiers of Lasarre, Bourbon, and Artois, in front.

“Notwithstanding the extreme strength of the Balsi, there is an approach of about 200 paces, though so steep and uneven that it is difficult to stand on. The difficulty of ascending under a tremendous fire may be conceived. The French, however, effected this with their customary gallantry, without being alarmed at the heavy fall of dead and wounded comrades over whom they had to march. But when they were so close to the palisades as to lay hold of them, a shower of stones was hurled on them, which, in addition to the injury they inflicted, blocked up the little room which was left for passing.

“The assailants were compelled to abandon their enterprise, which they did with their usual precipitation, when once overtaken by fear. The Vaudois now made a terrible carnage, killing 200 of our soldiers, besides about twenty officers. The Marquis de Brae, colonel of Lasarre, was wounded, but not dangerously, and Mons. de Parat, lieutenant-colonel of Artois, was wounded and made prisoner. He had advanced too far in front, by way of atonement

for taking up his position too late. Two sergeants, worthy of immortal praise, failing in an attempt to carry him off, remained with him, preferring every danger to the desertion of their officer. The Vaudois, contrary to their custom, have treated the lieutenant-colonel well: they have allowed a surgeon to go to his assistance, and his servant to wait on him. This throws doubt on a subsequent report that they destroyed the sergeants, whose fidelity, doubtless, deserved a better fate.

“Such is the result of this famous attack, so long projected, and which was to have ended in the destruction of all the barbets, who would have been hung before the expiration of six hours. An opposite effect has been produced; for so inflated are these people by their success, that they have presumed to make a sortie on our rear-guard, in which they effected some slaughter during our retreat from the mountain. It is said that about twenty of them fell by an ambuscade; but this does not seem likely.

“Mons. de Catinat has retired to Pignerol, to take command of 20,000 men, destined to invade the Milanese.”

The reader will select for himself from the above narrative what he may conceive to be true, after comparing it with our own simple statement of facts. We entreat him to consider the reasons we gave for putting to death the two sergeants, which would, indeed, have been an inhuman measure, unless urged by the principle of self-preservation.

Moreover, it is not here proposed to justify every act of the Vaudois. However venerable and ancient may be their name, it does not exempt them from the common frailty of men.

Some talismans, or preservatives, as they are called, were found on the persons of the slain, copies of which are submitted for the inspection of the curious. The originals have been preserved.

### **AGVA BATOME**

Piscina Christus quae nobis sit Cibus Bovrus. P. 1690.

*Ecce cruce Domini  
 Nostri Jesu Christi fugite  
 Partes adversse vici leo  
 Detribu Juda radix David  
 Allel. Allel. ex S. Anton.  
 De Pad. homo natus est  
 In ea Jesus Maria  
 Franciscus sunt mihi salus<sup>5</sup>.*

When the French retreated, they sent ten louis d'or to Mons. de Parat, who immediately desired a barrack to be constructed for himself and surgeon. This cost him four crowns: the remainder he offered to Mons. Arnaud, who refused it. He also demanded his liberty in consideration of a ransom. He received for answer, that the Vaudois did not want money, but would willingly exchange him against prisoners at Turin; to which he replied, that Mons. de Reubenac Feuquieres, who was ambassador there, was his intimate friend. For some days the French neglected to send him necessaries, either with a view to deceive the Vaudois into an idea that he was of no importance, or because they had something else to think about.

## CHAPTER 8

### CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE LAST ATTACK ON THE BALSÌ.

The enemy was soon observed to be employing all his means for taking exemplary vengeance for the affront received in the late attack. Mons. de Catinat having, to his shame, essayed the valor of the Vaudois, did not think fit to expose, a second time, his person, and hopes of a marechal's staff, in a farther conflict, but resigned it to the direction of Mons. de Feuquieres.

A week only had elapsed from their first repulse, when the French returned to the charge, and again besieged the Balsi.

On Easter eve, the 10th of May, the advanced guard of the Vaudois at Cucullion sent information that the enemy was approaching. All the outposts were immediately called in, and preparations for communicating on the morrow were suspended. That same evening one body of the enemy encamped at Passet; another descended by the Col du Pis; and a third by the Col du Clapier. Five different encampments were formed, the more effectually to surround the Vaudois. As soon as night had set in, they advanced on the river and the ruined village, and constructed a redoubt; whence, as well as from two other positions, they kept up a heavy fire, by which two Vaudois were wounded.

In addition to the operations of a large body of pioneers, every soldier who was not on guard, nor of the trenching parties, was obliged to bring a faggot with him at the end of the day. These were used to support the parapets and raise breast-works upon them. In this manner the Balsi was speedily surrounded. The moment a foot of ground was gained it was immediately covered, and a Vaudois could not even show his hat without a hundred shots being fired at it. The enemy was also provided with sacks of wool, which made a rampart impenetrable to a musketball<sup>1</sup>.

After some days perseverance in these measures, the approaches were so advanced, that a speaking trumpet could be heard from them by the Vaudois. The white banner was even planted at the foot of the spot called

the Castle. A summons to surrender was issued, accompanied by a remark, that it was matter of astonishment that such a handful of persons should dare to prosecute a war with so mighty a prince as the King of France. An offer was also made of passports and 500 louis a head, in case of submission, as it was allowed that, though eventually they must be subdued, the Vaudois would cause the destruction of many brave men.

The enemy took this opportunity of sending provisions and medicine to Mons. de Parat, and a new but ineffectual proposal was made with respect to his liberation.

Let it not be supposed that, though the Vaudois suffered the inevitable approach of their foe within the meet distance, whence he might spring on them as his prey, that they were paralyzed by the approximation of the crisis. Though they could not prevent the main body from creeping up, and inserting itself into, the mountain nest in which they had been so long and securely sheltered, they lost no opportunity of attacking detached parties. Scarcely a night passed without their making a sortie.

On one of these occasions they drove a party with considerable slaughter from a rock which had been fortified on the right of the castle. Frequent sallies were made in the quarter of Prajelas. Much bread was brought off, and some villages burnt, among which was that of Bourset. A party of sixty men found their way to the valley of Perouse, to convoy a reinforcement which was understood to be waiting there: these did not return till after the Balsi was lost. It being observed that provisions were daily carried to the dragoons who occupied the left, a party attacked the bearers between the great camp and that of the dragoons, killed every one his man, and carried off their burdens.

The white flag, however, was every day displayed, and a daily summons to surrender made with a speaking trumpet. In these summons mention was never made of the duke, but only of the King of France or madame royale.

Mons. de Feuquieres finding the continual fire of musketry had no other effect than to waste powder and ball, completed the batteries which had been commenced on the Guignevert. He then planted afresh a white flag, which was immediately replaced by a red one; thus intimating that when

the batteries had once opened, no quarter was to be expected; and when he found that even these extremities did not shake the constancy of the Vaudois, he ordered every thing to be ready for a general assault.

Before daybreak, on the 13th of May, a body of the enemy had taken up a position on the higher part of the torrent, under cover of the rocks, but were exposed to a continual skirmish, which did not cease till night, when the position was given up. Another party, however, succeeded in constructing parapets on a point which commanded the highest outpost of the Vaudois; whence they threw hand-grenades, which only wounded one soldier. In the mean time, the cannon played briskly on a sort of ravelin which, being composed of nothing but dry wall<sup>2</sup>, was quickly knocked to pieces.

The 14th of May was the day appointed for the grand attack; and although Messieurs de Catinat and de l'Ombraille had boasted that the Vaudois should be subdued without the expense of a single pound of powder, yet the battery never ceased to play from daybreak till noon; when the walls of the Vaudois, made only to resist musketry, were in a state of utter destruction. As soon as the enemy perceived the effect of their cannon, they determined on making the assault in three separate parties. The efforts of the Vaudois to repel them were in vain. An overwhelming force continued to advance, in spite of a heavy fire and continued showers of stones. The Vaudois were compelled to desert the Castle, and retreat to an intrenchment called the Cheval la Bruxe; in doing which they were exposed to the fire of a redoubt which had been raised above the torrent, the effect of which was fortunately neutralised by a fog. They were obliged to inform Mons. de Parat, that if they were again forced, his end was inevitable. He replied, "I forgive you my death;" and, being shortly afterwards abandoned by his guard, he was shot in the head by one of the rear of the fugitives. Some sick and wounded soldiers, and one who rashly returned to take possession of Mons. de Parat's effects, were made prisoners. The means of escape now alone occupied the thoughts of the Vaudois; but, even here, the difficulties appeared insuperable. They were surrounded on every side by the enemy, who stationed guards over all the passes, and kept up so large fires as to diminish the darkness of night; the duration of which was, in any event, insufficient for the purpose.

At this moment, when death was staring them in the face, the hand of God was once more apparent in their assistance, by enveloping them in the darkness of a mist, which enabled them, with a native of Balsi for their guide, to attempt their escape undiscovered.

Having accurately examined by the light of the fires the position of each guard, Captain Poulat, the guide alluded to, offered to conduct them down a ravine full of frightful precipices. Sliding on their backs, and holding on by the bushes, they followed their conductor, who first felt with his hands and feet for spots which could be rested on with safety. They all followed his example, without shoes, alike for sake of silence and security of footing.

In this manner they passed close to one of the enemy's pickets, which was at that moment going the rounds. At the same instant a soldier, who had a kettle with him, was obliged to use both hands to save himself from falling. The kettle tumbled over the rocks, and alarmed a French sentry, who immediately challenged with a "qui vive." But the kettle, by good fortune, was not of that poetical family which are reported to have spoken and delivered oracles in the forest of Dodona<sup>3</sup>. It gave no answer therefore, and the sentry continued his rounds without repeating his "qui vive." The Vaudois proceeded silently on their flight, and two hours after daybreak were discovered, as they were ascending the Guignevert by steps which they cut in the snow, by a party of the enemy stationed on the Balsi.

As the capture of the besieged, not of the Balsi, was the sole end which Mons. de Feuquieres had in view; and as he hoped by this means to contrast his own success to the recent failure of Mons. de Catinat, his disappointment may be conceived when, on entering the last intrenchment, he found nothing but poor and empty barracks, and the naked points of rocks; which, from their number and shape, have given rise to the name of the mountain of four teeth. A letter to him from the governor of Pignerol, written during the siege of the Balsi, was intercepted; which is the more worthy of insertion as, in the latter part, allusion is made to a crisis on which the eventual fate of the Vaudois depended.

"a Pignerol, May 11, 1690.

“You deceive yourself, sir, in supposing that your letters are tiresome. My pleasure in receiving them can only be augmented when I shall know that you are the ‘*subduer of the barbets,*’ who are, in my opinion, extremely insolent. I received today certain information that in the last attack they had only two men dangerously wounded, and some others slightly; but they labor under such difficulty of passing into their forts, that when you have blockaded them a little more closely, their communication will be entirely cut off. Four hundred muskets ought to have arrived already at Perouse, and the rest shall be sent early tomorrow.

“If the artillery mules can be procured they shall also be tomorrow at Macel, where you must send for them. The dragoons have received 700 flints, and if there are no more in the town, we will send elsewhere for them.

“The following is the substance of a letter I have just received from Mons. de Catinat.

“We are ready, he writes, to commence hostile operations; but I have this morning forwarded to court a letter from his royal highness, conceived in such terms, that I have thought right to wait for further orders. This letter was brought to me by Mons. le Marquis Graneri, now minister to his royal highness. So you see that this prince, under better advice, is aware of his real interests<sup>4</sup>. This change may conduce to the exchange of Mons. de Parat.

“The regiments of Perigord and Robek march tomorrow: the artillery and the Swiss remain: Vexin and Pavins march for Macel: the dragoons of Grammont and Languedoc for Pancalict; but all this may be altered on the morrow, as I have no doubt but that the courier, despatched by his royal highness a week ago, will bring back the olive branch. The accounts from Paris state that Heidelberg is invested. The capture of this place and the death of Mons. de Lorraine will sadly disconcert them.

“Most entirely yours,  
 “*Brouille Herville.*”

The following short account of the escape of the Vaudois appeared at Turin.

“The French have driven the Huguenots from their forts, who fled the night after their intrenchments were destroyed by the cannon. They defiled between two divisions, over places so steep that no guard had been appointed to watch them, it being thought impossible for men to pass over them. They served one another for bridges, and have since appeared in the valley of Luzerne. The lieutenant-colonel was found recently put to death<sup>5</sup>.”

The disappointment of the French was embittered by the fact, that the day before the attack they had proclaimed, with the sound of the trumpet, that all who wished to witness the end of the Vaudois should come to Pignerol on the morrow, where the Vaudois would be hung two by two: but, alas! this promised spectacle was changed for the mortifying one of the arrival of many wagons full of their own wounded.

## NINTH AND CONCLUDING CHAPTER

### PICTURE: La Tour

Let us now return to our fugitives, who had lost in this affair six killed, besides the wounded. One of the former, Jaques Peyran, was, in the first instance, taken alive and then burnt over a slow fire, by order of Molls. de Feuquieres, for the purpose of making him discover the direction in which the Vaudois intended to retreat.

As soon as they were discovered on the Guignevert, a strong detachment was despatched in pursuit of them. They descended, however, to the neighborhood of Salsa, where they halted to recruit themselves, as they did also at Rodoret. As they left the latter place to ascend the Galmon, the enemy appeared in sight. They passed in review on the summit of that mountain, and sent the sick and wounded to Balma, at the head of the valley of Rodoret, under the care of Mons. de Parat's surgeon; such as were most slightly wounded acting as guards. They then descended rapidly in the direction of Prali, and gained the wood of Serrelemi, with the intention of concealing themselves till nightfall; a fog however arising, they took advantage of it to continue their march, and mounted to some huts called La Majere, which their fatigue prevented them from reaching till night, though the distance was only a quarter of a league. Here they could find no water; but Heaven, as though in compassion for them, sent an abundant rain, which in this instance was a source of as much relief to them as it had often been of inconvenience.

The following morning, having carefully extinguished their fires, lest they should betray them to the enemy's sentries on the Galmon, they continued their route to Prajet, where they halted to offer up prayers. Some scouts, who had been sent to observe the motions of the enemy, reported his advance in their immediate direction. The mists, which seemed appointed for their assistance, again favored their flight.

During the intervals of clear weather the Vaudois couched upon the ground, till intervening heights concealed them from those of the Serre du Galmon.

They now entered a country replete with difficulties, and having passed by the White Rock, descended, at midnight, to Fayet, overwhelmed with fatigue; having traversed passes, where it was frequently necessary to support themselves by the branches of trees hanging over the precipices which opposed their progress.

On the morning of the 17th, as soon as they reached Riouclaret, they discovered that the enemy was on their track. They then bent in the direction of Angrogna, With a view of obtaining provisions. As they passed near Pramol they received information of a large quantity of cattle. They separated into three detachments; and while one secured the cattle which had descended to the village of Rua, the other two attacked a party of the enemy which was intrenched in the cemetery of the church. The intrenchments were immediately carried; and Mons. de Vignaux, who commanded, was made prisoner, with three lieutenants, who were wounded. Mons. de Vignaux, when he surrendered his sword to Mons. Arnaud, showed him an order, by which he was expressly forbidden to abandon that post, and informed him, at the same time, that his royal highness was called on to determine, before the following Tuesday, whether he would embrace the side of France or of the allies.

In addition to the prisoners mentioned, the enemy lost fifty-seven dead on the field in this action, and had the mortification to see the village burnt. The Vaudois lost three killed and three wounded, besides a woman, who met her fate in attempting to light some straw, in order to smoke the enemy out of the church.

After this affair the Vaudois descended to the village of Humiau, about half a league off.

On the next day, Sunday, while foraging on the mountain of Angrogna, they were joyfully surprised by the sight of the Sieurs Parander and Bertin, as envoys of Mons. le Baron de Palavicin, to announce to them the offer of peace from his royal highness. This offer was attended with an immediate supply of provisions. On descending to the Pra del Tor, they were met by two other messengers from Mons. le Chevalier de Vercellis, who expressed a wish on his part to communicate with some of their officers. An answer was immediately returned, that if he would come to the place where they then were, some of their people should meet him.

This opportunity was taken to request Mons. de Palavicin to send a surgeon, to dress the wounds of the three lieutenants who had been made prisoners at Pramol.

In the joyful expectation of perfect peace with their sovereign, the Vaudois encamped, on the 19th of May, on the alp of la Buffe; they were disappointed, however, by Mons. le Chevalier de Vercellis, who did not keep his appointment.

The booty, consisting of cows, sheep, and goats, was divided, and a part sold, the produce being divided among the soldiers.

The surgeon, whose attendance Mons. de Vignaux had required, now arrived, and after having dressed the wounded wished to return; but he was given to understand that he must remain, according to an agreement with the other officers, till the latter were exchanged against those Vaudois whose liberty had been demanded as the price of Mons. de Parat's ransom.

They now remained till the 24th without bread; during which time a Vaudois shot a partridge with a single ball, which, being dressed on a stone, was presented to the four captured officers.

Just as they were beginning to be in despair for want of bread, the Sieurs Parander and Bertin reappeared, and required forty or fifty men to attend them to the farm of Mons. Gautier, brother-in-law to Mons. Arnaud, where this necessary article would be given to them.

Mons. Arnaud immediately ordered a detachment, under the command of two captains, on this acceptable service. But as the Vaudois were not yet relieved from the suspicions which had, by a long course of treachery, been made inherent in them, orders were given that five men only should enter in the first place, and make a thorough search, while the remainder acted as a guard without; that ten, and then a larger number, should follow, till all the bread was removed.

The French, who were now the only enemies of the Vaudois, sent a detachment to take up a position below the Pra del Tor, and another to occupy the Vendelin, a mountain above the town of La Tour. The Vaudois also formed into two detachments to observe those of the enemy. In a

skirmish in the neighborhood of La Tour, the French suffered a partial loss, but on the Vendelin the affair assumed a much more serious tone. The French having occupied one height, the Vaudois took possession of another, and leaving a dozen musketeers to amuse the enemy, by occasional discharges, took advantage of a fog to surprise him in the rear; which they did so effectually, as to put the whole detachment to the sword, excepting twelve, who, rolling themselves over the snow into the valley, escaped, mutilated and disarmed, and carried the news of the defeat to Pignerol. The two detachments of the Vaudois now united and ascended higher among the mountains, intending to halt at the Jasses: but finding themselves observed by another body of the French, and impeded by the wounded, especially the prisoners, they halted at Balmadaut.

On the following day, as they were eating violet soup and wild sorrel, they perceived the enemy approaching: they were engaged the whole of this day in different places, for the French, enraged at having missed them at the Balsi, had detached forces on every side, in order eventually to exterminate them.

Mons. de Cleremhaut, colonel of the regiment of that name, ignorant of the truce between the duke and the Vaudois, marched with a party into La Tour, where he was not a little surprised at finding himself taken prisoner, and, as such, conducted to his royal highness.

Four or five days now elapsed without any event, at the end of which the Vaudois had the consolation to receive a letter written by the Baron de Palavicin to the governor of Mirabouc, commanding him to permit the Vaudois to pass and repass at their pleasure. They were also rejoiced by the return of some parties whom they had given up for lost, especially one of sixty men, which, as has been mentioned, had left the Balsi during the siege, to meet a promised reinforcement in the valley of Prouse.

This detachment, after concealing itself during several days, and marching only by night, was on the point of returning to the Balsi, when it received the news of its fall. It retreated among the woods, and compelled the peasants to furnish subsistence by the threat of burning their villages, a penalty which had been actually inflicted on Bourset. Among those who were now restored to their countrymen was a private, still living, whose adventures deserve to be related.

He was slightly wounded in the thigh, and, being in want of dressings, had leave to accompany three men who were sent into the valley of Perouse to obtain provisions. The Clusone, then full and rapid, was to be forded; this was safely done by the other three; but the wounded man, on approaching the middle of the torrent, found himself unequal to stem it. He returned to the bank he had left, and was totally destitute. For seventeen days he concealed himself, and dragged himself from bush to bush, and from rock to rock, during as many nights.

In the mean time he healed his wound simply by washing it, a cure partly occasioned by his living on violets and other raw herbs.

In this famished state he roused two wolves' cubs; hunger stimulated him to the chase, and he had the good fortune to strike one of them down with a stick. He immediately devoured part of it raw, and would have eaten the rest had he not been thus sufficiently refreshed to gain Bobi, where he brought the cub's head with him. Thus the expression of the Sieur Banqui, syndic of Luzerne, on occasion of the defeat of the soldiers at Vachere, during the massacre of 1655, was literally verified. It is thus related by Leger. On seeing the quantity of dead and wounded that were brought in, the syndic observed, "Altre volte li lupi mangiavano li barbetti, ma il tempo e venuto che li barbetti mangiano i lupi :” "formerly the wolves eat the dogs, but the time is come when the dogs eat the wolves."

From the statements of some of the wanderers it appeared, that the force brought against the Balsi in the last attack amounted to 12,000 regulars and 1,400 peasants.

On the 3d of June, a detachment of the enemy, 600 strong, passed over the Col du Julien and encamped at Serre le Cruel, with the intention of entering Bobi. The Savoyard troops effectually opposed this design, but supplied them with guides for their retreat. On the 4th, the French having received intelligence of a body of Vaudois at Palmud, made a forced march during the whole night, in hopes of surprising it. They were discovered in the twilight, and a warm reception was prepared for them. The ensuing engagement lasted the whole day, and cost the Vaudois two men killed and two wounded: the loss on the side of the enemy was reported to be considerable.

The news of a declaration of war against France was at last confirmed, to the great satisfaction of the Vaudois. The French forces, which were still in pursuit of them, not being apprised of this circumstance, continued to carry their sick and wounded to La Tour, where they were made prisoners and then sent to Saluces.

The Savoyard militia, in the occupation of Bobi and Villar, were ordered to deliver up those places, with the provisions in them, to Mons. Arnaud and his force: an order which in one respect was but imperfectly executed; for the Savoyards left nothing which they could carry away, and even poured out the wine in the streets. Among the early tokens of restoration to their prince's favor, one of the most gratifying to the Vaudois was the return of Messrs. Bastie, Montons, Malanot, and Martinet, who had been released from the prisons at Turin in exchange for Mons. de Vignaux. They were now plentifully supplied with bread, and had an order for flour on the royal stores at La Tour. The storekeeper, however, incapable of resigning his enmity to them, refused compliance with it, though the magazines were abundantly stocked.

The prospects of the Vaudois brightened daily; more of their captured comrades returned with the joyful intelligence, that his royal highness had given his assurance, not only of liberty of conscience, but of permission to their pastors to preach even at Turin.

An opportunity of signalling their loyalty to their reconciled sovereign was soon offered to the Vaudois. The Baron of Palavicin, commander of his royal highness's troops occupying the Alpine frontier, required their co-operation in a descent on the valley of Quayras. Having invoked the blessing of God, they mounted, 300 strong, to the Col de la Croix, and having ascertained the position of the enemy, and the movements of the baron, rapidly descended to Abries.

The enemy, driven from the town, retired into the church, whence they for some time kept up a fire which killed one captain and five soldiers, and wounded others. The Vaudois, however, succeeded in burning the place and in securing a considerable booty in various kinds of cattle. At night they fell back on Monta and other villages high on the mountains, and, on the following day, having returned to the valleys, divided the spoil, and sent several of the captured mules to his royal highness.

After this exploit Mons. Arnaud was invited, and accompanied by the Chevalier de Vercellis, to a conference with the Baron de Palavicin on the subject of the secure occupation of the valleys. It was agreed that this object would be best attained by reinforcing the Vaudois with 2000 men; in which case it would be unnecessary to molest the peasantry, if on their part they remained neutral<sup>1</sup>. Upon this, all those in the neighborhood of La Tour who had formerly changed their religion, reunited themselves with the Vaudois.

Thus reinforced, they went to the assistance of the Mondovian troops who had sat down before St. Michel. After this they stormed and carried the town of La Tour, under the cannon of the fort; but did not long retain possession of it, being expelled, though without loss, by a superior French force. The town was burnt by the latter; the occupation of it by the Vaudois being considered dangerous to the fort itself. On his rupture with France his royal highness had given orders for the destruction of this fort, but the mines failed. The engineer employed was suspected of treachery, and the suspicion was confirmed by the fact that, immediately afterwards, the French troops fell back in the direction of La Tour and took possession of it. About this time a circumstance occurred which led to the declaration of their rights from the lips of their sovereign. A party having captured a French courier with despatches, the Baron de Palavicin directed that they should be presented to his royal highness by Mons. Arnaud, Mons. Odin, and Captain Friquet. His royal highness, after receiving them most graciously, thus addressed them: "You have only one God and one prince; serve them faithfully. Hitherto we have been foes; henceforward we must be friends. To strangers<sup>2</sup> are your misfortunes to be attributed; but if, as is your duty, you expose your lives for me, I also will expose mine for you; and as long as I have a morsel of bread, you shall have your share."

The energy of these expressions was increased by his royal highness's irritation against France. With what justice the fate of the Vaudois was thus subjected to the feuds or friendships of these princes, I shall not discuss. I will simply remark, that God not only disunited these two powers, but permitted them to turn against each other those arms which had been united to destroy the Vaudois, at the very moment when, after

many and severe toils and disappointments, they were at the point of overwhelming the Vaudois nation and exterminating it for ever<sup>3</sup>.

The age in which we live is so perverse, and so prevalent is the spirit of incredulity and pride, that many persons will, no doubt, discredit this history.

But surely the unadorned and simple style of narration is evidence against any intention to trifle with or impose on the reader. Nor are the facts narrated of so old a date, but that thousands still live who heard of them as they took place. Living witnesses of them are yet to be found among French and Piemontese, Savoyards and Swiss.

Reader, your attention has been directed to events scarcely to be imagined. But, with the Vaudois, you will impute them only to the providence of God, who, to render his presence more visible, chose for his chief instrument in this wonderful struggle a man ignorant of arms or of war, excepting with Satan.

Is it not wonderful that such a person, after escaping the pursuit of those who sought to deliver him to the flames at Constance, should have been able to effect a passage through Savoy, taking as his prisoners the nobles and gentry of the land to be witnesses of the valor and discipline of the Vaudois? Was the victory of Salabertrann less than miraculous, where 800 men, most of whom had never handled a musket, routed 2500 regular troops, killing 600, with a loss, on their own side, of only fifteen?

To what other than a divine cause can be attributed the fear which, on the approach of the Vaudois, caused the disgraceful flight of the usurpers of their possessions, and of the troops who should have protected them?

Who but God, and God only, could have inspired a destitute handful of men with the design of re-entering their country, sword in hand, in opposition to their own prince, and to the King of France, then the terror of all Europe?

And who but he could have conducted and protected them in this enterprise, and finally crowned it with success, in spite of all the vast efforts of these powers to disconcert it; in spite also of the vows and

prayers of the pope and his adherents for the glory of the papal standard, and the destruction of this little band of the elect?

And was it not rather Divine Providence, than the ordinary course of nature, that so preserved the grain upon the earth, that the Vaudois gathered the harvest in the depth of winter, instead of the height of summer<sup>4</sup>? Thus did their Canaan, as though rejoiced to see them, present to them a supernatural gift. Is it conceivable that, without divine aid, 367 Vaudois, confined in the Balsi for six months, existing on vegetables, water, and a scanty allowance of bread, and lodging, like corpses, in the earth, should repel and drive into disgraceful flight 10,000 French and 12,000 Piemontese? Or that, after their brilliant defense, they should escape from a second attack, when the French, enraged at the desperate opposition of a handful of men, brought executioners, and mules laden with ropes, to offer up the Vaudois on gibbets as a sacrifice of thanksgiving?

Surely it must be granted, that in all their troubles and dangers the Omnipotent delivered them, gave them victory in all their battles, supported them when they were faint-hearted, supplied them with necessaries when it appeared that they must be destitute, and finally inspired their prince with the will to reinstate them in their heritage, and suffer them to restore true devotion in their churches. Events so surprising clearly prove that the French and Piemontese arms were aided only by the deceitful benedictions of Rome—of her who would be God upon earth—while those of the Vaudois were blessed by the great God who is King of kings, and delegates his scepter to no earthly hands.

Thanks, then, be to the Eternal, who, in selecting the Vaudois as the instruments of such wonders, appears to have sanctioned their religion as that in which he would be served, honored, and obeyed by all the redeemed. Amen.

**PICTURE: The Rock of Castel Luzzo**

**MAP: The Itinerary of the Glorious Repatriation  
of the Vaudois**

## THE NOMINATIVES OF THE HEROES OF THE GLORIOUS REPATRIATION

Albert Barthelemi  
 Albert Etienne  
 Alinieu Jacques  
 Andre Lambert  
 Archimbaud Jean  
 Armand Etienne  
 Arnaud Henri  
 Arnaud Jean  
 Arnoux Daniel  
 Augier Francois  
 Bancelhon Jean  
 Bautias Jean  
 Bec  
 Belleinat Augustin  
 Bellion Antoine  
 Bellion Barthelemi  
 Berge  
 Bernaton dit Perol Jean  
 Berru Jean  
 Bertin Jean  
 Bertin Michel  
 Bertin Pierre dit Du Vernet  
 Bertinat Pierre  
 Bertoch, Le Mancin  
 Besson Baptiste  
 Besson Etienne  
 Blanc Jacques  
 Blancher Pierre  
 Boine Daniel  
 Bomin  
 Bonnet Jean  
 Bonnet Jean Pierre  
 Borel N.  
 Bouisse  
 Bourrier David  
 Bouvene Antoine  
 Bouvier  
 Bridal Antoine  
 Breynard Antoine  
 Bruguier  
 Brunel dit Macher, Alexandre  
 Brunet Francois

Pallet Jean  
 Pastre Friquet Etienne  
 Pavarin Daniel  
 Pelanchon Matthieu  
 Pellenc Jean  
 Pellenc Joseph  
 Peter Benoit  
 Peyran Jacques  
 Peyrot Jacques  
 Pons dit Cadet  
 Pothier Pierre  
 Pravilierm Jean  
 Prin Miquelot David  
 Privat  
 Provencal Louis  
 Puy Daniel  
 Puy Jean  
 Reboul Marc-Antoine  
 Reynaudin Paul  
 Retournat A.  
 Riboullet Samuel  
 Riviere  
 Rivoir Daniel  
 Robert Daniel  
 Robert Jacques  
 Robert Pierre  
 Romani Daniel  
 Romano Filippo  
 Romano Giovanni  
 Ronchail  
 Rosan  
 Rostagni Daniel  
 Rostagni Gio  
 Roux Pierre  
 Roux, dit Freissinenc Paul  
 Ruet Jean  
 Sabatier Francois  
 Salomon Michelin  
 Sautier Pierre  
 Semeynes Jean  
 Sermoz Etienne  
 Sibia Giacomo

Buffa Laurent  
 Cafarel Joseph  
 Carbon Daniel  
 Carbon David  
 Carbon Jean  
 Carbon Michel  
 Casenet Michel  
 Causse Jacques  
 Cervelle  
 Cesan Jean  
 Chiardosino Etienne  
 Chapoulon Pierre  
 Chen Isaac  
 Chyon Cyrus  
 Clapier David  
 Clapier Etienne  
 Clavel Jean  
 Comers Jean  
 Daudey Abraham  
 De Londe  
 Didier Pierre  
 Douvier David  
 Duclos Louis  
 Dumont Claude  
 Dumoulin Jean Francois  
 Durand Moise  
 Durand Noel  
 Dussault  
 Escoffier Hector  
 Estoile Louis  
 Faure Antoine  
 Faure Moyse  
 Fer Jacques  
 Fer Jean  
 Fert Etienne  
 Fonfrede  
 Forneron Antoine  
 Forneron Etienne  
 Frache Etienne  
 Frache Jean  
 Gachon Jean  
 Garray  
 Gardiol Michel  
 Gardiol Philippe  
 Garnier Jean  
 Gaumat Barthielemi

Signat  
 Tardieu Etienne  
 Thaulier Isaac  
 Thiers Andre  
 Tron Francois  
 Tron Laurent  
 Tron Poulat Philippe  
 Turel Pierre  
 Turin  
 Vasserot Pierre  
 Vevansson  
 Vinay  
 Imbert Jean  
 Jaime Jean  
 James Mathieu  
 Jeraut Jean  
 Jouvenin Abraham  
 Julelan Jean  
 Juventin Jacques  
 La Coste  
 Lafont  
 Laumond  
 Laurent Jean  
 Laurent Pierre  
 Lautaret Jean  
 Lucas  
 Lunadier Isaac  
 Maissemiglie David  
 Malan Barthelemi  
 Malanot Jean  
 Malanot Matthieu  
 Marcellin Jean  
 Mare Daniel  
 Marin Jean  
 Marseille Daniel  
 Martin Jean  
 Martina Paul  
 Martinat  
 Martinat Francois  
 Martinat Samuel  
 Martinetti Antonio  
 Martinetti David  
 Martinetto David  
 Martinet Joseph  
 Martinat Samuel  
 Maudecet

Genre Jean  
 Germanet Jean  
 Geymet Pierre  
 Gleize Alexandre  
 Godin Jean  
 Godin Michel  
 Gonin David  
 Gonin Jean  
 Grangot Jean  
 Griot Jacob  
 Griot Michel  
 Griot Philippe  
 Griot Pierre  
 Grizet  
 Gros Cesar  
 Guigou Francois  
 Guilhaumond Jean  
 Guiot Jacques  
 Guyot Daniel  
 Henton David Jean  
 Boche Philippe  
 Buc Francois

Mayer Jacques  
 Mayer Jean  
 Mazoyer  
 Mercier Antoine  
 Meynier  
 Michel Philippe  
 Michelin Michel  
 Monastier Jean  
 Mondon David  
 Mondon Josue  
 Moriere Jean  
 Moutous Jacob  
 Musseton Pierre  
 Muston Jean  
 Namon  
 Odin Daniel  
 Odin Jean  
 Odin Pierre  
 Odon Marc  
 Odos  
 Olivier

**DI STAMPARE PRESSO LA COOP. LA GRAFICA NUOVA  
 NEL MESE DI GENNAIO 1988**

# FOOTNOTES

## DEDICATION

- <sup>1</sup>. This has never appeared. Henri Arnaud probably intended to relate the exploits of his countrymen while serving as subjects to that prince whose injustice, in expatriating them, had taught him to estimate their force as enemies.
- <sup>2</sup>. Girgenti, anciently Agrigentum.—Ed.
- <sup>3</sup>. Vide Iron Mask.—Ed.
- <sup>4</sup>. In allusion to the efforts of Louis XIV. to restore James II. to the British throne.—Ed.

## PREFACE

- <sup>1</sup>. Now attached to Sardinia. Through it is the pass made by Napoleon over mount Genevre
- <sup>2</sup>. Victor Amadeus the Second actually took refuge among the Vaudois while Turin, his capital, was besieged by the Duc de Feuillard, and that within six years of the horrible persecution which is related in this work, and was perpetrated by himself. — ED.
- <sup>3</sup>. Chef lieu de l'arondissement in which the valleys are situated. — Ed.
- <sup>4</sup>. Now sunk in the duchy of Baden.
- <sup>5</sup>. Out of an annual pension of 500*l.* applicable to the wants of the ministers and schoolmasters of the Vaudois, which, it is expected, will be speedily re-established by the English government.

## CHAPTER 1

- <sup>1</sup>. The editor believes the work alluded to, to be that of Boyer. It is translated and abridged by a person of quality. 2d edition, London, 1692.
- <sup>2</sup>. The bread known in Piemont by the name of *glises*.
- <sup>3</sup>. From Berne.

## CHAPTER 2

- <sup>1</sup>. Protestant exiles from France, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes.—Ed.
- <sup>2</sup>. The grandson of the latter is now pastor of St. Germain, and shows with infinite and just pride a spot near Rocheplatte, where his ancestor gained a memorable advantage over a superior French force, after the Vaudois were reconciled to their prince.—Ed.
- <sup>3</sup>. An officer corresponding to an English exciseman. The trade in salt in that country being under the control of the government for its own benefit.—Ed.
- <sup>4</sup>. An artifice to create fear.—Ed
- <sup>5</sup>. Various preparations of milk, including cheese.—Ed.
- <sup>6</sup>. A chalet, or chalets, together with the pastures in which they are situated.—Ed.
- <sup>7</sup>. Pasturages accessible only during summer.—Ed.
- <sup>8</sup>. A very strong fort in the valley of the Dora.
- <sup>9</sup>. The grandson of this officer is now the officiating pastor of St. Jean. He has great pride in showing a spot at Rocheplatte where his grandfather gained a splendid advantage over a body of French very superior to his own.—Ed.
- <sup>10</sup>. The first French town on the opposite side of the Alps.—Ed.
- <sup>11</sup>. I entreat the reader to suspend his judgment on this procedure and others similar to it, till he has read the journal of the fifteenth day.—Ed.

## CHAPTER 3

- <sup>1</sup>. Peasants who had been of the Vaudois faith, and were now in arms against their former brethren.
- <sup>2</sup>. The name of a particular mountain.
- <sup>3</sup>. Barbe, as has been before mentioned, signified uncle, and was a term of affectionate respect. Thus it was applied by the Vaudois to their pastors: and on this account the Romanists used it collectively as a reproachful designation.—Ed.
- <sup>4</sup>. The Vaudois use the term” combe” in the same sense in which it is applied in the west of England. They have also the term junket for the preparation of milk, so called in the same counties.

## CHAPTER 4

- <sup>1</sup>. Chestnuts are an essential article of subsistence in these valleys, and are prepared in various manners.

## CHAPTER 5

- <sup>1</sup>. It is the practice with shepherds, in mountains where the alps are small, or not fertile, to change from alp to alp within their right of pasture.

## CHAPTER 6

- <sup>1</sup>. It has been mentioned in a former page, that Captain Turel, being taken by the French after he had deserted the Vaudois, perished on the wheel at Grenoble.
- <sup>2</sup>. This account appears so extravagant, that the following observation will not, perhaps, be inappropriate.

One great danger among precipices is the vertigo occasioned by seeing through the depth below. This is removed by darkness. I can appeal, too, to more than one of my countrymen in support of the truth that,

in the steepest descents when once commenced, feeling, as much as sight, is to be depended on. “La tete en arriere;” “Il faut bien accrocher la tete,” were the directions of a Vaudois guide, to an Englishman descending a rock above Salaterbrann. Moreover, the Vaudois were encountering the least of two dangers.—Ed.

3. This circumstance shows that, even as early as their expulsion, an idea of return into their native valleys existed among the Vaudois.—Ed.
4. All these letters are inserted in the original, but have not interest enough to claim the attention of the reader. They are evidently written under the influence of high authorities, who assisted in sending them, and sometimes openly took part in them. The following, from a person of rank, whose name is concealed, is inserted, as Mons. Arnaud seems to have considered it written in good part.

“As I perceive you are on the point of being overwhelmed by the multitude of troops sent by the king to dislodge you, and as they are commanded by Mons. de l’Ombraille, who is worse than a devil, and has occupied all the posts around you, I have thought fit to hazard my own life, and that of the bearer’s, in order to acquaint you that, in case of a frank submission, you would receive good quarter. I beg that you will answer me secretly, as I should be ruined were this to come to the ears of Mons. l’Ombraille. I send this messenger for your good; endeavor to send him back so that he may not be seen. I hope all will go on well, and entreat you to consider on what I suggest.

“I remain, with the strongest interest,

“Your obedient humble servant.”

“To Mons. Arnaud and the other officers of the Vaudois.”

The answer to this letter is not preserved.—Ed.

5. These do not appear in the original.—Ed.
6. In allusion to the wars which then desolated Europe.—ED.
7. This letter is at length in the original, but is omitted here, as it is merely a recapitulation of the previous statement.—Ed.

## CHAPTER 7

- <sup>1</sup>. So particular an order for 500 men on this affair may appear to militate against Henri Arnaud's account of the large force employed in it. It will shortly be seen, in an account from the French camp itself, that six other regiments, besides a detachment of Savoyards, received direct orders for the same service.

It would then rather appear, that the obstinate bravery of the Vaudois was so well known to Marechal Carnat, that he deemed it necessary to select a crack regiment for the most decisive assault. This notion is supported by the fact, implied in his orders, that the regiment D'Artois was much farther removed from the scene of action than some others. That of Cambresis was at Maneille, not more than five leagues from the Bahi, while that of Artois was on the other side of Perouse, which is at least double that distance.

The occupation of Maneille by a detachment of the same regiment, the care taken about tents, kettles, and firewood, were probably only so many precautions of a wise officer in case of a severe suffering in wounded, a precaution which the event proved to be well justified.

- <sup>2</sup>. Including, no doubt, the regiments alluded to in the preceding note, who were present at the assault, though not actually engaged in it.
- <sup>3</sup>. This writer thus distinguishes the highest point of the Balsi from the lower part; a distinction still sometimes made by the inhabitants of that part of the valleys.
- <sup>4</sup>. Shifting drifts of snow (the wind-lauinen of the Swiss Alps), differing from avalanches, commonly so called, in their less degree of compactness and velocity.
- <sup>5</sup>. Arnaud has given copies of others. The reader will not, I am sure, wish for any more specimens. They all bear the approving mark of the inquisitor at Turin.—Ed.

## CHAPTER 8

- <sup>1</sup>. Mons. de Feuquieres, in his memoirs, corroborates this statement.

- <sup>2</sup>. Meaning stones heaped on one another without cement.
- <sup>3</sup>. Where there was an oracle of Jupiter supposed to be the most ancient in Greece, and founded by Egyptian women. Doves and trees, as well as kettles, were reported to be channels of the deity's forewarnings. The kettles, which were brazen, were suspended close to one another, and near enough a statue, in whose hand was a thong, to be struck by the latter in a high wind. The jarring sound thus produced was interpreted into oracles by the priests.
- <sup>4</sup>. Victor Amadeus, then duke of Savoy, was infamous for his inconstancy to his allies. At the time alluded to in this history he was mediating the desertion of Louis XIV., to unite himself with the allied powers; a desertion of which he was afterwards guilty on both sides more than once. Smollett mentions, that immediately on the duke's declaration to this effect, Catinat marched into Piemont with 18,000 men. It appears that Catinat was already there; and it is not improbable that this sanguinary pursuit of the Vaudois by the French, resulted from the wily policy of Louis, who had thus a pretext for so large a force in the immediate vicinity of his suspected ally.—Ed.
- <sup>5</sup>. Arnaud has inserted another letter from the lieutenant-colonel of a French regiment, which is here omitted, as it only differs from the preceding accounts in mentioning, that the regiment of Clerambaud alone lost from eighty to one hundred privates, several gentlemen (seigneurs), and three lieutenants, in one attack.—Ed.

## CHAPTER 9

- <sup>1</sup>. The peasantry here mentioned were the persons to whom the Duke of Savoy had given the possessions of the Vaudois.
- <sup>2</sup>. Louis XIV.
- <sup>3</sup>. Henri Arnaud introduces a long account of an unsuccessful attempt of another body of Vaudois and refugees to reinforce their brethren in the valleys. As it is not immediately connected with this history, I omit it here, but shall briefly relate it in the sequel of their history.

4. The Vaudois were stopped by deep snow from reaping all the harvest in the autumn of their return. The corn, thus preserved by the snow, supplied them after their stores had been burnt by the enemy.