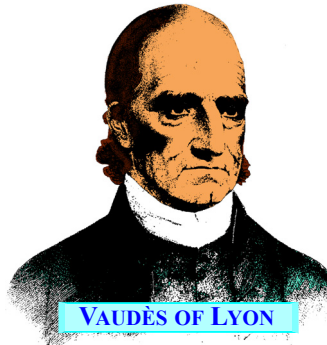


## VAUDÈS OF LYON

*To be a Christian  
is to be Christ-  
like.*



My recommendation for Person of the Millennium would be a merchant of the city of Lyons in France, who was named Vaudès of Lyon or perhaps Peter Waldo or Pierre Valdes or Pedro Valdez, and who became publicly active in the year 1170CE and died in the year 1176CE. Here is the extraordinary proposal which this person of merchandise made in the 12th Century, a proposal which is vexing us even as we speak:

instead of merely elaborating and elaborating a new religion involving the worship of Jesus, we ought to be striving to accept in our own lives the religion of Jesus himself, by following the moral example He provided for us.

This proposal resulted first in the Waldensian movement and then in the Inquisition to suppress it. It was then and remains now an utterly subversive concept – it is hard to imagine any proposal which might be more subversive of the established order of Christendom! It resulted in the later attempt by Francis in Assisi on the Italian peninsula, and it resulted in the Huguenots who were expelled from France, and, after these Waldensians had been hunted into virtual oblivion and after these French protesters (protestants) had been subjected to their diaspora and had mingled with the common folk of England, it elaborated itself once again in a group of people who found themselves quaking before the Lord, who termed themselves the Friends of the Light (nowadays known as Quakers).

Over the centuries there have been so many people making this attempt, in so many and so different and so various ways! Some have tried to follow in the footsteps of Jesus by being crucified or by crucifying others. Many of these cases are well documented in the pages of history and may be stared at in considerable detail. We ought to be staring at these attempts, and trying to puzzle out which ones went wrong and which ones actually more or less succeeded. What is it, precisely, to try to be as much like Jesus as we can? What is it, precisely, to attempt to follow in our own lives the example which has been set for us?

Many of us have accepted Yehoshua bar Yusef of Nazareth in Galilee as our Person of the Previous Millennium. Accepting this Peter Waldo as our Person of the Present Millennium would help us focus upon our hardest and most persistent questions.



**PETER WALDO**

**PIERRE VAUDÈS OF LYON**

**“NARRATIVE HISTORY” AMOUNTS TO FABULATION,  
THE REAL STUFF BEING MERE CHRONOLOGY**



## PIERRE VAUDÈS OF LYON

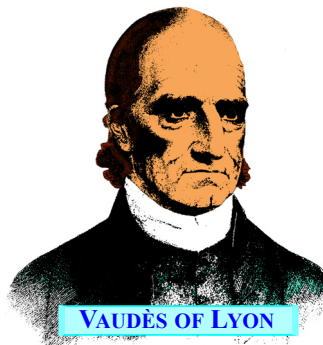
## PETER WALDO

1170

### HISTORY OF THE BIBLE

At this time France was the most heavily populated area of Europe, and Lyon the second-largest city in France. The man whom we now refer to as [“Peter Waldo”](#) or as [“Pierre Vaudès”](#), who seems to have been known as Vaudès<sup>1</sup> of Lyon—a prosperous merchant whose surname might well have seemed to have meant “of the forest,” as in the Latin *Rex Nemorensis*, but did not, as it actually merely indicated that the town of his nativity had been Waldum or Vaux, which had been in that era a town near Lyon (no longer in existence as any name similar to this)—attempted to obtain the translation of the BIBLE into the language of the people. In his 30th year, he hired two priests to translate the BIBLE into common French. He then accepted the invitation of LUKE 18:23 to sell all he had and give the proceeds to the poor. He joined a movement already then in existence, and came to lead it in a campaign of publicity to the effect that the “church of Rome was in a state of apostasy from the true faith of the gospel; that she was the harlot of Babylon, and the barren fig-tree which our Lord cursed; that we are not bound to obey the pope, who is not the true head of the church; that monasticism is like corrupt carrion and has the mark of the beast; and that masses and purgatory, the dedication of temples, and the worship of the saints are inventions of the devil.” No quotations are extant from the teachings of Pierre Waldo/Vaudès of Lyon, and likewise no pictorial depictions have survived the Inquisition; therefore I have employed as a substitute for such lost historical material a 19th-Century engraving of Friend [Elias Hicks](#), and a very [Waldensian](#) quotation from one of Friend Elias’s sermons:

*To be a Christian  
is to be Christ-  
like.*



VAUDÈS OF LYON

The Waldo family is said to be descended from one Thomas Waldo of Lyon, who was also identified with these Waldensians, and who was perhaps Vaudès’s brother. Peter himself apparently never married. Another brother of Peter became a galley slave.

The followers of Peter Waldo were known as *Waldenses*, as well as *Leonists* (poor of Lyon) and *Sabatati* or *Insabatati* (wearers of *sabots*, that is, of the wooden shoes of the peasantry, the first *saboteurs* being people who threw their wooden shoes into the gears of a machine and brought it to a halt), and *Humiliatists* (professors of humility) — and [Henry Thoreau](#) was descended from them. Therefore when, in [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE](#)

1. The given name “Peter” for this man Vaudès is a name that first would appear in any extant record a full century and a half after that man’s death. A century and a half amounts to some six generations. In other words, the faithful of the 14th Century would be hypothesizing about a Founding Father of the 12th Century who actually was of roughly the generation of their great-great-grandparents. The given, or Christian, name they selected for this eponymous daddy may well have been selected to be identical with Peter the founder of the Roman church. Because of this, it is the unanimous opinion now, of Waldensian historians, that we can have no idea whatever, what the given name of the founder of this movement in Lyon, France in 1170 CE might actually have been.



PETER WALDO

PIERRE VAUDÈS OF LYON

[WOODS](#), Thoreau plays around with strange and fanciful derivations of “[Walden Pond](#)” such as an eponymous “Squaw Walden,” and “Walled-In Pond,” and “Saffron Walden” in England (182-3), he is mentioning **by implication** a religious tradition with obvious similarities to his own manner of life, a tradition that was persecuted and virtually exterminated by the true believers of those dark ages. Even if we are scholars we must acknowledge the irony of such silence. It is a wink and a nod directed at others who may desire to live such a life, so incomprehensible to good Christians in Christendom. He is writing a book about how to lead that religious life in the midst of American progress and prosperity. Yet has anyone pointed to this association with the name “Walden” to you before? Hey, all you have to do is look in a good old dictionary, it’s not a big job of research.<sup>2</sup>

These Waldenses are predecessors of St. Francis, and predecessors of the Protestant movement, perhaps springing out of such earlier dissenting sects as the Albigensians or Cathari (against the heresy of which the Waldensians preached with great fervor), the Patarenes, and the Henricans. The main area of their persistence is the Cottian Alps south-west of Turin.

Waldo is a copse between Lavant and Goodwood in Sussex, England. We can establish that the root of this word is *weald*, *wold*, *wald*, *walt*, “a wood,” in Anglo-Saxon. That final “o” would be approximately equivalent to the definite article “the,” as for instance in *haelo* meaning the whole, health, what is integral, and *maenego* meaning the many, the multitude, what is made up of many members.

Those who embraced this religious discipline were also variously termed *Pauperes* or “poor ones,”<sup>3</sup> *Picards* or “those who read the Bible for themselves,”<sup>4</sup> *Waldenses*,<sup>5</sup> *Vaudois* and *Valdese* or “those who live in the valleys,” and finally [Huguenots](#) or people who are of no worldly worth because they have made a religious covenant, people who have “sought individual perfection apart from the Roman Church, rejected the official clergy, abstained from oaths and the use of force, and attempted in general to reintroduce primitive Christian fellowship and apostolic simplicity of living.”

The sociologist Henri Desroches has termed this *les religions de contraband*. The eight centuries between AD313, when Constantine (280?-337CE) began to transform the Christian Church into a mere apparatus of the state and Lactantius (240-320CE) began to accommodate its belief system to this new regime of power,<sup>6</sup> and the middle of the 1170s when Pierre Valdès began to teach that we should utilize the life of Jesus as the prime moral example for our own lives, were dark and wicked ages indeed, or at least, they were dark and wicked in Christendom.

2. Interestingly, although our annotated editions of [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#) in the English language talk about the newspaper receipt on the blank side of which Thoreau originally jotted down this word, and although they talk about Walden Street in Waltham, Massachusetts, the only edition of [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#) that I know of, that presents this information about Thoreau’s connection with the “Poor of Lyon” explicitly and bluntly, is the Spanish edition by Carlos Sánchez-Rodrigo and Parsifal Ediciones of Barcelona in 1989: *O Pobres de Lyon. Sociedad religiosa fundada por Pierre de Valdo a fines del siglo XII, que aspiraba a restituir la pobreza evangélica a la iglesia.*

3. The entire subject of the first chapter of [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#).

4. Thus Thoreau’s “pickerel” metaphor.

5. To get this reference into his text, Thoreau pretends that “Waldenses” is merely a plural form for “Walden” like the more obvious “Waldens,” whereas in point of fact “Waldenses” is not a plural but a collective term.

6. According to the standard story, a document termed the “Donation of Constantine,” the Emperor donated the Roman state to the Christian church. However, in the 15th Century this document was discovered to be an 8th-Century forging. As usual in such cases, the official lie had been constructed by exact inversion: what had happened was that the Christian church had been donated to the Roman state.



## PIERRE VAUDÈS OF LYON

## PETER WALDO

1184

Various Christians had foreseen that during this year the [Antichrist](#) would arise (Abanes, Richard. END-TIME VISIONS. NY: Four Walls Eight Windows, 1998, page 338). Therefore Pope Lucius III, taking no chances, operating in conjunction with the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa at the Synod of Verona, in the bull *Ad abolendam* placed under ban the “Poor Ones of Lyon” who were attempting to live their lives in imitation of the life of Jesus, who called themselves “Waldenses” or “Followers of Waldo” after their founder or leader or inspirer [“Peter Waldo”](#) or [“Pierre Vaudès”](#). Those [Waldenses](#) who refused to recant, and anyone else who attempted to protect such a heretic, were to be tried by ecclesiastical court and turned over to the secular authorities to be burned. This was the origin of the Inquisition. Some of these Waldenses would eventually (I don’t know exactly when) escape across the English Channel and settle in a little community some forty miles north-northeast of London,



where they would grow [saffron](#) (*Crocus sativus*). Their little community of religious exiles would be named [Saffron Walden](#) and would eventually be referred to in Henry David Thoreau’s [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#):

If the name was not derived from that of some English locality, <sup>^</sup>Saffron Walden <sup>^</sup>for instance <sup>^</sup>perhaps I have conjectured that <sup>^</sup>who knows but it was called, originally, Walled-in Pond.

MILLENNIALISM

PETER WALDO

PIERRE VAUDÈS OF LYON





**PIERRE VAUDÈS OF LYON**

**PETER WALDO**

**1218**

The Mercedarian order was founded.

The Ayyubid empire broke up (but the Ayyubids would continue to rule in [Egypt](#) until 1250).

Here is an anonymous chronicle of the [Waldensians](#) that was created at about this year, as translated and presented on pages 381-383 of J.H. Robinson's Readings in European History (Boston MA: Ginn, 1905):

And during the same year, that is the 1173d since Lord's Incarnation, there was at Lyon in France a certain citizen, Waldo by name, who had made himself much money by wicked usury. One Sunday, when he had joined a crowd which he saw gathered around a troubadour, he was smitten by his words and, taking him to his house, he took care hear him at length. The passage he was reciting was the holy Alexis died a blessed death in his father's house. When morning had come the prudent citizen hurried to the schools of theology to seek counsel for his soul, and when he was taught many ways of going to God, he asked master what way was more certain and more perfect than all others. The master answered him with this text: thou wilt be perfect, go and sell all that thou hast," etc.

Then Waldo went to his wife and gave her the choice of keeping his personal property or his real estate, namely, he had in ponds, groves and fields, houses, rents, vineyards, mills, and fishing rights. She was much displeased at having to make this choice, but she kept the real estate. From his personal property he made restitution to those whom he had treated unjustly; a great part of it he gave to his little daughters, who, without their mother's knowledge he placed in the convent of Font Evrard; but the greatest of his money he spent for the poor. A very great famine was then oppressing France and Germany. The prudent citizen, Waldo, gave bread, with vegetables and meat to every one who came to him for three days in every week from Pentecost to the feast of St. Peter's bonds.

At the Assumption of the blessed Virgin, casting some money among the village poor, he cried, "No man can serve two masters, God and mammon." Then his fellow-citizens ran up, thinking he had lost his mind. But going on to a higher place, he said. "My fellow-citizens and friends, I am not insane, as you think, but I am avenging myself on my enemies, who made me a slave, so that I was always more careful of money than of God, and served the creature rather than the Creator. I know that many will blame me that I act thus openly. But I do it both on my own account and on yours; on my own, so that those who see me henceforth possessing any money may say that I am mad, and on yours, that you may learn to place hope in God and not in riches."

On the next day, coming from the church, he asked a in citizen, once his comrade, to give him something to eat for God's sake.



**PETER WALDO**

**PIERRE VAUDÈS OF LYON**

His friend, leading him to his house, "I will give you whatever you need as long as I live." When this came to the ears of his wife, she was not a little troubled, and as though she had lost her mind, she ran to the archbishop of the city and implored him not to let her husband beg bread from any one but her. This moved all present to tears.

[Waldo was accordingly conducted into the presence of the bishop.] And the woman, seizing her husband by the throat, said, "Is it not better, husband, that I should redeem my sins by giving you alms than that strangers should do so? "And from that time he was not allowed to take food from any one in that city except from his wife.

**NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT**





1320

The sort of [flute](#) in existence in Europe during this period was made of wood and was some two feet in length (it offered the key of D).

The given name “Peter” for the founding daddy Vaudès of the Waldensians is a name that first appears in any extant record at this point, a full century and a half subsequent to his death. A century and a half amounts to some six generations, so the faithful of the 14th Century were hypothesizing about a gent of the 12th Century who actually was of roughly the generation of their great-great-great-grandparents. The given, or Christian, name they selected at this point for this eponymous figurehead may well have been selected to be identical with Peter the founder of the Roman church. Because of this, it is the unanimous opinion now of the historians of the [Waldensian](#) movement, that we can have no idea whatever what the given name of the founder of this movement in Lyon, France in 1170 CE might actually have been.

“PETER WALDO”

of England; which lays the foundation of a long and desolating war between both nations.

1293 There is a regular succession of English parliaments from this year, being the 22d of Edward I.

1298 The present Turkish empire begins in Bithynia under Ottoman.  
Silver-hafted knives, spoons, and cups, a great luxury.  
Tallow candles so great a luxury, that splinters of wood were used for lights.  
Wine sold only by apothecaries as a cordial.

1302 The mariner’s compass invented, or improved, by Givia of Naples.

1307 The beginning of the Swiss cantons.

1308 The popes remove to Avignon, in France, for 70 years.

1310 Lincoln’s Inn society established.

1314 The battle of Bannockburn, between Edward II. and Robert Bruce, which establishes the latter on the throne of Scotland.  
The cardinals set fire to the conclave, and separate. A vacancy in the papal chair for two years.

1320 Gold first coined in Christendom; 1344, ditto in England.

1336 Two Brabant weavers settle at York, “which,” says Edward III. “may prove of great benefit to us and our subjects.”

1337 The first comet whose course is described with astronomical exactness.

1340 Gunpowder and Guns first invented by Swartz, a monk of Cologne; 1346, Edward III. had four pieces of cannon, which contributed to gain him the battle of Cressy; 1346, bombs and mortars were invented.  
Oil-painting first made use of by John Vaneck.  
Heralds college instituted in England.

1344 The first creation to titles by patents used by Edward III.

1346 The battle of Durham, in which David, king of Scots, is taken prisoner.

1349 The order of the garter instituted in England by Edward III. altered in 1557, and consists of 26 knights.



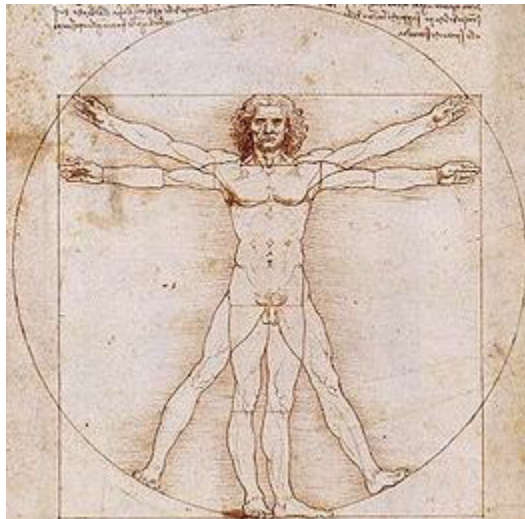
PETER WALDO

PIERRE VAUDÈS OF LYON

1487

Pope Innocent VIII declared that when a Christian killed one of the [Waldensians](#) –followers of the way of “[Peter Waldo](#)”– he inherited his or her property (well, if they could perchance find any).<sup>7</sup>

This drawing by [Leonardo da Vinci](#) is known as “The [Vitruvian Man](#)” because in it we seen the human body inscribed in a circle and a square (which, according to that 1st-Century BCE Roman architect, were the fundamental geometric patterns of the cosmic order).



**LIFE IS LIVED FORWARD BUT UNDERSTOOD BACKWARD?  
— NO, THAT’S GIVING TOO MUCH TO THE HISTORIAN’S STORIES.  
LIFE ISN’T TO BE UNDERSTOOD EITHER FORWARD OR BACKWARD.**

7. As an exercise in contrarian thinking: Do we call this pope “Innocent VIII” because the other  $\frac{7}{8}$ ths of him was Guilty?



**PIERRE VAUDÈS OF LYON**

**PETER WALDO**

**1530**

Early on, the [Waldensians](#) had taken a position of absolute respect for Holy Scripture, and had interpreted the Ten Commandments, and Jesus's "whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment," as prohibiting [capital punishment](#). There had been some falling away from the rigor of this over the centuries, but in this year a council of Waldensian leaders expressed doubt, that the Catholic Church was correct in its attitude that God had commanded our civil authorities to execute murderers, thieves, and delinquents.

**COLDBLOODED MURDER**

Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples,<sup>8</sup> a University of Paris professor influenced by a mystic Dutch group named Brethren of the Common Life, in this year completed the translation of the BIBLE into French that he had begun in 1523, with his objective being that the BIBLE might be studied and interpreted by laity without the special education given to the clergy.

**HISTORY OF  
THE BIBLE**

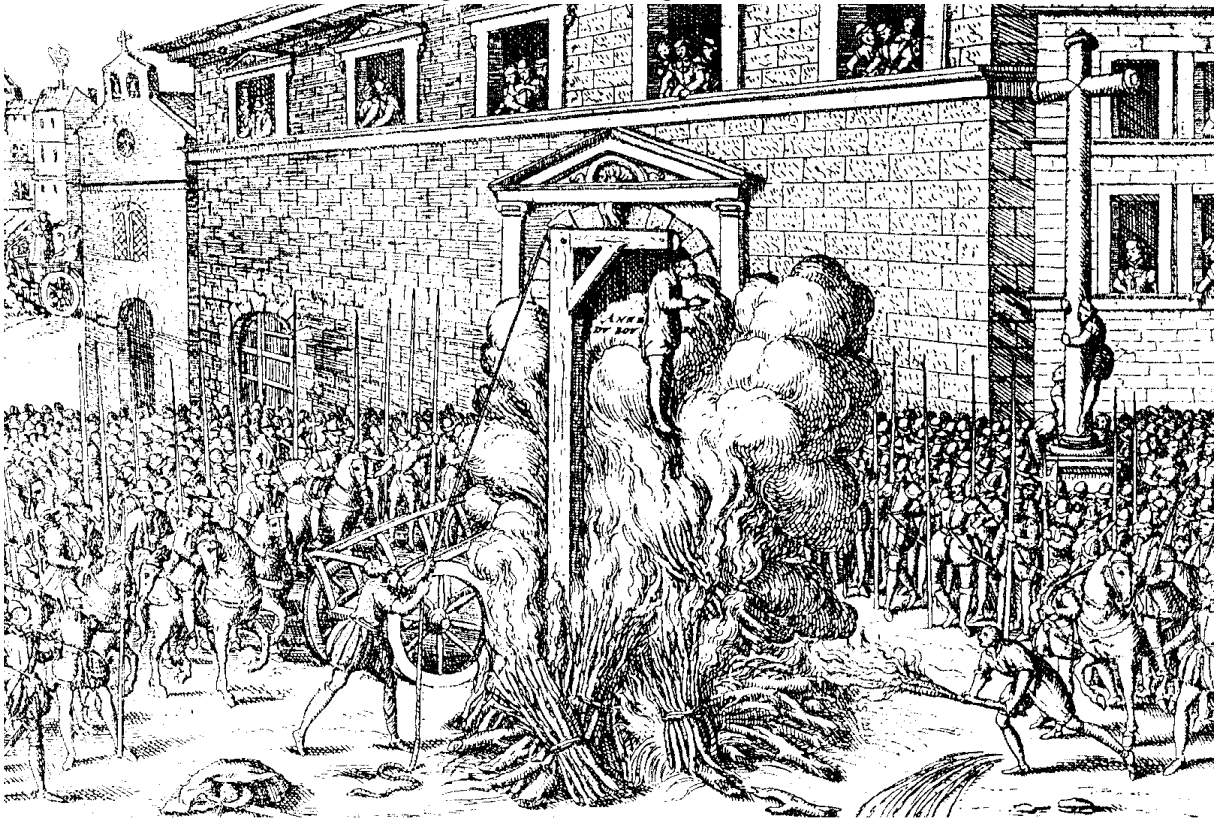
**THE FUTURE IS MOST READILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT**



8. Jacobus Faber Stapulensis (1455-1537)

1559

➔ In France, Anne du Bourg said, in the presence of King Henry II of France, in regard to his [execution](#) of a primitive Christian, that it was no small thing to condemn those who, amidst the flames, invoked the name of Jesus Christ. Here is a drawing of Anne du Bourg being suspended over a fire by a rope and dipped in and out of the flames until death, for having dared thus to attempt to disturb the conscience of the monarch.



HUGUENOTS  
WALDENSES

Meanwhile, Bishop John Jewell, who had been living in exile in Geneva, had been able to return to England, and had brought the Protestant witchhunting craze with him. He preached before the new Protestant Queen of England, Elizabeth I, that:

It may please your Grace to understand that [witches](#) and sorcerers within these last few years are marvelously increased within your Grace's realm, Your Grace's subjects pine away even unto the death, their colour fadeth, their flesh rotteth, their speech is benumbed, their senses are bereft.



**PIERRE VAUDÈS OF LYON**

**PETER WALDO**

**1602**

At the Synods of Dauphiny held at Grenoble, the [Waldenses](#) pastors of the Embrunois and of the Val Cluson (which was then included in Dauphiny) were requested to collect “all sorts of documents bearing on the history of the life, doctrine, and persecutions of the Albigeois and the Vaudois.”

**THE FUTURE CAN BE EASILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT**





**PETER WALDO**

**PIERRE VAUDÈS OF LYON**

**1618**

The surviving documents in regard to the origins of the [Waldenses](#) were compiled with commentary in a history written by the Reverend Perrin of Lyons, titled *HISTOIRE DES VAUDOIS ET DES ALBIGEOIS &C., A GENEVE, POUR MATTHIEU BERJON*. The Reverend Perrin's work had been commissioned by the Synod of Dauphiny (which included the now reformed Waldensian Churches).<sup>9</sup> This pastor attributed dates to the documents which were far too early — for instance, he dated some [Waldensian](#) documents as early as 1100 CE, which would have been at least 60 years before the movement could possibly have begun. According to Giorgio Tourn, *THE WALDENSIANS: THE FIRST 800 YEARS (1174-1974)* translated from the Italian by Camillo P. Merlino, Charles W. Arbuthnot, Editor (Torino, Italy: Claudiana Editrice, 1980, page 5) no existing documents declare the exact year of birth of this Valdes, Valdesius, Valdensus, Valdo, or Waldo from the city of Lyons, describe his youth, or tell us anything about the last years of his life.

**DO I HAVE YOUR ATTENTION? GOOD.**

9. Alexis Muston, D.D., *THE HISTORY OF THE WALDENSES* Volume II, page 398.



**PIERRE VAUDÈS OF LYON**

**PETER WALDO**

**1631**

A group of [Waldensian Huguenot](#) refugees from [Germany](#) arrived on [Staten Island](#).<sup>10</sup>

[Thomas Heywood](#)'s THE FAIR MAID OF THE WEST OR A GIRLE WORTH GOLD, and ENGLAND'S ELIZABETH, HER LIFE AND TROUBLES DURING HER MINORITY FROM TIME CRADLE TO THE CROWN.

**CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT**

10. For documentation on this, consult the contributions of Elizabeth Gardner Hayward, Jane Hawkes Liddell, Corrine Ingraham Pigott, Kenneth Edward Hasbrouck, and Henry Darlington, Jr. in Gannon, Peter Steven (ed.) HUGUENOT REFUGEES IN THE SETTLING OF COLONIAL AMERICA (NY: Huguenot Society of America, 1985).



PETER WALDO

PIERRE VAUDÈS OF LYON

1655

The Reverend John Leger, a Waldensian pastor, collected source material on the history of the [Waldenses](#) (“Waldensians,” “the poor of Lyons,” “the Leonese,” “the Poor of Lombardy,” or simply “the Poor”) which would eventually be preserved in the library of the University of Cambridge.<sup>11</sup> The sociologist Henri Desroches has called this *les religions de contraband*. The eight centuries between 313CE, when Constantine (280?CE-337CE) began to transform the Christian Church into a mere apparatus of the state and Lactantius (240CE-320CE) began to accommodate its belief system to this new regime of power,<sup>12</sup> and the middle of the 1170s when Pierre Valdès began to teach that we should utilize the life of Jesus as the prime moral example for our own lives, had been dark and wicked ages indeed — or at least they had been dark and wicked in Christendom. The Reverend Leger, however, attributed dates to the documents which were far too early — for instance, he dated some Waldensian documents as early as 1100CE, which would have been at least 60 years before the movement could possibly have begun.

[John Milton](#)’s “On the Late Massacre in Piedmont.” [Henry Thoreau](#) knew very well that he was descended from primitive Christians, the [Waldenses](#) and the [Huguenots](#) who had fled France to wherever in the world they could go — such as to [Saffron Walden](#) across the water in England in the first wave of diaspora in the 12th Century and to the vicinity of Mount Wachusett in the Massachusetts-Bay Colony across the water in America<sup>13</sup> in the second wave of diaspora in the 17th Century— antinomians in regard to whom Milton had penned the lines:

Avenge O Lord thy slaughter’d Saints, whose bones  
Lie scatter’d on the Alpine meadows cold.



In this year Milton began to compose PARADISE LOST.



11. THE WALDENSES, (Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath-School Work, 1912, page 31). The MSS were given to Sir Samuel Moreland, who also wrote history on them. Both of these authors are controverted in Pius Melia, D.D., THE ORIGIN, PERSECUTIONS, AND DOCTRINES OF THE WALDENSES, (London: James Toovey, 1870).

12. According to the standard story, a document termed the “Donation of Constantine,” the Emperor donated the Roman state to the Christian church. However, in the 15th Century this document was discovered to be an 8th-Century forging. As usual in such cases, the official lie had been constructed by exact inversion: what had happened was that the Christian church had been donated to the Roman state.



**PIERRE VAUDÈS OF LYON**

**PETER WALDO**

13. As Thoreau reported in his Harvard classbook autobiography, he was a man “of French extract” whose ancestors had been forced to take “refuge in the isle of Jersey, on the revocation of the edict of Nantes, by Lewis 14th, in the year 1685.” Presumably the Thoreau family had fled from France to the isle of [Jersey](#) braving their fears of being sent to row in the galleys –for this was the usual penalty if detected– at roughly the same time that the Jacques Louis Guillet family had fled to that island in the English Channel, because the two families were intermarried. It is Jacques Thoreau’s son Philippe who was the ancestor of Henry David. His daughter Jean’s daughter Marie married Charles William Guillet in AD1796 and their son John Guillet emigrated in AD1832 to Cobourg on Lake Ontario east of Toronto, producing Edwin Clarence Guillet, the Canadian historian. Since the American branch of the Thoreau family came to an end with the unmarried generation of Helen, John, Henry, and Sophia, this Edwin Clarence Guillet (who died in 1974) was one of Henry David’s few modern relatives. As we can see in the following footnote from page 230 of his *THE PIONEER FARMER AND BACKWOODSMAN* (Toronto: The Ontario Publishing Company, Ltd., 1963), he was quite proud of Henry although reluctant to brag about being a relative:



The period of the settlement of Upper Canada was too late for the inclusion of religious refugees among its settlers. But a large number of descendants of French [Huguenots](#), driven from France in the sixteen-eighties, came to the United States and Canada, where they have tended to retain an independent and non-conformist attitude. The greatest of them all, of course, is Henry David Thoreau, whose philosophy and example have been so influential in shaping the career of Gandhi, British labour leaders, and broader loyalties of every type throughout the world.



**PETER WALDO**

**PIERRE VAUDÈS OF LYON**

**1803**



May 25, Wednesday: [Edward George Earle Bulwer-Lytton, 1st baron Lytton](#) was born in London to General William Earle Bulwer of Heydon Hall and Wood Dalling, Norfolk and Elizabeth Barbara Lytton, daughter of Richard Warburton Lytton of Knebworth, Hertfordshire. (His name as assigned at birth was [Edward George Earle Bulwer](#).)

The Reverend [William Emerson](#), pastor of the 1st Church of Boston, attended the Election Day sermon of another reverend and then dined with the governor of Massachusetts. When he returned to his parsonage he was informed of the women's business of that day: his wife [Ruth Haskins Emerson](#) had been giving birth in [Boston](#) and the apparently healthy infant had been a manchild. The baby would be christened Ralph, after a remote uncle, and Waldo, after a family into which the Emerson family had married in the 17th century.<sup>14</sup>



(That family had been so named because it had originated with some Waldensians who had become London merchants — but in the current religious preoccupations of the Emerson family there was no trace remaining of the tradition of that Waldensianism.)

**WALDENSES**

**WALDO EMERSON**

**WALDO'S  
RELATIVES**

14. Great-Great-Grandmother Rebecca Waldo of Chelmsford (born in 1662, married Edward Emerson of [Newbury](#), died 1752); Great-Great-Great Grandfather Deacon Cornelius Waldo (born *circa* 1624, died January 3?, 1700 in Chelmsford)



**PIERRE VAUDÈS OF LYON**

**PETER WALDO**

**1816**



Upon the resumption of rule by the House of Savoy, taking over from the fading empire of [Napoléon](#), the English began to show a great deal of interest in the fate of the religious self-determination of the [Waldenses](#) — perhaps the idea of a Protestant Revolution for the Italian Peninsula might be implanted in their minds!

**WHAT I'M WRITING IS TRUE BUT NEVER MIND  
YOU CAN ALWAYS LIE TO YOURSELF**



PETER WALDO

PIERRE VAUDÈS OF LYON

1821



Using the name Alcandro Grineo, [Giacomo Costantino Beltrami](#) became a member of the Accademia dei Catenati di Macerata. (He would soon determine that, with the Napoleonic project in ruins and the Pope in control, he needed to flee entirely from his native land.)

On the [Italian](#) peninsula, the [Waldenses](#) religious college at Torre Pellice, erected on the site of a fort once built to suppress them, was of course shut down by the new state authorities for having been teaching the doctrines of that heretic anti-Catholic faith.

Meanwhile, Joel Roberts Poinsett, a descendant of these [Huguenots](#), was entering the US House of Representatives.

WIKIPEDIA'S LIST OF HUGUENOTS



**PIERRE VAUDÈS OF LYON**

**PETER WALDO**

**1823**



An English minister visited the valleys of the [Waldenses](#) on the slopes of Monte Viso south-east of Torino. Hospitals had already been built and now a new college would be being started at La Torre. The Reverend William Stephen Gilly would publish an influential report about the squalor and ignorance of this historic people, A VISIT TO THE VALLEYS OF PIEDMONT.

**VALLEYS OF PIEDMONT**



PETER WALDO

PIERRE VAUDÈS OF LYON

1827



Summer: [Louis Agassiz](#) grew up in the Vaudois region of [Switzerland](#) where many followers of Pierre Waldo (the “[Waldenses](#)”), had holed up during the Middle Ages. The Agassiz family could trace its Protestant past back into the 13th Century in the canton of Vaud adjacent to Fribourg. His father was the 6th in an unbroken succession of pastors, and in all likelihood little Louis had remote ancestors who had attempted to lead a life like that of Jesus — but you know how it is, religions deteriorate badly with time and need to be perpetually renewed, the transformation rule for creating from a religion of peace and humility one of aggressive self-legitimation being simple: “wait a couple generations.” Clearly, little Louis’s well-reared parents had little to offer their son by the way of true religious council, for during the summer of 1827 he was left to extrapolate his life’s religion from the pages of Lorenz Oken’s *LEHRBUCH DER NATURPHILOSOPHIE* and—in the mode of his time and place—portray this religion as science much as Professor [E.O. Wilson](#) does today.



“Scientists have power by virtue of the respect commanded by the discipline. We may therefore be sorely tempted to misuse that power in furthering a personal prejudice or social goal — why not provide that extra oomph by extending the umbrella of science over a personal preference in ethics or politics?”



— [Stephen Jay Gould](#)  
BULLY FOR BRONTOSAURUS  
NY: Norton, 1991, page 429

The core of this scientific religion of the self-worship of the white man as the highest form of existence was the attitude that inferior forms of life were but “persistent foetal states.” A worm would be seen as merely a man who had been incapable of growing a backbone—a woman as merely a man who had failed to mature a penis—an ape as merely a Negro that had not had the moxie to shed its body hair and stand tall—etc. This is because God has ordained that all creatures strive to fulfil one final and perfect type, the white human male who can “get ’em down and hump ’em,” and master the sciences, and dissect frogs, and hack other humans to pieces with his sabre. All very satisfying, and guaranteed to make your life work for you (if you happen to be a white man, and happen to be wilful enough to enable yourself to go for such shit).<sup>15</sup>

## THE SCIENCE OF 1827

The Congregationalist Reverend Josiah Brewer (1796-1872) of Massachusetts was spending a pleasant summer in the midst of a vineyard on a very fruitful hill in Constantinople, renting at the residence of a Greek family that had formerly had the responsibility of educating the female children of the Seraglio. There, without the presence of a single male Turk, the little girls had been taught chiefly singing and dancing — until the father and two eldest sons of this Greek family had, for some offense given to the Sultan by a friend of the family, had their heads chopped off. After the [headchoppings](#) their habitations had been stripped as usual of anything of value. The only members of this Greek family who were left on the premises were the female members, who needed to support themselves with the produce of their vineyard, and with the rent of their houses to this visiting missionary family.

## CONSTANTINOPLE IN 1827

15. OK, do it if you must, but don’t come around here angling for respect.



**PIERRE VAUDÈS OF LYON**

**PETER WALDO**

**1831**



The [Waldenses](#) of the Italian mountains were excluded from all universities, and from the learned professions.



William Jones (1762-1846)'s THE HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH, FROM THE BIRTH OF CHRIST TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: INCLUDING THE VERY INTERESTING ACCOUNT OF THE [WALDENSES](#) AND ALBIGENSES.

**WALDENSES AND ALBIGENSES**



PETER WALDO

PIERRE VAUDÈS OF LYON

1842

[Charles James Fox](#)'s and the Reverend Samuel Osgood's edition THE [NEW HAMPSHIRE](#) BOOK. BEING SPECIMENS OF THE LITERATURE OF THE GRANITE STATE (Nashua, New Hampshire: H.D. Marshall; Nashville, New Hampshire: Charles T. Gill, 1844).

### STORIES OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

On the title page of this collection you will note an extract from a poem. The poem is [Mrs. Felicia Hemans](#)'s "Hymn of the Vaudois Mountaineers in Times of Persecution," about the [Waldensians](#):

For the strength of the hills we bless thee,  
Our God, our fathers' God!  
Thou hast made thy children mighty,  
By the touch of the mountain sod.  
Thou hast fix'd our ark of refuge,  
Where the spoiler's foot ne'er trod;  
For the strength of the hills we bless thee,  
Our God, our fathers' God!

We are watchers of a beacon  
Whose light must never die;  
We are guardians of an altar  
Midst the silence of the sky;  
The rocks yield founts of courage,  
Struck forth as by thy rod;  
For the strength of the hills we bless thee,  
Our God, our fathers' God!

For the dark resounding caverns,  
Where thy still, small voice is heard;  
For the strong pines of the forest,  
That by thy breath are stirr'd;  
For the storms on whose free pinions  
Thy spirit walks abroad;  
For the strength of the hills we bless thee,  
Our God, our fathers' God!

The royal eagle darteth  
On his quarry from the heights,  
And the stag that knows no master,  
Seeks there his wild delights;  
But we, for thy communion,  
Have sought the mountain sod,  
For the strength of the hills we bless thee,  
Our God, our fathers' God!

The banner of the chieftain,  
Far, far below us waves;  
The war-horse of the spearman  
Cannot reach our lofty caves:  
Thy dark clouds wrap the threshold  
Of freedom's last abode;  
For the strength of the hills we bless thee,  
Our God, our fathers' God!

For the shadow of thy presence,



## PIERRE VAUDÈS OF LYON

## PETER WALDO

Round our camp of rock outspread;  
For the stern defiles of battle,  
Bearing record of our dead;  
For the snows and for the torrents,  
For the free heart's burial sod;  
For the strength of the hills we bless thee.  
Our God, our fathers' God!







PETER WALDO

PIERRE VAUDÈS OF LYON

1848

According to page 4 of Larry J. Reynolds's influence study *EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS AND THE AMERICAN LITERARY RENAISSANCE* (New Haven CT: Yale UP, 1988), the attitudes of Professor Jules Michelet were at this point having such an adverse influence upon the stability of France—owing entirely to his having been influenced by the thought of [Waldo Emerson](#)—that the government was being forced to cancel his lectures at the *Collège de France*:

Ironically, Emerson, who viewed the French revolution of 1848 with skepticism, had, unbeknownst to himself, contributed to its outbreak. Three famous professors of the Collège de France—Michelet, Edgar Quinet, and Adam Mickiewicz—became during the early forties great admirers of Emerson, and they in turn through their lectures cultivated revolutionary impulses in their students. Michelet, historian of the great French Revolution, apparently appreciated Emerson's apology for subjectivism in history, which seemed to justify the republican biases in his own lectures and writings. Quinet, a reformer and philosopher, was attracted to Emerson's ethical ideas and incorporated striking phrases from Emerson's works into his lectures. Mickiewicz, the Polish poet and mystic who would become the godfather of [Margaret Fuller](#)'s child, enthusiastically accepted Emerson's idealism as his own, and he too quoted Emerson frequently in his lectures. Together, these three, because they opposed the materialistic spirit of the age and advocated a democratic idealism associated with the 1789 French Revolution,  posed a threat to Louis Philippe's government, which canceled their lectures—Mickiewicz's in 1844,  Quinet's in 1846,  and Michelet's in 1848.  Not before their influence had been felt, however. As Daniel Stern (the comtesse d'Agoult) put it in her *HISTOIRE DE LA RÉVOLUTION DE 1848*, "At the College of France, the courses of Michelet, Quinet, and Mickiewicz gave life to the republican tradition of the colleges, spread among the youth a sense of love for the people, of contempt for the church and 'official' society, and thus prepared the union of students and workers that was destined to manifest itself on the barricades."



## PIERRE VAUDÈS OF LYON

## PETER WALDO

The Associated Press news wire service began in New-York. One of the events they may have reported was the revolution in Paris, an event in which many, many were interested. Certainly the wire service carried the death of John Quincy Adams, although the fledgling reporters may have missed the beginning of the Oneida Institution in upstate New York. It is also unlikely that the wire service reported that the revolution of 1848 was being condemned by Arthur Schopenhauer as an eruption of humankind's primitive nature. (Another of the events they may have reported but probably did not report was that some 600 [Waldenses](#), suddenly granted freedom of conscience and freedom of worship by King Charles Albert, walked down from their mountain fastnesses near Monte Viso to hold a legal, public worship within the city of Torino, [Italy](#) — it is hard to imagine how such an event would have been of interest to anyone other than those people, who were suddenly taking part in the first legal, public worship which they had experienced in their entire lives!) [Giuseppe Mazzini](#) returned to [Italy](#) to prosecute his revolution, was initially welcomed in Milano, and would serve for



a short period with an irregular force under [Giuseppe Garibaldi](#) before he would flee the peninsula.

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The Hungarian revolution of [Lajos Kossuth](#) began.





**PIERRE VAUDÈS OF LYON**

**PETER WALDO**

### **The United States and the 1848 Revolutions (Timothy M. Roberts)**

Americans entered the year 1848 flushed from military success in Mexico. The US Senate ratified the Mexican peace treaty only a few days before transatlantic steamers brought the first news of the 1848 upheavals in Europe. The events together seemed to symbolize rising American power. American soldiers in Mexico, for instance, rejoiced that the "refulgence of their glorious stars" had penetrated the "noxious fogs of European despotism." It was easy to envision an American republican mission unfolding in the European upheavals.

Some northern journalists and Democratic politicians, enunciating this national mission under the moniker of "young America," saw the time ripe for an aggressive American policy in Europe. They supported military assistance to revolutionary governments in Germany and Hungary, and suspension of diplomatic relations with Prussia and Austria, whose rulers refused to submit to or cooperate with popular authority. Besides hastily recognizing the French Second Republic, the US also accorded recognition to short-lived regimes in Sicily and Frankfurt.

Outside official channels, moreover, support for radical Europe showed in various ways. Americans paraded, wore revolutionary cockades, and staged banquets to evince sympathy with European rebels. Protestant ministers preached, especially with the ousting of Pope Pius IX from the Vatican, that the downfall of Catholicism, and perhaps the beginning of the millennium, was near. Mexican war veterans and recent Irish and German immigrants organized volunteers and gathered arms and money to return to Europe to assist in its liberation.

Yet support for vigorous pro-revolutionary American action in Europe was far from universal. In politics, Whigs and many southern Democrats opposed all but the most symbolic of American shows of support. American businessmen took interest in European turbulence, but mainly in hopes that shaken European financiers would buy American securities, and American exports of cotton and tobacco would gain in more open European markets. Apologists for American slavery frowned on support for European liberation movements, especially with the abolition of feudal labor in central Europe and slavery in the French West Indian colonies. But while the 1848 Revolutions did not foster majority American interest in intervention in Europe, the revolutions did have an impact in the US. Advocates of various reform movements—urban labor organization, women's rights, and most prominently, antislavery—perceived that transatlantic reform was indeed gaining momentum, and used upheavals in Europe to argue that analogous change should occur in the United States. Revolutionary Europe, these groups declared, was an indicator of American defects, and a warning of what awaited the United States if inequities went unattended. After passage of the Fugitive Slave Law in 1850, requiring the national government to help recapture runaway slaves, the antislavery press described episodes of slaves' flight and apprehension in terms



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## PIERRE VAUDÈS OF LYON

of Hungarian freedom-fighters succumbing to Austrian oppression. Land reform in the western United States in part stemmed from pressure brought by immigrant and native laborers who used revolutionary Europe as a foil.

Many European revolutionary refugees came to America, some to settle permanently, others to raise funds to rejoin the struggle in Europe. Of the latter type, the most celebrated was the Hungarian lawyer Lajos Kossuth, whose 1852 speaking and fund-raising tour was sensational if quixotic. Kossuth pleaded for both private financial support for the Hungarian struggle, which he received, and military intervention in Europe, which he was refused. Kossuth spent most of the money he raised before he left the United States; perhaps the most lasting impact of his tour was in the realm of personal attire, as "Kossuth" hats, cloaks, and, for men, beards, became popular.

With the collapses of the 1848 Revolutions many Americans took comfort in the idea that the United States was different from Europe in its stability achieved via a republican revolution. But a decade later this would prove hubris. Then America would undergo a conflict whose upheavals and attendant suffering dwarfed the preceding conflicts in Europe. In their failed quests for greater liberty the 1848 Revolutions did not so much follow the American example of a republican revolution as they themselves provided a glimpse of coming, more comprehensive conflicts of democracy and nation-building on both sides of the Atlantic.





**PIERRE VAUDÈS OF LYON**

**PETER WALDO**

**1851**

Lest anyone be tempted to suppose that [Henry Thoreau](#) did not have sources for an understanding of the history of the term “[Waldenses](#)” which he deploys in his book [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#), bear in mind that in this year in Philadelphia, Lindsay and Blakiston published a book by Mrs. Tamar Davis titled A GENERAL HISTORY OF THE SABBATARIAN CHURCHES: EMBRACING ACCOUNTS OF THE ARMENIAN, EAST INDIAN, AND ABYSSINIAN EPISCOPACIES IN ASIA AND AFRICA, THE WALDENSES, SEMI-JUDAISERS, AND SABBATARIAN ANABAPTISTS OF EUROPE, WITH THE SEVENTH-DAY BAPTIST DENOMINATION IN THE UNITED STATES (and in a few more years the Presbyterian Board of Publication in Philadelphia would publish a book by Alexander W. Mitchell titled THE WALDENSES: SKETCHES OF THE EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANS OF THE VALLEYS OF PIEDMONT / WITH ILLUSTRATIONS ON WOOD, DRAWN BY DOEPLER AND BEAULIEU; AND ENGRAVED BY LOUDERBACK, ORR, AND ROBERTS).

**SABBATARIAN CHURCHES**

**THE WALDENSES**



**PETER WALDO**

**PIERRE VAUDÈS OF LYON**

**1852**

Winter: [Henry Thoreau](#) began to subscribe to [Horace Greeley](#)'s [Weekly Tribune](#). Since his inclusion of the term "[Waldenses](#)" in the manuscript was originally on the back of one of the newspaper receipts for this subscription that were being recycled as jotting paper for fresh ideas, although this particular use of the word was definitely earlier than the Draft F into which it was first interlined in 1853-1854, this use of the word in regard to Walden



## PIERRE VAUDÈS OF LYON

## PETER WALDO

Pond's pickerel is unlikely to originate earlier than Winter 1852-1853.

Ah, the pickerel of Walden! when I see them lying on the ice, or in the well which the fisherman cuts in the ice, making a little hole to admit the water, <sup>^golden</sup> and <sup>^emerald</sup> I am always surprised by their rare beauty, as if they were fabulous fishes—~~fresh water dolphins dauphins- eldest sons of Walden~~, they are so foreign to the streets, even to the woods, foreign as Arabia to our Concord life. They possess a <sup>^quite</sup> dazzling and transcendent beauty which separates them ~~far~~ <sup>^by a wide interval</sup> from the cadaverous cod and haddock ~~at least two days old~~ whose fame is trumpeted in our streets. ~~handsome art-lovers-~~ [ILLEGIBLE WORD?] ~~& gems-~~ <sup>^they</sup> are not green like the pines, nor gray like the stones nor blue like <sup>^the</sup> sky; but they have, to my <sup>^eye</sup> <sup>^eyes</sup>, if possible, yet rarer colors, like <sup>^flowers and</sup> precious stones, as if they were the pearls, ~~of this great shell~~ <sup>^some</sup> ~~solid opied &~~ <sup>^the</sup> animalized *nuclei* or crystals of the Walden water. They, of course, are ~~composed of Walden wholly~~ <sup>^Walden all over and all through;</sup> are <sup>^themselves small</sup> Waldens in the animal kingdom, <sup>^Waldenses</sup> ~~perhaps dolphins- dauphins- eldest sons of Walden,~~ for whose behalf this whole world is but a dauphin edition ~~to study-~~ It is surprising that ~~these fishes~~ <sup>^fish</sup> <sup>^they</sup> are caught here, -that in this deep and capacious spring, far beneath the rattling teams and chaises and tinkling sleighs that travel the Walden road, this great gold and emerald fish swims. I never chanced to see its kind in any market; it would be the cynosure of all eyes there. <sup>^Easily,</sup> with a few convulsive quirks, they give up their ~~diluted~~ <sup>^watery</sup> ghosts, like a mortal translated before his time to the ~~subtle~~ <sup>^thin</sup> air of heaven.



**PETER WALDO**

**PIERRE VAUDÈS OF LYON**

**1853**

July: [Henry Thoreau](#) surveyed for Silas Holden a houselot on Bedford Road near Mary Rice and the Meeting House which would later be turned around to become the Catholic Church on the Common. On this survey, now at the Concord Free Public Library, he indicated the location of Beck Stow's Swamp.



View [Henry Thoreau](#)'s personal working drafts of his surveys courtesy of AT&T and the Concord Free Public Library:

[http://www.concordlibrary.org/scollect/Thoreau\\_Surveys/Thoreau\\_Surveys.htm](http://www.concordlibrary.org/scollect/Thoreau_Surveys/Thoreau_Surveys.htm)

(The official copy of this survey of course had become the property of the person or persons who had hired this Concord town surveyor to do their surveying work during the 19th Century. Such materials have yet to be recovered.)

View this particular personal working draft of a survey in fine detail:



PIERRE VAUDÈS OF LYON

PETER WALDO

[http://www.concordlibrary.org/scollect/Thoreau\\_surveys/7c.htm](http://www.concordlibrary.org/scollect/Thoreau_surveys/7c.htm)

He was working on his [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#) manuscript:

My townsmen have all heard the tradition, <sup>^the oldest</sup> people tell me that they heard it in their youth, that anciently the Indians were ~~carousing or~~ holding a pow-wow upon a hill here, which rose as high into the heavens as the pond now sinks deep into the earth, and they used much profanity, as the story goes, though this vice ~~as I learn from the best authority,~~ is one of which the Indians were never guilty, and while they were thus engaged the hill shook and suddenly sank, and only one old squaw, named Walden, escaped, and from her the pond was named. It has been conjectured that when the hill shook these stones rolled down its side and became the present shore. It is very certain, at any rate, that once there was no pond there, and now there is one; <sup>^and</sup> this Indian fable does not in any respect conflict with the account of that ancient settler whom I have mentioned, who remembers so well when he first came here with his divining rod, saw a thin vapor rising from the sward, and the hazel pointed steadily downward, and he concluded to dig a well here. If the name was not derived from that of some English locality, <sup>^Saffron Walden ^for instance ^perhaps</sup> ~~I have conjectured that~~ <sup>^who knows but</sup> it was called, originally, Walled-in Pond.

Ah, the pickerel of Walden! when I see them lying on the ice, or in the well which the fisherman cuts in the ice, making a little hole to admit the water, I am always surprised by their rare beauty, as if they were fabulous fishes.... as if they were the pearls, the animalized *nuclei* or crystals of the Walden water. They, of course, are Walden all over and all through; are themselves small Waldens in the animal kingdom, Waldenses..... in this deep and capacious spring, far beneath the rattling teams and chaises and tinkling sleighs that travel the Walden road, this great gold and emerald fish swims.... Easily, with a few convulsive quirks, they give up their watery ghosts, like a mortal translated before his time to the thin air of heaven.

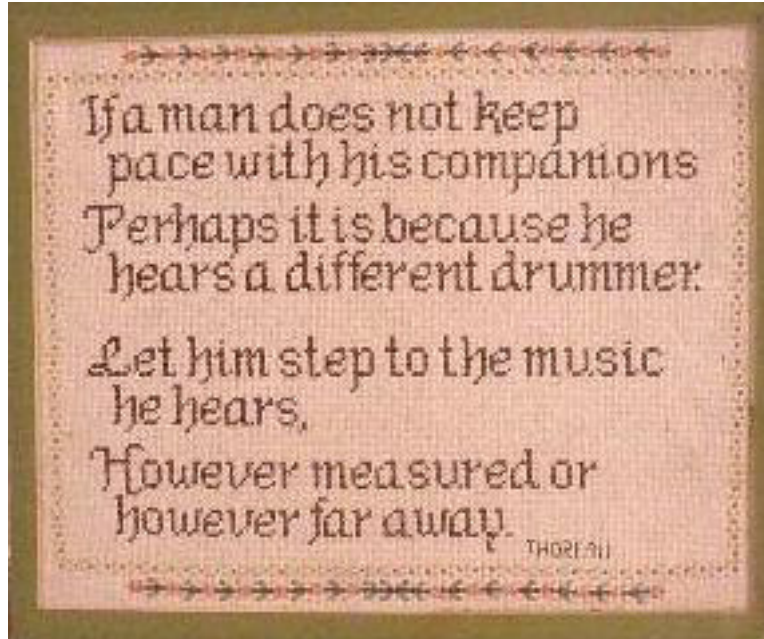
Why should we be in such desperate haste to succeed, and in such desperate enterprises? If a man does not keep pace with his companions, perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer. Let him step to the music which he hears, however measured or far away. It is not important that he should mature as soon as an apple-tree or an oak. Shall he turn his spring into summer? If the condition of things which we were made for is not yet, what were any reality which we can substitute? We will not be shipwrecked on a vain reality. Shall we with pains erect a heaven of blue glass over ourselves, though when it is done we shall be sure to gaze still at the true



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ethereal heaven far above, as if the former were not?



- 1870: Melia, Pius D.D. THE ORIGIN, PERSECUTIONS, AND DOCTRINES OF THE WALDENSES (London: James Tooverly).
- 1875: Muston, Alexis D.D. THE HISTORY OF THE WALDENSES VOL. I& II. Rev. John Montgomery, translator (London: Blackie & Son).
- 1889: Comba, Emilio, D.D. HISTORY OF THE WALDENSES OF ITALY (London: Truslove & Shirley).
- 1893: Strong, C.H. A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE WALDENSES (London: Lawrence, Kansas: J.S. Boughton Publishing Co.).



**PIERRE VAUDÈS OF LYON**

**PETER WALDO**

**1911**

The utterly famous 1911 edition of the *ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA*:

**THOREAU, HENRY DAVID (1817-1862), American recluse, naturalist and writer**, was born at Concord, Massachusetts, on the 12th of July 1817. To Thoreau this Concord country contained all of beauty and even grandeur that was necessary to the worshipper of nature: he once journeyed to Canada; he went west on one occasion; he sailed and explored a few rivers; for the rest, he haunted Concord and its neighbourhood as faithfully as the stork does its ancestral nest. John Thoreau, his father, who married the daughter of a New England clergyman, was the son of a John Thoreau of the isle, of Jersey, who, in Boston, married a Scottish lady of the name of Burns. This last-named John was the son of Philippe Thoreau and his wife Marie le Gallais, persons of pure French blood, settled at St Helier, in Jersey. From his New England Puritan mother, from his Scottish grandmother, from his Jersey-American grandfather and from his remoter French ancestry Thoreau inherited distinctive traits: the Saxon element perhaps predominated, but the "hauntings of Celtism" were prevalent and potent. The stock of the Thoreaus was a robust one; and in Concord the family, though never wealthy nor officially influential, was ever held in peculiar respect. As a boy, Henry drove his mother's cow to the pastures, and thus early became enamoured of certain aspects of nature and of certain delights of solitude. At school and at Harvard University he in nowise distinguished himself, though he was an intelligently receptive student; he became, however, proficient enough in Greek, Latin, and the more general acquirements to enable him to act for a time as a master. But long before this he had become apprenticed to the learning of nature in preference to that of man: when only twelve years of age he had made collections for Agassiz, who had then just arrived in America, and already the meadows and the hedges and the stream-sides had become cabinets of rare knowledge to him. On the desertion of schoolmastering as a profession, Thoreau became a lecturer and author, though it was the labour of his hands which mainly supported him through many years of his life: professionally he was a surveyor. In the effort to reduce the practice of economy to a fine art he arrived at the conviction that the less labour a man did, over and above the positive demands of necessity, the better for him and for the community at large; he would have had the order of the week reversed – six days of rest for one of labour. It was in 1845 he made the now famous experiment of Walden. Desirous of proving to himself and others that man could be as independent of this kind as the nest-building bird, Thoreau retired to a hut of his own construction on the pine-slope over against the shores of Walden Pond – a hut which he built, furnished and kept in order entirely by the labour of his own hands. During the two years



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of his residence in Walden. woods he lived by the exercise of a little surveying, a little job-work and the tilage of a few acres of ground which produced him his beans and potatoes. His absolute independence was as little gained as if he had camped out in Hyde Park; relatively he lived the life of a recluse. He read considerably, wrote abundantly, thought actively if not widely, and came to know beasts, birds and fishes with an intimacy more extraordinary than. was the case with St Francis of Assisi. Birds came at his call, and forgot their hereditary fear of man; beasts lipped and caressed him; the very fish in lake and stream would glide, unfearful, between his hands. This, exquisite familiarity with bird and beast would make us love the memory of Thoreau if his egotism were triply as arrogant, if his often meaningless paradoxes were even more absurd, if his sympathies were even less humanitarian. than we know them to have been. His Walden, the record of this fascinating two years' experience, must always remain a production of great interest and considerable psychological value. Some years before Thoreau took to Walden woods he made the chief friendship of his life, that with Emerson. He became one of the famous circle of the transcendentalists, always keenly preserving his own individuality amongst such more or less potent natures as Emerson, Hawthorne and Margaret Fuller. From Emerson he gained more than from any man, alive or dead; and, though the older philosopher both enjoyed and learned from the association with the younger, it cannot be said that the gain was equal. There was nothing electrical in' Thoreau's intercourse with his fellow men; he gave off no spiritual sparks. He absorbed intensely, but when. called upon to illuminate in turn was found wanting. It is with a sense of relief that we read of his having really been stirred into active enthusiasm anent the wrongs done the ill-fated John Brown. With children. he was affectionate and gentle, with old people and strangers considerate. In a word, he loved his kind as animals, but did not seem to find them as interesting as those furred and feathered. In 1847 Thoreau left Walden Lake abruptly, and for a time occupied himself with lead-pencil making, the parental trade. He never married, thus further fulfilling his policy of what one of his essayist-biographers has termed "indulgence in fine renouncements." At the comparatively early age of forty-five he died, on the 6th of May 1862. His grave is in the Sleepy Hollow cemetery at Concord, beside those of Hawthorne and Emerson.

Thoreau's fame will rest on Walden; or, Life in the Woods (Boston, 1854) and the Excursions (Boston, 1863), though he wrote nothing which is not deserving of notice. Up till his thirtieth year he dabbled in verse, but he had little ear for metrical music, and he lacked the spiritual impulsiveness of the true poet. His weakness as a philosopher is his tendency to base the laws of the universe on the experience-born, thought-produced convictions of one man - himself. His weakness as a writer is the too frequent striving after antithesis and paradox. If he had had all his own. originality without the itch



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of appearing original, he would have made his fascination irresistible.' As it is, Thoreau holds a unique place. He was a naturalist, but absolutely devoid of the pedantry of science; a keen observer, but no retailer of disjointed facts. He thus holds sway over two domains: he had the adherence of the lovers of fact and of the children of fancy. He must always be read, whether lovingly or interestedly, for he has all the variable charm, the strange saturninity, the contradictions, austerities and delightful surprises, of Nature herself.

After Thoreau's death were also published: *The Maine Woods* (Boston, 1863); *Cape Cod* (Boston, 1865); *A Yankee in Canada* (Boston, 1866). In the *Atlantic Monthly*, in 1862, appeared "Walking," "Autumn Tints" and "Wild Apples"; in 1863, "Night and Moonlight." The standard editions of his works are *The Writings of Henry David Thoreau*, Riverside edition (11 vols., Boston, 1894–1895), and Manuscript edition (12 vols., *ibid.*, 1907). See also W.E. Channing, *Thoreau: The Poet Naturalist* (Boston, 1873); R.W. Emerson, an introductory note to *Excursions* (Boston, 1863); F.B. Sanborn, *Henry David Thoreau* (Boston, 1882), in the "American Men of Letters Series"; H.S. Salt, *Life of Henry David Thoreau* (London, 1890); *Some Unpublished Letters of H.D. and Sophia E. Thoreau* (Jamaica, New York, 1890); J. Russell Lowell, *My Study Windows*; R.L. Stevenson, *Familiar Studies in Men and Books*; and F.H. Allen, *Bibliography of H. D. Thoreau* (Boston, 1908)., (W. SH.)

**WALDENSES.** The name Waldenses was given to the members of an heretical Christian sect which arose in the south of France about 1170. The history of the sects of the middle ages is obscure, because the earliest accounts of them come from those who were concerned in their suppression, and were therefore eager to lay upon each of them the worst enormities which could be attributed to any. In later times the apologists of each sect reversed the process, and cleared that in which they were interested at the expense of others. In early times these sectaries produced little literature of their own; when they produced a literature at the beginning of the 15th century they attempted to claim for it a much earlier origin. Hence there is confusion on every side; it is difficult to distinguish between various sects and to determine their exact opinions or the circumstances under which they came into being. The polemical conception which has done much to perpetuate this confusion is that of the historical continuity of Protestantism from the earliest times. According to this view the church was pure and uncorrupt till the time of Constantine, when Pope Sylvester gained the first temporal possession for the papacy, and so began the system of a rich, powerful and worldly church, with Rome for its capital. Against this secularized church a body of witnesses silently protested; they were always persecuted but always survived, till in the 13th century a desperate attempt was made by Innocent III to root them out from their stronghold in Southern France. Persecution gave new vitality to their



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doctrines, which passed on to Wycliffe and Huss, and through these leaders produced the Reformation in Germany and England. This view rests upon a series of suppositions, and is entirely unhistorical. So far as can be discovered the heretical sects of the middle ages rested upon a system of Manichaeism which was imported into Europe from the East (see Manichaeism). The Manichaeian system of dualism, with its severe asceticism, and its individualism, which early passed into antinomianism, was attractive to many minds in the awakening of the 11th century. Its presence in Europe can be traced in Bulgaria soon after its conversion in 862, where the struggle between the Eastern and Western churches for the new converts opened a way for the more hardy speculations of a system which had never entirely disappeared, and found a home amongst the Paulicians in Armenia. The name of Cathari, taken by the adherents of this new teaching, sufficiently shows the Oriental origin of their opinions, which spread from Bulgaria amongst the Slavs, and followed the routes of commerce into central Europe. The earliest record of their presence there is the condemnation of ten canons of Orleans as Manichees in 1022, and soon after this we find complaints of the prevalence of heresy in northern Italy and in Germany. The strongholds of these heretical opinions were the great towns, the centers of civilization, because there the growing sentiment of municipal independence, and the rise of a burgher class through commerce, created a spirit of criticism which was dissatisfied with the worldly lives of the clergy and their undue influence in affairs.

The system of Catharism recognized two classes of adherents, credentes and perfecti. The perfecti only were admitted to its esoteric doctrines and to its superstitious practices. To the ordinary men it seemed to be a reforming agency, insisting on a high moral standard, and upholding the words of Scripture against the traditions of an overgrown and worldly church. Its popular aim and its rationalistic method made men overlook its real contents, which were not put clearly before them. It may be said generally that Catharism formed the abiding background of medieval heresy. Its dualistic system and its anti-social principles were known only to a few, but its anti-ecclesiastical organization formed a permanent nucleus round which gathered a great deal of political and ecclesiastical discontent. When this discontent took any independent form of expression, zeal, which was not always accompanied by discretion, brought the movement into collision with the ecclesiastical authorities, by whom it was condemned as heretical. When once it was in conflict with authority it was driven to strengthen its basis by a more pronounced hostility against the system of the church, and generally ended by borrowing something from Catharism. The result was that in the beginning of the 13th century there was a tendency to class all bodies of heretics together; partly their opinions had coalesced; partly they were assumed to be identical.

Most of these sects were stamped out before the period of the



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middle ages came to a close. The Waldenses, under their more modern name of the Vaudois, have survived to the present day in the valleys of Piedmont, and have been regarded as at once the most ancient and the most evangelical of the medieval sects. It is, however, by no means easy to determine their original tenets, as in the 13th and 14th centuries they were a body of obscure and unlettered peasants, hiding themselves in a corner, while in the 16th century they were absorbed into the general movement of the Reformation. As regards their antiquity, the attempts to claim for them an earlier origin than the end of the 12th century can no longer be sustained. They rested upon the supposed antiquity of a body of Waldensian literature, which modern criticism has shown to have been tampered with. The most important of these documents, a poem in Provençal, "La Nobla Leyczon," contains two lines which claimed for it the date of 1100:—

Ben ha mil e cent anez compli entierament  
Que fo scripta l' ora, car sen al derier temp.

But it was pointed out that in the oldest MS. existing in the Cambridge university library the figure 4 had been imperfectly erased before the word "cent," a discovery which harmonized with the results of a criticism of the contents of the poem itself. This discovery did away with the ingenious attempts to account for the name of Waldenses from some other source than from the historical founder of the sect, Peter Waldo or Valdez. To get rid of Waldo, whose date was known, the name Waldenses or Vallenses was derived from Vallis, because they dwelt in the valleys, or from a supposed Provençal word Vaudes, which meant a sorcerer.

Putting these views aside as unsubstantial, we will consider the relation of the Waldenses as they appear in actual history with the sects which preceded them. Already in the 9th century there were several protests against the rigidity and want of spirituality of a purely sacerdotal church. Thus Berengar of Tours (999-1088) upheld the symbolic character of the Eucharist and the superiority of the Bible over tradition. The Paterines in Milan (1045) raised a protest against simony and other abuses of the clergy, and Pope Gregory VII did not hesitate to enlist their Puritanism on the side of the papacy and make them his allies in imposing clerical celibacy. In 1110 an apostate monk in Zealand, Tanchelm, carried their views still farther, and asserted that the sacraments were only valid through the merits and sanctity of the ministers. In France, at Embrun, Peter de Bruys founded a sect known as Petrobrusians, who denied infant baptism, the need of consecrated churches, transubstantiation, and masses for the dead. A follower of his, a monk, Henry, gave the name to another body known as Henricians, who centered in Tours. The teachers of these new opinions were men of high character and holy lives, who in spite of persecution wandered from place to place, and made many converts from those who were dissatisfied at the want of clerical discipline which followed



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upon the struggle for temporal supremacy into which the reforming projects of Gregory VII had carried the church. It was at this time (1170) that a rich merchant of Lyons, Peter Waldo, sold his goods and gave them to the poor; then he went forth as a preacher of voluntary poverty. His followers the Waldenses, or poor men of Lyons, were moved by a religious feeling which could find no satisfaction within the actual system of the church, as they saw it before them. Like St. Francis, Waldo adopted a life of poverty that he might be free to preach, but with this difference that the Waldenses preached the doctrine of Christ while the Franciscans preached the person of Christ, Waldo reformed teaching while Francis kindled love; hence the one awakened antagonisms which the other escaped. For Waldo had a translation of the New Testament made into Provençal, and his preachers not only stirred up men to more holy lives but explained the Scriptures at their will. Such an interference with the ecclesiastical authorities led to difficulties. Pope Alexander III., who had approved of the poverty of the Waldensians, prohibited them from preaching without the permission of the bishops (1179). Waldo answered that he must obey God rather than man. The result of this disobedience to authority was excommunication by Lucius III in 1184. Thus a reforming movement became heresy through disobedience to authority, and after being condemned embarked on a course of polemical investigation how to justify its own position. Some were readmitted into the Catholic Church, and one, Durandus de Osca (1210), attempted to found an order of Pauperes Catholici, which was the forerunner of the order of St. Dominic. Many were swept away in the crusade against the Albigenses (q.v.). Others made an appeal to Innocent III., protesting their orthodoxy. Their appeal was not successful, for they were formally condemned by the Lateran council of 1215. The earliest definite account given of the Waldensian opinion is that of the inquisitor Sacconi about 1250. He divides them into two classes: those north of the Alps and those of Lombardy. The first class hold (1) that oaths are forbidden by the gospel, (2) that capital punishment is not allowed to the civil power, (3) that any layman may consecrate the sacrament of the altar, and (4) that the Roman Church is not the Church of Christ. The Lombard sect went farther in (3) and (4), holding that no one in mortal sin could consecrate the sacrament, and that the Roman Church was the scarlet women of the Apocalypse, whose precepts ought not to be obeyed, especially those appointing fast-days. This account sufficiently shows the difference of the Waldenses from the Cathari; they were opposed to asceticism, and had no official priesthood; at the same time their objection to oaths and to capital punishment are closely related to the principles of the Cathari. Their other opinions were forced upon them by their conflict with the authority of the Church. When forbidden to preach without the permission of the bishop, they were driven to assert the right of all to preach, without distinction of age or sex. This led to the further step of setting up personal merit



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rather than ecclesiastical ordination as the ground of the priestly office. From this followed again the conclusion that obedience was not due to an unworthy priest, and that his ministrations were invalid.

These opinions were subversive of the system of the medieval church, and were naturally viewed with great disfavor by its officials; but it cannot fairly be said that they have much in common with the opinions of the Reformers of the 16th century. The medieval church set forth Christ as present in the orderly community of the faithful; Protestantism aimed at setting the individual in immediate communion with Christ, without the mechanical intervention of the officers of the community; the Waldenses merely set forward a new criterion of the orderly arrangement of the church, according to which each member was to sit in judgment on the works of the ministers, and consequently on the validity of their ministerial acts. It was a rude way of expressing a desire for a more spiritual community. The earliest known document proceeding from the Waldensians is an account of a conference held at Bergamo in 1218 between the Ultramontane and the Lombard divisions, in which the Lombards showed a greater opposition to the recognized priesthood than did their northern brethren.

As these opinions became more pronounced persecution became more severe, and the breach between the Waldenses and the church widened. The Waldenses withdrew altogether from the ministrations of the church, and chose ministers for themselves whose merits were recognized by the body of the faithful. Election took the place of ordination, but even here the Lombards showed their difference from the Ultramontanes, and recognized only two orders, like the Cathari, while the northern body kept the old three orders of bishops, priests and deacons. Gradually the separation from the church became more complete: the sacraments were regarded as merely symbolical; the priests became helpers of the faithful; ceremonies disappeared; and a new religious society arose equally unlike the medieval church and the Protestantism of the 16th century.

The spread of these heretical sects led to resolute attempts at their suppression. The crusade against the Albigensians could destroy prosperous cities and hand over lands from a heedless lord to one who was obedient to the church; but it could not get rid of heresy. The revival of preaching, which was the work of the order of St. Dominic, did more to combat heresy, especially where its persuasions were enforced by law. The work of inquisition into cases of heresy proceeded slowly in the hands of the bishops, who were too busy with other matters to find much time for sitting in judgment on theological points about which they were imperfectly informed. The greatest blow struck against heresy was the transference of the duty of inquiry into heresy from the bishops to Dominican inquisitors. The secular power, which shared in the proceeds of the confiscation of those who were found guilty of heresy, was ready to help in carrying out the judgments of the spiritual courts. Everywhere, and



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especially in the district round Toulouse, heretics were keenly prosecuted, and before the continued zeal of persecution the Waldenses slowly disappeared from the chief centers of population and took refuge in the retired valleys of the Alps. There, in the recesses of Piedmont, where the streams of the Pelice, the Angrogne, the Clusone and others cleave the sides of the Alps into valleys which converge at Susa, a settlement of the Waldensians was made who gave their name to these valleys of the Vaudois. In the more accessible regions north and south heresy was exposed to a steady process of persecution, and tended to assume shifting forms. Among the valleys it was less easily reached, and retained its old organization and its old contents. Little settlements of heretics dispersed throughout Italy and Provence looked to the valleys as a place of refuge, and tacitly regarded them as the centre of their faith. At times attempts were made to suppress the sect of the Vaudois, but the nature of the country which they inhabited, their obscurity and their isolation made the difficulties of their suppression greater than the advantages to be gained from it. However, in 1487 Innocent VIII. issued a bull for their extermination, and Alberto de' Capitanei, archdeacon of Cremona, put himself at the head of a crusade against them. Attacked in Dauphine and Piedmont at the same time, the Vaudois were hard pressed; but luckily their enemies were encircled by a fog when marching upon their chief refuge in the valley of the Angrogne, and were repulsed with great loss. After this Charles II., duke of Piedmont, interfered to save his territories from further confusion, and promised the Vaudois peace. They were, however, sorely reduced by the onslaught which had been made upon them, and lost their ancient spirit of independence. When the Lutheran movement began they were ready to sympathize with it, and ultimately to adapt their old beliefs to those of the rising Protestantism. Already there were scattered bodies of Waldenses in Germany who had influenced, and afterwards joined, the Hussites and the Bohemian Brethren.

The last step in the development of the Waldensian body was taken in 1530, when two deputies of the Vaudois in Dauphne and Provence, Georges Morel and Pierre Masson, were sent to confer with the German and Swiss Reformers. A letter addressed to Oecolompadius gives an account of their practices and beliefs at that time, and shows us a simple and unlettered community, which was the survival of an attempt to form an esoteric religious society within the medieval church. It would appear that its members received the sacraments of baptism and the holy communion from the regular priesthood, at all events sometimes, but maintained a discipline of their own and held services for their own edification. Their ministers were called barba, a Provencal word meaning guide. They were chosen from among laboring men, who at the age of twenty-five might ask the body of ministers to be admitted as candidates. If their character was approved they were taught during the winter months when work was slack, for a space of three or four years; after that they



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were sent for two years to serve as menial assistants at a nunnery for women, which curiously enough existed in a recess of the valleys. Then they were admitted to office, after receiving the communion, by the imposition of hands of all ministers present. They went out to preach two by two, and the junior was bound absolutely to obey the senior. Clerical celibacy was their rule, but they admit that it created grave disorders. The ministers received food and clothing from the contributions of the people, but also worked with their hands; the result of this was that they were very ignorant, and also were grasping after bequests from the dying. The affairs of the church were managed by a general synod held every year. The duties of the barbas were to visit all within their district once a year, hear their confessions, advise and admonish them; in all services the two ministers sat side by side, and one spoke after the other. In point of doctrine they acknowledged the seven sacraments, but gave them a symbolical meaning; they prayed to the Virgin and saints, and admitted auricular confession, but they denied purgatory and the sacrifice of the mass, and did not observe fasts or festivals. After giving this account of themselves they ask for information about several points in a way which shows the exigencies of a rude and isolated society, and finally they say that they have been much disturbed by the Lutheran teaching about freewill and predestination, for they had held that men did good works through natural virtue stimulated by God's grace, and they thought of predestination in no other way than as a part of God's foreknowledge.

Oecolampadius gave them further instruction, especially emphasizing the wrongfulness of their outward submission to the ordinances of the church; "God," he said, "is a jealous God, and does not permit His elect to put themselves under the yoke of Antichrist." The result of this intercourse was an alliance between the Vaudois and the Swiss and German Reformers. A synod was held in 1532 at Chanforans in the valley of the Angrogne, where a new confession of faith was adopted, which recognized the doctrine of election, assimilated the practices of the Vaudois to those of the Swiss congregations, renounced for the future all recognition of the Roman communion, and established their own worship no longer as secret meetings of a faithful few but as public assemblies for the glory of God.

Thus the Vaudois ceased to be relics of the past, and became absorbed in the general movement of Protestantism. This was not, however, a source of quiet or security. In France and Italy alike they were marked out as special objects of persecution, and the Vaudois church has many records of martyrdom. The most severe trial to which the Vaudois of Piedmont were subjected occurred in 1655. The Congregation de Propaganda Fid established, in 1650, a local council in Turin, which exercised a powerful influence on Duke Charles Emmanuel II., who ordered that the Vaudois should be reduced within the limits of their ancient territory. Fanaticism took advantage of this order; and an army, composed partly of French troops of Louis XIV., partly of Irish



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soldiers who had fled before Cromwell, entered the Vaudois valleys and spread destruction on every side. They treated the people with horrible barbarity, so that the conscience of Europe was aroused, and England under Cromwell called on the Protestant powers to join in remonstrance to the duke of Savoy and the French king. The pen of Milton was employed for this purpose, and his famous sonnet is but the condensation of his state papers. Sir Samuel Morland was sent on a special mission to Turin, and to him were confided by the Vaudois leaders copies of their religious books, which he brought back to England, and ultimately gave to the university library at Cambridge. Large sums of money were contributed in England and elsewhere, and were sent to the suffering Vaudois.

By this demonstration of opinion peace was made for a time between the Vaudois and their persecutors; but it was a treacherous peace, and left the Vaudois with a hostile garrison established among them. Their worship was prohibited, and their chief pastor, Leger, was obliged to flee, and in his exile at Leiden wrote his *Histoire generale des eglises vaudoises* (1684). The revocation of the edict of Nantes in 1685 began a new period of persecution, which aimed at entire extermination. This was found so difficult that the remnant of the Vaudois, to the number of 2600, were at last allowed to withdraw to Geneva. But the love of their native valleys was strong among the exiles, and in 1689 one of their pastors, Henri Arnaud, led a band of 800 men to the reconquest of their country. His first attempts against the French were successful; and the rupture between Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, and Louis XIV. brought a sudden change of fortune to the Vaudois. They were recognized once more as citizens of Savoy, and in the war against France which broke out in 1696 the Vaudois regiment did good service for its duke. The peace of Utrecht saw the greater part of the French territory occupied by the Vaudois annexed to Savoy, and, though there were frequent threatenings of persecution, the idea of toleration slowly prevailed in the policy of the house of Savoy. The Vaudois, who had undergone all these vicissitudes, were naturally reduced to poverty, and their ministers were partially maintained by a subsidy from England, which was granted by Queen Anne. The 18th century, however, was a time of religious decadence even among the Alpine valleys, and the outbreak of the French Revolution saw the Vaudois made subjects of France. This led to a loss of the English subsidy, and they applied to Napoleon for an equivalent. This was granted, and their church was organized by the state. On the restoration of the house of Savoy in 1816 English influence was used on behalf of the Vaudois, who received a limited toleration. From that time onwards the Vaudois became the objects of much in Protestant countries. Large sums of money were collected to build hospitals and churches among their valleys, and they were looked upon as the possible centre of a Protestant church in Italy. Especially from England did they receive sympathy and help. An English clergyman, Dr. Gilly, visited the valleys in 1823, and by his



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writings on the Vaudois church attracted considerable attention, so that he was enabled to build a college at La Torre. Moreover, Dr. Gilly's book (A Visit to the Valleys of Piedmont), chancing to fall into the hands of an officer who had lost his leg at Waterloo, Colonel Beckwith, suggested an object for the energies of one who was loath at the age of twenty-six to sink into enforced idleness. Beckwith visited the valleys, and was painfully struck by the squalor and ignorance of a people who had so glorious a past. He settled among them, and for thirty-five years devoted himself to promote their welfare. During this period he established no fewer than 120 schools; moreover he brought back the Italian language which had been displaced by the French in the services of the Vaudois church, and in 1849 built a church for them in Turin. He lived in La Torre till his death in 1862, and the name of the English benefactor is still revered by the simple folk of the valleys. (M.C.)

The parent church in the valleys is ecclesiastically governed by a court for internal affairs called the "Table," after the old stone table round which the ancient barbas used to sit, and a mission board, with an annual synod to which both the home and mission boards are subject. The total population of the Waldensian valleys (for they also contain Roman Catholics in no small number) amounts to about 20,000 all told. In 1900 there were 16 parishes, with 18 pasteurs and 22 temples, and also 2 Sunday schools (3017 children) and 194 day schools (with 4218 children); the full members (i.e. communicants) of the Waldensian faith amounted to 12,695. There were, besides, branches at Turin (1 temple, 2 pasteurs and 750 members), in other parts of Italy, including Sicily (46 temples and as many pasteurs, while the number of members was 5613, of day scholars 2704, and of Sunday school scholars 3707). It is also reckoned that in Uruguay and the Argentine Republic there are about 6000 Waldensians; of these 1253 were in 1900 full members, while the day scholars numbered 364 and the Sunday school children 670.

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**"MAGISTERIAL HISTORY" IS FANTASIZING: HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY**



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"It's all now you see. Yesterday won't be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago."

- Remark by character "Garin Stevens"  
in William Faulkner's INTRUDER IN THE DUST



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# *ARRGH AUTOMATED RESEARCH REPORT*

## *GENERATION HOTLINE*



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