

WAGPCS Paper

The History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piedmont: Political Performance, and the Use of History in the Cromwellian Protectorate

Abstract: In 1655, the Duke of Savoy ordered the violent removal of Protestants from his territory in Northern Italy in the basin of the Italian Alps. The horrific massacre that resulted provided vivid evidence of the arbitrary cruelty of Catholic European powers in the development of mid-seventeenth-century polemic literature. Specifically, it provided the Cromwellian Protectorate a useful tragedy in conceptualizing and actuating long-standing threads of religious history that provided the backbone justification of military action against their enemies. This presentation focuses on the book commissioned by the Protectorate and compiled by Sir Samuel Morland titled *The History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piedmont* and the complex composition of this book in terms of its religious and political uses. This talk will include descriptions of extant copies of the book in addition to its contents and some history of its use, dissemination, and idiosyncratic elements of specific copies.

Content warning: This presentation will contain images from Morland's work which graphically depict atrocious imagery of extreme violence against men, women, and children.

Slide 1: title

Hello, and thank you very much for having me this afternoon. First, I want to thank Eleanor and Sabrina very much for allowing me to present here today. This work stems from my Ph.D. thesis which looks at the Cromwellian Protectorate from the perspective of its wider goals in becoming not only the head of England, Ireland, Scotland and the Dominions, but also as the head of a global Reformed Protestant alliance. This talk today is an adapted chapter and looks at one strain of evidence towards this larger thesis, and I'm going to be expanding some of my analysis of the central work here and include some of the elements that I could not fit into the dissertation. This presentation focuses on the fascinating work of Samuel Morland titled *The History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont* which was published in 1658. The work itself began in 1655 and reflects a very specific moment of foreign policy development on behalf of the Cromwellian Protectorate.

Slide 2- West, "OC Dissolving the Long Parliament"

Now, I want to give a quick overview of the where this work is situated before diving into it. The Protectorate period is the period from 1653 to 1659 and refers to the reign of Oliver Cromwell and the short reign of his son Richard Cromwell as Lord Protectors. Generally, this falls into the era known as the Interregnum, a phrase that I am not only enthusiastic about, but which follows the English Civil Wars and the execution of King Charles I in 1649. Immediately following his execution, the Parliament declared England a Commonwealth and the country was run by Parliament, and office called the Council of State, and the Lord General of the Army Oliver Cromwell. Throughout this period tensions between various powered interests such as the Army, religious orders –most notably the Presbyterians in London, and Parliament began to cause fractures in the governance of the state and the inability to develop a running order and so-called "Rump" Parliament was dismissed and a new Nominated Assembly, the "Barebone's Parliament" installed, but they

too became too fractious and collapsed. This led to the drafting of and a new Instrument of Government, which provided the legal framework for the Protectorate and installed Oliver Cromwell as the Lord Protector in December of 1653.

Slide 3 Sovereign

By 1655, the Protectorate was somewhat on its back-foot politically and economically. In the year prior, Cromwell had committed military forces and expenditures to attack and capture Hispaniola, the Spanish stronghold in the West Indies, but failed to do so. As a concession prize, Protectorate troops captured, through a hard-won campaign, the island of Jamaica. This mission, the so-called Western Design tested Cromwell's sense of divine providence which had, until this point, driven his successes.

This is the setting in which the Protectorate then pivoted, in some ways, towards another area of influence. The captured Jamaica remains an important component of this story, not something I have the time to cover here.

Slide 4: Map from HECVP – highlight Piedmont

In April of 1655, soldiers in the employ of Charles Emanuel II, the Duke of Savoy, slaughtered scores of the Protestant minority population inhabiting the alpine Piedmont Valleys in the north of Italy which boarder the Swiss Cantons and France. In support of these Protestants —known historically as the Vaudois in French, Valdesi in Italian, and in English as the Waldensians, the Waldenses, and perhaps most accurately as Piedmont Protestants – which is how I tend to refer to them following how they were contemporaneously referred to by the envoys of the Protectorate — the Protectorate raised funds on their behalf and advocated for their relief across the courts of Europe and ultimately sought to use this massacre as a political tool to demonstrate their vitality as a Reformed Protestant power.

Slide Milton and Sonnet 18

For those of you familiar with Milton's sonnets, these are the

Slide to poem

“Slaughtered Saints” of his *Sonnet XVIII* (18) which recounts and narrativizes the massacre.

Slide 7 Pell and Hartlib

the view that Cromwell sought to harness the political utility of the massacre was shared by both his critics and his allies. I won't read out these quotes, but in the epistolary record it is clear that agents of the Protectorate saw this as a moment to increase pressure on their enemies – as a done unto it, it being war.

Slide 8 Hatton and Nicholas – additionally, Cromwell's critics in exile too understood the Protectorate gesturing towards larger moves

Cromwell sent envoys throughout Europe to plead the case of these Piedmont Protestants and to convince powerful Protestant allies of the cruelty of the Catholic Duke of Savoy thereby furthering anti-Catholic propaganda already prominent in this period. Cromwell sought an international Protestant alliance and used this massacre as a weapon in the ensuing battle of information and careful diplomatic positioning.

Slide 11 HECVP

This is the context for the publication of Samuel Morland's *History*, a work that advances two concurrent agenda: firstly, it fits this massacre into a Protestant and importantly Reformed conception of history that identified the split between the true Church and the Antichrist, identified as the Roman Catholic Church.¹ A factor in this identification was the creation and representation of the oppression and martyrology of mediaeval and dissenting religious groups. Secondly, this work demonstrates the power of the Protectorate to avenge and financially support this beleaguered Protestant sect —understood to be the descendants of

¹ Hill, *Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England*.

the true apostolic church— thereby legitimating the power of Cromwell as a protector not only of his principal domains, but of all the Reformed communities of Europe.²

Morland's work is that of a historian in quite modern terms. He is reliant, however, on the work of other writers such as Jean Legér, Jean Perrin —both Waldensian partisans— and others who wrote polemic pamphlets reflecting important and overlapping foundational elements in the creation of what has been termed the “Waldensian myth”.³ This myth holds that the Waldensians of the seventeenth century Piedmont region were both the heirs to and continued presence of the apostolic and true faith tradition of the early Christians and the direct descendants of the heretical medieval Waldensians whose apocryphal and complex origins are complicated through considerable evidence of conflation and misattribution around the founder of this sect.⁴ This group was deemed heretical in about the 11th C. as they questioned the hierarchy of the church and focused on lay instruction and vernacular translations of scripture indicating many traits of what later Reformers and afterwards read as a justifiable proto-Protestantism. That the descendants of this proto-Protestant sect were subject to continued violence from their origins in the mediaeval period, through the wars of religion, into the period of stark confessionalisation and boarder setting, and finally with the massacre in the 1655 indicates the righteousness of their cause and the threat they posed to the Catholic order. Morland's work reflects the aims of the Protectorate by furthering not only a Protestant narrative of history, but a puritan or Reformed narrative and one focused through a lens of evidence and political action. Importantly, this work integrates the long-established notions of Protestant historiography into the contemporaneous legal and historical modes

² Villani, ‘Translating a Massacre: Jean-Baptiste Stoupe and the Waldensian Slaughter of 1655 Between Propaganda, Religion and Diplomacy’.

³ See in particular Stefano Villani, ‘The British Invention of the Waldenses’.

⁴ There is question about whether Vaudès was the original heresiarch or a later follower. Gabriel Audisio notes that the Christian forename Peter or Pierre was not used until the fourteenth century, see, Audisio, *The Waldensian Dissent: Persecution and Survival*, p. 8. For clarity, however, it should be noted that the interchangeable terms “Waldenses or Waldensians” stems from the Latinised form of this name and the term commonly used by the Protectorate in reference to this population, Vaudois, stems from the French.

thereby emphasising elements of rhetoric and evidence as opposed to mere polemic in four major ways. Firstly, it functions as an archive of supposed Waldensian manuscript material. This material history provides readers of the work with primary documents to support of the claims of the Waldensian proto-Reformed antiquity and long-term oppression. Secondly, this work provides details on the multiple massacres against this religious minority and further demonstrations of the presentation of evidence of the Catholic powers' violent oppression of dissent. Thirdly, this work provides a series of vivid and atrocious images of these massacres to enhance the narrative claims of the work. And fourthly, and most importantly, the work provides a detailed accounting of the case prosecuted against the House of Savoy and, by extension the Spanish Habsburgs and the very notions of arbitrary universal monarchy and Catholic antichristian authoritarianism.

Slide 10-- Sam

Samuel Morland, like many functionaries in the Protectorate, had pretensions beyond the bureaucratic functions of government office, although, also like many of his contemporaries, he was quite skilled in his official positions. Elements of his character are largely unknown, but the glimpses that are available do not paint him in a particularly favourable light. While he seems to have been a respected agent of the Protectorate, Samuel Pepys, in a diary entry from 1660 refers to him as a knave.⁵ Morland had been Pepys' tutor and had later gifted him a beautifully bound and colorised copy of his *History*.⁶ Pepys mentions Morland eight times throughout his diaries from 1660-1667 each entry indicating social striving, a failing of finance, and attempts at patronage from his former pupil who was on the rise. There is little doubt that Morland was a clever inventor, which is what he primarily remembered as, but his reputation as an obsequious social climber seems to have

⁵ Pepys, '15 May 1660'.

⁶ This copy of Morland's *History* is held in the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge.

brought him personal and financial trouble including a ruinous divorce stemming from his status-seeking and lavish lifestyle.⁷

Before *The History* Morland does not have a record of publication. Born in 1625, Morland entered Magdalene College, Cambridge in 1644 earning his BA in 1648 and MA in 1652.⁸ Following a brief period in which he was a fellow of the college, Morland decided against taking holy orders and instead found patronage in foreign service.⁹ In the service of the Protectorate, Morland was highly regarded and had demonstrated his scholarly and political acumen first in the employ of Swedish ambassador Bulstrode Whitelocke which brought him to the attention of John Thurloe. Likely because of this work with Whitelocke, Morland was selected as “Commissioner Extraordinary” to the Duke of Savoy to address the massacre of the Piedmont Protestants on behalf of the Protectorate.¹⁰

Morland, with John Pell, spent at least some time near the valleys. The documents are a little unclear and I expand this in my work, but there is some sense that perhaps Morland never went into the actual valleys but instead only to Switzerland and Turin to the court of the Duke of Savoy. There is also evidence that these agents purchased many of the documents they relied on from potentially dubious sources which they note in their letters indicating some concern about their quality. Keeping in mind this group’s primary interest area, I’d like to pivot a bit to discussing the book itself and some of its characteristics.

Slide 11 The book summary

The book itself is rather large, which provides some indication of its cost and its use – or at least potential use. This copy is held at the Cambridge University Library. I have also inspected Pepys’ personal copy in the Magdalene College Library, and the British Library’s copy – all of which have interesting differences.

⁷ Stone, *Uncertain Unions: Marriage in England 1660-1753*, pp.126-134.

⁸ Marshall, ‘Morland, Sir Samuel, First Baronet’.

⁹ Dickinson, *Sir Samuel Morland: Diplomat and Inventor, 1625-1695*, p. 4-6.

¹⁰ Dickinson, *Sir Samuel Morland*, p.8.

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You can see too, this copy has gilded pages – the BL copy does not, as one difference. It's fairly thick too at about 5 cm and running approx. 709 pages, but the pagination can be inconsistent. It's also rather large – roughly the size of an A4 sheet of paper. Interestingly, you can see the backstrip on the spine is simply labelled “Morland Piemont 1658” – which is curious. Most of the copies I inspected were free of annotations except for some curious censorship which I will show in a moment.

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Also included with Morland's work was a beautiful map of the valleys. The Pepys copy of this map was coloured and had some enhanced shading as well. Unfortunately, photos were not allowed in that reading room. The British Library copy also did not include this map, but rare books dealers, etc. have sold these maps, so clearly there has been interest in them and removing them for sale even going back into the later 17th and early 18th c.

The contents themselves are broken into four books

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First Book

8 chapters tracing the origins of the Waldensians and their apostolic claims of purity are fully explored. This moves swiftly into a discussion about the role of the Church and its move into worldly and avaricious aims –which then indicate its role as the Antichrist.

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Second Book

6 Chapters that bring the focus the recent past and contemporaneous events including a reprinting of the Duke of Savoy and his allies' orders of removal and the orders to initiate the massacre . Including these documents is equally important as the inclusion of the Protectorate documents indicating the aid on their behalf as it firmly establishes with documentary evidence the cruelty of the House of Savoy and how they have continued the persecution that the 11th C. church began. This is also the book in which the massacre of the Piedmont Protestants is fully discussed

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Third Book

3 Chapters

Savoy's justification for the massacre and further evidence against him. Also a narrative of the continuation of the insurgent war in the valleys of the Piedmont between the Popish and Protestant party – very interesting section.

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Fourth Book

8 Chapters – ultimately, for my work, the most important section of the work as this is where the records of the Protectorate's intervention are maintained.

Slide 18

This section includes a brief accounting ledger that provides a breakdown of all the funds collected from England and Wales to be sent in aid of these Protestants. This intervention is largely the purpose of this work.

Slide 19-Book Dedicatory to OC

It is telling that in the opening dedicatory preface of Morland quotes the Duke of Rohan in noting that "...The interest of the chief magistrate of England is, by all means to become Head of the Reformed Party throughout Europe."¹¹ Morland continues stating that European Protestants had come to find peace through Cromwell's "patronage and protection" against the "mighty flouds of Popery..."¹² Additionally, Morland names both the Spanish, "that old enemy of England and religion" and "the House of Austria as the main pillar[s] of the Romish power and persecution."¹³ Through this flattering dedication, Morland succinctly summarises the purpose of his work: to develop an intertwined religiopolitical justification for Cromwell's role as the head of a Protectorate of the Reformed churches of Europe and to sit as the head of a Protestant military alliance against the lingering Catholic threat and the threat of Habsburg universal monarchy.

Slide 20 – Content warning

Slide 21-

¹¹ Morland, *The History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont (HECVF)*, p. A2. This is noted as a quotation from the Duke of Rohan (France).

¹² Ibid, P. A4-5.

¹³ Ibid, p. A6.

One of the elements that is most striking about this work is its vivid use of atrocity images. Morland's work contains shocking depictions of the violence against the Piedmont Protestants. These depictions, based on the account in the text, reflect a literary and artistic trope of atrocity that served to symbolize, through standardized forms of violence, mimetic and semiotic elements common to the illustrations of

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Jacques Callot and others

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and represented in the paintings such as Nicholas Poussin's *The Massacre of the Innocents* (1628). These depictions reflect inhuman acts of violence and have been termed by historians, literary scholars, and political theorists as "atrocity tales (Bromley)," the "literature of atrocity (Ziolkowski)," "atrocity stories (Wilcox)," or commonly "atrocity propaganda."¹⁴ I prefer the term atrocity literature to categorize elements of Morland's work.

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These images are from a work from 1638 titled *The Lamentations of Germany* or sometimes *the Teares of Germany*

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Similarly, here are some images from the *Teares of Ireland* from 1642 representing the depositions from the 1641 Irish Rebellion.

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Here are some representations of the images from Morland's work, and some from the earlier works I mentioned. Of course, in Early Modern Printing, there is a trade in the actual

¹⁴ Additionally discussed in Drake, *King Philip's War: Civil War in New England*. Like with Geoffrey Parker in his work on the Thirty-Years War, Drake discusses these tropes without naming them but highlights the connective elements between many works of this type like the *Lamentations of Germany*, *Bloody Massacres of the Protestants in France in the year of our Lord 1572*, and perhaps most critically the works describing Catholic atrocities in Ireland.

frames and woodblocks, etc. used for this purpose, but you can see the illustrations contain similar iconographic themes, but the actual style, etc. is not exactly the same. The effect is, though.

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Another example

Slide 27, 28, 29, 30, 31

Slide 32

Critically, elements of martyrology are also present in the ways in which these images create the reality of the massacre. This form of atrocity imagery does not indicate that the events are untrue, but that the images are to evoke a feeling and a cultural memory.

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Interestingly, in the Cambridge University Library and the Pepys' library, the genitals of the victims are censored—as if the shocking aspect of these images was the fact that these people had genitals. Puritan nonsense

Slide 34

What is most important to the material sense of Morland's work is his archival focus of the documents and their power *as* documents and most importantly as documents within the Cambridge University Library, a bastion of Reformed English theological importance; not to mention the alma mater of many of the Protectorate's agents.¹⁵ Throughout the work Morland refers to this process as one of public access and access for posterity and as a “free gift... to the publick Library of the famous University of Cambridge”.¹⁶ These items are carefully and skilfully organised both by their folder location and by their use throughout the work. Additionally, the documents are given descriptors and thematically grouped into early

¹⁵ Popper, *The Specter of the Archive: Political Practice and the Information State in Early Modern Britain*.

¹⁶Ibid, “Catalogue of Manuscripts”.

Christian work, documents of the Waldensians, and finally all of the administrative work of the Protectorate on their behalf. Morland creates careful linguistic notes about which documents are in Latin, English, French, and “the Waldensian language”, such as *La Noble Leyçon*, which is in fact in Provençal French, the language spoken in the time and place of the supposed Waldensian founding. Morland’s focus on the documentary elements of the historical record is very important in the considerations of this work. In the mid-seventeenth century, the use of history had shifted from one of establishing myth or fable-like examples to follow in a moral or ethical sense to one of legalist precedence to prove the validity of one belief or another.¹⁷ This new mode found purchase in many literary genres as the rhetorical use of history became elaborately developed to communicate authenticity and authority.¹⁸ History as a genre had always been transfused with the prejudices and aims of the culture from which it came as the selective use of history sought to enable some current desire, but the seventeenth-century brought an emphasis on the material proof of this history.¹⁹ This searching for proof became something of an archival anxiety as the establishing documentation justifying both the long-established credentials of a people—in this case the Protestants of the valleys—and the case for their support. In other words, this is an eagerness to unearth and display documents to establish the notions of proto-Protestantism and to create an archive of contemporaneous action of the Protectorate. This anxiety is evident book II in which the events of the 1655 massacre are described. In this section a war of conflicting

¹⁷ Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History*. See chapter six in particular. It is notable that Morland uses differing typefaces to reflect different purposes throughout the work. Gothic lettering, for example, is used in this period to recall manuscript sources and to imbue a sense of authority, see Grafton p. 166 for an example of this practice. See also Malcolm Parks. “The Influence of the Concepts of ‘Ordinato’ and ‘Compilatio’ on the Development of the Book” and Summit, *Memory’s Library: Medieval Books in Early Modern England*.

¹⁸ Kewes, ‘History and Its Uses’, Woolf, ‘From Hystories to the Historical: Five Transitions in Thinking about the Past, 1500-1700’, and Heal, ‘Appropriating History: Catholic and Protestant Polemics and the National Past’ in Kewes, ed. *The Uses of History in early Modern England*. For the most authoritative accounting of the use of rhetorical poetic modes and the use of history along sectarian lines see Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640-1660*.

¹⁹ Popper, *Walter Raleigh’s History of the World and the Historical Culture of the Late Renaissance*, in particular chapter two on the nature of sources and chapter five on the political use of history. See also Frantzen, *Desire for Origins: New Language, Old English, and the Teaching of Tradition*, p. 163-165.

documents is described as the erasure of truth as the Savoy authorities —specifically Andrea Gastaldo, the arch-instigator of the massacre and agent of the Vatican— sought to destroy the papers of the Piedmont Protestants both to erase their theological past and their present arrangement of toleration. This vitality of the archival record is reflected in the passage that reads "but the very truth is, they really thought that the Protestants, had absolutely lost the Originals of the Interination, made 1620 and the Copies which they had at that present, were not authentique; and therefore said, if those of the Reformed Religion could produce the same, there should remain no further difficulty."²⁰ In other words, the *Orders of Gastaldo*, the animating order that triggered the massacre, was based on a lie of documentation; an attempt at historical narrative power, archival anxiety, and erasure.

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It is fascinating, too, because these documents are still in Cambridge and I had a terrific afternoon looking through them. There are curious elements within these documents and materials that cause one doubt their authenticity at times, but not their importance. Many of the documents are not likely to be of 11th or 12th Cs. origin and are more likely to be of fifteenth or sixteenth century provenance based on both the contents of the documents, which include mention of catechism, a post-Reformation innovation in the form described (i.e. more than just the memorisation of the Apostle's Creed Lord's Prayer, and sacraments) and the material evidence of the documents themselves.²¹ Most notably these differences are palaeographical and based on the writing material as they do not appear like other incunabula of the twelfth century. That said, however, these documents likely reflect a manuscript copying tradition and not the original sources —which is of course a fascinating history itself.²² Many

²⁰ *HECVP*, Book II, Chapter IV, p. 302.

²¹ An additional example is the potentially anachronistic use of the term 'secular' (which appears in both the Latin original and the English translation) which the OED notes the first usage c. 1290 and in the context of a canon secular or secular clergy, not in the way it is being used in the document which indicates something more akin to temporal or worldly.

²² More intensive study is required to make an accurate claim about this evidence.

are medieval, however, and their size and sometimes rough-hewn construction indicates their use by the wandering brothers of the Waldensian faith.

The reception and use of the Morland's work is largely unknowable, but there are a couple of clues which point to the fact it may have been known, but little read in detail. The legend and mythography of the Waldensians in English was renewed and enhanced by Samuel Morland's work. While the authorship of his work remains in question as it drew heavily on the Waldensian partisans such as John Legér the effect of his work as it was compiled, edited, and presented to English readers remained an important religiopolitical narrative tool both in Britain and in the emerging colonies beyond the seventeenth-century. Morland appears to become a central reference point for the events of the massacre and the Protectorate's narrative surrounding it. The publication of Samuel Morland's *History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont* and the aid commissioned on their behalf addresses the question of why the Protectorate found this particular beleaguered population deserving of such aid as it was not merely humanitarian interests that proved the motivation, but also complex religiopolitical justifications.

Thank you

Jordan Sly is a Ph.D candidate in European History and the Global Atlantic at the University of Maryland. His work focuses on the Cromwellian Protectorate of the 1650s and the religious and political intersections that created the ideological focus of that regime. Additionally, Jordan is the Head of the Humanities and Social Sciences librarians in the University of Maryland libraries, and the Chair of the University Senate.

Extra

The majority of Morland's writing is scientific with multiple publications on various proto-computing devices and other innovative machines that he developed under the patronage of Charles II.²³ A key feature of Morland's biography is his seeking of favour from both Cromwell and, even during the Protectorate, from the court of Charles II when, according to his own account he was pushed too far by the Protectorate into a plot against the future monarch and decided to turncoat and become a double agent. Likely, however, the story he tells is likely a convenient fiction to earn favour with the later Stuarts.²⁴ Morland's known religious writing, as such, is limited to *The History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont* (1658) and his *The Urim of Conscience* (1695). The later work was published in the year of his death, but it is not clear if this was the period in which he wrote it. Nevertheless, it, and his earlier work reflect his deep religious convictions and his expansive learning. From the title page of *The History*, Morland indicates the split between the religious purposes of the text and the political, but importantly while the content is

²³ Morland is often described as a double agent, however, it is clear that he was a canny political operator and likely saw the writing on the walls as the Protectorate spun down and the restoration of Charles II to the throne became evident. With Thurloe, Morland developed canny cryptographic and other epistolary spycraft methods to aid in Thurloe's intelligence service as Postmaster General. Nadine Akkerman and Pete Langman's 2024 book *Spycraft* is a terrific resource on the methods Thuloe developed during the Interregnum and Morland's vital role in this development. Interestingly, Morland continued to disguise elements of his innovations despite writing new methods for Nicholas and the restored Stuart court. For example, one loosely disguised pseudonym used by Morland was, "Morley of Suthasmstede-Banaster Esq" which can be seen in William Dugdale, "The antient usage in bearing of such ensigns of honour as are commonly call'd arms", Oxford: Moses Pitt, 1682, Huntington Library ([EEBO](#)) I 489; [Wing / D2478](#).

²⁴ "Letter from Sir Samuel Morland, 1st Bart., to Tenison, [1689], containing an account of his life", Lambeth MS 931 f. 1. This account of his life is also reprinted in Dickinson, appendix III.

different between these two sections of the book, the methods are largely the same as both rely on the laying out of evidentiary claims supported with primary documentation.

Morland's *The History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piedmont* was commissioned as a result of his work through the period of 1655-1657 with the Council of State, specifically his work on behalf of the Committee for the Affairs of the Poor Protestants of the Valleys of Piedmont and created with two distinct goals: to provide vivid and current evidence of Catholic oppression and to link the defence of these well established and somewhat mythical Waldensians to Protectorate's charitable collection and political posturing on their behalf. Morland's work sits next to the work of Jean-Baptiste Stoupe whose documentary histories of the Piedmont Protestants were highly influential in the literary-cum-politico and religiopolitical milieu of the Protectorate.²⁵ It is important to situate his work within the larger foreign policy mission of the Protectorate in order to better understand the purpose of its creation and its use. While elements of this foreign policy will be further developed in a later chapter, the overlapping and intertwining purposes of many threads of Protectorate policies, both foreign and domestic, provide insight into their overarching goals and the precedent laid in these accounts. Those developing the status of the Protectorate from within were highly aware of the legal, historical, and religious foundations that were necessary to establish to further sanctify their rule and stately rule in general without a monarch. As evident through the sources of this period, the legitimacy of the Protectorate and the self-conscious of the head of state was always in question. For example, intermixed among the work of the Protectorate's envoys in developing a Protestant alliance amongst the powers of Europe.

²⁵ Villani, 'Translating a Massacre: Jean-Baptiste Stoupe and the Waldensian Slaughter of 1655 Between Propaganda, Religion and Diplomacy', p. 121-122.

Morland's work sought to address many of the central issues of the Protestant conception of history in a direct and contemporaneous way and can be seen, therefore, as a counterpart to the 1655 anonymous publication, printed for Thomas Jenner, *The Barbarous & Inhumane Proceedings against the Professors of the Reformed Religion within the Dominion of the Duke of Savoy* and the 1624 *Luthers Predecessours: or an Answer to the Question of the Papists: Where was your Church before Luther?* by the Protestant theologian Thomas Bedford or, perhaps even more pointedly *Luther's Fore-Runners*, also 1624 by the French Huguenot theologian Jean-Paul Perrin. Other pamphlet works of this period such as *A Collection or Narrative sent to His Highness... Concerning the Bloody and Barbarous Massacres... committed on many thousands of Reformed, or Protestants dwelling in the vallies of Piedmont...* by Jean Baptise Stoupepe, or *The Christians Calamities* by Lawrence Price (both 1655) or other works by Perrin such as his *Matchless Cruelties Declared*, 1655, speak to this religiopolitical moment and demonstrate the urgency by which the cause of the Piedmont Protestants was taken up, the outrage regarding this massacre amongst English Protestants, and, crucially, the print buying market for this material. This was salacious news and news that played into existing prejudices against Catholics in general and the Habsburgs more specifically. Morland's work, however, takes much from these earlier and contemporary works but builds from these existing frameworks a new narrative of Protectorate strength.

In a 1679 anonymous pamphlet, atrocities of Catholic violence are discussed in great detail including a direct discussion of the violence against the Piedmont Protestants with reference to Morland's work.²⁶ Similarly, a 1680 anonymous pamphlet also details these atrocities in a similar fashion and provides the helpful historiographic note that "If you desire

²⁶ Anon., "The Antichristian Principle Fully Discovered in a Brief and True Account of all the Hellish Plots, Bloody Persecutions, Horrid Massacres, and most Inhumane Cruelties and Tortures, Exercised by the Papists, on the Persons of Protestant Dissenters from the Church of Rome, for the cause of Religion only, as well as abroad as here in England, Scotland, and Ireland, from the very Beginning till the present year 1678." London, 1679, p. 20 [BL \(EEBO\) Wing / A3485](#).

a large and full account of the Antiquity of these Churches, and of their many Sufferings under the Papacy, I refer you to that excellent History entituled, *The History of the Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of Piedmont*, published by Sir Samuel Morland in the Year 1658.”²⁷ This work emphasises the context in which the 1655 massacre occurred, the similarity to other atrocious violent acts by the Church, and the importance of the Waldenses as a primitive and apostolic form of Christianity akin to Protestant theology. Additionally, Samuel Morland’s mission on behalf of the Protectorate and the martyrology of the Waldenses are recorded in Samuel Clarke’s 1660 work of a similar scope and design.²⁸ Clarke work emphasises massacres including the 1572 St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre, persecutions against the Scottish church in 1527 resulting from the Scottish Reformation and the foundation of the Scottish Kirk, the 1620 massacre of Valtoline, and most importantly a fulsome description of the early modern persecutions of the Waldenses in the both sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Of additional importance is the accounting of both persecutions against Polish and German Protestants following the discussion of the Piedmont Protestants. The inclusion of especially the Polish Protestants in the way it is situated provides potential evidence of the reach of the Protectorate’s work in establishing the conflated narrative of pitiable Protestant populations and a unity of mission in their defence. Clarke’s work also demonstrates a deep engagement with Morland’s work as it provides a clearly identifiable resemblance to Morland’s work in scope, theme, and purpose in illustrating not only the plight of this Protestant group, their supposed or invented antiquity, but also importantly the collection and a record of the Protectorate’s diplomatic work on their behalf. The narrative

²⁷ Anon., *A Memento for English Protestants ... together with a preface by way of answer to that part of the Compendium, which reflects on the Bishop of Lincoln's late book,* London: Jacob Sampson, 1680, Burke Library, Union Theological Seminary ([EEBO](#)) I 393; Wing / M1658.

²⁸ Samuel Clarke, “A generall martyrologie containing a collection of all the greatest persecutions which have befallen the church of Christ from the creation to our present times, both in England and other nations”, London: Tho. Ratcliffe, Huntington Library ([EEBO](#)) Wing / C4514.

stuck as evident in George Fox's 1667 work which also recounts the mission of the Protectorate on behalf of the Piedmont Protestants.²⁹

Additionally, in a work by Samuel Sewall, there is a very interesting account given that conflates the histories of the collections for the Irish Protestants of 1641 and the Piedmont Protestants of 1655 and after. This is a curious conflation as the context of this work is within a letter to William Stoughton, the Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of the Massachusetts Bay colony. In this letter Sewall is relating these examples to the oppression of ancient Persian violence, biblical stories of violence against the tribes of Israel, and the martyrologies of John Foxe.³⁰ Additionally, the example of the Piedmont Protestants was used in sermons, such as that of Increase Mather which related the plight of the embattled Protestant minority against the Catholic oppressor to their feelings of oppression by the power of the native Americans in New England, especially relating to the instances of acute violence, the Pequot War, and the so-called King Philip's War. It is worth noting, too, that the reverse was also evident as accounts of atrocities, such as the violence in early colonial Virginia against the settlers of Jamestown in 1622 influenced aspects of the Protectorate's rhetorical response and methods of information dissemination. One of the clearest points of comparison is a poem published at the time of the attack by Christopher Brooke titled *A Poem on the Late Massacre in Virginia* which is likely a direct influence on the poem by John Milton both given the similarities in the title and its contents.³¹

There is also tangible evidence of the trade of *The History* as it appears in booksellers' inventories such as one notable auction of 1686 in which maps from Morland's work were

²⁹ George Fox, *The arraignment of popery being a short collection, taken out of the chronicles, and other books, of the state of the church in the primitive times*, London, 1667, Duke University Libraries ([EEBO](#)) [Wing / F1750A](#).

³⁰ Samuel Sewall, "Phænomena quædam apocalyptica ad aspectum novi orbis configurata or, Some few lines towards a description of the new heaven as it makes to those who stand upon the new earth", Boston: Bartholomew Green, 1697, Huntington Library ([EEBO](#)) [Wing / S2821](#).

³¹ Christopher Brooke, *A Poem on the Late Massacre in Virginia: With Particular Mention of Those Men of Note that Suffered in that Disaster*.

being sold.³² In the copies of the book that I have personally inspected, I have not found any annotations that would indicate use and engagement other than a strange scratching-out of the genitals in the graphic images in some copies (specifically the copy in the Cambridge University Library). Some copies had their maps intact, others did not. Some copies, such as Samuel Pepys' copy were far more ornate with colour added to the map and selected images.

³² Anon., "Bibliotheca Anglicana: Or, A Collection of Choice English Books", London, 1686, [BL \(EEBO\) Wing / B2819](#).