

Cromwell Museum Lecture 28/5/2025

## PROTECTOR OF THE REFORMED

<https://www.cromwellmuseum.org/events/cromwell-protector-of-the-reformed-a-talk-by-jordan-sly>

### SLIDE 1

#### Introduction

Hello, and thank you very much for having me this evening (or afternoon here in the States). I want to thank Stuart very much for allowing me to present here today. I have been an attendee of these lectures for a few years now, so I am quite honoured to be able to participate in this way. This work stems from my Ph.D. thesis which looked at the Cromwellian Protectorate from a new perspective based on a revaluation of its stated goals and actions. Part of what I have been arguing —along with other recent guests of Stuart's such as Henry Reece and Alice Hunt— is that the Commonwealth and Protectorate periods were not merely intermissions between royal regimes, but a new status quo that would, presumably to the people of the time, remain and potentially reflected a paradigm shift in the long revolutionary period beginning in the 1640s, but perhaps not ending until about the reign of Queen Anne.

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The Commonwealth military government, which had led through a joint commission of Parliament, the Council of State, and the office of the Lord General, had ended with the forced dismissal of the so-called Barebone's Parliament in 1653. The interests of the Army won out over those of the Parliament and Oliver Cromwell was made Lord Protector and the government a Protectorate.

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In 1654 the Protectorate undertook a large-scale military operation in the West Indies referred to as the Western Design.

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This scheme sought to capture the Spanish treasure fleet and the stronghold of Hispaniola (modern day Dominican Republic and Haiti) to gain dominance in the region and wealth from Spain. This plan, however, was not successful on the terms in which it sought gaining instead a hard-won victory in the capture of the less desirable Jamaica. Like all actions of the Protectorate, the impetus for the Western Design was both political and religious as Cromwell imaged, through providential fiat, moving from strength-to-strength and victory to victory. Following the events of the Western Design, Cromwell's confidence was shaken, and he feared he had veered away from God's will in seeking blood and treasure through this action.<sup>i</sup>

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The year 1655, however, brought a new opportunity for the Protectorate to demonstrate their commitment to God's will with the protection and aid of foreign Protestants in Europe. The horrific massacre of the Piedmont Protestants,

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those living in the territory of the powerful Duke of Savoy, spurred immediate action from the Protectorate in the form of both a collection of funds on their behalf and a foreign policy mission to convince the courts of both Protestant and Catholic Europe of the arbitrary cruelty of this massacre and to demonstrate the Protectorate's potency in their aid.

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These Protestants held a special place in the Reformed imagination as heirs to the legacy of the Waldensians —known also as the Vaudois, Valdesi, and the Waldenses— who were persecuted by the medieval church as heretics because of their rejection of the church hierarchy and their emphasis on poverty and lay preaching amongst other charges. Within the Reformed conception of history, these proto-Protestants represented a link to a Donatist tradition against prelacy and a link to an apostolic and pure Church. Additionally, their suppression represented one of the foundational arguments against the Church of Rome and their lustful appetite for power and dominance as it was understood in Protestant polemics.

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This massacre provided an opportunity to position Oliver Cromwell not only as the Lord Protector of England, Ireland, Scotland, and the Dominions, but, in their words, as the protector of the Reformed, the head of a European Reformed Protestant alliance.<sup>ii</sup> The view that Cromwell sought to harness the political utility of the massacre was shared by both his critics and his allies.

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For example, here John Pell writes to Samuel Hartlib about the benefits of the massacre being that represented a “dore” into a justified war with the House of Savoy and likely other aligned powers. Hartlib responds noting that it was increasingly clear to him and others in Europe that Cromwell would extend his power beyond the British Isles to become a Protector to all the Reformed populations.

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Additionally, Cromwell’s critics in exile (Baron Christopher Hatton to Sir Edward Nicholas) too understood the Protectorate gesturing towards larger moves

noting that Cromwell intended to make “himself protector of the Protestant party of Europe.” Likely sarcastic, but also with a likely ring of truth.

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This event situates the Cromwellian Protectorate under Oliver (1653-1658) into an evolving construct of power for the expansion and innovative use of the office of Lord Protector to further the aims of those at its core.

## **SLIDE 12**

In my larger work, I centre five principal areas of Protectorate development to illustrate this expansion. Firstly, the religious protection of the Piedmont Protestants put the Reformed (i.e. Calvinist and “Puritan”) conception of history into political action and demonstrated the projected power of the Protectorate to intervene into European affairs in aid of co-religionists. Secondly, the collection of a large sum of money on the Piedmont Protestant’s behalf demonstrated the Protectorate’s administrative power and economic strength. Thirdly, the shift from the aid for the Piedmont Protestants to beleaguered Protestants of central Europe illustrates a further extension of the Protectorate’s projection of strength which was increased with the potential for military alliance with other strong Protestant forces. Fourthly, the renewed push for commercial and economic colonial strength demonstrated the Protectorate’s desire for a wider imperium to aid in its claims of European supremacy. Finally, the words and actions of the Lord Protector himself are scrutinised within this framework. For example, the opening speech of the Second Protectorate Parliament and the accompanying sermon by John Owen, provides insight into the aims and goals of the Protectorate as it continually sought to refine and enhance its power. Interestingly, when placed into this context of consolidation of power, the kingship question, too, potentially offers new clues to both the refusal

of the crown and the purposeful use of the office Lord Protector. By the 1650s, the office of the King, following the trials of Charles I, had become well-defined with clear boundaries and limitations –a clear statement towards what will eventually become the constitutional monarchy. The office of the Lord Protector, however, was less defined and within the Kingship debates, this is an area of acute anxiety for those wishing Cromwell would accept this confined crown.

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These examples illustrate ways in which the Protectorate sought to develop a novel locus of power in the office of the Lord Protector and sought to further their influence and power both in Europe as the head of a Reformed Protestant alliance and in the colonial Atlantic through the recentring of power towards the metropole. Each of the actions described work towards the development of a Protectorate ideology as each function in a developing system of Protectorate governance in unique but connected ways across foreign, domestic, and imperial policies. This Protectorate ideology won over the ideology of the Commonwealth as the interests of specific parties, namely those of the Army and of the wealthy merchant class that helped to enable the Protectorate, came to dominate many of those favouring Parliament's enhanced role that came at the end of the Civil Wars.

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Central to each of these examples is a notion of performativity. I don't use this term to indicate a cynicism or hollowness on the Protectorate's behalf, but rather in the sense of J.L. Austin's notion of performative utterances in communication. The critical aspect of this notion is the creation of fact through its utterance as opposed to the reliance on established fact. Additionally, the performance of words promises and implies action and meaning.<sup>iii</sup> In other words, through Cromwell's promise of aid

for foreign Protestants, he implies both the need for it and the means by which to facilitate it. Signalling, to both a British and a European audience, his role as an engaged and capable protector of the Reformed faith through the collection of funds and the threat of military intervention thereby projecting economic power, military strength, and political legitimacy.

#### **SLIDE 15**

This is a key factor. Following the regicide, the Commonwealth needed to establish legitimacy – especially, although not exclusively, abroad. Internally, pockets of royalism threatened the life and aims of the new regime both literally and figuratively as plots were exposed to reestablish the reign of the Stuarts in exile.

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Abroad, too, black legends grew around the figures of Cromwell and Fleetwood especially. In the Dutch Republic for example, multiple depictions of Cromwell as a cruel and buffoonish usurper were illustrated and widely available.

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Medals, too, were struck that showed Cromwell with devilish or foolish features. The murder of the king was a bridge too far for many courts and populations on the continent. This put the new regime in a difficult position from the start and the aid provided to the Piedmont Protestants provided a path towards establishing their legitimacy on a global scale.

#### **SLIDE 18**

I am going to focus primarily on two points in this talk: first, the overlooked, but central importance of Samuel Morland, the creator or editor of the work known as the *History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont*. I'm being purposely evasive and slippery in term here because much of the content of this

work is a direct translation of earlier works of Waldensian minister and Protectorate agent Jean Léger who too was reliant on the work of Jean Perrin —important notes for accuracy, but not wholly relevant to our discussion today. Morland's work, which I will tend to refer to as his *History* is a complex and strikingly modern, or perhaps even post-modern —if you'll allow it— work of religious and political history with a pointedly direct goal of establishing Cromwell's aid for the beleaguered Protestants of the Piedmont as evidence of his status as a protector of all Reformed communities across Europe, and importantly, the expanding colonial world.

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Secondly, I will discuss the work of the Committee for the Affairs of the Poor Protestants of the Valleys of Piedmont and its subsequent group the Committee for the Relief of the Poor Protestants of Poland and Bohemia the latter of which formed immediately following the success of the former. Morland's *History* as well as a few other works that I will discuss were published in 1658 following and accounting for the work of the Committee and used as a promotions tool for the strength of the Protectorate. As the documents of the Protectorate illustrate, the aid collected for the Piedmont Protestants demonstrated the power of the state at a time when its validity was questioned, and Cromwell's reign threatened and therefore reflects a show of strength and vitality to the courts of Europe.

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## **Who were the Piedmont Protestants & Why Were They So Important to the Protectorate?**

### **Slide 21**

In April of 1655, the Duke of Savoy Charles Emmanuel II (in reality his mother who was regent during his minority and held a lot of power even after this period) capitulated to the orders of Andrea Gestaldo, a representative of the new council of

the *Propagation of the Faith and the Extermination of Heresy* which functioned through the office of the Archbishop of Turin.

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These ordered demanded the massacre and expulsion of the minority Protestant population in the valleys of the Piedmont region in the basin of the Alps outside of Turin.

## **Slide 23 Milton and Sonnet 18**

For those of you familiar with Milton's sonnets, these are the "Slaughtered Saints" of his *Sonnet XVIII* (18) which recounts and narrativizes the massacre.

These Protestants, like many minority populations throughout Europe, existed on terms of limited toleration and had been allowed to live under restricted conditions within the territory despite their contray religious confession. This population laid claim, however, to the legend of the Waldensians, a medieval heretical sect of tremendous importance to the development of the Protestant and Reformed narrative of Roman Catholic oppression. The origin of the Waldensians is somewhat murky as likely apocryphal claims of their beginnings cloud a clear understanding. The Waldensians were part of what has been understood as the "reformation of the twelfth century" which saw the rise in reforming sects such as the followers of Francis of Assisi, Jan Hus, and John Wycliffe.<sup>1</sup> Peter Waldo is generally understood to be the sect's founder and memorialised within the Protestant historiography as such —there are some arguments against this, however they are not important to this discussion. What is important is the fact that unlike the Franciscans, the followers of Waldo were labelled heretics by the inquisitions. The

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<sup>1</sup> See Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Waldensians were not particularly radical in their preaching, but their rejection of the episcopacy, emphasis on lay preaching and even some evidence of female preaching pushed the church to label them heretical. To the later Protestants and more important to the later Reformed Protestants following Calvin, the Waldensian rejection of the increasingly worldly and powerful consolidated power of the Church was seen as an important pre-Reformation purity movement and one that emphasised the importance of scripture as opposed to ceremony.

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The legend of the Waldensians grew through the medieval period as did their association or conflation with other heretical groups and witches. Often the Waldensians were lumped in with groups like the Cathars —the victims of the Albigensian crusade— with whom they shared very little except their urging for purity in the church. Incidentally, Cathar can be translated as “puritan” or “the Pure”. Geographically, the Waldensians and associated sects were spread across western and into central Europe. The origins of the Waldensians were likely near Provence in France, but they spread widely throughout the region and over the Alps into the Piedmont valleys. Their spiritual counterparts were not the more radical heretics with quasi-pagan folk or Manichaeian beliefs, but those of similar reformers such as Jan Hus whose followers, like the Waldensians, favoured a proto-Reformed emphasis on a return Apostolic purity in church practice.

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During other periods of strife, such as the long period of religious wars throughout France in the sixteenth century, the Waldensians were often a target of anti-heretical religious violence. Images of the massacre of Mérindol (1545), for example, joined with other famous images such as that of the St. Bartholemew's Day

Massacre and worked to demonstrate the abject cruelty of the Catholic powers. This emphasis on the vital rhetorical use of imagery became even more poignant during and following the Thirty Years' War as images of atrocious violence against women and children became increasingly common.

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Like the Hussites and the Lollards, the Waldensians represented evidence for proto-Protestant belief and a defence against the charge of the Catholic propagandists who asked the probing and provocative question “where was your church before Luther?”<sup>2</sup> For Protestant theologians and polemicists alike there was tremendous propagandistic value in the harsh treatment of these groups as it clearly illustrated the cruel and arbitrary nature of the Church when challenged regarding the validity of the hierarchy, innovative orthodoxy, and the primacy of the Bishop of Rome. The familiar charges that the Roman Church was the Whore of Babylon or Antichrist were inextricably linked with the violent suppression of these so-called heretics. In other words, it became part of both the general Protestant, and in particular the Reformed Protestant tradition to root the Church's corruption to this period demonstrated by the naming of dissenting sects as heretics for seeking a pure and apostolic faith. As John Foxe noted, “I find in some records, that the opinions of the said Albigenses were sound enough, holding and professing nothing else, but only against the wanton wealth, pride, and tyranny of the Prelates, denying the Popes authority to have ground of the scriptures, neither could they away with the ceremonies and traditions, as Images, pardons, purgatory of the Romansh Church, calling them (as some say) blasphemous occupyings. &c.”<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Barnett, “Where Was Your Church before Luther?”, 17.

<sup>3</sup> TAMO, (1563 edition), 128.

There is a longer explanation of this theological history, however for time I will jump to note that the development of this conception of the Waldensians as a crucial node in the Reformed conception of history is critically important and provides a clear rationale as to why the needs of this seemingly obscure Italian dissenting minority came to occupy the agents of the Protectorate.

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### **Collection for the Piedmont Protestants**

To maintain some clarity, brevity, and perspective, I will outline what the aid for these Protestants looked like before moving to the crass business of assessing the political utility of this support. Immediately following the atrocious massacre in 1655, the Protectorate issued a declaration calling for a general collection to be gathered throughout the country in their aid and a call for a fast and humiliation.<sup>4</sup> These were common occurrences for both foreign and domestic causes as the fast and the humiliation were forms of public and private penance focused on collective humility to acknowledge both personal and societal sins.<sup>5</sup> Importantly, going back into the reign of at least Elizabeth I proclamations and public prayer were also ways to demonstrate state power and instances of forceful intervention into foreign affairs.<sup>6</sup> By announcing the massacre and indicating England's place in securing aid for co-religionists, the Protectorate could quickly spread the message to those literate and illiterate, loyalist or royalist, Protestant or recusant of its power and authority amongst European courts. The intertwining of political interests and religious messaging was of course not new. Within the revolutionary period the use of fast

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<sup>4</sup> Hall, *The Puritans: A Transatlantic History*, 109, 308.

<sup>5</sup> See Slater, "*The Pompe and Pride of Man*": *Pride and Humility in Early New England*.

<sup>6</sup> Mears, 'Public Worship and Political Participation in Elizabethan England', 5.

sermons in support of Parliamentary causes was well established.<sup>7</sup> Fasts, too, had been in wide practice to commemorate and memorialise religious and social anniversaries, but this practice had largely fallen out of favour by 1649 replaced with specific and pointed calls for such events. Throughout the 1650s approximately 130 fast days were observed based on calls such as the proclamation issued to recognise the massacre of the Piedmont Protestants.<sup>8</sup>

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The massacre occurred in April of 1655 and by mid-May London congregations had presented the Protectorate government a petition calling for their attention to the events. The humiliation and fast followed about a week later and instructions relating to the collection of funds throughout parishes in England, Ireland, and Wales were issued by the end of the month. The swiftness of these actions should be noted by us today and was certainly noted by contemporaries. Many of the images relating to the Protectorate that were later subjects of the Pre-Raphaelite painters and 19<sup>th</sup> c. illustrators depict these events and the legacy of this was one of the major factors of Cromwell's 19<sup>th</sup> c. image rehabilitation. Given the importance ascribed to developing a narrative demonstrating the Protectorate's intervention from those involved, it is clear that this was a goal at the time. Importantly, in addition to these early actions that were taken, the Protectorate and the Council of State also convened a committee made of high-level Protectorate loyalists, friendly clergy, and important functionaries to develop a communications, facilitation, and marketing strategy (to put all of this in crass, modern terms) for this aid.

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<sup>7</sup> Hughes, 'Preachers and Hearers in Revolutionary London: Contextualising Parliamentary Fast Sermons', 60.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 59.

## SLIDE 29 “the lads”

Also at this time, a foreign policy mission was developed amongst the envoys throughout Europe to petition primarily Protestant courts to support the cause. It is important to note that the separation between the Cromwellian regime and the Council of State was thin in the Protectorate.

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It was a novel office to begin with being initiated 1649 and had a wide remit that kept the revolutionary government functioning. In the Protectorate the Lord President of the Council of State was Henry Lawrence, a long-time friend of Cromwell and on whose farm Cromwell had recuperated following his most famous bout of melancholia. It was common for Cromwell to favour and appoint people who had helped him throughout his political career as he kept his friends close and in positions of influence. To give some sense of the role and disposition of the Council of State it was referred to by some within the Protectorate as Cromwell’s “Privy Council”.<sup>9</sup> So what? It is important to understand some of the granular workings between Parliament and the Protectorate in this period as each vied for increased power and did not always agree about the nature and extent of this power or who should wield it. In previous Council of State committee lists, committees for petitions for the poor and other similar causes were filled with low-level MPs and men of standing, but little influence.<sup>10</sup> In the Protectorate Parliament, however, the newly formed committees regained some of the force they held when originally commissioned and operated in the functioning of the revolutionary state. From 1653, the office of Lord Protector functioned under the authority of the *Instrument of*

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<sup>9</sup> This description is not mere hyperbole as Samuel Morland uses the phrase “Lords of his Highness most Honourable Privy Council” to describe the membership of the Committee for the Relief of the Poor Distressed Protestants of Piedmont.<sup>9</sup> Morland, *HECVP*, 586.

<sup>10</sup> “The maner of siting of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England” Thomason / 669.f.17[37].

*Government* which afforded Cromwell a great deal of executive privilege. Under the Protectorate, Parliament was required to meet regularly, but with diminished power. Cromwell additionally sought to reign in the power of Parliamentary committees and shifted that power to his executive rule, placing a great deal more influence and power into his self-designed and selected Council of State.

As such, Council of State committees were often small when compared to previous ones, filled with loyalists, and addressed direct issues of state development in ways that furthered the Protectorate's aims. These committees, as will be discussed in greater detail were not without controversy or corruption which may speak to their favoured position within the Protectorate.<sup>11</sup>

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The original core members of the Committee were John Trevor, Christopher Packe, William Purefoy, Edward Cresset, Sir Thomas Vyner, Joseph Caryl, John Owen, William Jenkyn, Philip Nye, William Cooper, and Edmund Calamy.<sup>12</sup> Of this group of eleven, four members came from positions within the government, — including Lord Mayors of London, former sheriffs, JPs, MPs— and business, —most notably those invested in local merchant adventure guilds and invested heavily in the proposed East India Company and other commercial ventures— and six were independent and nonconformist minister of important congregations. A vital connection to this committee was the special envoy, Samuel Morland. It is through his work, *The History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont* that much of this intervention is known.

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<sup>11</sup> Aylmer, 139.

<sup>12</sup> Signatories on the document titled, *By The Committee for the Affairs of the Poor Protestants in the Valleys of Piedmont*, c. 1658. Thomason / E.1073[2]; Wing (2nd ed.) / T2135.

Importantly, in Morland's *History* and in his *The Distinct and Faithful Accompt of all the Receipts, Disbursements, and Remainder of the Moneys Collected in England, Wales, and Ireland for the Relief of the Poor Distressed Protestants in the Valleys of Piemont (The Accompt)* the list of names includes far more influential members than are contained within the collected documents of the Committee housed within the State Papers and certainly more than their printed report, *By The Committee for the Affairs of the Poor Protestants in the Valleys of Piedmont*, indicated.<sup>13</sup> These additions, primarily of military officers and additionally important political figures such as Richard Cromwell, General Montagu, Major General Charles Wolsley, and Secretary Thurloe, among others who were noted to have been added at the order of both Cromwell and the Council of State on 4 January 1655/6 according to the manuscript record of the committees accountancy books.<sup>14</sup>

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The composition of the Committee is important both as a symbol of the Protectorate's religio-political aims and as a practical and effective mechanism to enact the mission of the collection. The evidence of the makeup of this committee helps to develop aspects of Cromwell's methods of governance and speaks to the reputation of Cromwell as a pragmatic leader focused on the necessity of the moment to achieve action. Cromwell sought important members for this important committee. In Morland's work these members are noted as "Lords of his Highness most Honourable Privy Council", an interesting phrase worthy of further scrutiny.<sup>15</sup> It is an interesting feature of Cromwell's rule that ended up relying on the very

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<sup>13</sup> *HECVP*, 586.

<sup>14</sup> "Accounts of the Committee for the Protestants of Piedmont Fund", TNA SP 25/126, f. 1. This note that indicates Cromwell's involvement is in a lighter ink or possibly pencil but using the phrase "his Highness" as opposed to Cromwell, which may speak to its contemporaneous origin as a note to the printer or for some other purpose.

<sup>15</sup> Morland, *HECVP*, 586.

instruments of monarchy that he railed against in this instance a Privy Council and a handpicked Other House which was, in effect, a House of Lords. Nonetheless, Cromwell selected the committee who would be committed to action. By action, Cromwell needed both a practical mechanism of enforcing the collection which necessitated enlisting High Sheriffs and Lord Mayors, for example, but it also required recruiting those intellectually committed to the cause of the Piedmont Protestants who could speak in Parliament on their behalf, and, of course those ministers who were committed to anti-clericalism, anti-Catholicism, and were strong advocates of a apostolic Protestantism.

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Members such as John Owen and Philip Nye reflect the theological aims of the Committee as both ministers had written previously in defence of the Waldensians and the Piedmont Protestants and would continue to do so. Their position on the committee, as is clear through their sparse presence in the Committee documents, appears to be symbolic, but no less important for this fact. It was theologians like Owen and Nye who likely reinforced the connection for Cromwell between the Waldensians as proto-Protestants.<sup>16</sup> Importantly, Owen had been drawing this connection as early as 1649 in his published works and referenced the 1545 Mérindol massacre of the Waldensians, perpetrated by Francis I of France, as well as their medieval historical persecutions as a heretical sect—a matter of definition established by the Church that stood as the symbolic oppressor of proto-Reformation movements standing against corruption and innovation. Vitally, Owen and Nye provided the theologically informed foundational framework and the

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<sup>16</sup> For a clear breakdown of this distinction, see Euan Cameron, *The Reformation of the Heretics: The Waldenses of the Alps, 1480-1580* and Cameron, *Waldenses: Rejections of Holy Church in Medieval Europe*.

historical justification for the collection as both a source of vital humanitarian aid to co-religionists as well as a politically justified action against the Catholic and Spanish powers. Additionally, this framework could be used as a powerful bargaining tool during the negotiations with the French which were happening simultaneously.<sup>17</sup>

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The collection of the Committee's meeting minutes and framing documents illustrate the legalistic case being made through their intervention (which were at times a challenge to read). At its heart, this committee had been formed to counter the claims of the Duke of Savoy through a careful demonstration of his arbitrary and tyrannical rule. This objective is a critical point as this framework justifies foreign intervention and is similar to the purpose of Morland's work which develops a lengthy and document rich case against the oppression

### **SLIDE 36**

In the Committee's earliest document —a letter of intent addressed to Cromwell, 31 May 1655— there are six interesting goals enumerated as those animating the group (and sorry for any headaches or research flashbacks these slides may cause). First, that the collection for the Piedmont Protestants be undertaken throughout all of England and Wales. Second, that a narrative of the events be formalised to establish the barbarous nature of the atrocity. Third, that copies of the letters dispersed in a limited fashion amongst those who can or would spread this narrative. Fourth, that the funds are collected in an organised manner and distributed carefully and with accounting. Penultimately, that record of the

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<sup>17</sup> This is discussed further in chapter 4 as the mission of the Protectorate's envoys sought to unify these aims through active and robust foreign policy petitioning and negotiations.

collection be accounted for locally and returned to London; and finally, that the central administration of the collection shall be with the committee.<sup>18</sup> This letter is signed by Sir Christopher Packe, Sir Thomas Vyner, Edward Cressett, Edmund Calamy, William Jenkins, and William Kiffin.<sup>19</sup> What these central goals demonstrate is not only the idea that the funds should be collected as a charitable act but also as a political display of the Lord Protector's ability to collect within the whole of England and Wales, to do so in an organised and accountable way both in the collection and disbursement of the funds, and most importantly to ensure the Protectorate's narrative of the events in Piedmont are spread in the process. Charity is not mentioned in this document in a clearly discernible way with the only mention of the Protestants of Piedmont noted at the very beginning of the letter indicating that the collection was "intended to be made for the relief of the distressed inhabitants in the Duke of Savoy's dominions."<sup>20</sup> As a private and officious letter from the Committee to the Lord Protector, it is clear that there was no need for overwrought or emotional pleas. The absence of religious language is curious, however, as there is no mention of a higher purpose for this collection, only the mechanics, intention, and purpose of it are discussed.

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It is clear from the framing of the Committee's work in Samuel Morland's *History* and his *Accompt*, both printed in 1658, that this committee was of critical importance to the Lord Protector and his ambitions. Cromwell closely monitored the actions of the Committee and set the charges of its operation and the intelligence

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<sup>18</sup> TNA SP/46/112, ff.7-8.

<sup>19</sup> Kiffin only appears once in the committee documents. Kiffin was a London merchant and MP for Middlesex in the Second Protectorate Parliament and was an ardent Baptist. His religious beliefs put him at odds with Edmund Calamy and perhaps limited his involvement with the committee despite his positive relationship with Oliver Cromwell. Haykin, 'Kiffin, William (1616-1701)', *ODNB*.

<sup>20</sup> TNA SP 46/112, f. 7.

gathering for the committee via his envoys in Europe. Additionally, Cromwell sent requests to the Committee seeking specific actions such as allocations of funds to specific people. Throughout the Committee documents, there is mention of the need to develop a narrative illustrating the extent of the massacre, the culpability of the Duke of Savoy in its execution, the plight of the Piedmont Protestants, and the apparatus of collection and disbursement of aid on their behalf. The Protectorate desired such a narrative to demonstrate their effectiveness in their aid.

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Both of Morland's printed works provide evidence of the Protectorate's aims. Morland is often noted as providing information to the Committee regarding both the work of the envoys and himself as well as the work he was doing within England and Wales accounting for the fund collection.<sup>21</sup> Morland reported to the Committee often, as seen in their documents where minutes of the Committee and was responsible for developing the overarching narrative of the efforts for the Piedmont Protestants for by Protectorate. This role is demonstrated in the opening section of Morland's *Accompt* and in Book IV, Chapter V of *The History*. Both works have nearly identical language in many sections and present the necessary information to different audiences. The *Accompt* is short and would have been readily available from printing stalls as a pamphlet. *The History*, however, was intended for binding due to its length and contents, much of which were available as individual pamphlets. *The Accompt* opens with "A Narrative published by the special order of His Highness the Lord Protector and his Council". Interestingly, the title continues indicating that the

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<sup>21</sup> This, along with other parts of Morland's book were printed separately as well as being included in the final work, see "A distinct and faithful Accompt of all the Receipts, Disbursements, and Remainder of the Moneys collected in England, Wales, & Ireland for the relief of the Poor Distressed Protestants in the Vallyes of Piemont", Thomason E. 1073[3] Wing/ D1694 and *HECVP*, 585-598.

pamphlet was for the “better satisfaction of all those who have already contributed towards the relief of the poor Protestants of the Valleys of Piemont,” indicating the need to demonstrate the impact of the aid collected throughout England and Wales. Most importantly, the passage continues, it is also for the “encouragement of those who are yet behind to the *performance* of so good and charitable work.”<sup>22</sup>

### **SLIDE 39**

As is indicated throughout the Committee’s documents, in addition to the collection, there is a disciplining element to the call for charity in seeking conformity across parishes to serve a need of the Protectorate. This opening section very directly speaks to the practicality of political performativity and performative utterance discussed above by illustrating the impact of a political action and thereby setting the parameters of success in the action. As is plainly laid out, Cromwell and the Council of State wanted to act swiftly in the formation of aid and the associated narrative of their actions. As the printed documents show, the Committee was formed for “...the Management of which Collection, certain Instructions were also agreed upon, and annexed to the said Declaration: And for the more effectual promoting of the Work,” adding that in order to facilitate the important work of the Protectorate, “His Highness appointed a Committee, consisting of persons of known Honour, Fidelity and Integrity, to consider and advise from time to time how the Moneys that should be thereupon raised, might be employed with most advantage and certainty for the Supply of those poor distressed Members of Christ, according to the true Intention of the Givers; amongst whom likewise there were two select Persons of very

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<sup>22</sup> Morland, *The Accompt*, 1.

considerable Estate and Reputation, appointed to be Treasurers for the receiving in the said Moneys...”.<sup>23</sup>

#### SLIDE 40

What is most important here is that these efforts to develop and administer this process was then published. These efforts were meant to demonstrate the power of the Protectorate. Never let a tragedy go to waste, but who were they trying to demonstrate these efforts to? Importantly, both allies and enemies abroad and within. As is indicated throughout the Committee’s documents, in addition to the collection, there is a disciplining element to the call for charity in seeking conformance across parishes to serve a need of the Protectorate. In fact, one of the publications notes that some “parishes and particular persons of note” had not given in aid of the Piedmont Protestants and there were many “who do not appear within the Returns...”. The passage continues indicating that “a proclamation” was issued to reinforce “His Highness endeavours” and “orders of the Justices of Peace...to examine in their respective divisions at what places no collections had been made, and in case of collections made, where the money had not been sent up...”.<sup>24</sup> It is clear through this passage that part of the domestic purpose of the collection, aside from the charitable purpose, was a demonstration of the Protectorate’s power to monitor behaviour and that this was a feature of this entire apparatus.. The massacre of the Piedmont Protestants and the aid collected on their behalf provided Cromwell with a window into developing a robust foreign mission and, like with the Civil War petitions, provided insight into the political and religious makeup of England, Wales, and the dominions and a way to isolate pockets of dissent.

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<sup>23</sup> Morland, *HECVP*, 585.

<sup>24</sup> Morland, *The Accompt*, p. 2.

## SLIDE 41

Morland's *Accompt* provides granular detail of each county and the parishes within to note the amount collected from each.

Not surprisingly, the largest sum came from the City of London and Westminster with a total collection of over 9384 /. Of this sum, Cromwell himself gave 2000 /. a fact noted in multiple places throughout the committee's documents and Morland's printed works. In London, too, the collection from wealthy individuals is noted explicitly, which is not the case from other locations apart from a small number of individuals noted from the Universities. After the City of London and Westminster, the next largest sum comes from Devonshire and the third largest from Yorkshire (Table 1). Westmorland represents the lowest amount collected in England followed by Rutlandshire and (somewhat surprisingly) Huntindonshire (Table 2). The accountancy data provides vital information about rates of return from each parish within a given county down to the penny. While it is obvious that fewer funds would be collected from those counties with fewer parishes as seen with Westmorland, Rutlandshire, and Huntindonshire, the data also demonstrates the relative giving rates despite the fewer number of parishes. For example, Middlesex is noted as having sixty-two parishes, but with a giving total of nearly seven times the amount of Huntindonshire, suggesting larger donations from fewer people (Table 3). Starkly, Northumberland with only nineteen parishes collected slightly more than Nottinghamshire with its one hundred and seventy-six parishes and only slightly less than Staffordshire with its one hundred and twenty-five parishes. The relative weighting of the collection therefore provides critical insight into the economic standing of each county, the discrepancy between urban and rural giving, and the relative importance parishioners felt in to giving to this particular cause. Additionally,

the data may show geographic pockets of disloyalty towards the Protectorate's cause, religious dissent, and corruption. With the exception of Glamorganshire, the collection from Wales does not rise above one hundred and sixty pounds. Crucially, however, few of the Welsh counties rise above one hundred parishes with the largest two counties having nearly double the amount of parishes as the third largest (Table 4).

## **SLIDE 42**

### **Ireland and Transplantation**

While there was a collection from Ireland, this is not accounted for in Morland's publication. It is likely that the funds from Ireland represent the clearest evidence of misappropriation or even embezzlement as there is record of approximately 7,000 *l.* collected, yet only around 1,095 *l.* made it to London.<sup>25</sup> Given that the purpose of the publications of the accountancy was to demonstrate the power and effectiveness of the Protectorate's control and state building apparatus, the slipperiness of the published accountancy might represent a fear that the Irish collection damaged their case through the mishandling of funds. Political questions of legitimacy, especially in Ireland, continued to vex the Protectorate despite nominal military control. Additionally, the notion of transplantation, a long-term project of the English Crown since the first plantation in Ireland, was a potential project of the Protectorate with the Piedmont Protestants as an active community to supplant the troublesome Catholic one. Such a plan is spelled out in a letter from Jean Legér, the Waldensian partisan and Protectorate foreign agent to Jean-Baptiste Stoupe indicating such a plan was Cromwell's aim. As Legér writes, "...I have seen the

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<sup>25</sup> Maghenzani, 'Cromwell's Collection for the Waldensians: A Reassessment (1655-1687)', 7. See also, Vola, *Oliver Cromwell e la causa Valdese*, 121.

proposition made by his Highness the Lord Protector to give some lands in Ireland to our poore exiled.”<sup>26</sup> Interestingly, Legér notes his concern about doing so speaking to the “butchery” that had occurred in Ireland in 1641 and sensationalised in polemic literature and horrific imagery. Very tellingly, within this context in another letter dated around the same time, Legér indicated his belief in Cromwell’s protectorate over foreign Protestants, writing that Cromwell “...approves himself the Protector of all those that are persecuted...and winnes to himself the affection of all oppressed people, chiefly our Brethren now in trouble and all others interested in their reestablishment and doe altogether uncertainly offer and will still offer unto God their most fervent vows for his prosperity.”<sup>27</sup> This notion is further developed in a letter sent from John Pell indicating both the settlement of Piedmont Protestants in Ireland and, interestingly the idea that the Duke of Savoy had granted lands in the so-called Waldensian valleys to the Irish who committed the raid and massacre on the Protestant inhabitants (which I can explain further). The note states, “The Protestants of Piedmont have heard with a great deale of joy... that his Highness had so much of tendernesse towards them as to offer them lands in Ireland in case they could not settle themselves againe in their owne country.”<sup>28</sup>

By 1653, Cromwell’s campaigns in Ireland had resulted in a bloody oppression of the native Irish and an attempted rebalancing of confessional weight towards the minority Protestant population. Fears of a Catholic insurgency and an enemy waiting at the gate was, in many ways, true. The Irish Confederacy’s

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<sup>26</sup> “Letter from Jean Legér to Jean-Baptiste Stouppe”, 22 May 1655, BL Add MS 4365, ff. 106-107.

<sup>27</sup> “Letter from Jean Legér to Jean-Baptiste Stouppe”, 22 May 1655, BL Add MS 4365, ff. 106-107. Emphasis mine. These notions will be further explored in the final chapter of this dissertation in connection and comparison with the same notions of a transplant community seen with the Huguenot refugees in other areas of the nascent Empire and the goal of placing Protestants in frontiers to guard against Catholic encroachments.

<sup>28</sup> “A Translate of the Propositions already shewed to this Highness”, BL Add MS 4365, ff. 239-240.

willingness to foster foreign Catholic influences in the 1640s and the violence of the Rebellion of 1641 necessitated, in Cromwell's estimation, a punitive policy of transplantation as he attempted to bring to life in 1652 and 1653.<sup>29</sup> The acts proposed by Cromwell, had he possessed the instrument and the political skill, would have granted him the ability in these early years and with favourable dictatorial powers following the dismissal of Parliament, the ability to remove persons from their lands to put them to use as labourers as had occurred in Connaught.<sup>30</sup>

### SLIDE 43

The collection was a performance of power, and the public accountancy and narrative the monumental evidence of this power. The Protectorate was able to call for, coordinate, and dispense funds on behalf of a foreign population. Such an operation required stability, order, influence, and discipline. Not to say that there was not a humanitarian core influenced by the Piedmont Protestant's precarious position in Savoy territory to collecting the aid, but rather to say that the political utility in capitalising on the massacre provided a clear incentive for intervention. Morland and the committee were clearly keen to ensure that the Protector's sizable contribution of 2000 *l.* was noted often in the records of the committee and in Morland's printed works. In both *The Accompt* and in *The History*, Cromwell's donation is listed four times with an additional narrative account in *The Accompt*.<sup>31</sup> The ledgers are mostly the same between the two documents with only slight shifts in the presentation (but not the sums) making the mention of Cromwell's donation a prominent feature of the

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<sup>29</sup> For the work of Papal nuncio Giovanni Battista Rinuccini and the Irish Confederacy see ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic Reformation in Ireland: The Mission of Rinuccini 1645-1649*.

<sup>30</sup> Gardiner, 'The Transplantation to Connaught', p. 707-708. See also Covington, *The Devil from Over the Sea: Remembering and Forgetting Oliver Cromwell in Ireland*, Cunningham, 'Oliver Cromwell and the "Cromwellian" Settlement of Ireland', and Cunningham, 'The Transplanters' Certificates and the Historiography of Cromwellian Ireland'.

<sup>31</sup> Morland, *The Accompt*, 99.

accountancy record. His donation, in each instance, is separated from the other donations including the those of important Protectorate figures who are also indicated by name including committee members Edward Cresset and Edmund Calamy.<sup>32</sup>

#### **SLIDE 44**

As I teased a moment ago, Cromwell had an acute interest in the mission of the committee and multiple holograph documents with his signature indicate his close attention to their work. One such example of his interest in the mechanics of the intervention can be read in a curious letter dated 5 June 1657 in which he states his desire that “one hundred ponde out of the moneys collected for the relief of the distressed Protestants of Piedmont” be used to aid a widow, Christina Ulrick (sometimes Ulricks), whose “relations and Friends were... tortured and put to death in the massacre in Piedmont and was also deprived of that which was the greatest part of her and her children’s subsystance”.<sup>33</sup> In other words, Cromwell was appealing to the committee to distribute a portion of the funds directly to this particular family to satisfy debts resulting from the massacre, the loss of a crucial source of income, and, importantly as Cromwell notes, for paying the debts that had led to her son’s imprisonment in Padua where he was at school. It is very interesting that Cromwell is seeking relief on such an individual and personal level, advocating for the specific charity towards one specific family. Cromwell’s appeal is deeply touching as he ends the letter appealing to the committee’s compassion in considering the aid for the children who had lost so much in the massacre.

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 94.

<sup>33</sup> Letter from Cromwell to the committee, 5 June 1657, TNA SP 46/112, *State Papers Dom.*, f.58.

This account was, however, a ruse. In Morland's *Accompt*, it is made clear that Christina Ulrick —whose name alone points towards the notion that petitioner for the funds was logically a fraud. Another person, noted as a Captain Raymond, too, had requested funds on false or exaggerated pretences. In the final section of the accountancy report from 25 November 1657, the funds balance is reported indicating two interesting items. First, some of the remaining balance was not sent to the valleys but was distributed to "some particular persons here in England under the notion of eminent suffers for and of that cause", meaning, most likely, the large Huguenot population in London. Secondly, the *Accompt* notes that funds were sent to two pretended beneficiaries which they indicate by name as "Captain Raymond and Christina Ulrick," who confessed to "having most wickedly and treacherously counterfeited those their said attestations and other papers (as it afterwards plainly appeared when it was too late upon Mr Morland's return into England, who by the order of the Right Honourable Commissioners made a further search into that business)...<sup>34</sup> This mistaken gift is well accounted for in the ledgers including the allotments for Ulrick (100 *l.*) and Raymond (150 *l.*). Additionally, the *Accompt* indicates that informants were paid in secret with their names withheld from the public document<sup>35</sup> however, within the committee's papers there is a list, approved by John Thurloe, for payments to four individuals to the sum of 200 *l.* including Léger.<sup>36</sup> Cromwell's request to the committee to grant personal aid to individuals who had pleaded their case to Morland or other agents in the valleys, Geneva, or

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<sup>34</sup> Samuel Morland, *A Accompt*, 109.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 108.

<sup>36</sup> "A Note Specifying in what Proportion the 200 *l.* latterly assigned bu the Commission for the Valleys of Piemont as a Gratuities to some Particular person who have been very active for the poor people, may be equitable distributed amongst them," 6 May 1657, TNA SP 46/112, *State Papers Dom.*, f. 55. As noted elsewhere in this dissertation, there are two disbursements noted to the name Léger: one of Geneva and one of the Valleys.

elsewhere (the record is somewhat self-contradictory) speaks to both Cromwell's character and the "hearts and minds" aspect of the wider campaign. How one interprets Cromwell's actions in these matters relies on one's general opinion of him. Such actions can be read within the hagiographical framework established in the nineteenth century which understood Cromwell's protection of the Vaudois as a marker of his deep commitment to the Protestant cause. This view relates back to the published accounts of his death. One such account, written by Cromwell's Groom of the Bedchamber Charles Harvey, indicated that Cromwell sought to unite the Reformed interests not for political gain, but out of a genuine religious zeal attested by his dying words.<sup>37</sup> Through the actions and documents of the Protectorate, however, this sentiment, while harbouring elements of truth, is not the full story. What is most important is the spread of information that led to the abuse of the charity. As can be shown directly by the additional central European leaders from Poland, Bohemia, and Transylvania, the message of the Protectorate's aid, charity, and vitality in protection of the Reformed populations had spread and people, from ordinary populations to princes were petitioning Cromwell for monetary assistance.

## Collection for Central European Protestants

Immediately following the work of the Committee for the Affairs of the Poor Protestants of the Valleys of Piedmont the energies of committee members were refocused into the Committee for the Relief of the Poor Protestants of Poland and Bohemia. Importantly, as demonstrated through the committee documents, the

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<sup>37</sup> *A Collection of Several Passages Concerning his late Highnesse Oliver Cromwell, in the time of his Sickness; Wherein is Related many of his Expressions upon his Death-Bed*, 1659, Thomason / E.985[22]; Wing (2nd ed.) / W370., pp. 16-17 (item 4). Roy Sherwood argues that Cromwell's Groom of the Bed Chamber was much more of a valet role than under past or future monarchs. This was a privileged role whether in the royal or the Protectorate court and fell to high status gentlemen. See Roy Sherwood, *The Court of Oliver Cromwell*, 70-71.

performative work of the original committee had been effective, as foreign leaders, specifically those from central European states, wrote to Cromwell and the Protectorate seeking aid from the government which had supported the Protestant cause in the territories of Savoy. The, in modern terms, public relations mission of the Protectorate's envoys was one of the central purposes of their work abroad.

In a memorandum from November 1657, John Dury suggested that the Lord Protector consider supporting the cause of the Polish, Bohemian, and German Protestant exiles and those suffering under what he and many within the Protectorate saw as religio-political oppression. Specifically, Dury urged this support in aid to counteract the "designe to ruine the churches and seminaries of Religion amongst Protestants".<sup>38</sup> There are two main points that Dury is making through his appeal. Firstly, he notes that the charitable support for the churches and seminaries would be of "eminent use for posteritie, to spread the Truth and thereby to uphold the Protestant cause".<sup>39</sup> The second point is more important, however, as Dury notes that he had assurances that a collection would create of support for Cromwell amongst those states and churches who would benefit and that their "Princes will appeare in the business towards his Highness".<sup>40</sup> Dury continued by indicating that through the financial support the Protectorate (and Cromwell himself) will work towards the "credit of our affairs amongst the German states, and to his Highness's reputation, than if an armie were sent over to any of the Princes to defend them".<sup>41</sup> This idea of aid driven foreign policy is a complex one, but Dury's careful instruction points to two distinct and related ideas. The first is that Dury's comments belie what

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<sup>38</sup> John Dury, "A Memorandum Concerning the Collection to bee granted for the relief of the distressed Protestants in Silesia; driven out of Poland", November 1657, TNA SP 46 112 f. 117.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Dury, "A Memorandum".

may be a simmering armed conflict —the same conflict hinted by Pell and Hartlib in their mention of the opportunity the massacre of the Piedmont Protestants presented for Cromwell to attack militarily<sup>42</sup> — especially considering Cromwell's bellicose and martial nature. The subtlety of the approach, a method of “hearts and minds” diplomacy, is particularly interesting. Dury likely considered both the potential for massive death and upheaval if sectarian religious wars were to again rip through central Europe. He also likely considered demonstrating England's economic power (even if this strength was a deterrent to wider conflict as a military show of strength, especially considering the difficulty England would have in landing a garrisoned army following the disasters of the Western Design). Additionally, the centrality of trade in these considerations is important to note. Baltic Sea trade and access to vital resources, especially ship building resources and the long-term relationship between Dutch, Danish, and Swedish merchants and the English maritime enterprise were both too precious to give up, and too precarious to further endanger. Dury indicates that through the financial support of the churches and seminaries in these central European territories, the Protectorate would be supporting the further development of the intellectual and spiritual bastions against the enviable supremacy of the Catholic bulwark of education, missionary work, and propaganda.

#### **SLIDE 46**

In a 20 August 1657 address given at Breslau (modern day Wrocław, Poland) in Silesia, members of the Bohemian Brethren pleaded their case to Cromwell on these grounds and hoped that because his previous aid to the Piedmont Protestants was effective, their cause would be venerated through his support.

#### **SLIDE 47**

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<sup>42</sup> This is expanded further in my chapter on Morland's *History*, BL, Add. MS 4366, f. 3.

The Bohemian Brethren were historical relatives of the Waldensians, the “progeny of the Waldenses” in their words, in that both groups claimed a medieval lineage and a claim to longstanding abuse from the Catholic church.<sup>43</sup> The common origins were not limited to their treatment, but also in their common claims to primitive apostolicism and pure Christian faith stemming from their founders. The Brethren also sat at the centre of the confessional allegiance question at the heart of the 30 Years’ War which, due to James’ lack of intervention, sat as thorn in the side of Protestant England and became part of the intellectual underpinning of the Protectorate ideology as the strength of the Protestant union showed both the power of the ideas of unity of the Brethren to reject Catholic impositions and the failure of James to cement England’s role as a protector of the Protestant faith. As with the protection of the Piedmont Protestants, the protection of the Bohemian Protestants brought with it an inflated sense of importance because of their critical role in the development of anti-papal Reformed ideology and therefore Cromwell’s role in their protection legitimates his role as head of a Reformed alliance as he sought not just the role of Lord Protector, but recognition from other states and his enemies as a justified ruler in a grander sense.

To achieve these loftier goals, however, the Protectorate worked through a more granular system of bureaucratic operations and statecraft. Importantly, as with the committee for the Piedmont Protestants, in exchange for aid, the Protectorate developed a local intelligence network to provide reports from these distressed places. The aid collected on behalf of the Central European Protestants was far less

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<sup>43</sup> Letter to the Lord Protector regarding the Bohemian and Polish Protestants, 20 August 1657, TNA SP 46/112, *State Papers Dom.*, f. 119.

than that for the Piedmont Protestants, but so too was the extent of the violence against them.

There is a lot more to my construction of Cromwell's expanded notion of the office of Lord Protector and the primacy of his religio-political mission that sat at its core than time will allow. I will briefly state some of the additional areas I explore and am happy to chat more afterwards.

#### **SLIDE 48**

The commissioning of Samuel Morland to compile and publish *The History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont* illustrates both the religious and the political purposes of the Protectorate's intervention as it makes the printed and propagandistic case for the Protectorate's mission for these Protestants.

#### **SLIDE 49**

Of critical importance to Morland's *History* is the archival anxiety and focus of the work in establishing an authoritative account of the historical claims of the lineage of apostolic truth of proto-Protestantism, persecution, and most importantly of the Protectorate's aid on their behalf. Throughout the work, Morland notes that he had deposited the documents for public view in the Cambridge library, where they remain today and were a large part of my archival work. This archival focus is reflective of shifts in early modern historical methods.

#### **SLIDE 50**

This publication reflects an important aspect of Protectorate ideology by establishing this authoritative record describing the development of religiopolitical justification of the Protectorate's intervention and their place in leading a coalition of aligned Reformed Protestant powers. Of additional importance, Morland's *History* includes horrific and atrocious imagery of the massacre that relies on visual tropes

reminiscent of other early modern massacres and therefore reflects a rhetorical language of atrocity for political use.

I argue that the publishing of the accountancy records and other documents from the committee established to facilitate the aid for the Piedmont Protestants represented, alongside Morland's *History*, a vivid demonstration of the Protectorate's efforts to establish and importantly perform their role as the legitimate protectors of the Reformed populations of Europe. Members of the committee reflected close political allies, Army confederates, and friendly religious councillors who helped both connect the cause of the Piedmont Protestants to the wider Protestant cause and helped Cromwell shape his role as leader of European Protestant interests. Crucial to the composition of this committee, too, were the members responsible for the financial accountancy in collecting, counting, and distributing the funds. These members, Thomas Vyner and Christopher Packe in particular represented intriguing commercial ties to the Protectorate and this committee that may speak to both the centrality of the committee to the overall mission of the Protectorate and the influence of merchant financiers into the operation of the government in this period. Vyner's connection to the improvement schemes of relating to Hartlib Circle ideas also provides insight into a potential notion of early-or-pre-liberal poor improvement as well as labour and education reform as well as the connection to a foreign workforce for transplantation. It is made clear through the committee documents, too, that there was a nascent plan to improve the spiritual education and industriousness of the Piedmont Protestants and, importantly, to offer them land in Ireland as a method of replacing the native Catholic populations.

I believe that it is clear that the collection for the Piedmont Protestants was a performance of power demonstrating that the Protectorate had both the internal

compliance of its people and the bureaucratic mechanisms for the collection. A biproduct of the collection was also the domestic monitoring and publication of its findings as a demonstration of the reverse side of this same exercise in power publicising a sense of stability, order, influence, and discipline to all audiences. This performance was not the sole purpose of the intervention, but demonstrates their political canny in understanding the utility of the moment.

The committee which had served in aid of the Piedmont Protestants reconvened as the Committee for the Relief of the Poor Protestants of Poland and Bohemia as representatives from Bohemian and Polish churches sought aid to assist in their struggles against increasingly Catholic hegemony in the region. As the envoys and agents of the Protectorate spread the message of the plight of the Piedmont Protestants and the aid collected on their behalf, their reputation grew and the estimation of their power increased as well. The performance was working. Letters of from envoys and from foreign leaders indicate the effectiveness of this messaging through the attempts at alliance building and placing Cromwell in positions of enhanced leadership. This purposeful PR mission worked to both define and strengthen the notions of Protectorate ideology centring English exceptionalism, Cromwellian strength, and a muscular Reformed power. As Central European princes sought the aid from and alliance with the Protectorate, the messaging regarding their strength was effective in Europe.

## **SLIDE 51**

Within the wider competitive colonial apparatus, too, Protectorate ideology spread into the reenergised efforts towards commercial and state economic gains. The Protectorate sought to rekindle previous efforts to develop an English imperium, and The Western Design was large forward step in that direction. While the main

goal of this attempt failed, the concession prize of Jamacia provided an opportunity to develop both merchant interests and those of the Protectorate, to the extent that they diverged, in the fostering of colonial and commercial development and the strengthening of ties between London and the colonial apparatus. The relationships between financiers of the Protectorate, namely Thomas Vyner and Martin Noell, are of particular focus interest. Vyner, for example, was heavily involved in the Piedmont and central European committees and perhaps enhanced these collections with his own funds. It is clear that these merchants sought favour with the Protectorate as they needed support for their own commercial ventures and favourable trade conditions to maximise profits. These influential merchants saw support of the Protectorate's aims as an investment.

## **SLIDE 52**

Documents such as the 1655 *Manifesto of the Lord Protector* and the 1652 commissioning of Marchamont Nedham to translate John Selden's *Mare Clausum* indicate elements of these wider imperial goals as each speak to the notions of dominion and create a legalistic argument for further colonial expansions. For Cromwell, this expansion allowed for not only commercial and economic benefits, but also the control and transplantation that fostered religious and cultural hegemony as it allowed for both the removal of undesirable peoples and the implantation of desirable ones. Like the later Huguenots in the Americas, or the puritan-merchants of Providence Island, the method of transportation allowed for Protestant populations to be imported into the colonial outposts as industrious co-religionists and a competitive force not only in commercial terms, but also in the wider competition for religiopolitical territory.

## **SLIDE 53**

This enlarging sense of the role of the Lord Protector also comes into sharp relief during the so-called kingship debates as the sources point towards a more knowing understanding of the limitations of the office of King and the possibilities allowed under the novel use of the office of Lord Protector.

Of course, we are all familiar with the descriptions of Cromwell's funeral and the pomp and circumstance that surrounded it, but it is important to note the symbols of imperialism —such as his being adorned with an imperial crown and the use of imperial symbolism on the Protectorate's coat of arms that decorated his chamber as he lay on display in Somerset House. It has been said that Cromwell was king in all but name, but perhaps with the affordances of the office of Lord Protector, he was more accurately emperor in all but name.

#### **SLIDE 54**

My work situates the disunities and complications of Cromwell's reign and draws connections that have heretofore been largely seen as disparate events within a sporadic experiment in government. I argue that there is an ideological throughline between these events, but that ultimately these goals were unachieved due to the death of Cromwell and the inability of his son and heir Richard in achieving them.

#### **SLIDE 55**

**END**

If asked about Kingship debates, discuss Monarchy asserted, Jean-Baptiste Stoupe and the others who understood the nature of the role.

### **SLIDE 30 - Significant Findings**

I began this project with a different set of research questions and a different hypothesis, but in working through the archives, I came to see connections that I had not assumed. Most importantly, the centrality of the massacre of the Piedmont Protestants and the aid collected on their behalf extended further than I had anticipated. I began seeing mention of these events throughout the correspondences of the Protectorate envoys and agents. Even beyond the initial period of foreign policy development described in Morland's *History*, documents in the under used Downing College collection at Cambridge which pointed towards the continued use of these events and the Protectorate's intervention into the later days of Oliver's reign and into that of Richard's. Additionally, within these records there was often an associated link between these agents pushing for the enlarged role of the Lord Protector on the European Stage and his being the logical choice as the head of a Reformed Protestant alliance. It was surprising to me, too, to see the connection of the Piedmont massacre in relation to the Western Design despite their similar dating.

Connectedly, the primary evidence of a transplantation scheme involving Piedmont Protestants and Ireland was more robust and the epistolary record implicating Irish mercenaries in the massacre as a part of a justification matrix in this plan was more extensive than I had assumed. This was a major finding and one that is not widely discussed. The notion of transplanting Piedmont Protestants into the

developing commercial empire, too, was an intuition that I had hypothesized given similar schemes involving Huguenot refugees and a similar competitive transplantation scheme but finding compelling evidence for this as at least a theoretical formulation was exciting.

Increasingly, too, I found the inclusion of Hartlib Circle members and associated improvement and education ideas to be important and something that was not originally something I would have assumed. Samuel Hartlib was an integral node in the network of people I focused on from the beginning, but I was not expecting to see notions of what could be called pre-liberal improvement, those of utilitarian poor relief in the shape of workhouses and other forms of labour —most importantly including indentured servitude— intertwined into the elements of relief for the foreign Protestant populations of Piedmont and central Europe. Importantly, this is connected to another important finding of this work which is the extent of the involvement of merchant financiers and therefore merchant interests in the development of Protectorate policies and initiatives was also a significant finding. While others have noted the involvement of merchants like Thomas Vyner and Martin Noell in the Protectorate's development, Vyner's close relationship and place on the committee to aid the Piedmont and central European Protestants was an intriguing finding. Noell's place within the developing Protectorate Empire was equally important in the development of a widening ideology of merchant market development alongside that of the religiopolitical foreign policy. Linked, too, with the merchant interests was the trade in human enslaved labour, especially by figures like Noell, and the ways in which this trade was at least a factor in the Protectorate economy —not an unknown previously, but not often contextualized within this larger set of events.

### “Most Potent Protector”<sup>44</sup>

The envoys of the Protectorate, too, shared this vision of a strengthened and emboldened Protector with extra judicial powers. Through the dense epistolary intelligence network with John Thurloe in the centre, an image of Cromwell’s strength and the Protectorate’s vision for a united Protestant Europe becomes clear. As illustrated in Samuel Morland’s work, *The History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont*, the Protectorate’s envoys pleaded the case of the beleaguered Piedmont Protestants who had suffered at the hand of the Duke of Savoy. Morland’s work became evidence of the vital work of the Protectorate as a ferocious force of diplomatic action on behalf of European Protestants, projecting strength and stability. After the Committee for the aid of the Piedmont Protestants published their accounts, the issue of the Piedmont aid was still active in the diplomatic mission of the envoys. These diplomats intertwined issues of trade, favour, and aid with the example of the Piedmont Protestants as a refrain to remind Protestant princes of the potency of the Protector.

One of the most fully illustrative accounts of the concerns of this period is found in the papers of George Downing. In 1658, Downing was sent to the United Provinces to act on behalf of the Lord Protector to the Staten-Generaal (States General) of the seven United Provinces of the Dutch Republic. In the accounts of these negotiations Downing presented a narrative of both British strength and

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<sup>44</sup> TNA SP 46 112 f. 119.

ongoing accountability to interests of both religious and economic importance. In other words, through these negotiations, ostensibly defining and recapitulating the aspects of “perpetual peace” that was sought into the later years of the 1650s despite, or perhaps because of the Navigation Acts of 1651, were also a theatre onto which the performative aspects of the Lord Protector’s aims could be seen.<sup>45</sup> Additionally, Downing promoted the idea that the war between Sweden and Denmark was something of a distraction and a “hazard” to the “Protestant cause in those parts” and would ultimately provide Habsburg powers with an advantage towards supremacy in the Baltic through Protestant in-fighting.<sup>46</sup> It cannot be overstated how important these ideas were to the negotiations. Downing attempted to demonstrate the vitality of the Protectorate by showing how other Protestant nations were squandering their power whereas the Lord Protector was eager to join the Dutch in a protectionist alliance to “mayntaine the security and freedoms” of Baltic trade.<sup>47</sup> Further discussion in June of 1658 linked multiple areas of negotiations with the desire for additional treaties relating to trade —most importantly in the Baltic, an area of acute concern to the Protectorate. Importantly, these discussions saw Dutch and English interests mostly intertwined. These discussions noted concerns about Portugal who, despite their victories over the Habsburgs, were a rival power in the east Indies and a concern for both the Dutch and English merchants (VOC and EIC respectively) in the region. 1658 is a critical year in these conflicts, however, as the Dutch had ousted the Portuguese from their only remaining colony in Ceylon (Sri

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<sup>45</sup> “Articles of Perpetual Peace,” 1654, Cuttle 105. Despite these original notions of peace between the two competing powers, the continual expansion and trade interferences required continual negotiations and discussions defining and redefining areas of agreement. Additionally, the issues of Baltic trade and the complexities of statecraft and alliances made these negotiations fraught as the entangled interests of each power found friction with the needs of commercial interests.

<sup>46</sup> “Audience at the States General”, February 1658, Cuttle 118, f. 13

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, ff. 13-14.

Lanka), thereby complicating possible trade negotiations.<sup>48</sup> The Portuguese, however, signalled their support for the Lord Protector and sought peace and security with both the Dutch and the English —seeing their collective power.<sup>49</sup> Downing's diary notes that discussion further discussed the issues of sugar prices, a reminder about the Protectorate's victory over Spain in Dunkirk and, critically, "the distressed Protestants in Piedmont".<sup>50</sup> Earlier that year in the discussions with the Staten-Generaal, Downing notes in his diary that representatives from Holland and Zeeland came to speak with him in order to "let me know the sense of the sad states of the present evil treatment of the Protestants in Piemont from the Duke of Savoy and that they should be glad to understand his Highsse sense of what is fit to be done for them."<sup>51</sup> The insistence on bringing up the Protector's care for the Piedmont Protestants in 1658 after the massacre of 1655 demonstrates the Protector's need for this care to be recognized as this was an establishing moment for his envisioned place as the Protector of the Reformed. In essence, it is clear that the Protectorate's public relations mission was working as representatives from the provinces of Holland and Zeeland came to see Cromwell's aid as beneficial despite general Dutch scepticism about both the cause of the Piedmont Protestants and Cromwell's rule overall.

The Dutch did not hold Cromwell in high esteem and despite the recent peace between the nations, naval trade skirmishes still flared tensions in the east Indies. As one letter from Samuel Hartlib indicated "The sad newes of the English in Hispaniola doth greatly rejoyce, if not allmost all, yet very many here [Amsterdam]." This was

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<sup>48</sup> Ames, *Renasant Empire? The House of Braganza and the Quest for Stability in Portuguese Monsoon Asia, C. 1640-1683*, 12-13.

<sup>49</sup> "Letter from the King of Portugal", July 1658, Cuttle 118 ff. 94-95.

<sup>50</sup> George Downing speaking with the deputies of the Staten-Generaal, June 1658, Cuttle 118 ff. 89-92.

<sup>51</sup> "A Letter from the Admiralty of Zeland to the States Gen Touching an English Ship Brought into...Harbour by a Dunkerker", Cuttle 118 f. 57.

not to indicate that the Dutch favoured Cromwell's rivals as he additionally indicated the Dutch lament about the state of the Swedish sacking of Poland noting that "the great success of the Swedes in Poland doth on the contrary said many O tempora! O mores!".<sup>52</sup> Additionally, the black legend around Cromwell and the regicides still, in the later 1650s, depicted Cromwell as a violent and avaricious usurper.<sup>53</sup> Among the many unfavourable depictions of Cromwell, an example of a satirical medal was crafted with Cromwell's face on one side, and Thomas Fairfax's on the other. When turned upside down, the faces of these figures were morphed into that of a devilish figure for Cromwell, and a fool for Fairfax. Interestingly, the form for this type of medal had previously been used to satirise the Pope with a cardinal in the position of Fairfax and Cromwell in the Pope's position.<sup>54</sup> The recent historiography regarding Anglo-Dutch relations argues that the removal of strict religious alliances allowed the English and the Dutch to equally pursue more beneficial trade alliances and favourable economic policies.<sup>55</sup> It also allowed the Dutch to disagree with the English regarding particulars of their overall aid to the Piedmont Protestants and other actions in Europe. While the Dutch followed Cromwell's collection of aid for the Piedmont Protestants and did so for similar theological reasons, like the English their support was not simply as co-religionists, but as a useful tool against their Roman Catholic and, importantly, absolute monarchist competitors. While the Dutch and

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<sup>52</sup> Letter from Amsterdam, 13 August 1655, BL Add MS 4365 f. 96. The phrase O tempora! O mores, or the times! The customs! is a reference to Cicero and his lament relating to Catiline and the Senate inaction against him despite the evidence of his plots to overthrow the republic and assassinate the Cicero as Consul. Cicero, *In Catilinam*, 1.1.2.

<sup>53</sup> See Helmers, *The Royalist Republic: Literature, Politics, and Religion in the Anglo-Dutch Public Sphere, 1639-1660*.

<sup>54</sup> One of these medals, British Museum number 1888,0515.1, does not have a formal title, but is the most evocative of the two under discussion. The other, "The Devil Cromwell and the fool Fairfax", British Museum number 1879,1107.1, both objects were created in c.1650 in the Netherlands. The reference to the previous use of the image comes from the object notes from the British Museum for object, 1879,1107.1.

<sup>55</sup> See Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the Making of English Foreign Policy, 1650-1668*. This notion is further expanded in *1688: The First Modern Revolution*.

English were in economic competition throughout the mid-seventeenth century, they were aligned in their fear of a universal monarchy represented by the Habsburgs and, to a lesser extent, the Bourbon French monarchy. Not all the important Dutch monied interests were aligned in their universal support of the Piedmont Protestants. In particular, the Amsterdam city council requested withholding future funds until it could be proven that the Waldensians had not breeched their contract with the Savoy state and had not participated in a general rebellion—which was the allegation which prompted their removal and massacre. This dubiousness marks an important caesura in the period by which co-religionists did not automatically believe their brethren and understood the dangers of falling into war along confessional lines when unwarranted.<sup>56</sup> Importantly, despite similarities in their religious expressions, their religio-political positions were somewhat at odds as Cromwell sought an irenic Protestant Christian mission and a unified Reformed Protectorate (more akin to that seen in the Thirty Years' War) whereas the Dutch sought a Calvinist monopoly in trade and an economic stance that favoured the accrual of individual wealth.<sup>57</sup> As Cromwell would find, it was perhaps the Dutch model that many in his own country, especially those financing the Protectorate, favoured.

As seen through Downing's diary, news of the Protectorate's power to render aid to European Protestants spread. Following the work of the committee for the Piedmont Protestants, pleas arrived from Bohemian and Polish Protestants, so too did requests from other central European interests. These requests were for aid, for alliance, and to avoid England's involvement. The first of these requests came from exiled Huguenots and other Protestant populations, mostly likely from Prussia,

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<sup>56</sup> Boersma, 'Supporting the Waldensians: The Politics of Transnational Aid in the Dutch Republic, 1655-1731', 213.

<sup>57</sup> Parker, *Global Calvinism: Conversion and Commerce in the Dutch Empire 1600-1800*, 124.

fearing the increase in Habsburg removals and violence.<sup>58</sup> It is interesting to note the distinct similarity between the letter sent from the Bohemian and Polish Protestants and that of the German Exiles. The first and perhaps most striking similarity is the term “potent” in the salutary address. The letter on behalf of the German Protestant exiles reads “Most serene and most *potent* prince, and most gracious Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland”<sup>59</sup> This is coupled with the letter on behalf of the Polish and Bohemian Protestants in August of 1657 which reads in its salutary address, “Most *potent* Protector of great Britaine the right hand of the omnipotent God Protect thee against all his and they enemyes”.<sup>60</sup> The term potent in this context is critically important and reflects a lexical shift in its usage from the noun form potentate, meaning a sovereign, to its extended adjective form which imbues the same meaning combined with the sense of power in action. This shift is represented in texts starting around the turn of the sixteenth century and by the mid-seventeenth was in use in this form.<sup>61</sup> As such, it can be understood that in the usage in the letters presented the term “potent” is an adjective used to describe the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell, in flattering terms as opposed to merely as a statement of fact. Through both letters, therefore, the use of the term “potent” has the intended purpose of instigating action through the implication that the Lord Protector is special in his ability to affect this action.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Spohnholz and van Veen, *Dutch Reformed Protestants in the Holy Roman Empire, c. 1550–1620: A Reformation of Refugees*, 57-97.; Clark, *Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia, 1600-1947*, 57-60; 115-124. Importantly, in 1654, a decree from the Holy Roman Emperor established what Clark describes as the “Magna Carta of Absolutism” in which he decrees that all subjects within the Holy Roman Empire were to give assistance in the support and occupation of fortified places and garrisons — in other words, property could be seized in order to support the needs of the Empire including churches.

<sup>59</sup> “Copy Petition to Cromwell Relating to German Exiles, April 1658”, *The Hartlib Papers*, 54/33A-B. Emphasis mine.

<sup>60</sup> TNA SP 46 112 f. 119. Emphasis mine.

<sup>61</sup> Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. “potent (adj.1 & n.2),” March 2024.

<sup>62</sup> More research is needed to definitively state that this is a novel usage of this term, but the fact remains that it is being used in a particular form in this instance and that is worth highlighting.

In the 1658 letter on behalf of German Protestant exiles, the author indicates the dire need for further aid for a group of displaced German Protestants. In the letter, the author thanks the Lord Protector for the audience of his envoy, referred to throughout as “your petitioner” and for their inclusion in the collection of funds — presumably the collection on behalf of the Bohemian and Polish Protestants. According to the author the collection allocation for the German Protestants was merely 10 /. When placed into context with the collection for the Piedmont Protestants and the Bohemian Protestants, this is a very meagre sum. The letter presents the dire condition of these Protestants and their near starvation level poverty. The author pleads with Cromwell to have mercy on this group and to allocate “at least 600lb. sterlings” to aid “this their great necessity”.<sup>63</sup> This nearly six-hundred percent increase is contextualised by discussing the contingent aid offered to the Polish Protestants from the Dutch and, although not elaborated on, that the Dutch interests had not yet extended to German Protestant aid.

This is a crucial component of this letter in that it frames the competitive aid network and the ways in which aid was dependent on mutual self-interest. The author of this letter was attempting to appeal to Cromwell’s Christian sense of charity and to demonstrate a loyalty to Cromwell were the aid to flow as the final sentiment of the letter indicates as he notes that these German Protestants will “...incessantly send many thousand and thousand fervent sighs and prayers to God in heaven for your Highnesse and your whole State, which indeed will not bee in vaine, but doubtlesse will obtaine and procure great blessings from heaven, to redound upon your Hughnesse and Your State.”<sup>64</sup> This sentiment is followed by a quotation from

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<sup>63</sup> “Copy Petition to Cromwell Relating to German Exiles, April 1658”, *Hartlib Papers*, 54/33A-B.

<sup>64</sup> “Copy Petition to Cromwell Relating to German Exiles, April 1658”, *Hartlib Papers*, 54/33A-B.

Psalms 9 and 145 which appeal to this sense of Christian charity. The letter implies that if Cromwell were to live up to this Christian appeal, his greater power as a European prince would be justified.

The potency of Cromwell's aid and the military power he projected led George II Rákóczi, Prince of Transylvania, to write to the Lord Protector seeking a formal "League or Confederacy between the people of England, the Kingdome of Sweden, and the United Provinces of the Lowe Countries after the expiration of their warre, for the publique good, for the glory of God, for the liberty of oppressed nationals and consciences."<sup>65</sup> This alliance, in Rákóczi's description, would be for the protection of Transylvania as a bordering country with Poland which was "overrun with the noice of armes" under the chaotic rule of John II Casimir but was, in effect, however an invitation to solidify the sacking of Poland in the names of Transylvania, Sweden, and the Cossacks. In other words, it is crucial to put the twin images of Cromwell into focus at this moment as his desire for Protestant unity was most readily heard by those seeking dominance in central Europe and his projection of strength, both as a Protestant benefactor and as a military leader were understood.

An alliance with Sweden was long seen to be beneficial. In Whitlocke's role as Ambassador to Sweden, he, like Downing, worked to actively insert the Protectorate's dealings in the Swedish court which Cromwell had gained considerable traction. In one very telling excerpt from Whitlocke's *Memorials of the English Affairs*, he noted:

Upon discourse with the *Swedish* Ambassador concerning the Uniting of the Protestant Interest, which he had propounded to the Protector at a Secret Audience,

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<sup>65</sup> "Positiones serenissimo," 4 May 1655, BL Add MS 4156, *Birch Papers*, f. 174.; "A Translate of the Speech made in Latin to his Highness the Lord Protector by Sonstantin Schaum the Prince of Transylvania: his Envoy," f.175

he seemed to like it very well; And said, the Difficulty would be what to propound in order to it, and where to begin; for it would be a long business to endeavour to bring in all the Protestant Princes and States together: but he thought the best way would be for the King his Master and the Protector to joyn together first, and then to draw in the rest afterwards; And such of them as should refuse to joyn, to be taken as Enemies. Which would be quick and resolute, and make the Popish Princes look about them.<sup>66</sup>

In a letter from Cromwell to the Swedish court, he restated the importance of this union for the benefit of the world's Protestants, not just for their own populations.<sup>67</sup> In his diary for the spring of the following year, 1656, however, Whitelocke noted that his conversation with the Lord Protector largely focused on the possibilities of a union with Sweden, but that Cromwell was frustrated by the lack of progress.<sup>68</sup> The king of Sweden, Karl X Gustav, like Cromwell, was primarily interested in military victory. Both Cromwell and Gustav saw foreign policy through this martial lens. Additionally, both Cromwell and Gustav projected an economic prowess that did not align with reality, and both understood the power of a diversion away from domestic instability through a display of strength internationally.<sup>69</sup> Gustav's bellicosity and fickleness frustrated Cromwell and efforts at a stable alliance. The actions against Poland had alerted Habsburg powers to the strength of Sweden's military apparatus, and a military alliance against the Habsburgs between

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<sup>66</sup> Bulstrode Whitlocke, *Memorials of the English Affairs*, Huntington Library, Arber's Term cat. / I 471; Lowndes / X 2905-2906; Wing / W1986. "January 1655", p. 619.

<sup>67</sup> "Cromwell to Charles, King of Sweden", 25 May 1655, TNA SP 92/94, *State Papers Foreign*, f. 306. The letter is in Latin and likely composed by John Milton. The phrase used to discuss the wider group of Protestants is "protestantium toto orbe terrarum" —Protestants all over the world or the world over. This is especially important in that Cromwell is specifically not limiting this scope to Europe.

<sup>68</sup> Whitelocke, *The Diary of Bulstrode Whitelocke 1605-1675*, 433.

<sup>69</sup> Lisk, *The Struggle for Supremacy in the Baltic 1600-1725*, 95.

England, Sweden, Transylvania, and Denmark would cause significant damage to the Holy Roman Empire, but Gustav's choosing war with Denmark, another Protestant power, raised Cromwell's hackles.<sup>70</sup> In the diplomatic discussions with the Dutch, Downing noted this frustration indicating that such in-fighting gave more to the Habsburgs as it weakened Protestant powers. Additionally, Sweden's blockade of crucial channels of the Baltic trade routes scuttled discussions with both the Dutch and the Protectorate.<sup>71</sup> Perhaps more galling to Cromwell, however, was Gustav's cold reception to the possibilities of a confessional alliance. It was clear to Cromwell that despite the military might of Sweden, they were not ideologically aligned.

Despite the long-term courting of Swedish favour, by the 1650s, Sweden was increasingly losing its pole position as the most important post-Thirty Years' War Protestant power. The political instability following the abdication of Queen Christina and the rise of the nobility and the Swedish parliament (Riksdag) as well as Sweden's wars with Denmark and Poland-Lithuania had polarised much of Europe against them. Their enemies were further entrenched, and their allies were seeking alternate alliances away from the Swedish entirely. For Cromwell and the Protectorate, the centrality of Swedish lumber trade, ship building, and the closing of access to Baltic trade routes severely damaged relations and possibilities for economic, military, or religio-political alliances.<sup>72</sup>

Relations between Dutch and the Swedish, too, were complicated by trade both in the Baltic and in the Americas and the Dutch encroached and finally captured the Swedish trading settlement of New Sweden in 1655 under the charge of Peter

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<sup>70</sup> Lockhart, *Sweden in the Seventeenth Century*, 99.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> See Grimshaw, 'English Commercial Ascendancy and the Growth in Competition for Baltic Markets, 1650-1700'.

Stuyvesant.<sup>73</sup> Peace and unity amongst the Protestant powers was complicated by their imperial and commercial endeavours in which they competed fiercely and whose colonial operatives cared less for the possibilities of grand alliances than competitive advantage.

For the Protectorate, the Swedish invasion of Poland-Lithuania was complicated. While they sought a religio-political alliance with the Swedish king and received the Prince of Transylvania's offer of a union well, the disregard for the Protestants of the region concerned the Lord Protector and his envoys. The Protestant powers disappointed Cromwell in their pursuits of territory and power at the cost of religious unity. As was noted: "As for those exiled in all Polonia, they are in the most distressed conditions that can bee imagined by reason of the most heavy and intolerable Swedish Contributions upon them and the little strength that is left for defending of them against most cruel invasions and assaults of the Royall rebelling Polacks, who put all to the sword who they meet with or master both of Dutch or Protestant."<sup>74</sup> Additionally, while the Protectorate feared a "Popish Reformation" in Silesia, the mounting fears regarding the intertwined interests of the Muscovites, Cossacks, the Swedish, and the German Habsburgs stoked fears of a rekindled central European total war.<sup>75</sup> The projected strength of Sweden was a double edged sword as their victory, destructive as it may be, was seen by some as an important node in the network of the Reformed conception of history. As John Pell noted to Samuel Hartlib: "But doe you remember what Mr. Mede hath prophesied heretofore, concerning the Swedish warre, that it should bee the destruction of the House of

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<sup>73</sup> See Ward, *The Dutch and Swedes on the Delaware, 1609-1664*; Ward, *New Sweden on the Delaware*.

<sup>74</sup> "Extracts of letters written to Mr. Hartlib," 11 December 1655, BL Add MS 4365, *Pell Letters and Papers*, f. 353.

<sup>75</sup> "Extracts of Letters Written to Mr. Hartlib," 28 April 1655, BL Add MS 4364, *Pell Letters and Papers*, f. 49.

Austria, & of the Romane Empire? It is to be wondered at, that there are so very few, who have any thought of the times, wherein wee live, & of the Workes of Divine Providence, hastening to fullfill what yet is to come."<sup>76</sup> The letters between Pell and Hartlib indicate, however, a suspicion of Swedish intentions. It was understood that Cromwell's aims towards Protestant unity was of true and sincere value, but that the king of Sweden only sought territory and dynastic power given the densely intertwined struggles between Poland and Sweden —with Russia looming over both as a threat— and their mutual claims to the other's thrones throughout the seventeenth century.<sup>77</sup> Hartlib understood that Gustav may have been a powerful Protestant Prince, but that he was ideologically fixated on military power making his religion *pro forma* or incidental. They saw the Dutch, the Swedish, and the Danish as opportunistic and self-serving and that they had "so little consideration amongst other Protestant states."<sup>78</sup> In Cromwell they saw a Protestant leader focused on the most pressing existential threat in the Spanish and praised him for his single-minded focus to "undo Spain."<sup>79</sup> Cromwell, in juxtaposition to the other Protestant powers sought to achieve Protestant supremacy through conjoined efforts, what his allies termed his "common cause theory".<sup>80</sup> To the envoys this was the focus of an "intelligent Protestant statesman" who correctly understood which, of all the complex religio-political entanglements still maintained the primacy of a sustained threat not only to the Protectorate as a government through the support of the exiled Stuart cause, but also to the expanded colonial and imperial enterprise.<sup>81</sup> Additionally, the ideological envoys sought a purity of mission that would aid beleaguered Protestants

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<sup>76</sup> Letter from John Pell to Samuel Hartlib, 2 June 1655, BL Add MS 4365, f. 3.

<sup>77</sup> Lockhart, *Sweden in the Seventeenth Century*, 95.

<sup>78</sup> "Extracts of Letters Written to Mr. Hartlib," 11 December 1655, BL Add MS 4365, f. 353.

<sup>79</sup> "Extracts of Letters Written to Mr. Hartlib," 18 December 1655, BL Add MS 4365, f. 356.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> Letter from Amsterdam, 2/12 January 1657, BL Add MS 4365, ff. 278-280.

in a continued hope of achieving a larger spiritual and religio-political end. As such, the envoys hoped to see the Swedish conquest of Polish territories ended and the cause of the Protestant churches there restored despite Cromwell's reluctance to engage directly due to the confessional alignments in Poland and fear that supporting an end to the conflict would provide a Catholic power with relief and possible military gains.<sup>82</sup> Ever the keen pragmatist, Cromwell also did not want to risk inflaming further tensions between Sweden and the United Provinces in hopes of still bringing them into an alliance.<sup>83</sup> The tensions between Sweden and the United Provinces primarily fell to the Swedish who felt that in an alliance, their needs would be neglected in favour of the more lofty pan-Protestant goals, i.e. against the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>84</sup> As the letter from the court of Transylvania indicated, the Protectorate was seen as a powerful military force with a desire to crush similar enemies, but not for the same reasons.

Throughout this period, the Protectorate still received ambassadors from hostile nations such as Spain and, contextually, Poland. In a letter from John II Casimir, king of Poland, he refers to Cromwell as "our most dear friend" and pleaded with Cromwell to do his part to end the Swedish incursion into Poland-Lithuanian territory.<sup>85</sup> Critically, this letter establishes the Protectorate as a powerful force in international political affairs and brokers this power in order to find a peaceful solution. Like the letter from king Rákóczi of Transylvania, king Casimir spoke to Cromwell's own sense of English exceptionalism and his sense of pragmatism which both Rákóczi and Casimir sought to exploit to their ends. These letters represent an

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid. See also Frost, *After the Deluge: Poland-Lithuania and the Second Northern War 1655-1660*, 50.

<sup>83</sup> Frost, *After the Deluge: Poland-Lithuania and the Second Northern War 1655-1660*, 80.

<sup>84</sup> Whitelocke, *Memorials of the English Affairs*, 620.

<sup>85</sup> Letter from John II Casimir of Poland, 30 November 1655, BL Add MS 4156, *Birch Papers* ff. 96-98.

important moment for the Protectorate, however, as they reflect a moment of recognition for the work he and his envoys had completed in the aid of the Piedmont and Bohemian Protestants. This recognition was a crucial component of the Protectorate's foreign policy of benevolent aid at the point of a sword.

Additionally, in a letter from John Dury to John Pell, Dury notes that a Genoese news sheet dated July 1/11 by a certain "Ferroni" claimed that the Lord Protector had gone so far as to change the seal of England with his own image and a new inscription indicating his desire to establish himself in a more global Protestant Protector role. As the letter indicates, the inscription was to have read, "Olivero il Grand Imperatore d'Inghil-terra, di Scottia. Hibernia, e Francia e Protettore de Protestanti e delle Chiese riformate." The news sheet referenced in this letter is likely *Genova*, specifically published under the alternative title *Il sincero* under the printer Giovanna Maria Ferroni.<sup>86</sup> The sentiment behind this quotation is vital to understanding the ways that the Protectorate was seen during the 1650s in the period of active negotiations and alliance building. That those within the Habsburg orbit, and particularly those within the key merchant hub of Genoa saw Cromwell as such a strident conqueror indicates the seriousness by which the Protectorate was taken throughout Europe. The construction of this imperial version of the Protectorate, with an imperial head figure in Cromwell is also very important as it speaks to the anxieties of the Habsburg world and their fear of rivalries.

What does this mean for the larger mission of the protectorate and the protector?

Move to colonial

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<sup>86</sup> Arblaster, 'The Explosion of News Publishing, 1632–1648', 205.

Move to king

conclusion

### Who was Samuel Morland?

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.<sup>87</sup> Morland had been Pepys' tutor and had later gifted him a beautifully bound and colorised copy of his *History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont*.<sup>88</sup> Pepys mentions Morland eight times throughout his diaries from 1660-67 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, but his reputation as an obsequious social climber seems to have brought him personal and financial trouble including a ruinous divorce stemming from his status-seeking and lavish lifestyle.<sup>89</sup>

Before *The History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont* Morland has no record of publication. Born in 1625, Morland entered Magdalene College, Cambridge in 1644 earning his BA in 1648 and MA in 1652.<sup>90</sup> 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.<sup>91</sup> In the service of the

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<sup>87</sup> Pepys, '15 May 1660'.

<sup>88</sup> This copy of Morland's *History* is held in the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge.

<sup>89</sup> Stone, *Uncertain Unions: Marriage in England 1660-1753*, 126-134.

<sup>90</sup> Marshall, 'Morland, Sir Samuel, First Baronet'.

<sup>91</sup> Dickinson, *Sir Samuel Morland: Diplomat and Inventor, 1625-1695*, 4-6.

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. Little is known about the extent of Morland's work with Whitelocke and the Swedish court, but through this position he had proven himself an able envoy. Likely because of this work, Morland was selected as "Commissioner Extraordinary" to the Duke of Savoy to address the massacre of the Piedmont Protestants on behalf of the Protectorate.<sup>92</sup>

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.<sup>93</sup> 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.<sup>94</sup> 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 when he wrote it. Nevertheless, it, and his earlier work reflect his deep religious convictions and his expansive learning. From the title

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<sup>92</sup> Dickinson, *Sir Samuel Morland*, 8.

<sup>93</sup> Morland is often described as a double agent, and, 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 imminent. With Thurloe, Morland developed 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 Sir Edward 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 I 489; Wing / D2478.

<sup>94</sup> "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.

page of *The History*, Morland indicates the split between the religious purposes of the text and the political, but importantly while the content is 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.

This counters the document-rich claims of the Catholic authorities and perhaps more importantly, the scholarly claims of the Jesuits. As Bishop Gilbert Burnet later related in his *History*, Jean-Baptiste Stouppe had explained to him that Cromwell sought to create a Protestant *Propaganda Fide*, an office and educational system to rival that of the Catholic apparatus.<sup>95</sup> Like with the powerful Catholic office, a major part of this Protestant effort would be polemic and printing on the model of the Jesuits and their methods of rhetorical education. Therefore, it is important to see works like Morland's in this light as they functioned as proof not only of Catholic oppression, but also as a model of Reformed Protestant theological history. In other words, they functioned as a model of both what Protestants were and were not in much the same mode as Catholic catechist and exemplar works.<sup>96</sup>

*The History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont* was printed by Henry Hills, a contracted printer for official works of the Protectorate likely indicating the patronage of the Protectorate for its creation. The work was commissioned by Adoniram Byfield, a former Army chaplain (like John Owen) who had preached with Philip Nye, and who was a minor figure in the functioning of the Westminster Assembly and an ejector during the scheme to remove unwanted clergy from parish locations. Like Milton's sonnet, which begins "Avenge O Lord thy slaughter'd Saints", Morland's work is contextualised by Revelation 6, and uses the

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<sup>95</sup> Burnet, *History of His Own Time: From the Restoration of King Charles the Second to the Treaty of Peace at Utrecht in the Reign of Queen Anne*, 51.

<sup>96</sup> Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain*.

ninth passage as an epigram on the title page which reads “And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the alter the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held”.<sup>97</sup> Milton’s poem uses the language and meaning of the tenth passage of Revelation 6 which continues “And they cried out with a loud voice saying, ‘How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?’”<sup>98</sup> Both works intertwine the ideas of the Piedmont Protestant’s claims to antiquity and long term oppression by the Catholic Church interweaving an apocalyptic and eschatological framework, that of Revelation and the rise of the Antichrist, with the contemporary narrative of the massacre as an easily understood appeal to their cause and the role of the Protectorate in their aid.

This narrative is advanced through multiple sections of Morland’s work, but developed most pointedly in book I, chapter VII. Morland seeks to make the first piece of evidence towards the Antichrist argument as one that predates Waldo, but situates the origin, like the other writers in this genre, in the 1120s. This situation is important because the claim of those working to advance the Protestant conception of history focused on the twelfth century reformers and their punishment for dissent as a key moment in the rise of the Antichrist. This section provides the, by the time of its creation, standard arguments against the Catholic church (idolatry, innovation, greed), but the importance stems from the early date the author is claiming for the origin of these dissenting opinions. It is also worth noting the connection with the

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<sup>97</sup> Revelation 6:9 *KJV*.

<sup>98</sup> Revelation 6:10 *KJV*.

mention of Jean-Paul Perrin in this section who Morland states directly is the translator and conduit of these documents.<sup>99</sup>

In this section Morland cited the Waldensian documents that he had deposited into the Cambridge University Library. Morland was unsure about the veracity of some of the documents and general accounts. In a letter to John Pell, Morland notes that "...I find upon diligent search that many papers and bookes which have been put out in print upon this subject even by some of the Ministers of the valleys are lame in many particulars, and in many things are not conformable to truth."<sup>100</sup> In particular, Morland was uncomfortable with the materials as they have been presented and with at least one of the sources, a figure called Mr Belon who came at the recommendation of John Dury. Morland was worried about accepting these documents because, as he noted, Belon had planned to publish his account of the massacre but was all too willing to sell his materials to Morland instead.<sup>101</sup> Additionally, despite some relief about not needing to take likely difficult journey from Geneva to the Piedmont valleys, Morland did indicate his worry that his inability to travel would harm the truth of the history he was developing as there is concern about the prospect of overly polemic sources.<sup>102</sup> Despite these concerns, John Pell relayed his confidence about Morland's sources and his work noting that despite some reticence, Morland had travelled throughout the Protestant Cantons and received manuscripts from the valleys that were "sufficient and authentique, as being subscribed by hands well known to your honours."<sup>103</sup> It is likely, based on the material, that they represent not original materials, but a tradition of manuscript

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<sup>99</sup> Morland, *HECVP*, 142-177. See, Blair, *History of the Waldenses*, 503-505 on the comparison of Léger, Perrin, and Morland in the comparison of Waldensian documents.

<sup>100</sup> Letter to John Pell, 15 January 1655, BL Add MS 4365, *Pell Letters and Papers*, ff. 70-71.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 70-71.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 70-71.

<sup>103</sup> Letter from John Pell, Zurich, 13/23 July 1655, BL MS 746, *Lansdowne*, f. 20.

copying. One clear example that demonstrates this practice is the “Bull of Pope Innocent Against the Waldenses in the year 1487”. The purpose in copying this bull was in the textual evidence it provided of the long-term persecution of the Waldensians therefore is an important artefact of a cultural practice.

What is most important to the material sense of Morland’s work is his archival focus of the documents and their power *qua* 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.<sup>104</sup> 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”.<sup>105</sup> These items are carefully and skilfully organised both by their folder location and concordinated throughout the work. Additionally, the documents are given descriptors and thematically grouped into early 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 Peter Waldo. 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.<sup>106</sup> This new mode found purchase in

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<sup>104</sup> Popper, *The Specter of the Archive: Political Practice and the Information State in Early Modern Britain*.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., “Catalogue of Manuscripts”.

<sup>106</sup> 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, 166 for an example of this practice. See also Malcolm Parks. “The Influence of the Concepts of ‘Ordinato’ and

many literary genres as the rhetorical use of history became elaborately developed to communicate authenticity and authority.<sup>107</sup> 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.<sup>108</sup> 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, there was an eagerness to unearth and display documents to establish the truth 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 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

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‘Compilatio’ on the Development of the Book” and Summit, *Memory’s Library: Medieval Books in Early Modern England*.

<sup>107</sup> 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*.

<sup>108</sup> 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.

difficulty."<sup>109</sup> 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.

While much of the writing of *The History* can be confidently credited to Jean Léger — and both owe much of their narrative to Jean-Paul Perrin— due to the extremely close similarities between all their subsequently published work and Morland's and, most critically, their noted work with the Committee for the Affairs of the Poor Protestants of the Valleys of Piedmont and Morland's consistent mention of them throughout the work, Morland's contributions such as the organisation is of vital importance.<sup>110</sup> This book was meant to be used as a weapon against the legitimacy of both the Roman Catholic church and the universal Habsburg monarchy which was in the service of the church.

The idea that Morland's work could function as a repository for the shaping of memory and action has a curious and provocative antecedent in *Eikon Basilike*. Like Morland's *History*, the *Eikon Basilike* collects textual evidence to establish and formulate a narrative truth and reflects a similar archival anxiety. *Eikon Basilike* builds the historical framework justifying the Divine right of kings, however, and develops a martyrology of Charles I. The book's illustrated "embleme", which shows Charles receiving God's favour through the gloom and trading his temporal crown for a crown of thorns, demonstrates the tragic frame in which to remember him. While not as atrocious and graphic as the images in Morland's *History*, this image too has a rhetorical purpose as does its contents overall.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> *HECVP*, Book II, Chapter IV, 302.

<sup>110</sup> Ledger of John Thurloe which indicates payments directed to Jean Léger, 1655, TNA SP 46/112, *State Papers Dom.*, f. 55

<sup>111</sup> Daems and Nelson, *Eikon Basilike with Selections from Eikonoklastes*, 27. *Eikon Basilike* was claimed as Charles' autobiography and printed soon after his execution in 1649. John Gauden later claimed authorship. Theories of reader reception are important in understanding the use of Morland's *History* and

It is important to view the Waldensians and the Piedmont Protestants not necessarily through the lens of who they actually were, but who they represented to the influential members of the Protectorate including key members of the Council of State and Oliver Cromwell himself. Built on a long-standing tradition linked at least to John Foxe and Johann Sleidan and continued through James Ussher and in influential sermons and writings by figures such as John Owen, the legend of the

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the impetus for its creation. In addition to *Eikon Basilike*, other related documents like the *1641 Irish Depositions* sought to authoritatively establish how these events were to be remembered. See Gibney, *The Shadow of a Year: The 1641 Rebellion in Irish History and Memory*; Gibson and Dell, *The Protestation Returns 1641-1642 and Other Contemporary Listings: Collection in Aid of Distressed Protestants in Ireland; Subsidies, Poll Tax; Assessment or Grant; Vow and Covenant; Solemn League and Covenant*. Adrian Johns notes that through print, readers and other audiences desired this authority fixity in many forms of publications. Print therefore provided a mechanism for both the producer of the work and the receiver to establish and rely on a system of trust. See Johns, "The Book of Nature and the Nature of the Book." Systems of print are also critical in the idea that markets determine reception and use of any printed book. As Darnton has established, the circular system of production and consumption of material indicate the value, both monetary and cultural of a given work. Given the large amount of labour and resources required to produce a book, especially a folio volume like Morland's *History*, it indicates the perceived and likely actual value of the work. See Darnton, "What Is the History of Books?"; Darnton, "'What Is the History of Books?' Revisited." As Stanely Fish has pointed out, many works of the seventeenth century were intended with both rhetorical and dialectical purpose. Morland's *History* is clearly among these works. As Fish argues, these works were meant to be absorbed or consumed by readers bringing internalising their messages yet leaving the material works behind. See Fish, *Self-Consuming Artifacts: The Experience of Seventeenth-Century Literature*. The continued life of the Morland's *History* is evident through its continued citations, but it is the message ideas of both the long-standing persecution and the aid from the Protectorate that remains vivid down the centuries, not Morland himself. See Barthes, "The Death of the Author" and Foucault, "What Is an Author?" It is interesting to consider how the receivers of Morland's text interpreted the legacy of the Waldensians and the modern plight of the Piedmont Protestants and how his conception compelled action through their interpretations and their previous knowledge. Considering the ways in which Morland's text created the Waldensians is a tantalising thought. What were the ways in which Morland's audience filled in the gaps, such as they were, with their own experiences and understandings of other persecutions. See Iser, "The Reading Process: A Phenomenological Approach"; Iser, "Interaction Between Text and Reader." Importantly, this sense of an allegorical cultural language provides an understanding for the use of specific tropes of atrocity through many similar works including Morland's *History*. These *mimetic* images, those that carry specific semiotic and symbolic weight though their repeated use, build and create meaning for the audience and allows for something of a cultural shortcut for the creator of the work to signal specific recollections in others. See Auerbach, *Mimesis: Representations of Reality in Western Literature*. The ability to use and rely on the memories and knowledge of an audience also formulates notions of collective memory and the shared sense of history which informs the impulse to memorialise through these works the nature of cultural authority. That this memory can be manipulated through the same process of creation of archives is an important consideration regarding Morland's *History*. See Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Arts of Memory.*; Erll, *Memory in Culture*; Cubitt, *History and Memory.*; Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory.*; Farge, *The Allure of the Archives*. For a further analysis of the use of archives in the shaping of cultural memory, see also Michalak, Sly, and Brewer, "The Slavery, Law, and Power Project: Curating Debates over Democracy and Justice in Early America and the British Empire."

Waldensians was firmly established by the time of the 1655 massacre. This legend established the idea of the Waldensians as proto-Protestants who, like other so-called heretics had been persecuted by the Catholic authorities because of their suspicion of innovations in the Church and elements of doctrine they found inconsistent with scripture. That the Waldensians were understood in this light added a layer of outrage to the massacre as it lent further evidence to long-term oppression. Critically, however, the outrage relating to this oppression could now, in the 1650s, be harnessed towards a foreign policy position of strength of the protectorate and to legitimate Oliver Cromwell and also as the Protector of the Reformed.

It is important to contextualise this massacre within a wider framework and one which English intervention demonstrated its place within the wider Protestant world as a powerful defender. Elizabethan aid for the Dutch, protection for Huguenots

(come back and look at Chapt 1 – especially the political use section) With some of the religious justifications established it is important to move to a discussion about the political justifications for the support for the Waldensians

Move to a discussion about HECVP

Conclude with an assessment of the other areas Cromwell could develop with these factors established and his ultimate goals

**Chapters:****SLIDE 13: Chapter I**

In the first chapter I focus on the events of the 1655 massacre of the Piedmont Protestants and the subsequent foreign policy actions that stem from the Protectorate's recognition of the religiopolitical utility of these tragic events.

**SLIDE 14****SLIDE 31 - Sources:****SLIDE 32 - Areas of Further Research and Next Steps:**

Areas that I wish I could have investigated further:

The inclusion of more political philosophy from the period as well as a closer literary, cultural, and social analysis of the Protectorate's actions in this period and further cultural analysis of the collection. I couldn't find any accounts of the collection other than those of the Protectorate's, but that doesn't mean that they do not exist.

This will likely involve more granular local and parish archives. Later in this period the Lambeth Palace and the office of the Archbishop took over distributions and collections for the Piedmont Protestants and I did spend time with these.

In the future I would also like to do a closer material study of Morland's work by investigating additional copies. For this project I was able to inspect copies at the British Library, two at Cambridge, a reprinted scan, and a digital copy from Princeton. These copies were all mostly 'clean' in that they had minimal or no annotations, but there are many more copies out there and it would be interesting to see how these volumes were used. The copy in the Vatican archives or even one locally at Georgetown, would be very interesting —a Catholic perspective through this work is largely absent.

Additionally, the archives of other European courts would be vital to future work. Particularly Dutch and Swedish archives, but also French and various Italian archives that were not within the scope of this project as it evolved.

DON'T FORGET TO ADD MENTION ABOUT SLAVERY AND RACIAL TERMS – WHY? DEMONSTRATES THE IDEA OF ENSLAVEMENT REVENUE AND THE PROTECTORATE

### **SLIDE 33**

Thank you all again very much for being here and I would be happy to address any questions you may have.

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<sup>i</sup> Worden, 'Cromwell and the Sin of Achan', p. 49.

<sup>ii</sup> "Extract of Letters Written to Mr Hartlib", BL Add MS 4365, ff. 3-4. This is a paraphrased and condensed sentiment that appears in the letters between John Pell and Samuel Hartlib. The text in the document reads, "...you will please to insinuate their case unto his Highness (whom God seems to have raised not only to bee the Protector of the Commonwealth of England but likewise of the Gospels Cause and of the True Protestant Religion)...", I have shortened this phrase to Protector of the Reformed throughout, but I

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have done so within the context and sentiment of the original which communicates the notion that it was God's will to see Crowell as Lord Protector beyond the British Isles as a more global protector of the faith. See also the quote from the representatives of the Evangelical Cantons of Switzerland, "We have very great cause to be carefull with this affrare the Lord Protector of England receive no discontent, seeing he takes so much to heart and interest of all the Reformed in generall and of those of the Vallies in particular. On which without doubt yee will also make due and prudent reflections and will endeavour with your greatest care that he may receive from us all fitting satisfaction. We pray God to keepe you in his holy protection." 17-8-1655, Landsdowne MS 752 F 35

<sup>iii</sup> Austin, 'Performative Utterances'. See also, Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*