• Levelers were only group with coherent revolutionary programme, a draft constitution, and an ideology that looked beyond the overthrow of Old Testament tyrants to natural law and human rights.
• King’s death exposed fragility of this political alliance.
• Core of problem was public opinion.
• Levelers claimed to know what nation wanted, but rump could not follow them any further down road of popular sovereignty.
• Offering vote to all male householders who contributed to poor relief was not an option for a parl that needed support from gentry.
• To dissolve parl and hold new elections was too risky.
• Levelers would accept nothing less.
• In “England’s New Chains Discovered”, Lilburne accused army of retuming England to slavery.
• Number of Leveller leaders incl Lilburne, Overton, Price and Walwyn, were arrested on a charge of sedition (encouraging people to rebel).
• They were examined before Army Council.
• Their arrest provoked a minor mutiny in one of the Army’s cavalry regiments.
• As in 1647, prospect of service in Ireland provoked further discontent amongst army rank and file.
• In May a larger mutiny broke out in some of the regiments.
• Cromwell and Fairfax caught up with the mutineers at Burford in Oxfordshire.
• Arrested and imprisoned overnight and next day three of the ringleaders were shot.
• Rest were promised arrears of pay (back pay) and pardoned.
• Small Leveller uprising in Oxfordshire was also suppressed and its leader, William Thompson, killed in a shoot-out in the woods.
• Lilburne’s arrest was embarrassing for Cromwell as was popular hero who had once idolized Cromwell.
• But Cromwell thought it was vital to preserve what had already been achieved by building support among the traditional governing classes.
• Necessary to establish command and control over rank and file as army face imminent campaigns across British Isles.
• Mutinies reminded rump that army had to be paid.
• Further taxes, however, would drive away much needed support.
• Government found support in crownlands: since monarchy had been abolished, crown’s assets were up for grabs.
• In June parl allocated crown lands to individual regiments to sell off and pay themselves from the proceeds.
• Sale of Dean and Chapter lands supplemented their income, and taxes raised from specific counties were also allocated to certain regiments.
• Paying the army was becoming part of the English constitution.

The Irish campaign:

• 23 March 1649, Cromwell spoke to General Council of the Commonwealth.
• Scots had declared Charles Stuart, eldest son of Charles I, king of not only Scotland but of Britain.
• Charles Stuart was prepared to do anything to win their support:
  o He denounced his parents’ religious beliefs
  o He betrayed Montrose by ordering him to disband his forces
  o He disowned Ormond’s treaty with the Catholic Confederates in Ireland
  o He signed the National Covenant, committing himself to a Presbyterian settlement.
• With the king at their head, the Scots prepared to invade England for the third time in eleven years.
• Rump decided to launch pre-emptive strike, but Fairfax refused to make war against his old allies.
• Cromwell accepted his command, thereby becoming Lord General – supreme commander of the army of the Commonwealth.
• Scottish commander was David Leslie, who had fought alongside Cromwell at Marston Moor.
• Scottish army was disciplined, large and well-equipped.
• Scots were utterly convinced of their righteousness, and they would be defending their country against an invading army.
• Cromwell made extensive use of propaganda.
• He viewed the scots, unlike the Irish, as “people of the Book”, fellow godly Christians who might be helped to see the error of their ways.
• Painful for godly Englishmen to fight one against Scottish Presbyterians.
• But maybe equally painful for Scots to fight English Puritans.
• Leslie employed a scorched earth policy, destroying everything that might be of use to the English while falling back on his own supplies at Edinburgh and Leith.
• Cromwell had arranged to be supplied by sea, but this forced him to hug the coastline and failed to deliver adequate supplies.
• In bad weather, Cromwell’s army was depleted by sickness.
• After trying unsuccessfully to bring Leslie to battle, Cromwell retreated to Dunbar.
• Leslie seized his opportunity and cut off the English line of retreat.
• Cromwell expected defeat and so began evacuating his sick and wounded by sea and warned Sir Arthur Haselrig at Newcastle to prepare to defend England against a Scottish invasion.

The Battle of Dunbar:
• Scots outnumbered the English by two to one.
• They were deployed on high ground over looking Dunbar, their front protected by the natural entrenchment of Spott Burn.
• From here they could observe all the movements of Cromwell’s forces.
• 2 Sept Cromwell and his senior officers rode forward and concluded that the Scottish army could be attacked successfully.
• Battle of Dunbar was Cromwell’s tactical masterpiece.
Leslie had failed to secure the half-mile gap between his right flank and the sea.

Under cover of darkness there was enough room to aggressively outflank Leslie’s army.

Cromwell worked through the night to manoeuvre his forces into position.

When army attacked before dawn it achieved total surprise and local superiority.

Disorientated and unprepared, Scottish army disintegrated as one regiment after another panicked and ran.

The “crowning mercy” – the Battle of Worcester:

For six months after Dunbar there was little fighting.

Leslie retreated beyond Edinburgh to Stirling where he continued raising troops and avoided giving battle.

Cromwell occupied Edinburgh but held back from risks of a major winter campaign.

In July an English victory at Inverkeithing opened the way to an invasion of Fife.

Cromwell moved his army north of Stirling and occupied Perth, cutting Leslie off from his supplies.

Left an open door for the Scots to invade England.

Charles Stuart hoped his appearance at the head of a Scottish army would encourage a royalist uprising in England, so decision was made to march on London.

Invasion sometimes called the “Third Civil War” but unlike in 1648 there was no royalist uprising in England.

Speed with which Cromwell’s army moved to intercept Scots suggests he was not seeking to outflank him but rather to catch him off guard.

Cromwell caught up with Charles at Worcester where in a complex battle lasting over five hours, the Scottish/royalist army was destroyed.

This was Cromwell’s last battle.

He referred to Worcester as “a crowning mercy”, one that should inspire parliament to “do the will of Him who hath done His will for it” – a warning to rump to get on with job of reform.

Why did Cromwell expel the rump parliament?

By 1652 Cromwell’s personal importance was enhanced by three developments:

1. His victories against the Irish and Scots confirmed him as the greatest general of his time.
2. Resignation of Fairfax in 1650 and death of Ireton in 1651 strengthened his authority within the army.
3. In the course of his campaigns, Cromwell gained a unique insight into the opinions, beliefs, interests and fears of all three kingdoms. By
Historian J.C Davis says “Cromwell’s tragedy” was that it was a “struggle to make an ordered and stable society out of the wreckage”.

B. Coward says “the Cromwellian Protectorate was a failure” in so far as their aim was to “purify the lives and thoughts of their fellow countrymen.”

Timeline of the Cromwellian Protectorate, 1653-58:

Dec 1653: Instrument of Government
Cromwell installed as Lord Protector
Jan 1654: Oath of Engagement abolished
March 1654: Triers Ordinance
April 1654: Anglo-Dutch War ended
Ordinance for the union of England and Scotland

Aug 1654: Ejectors Ordinance
Chancery Reform Ordinance
Sept 1654: First Protectorate Parliament

Nov 1654: George Cony imprisoned for refusing to pay customs duties
Dec 1654: Western Design expedition sails for the Caribbean

Jan 1655: First Protectorate Parliament
March 1655: Penruddock’s rising
May 1655: George Cony’s lawyers imprisoned
June 1655: Resignation of Lord Chief Justice Rolle
July 1655: News of the Western Design’s defeat reaches London
Cromwell disturbed by evidence of the withdrawal of God’s support.
Aug 1655: Rule of the Major-Generals begins
Oct 1655: Moral Order instructions issued to the Major-Generals
Anglo-French defensive treaty signed
War with Spain
Dec 1655: Cromwell permits Jews limited toleration

Sept 1656: Second Protectorate Parliament
Over 100 MPs excluded
Oct 1656: James Nayler’s case

Jan 1657: Cromwell decides to abandon both the Rule of the Major Generals and the Instrument of Government
Feb 1657: Cromwell puts the case for these decisions to a meeting of army officers and meets with a hostile response
March 1657: Humble Petition and Advice
April 1657: Admiral Blake defeats Spanish fleet at Santa Cruz
May 1657: Cromwell accepts the Humble Petition and Advice
Cromwell rejects the offer of the crown
June 1657: Cromwell’s “coronation” as Protector
First session of the Second Protectorate Parliament ends
• Executive authority would be limited by a Council of State, but the executive would also limit parliament’s authority.
• The settlement as a whole would be approved by parl, bridging the gap between the ancient constitution and the new one.
• Henry Ireton and General Lambert had been the chief architects of the Heads of Proposals, and Lambert was the author of the Instrument of Government.
• During the first Protectorate Parliament Cromwell clung to these principles as the “fundamentals” of the constitution and about which there could be no argument.

Godly reformation:
• Most intangible of Cromwell’s aims.
• Believed he and the army had been entrusted by God with a providential mission.
• He frequently compared England’s troubles with those of the ancient Israelites, whose sufferings marked them out as God’s people and prepared them for the Promised Land.
• This had driven Cromwell to abandon friends and former allies prepared to give up the godly cause in the name of peace.
• Godly reformation required a national church settlement that would lead by example rather than by force, with liberty of conscience for Protestants only.
• State’s responsibility to see that whole nation was served by a godly ministry, so some means would have to be found to support it.

• Also committed to moral and spiritual reformation.
• Civil wars had led to a better national life, just as his own spiritual troubles had prepared him for a life redeemed by salvation.
• This meant end to swearing, gambling, prostitution, drunkenness – the sort of behavior normally punished by parish constables.
• He hoped England’s experience of war would transform the hearts and minds of the English people.

Cromwell’s “Personal Rule”:
• The Instrument of Government gave the Lord Protector authority to govern by ordinance until his first parliament met in September 1654.
• For eight months, Cromwell and his Council had the power to legislate without parliament.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ISSUES</th>
<th>REFORMS</th>
<th>EXPLANATIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>Triers Ordinance</td>
<td>A central commission was set up to assess all applications for church livings to ensure that all newly appointed ministers were “men of known integrity and piety”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ejectors Ordinance</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Godly reformation</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Cromwell was empowered to legislate by ordinance from 16 Dec 1653 to 3 Sept 1654. – parl was expected to endorse decisions made in this period.

The checks and balances of the Instrument of Government:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Council of State</th>
<th>Lord Protector Cromwell</th>
<th>Parliament</th>
<th>Armed forces and other special interests</th>
<th>Church Settlement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To advise Lord Protector</td>
<td>Chief executive and magistrate in England, Scotland and Ireland</td>
<td>Power to make laws, but may not change the Instrument</td>
<td>Annual provision for an Army of 30,000 men</td>
<td>Christians to be the public profession of the three nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No more than 31 members, no less than 13</td>
<td>Must call parl when England goes to war</td>
<td>To meet 3 Sept 1654 and subsequently every three years.</td>
<td>Constant provision for a navy £200,000 per annum to cover costs of law courts and other expenses, paid for from the customs</td>
<td>Provision to be made as soon as possible for the selection and maintenance of diligent clergy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chooses the Lord Protector’s successor after his death</td>
<td>May call parl whenever necessary</td>
<td>No parl to be dissolved within five months</td>
<td>Tithes to be preserved in the meantime</td>
<td>“That to the Public Profession held forth none shall be compelled... but that endeavours be used to win them by sound doctrine and the example of good conversation.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Must sign bills within 20 days or “give satisfaction” to parl otherwise Bills automatically become law.</td>
<td>Must sign bills within 20 days or “give satisfaction” to parl otherwise Bills automatically become law.</td>
<td>460 Members, including 30 each for Scotland and Ireland</td>
<td>Liberty of worship for those Protestants sects that do not disturb the peace or...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Parliament, not the Council, should give it consent before the Protector took
the nation to war.
Like in 1620s, parliament demanded the sovereign right to raise taxation,
threatening the army’s existence.
By end of the year, Cromwell had had enough.
22 Jan 1655 he dissolved parl which had failed to pass a single act.

The Major-Generals: a military dictatorship:

- In March, Penruddock’s rising, a royalist rebellion in Wiltshire which,
  although suppressed easily, showed that royalists were still plotting to
  overthrow the Protectorate.
- In July, news of a foreign policy disaster reached London.
- Western Design was a naval expedition to the Caribbean, but it was beaten
  off.
- Its bid to secure a major base from which to challenge Spain’s domination of
  the West Indies ended in failure.
- Cromwell was alarmed by threat to Protectorate and God’s apparent
  forsaking for the cause.
- Cromwell turned to the army.
- England and wales were divided into eleven military districts, each governed
  by a Major General.
- Security was to be strengthened by local militias, paid for by a new
  “Decimation Tax” on Royalists’ estates.
- Cromwell hoped the army could be scaled down, which would allow him to
  cut taxes.
- Major Generals would continue godly reformation and improve the efficiency
  of local government at minimal cost.
- Problem was these aims were incompatible.
- Decimation Tax made healing and settling more difficult.
- Military rule was unlikely to appeal to civilian magistrates.
- The Major Generals were generally of lower social standing than the JPs,
  whose power they usurped.
- To promote godly reformation, the army would have to work with the
  leaders of religious sects, who were regarded as dangerous radicals by
  conservative country gentlemen.
- Army was never coherent enough to form a military dictatorship.
- MGs were inconsistent in the way they applied their orders.
- Lambert and Fleetwood were too preoccupied with national politics, and
  there were differences of emphasis and application elsewhere.
- Army enforced laws against drunkenness, profanity and blasphemy.
- Alehouses were regulated more strictly; theatres, brothels and gaming
  houses were closed; and bear-baiting, cock-fighting and horse-racing were
  banned.
- MGs tried to support work of locals JPs, enforcing Poor Law, regulating
  weights and measures and helping the Ejectors remove unlicensed clergy.
It revealed weakness in the Instrument of Government: without the House of Lords, the Commons’ judicial power was unchecked.

Appalled by parl’s cruelty towards Nayler, Cromwell became convinced the Instrument had to be modified.

This time parl, not the army, would write the new constitution.

By end of 1656, main issue facing Cromwell was whether his regime could be shifted from military to civilian basis.

Officers continued to support Instrument of Government.

But army was unpopular.

Drew Cromwell to advice of lawyers anxious to return to civilian rule under constitution written and approved by parl.

Cromwell was getting old and he was ill so decision about future was urgent.

In Jan he accepted parliament’s rejection of Major-Generals’ Decimation Bill which would have funded army.

This signalled that rule of Major Generals was over.

Feb 1657 MP called for changes to Instrument of Government.

Provoked confrontation between Cromwell and his own generals.

Cromwell met with around 100 officers and blamed army for constitutional crises of 1650s and argued it was time to build govt on solid foundations.

March parl voted to offer Cromwell kingship by majority of two to one.

Six days later new constitution – Humble Petition and Advice – was presented to him and he was told he had to reject or accept whole package of reforms.

It included offer of crown.

Humble Petition and Advice:

Different from Instrument of Government.

Offered Cromwell crown and return of House of Lords as chamber nominated by Cromwell to balance power of Commons.

Parliament would have power of nominating great officers of state.

Parl would have to approve all taxation and would cut size of army to reduce tax.

HP now criticised for being vague and for creating a parl that Cromwell’s successor couldn’t handle.

Cromwell was probably prepared to support its defects in order to secure settlement which had long eluded him – a constitution originating from parl and granting him legitimate authority.

Cromwell’s military and civilian advisers – a house divided:

Officers defended the Instrument of Government:

- Incl General Desborough, General Lambert and General Fleetwood.
- It guaranteed financial support for army
- Gave Council power to appoint Cromwell’s successor
- Advanced cause of godly reformation