

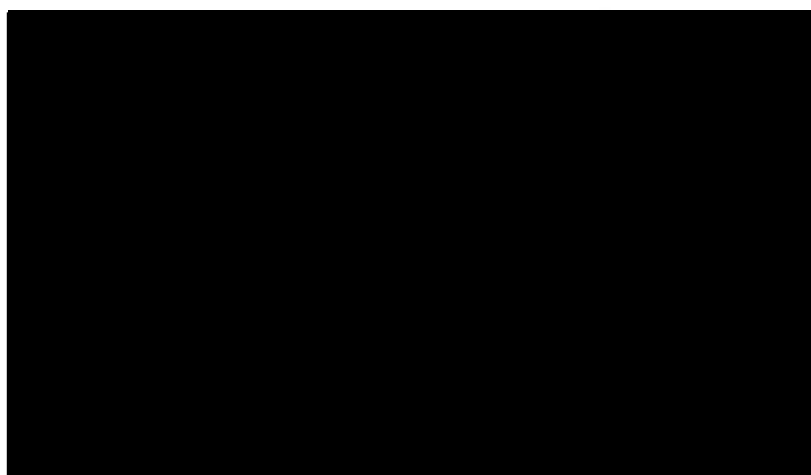
Script 1

SCRIPT 1

Centre Marks

| 40/40 |

2017



Coursework authentication sheet

Pearson Edexcel Level 3 Advanced GCE In History	
Assignment title:	
Have you received advice on the title from the Assignment guidance service?	Yes
Centre name:	Centre number:
Candidate name:	Candidate number:
State the examined options that are being taken:	
Paper 1: Option 1C: Britain, 1625-1701: conflict, revolution and settlement	
Paper 2: Option 2C.2: Russia in revolution, 1894-1924	
Paper 3: Option 32: The Golden Age of Spain, 1474-1598	
Mark awarded	Comments [Comment box expands as you start entering text]
40 /40	<p>The candidate has selected a challenging question on which differences of interpretation are subtle and complex. She has used a very good range of relevant material from other historians as well as analysing and evaluating the works of her chosen 3 historians in considerable depth. Excellent understanding of the issues and strong contextual knowledge which is fully integrated into the debate. Considerable perception is shown in explanation of differences in interpretation and independent judgements are soundly based on valid criteria and fully justified. There is a sustained evaluative argument which is very well planned and communicated with clarity and precision.</p>

Teacher declaration

I declare that the work submitted for assessment has been carried out without assistance other than that which is acceptable according to the rules of the specification.

Assessor name	I		
Assessor signature		Date	03/05/17

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I certify that the work submitted for this assignment is my own. I have clearly referenced any materials used in the work. I understand that false declaration is a form of malpractice.

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Historians have disagreed about how far Cromwell himself was responsible for his limited success as Lord Protector.

What is your view about how far Cromwell himself was responsible for his limited success as Lord Protector?

The extent to which Oliver Cromwell was personally responsible for his limited success as Lord Protector has been a topic of dispute among historians. Many interwoven factors ranging from individual bodies of power, to the constitution, to the deep divisions in society contributed to preventing the success of the protectorate government. The limited success of the Protectorate rests in these fundamentals; Cromwell's narrow basis of support among the ruling classes, his failure to gain a functional relationship with his parliaments, which ultimately prevented the establishment of a stable constitutional settlement. Coward's argument is centred on how Cromwell's failures were a consequence of his prioritizing godly reform over his want for 'healing and settlement'. Coward makes use of many of sources produced by Cromwell himself, which contrasts with Worden who uses the views of Cromwell's contemporaries to conclude that the major causes of failure were Cromwell's character and the military origins of the Instrument of Government. Unlike Coward and Worden, whose investigations surround the life and influence of Cromwell, Aylmer's focus is on constitutional changes throughout the Stuart age and their impact on society. Consequently, he argues that the failures were rooted in the deep divisions in society and that they were then worsened by the Army presence in protectorate rule. When considering the whole of the protectorate rule, it can be argued that the deep severances in society, coupled with the military influence in government were the underlying causes of the limited success, however, had it not been for Cromwell's strong desire for godly reformation preventing cordial relations with Parliament, the rule of the Lord Protector would most probably have experienced more success.

A major limitation of the protectorate was the amount of support it received from the ruling classes; according to Aylmer 'whatever constitution might be

Historical debate
lines
1-8

clearly aware of historical argument

BP3/5

Argument Historian

implemented, the basis of support for the Protector was too narrow'.¹ He claims that this problem was rooted in the chronic divides in society; there were deep civil-military splits among his supporters and many ex-Rumpers had turned against Cromwell because they saw 'a Protectorate as a step backward towards the monarchy'.² This view is supported by Tanner's investigation into the opposition facing the constitution. With the use of speeches from contemporary preachers and republicans, Tanner concludes that the Instrument failed to satisfy extreme republicans because of its creation of a permanent executive authority, which was to a great extent independent of parliament.³ This meant that the style of Cromwell's regime immediately isolated him from the support of strong republicans, thereby restricting the breadth of those in favour of his government. However, the preachers cited by Tanner were Fifth Monarchist, a small radical group in the 1640s and 1650s, so the extent to which divisions in society prevented the Protector from gaining support among the moderate majority of the ruling class cannot be determined with the use of Tanner's investigation.

criteria

BP2

Additional
historical
evidence to
evaluate

Own
evaluation

BP5

The protectorate regime was faced with the challenge of uniting a divided nation that was still recovering from the civil wars. There were divisions between royalists and parliamentarians, but more importantly there had been a fall out between the ruling classes and the Army. Jones claims that 'no ingenuity could bridge the gap between soldier masters and civilian subjects'.⁴ He uses the Humble Petition and Advice to exemplify this. The Humble Petition was a

historical
document

Additional
historical
evidence to
evaluate

¹ G. Aylmer, *The Struggle for the Constitution*, London, Blandford Press, 1963, p. 148

² Ibid.

³ J.R. Tanner, *English Constitutional Conflicts of the Seventeenth Century 1603-1689*, London, The Syndics of the University Cambridge Press, 1928, p. 185

⁴ I.D. Jones, *The English Revolution*, London, Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 1931, p. 99

parliamentary constitution which moved the country in the conservative direction that the majority of MPs wanted to go. Although the Army Council's constitution had been a principle area of conflict, the introduction of a parliamentary constitution did not ease the tension. This shows that despite the compromises the partitions remained evident, strengthening Aylmer's argument that the chronic divides in society limited the success in the protectorate regime. That being said, Cromwell's lack of popularity was not solely due to people's dislike of the style of government, many contemporaries criticised his character. He lost the support of many allies and 'his sympathizers were outnumbered by his haters'⁵.

Worden argues that Cromwell's support diminished throughout his rule and 'people who had once rejoiced in the regicide or in the abolition of the monarchy... saw their cause of retreat'⁶. Unlike Aylmer whose inquiry delves into the progression of society during the Stuart age, Worden focuses on Cromwell's influence during the Interregnum. As a result of this, he makes use of personal sources, like diaries and letters from parliamentarians during the protectorate, to explore Cromwell's impact on politics during the Interregnum. This leads to Worden to conclude that, although deep divides were apparent, Cromwell's unpopularity stemmed from the disillusionment of his allies, which was caused by their perception of the Protector rather than the regime. He claims that 'Cromwell was universally mistrusted'⁷ especially among those who were once his allies. Many of his contemporaries thought that he 'used godly reformation as engine of his own advancement and he abandoned it and fatally

⁵ B. Worden, *God's Instrument*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 231

⁶ Ibid, p. 232

⁷ Ibid, p. 231

compromised it once the advancement had been achieved'⁸, however this can be *evaluation*
only be argued to a certain degree. Beliefs concerning religious toleration were
widely shared within the Army. By failing to fully achieve his aims in regards to
godly reform, Cromwell may have been perceived to be using godly reform as a
means to maintain military support. Morrill strengthens this argument by *additional*
comparing the words and actions of Cromwell, claiming that 'Cromwell's public *historical*
performance became more king-like. But whenever he described himself he
downplayed it'⁹. Cromwell's misrepresentation of his actions makes it plausible
that there may have been suspicion surrounding him. The protectorate's drift *judgment*
towards a more conservative government with the acceptance of the Humble
Petition and Advice, most likely solidified this distrust.

BPI
BLS
However, this movement away from the desires of the Army cannot be solely
blamed on Cromwell's character. Had there not been the civil-military divide in *judgment*
society, Cromwell would not have had to jeopardize the support of his military *reforming*
and Rump allies in hopes of winning over the opposition. Furthermore, *evaluation*
throughout his rule, Cromwell never gave up on achieving religious reform in *scope of*
England, causing him to experience political isolation. In many ways his pursuit *factor*
for reformation prevented him from expanding his basis of support.

One of the main factors that *attributed to* the failure of the protectorate rule *concerned*
was Cromwell's personal priorities. Coward believes that it was this rather than *view*
his character that limited his success. His argument revolves around the fact that
Cromwell often prioritized his aim for godly reform over his desire for 'healing

⁸ B. Worden, *God's Instrument*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 233

⁹ J. Morrill, *Oliver Cromwell*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007, p. 91

and settling'¹⁰. Religious freedom and settlement were two contrasting goals. The degree of tolerance that Cromwell wanted required progressive thinking; it was far more radical than any toleration that had been upheld in the country previously, yet at the same time he wanted a settlement, which meant returning to the old conservative ways. It was difficult to push for one goal without stifling the other. The Major Generals' 'reformation of manner' strongly demonstrates Coward's point. Following the Penruddock in 1655 Major Generals were added to local governments as a security measure; but after the failure of expeditions to capture Hispaniola, Cromwell introduced the 'reformation of manners'. This was most likely because he saw the failure as a sign of God rebuking England. The majority of historians agree that the 'reformation of manners' and the decimation tax were significant failures of the protectorate; they exacerbated and unearthed divisions in society and 'roused hatred in localities'¹¹. This failure was a direct consequence of Cromwell favouring godly reform over the 'healing and settling' of the country. Although the initiative was short lived, its infamy most likely impacted any future attempts Cromwell made to try and gain support.

Coward also argues that by focusing on religious reformation, Cromwell was unable to build good relations with the ruling classes and rid himself of army ties, which constrained his support basis. This is evident in the Major General experiment but can also be supported by the Fundamentals laid down by Cromwell in the parliament of 1654. Included in the Fundamentals was the preservation of religious liberties, a matter which he refused to compromise on.

¹⁰ B. Coward, *The Stuart Age*, United States of America, Longman Publishing, 1980, p. 268

¹¹ B. Coward, *The Stuart Age*, United States of America, Longman Publishing, 1980, p. 272

Few shared Cromwell's views on toleration, making it a major source of tension between him and his parliament. This leads Woolrych to claim that, had Cromwell abandoned the cause he believed in, 'his path might have been smoother.'¹² This reiterates the significance of Cromwell's priorities in limiting his success. Additionally, it challenges Worden's argument by suggesting that it was not the fact that Cromwell appeared to be moving away from his godly cause, but his refusal to relent on these beliefs that restricted his support.

critera
BPB
Student critera
The contrast in Worden and Coward's viewpoints lies in their focus. Worden focuses more on why Cromwell lost the support of many of his allies whilst Coward concentrates on why Cromwell failed to gain support from the pre-existing opposition. Consequently, whilst Coward puts more emphasis on the actions and words of Cromwell, Worden observes how the Protector was viewed by his associates. When considering why Cromwell did not gain sufficient support, Coward's argument holds more strength; because, although some were very vocal, those who supported Cromwell's religious aims and oppositions to his acceptance of the Humble Petition, were a minority among the ruling classes. It was Cromwell's actions rather than his character that limited his success. Driven by his desire for godly reform, he pushed for changes such as the 'reformation of manners', which heightened pre-existing tensions, preventing him from gaining sufficient support for a successful regime.

Cromwell's failure to establish a strong working partnership with Parliament was closely tied to his failure to achieve a lasting constitutional settlement, which

¹² A. Woolrych, *England Without a King*, London, Methuen & Co, Ltd, 1983, p. 35

contributed significantly to his limited success. These problems hindered the legislative function of government and caused financial difficulties. The political instability in the country made landowners increasingly reluctant to lend money. The regime's limited support created hostile parliamentary relations and failures to achieve settlement, but factors such as the Instrument of Government, military presence in government and Cromwell's rejection of the Crown also contributed.

Aylmer argues that Cromwell's failures with Parliament were largely a result of political mismanagement. He claims that 'Cromwell did not grasp the need to build up a properly led and organized government party in the House of Commons'¹³. Cromwell had several Councillors in the Commons as well as several well-spoken military colleagues, but he failed to strategically place them in the Commons for his benefit. Furthermore, Cromwell attended less than half of the 800 meetings with his Council, from his attendance patterns Morrill argues that 'at times it is hard not to conclude that he was deliberately absenting himself at a time of decisions with which he did not wish to be associated'¹⁴. This lack of control of his advisors most likely fed into the problems he had controlling parliament, especially given that as head of state he rarely attended parliamentary session. Although political mismanagement contributed to Cromwell's disharmony with Parliament, Aylmer overlooks the significance of the constitutions in preventing the smooth running of Parliament. In the first protectorate parliament, especially, it was the Parliament's opposition to the

¹³ G. Aylmer, *The Struggle for the Constitution*, London, Blandford Press, 1963, p. 150

¹⁴ J. Morrill, *Oliver Cromwell*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007, p. 87

Instrument of Government rather than Cromwell's management that obstructed his successful governing.

The Instrument caused disharmony between Cromwell and Parliament; so much so that 'both [protectorate parliaments] had to be purged before they could safely be allowed to proceed'¹⁵. Coward claims that the Instrument infringed parliamentary liberties 'in ways no monarch... had done'¹⁶. He argues that the Instrument perpetuated the power of the Army and 'there would be no cooperation with Parliament until the Instrument... was amended'¹⁷. There is strength in this claim, as during the seventeenth century, the primary role of Parliament was to control taxation. Under the Instrument of Government, Parliament first needed to provide enough revenue for 30,000 men, a sufficient fleet and £200,000 per annum for civil government, before they could control taxation¹⁸. To many MPs, this may have been seen as a breach of their liberties as it restricted their main role, which supports Coward's claim. However, Bennet challenges the extent to which the Instrument brought about new restrictions. Like Coward, he argues that the content of the Instrument troubled Parliament, but emphasises their desire for military control, a desire he traces back to the settlement presented to Charles I in the 1640s. He argues that a key issue in the Instrument that was challenged was the Protector's control of the militia¹⁹. Under a single head of state, Parliament usually did not have military control, which suggests that it was the demands of Parliament rather than new constraints presented in the Instrument that caused problems. This is more

¹⁵ G. Aylmer, *The Struggle for the Constitution*, London, Blandford Press, 1963, p. 148

¹⁶ B. Coward, *Oliver Cromwell*, United States of America: Longman Inc., 1991, p. 104-5

¹⁷ B. Coward, *The Stuart Age*, United States of America, Longman Publishing, 1980, p. 269

¹⁸ A. Woolrych, *England Without a King*, London, Methuen & Co, Ltd, 1983, p. 32

¹⁹ M. Bennet, *Oliver Cromwell*, Oxon, Routledge, 2006, p. 228

likely to have been the case as during the first protectorate parliament, outside of MPs attacking the constitution and toleration, the Army was the main point of conflict.

Like Coward, Worden states that the Instrument was problematic for the Protector, but emphasised the constitution's 'genesis' rather than its content. According to Worden, MPs were willing to accept the general outline of the constitution provided that it was acknowledged to be devised from Parliament. Worden develops his argument, by citing Thomas Burton - an MP from 1656-1659- who said 'the sense and opinion in the House was generally in favour of the principal of a parliament and a single person, limited as parliament should see fit'²⁰ This implies that, because Army Council established the constitution, many MPs felt that their power entitlement was undermined. Consequently, the Instrument lacked legitimacy. This problem of legitimacy is particularly highlighted by the Cony case. George Cony was imprisoned in May 1655 for refusing to pay customs duties on silk, on the grounds that the ordinance levying customs duties was invalid as it lacked parliamentary sanction. However, the ordinance was legal under the Instrument of Government, meaning his case undermined the constitution, and consequently the position of the Protector. The trial highlights how, by refusing the government legitimacy, the Army origins of the constitution limited the amount of authority people perceived of it, which is likely to be a reason that Parliament attacked the Instrument. These attacks, coupled with Cromwell's refusal to amend the constitution, also limited the quest for settlement, which hindered the success of the protectorate.

²⁰ B. Coward, *The Stuart Age, United States of America*, Longman Publishing, 1980, p. 248

Worden explores the idea further by looking at the introduction of the Humble Petition and Advice, arguing that it was an anti-military constitution, and that the large support was garnered from it being a parliamentary document. This claim was justified by John Birch, an MP who had been the leader of the opposition in 1654, and states; 'our parliament could not be free by the Instrument... were it no more, but for this freedom of parliament, I should be in love with the Petition and Advice'²¹. The phrase 'freedom of parliament' is ambiguous without wider context. It can support Worden, by implying that the creation of Instrument in the Army Council had impeded the right of Parliament to create legislature. However, it can also be interpreted as Birch saying that the content of the constitution constrained Parliamentary liberties, aiding Coward's argument. The slight difference between the views of Coward and Worden lies in the focus of each historian's investigation.

Critique → Worden explores Cromwell's influence in government during the Interregnum, so his investigation focuses on how Cromwell's contemporaries viewed his regime. Worden largely sources information from MPs, looking at how they retaliated to the Instrument to draw conclusions as to why there was such strong opposition to the constitution. Meanwhile Coward's investigation is dealing with the Stuart Age in England, meaning he makes use of a broader time scale and compares the Instrument to the previous constitution. As a result, he concentrates on the content of Lambert's constitution, emphasising the changes to parliamentary liberties. For exploring how the Instrument limited parliamentary relations and settlement, and in turn the success of the

²¹ B. Worden, *God's Instrument*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 251

protectorate rule, the views of MPs provide a clearer picture, as it was their opposition to the constitution that contributed to preventing effective governing. However, whilst sources from MPs are useful, the evidence Worden presents is too limited, and at times too ambiguous, to fully conclude that the majority of the Commons were most troubled by the origins of the constitution. The fact the Army was a main source of debate in the first protectorate parliament suggests that the content of the Instrument, especially parliamentary liberties in regard to the army, also played a substantial role in causing Cromwell's tensions with Parliament.

Even though the Instrument of Government was a central cause of Cromwell's limited success, it is impossible to deny that the Army were an underlying cause.

Both Aylmer and Worden argue that it was the Instrument's association with the Army that hindered it. Worden postulates that the army was a permanent block to 'the civilisation of the regime.'²² During the debates over the standing army in the 1690s, the MPs referred to two traumatic points: the reign of the James II and the Interregnum. Hutton uses this to justify his claim that the 'transformation from a de-militarised government in the early 17th Century to militarised one in the 1640s and 1650s was dramatic'²³ This implies that the military's presence in the country was viewed as damaging. It is possible that Cromwell would have been more successful, had he cut his military ties; but Cromwell needed them to implement godly reforms. Through the use of speeches and Parliament's history of intolerance, Tanner argues that 'the army

²² Ibid, p. 250

²³ R. Hutton, *Military Dictatorship*, [podcast], <http://www.history.org.uk/historian/module/B460/the-cromwell-discussion>, (04/10/2016)

was the sole guarantee of toleration²⁴, as Cromwell feared that parliamentary control would lead of persecution. This suggest that the problems Cromwell faced with Parliament over the Army stemmed from his drive for religious toleration, supporting Coward's earlier argument that a cause of Cromwell's limited success was his personal priorities. *Evaluation*

Another factor that hindered Cromwell's parliamentary relations and the foundation of a lasting settlement was his rejection of the Crown. Many historians believe that, had Cromwell accepted the Crown under the Humble Petition and Advice, support for his regime would have increased and it 'would have provided a familiar kind of resolution to civil strife'²⁵.

Although there is uncertainty as to why Cromwell refused kingship, Aylmer and Worden emphasise the Army's influence over the Protector. Aylmer claims that Cromwell was 'under very heavy pressure from the Army to refuse'²⁶ and Worden furthers this view, arguing that Cromwell's rejection of the Crown 'at the Army's behest showed little security for civilian and parliamentary rule the new constitution gave'²⁷. Cromwell's military background meant he held strong ties to the army, and though there were only four officers in Cromwell's original Council of State, the Protector was still subject to their opinion. He had officers in the Commons and also held weekly dinners with army officers, in which he may have faced political lobbying from officers.²⁸ However, there is a degree of *evaluation*
knowledge
applied

²⁴ J.R. Tanner, *English Constitutional Conflicts of the Seventeenth Century 1603-1689*, London, The Syndics of the University Cambridge Press, 1928, p. 183

²⁵ B. Worden, *God's Instrument*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 237

²⁶ G. Aylmer, *The Struggle for the Constitution*, London, Blandford Press, 1963, p. 149

²⁷ B. Worden, *God's Instrument*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 250

²⁸ J. Morrill, *Oliver Cromwell*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007, p. 89

uncertainty as to the level of influence the Army had over Cromwell. His meetings with his officers were unminuted making it difficult to determine what they entailed. Furthermore, during the rule of the Lord Protector there was a decline in the army's influence in government. By the end of 1656, Cromwell was in 'close association with groups of advisers who had no connection to the army.'²⁹

BP3 Unlike Worden and Aylmer, Coward finds 'it difficult to believe, given the bravado performance in outfacing hostile army officers on 27 February 1657 and at other times in his career, fear of the army was a prime consideration.'³⁰ Worden and Aylmer examine how Cromwell still had the views of the Army surrounding him, producing a causal link between their demand and the rejection of the Crown. This is a reasonable conclusion given the initial willingness Cromwell presented to accepting the Crown. Coward, however, contrasts this by broadening the time scale and reviewing Cromwell's dealings with political input from the Army in the past. Outside of establishing Cromwell as Lord Protector, the Army's influence in the executive had been minimal. Worden's investigation places a lot of emphasis on the words of contemporary parliamentarians; whose opposition to the Army, possibly caused them to view it to have obstructed their attempts at settlement. Meanwhile Coward focuses more on Cromwell's speeches, in particular, those made in March and April of 1657. On 3rd March the Protector said 'if these considerations [the powers detailed in the proposed new constitution] fall upon a person or persons that God has no pleasure in... that perhaps may be the end of this work.'³¹ This leads

²⁹ B. Coward, *Oliver Cromwell*, United States of America, Longman Inc., 1991, p. 146

³⁰ B. Coward, *The Stuart Age*, United States of America; Longman Publishing, 1980, p. 274

³¹ *Ibid*, p. 274

Coward to argue that it was the fear that he was someone in whom 'God had no pleasure' that made Cromwell realize that restoring 'the monarch that had been abolished by God's blessing'³² could result in 'God's rebuke' and an end to godly reformation. This idea is furthered by the speech Cromwell gave on 13 April 1657 in which he repeated five times that God had blasted the title and name. There is an apparent implication that he rejected the Crown as he believed it was the will of God, supporting Coward's argument that a key problem in Cromwell's rule was his prioritizing of godly reform over his want for settlement³³. Bennet suggests that 'Cromwell had no intention of accepting the Crown'³⁴. He draws upon the same speech as Coward, but views that Cromwell's expression of interest during negotiations led people to believe that he was favouring the kingship, when in actuality he saw no need to accept the Crown. This discrepancy between their arguments is probably due to their individual perceptions of Cromwell's character.

Evaluation
Relativism
Explanation

When Cromwell became Lord Protector, the nature of evidence available for historians on him changes from a flow of personal letters to a series of speeches³⁵. Since there is much controversy surrounding how genuine Cromwell's public image was; Coward and Bennet's interpretation of his speeches partly depend on their views about Cromwell. Whether or not Cromwell wanted the Crown, the issue remains that had he accepted it, his regime could have been more successful.

Relativism
Explanation

³² Ibid

³³ J. Morrill, *Oliver Cromwell*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007, p. 104

³⁴ M. Bennet, *Oliver Cromwell*, Oxon, Routledge, 2006, p. 251

³⁵ P. Gaunt, *Oliver Cromwell*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1996, p. 153-4

The argument that Cromwell's priorities prevented him from accepting the Crown is strengthened when reviewing why Cromwell was initially willing to accept the Humble Petition. From the start of his rule, up until 1656, Cromwell had adamantly stuck by the Instrument of Government. The turning point in Cromwell's attitude towards accepting a new constitution was the Naylor Case in October 1656. This was when James Naylor, a Quaker who re-enacted Christ's entry to Jerusalem, was sentenced to whipping and mutilation by parliament. The religious intolerance of the MPs concerned the Protector, and 'highlighted the danger that parliamentary religious intolerance might be extended to religious groups with which Cromwell sympathised'³⁶. It was this realization that most likely opened Cromwell to the idea of constitutional reform, as it presented a way for him to keep the MPs' intolerance in check. Even the establishment of the Humble Petition showed that Cromwell's aims were centred on the success of godly reform rather than settlement, again supporting the Coward's argument that Cromwell's aim limited his success.

[BP2] In summary, although many factors contributed to the limited success of Cromwell as the Lord Protector, Coward's argument is most convincing as, had it not been for Cromwell's drive for godly reform, deepening the divisions in society and preventing the creation of a lasting settlement with Parliament, the protectorate may have experienced more success. The fundamental problems for the protectorate were legitimacy and lack of support, which were initially rooted in the chronic divisions in society and the Army's role in the conception of Cromwell's power as protector- two key factors emphasised in the arguments of Aylmer and Worden. Although these problems were out of Cromwell's

³⁶ B. Coward, *The Stuart Age, United States of America*, Longman Publishing, 1980, p. 270

control, he exacerbated them by instigating the 'reformation of manner' given Major Generals. Furthermore, Cromwell's desire for godly reform played a key rôle in guiding his quest for settlement, as evident in the Nayler case. The want for reform most likely pushed him towards rejecting the Crown, a decision which prevented the development of a lasting settlement in the country and increased the support from the ruling classes.

Bp 1 L5

Bp 2 L5

Bp 3 L5

Bp 4 L5

Bp 5 L5

40
40 | L5

Word Count: 4000

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Pearson Edexcel Level 3 Advanced GCE in History

Centre name:

Candidate name:

Resources used.

The three works chosen for the assignment must be asterisked.

Military Dictatorship: To what extent did the government of the Protectorate rest solely on bayonets?

Professor Ronald Hutton and Prof John Morrill debate the topic, chaired by Dr Patrick Little.

Page/web reference

<http://www.history.org.uk/history/categorien/s/561/module/8460/the-cromwell-discussions/8463/military-dictatorship>

Student comments

This podcast poses the question as to whether or not Cromwell's role was a military dictatorship. Morrill presents the idea that Cromwell was a more cunning and shrew character than he presented himself to be but argues that the regime was no more militarised than any of the Stuart regimes that succeeded him. Although Hutton does not oppose Morrill's views he argues that a repercussion of the civil war was the transformation from a demilitarised government to one which was largely dependant on the army's presence under the protectorate. The podcast was useful in gaining an overview to the nature of the protectorate government, but also presents some of the problems the large military presence posed for the regime.

Oliver Cromwell – John Morrill

Ch. 7-8
Pg 82-108

This chapter provided useful insight into the Protectorate from Cromwell's stand point and the struggles of internal cohesion in the government. Morrill that Cromwell downplayed his role in government, but never the less there was an internal power struggle between the Protector, his council, the army and the parliament, with the protectorates often being embattled and constrained by the other government bodies. Although this helps to explain why there was limitations to the success of the protectorate, the lack of key details makes it difficult to identify who was responsible at different points during the protectorate rule, so further investigation is needed.

England Without a King – Austin Woolrych

Pg 30-42

Woolrych provides an overview of the constitutional settlement and how there was a shift in the divisions in power, which the council of state and Parliament having more executive and legislative authority than had been seen in the past. Woolrych's argument is based in the idea that the disagreement between Parliament and Protector on the religious settlement was the main cause of friction. He somewhat overlooks the

Teacher initials & date checked

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04/10/2016

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15/10/2016

		significance of the army in the government and as the book focuses more on the changes to the constitution during the interregnum, little is said on the legislative changes that go on in the government, which is a key factor to consider when looking at the success of a government	
A Struggle for Constitution - G.E. Aylmer	147-52	Like with Woolrych, Aylmer focuses on the constitution and the struggles it faced. The chapter also touched upon the social impacts of reforms like the Major Generals and looks briefly at problems faced with foreign policy. He considers the purges in the protectorate parliaments to be more of a necessity for the smooth running of government than a way of Cromwell just avoiding challenging MPs. This is an interesting perspective and it would be good to see how much this view differs between other historians.	18/19/2016
Oliver Cromwell - Barry Coward	Chapter 5 - Chapter 7	In these chapters Coward clearly establishes his views on what Cromwell's aims were and to how he went about trying to achieve them. Unlike the other authors he clearly establishes the reason for the failure of the 1st protectorate parliament, which is of much use to my investigation in who was responsible for the limited success of the protectorate rule. Like Aylmer he touches upon the foreign policy, presenting slightly conflicting information, which will be interesting to investigate further.	24/10/2016
Oliver Cromwell, A New Perspective - Edited by Patrick Little	Chapter 8 - Chapter 9	The first chapter was useful in gaining some insight into how Cromwell lived, however it was more focused on life in his court so showed very limited use to my investigation. The second chapter focuses on why Cromwell rejected the crown and the influence of Thurloe in the army. This essay was again useful in understanding the context surrounding the acceptance of the Humble Petition and Advice, however the information only has limited utility in my investigation.	26/10/2016
The English Revolution - I. Deane Jones	pg 97-104	In this chapter Jones puts a lot of emphasis on the constitution especially the Instrument being problematic in the Protectorate rule. He argues that no parliament could accept it without some modification, and it didn't have the respect of the rules or subjects limiting the effectiveness of government. Although Jones speaks quite favourably of Cromwell, he suggests that Cromwell didn't recognise the ineffectiveness of the Instrument online and the legacy of it of the May of 1649 is limited to the success, but at the same time the Humble Petition broke down his relations with the army.	05/10/2016

<p>The Struggle for the Constitution</p> <p>G. E. Aylmer</p>	<p>pg 147-152</p>	<p>19/11/2016</p> <p>I wanted to revisit Morrill's Aylmer because I had established Edward Worsden as my two main protagonists as they presented two contrasting views. Edward saw the problems for Cromwell lying in his personal priorities, whilst Worsden viewed it to be Cromwell's usurpation via Military coup. Both Morrill and Aylmer express the problems to be more rooted in divided, and struggles within government factions. Aylmer argues more on the perspective that chronic divides between civil and military elements of government limited success and it was Cromwell's failure to unite them, gain support and organise the government effectively that furthered the limitations.</p>
<p>Oliver Cromwell - John Morrill</p>	<p>Ch 7-8 pg 82-108</p>	<p>19/11/2016</p> <p>On the other hand Morrill argues more that the ^{the} power struggle within between the Protector, Council and Parliament that limited success. However he also suggests that Cromwell was not fully in control of his government, having to often reluctantly agree to advise from his council. However many of Morrill's conclusions ^{conclusions} are quite complimentary of Cromwell's such as when arguing that Cromwell's belief that 'God has blessed the rule and name' & King was the ^{an} reason for ^{for} Cromwell rejecting the Crown, even ^{even} suggesting it was him prioritizing Godly rule over settlement. I feel the lack of contrast at times between Cromwell and Morrill will make it difficult for me to produce an essay, so I am most likely going with Aylmer as my 3rd historian.</p>
<p>God's Instrument - Bair Worsden</p>	<p>Ch 6 pg 230-60</p>	<p>26/11/2016</p> <p>When reading, I found that the ^{another} key argument of Worsden was that 'Cromwell was universally respected' and he goes on to develop how the perception of Cromwell by his contemporaries limited his support. Within this in mind I devised a plan based around Cromwell's two of Cromwell's key failings: his bad relations with Parliament and the lack of support he had from the ruling classes, looking at how Edward Worsden and Aylmer differ. I was able to find failings like financial problems and the Mayor's Council, trying to figure out where such between them that the majority of the blame lies.</p>

Oliver Cromwell – Peter Gaunt	Pg 153-207	<p>At the beginning of this chapter, Gaunt makes an interesting point about how the nature of the sources that historians can find on Cromwell changes from the flow of personal letters during his early career, to historians being more dependent on his speeches during his time as Lord Protector. This is likely to be a key cause of difference in opinion, as whilst some historians like Coward, put more emphasis on speeches made by Cromwell, others like Morrill are more skeptical of the image he portrayed to the public which may alter their interpretation of Cromwell and his role in the failings of the regime.</p> <p>Gaunt focus more on the aims and nature of Cromwell's rule, raising the key issue of the conflict between his aims for healing and settlement and his desire for reformation. Highlighting how if he focuses on one goal it is at the peril of the other. This supports Coward's view that it was Cromwell prioritizing his desire for reform over his want for settlement that limited his success.</p>	21/01/2017
Oliver Cromwell – Martyn Bennet	Pg 226-261	<p>Bennet, more so than some other historians, makes good use of information and evidence about sessions with parliament and at times compared and contrasts the rule of Cromwell to the latter part of the reign of Charles I. This is particularly useful in looking at the problems the Instrument caused for Cromwell. He argues that a key issue was that parliament did not have complete control of the army, and this demand for control can be dated back to the origins of the Civil War in 1642. This can be used to support Coward's argument that MPs felt the constitution encroached on their liberties and it was the content of the Instrument more so than its genesis which strained Cromwell's relations with parliament. Bennet also presents the idea that Cromwell rejected the Crown because he never really wanted to be king. Although this contrasts Coward's view, who claims it was religious motives that led his actions, it does suggest that it was Cromwell's priorities that caused him to reject the kingship, which limited the potential success of his rule.</p>	28/01/2017
How important was Cromwell? – Peter Gaunt	 <p>last accessed- 28/01/2017</p>	<p>I used this podcast for wider contextual knowledge and to see what Gaunt viewed the successes and failures of the protectorate regime to be. This aided me in my attempt to define 'limited success', and through the use of Gaunt's perspective and my previous reading I have come with a set of criteria for investigating limited success:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of support for the regime, especially among the ruling classes - Inability to establish a functional working relationship with parliament - Failure to establish a stable constitutional settlement <p>(And maybe failures in achieving personal aims, in particular religious toleration)</p>	28/01/2017

The English Revolution - I. Dean. Jones	p97-104	<p>I returned to Jones to develop my evaluation of Aymer's claim that the chronic divides in the country limited Cromwell's support, which then limited his success. Jones claims that 'no ingenuity could bridge the gap between soldier masters and civilian subjects'. He supports this using the example of limited success of the Humble Petition to highlight that after the major general experiment suspicions about Cromwell's dealing with civil government were high, and how even with the introduction of a constitution which largely resembled a monarchy, Cromwell was unable to win over members of the ruling classes. Jones also claims that the initial constitution (the Instrument) did not have the respect or the obedience of its subjects for various different reasons and these reasons varied within different groups. This again highlights how chronic divides in government limited Cromwell's success, as he was facing opposition from many different fronts for a variety of reasons, so it would have been impossible to find a compromise that satisfied them all. Also this claim couple with my knowledge of the Cony case can be used to strengthen Worden's argument that the military origins of the Instrument was a cause of disharmony in the first protectorate parliament.</p>	01/02/2017
English Constitutional Conflicts of the Seventeenth Century 1603-1689 - J.R. Tanner	P176-201	<p>Tanner can also be used in the evaluation of Aymer's argument as he presents the idea that Instrument failed to satisfy the extreme Republicans; for the creation of a permanent executive authority, to a great extent independent of Parliament as they wanted a government by the direct action of a representative assembly. This suggest that because of the divide in the types of regimes members of the ruling wanted, Cromwell was subject to opposition, which immediately limited his support basis. Tanner also highlight how the crucial the army were to Cromwell in terms of reaching his goal of religious toleration, suggesting conflicts with Parliament over the army and problems faced by the regime due to the army's presence a likely to be interlinked with Cromwell's personal priorities.</p>	04/02/2017

[illegible]

