| Meden School Curriculum Planning | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Subject** | History | **Year Group** | Y12/13 | **Sequence No.** | | **Topic** | Stuarts |

| Retrieval | Core Knowledge | Student Thinking |
|---|---|---|
| What do teachers need **retrieve** from students before they start teaching **new content**? | What **specific ambitious knowledge** do teachers need teach students in this sequence of learning? | What real life examples can be applied to this sequence of learning to **development of our students thinking, encouraging them to see the inequalities around them** and 'do something about them!' |
| **Key terms linked to KS3 & 4 topics.**<br><br>Monarchy – the rule of a king or queen in a country from the Normans topic.<br><br>Feudal – a description of hierarchical society that had been in place since the Norman Conquest of 1066 from the Normans topic.<br><br>Patriarchal – society controlled by men links to GCSE | **Why did James Stuart take the throne in 1603?**<br>• James' accession speech highlights his belief in the Divine Right of Kings but also that he is a pragmatic King who could compromise with Parliament in order to rule the country.<br>• Great Chain of Being – the belief that everyone in society had their place and that kings received their power directly from God. Most in society agreed with and accepted this view.<br>• Overview of the monarchs studied in the topic – James I, Charles I, Cromwell, Charles II, James II, William and Mary.<br>• Historical interpretations – comparison between different historians and their views on James and his views on monarchy.<br>**Key terms**<br>• Political Nation – members of society who influence how the country is run.<br>• Personal Monarchy – the idea that monarchs had a right to rule from God and their policies were shaped by their personality.<br>• Absolutism – monarch with unlimited powers.<br>• Prerogative – the power of the crown, from the idea that the monarch's received their power from God.<br>• Patriarchal – society controlled by men.<br>• Early modern – period between the middle ages and the industrial revolution.<br>• Feudal – a system of rule from 1066.<br><br>**What were James' beliefs on monarchy?**<br>• James had a firm belief in the Divine Right of Kings and his royal prerogative. | **Key themes and concepts for the breadth study**.<br><br>From the knowledge gained in this topic students will deepen their understanding of breadth issues of change, continuity, cause and consequence in this period through a number of key questions:<br><br>• How far did the monarchy change?<br>• To what extent and why was power more widely shared |

<table>
<tr>
<td>Germany topic and women's rights.<br><br>Early modern – this period covers the Tudors and Stuart periods. Link to the Tudors and Civil War topics in KS3.<br><br>Inflation – continuous rise in the cost of goods and food that impacts the spending power of people. Link to the GCSE Germany topic where we discuss hyperinflation.<br><br>Catholic and Protestants – two dominant strands of Christianity that split Europe in the 1500s. Links to the Tudor topic at KS3.<br><br>Ship money – tax used by Charles I to raise income. Mentioned in the KS3 Civil War topic.</td>
<td>
<ul>
<li>However, he wouldn't overstretch his prerogative and was a pragmatic ruler given that he was experienced due to ruling Scotland for 36 years before taking over the English throne in 1603.</li>
<li>The Buckinghamshire Election of 1604 highlighted this pragmatism; Parliament declared Goodwin as the MP for Buckinghamshire, but this was annulled by James' Court of the Chancery. Goodwin was replaced by Fortescue, a Privy Councillor (member of James inner circle). Many saw Goodwin's replacement by Fortescue as royal interference. James believed that Parliament was acting illegally by allowing an outlaw to sit as an MP. James Suggested that both Goodwin and Fortescue should be dismissed and a new election held.</li>
<li>James however, asserted his royal prerogative in 1614 with the addled parliament – financial need, factional conflict, manipulation of MPs, James' indecisiveness and impositions all led to a huge disagreement and James essentially ruled without parliament for 7 years (this wasn't unprecedented but was unusual as monarchs relied on parliament for finance).</li>
</ul>
<u>To what extent was James I responsible for his financial problems?</u>
<ul>
<li>Inflation – increase in prices and a fall in the value of money</li>
<li>Expenditure – the amount of money a person / company spends</li>
<li>Income – the amount of money a person / company receives</li>
<li>Patronage – donation of money / assets to create a network of political support</li>
<li>Monopoly – exclusive rights to provide a product or service</li>
<li>Customs tax – tax on goods on their way to market, paid to the king</li>
<li>Impositions – a tax or duty. The monarch had the right to set this</li>
</ul>
<table>
<tr><th>James was responsible</th><th>James was not responsible</th></tr>
<tr><td>James saw England as a land of plenty in comparison to Scotland and was determined to enjoy the wealth of his new kingdom.<br><br>James' overspending when entertaining gave his court a bad name.<br><br>He gave £44,000 to three Scottish friends; money that should have been used to help with paying off the crown's debts.<br><br>The ante-suppers (preparation of two huge feasts) the first was displayed and then</td><td>There had been a systemic failure to reform crown finances throughout the reign of Elizabeth I.<br><br>It was safer politically for monarchs to organise their finances in the short term rather than undertake financial reforms as this would mean dealing with the vested interests of the Political Nation represented in Parliament.<br><br>Inflation was causing huge issues for Crown expenditure. This was mainly caused by rising food prices between 1502-1622.</td></tr>
</table>
</td>
<td></td>
<td>during this period?
<ul>
<li>Why and with what results were there disputes over religion?</li>
<li>How effective was opposition?</li>
<li>How important were ideas and ideology?</li>
<li>How important was the role of key individuals and groups and how were they affected by developments?</li>
</ul>
For example, in answer to a question about how far did monarchy change students could mention: how monarchy changed drastically through the period 1639-1660 as there was the Civil Wars the pitted the monarch against parliament; the regicide of Charles I and the following interregnum period where there was no monarch for 11 years, to the restoration of the monarch in 1660.</td>
</tr>
</table>

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| NMA – New Model Army. Parliaments army created during the Civil War. Mentioned in the Civil War topic at KS3.<br><br>Roundheads and Cavaliers – These KS3 terms match up to Parliamentarians and Royalists that we use at A Level. | thrown away, the second was consumed, highlighted the extravagance of court spending.<br><br>Cockayne Project 1614 - monopoly given for the production and sale of finished cloth to William Cockayne. The scheme failed as the Dutch refused to buy finished cloth from the English.<br><br>By 1620 the royal debt stood at £900,000. Court spending doubled under James' rule.<br><br>Great Contract 1610 – James refused to give up certain fiscal feudal rights in exchange for a guaranteed fixed income from parliament. | Crown income was falling because Elizabeth failed to reform crown finances.<br><br>Parliament only voted two subsidies in 1621 because they were unwilling to grant more because of the economic depression.<br><br>The Subsidy Act and Statute of Monopolies in the 1624 Parliament limited the crown's right to generate its own income.<br><br>Great Contract 1610 – parliament were unwilling to grant James the subsidies as they felt the rights he was willing to give up did not go far enough. | | **For example, in answer to a question about why and with what results were there disputes over religion students could mention:** how there were religious disputes and conflict throughout the topic. Specifically, in the years 1603-29, there was conflict with Catholics and Puritans. There was growing anti-Catholicism due to the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, which resulted in a clampdown on Catholics through acts such as the Oath of Allegiance in 1606. Alongside this, disputes began to arise due to the influence of Catholics at the court of Charles I. Furthermore, disputes with Puritans developed throughout this time period. The Hampton Court Conference of 1604 highlighted the disputes between the crown and the Puritans and their beliefs about the direction of the Church of England. |

**How important was religion in James' rule?**

- Religion was a key issue in 17th century Britain. Since Henry VIII's Reformation, England had transformed from a Catholic country to a predominantly Protestant one.
- The head of state (the monarch) was the head of the Church of England.
- The burning of Protestants when England briefly returned to Catholicism during Bloody Mary's reign.
- There was also the war against Catholic Spain during the reign of Elizabeth I.

| Groups | What was the problem? | How did James deal with the issue? | Give James a rating out of five for dealing with this problem! |
|---|---|---|---|
| Catholics | There is a plot to kill James – Gunpowder Plot 1605.<br>England was still at war with Catholic Spain when James took the throne in England.<br>Catholics are a big minority of the population. | Oath of Allegiance 1606 – Oath of loyalty to James rather than the Pope. Peace treaty with Catholic Spain in 1604.<br>In Jan 1606 Parliament passes two strict laws against Catholics HOWEVER James does not enforce stringently. | |
| Puritans | They are known as the 'Hotter sort of Protestant.' Want reform of the Church of England in line with their own beliefs and nobody else's. | James accepts Millenary Petition and promises the Puritans that he will investigate it. Hampton Court doesn't really reform the church to Puritan tastes. Let's the bishops run the reforms of the church. | |
| Millenary Petition | Puritans present James with the Millenary Petition as he travels from Scotland to take the throne. It lists a number of grievances they have with the Church of England. There hope is that James will reform. | James was a firm believer in predestination (the belief that God had already chosen certain people to ascend to heaven). Puritans also believe in this idea, therefore James was sympathetic to some of the reforms that the Puritans wanted. | |
| Hampton Court | James calls a religious conference to deal with the issues raised in the Millenary Petition. It takes place at the Kings palace of Hampton Court. The Puritans believe James will issue reforms. | Anti-climax for Puritans. There is a major clash called (no bishop, no king). Basically a member of the Puritan presence, advocates the abolition of bishops, King James flies off the handle and says if bishops are removed then I will have to be removed too. **Episcopacy** (having bishops in church) | |
| Bancroft's Canons | In the Church of England there are a number of different groups – Calvinist, Arminians, and Puritans. We have something called the | Bancroft's Canons (church rules created by a man called Bancroft). Within these laws many orthodox practices are enforced. Other practices | |
| | 'Jacobean balance'. Certain freedoms given to those inside the Church of England to make sure order is kept. | that had been condemned by the Puritans in the Millenary Petition were also included and were enforced. This drive for conformity in the Church of England only lasted for a couple of years. | |

**Development of student thinking and encouraged them to see the inequalities of the world around them.**

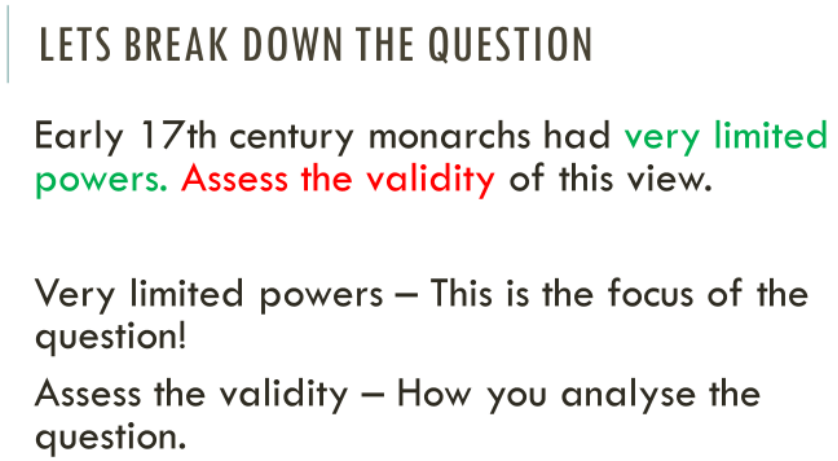
Throughout the course we will return back to these questions as appropriate and compare and contrast different time periods in the breadth study to highlight change, continuity, cause and consequence.

Students will be asked to consider the role of the Queen in today's political system and her importance in the rule of law, law making etc.

They will then be asked how that compares to the monarchs throughout the Stuart period.

Students will also be asked to consider the idea of Divine Right of Kings and the Great Chain of Being

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | • The Jacobethan Balance – The balance created under Elizabeth and continued by James that saw moderate Puritans and Arminians accepted in the Church of England - allowed most Puritans to feel they belonged in the Church. This balance again highlighted James' pragmatic approach to kingship.<br>• Religion and politics were bound together by the fact that the monarch was essentially also the head of the Church of England.<br>• The main religious groups in England, Scotland and Ireland were – Presbyterianism, Puritanism, Calvinism, Arminiansim, Catholicism.<br>• The main differences between the religions was dress, the main service, building and salvation. The issue of predestination was a key point in religious differences. Many viewed those that believed in predestination as arrogant.<br><br>**Key terms**<br>• Predestination – the belief that an individual's salvation was already decided by God and was not dependent on how that person lived.<br>• Salvation – being saved from the punishment of sins in the afterlife, or the saving of the soul from sin and its consequences.<br>• Jesuits – a religious order seen as the aggressive arm of the Catholic Church that fought to convert Protestant countries to Catholicism under the Pope.<br>• King James Bible – 1611 was an English translation of the bible which was designed to shape church services.<br><br>**<u>Early 17th century monarchs had very limited powers. Assess the validity of this view.</u>**<br><br>Validity meaning - Validity is the extent to which a concept, conclusion or measurement is well-founded and corresponds accurately to the real world.<br><br>Assess the validity of these statements<br>• Social media is a completely good thing for society.<br>• The death penalty should be reintroduced in Britain.<br>• Use of mobile phones is a bad thing for society.<br>• All asylum seekers should be given the right to stay in the UK.<br>• The UK should allow terminally ill people the right to die.<br>• School uniforms are helpful in discouraging socio-economic discrimination and bullying.<br><br>Get students to understand that assessing the validity question is about making a judgement, eg extremely valid or limited validity. The focus of this will be explained during this task and will be applied during the exam question. | and whether this would be acceptable in today's society given our British values of democracy and the rule of law.<br><br>Students will also consider the importance of personal monarchy and why this could be linked to the populist politics of today.<br><br>Students will also consider the importance of religion and religious divisions during the Stuart period. This will be compared to religious conflicts today and how these can impact on inequalities.<br><br>Students will consider the changes to governance during the Interregnum period and compare this to the Brexit vote of 2016. Both changed direction of governance quite significantly.<br><br>Students will also consider the development of cabinet government under William and Mary, which is used to this day. This, combined with the Act of |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| |  <br>What is your immediate reaction to the statement? Valid or not? Why?<br><br>Valid – parliament used finance to control the monarch, particularly in Charles I's reign up to 1629. Charles didn't articulate his want for joining the 30 years war to his Parliament and the Parliament didn't provide funds for this. Furthermore, under James, parliament refused to grant subsidies to James due to his excessive spending that created conflict between the crown and parliament.<br><br>Invalid – monarchs had royal prerogative. This allowed them to dissolve parliaments as they wished and could use their feudal rights to raise finance to negate the control that Parliament had with regards to finance. There was a belief in the divine right of kings that permeated society so challenging the monarch was seen as challenging God. | Settlement, formed the basis of constitutional monarchy that still exists in Britain to this day. |

**Early 17th century monarchs had very limited powers. Assess the validity of this view.**

| Factors | Agree – Very limited powers | Disagree – The King wasn't limited |
|---|---|---|
| Religion (What in the political nation limited his powers – What didn't limit his powers) | | |
| Financial weaknesses (How could the crowns financial weaknesses be seen to limit his power?) (How could you disagree with this?) | | |
| Parliament (Why did parliament want to limit his powers?) (How did James try to avoid this?) | | |
| Conclusion – Overall it could be argued that… | | |

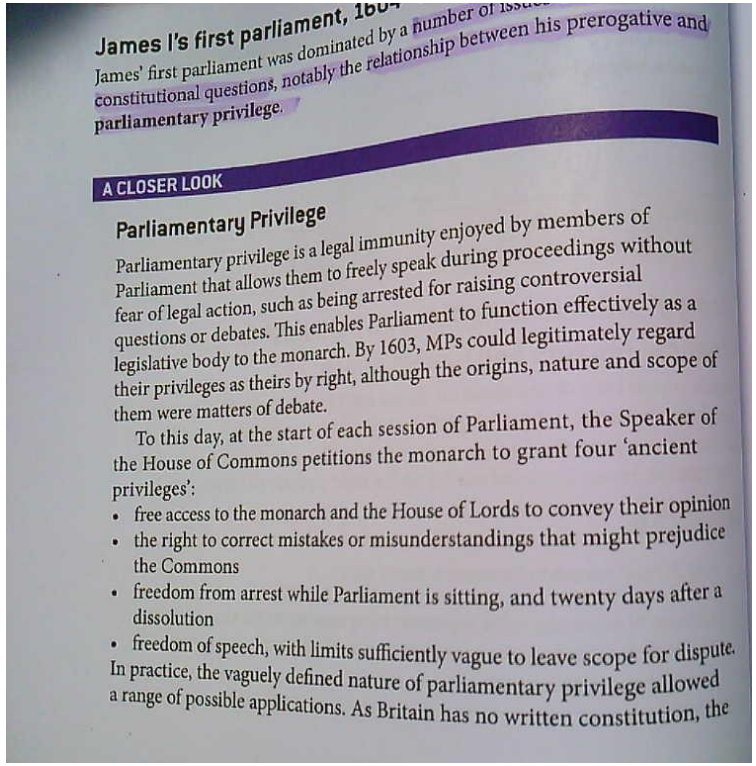
Essays of this nature need to consider a number of different factors that contribute to the fact that monarchs had very limited powers. Explain the table tennis exam answer concept to the students, eg pick a factor and explain why this factor makes the statement valid and why the factor could make the statement invalid, and do this for each of the three factors.

**Why were there disputes with parliaments, 1604-29?**

Queen Elizabeth died in 1603. During her final years parliament and the queen had been arguing about a variety of issues. You are an MP sitting in parliament in 1604. How might you be feeling about the new king who has just entered parliament. Remember, you don't know anything about him other than he is Scottish!

There was apprehension that a Scottish monarch was going to take over the English throne as there was a lot of anti-Scottish sentiment within the political nation. MPs were also wary of a monarch who was coming to a very different kingdom that had different ways of operating to the Scottish system and the relative poverty of the Scottish nation at the time. Some Catholic and Puritan MP's were hopeful that James might be more tolerant of their religious views, which antagonised some of the predominantly Calvinist political nation.

Holy Roman Emperor – the leader of the Holy Roman Empire, a major central European empire that dominated politics and religion during the 1600s. The religion and politics of the empire dragged in other major European

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | powers to the 30 years war, a war about the accession to position of the Holy Roman Emperor, and the religion of the Emperor.<br><br>Palatinate – a key area of Germany that was a part of the Holy Roman Empire that strategically was important for both sides.<br><br>See page 38 of Stuarts textbook – read the section entitled Parliamentary Privilege as a class.<br><br>  <br><br>50-word summary of the section above – must include legal immunity, freedom from arrest whilst Parliament is sitting (these become important later in the topic with the 5 Members Coup). | |

**James I's first parliament, 160**

James' first parliament was dominated by a number of issu constitutional questions, notably the relationship between his prerogative and **parliamentary privilege.**

**A CLOSER LOOK**

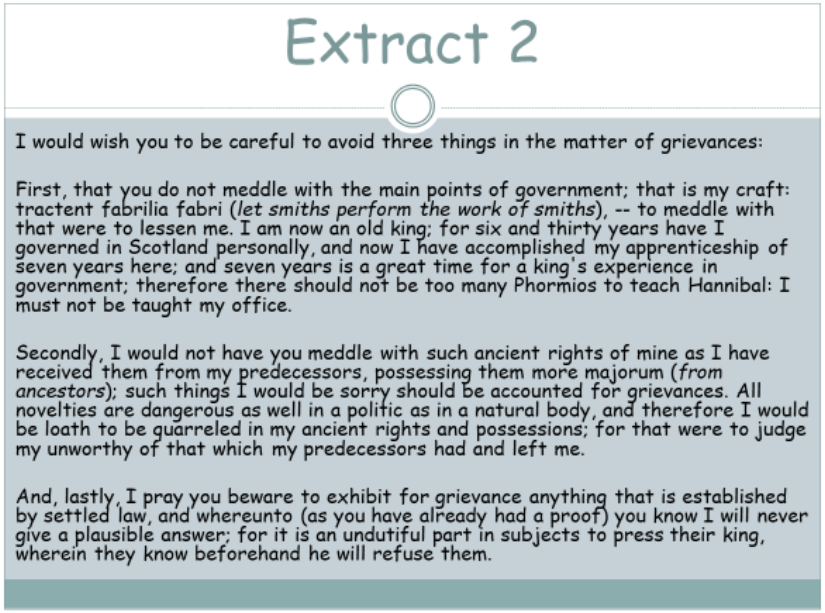
**Parliamentary Privilege**

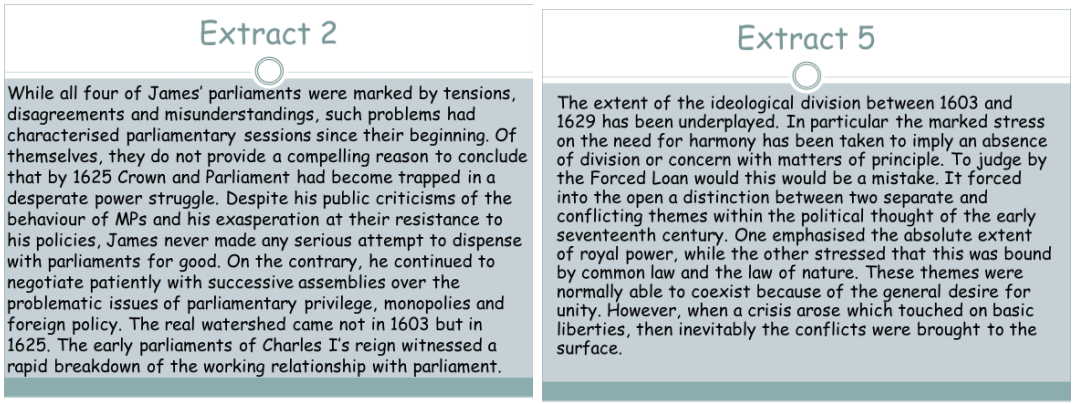
Parliamentary privilege is a legal immunity enjoyed by members of Parliament that allows them to freely speak during proceedings without fear of legal action, such as being arrested for raising controversial questions or debates. This enables Parliament to function effectively as a legislative body to the monarch. By 1603, MPs could legitimately regard their privileges as theirs by right, although the origins, nature and scope of them were matters of debate.

To this day, at the start of each session of Parliament, the Speaker of the House of Commons petitions the monarch to grant four 'ancient privileges':

- free access to the monarch and the House of Lords to convey their opinion
- the right to correct mistakes or misunderstandings that might prejudice the Commons
- freedom from arrest while Parliament is sitting, and twenty days after a dissolution
- freedom of speech, with limits sufficiently vague to leave scope for dispute.

In practice, the vaguely defined nature of parliamentary privilege allowed a range of possible applications. As Britain has no written constitution, the

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| |  <br>James views parliament as a legislative body that should enact all of his ideas as king. He explains to the English that he is an experienced king who has ruled in Scotland for some time. He also shows understanding that parliament can bring their grievances to the king and that he will act upon any grievance that he sees as pertinent. | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | With reference to extracts two and five and your understanding of the historical context, which of these two extracts provides the more convincing interpretation of the relationship between Crown and Parliament?<br><br>  <br><br><br>Exam skills – overall message of the source, quotation to support this message, own knowledge to support or challenge the overall message, and a mini-conclusion that refers to the question.<br>Eg – **overall message**; James had a practical relationship with his parliaments and was willing to be pragmatic in order to achieve his aims. **Quotation to support**; 'he continued to negotiate patiently'. **Own knowledge**; Buckinghamshire election of 1604. **Mini conclusion**; extract 2 gives a convincing interpretation of the relationship between Crown and Parliament, as James was a pragmatic ruler who understood the nuisances of ruling due to his experiences in Scotland.<br><br>**<u>How different were the courts of James and Charles?</u>**<br>Court – inner-circle of the monarch that provided entertainment and advice. | |

Charles's personality as a politician was shaped by a difficult childhood. He was born on 19 November 1600, the third child of James VI of Scotland and his wife Anne of Denmark. During his early years he suffered from a combination of poor health and lack of parental affection. When he moved to England after James's accession in 1603 it was difficult to find a noble family to look after him because of fears that he might die on their hands; and he grew up very much in the shadow of his glamorous elder brother Prince Henry and his sister Elizabeth.

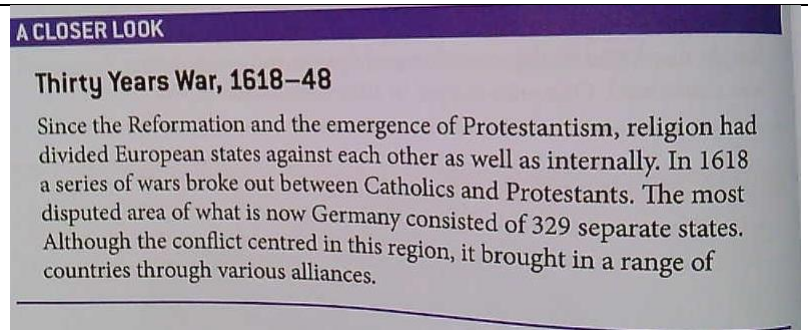
It was not until Henry's death in 1612 that people began to take notice of him. What they found was a shy and extremely tasteless adolescent, with a pronounced stammer which he never got rid of and a tendency to fits of rage and jealousy, directed particularly towards the young men who dominated his father's affections. An incident in 1616 when, in the presence of the court he turned a water fountain full in the face of George Villiers (future Duke of Buckingham) and soaked him to the skin was indicative of his early frustrations.

Charles lacked many of the personal qualities needed by an early modern ruler. He had little skill in the art of man-management which was crucial when so much depended on the king's relations with leading politicians and noblemen. Perhaps because of his difficult early upbringing, he was never a confident judge of human character and tended either to go overboard in his affection for those he felt were serving him loyally, like Buckingham, or to form strong dislikes which made it very hard for him to work with certain politicians. He also lacked confidence in the loyalty of his people and from the start of his reign turned grants of taxation into tests of whether they loved him and trusted him. This pushed opponents of policies such as the forced loan into having to confront the crown much more directly than was appropriate, with damaging consequences for political stability.

Another shortcoming which can again be traced back to his lack of self-assurance, was his unwillingness to bargain and negotiate. He tended to try to bludgeon his way through difficulties by invoking his personal authority, assuming that once his wishes were known his subjects would stop squabbling and obey him. This ignored the contemporary expectation that there should be a good deal of give and take in the execution of royal policy and that where policies were unpopular these should be blamed on royal counsellors. Charles's refusal to acknowledge this created considerable difficulties, for example in Scotland in 1637-8 when his unwillingness to make concessions over the use of an English-style prayer book, or to allow the bishops to bear the blame for its introduction, turned a limited protest into full scale rebellion

Do we think Charles would be an effective king from what we have learnt so far? Why? In an age of personal monarchy Charles was unfit/ ill prepared to be king. He was stubborn where his father was pragmatic, lacked the skills to manage parliament, and demanded conformity at a time where there were distinct differences in religion and politics.

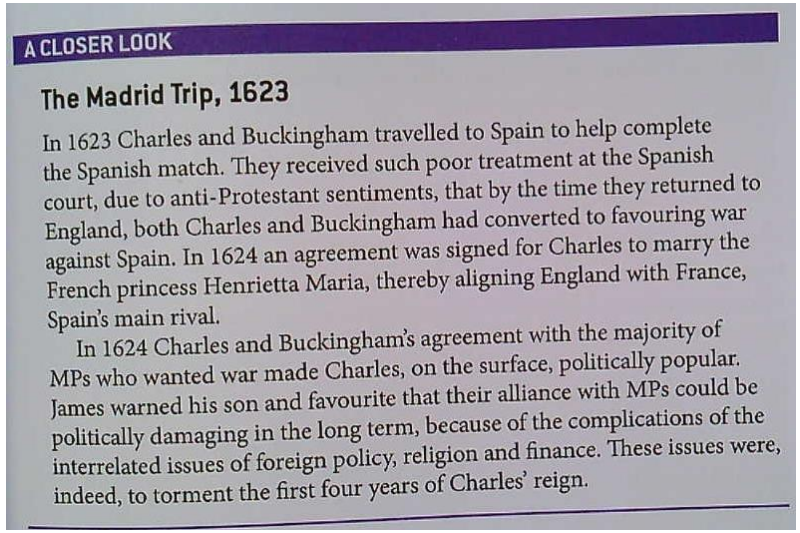
**How poor was the relationship between Charles and his parliaments?**



A CLOSER LOOK

**Thirty Years War, 1618–48**

Since the Reformation and the emergence of Protestantism, religion had divided European states against each other as well as internally. In 1618 a series of wars broke out between Catholics and Protestants. The most disputed area of what is now Germany consisted of 329 separate states. Although the conflict centred in this region, it brought in a range of countries through various alliances.



A CLOSER LOOK

**The Madrid Trip, 1623**

In 1623 Charles and Buckingham travelled to Spain to help complete the Spanish match. They received such poor treatment at the Spanish court, due to anti-Protestant sentiments, that by the time they returned to England, both Charles and Buckingham had converted to favouring war against Spain. In 1624 an agreement was signed for Charles to marry the French princess Henrietta Maria, thereby aligning England with France, Spain's main rival.

In 1624 Charles and Buckingham's agreement with the majority of MPs who wanted war made Charles, on the surface, politically popular. James warned his son and favourite that their alliance with MPs could be politically damaging in the long term, because of the complications of the interrelated issues of foreign policy, religion and finance. These issues were, indeed, to torment the first four years of Charles' reign.

Use page 44-50 to explain the social, political and economic events that were impacted by Charles and his favourites.

Pages 44-50 below.

## State of relations between Charles and Parliament and the reaction of the Political Nation

Even though the monarch changed in 1625, the same themes of foreign policy, religion, finance and favourites remained central to the political discourse, but with the added pressure of a new king who was determined to wage war and who was much less inclined to compromise over his prerogative. These aspects of Charles I's rule damaged Crown–Parliament relations more than any statement or action of James I's ever did. The reasons for the breakdown of the relationship between Crown and Parliament lay in the themes that had haunted James' later years: finance, foreign policy, favourites and religion – more specifically, Arminianism. What had been added to this mix, however, was a very different king in Charles.

**ACTIVITY**

Summarise the interpretations of James and Charles which Gaunt puts across in Extract 2.

**KEY QUESTION**

How important were ideas and ideology?

**EXTRACT 2**

In 1625 Charles I inherited three kingdoms divided in religion and in which royal income remained barely adequate to cover peacetime expenses. However, he also inherited three kingdoms which had enjoyed a generation of peace. With the benefit of hindsight, 1625 appears a turning point in the history of early Stuart government, when James I's caution in handling the three kingdoms gave way to his son's clumsy and provocative approach which, by 1642, had contributed to a collapse in royal power in all three.

*The British Wars, 1637–1651* by Peter Gaunt (Routledge, 1997)

### 1625 parliament

To finance a war against Spain, Charles I needed funds of £1 million from Parliament but, partly because he didn't explain his position clearly, the House of Commons granted him only two small subsidies and tonnage and poundage for one year. Charles saw this limited grant of tonnage and poundage as a direct attack on his prerogative. He decided to ignore Parliament and continue to collect tonnage and poundage after the first year.

Apart from finance, the other issues for Parliament were Buckingham and Arminianism. Buckingham was a source of tension because of the enormous influence he had wielded since he first emerged as James' favourite in 1616. Buckingham's power had been extended in the early 1620s, and it continued from there: under Charles, Buckingham was made a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, with access to the king at any hour.

Fig. 4 *Buckingham commissioned a grand portrait of himself from the famous artist Rubens in 1625. What do you think Buckingham wants to convey in the portrait?*

Parliament attacked Charles' support of the divisive Arminian cleric Richard Montagu. In response, Charles appointed Montagu as his royal chaplain in 1625. This was a clear sign that Charles approved anti-Calvinist sentiments and that he disregarded Parliament's views.

Charles created many of the problems with the 1625 parliament. He would not make any concessions: he did not consult the court's most influential supporters in the countryside, and he did not engage with leading figures in the Commons. In the end, Charles' response to parliamentary criticism of Buckingham and Montagu was to dissolve Parliament in August 1625, only two months after it had assembled.

### Foreign policy failure: Cádiz, 1625

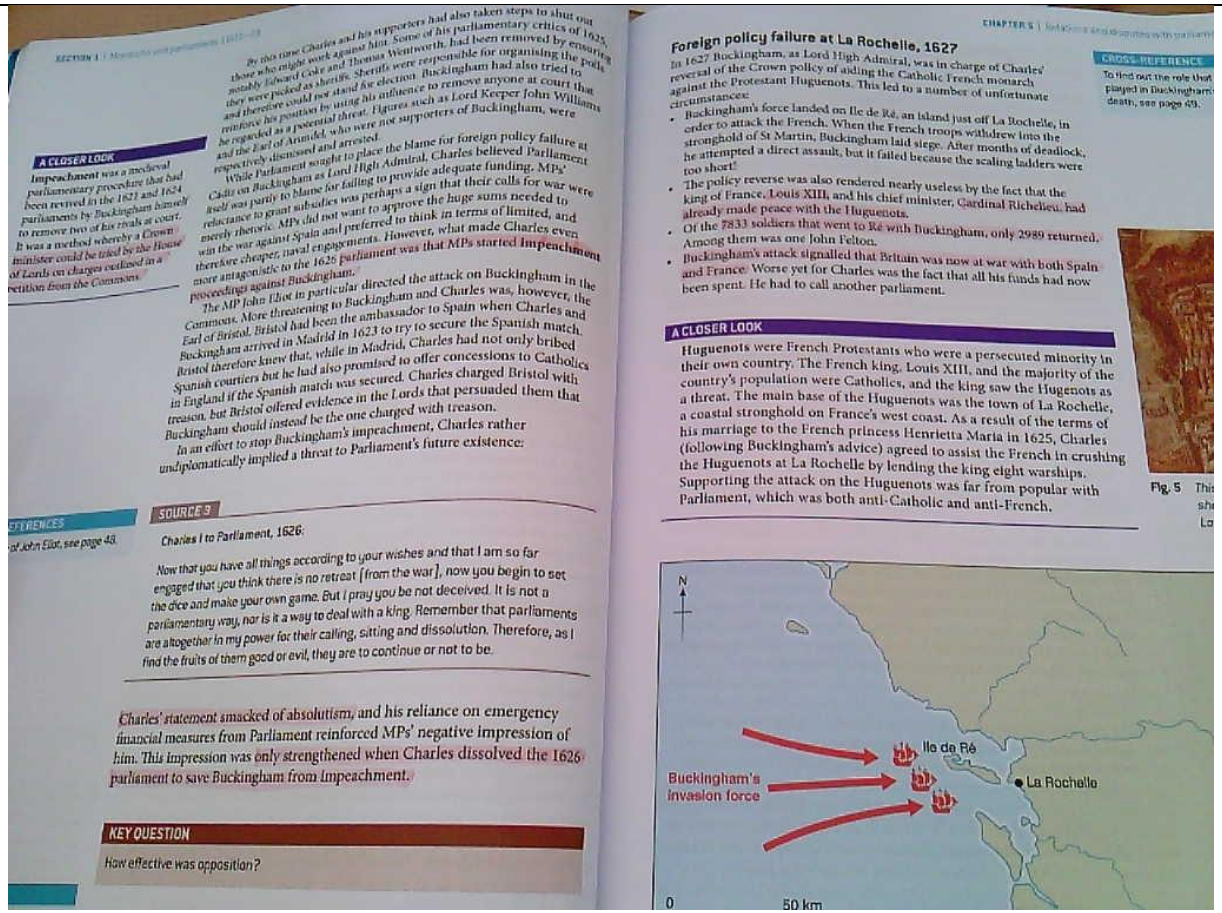
Charles' problems with his first parliament were followed immediately by his disastrous anti-Spanish intervention in the Thirty Years War:

- The troops for the German mercenary Count Mansfeld were raised by force and shipped to the Netherlands with no training and limited equipment. Out of 6000 troops, 4000 died of disease and starvation.
- The English fleet failed to take the Spanish port of Cádiz or capture the Spanish treasure fleet. More English troops were actually lost at Cádiz because of lack of food than because of enemy gunfire.

The failure to capture the Spanish fleet transporting gold from its South American colonies was a particular blow for Charles, as it made it necessary for him to call another Parliament for finance. The failure to take Cádiz provided the backdrop for the 1626 parliament.

### The 1626 parliament

Charles I immediately antagonised the 1626 parliament by asking the anti-Calvinist William Laud to preach the opening sermon. In his sermon, Laud stressed obedience to the king.



By this time Charles and his supporters had also taken steps to shut out those who might work against him. Some of his parliamentary critics of 1625, notably Edward Coke and Thomas Wentworth, had been removed by ensuring they were picked as sheriffs. Sheriffs were responsible for organising the polls and therefore could not stand for election. Buckingham had also tried to reinforce his position by using his influence to remove anyone at court that he regarded as a potential threat. Figures such as Lord Keeper John Williams and the Earl of Arundel, who were not supporters of Buckingham, were respectively dismissed and arrested.

While Parliament sought to place the blame for foreign policy failure at Cadiz on Buckingham as Lord High Admiral, Charles believed Parliament itself was partly to blame for failing to provide adequate funding. MPs' reluctance to grant subsidies was perhaps a sign that their calls for war were merely rhetoric. MPs did not want to approve the huge sums needed to win the war against Spain and preferred to think in terms of limited, and therefore cheaper, naval engagements. However, what made Charles even more antagonistic to the 1626 parliament was that MPs started **impeachment** proceedings against Buckingham.

The MP John Eliot in particular directed the attack on Buckingham in the Commons. More threatening to Buckingham and Charles was, however, the Earl of Bristol. Bristol had been the ambassador to Spain when Charles and Buckingham arrived in Madrid in 1623 to try to secure the Spanish match. Bristol therefore knew that, while in Madrid, Charles had not only bribed Spanish courtiers but he had also promised to offer concessions to Catholics in England if the Spanish match was secured. Charles charged Bristol with treason, but Bristol offered evidence in the Lords that persuaded them that Buckingham should instead be the one charged with treason.

In an effort to stop Buckingham's impeachment, Charles rather undiplomatically implied a threat to Parliament's future existence:

**SOURCE 9**

Charles I to Parliament, 1626:

*Now that you have all things according to your wishes and that I am so far engaged that you think there is no retreat [from the war], now you begin to set the dice and make your own game. But I pray you be not deceived. It is not a parliamentary way, nor is it a way to deal with a king. Remember that parliaments are altogether in my power for their calling, sitting and dissolution. Therefore, as I find the fruits of them good or evil, they are to continue or not to be.*

Charles' statement smacked of absolutism, and his reliance on emergency financial measures from Parliament reinforced MPs' negative impression of him. This impression was only strengthened when Charles dissolved the 1626 parliament to save Buckingham from impeachment.

**KEY QUESTION**

How effective was opposition?

**A CLOSER LOOK**

**Impeachment** was a medieval parliamentary procedure that had been revived in the 1621 and 1624 parliaments by Buckingham himself to remove two of his rivals at court. It was a method whereby a Crown minister could be tried by the House of Lords on charges outlined in a petition from the Commons.

**Foreign policy failure at La Rochelle, 1627**

In 1627 Buckingham, as Lord High Admiral, was in charge of Charles' reversal of the Crown policy of aiding the Catholic French monarch against the Protestant Huguenots. This led to a number of unfortunate circumstances:

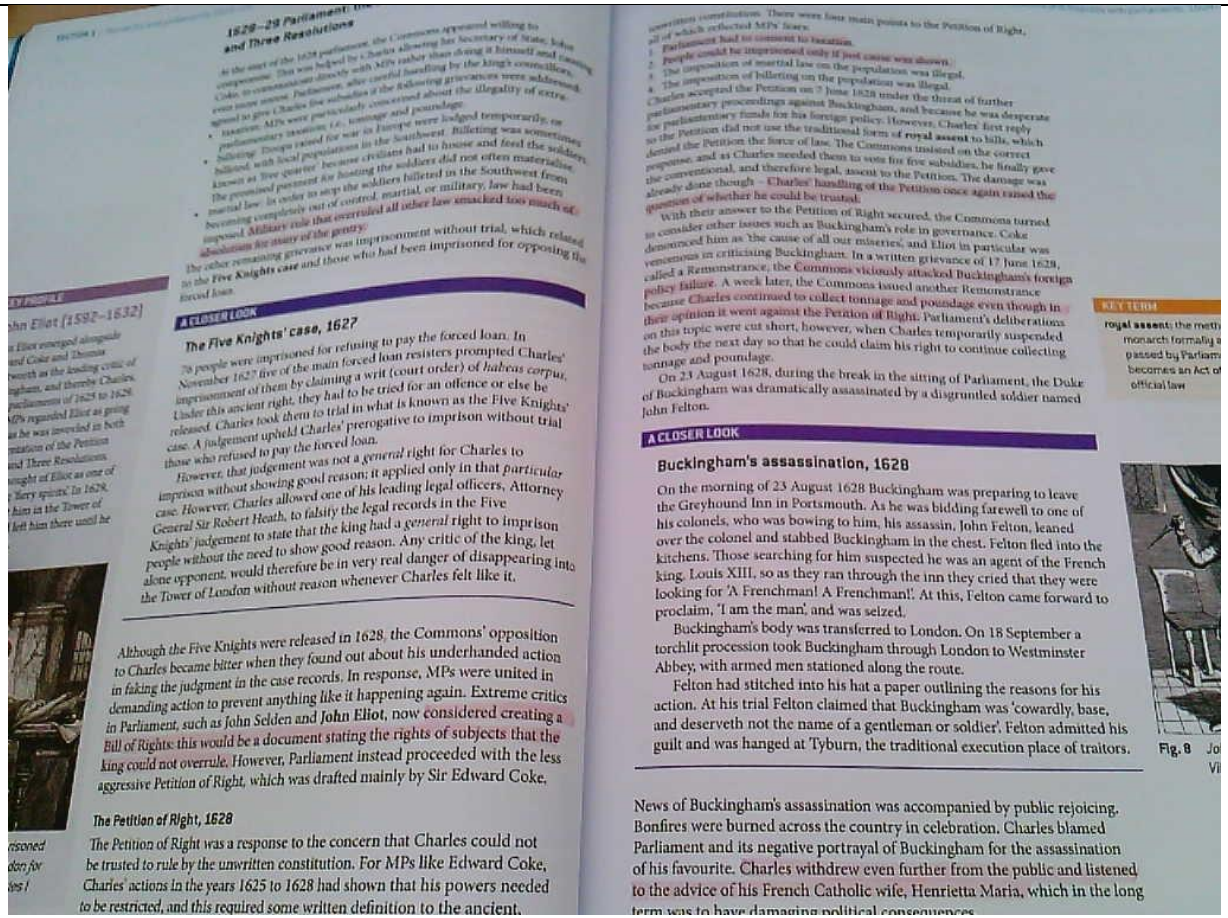
- Buckingham's force landed on Ile de Ré, an island just off La Rochelle, in order to attack the French. When the French troops withdrew into the stronghold of St Martin, Buckingham laid siege. After months of deadlock, he attempted a direct assault, but it failed because the scaling ladders were too short!
- The policy reverse was also rendered nearly useless by the fact that the king of France, Louis XIII, and his chief minister, Cardinal Richelieu, had already made peace with the Huguenots.
- Of the 7833 soldiers that went to Ré with Buckingham, only 2989 returned. Among them was one John Felton.
- Buckingham's attack signalled that Britain was now at war with both Spain and France. Worse yet for Charles was the fact that all his funds had now been spent. He had to call another parliament.

**A CLOSER LOOK**

**Huguenots** were French Protestants who were a persecuted minority in their own country. The French king, Louis XIII, and the majority of the country's population were Catholics, and the king saw the Hugenots as a threat. The main base of the Huguenots was the town of La Rochelle, a coastal stronghold on France's west coast. As a result of the terms of his marriage to the French princess Henrietta Maria in 1625, Charles (following Buckingham's advice) agreed to assist the French in crushing the Huguenots at La Rochelle by lending the king eight warships. Supporting the attack on the Huguenots was far from popular with Parliament, which was both anti-Catholic and anti-French.



Fig. 5



**The Five Knights' case, 1627**

76 people were imprisoned for refusing to pay the forced loan. In November 1627 five of the main forced loan resisters prompted Charles' imprisonment of them by claiming a writ (court order) of *habeas corpus*. Under this ancient right, they had to be tried for an offence or else be released. Charles took them to trial in what is known as the Five Knights' case. A judgement upheld Charles' prerogative to imprison without trial those who refused to pay the forced loan.

However, that judgement was not a *general* right for Charles to imprison without showing good reason; it applied only in that *particular* case. However, Charles allowed one of his leading legal officers, Attorney General Sir Robert Heath, to falsify the legal records in the Five Knights' judgement to state that the king had a *general* right to imprison people without the need to show good reason. Any critic of the king, let alone opponent, would therefore be in very real danger of disappearing into the Tower of London without reason whenever Charles felt like it.

Although the Five Knights were released in 1628, the Commons' opposition to Charles became bitter when they found out about his underhanded action in faking the judgment in the case records. In response, MPs were united in demanding action to prevent anything like it happening again. Extreme critics in Parliament, such as John Selden and John Eliot, now considered creating a Bill of Rights: this would be a document stating the rights of subjects that the king could not overrule. However, Parliament instead proceeded with the less aggressive Petition of Right, which was drafted mainly by Sir Edward Coke.

**The Petition of Right, 1628**

The Petition of Right was a response to the concern that Charles could not be trusted to rule by the unwritten constitution. For MPs like Edward Coke, Charles' actions in the years 1625 to 1628 had shown that his powers needed to be restricted, and this required some written definition to the ancient.

**Buckingham's assassination, 1628**

On the morning of 23 August 1628 Buckingham was preparing to leave the Greyhound Inn in Portsmouth. As he was bidding farewell to one of his colonels, who was bowing to him, his assassin, John Felton, leaned over the colonel and stabbed Buckingham in the chest. Felton fled into the kitchens. Those searching for him suspected he was an agent of the French king, Louis XIII, so as they ran through the inn they cried that they were looking for 'A Frenchman! A Frenchman!'. At this, Felton came forward to proclaim, 'I am the man', and was seized.

Buckingham's body was transferred to London. On 18 September a torchlit procession took Buckingham through London to Westminster Abbey, with armed men stationed along the route.

Felton had stitched into his hat a paper outlining the reasons for his action. At his trial Felton claimed that Buckingham was 'cowardly, base, and deserveth not the name of a gentleman or soldier'. Felton admitted his guilt and was hanged at Tyburn, the traditional execution place of traitors.

News of Buckingham's assassination was accompanied by public rejoicing. Bonfires were burned across the country in celebration. Charles blamed Parliament and its negative portrayal of Buckingham for the assassination of his favourite. Charles withdrew even further from the public and listened to the advice of his French Catholic wife, Henrietta Maria, which in the long

**How did the relationship between Charles and Parliament deteriorate so rapidly?**

Petition of Right 1628 - As a precondition to granting any future taxes, in 1628 Parliament forced the King to assent to the Petition of Right. This asked for a settlement of Parliament's complaints against the King's non-parliamentary taxation and imprisonments without trial, plus the unlawfulness of martial law and forced billets. However, the King ensured that the Petition was enrolled in such a way that there would be doubts about its force as law: it was granted by his grace, rather than 'of right'.

Three Resolutions 1629 - This and Charles's other high-handed acts in relation to the appointment of bishops, angered some less moderate Members in the Commons. On 10 March 1629 when the Speaker, Sir John Finch, tried to adjourn the House on the King's command, he was forcibly held down in his chair by three Members - Sir John Eliot, Denzil Holles and Benjamin Valentine - while the Commons passed a number of motions against the King's recent actions.
Speaker Finch said in justification of his actions: "I am none less the King's servant for being yours." This illustrated the dilemma which moderate Members in the Commons began to find themselves in from this period onwards.

Both events were serious challenges to the king's royal prerogative and highlighted that the relationship between crown and parliament had deteriorated rapidly. The Three Resolutions in particular was a radical act, holding down the speaker so that parliament could not be dissolved infringed on the rights of the king to dismiss parliament whenever he liked.

**Why did religion become a major issue for Charles I?**

List of religions for 17th century England:

**Main religious groups in England, Scotland and Ireland**

| | Presbyterianism | Puritanism | Calvinism | Arminianism | Catholicism |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Protestant | Protestant | Protestant | Protestant | Catholic |
| Numbers in England | Minority; main religion of Scotland | An important minority in England | Majority | Minority, but gained influence under Charles I | Minority; majority in Ireland |
| Head | No head | Monarch | Monarch | Monarch | Pope |
| Governors | Elders | Bishops | Bishops | Bishops | Cardinals and bishops |
| Dress | Plain | Plain | Vestments | Vestments | Vestments |
| Main service | Sermon | Sermon | Communion | Communion | Latin Mass |
| Bible | English | English | English | English | Latin |
| Building | Plain | Plain | Decorated | Decorated | Decorated |
| Salvation through | Predestination | Predestination | Faith | Works and God's help | Faith and works |

Anglican bishop, scholar, and theological polemicist whose attempt to seek a middle road between Roman Catholic and Calvinist extremes brought a threat of impeachment from his bishopric by Parliament. Chaplain to King James I, he became archdeacon of Hereford in 1617.

About 1619 **Montagu** came into conflict with Roman Catholics in his parish. Exchanging impassioned wordplay with Matthew Kellison, who attacked him in the pamphlet The Gagge of the Reformed Gospell (1623), he replied with A Gagg for the New Gospell? No. A New Gagg for an Old Goose (1624). The same year his Immediate Addressee unto God Alone antagonized the Puritans, who appealed to the House of Commons. Protected by James I, he issued Appello Caesarem (1625; "I Appeal to Caesar"), a defence against the divergent charges against him of popery and of Arminianism, a system of Protestant belief that departed from strict Calvinist doctrines.

Although Montagu was frequently called before Parliament and conferences of bishops, he was saved from retribution by his influence at court and with Archbishop William Laud, whose views about the catholicity of the English church he shared. Despite opposition, Montagu was appointed bishop of Chichester in 1628 and of Norwich in 1638. His works include The Acts and Monuments of the Church Before Christ Incarnate (1642).

The House of Commons took up the matter, and accused the author (Montagu) of dishonouring the late king (James I). A debate on the matter was followed by Montagu's committal to the custody of the sergeant-at-arms. He was, however, allowed to return to Stanford Rivers on giving a bond. Charles then made Montagu one of his chaplains, and let the Commons know on 9 July that he was displeased. On 11 July parliament was prorogued. On 2 August, when the parliament was sitting at Oxford, Montagu was too ill to attend, and after discussion in which Edward Coke and Robert Heath took part, the matter was allowed to drop. But the question was too serious to rest for long. On 16 and 17 January 1626 a conference was held by Charles's command, as the result of which the bishops of London (George Montaigne), Durham (Richard Neile), Winchester (Lancelot Andrewes), Rochester (Buckeridge), and St. David's (Laud) reported to George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham that Montagu had not gone further than the doctrine of the Church of England, or what was compatible with it.

This first meeting was followed shortly by a watershed conference beginning 11 February, prompted by Robert Rich, 2nd Earl of Warwick in Buckingham's house, York House, Strand, and later called the York House conference. It took place with the Bishop of Lichfield (Thomas Morton) and the master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge (John Preston), representing the opposition to Montagu and Francis White. Buckeridge, supported by White and John Cosin, defended Montagu's orthodoxy. A second conference was held a few days later, at which Montagu defended his theses in person against Morton and Preston. The two days of discussion, attended by nobility, changed no minds.

The committee of religion renewed their censure of the Appeal, and the House of Commons voted a petition to the king that the author might be fitly punished and his book burned. The king issued a proclamation (14 June 1626) commanding silence on points of controversy. In March 1628 the House of Commons again appointed a committee of religion to inquire into the cases of Montagu, Roger Mainwaring, and Cosin.

Montagu still had the strongest supporters at court in Laud and Buckingham himself; and on the death of George Carleton, bishop of Chichester and an opponent, he was appointed to the vacant see. He was elected on 14 July 1628 and received dispensation to hold Petworth with his bishopric. On 22 August Montagu was confirmed in Bow Church. During the ceremony one Jones, a stationer, made objection to the confirmation but the objection was overruled as informal; and on 24 August he was consecrated at Croydon, on the same day that news came of Buckingham's assassination. A bitter pamphlet, called Anti-Montacutum, an Appeal or Remonstrance of the Orthodox Ministers of the Church of England against Richard Mountagu, was published in 1629 at Edinburgh. The House of Commons again took up the matter, and attempts were made at conciliation, by the issue of the declaration prefixed to the Thirty-nine Articles and printed in the Book of Common Prayer, by a letter from Montagu to Abbot disclaiming Arminianism, by the grant of a special pardon to Montagu, and by the issue of a proclamation suppressing the Appello Caesarem

**Thomas Wentworth**, 1st earl of Strafford, (born April 13, 1593, London—died May 12, 1641, London), leading adviser of England's King Charles I. His attempt to consolidate the sovereign power of the king led to his impeachment and execution by Parliament.

Wentworth represented Yorkshire in the parliaments of 1614 and 1621 and Pontefract in 1624. His wife died childless (1622), and he married Arabella Holles, daughter of John, earl of Clare, a peer out of favour at court who brought Wentworth into touch with the critics of the King's expensive and inefficient policy of war against Spain and, from 1627, against France. Along with other critics of the court he was prevented from sitting in the Parliament of 1626, and later in the year he refused to subscribe to the forced loan imposed to pay for the war, and was for some time under arrest. Despite his record of opposition to the King's policy, Wentworth was approached by the crown—anxious to strengthen its position in the north—with the offer of a barony (1628). He was appointed lord president of the north (virtually governor of England north of the Humber) and in 1629 was given a seat on the Privy Council.

Wentworth's return to the service of the court, coming so soon after his vehement opposition to it in Parliament, startled even some of his closest friends. His conduct was no doubt partly inspired by personal ambition, though he had logical reasons for his change of front since in the summer of 1628 the King gradually abandoned his war policy.

The King meanwhile had appointed him lord deputy of Ireland. Taking up his office in the summer of 1633, he immediately set himself to consolidate the royal authority, break the power of the dominant clique of "new English" landowners, extend English settlement, improve methods of agriculture, increase the productivity of the land, and stimulate industry and trade. His ultimate goal was to assimilate Irish law and customs to the English system and to make a prosperous Protestant Ireland into a source of revenue to the English crown.

Wentworth continued his effective and firm-handed administration of Ireland until 1639, when he was recalled to England by King Charles. The King needed advice and support in handling a Scottish revolt precipitated by an ill-conceived attempt to enforce episcopacy on the Scots. Wentworth was created earl of Strafford (1640) and was expected to resolve the crisis. But his policy of making war on Scotland proved disastrous for both himself and the King. The English Parliament, called especially to vote money for the war, proved unruly, and Strafford, in command of the English army, failed to prevent the Scots from overrunning the northern counties. The King, unable to pay his own troops or to buy off the Scots, was compelled by joint English and Scottish action to call a new Parliament in November 1640.

Strafford was the chief target of attack from both nations. He was advised to leave the country, but the King relied on his help and assured him that he should not suffer in life or fortune. Detained by illness, he reached Westminster on November 10 with the intention of impeaching the King's opponents in Parliament for treasonable correspondence with the Scots. The leader of the Commons, John Pym, acted first by impeaching Strafford before he could take his seat in the House of Lords.

His trial began in March 1641. The basic accusation was that of subverting the laws and was supported by a charge that he had offered to bring over the Irish army to subdue the King's opponents in England. More detailed charges rested on his administration in Ireland and the north. He conducted his defense with great skill, and it looked at one point as though he might be acquitted. Pym therefore introduced a bill of attainder (i.e., a summary condemnation to death by special act of Parliament). The Commons passed it by a large majority; the Lords, intimidated by popular rioting, passed it, too, but by a much smaller majority.

While an angry mob surged around Whitehall, Strafford wrote to the King releasing him from his promise of protection, and Charles, afraid for the safety of the Queen, gave his consent to the bill. Strafford went to the scaffold on May 12, 1641, in the presence of an immense and jubilant crowd. In his last speech he once more professed his faith in "the joint and individual prosperity of the king and his people," for which, in his view, he had always worked.

**William Laud**, (born Oct. 7, 1573, Reading, Berkshire, Eng.—died Jan. 10, 1645, London), archbishop of Canterbury (1633–45) and religious adviser to King Charles I of Great Britain. His persecution of Puritans and other religious dissidents resulted in his trial and execution by the House of Commons.

Laud was the son of a prominent clothier. From Reading Grammar School he went on to St. John's College, Oxford, and until he was nearly 50 combined the successful but unspectacular careers of academic and churchman. He was opposition to Puritanism, stressed the continuity of the visible church and the necessity, for true inward worship, of outward uniformity, order, and ceremony. In 1608 Laud entered the service of Richard Neile, bishop of Rochester, with whose help he secured a succession of ecclesiastical appointments. From 1611 he was a royal chaplain and came gradually to the notice of King James I. During Buckingham's years of power, Laud was his chaplain and confidant, and he established a dominant voice in church policies and appointments. He became a privy councillor in 1627 and, a year later, bishop of London.

In his London diocese, Laud devoted himself to combating the Puritans and to enforcing a form of service in strict accordance with the Book of Common Prayer. The wearing of surplices, the placing of the communion table—railed off from the congregation—at the east end of the chancel, and such ceremonies as bowing at the mention of the name of Jesus were imposed, though cautiously enough to avoid unmanageable opposition. Churches, from St. Paul's Cathedral down to neglected village chapels, were repaired, beautified, and consecrated. To religious radicals, all such reforms seemed moves toward popery.

On the death of George Abbott in 1633, Laud became archbishop of Canterbury, but he had already, by instructions issued in the King's name and by his ruthless energy in the royal prerogative courts of Star Chamber and High Commission, extended his authority—with varying success—over the whole country.

From 1634 to 1637 visitations of every diocese (including, after strong resistance by Williams, that of Lincoln) showed the extent of deficiencies within the Anglican Church and the strength of Puritan practices. A succession of detailed orders from the Archbishop laid down the remedies. Preaching, to Puritans the essential task of the ministry, was to Laud a most dangerous source of "differences" in religion to be curtailed and controlled. I The printed word was considered dangerous: celebrated Puritan propagandists such as Alexander Leighton and William Prynne were mutilated and imprisoned. Occasionally, Laud was less harsh than his enemies admitted, especially to the clergy. But he rejected all conciliation of the Puritan movement, whose strength and qualities he never understood. He had, in fact, much in common with some forms of it: the unrelenting quest for the godly life, the intolerant certainty of his own rectitude, the hatred of corruption and extravagance. But his wider efforts to overcome the poverty of clergy and parishes and restore something of the church's position as a great and powerful landowner had extremely limited success.

In all this his one constant ally was Thomas Wentworth (later the earl of Strafford), from 1633 lord deputy in Ireland. Laud and Wentworth corresponded regularly and frankly on their joint struggle to establish "thorough," as their rigorous policy came to be called. But by 1637 both began to see, dimly, the storm that was about to break upon them. The further trial of Prynne, together with other radical Puritans such as Bastwick and Burton, demonstrated not success for Laudian suppression but rather huge popular support for the opposition. The resistance of the gentry was consolidated by the extended demand for "ship money," the most hated of Charles's non-parliamentary levies. Attempts by Charles and Laud to impose Anglican forms of worship in Scotland provoked fierce resistance there. English forces were sent northward, and in 1639 the "Bishops' Wars" began.

In the spring of 1640 Parliament met for the first time in 11 years and with it the clerical assembly, the Convocation, which laid down in a new set of canons the principles of the Laudian church. They explained the prescribed ceremonies as "fit and convenient" rather than essential. But they added to the popular hatred of Laud shown in mass demonstrations, petitions, and leaflets. In December, formally accused of high treason, he was taken to the Tower. His trial, managed enthusiastically by Prynne, began only in 1644, in the midst of the Civil War. As with Strafford, the Commons had to abandon legal proof and resort to an ordinance of attainder, accepted hesitantly by the lords. On Jan. 10, 1645, the Archbishop was beheaded.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | **<u>Political divisions: the Long parliament, Pym and the outbreak of civil war.</u>**<br>What caused political divisions?<br>Finance – ship money (Hampden's Case).<br>Religion – Scotland introduce the Laudian prayer book. Episcopacy (Bishop's in church hierarchy) this led to the Bishop's War (1639-40).<br>This leads to Charles calling back Parliament – because he can't afford the settlement with the Scots.<br><br>Short Parliament<br>After 11 years of personal rule Charles was forced to recall parliament to deal with the Scottish Rebellion. It gets its name from the fact that it lasted from April 13th to May 5th 1640. MPs who were returning weren't organised however and the king could still rely on a majority from the House of Lords.<br>Despite this it quickly became clear that the MPs were not going to vote for subsidies for the Bishops' War. Some MPs were associated with the Scots. Charles, recognising that only significant concessions would gain him the subsidies he needed, dissolved Parliament.<br>Charles arrested his leading critics from the House of Commons, Pym and Hampden.<br><br>'The most important factor in the breakdown of relationships between Crown and Parliament during the early years of the Long Parliament was the root and branch petition.' How far do you agree?<br>PLAN<br>In your paragraphs I would like you to evaluate the importance of each factor (Wentworth's impeachment, London Mob & Root and Branch Petition) in relation to the question on the previous slide.<br>Starter sentences…<br>The most important factor in the breakdown of relationships in the Long Parliament was…<br>This was the most important because…<br>It was more important than _____ because…<br>To conclude _____ is the most important factor as this led to…<br><br>**<u>What were the events of the long parliament and why were they important?</u>**<br>Which of the events of the Long Parliament was most significant in causing change?<br>See textbook pages 77-90.<br>Grand Remonstrance – direct attack on the king, not happened before due to divine right of kings, pushed some moderates towards a royalist standpoint. Created two sides in parliament, royalist and parliamentarian that developed into the civil war.<br>Root and Branch Petition – wanted to reform the church of England further into a more puritan style. This was an indirect attack on the king and Laudian measures that had been introduced on the late 1620s to 1630s. | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Five Members Coup – Charles tried to arrest 4 MPs and a lord whilst parliament was sitting (this was highly irregular and illegal due to the fact that MPs had parliamentary privilege). They had been pre-warned and left the chamber but it made Charles look absolutist as he was imprisoning his opposition. Led to a hardening of parliamentary attitudes towards the monarch.<br><br>'The outbreak of the civil war by 1642 was due to the personality of Charles I since 1629.' Explain whether you agree or disagree with this view.<br>Explain why Charles was a problem in this period. Aspects of his personal rule, Charles' character (could he be trusted?), The 'Incident' in Scotland 1641, five members coup.<br>Explain why Parliament was a problem in this period. Divisions over the Root and Branch Petition and the Grand Remonstrance, the Ten Propositions.<br>Conclusion – do you agree or disagree?<br><br>How important was the role of key individuals and groups and how were they affected by developments? Extremely important at this time due to the leadership of both Charles and Pym. Pym galvanised the opposition to Charles and used the London Mob to great effect. Charles positioned himself as the defender of traditions and order against the breakdown in order from parliament.<br><br>Big focus on change and continuity and cause and consequence at this point of the course.<br><br>**<u>Why did civil war break out?</u>**<br>The Militia Bill (Dec 1641) and Five Members Coup (Jan 1642)<br>• The Militia Bill forced MPs to decide who they trusted with running the army. It was a direct attack on the King's royal prerogative.<br>• It was supported by the London Mob. In response, Charles positioned himself as the 'defender of fundamental law against revolutionaries.' This won over many moderates who were constitutional royalists.<br>• On 3rd January 1642 Charles announced the impeachment of 5 of this key opponents – Pym, Hampden, Haselrig, Holles, William Strode and Edward Montagu.<br>• The attempted coup was a complete failure on Charles' part – Charles entered the Commons with soldiers to arrest the MPs but they had been forewarned and had left.<br>• Charles shortly left London, leaving behind Parliament in charge of the major city of the kingdom.<br><br>• In June 1642 Parliament issued the Nineteen Propositions, which stated their demands for a negotiated settlement.<br>• All Privy Councillors were to be approved by Parliament. | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | • The five impeached MPs were pardoned.<br>• Charles had to accept the Triennial Act and the Militia Bill.<br>• Parliament would direct a reformation of the Church.<br>• As a response, constitutional royalists wrote 'The Answer to the Nineteen Propositions' for the king.'<br>• This portrayed the king as the force that would prevent anarchy.<br>• It stated that Parliament's proposals would lead to 'a dark equal chaos of confusion' in which the threat of popular rebellion was imminent.<br><br>Iconoclasm – the destruction of the 'beauty of churches' by parliamentarians that had extremist puritan views. Stained glass windows were smashed, icons were destroyed.<br><br>**<u>Why was the outbreak of civil war in Scotland and Ireland significant?</u>**<br>Why was Charles' position in Ireland weaker than his position in Scotland?<br>10,000 troops from the Scottish Covenanters, financed by the English parliament, were the ones forcing the Catholics back in Ireland – this gave them a major propaganda coup.<br>Due to the cessation (stopping) of the war by Charles, 22,000 Irish troops, Catholic and Protestants, were transported to England to fight on behalf of the Royalist forces. They had little impact and parliament used this as propaganda.<br>Gaelic Irish eventually defeated the Scots in June 1646, which meant that they were less inclined to identify a common cause with the Royalists and therefore not support them.<br><br>What were the Civil War turning points?<br>Royalists prevented from taking London at Turnham Green in Nov 1642.<br>1643 = Royalist wins but none hampered parliaments ability to fight.<br>Parliament get significant victory at Marston Moor July 1644.<br>BUT didn't take advantage of these victories, which forced a reorganisation of parliaments army into the New Model Army under the control of Cromwell and Fairfax.<br>Battle of Naseby destroyed Charles' ability to fight after he underestimated the NMA.<br>The NMA mopped up in the west and had effectively defeated Charles by early 1646. On 5 May, Charles surrendered to Scottish forces.<br><br>'Royalist divisions were the main factor in their defeat.' How far do you agree?<br>AGREE – royalist divisions led to poor leadership as they could not agree on a coordinated war policy. Charles listened to a number of different advisors who were divided on what the best strategy would be to defeat the NMA. | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | DISAGREE – the NMA were a significant turning point in the war as after they were formed and trained in 1644 they rarely lost a battle. Their leadership was definitive in their war policy and eventually won the war. Locations controlled by the two sides also had a significant impact; the parliamentarians controlled London which was vital due to the fact they could raise funds for the army, control propaganda and printing, and get supplies as London was the biggest port in England at the time.<br><br>**How did the second civil war come about?**<br>Royalist divisions created a major stumbling block for their fight in the civil war. Differing views, particularly from Henrietta Maria and Hyde led to an incoherent policy as Charles was unable, or unwilling, to select the best advice. This is highlighted by the fact that even though Parliamentarian forces weren't organised into the NMA yet the Royalists could still not capitalise on numerous victories in 1643. Also the Royalists were prevented from taking London at Turnham Green in November 1642. Therefore it is understandable that a lack of cohesive leadership on the Royalist side in the civil war created a lack of direction that ultimately cost them the civil war. Leadership was vitally important both on the battlefield and in ensuring supporters kept the faith, and was something that Charles failed in. However it would be a moot point to argue that the divisions within the Royalist leadership was the only cause of their defeat. Indeed it could be said the restructuring of the parliamentary army was a much more significant factor in the defeat of the Royalists.<br><br>Parliamentary factionalism<br>Parliament was split after the war into two factions – Presbyterians and the Independents.<br>The Presbyterians were more moderate in nature and were opposed to religious toleration.<br>The Independents were more radical in nature, sometimes known as the war party. They wanted a religiously tolerant society.<br><br>The Newcastle Propositions<br>• The Political Presbyterians were the most influential group in parliament. They presented the king with the Newcastle Propositions in July 1646. The main features of it was as follows:<br>• Religion: Charles was to accept the establishment of Presbyterianism in England for 3 years.<br>• Militia: Parliament was to control the militia for 20 years.<br>• Parliament: The Triennial Act was to remain, guaranteeing regular parliaments.<br>• Royalists: Only 58 Royalists were not to be pardoned, to try and encourage them to accept defeat.<br>• Charles' response was to stall. He had no intention of accepting the reforms but did not say this directly.<br><br>Inter-war years<br>Charles was seized by the NMA in June 1647. After the Heads of Proposals negotiations seemed to be working. This showed the army leaders, Cromwell and Ireton, were willing to accept a moderate settlement. However there | |

were political divisions opening up in the army because of the negotiations with Charles. Charles' negotiator with the army, Berkeley, suggested that if Charles didn't accept the proposal then the 'army's temper' would turn against him. However Charles failed to take the army's settlement seriously and therefore radicalised the army further and made some consider removing the king. His duplicity was confirmed by his escape from Hampton Court in Nov 1647 and his negotiation with the Scots, some of whom had become unhappy with Parliament. This was because parliament hadn't introduced Presbyterianism to England. Charles rejected the Four Bills (a combination of the Heads and Newcastle) from parliament in December 1647.

'CHARLES WAS IN AS STRONG A POSITION AS KING IN 1646 AS HE HAD BEEN IN 1626.'

| 1626 | 1646 |
|---|---|
| Charles continued to collect tonnage and poundage, even after Parliament had only granted it for a year.<br>Forced loan of 1626 & Five Knights Case 1627.<br>Charles changed the direction of the Church towards Arminianism<br>York House Conference 1626.<br>Personal Rule 1629-1640.<br><br>***HOWEVER***<br>Throughout the Long Parliament Charles' prerogative rights were attacked. The Root and Branch Petition 1640, the Triennial Act 1641, Irish Rebellion 1641-42. | Charles was still seen as the centre of any settlement even after being defeated in he first Civil War.<br>The Newcastle Propositions and the Heads of Proposals still had Charles in charge with limited restrictions in place.<br><br>***HOWEVER***<br>Charles was duplicitous in delaying his acceptance to the Newcastle propositions and Heads of Proposals which directly led to further conflict in the second Civil War. His previous duplicity made him seem untrustworthy. |

**Why was there a failure to secure a post-war settlement 1648-49?**

January: Parliament issues a Vote of No Addresses

On the 24th December 1647, Parliament presented its final offer to the King at Carisbrooke. He loftily rejected the terms and on the 26th December, after talks with the Scots Commissioners, signed a treaty with the Covenanters known as 'the Engagement.' Charles agreed to allow Presbyterianism for three years while the Scots would, in return, raise an army to place him back on the throne. For Parliament, this was the final act of double-dealing. On 15th January 1648 they passed the Vote of No Addresses ruling out any future talks with so untrustworthy a King. For the Covenanters, it was a decision they would come to regret horribly.

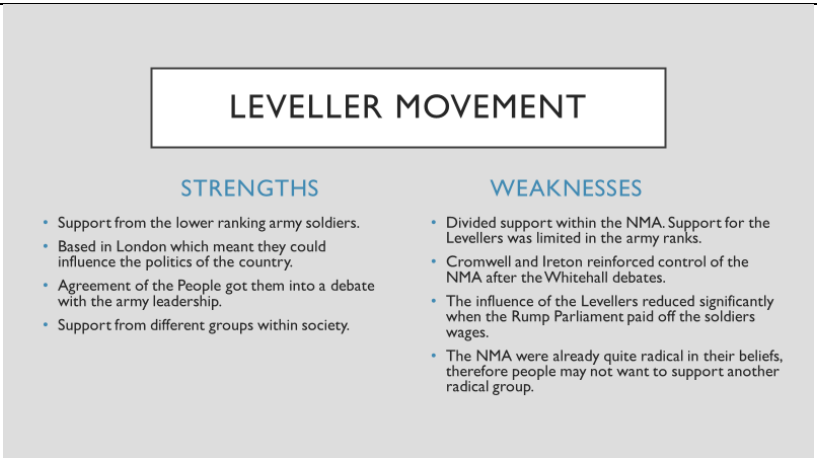
After a two year recess, the three kingdoms and Wales were hurtling back towards war. The New Model Army went on the alert for renewed conflict. Attempts to free Charles from Carisbrooke became more frequent and more desperate. One almost worked - but Charles was too fat to get out of a window. In Scotland, 'the Engagers',

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | as they became known, began mustering forces. Across England, Charles' few remaining allies resurfaced for a final defence of King and Church. But the Second Civil War was nothing like the first. The diplomacy of the three kingdoms and Wales had shifted. Whereas once the Scottish Covenanters and English Parliamentarians had united against Charles to defend religious freedom, now Charles and the Covenanters were fighting together against religious freedom.<br>March: Second Civil War begins<br>War recommences with a rising by disaffected troops in Wales. Although Wales had been a relative backwater during the First Civil War, it was a major focus of activity during the second conflict, and events in Wales catalysed the military phase of the War. The first shots of the Second Civil War came from Colonels Poyer and Laugharne who declared for the King on 23rd March. Poyer and Laugharne had commanded Parliamentary forces in Wales during the First Civil War but had become increasingly alarmed by rising Parliamentary radicalism, and had entered into secret correspondence with Royalists in 1647.<br>When Parliament attempted to disband troops under their command without paying them, this resentment turned into open mutiny, and they quickly swept east from their Pembrokeshire stronghold with 8000 men under their command, threatening to take Cardiff. Although the Parliamentary forces were heavily outnumbered, they inflicted a stinging defeat on the Royalist rebels at St. Fagans on 8th May. After this reverse, Poyer and Laugharne retreated to Pembroke Castle and were finally starved into submission on 11th July. The Welsh part of the insurrection was over.<br>The frustration and resentment experienced by the Welsh ex-Parliamentarians was mimicked by other groups across the country who merged with Royalist sympathisers in a revolt which was more anti-Parliament and Army than pro-King. Five years of oppressive taxes and indiscriminate quartering had produced a truly popular uprising, and many communities had been hurt by economic recession and longed for the old familiar rhythms of the Church of England. By May 1648, Berwick and Carlisle were in Royalist hands and Surrey and Kent were also in open revolt.<br>August: Battle of Preston<br>With England and Wales in revolt, the Scottish Engagers marched across the border under the command of the King's old ally, the Duke of Hamilton. It would become quickly apparent that Hamilton was hopelessly out of his depth - especially up against Oliver Cromwell. Having invaded through Lancashire, and not the more Royalist Yorkshire, Hamilton rode into Preston and placed his ill-trained, half-starved troops up against the might of the fast-approaching New Model Army.<br>On the morning of 17th August 1648, Hamilton's troops positioned themselves north of Preston on the edge of Ribbleton Moor. There they waited, in the hedges and sunken lanes, for Cromwell's arrival. When the New Model Army marched in they were met with a sea of pikes. Cromwell's cavalry found the ground too soft and it became a battle of hand to hand infantry combat. But by evening, the Engagers were fast retreating across Preston Bridge in an attempt to put the Ribble between them. | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | The retreat turned into a rout as Cromwell unleashed his awesome cavalry onto the hapless Scottish infantry. They were forced back to the river, many jumping in and swimming across with their horses. The unlucky Scots left fighting on the bank were cut down in their hundreds. As the rain began to pour, Cromwell turned his fire on the troops defending the bridges. The brave brigades fought to the death in the face of Cromwell's overwhelming might. Over 1,000 Scots were killed at Preston. To finish off any remaining opposition, Cromwell pursued them down to Wigan. The clean-up operation captured Hamilton. His next stop was the block.<br>While Cromwell was busy dispersing the Scots, Fairfax was showing a similar lack of mercy in Colchester. After a long siege, Colchester gave in and surrendered to Fairfax's surrounding forces. Hoping for clemency, they were proved horribly wrong. The town was stormed, residents butchered and enemy officers executed by firing squad. Cromwell, Fairfax and the whole Army were in no mood for messing around anymore. The chivalry of the First Civil War was gone; the elegant games of Rupert and Manchester were a thing of the past. In its place, a new brutality and an urgent desire to end this interminable conflict once and for all.<br>Returning to war for the second time was the worst thing Charles could have done. It sealed his fate. Charles was now seen not only as an irresponsible King who had no regard for the well-being of his people, he also came to be seen as defying the judgement of God. For that, only one penalty was appropriate - death.<br>December: Pride's Purge<br>The Army removes all its conservative and moderate opponents from Parliament. In pursuing the 'man of blood', Henry Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law, took charge. Cromwell was keeping himself busy in the North. Why? Either he didn't really know what to do; or he didn't want his fingerprints anywhere near the action. In his absence, Ireton took over while Thomas Fairfax, the commander in chief, was increasingly side-lined.<br>Ireton was a brilliant tactician and ruthless operator. As a staunch Puritan, he genuinely hated Charles. But he knew that he couldn't simply bump off the King. A quick assassination would be political suicide. His actions needed the air of legitimacy. Charles needed to be tried and his crimes shown up to fit the inevitable sentence. Ireton presented to Parliament a document called the Army Remonstrance, which called for a trial of the King and a new Parliament elected on a reformed franchise. The document seemed to present a just solution while appeasing Leveller demands for political reform.<br>But a Parliament controlled by conservative Presbyterian MPs would never pass the Remonstrance. So Ireton did what every military coup leader does, he crushed democracy. On the morning of 6th December, 1648 the New Model Army loyalist Colonel Pride stood in front of the House of Commons and turned away every member he suspected of conservative or Presbyterian leanings. Only the Independent MPs, the hard-line supporters of the Army got through. If your name wasn't down, you didn't get in. Around 140 MPs were excluded, and 40 arrested. This was a nasty little coup, as squalid and brutal as anything in any of today's banana republics. What was left was a 'Rump Parliament' of 56 MPs ready and willing to carry out the Army's wishes.<br>The Army Remonstrance was quickly passed and the King was to be tried. Yet still Army leaders tried to reason with Charles. Cromwell, back from the North, proposed a deal which would have saved the King. But Charles rejected all overtures, all solutions. And by late December, Cromwell had accepted the inevitability of a trial - 'the | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | providence of God has cast this upon us', he explained to the Commons. But note, it was 'providence' - something beyond their control. Still no one wanted to take responsibility for this incredible development.<br>January: Execution of Charles I<br>To the end Charles never compromised on the principle of monarchy. Incarcerated at St. James's Palace awaiting his execution, he refused to see friends and accepted only visits from his close family. He gently explained to his weeping son Henry, 'Sweetheart, now they will cut off thy father's head...and perhaps make thee a king.' But he warned the boy never to accept the throne while his elder brother lived and never to accept it from the hands of the Stuarts' enemies. 'I will sooner be torn in pieces first!', responded the child. He then instructed his daughter Princess Elizabeth to always remain true to the Protestant religion and guard against Popery. Despite all the insinuations and slander, Charles was never a Catholic.<br>At five in the morning of January 30th 1649, Charles rose, prayed with the Laudian prelate Bishop Juxon and requested two shirts. The weather was bitterly cold and Charles did not want people to think he was shivering through fear. He groomed himself and dressed immaculately, readying himself for his betrothal to God and the English nation. At ten an armed guard came for him. Charles was a dead man walking. He left St. James's Palace, strode across St. James's Park, through Horse guards Parade and then entered Whitehall. He was marched to the Banqueting House, the same Banqueting Hall in which he had enjoyed so many wonderful evenings of masques and play with Henrietta Maria. In front of it now stood a scaffold draped in black.<br>In his room in Whitehall, he ate some bread and a glass of wine before returning to prayer. At two pm, he walked out of a window of the Banqueting House on to the newly erected scaffold with Juxon by his side. He gave a short speech justifying his course, restating his innocence and professing his true Protestant faith and adherence to the Church of England.<br>He placed his greying hair in a white satin cap and laid down his head on the executioner's block. To Juxon he said his last word, 'Remember.' His head was struck from his body in one fell blow by axeman Brandon. As his severed held was held up to the crowd, a low, awful groan arose. The people had murdered their monarch- what would happen next?<br>March: Parliament abolishes the monarchy and House of Lords<br>A necessary corollary to Charles' execution, a major political experiment commences<br>May: England is declared a free Commonwealth<br>The Republican era begins with Oliver Cromwell as the dominant political and military figure.<br><br>End of the Second Civil War<br>The New Model Army crushed their opponents in the Second Civil War.<br>This gave them (particularly the officers) the belief that providence (the protective care of God) was directing them.<br>This in turn made them believe in the fight against Parliament, who were trying to reach a settlement still with the twice defeated King. | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | The remonstrance of the army.<br>The intention was now to abandon any treaty negotiations with the King and to bring him to trial as an enemy of the people.<br>Ireton, though a radical, had been initially in favour of a constitutional monarchy and was involved in negotiations with the King to bring this about with the 'Heads of Proposals' in 1647. However he had now become unpopular with his conciliatory attempts, and after marrying Cromwell's daughter, Bridget, Ireton had become even more convinced of the need to be rid of the King.<br>Charles didn't help his cause by escaping from custody at Hampton Court, to the Isle of Wight in 1647, and though eventually incarcerated at Carisbrooke Castle, he made further attempts to escape.<br>Ireton now saw no point in further negotiation and felt compelled to push his father-in-law Cromwell towards regicide, and was in fact more than any other to be responsible for bringing about the King's execution.<br>Parliament by rejecting the Draft of the Army Remonstrance on the 10th November 1648, were still desperately seeking to reach some agreement with the King, at the Treaty of Newport, Isle of Wight, between September and November 1648, after the defeat of his supporters the Presbyterians and Royalists in the second civil war.<br>The Army now took matters into its hands. The Treaty of Newport was annulled, the result was 'Pride's Purge' on December 1648, of the Long Parliament, whose power had declined as the Army increased.(1)<br>Parliament was now purged of those members who weren't 'Grandees or Independents', whom the Army supported, as against Anglicans, Catholics and Presbyterians.<br>'Pride's Purge can be regarded as the only coup d'état in Britain, leaving in its wake the 'Rump' of the Long Parliament, which had sat from 1640.<br>After the execution of the King in January 1649, Ireton and Cromwell were involved in the conquest of Ireland, where Ireton was to remain as Lord Deputy, until his death on campaign in 1651.<br>(1) Named after Colonel Thomas Pride of the Parliamentary Army.<br><br>**<u>Were social and political divisions in the 1640s important?</u>**<br>The Levellers<br>Were the main radical group during and after the civil war.<br>Beliefs: Extension of the franchise, a written constitution, House of Commons as the legislature, frequent elections, religious freedom and economic reform.<br>They sprung up out of the political and religious uncertainty in London.<br>Built on the traditional Protestant dissent and English freedoms. | |




Fifth Monarchists
They were a group who believed in Millenarianism (a belief that current society is corrupt, and then it will be destroyed by a powerful force) who came about in 1650 who were linked together to campaign for religious, political, economic and social reform.
It's roots stemmed from the ranks of the troops of the NMA. It's leader in the army was Thomas Harrison, a colonel in the NMA.

**Should Charles I have been killed?**
This was a pivotal moment in our topic but also in British history.
It is the only time a King has been placed on trial and executed in England.
See pages 124-127.

**'Cromwell, and other army leaders, were reluctant regicides.' Assess the validity of this view.**
Bound up with how we interpret the trial of the king are numerous combustible issues, such as: what sort of king was Charles I? Who do we blame for the descent into civil war, and failure to achieve negotiated settlement thereafter? What do we make of the character, purpose and motives of the English and Welsh regicides?
In a series of influential articles, Sean Kelsey has argued that army leaders – Cromwell included – were reluctant to try the king, and for much of December they sought alternatives. Once the trial began, Kelsey maintains that execution was still not inevitable, that the charge against the king was deliberately weak, and that many commissioners sought an alternative sentence other than death.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | So Kelsey sees the trial then as an attempt at negotiation by force, with the aim of forcing the king to relinquish his negative voice, relinquish his power of veto. Astoundingly, as is very well known, the court repeatedly tried to accommodate the king by offering him between nine and 12 opportunities to plead. Even on 27 January, a large minority of the king's judges sought to comply with his request to address Parliament.<br>The king misinterpreted his opponents' disarray as a sign of weakness, and by standing firm, he forced them into a reluctant capital sentence. It was only then, on 27 January, three days before the axe fell, the commissioners finally resigned themselves to the king's execution.<br>So this reading of the trial draws support from contemporary commentators, news books, tracts and newsletter writers; it spread the notion that the army leaders were trying to frighten the king into concessions, rather than seeking to eliminate him. They used the threat of the trial to string along support, from Levellers and political radicals; army control of the king was seen as an indispensable asset in preserving the army's political dominance, and furthering their desire to crush their former allies within the Parliamentarian coalition, their Presbyterian, and pro-Scottish interests.<br>So from this comes the idea that the king was more use to the army leaders alive than dead. And John Adamson has also suggested that the anxious army leaders needed the king to call off the mobilisation of a new coalition that was emerging in his favour in Ireland, which threatened a renewal of armed hostilities.<br>So this reading of the trial suggests that many of the regicides were uncertain, reluctant and fearful of the revolutionary prospect before them. And it's won support from the influential historians of the wider conflict of the Civil War, such as Michael Braddick and Richard Cust.<br>Mark Kishlansky has even recently contended that the purported mission of Basil Feilding, Earl of Denbigh, one of the Parliamentarian peers, to go to treat with the King at Windsor, on behalf of the army, on 25 December – as discussed by historians – the king's supposed 'last chance' to reach a settlement with the army leaders…Kishlansky contends this never even took place. He also suggests that at this point, the Royalist threat from Ireland, argued to be a factor by Adamson, was nothing other than a paper tiger.<br>Clive Holmes adheres to the traditional view that Cromwell was prepared to countenance the king's death because God had evidence against the king, time and time again, on the battlefield, and if they failed to follow the signs of God's providence, God would punish England further. So against this conviction, Holmes contends that once the trial began, the king knew he was doomed.<br>So we can see already two pretty diametrically opposed versions of how to interpret the trial. At the end of the trial a committee was appointed to peruse and consider the whole narrative of proceedings, so that they might be presented for examination to the House of Commons. The clerks of the High Court of Justice, Andrew Broughton and John Phelps, set about this task. The document was finally presented to the House of Commons on 12 December, 1650, almost two years after it was requested. And it was entitled A Journal of the Proceedings of the High Court of Justice.<br>This journal has been directly cited by most leading historians including Sean Kelsey, since JG Muddiman's book, The Trial of Charles I (1928). It comprises 59 folios, almost identical with the trial proceedings that were later | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | printed in State Trials by Howell. It includes the Acts for establishing the High Court of Justice, the dialogue between the king and his prosecutors, and the eventual subscribers to the sentence, it gives their names in the same order as on the death warrant. It even shows the order to fetch an executioner's axe from out of the Tower of London.<br>Later in the volume, it includes the act for settling the Protector of Government in 1654, so there were parts of the document that were added later. Also on display is a printed tract related to the details from the Treaty of Newport. Now, these were the last negotiations between the king and the Long Parliament, in the form of 15 Parliamentary Commissioners who were sent to negotiate with Charles I in the Town Hall of Newport on the Isle of Wight, where the King was located between September and November 1648. During these negotiations the king made important concessions, which I imagine he had no intention of keeping, including relinquishing control of the armed forces. Yet Cromwell blasted the Treaty of Newport in a letter to the king's jailer Colonel Robert Hammond, on 25 November 1648, referring to it as 'this ruining, hypocritical agreement'. And he referred to the king as 'this man against whom the Lord has witnessed'.<br>Hostility to the Newport negotiations brewed among Parliament soldiery. They had been forced into fighting a second civil war against a duplicitous king, enduring much hardship and bloodshed in the process. Radicals amongst them called for justice against the authors of the Second Civil War, and an end to negotiations with the king. The manifesto for their intentions was Henry Ireton's Remonstrance of the Army, which was approved by the Council of the Army, at St Albans. It demanded, the quotation's here: 'exemplary justice in capital punishment upon the principal author and some prime instruments of our late wars'.<br>When the House of Commons rejected this army remonstrance, and ordered the Commander-in-chief, General Thomas Fairfax, not to bring the army closer to London, it invited armed retaliation. On 2 December, the army occupied Westminster, and when the Commons voted to continue negotiating with the king on 5 December, General Ireton, aided by army, organised the soldiers to mount a political coup. This famously occurred the following day, on 6 December 1648, when several regiments occupied Westminster precincts.<br>Colonel Thomas Pride stood outside the entrance to the House of Commons, holding a list of MPs that he intended to prevent from sitting. Pointing out to him those to be arrested and those to be prevented from sitting (because he didn't know many of them personally, being a professional soldier) was a renegade Peer Lord Grey of Groby, derisively nicknamed as the 'Grinning Dwarf', standing aside Colonel Pride telling him who was allowed in, who wasn't, who was to be arrested. 45 MPs were imprisoned, and still more were excluded from sitting, only 56 MPs known to be friendly to the army were initially permitted to sit, and military guard of the house continued for a week afterwards.<br>Then, from between 3-6 January 1649, the House of Commons passed an act setting up a High Court of Justice to try the King. They nominated 135 Commissioners, some without their consent, to sit as the King's judges. The charges against the king were drawn up from 9 January and took ten days to formulate. | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Kelsey argued that the charges were deliberately understated, and gave the king perfect opportunity to clear his name. They amounted to the accusation of a treasonous waging of war on his own people in England and Ireland, though interestingly not Scotland.<br>Yet Holmes has argued that the charge against the King was not weak, nor was it minimal. It accused the King of treason against his own people, and of breach of trust, a crime for which many royalist insurgents had already been executed for their part in the Second Civil War, either for breaking their paroles not to fight again or having previously been Parliamentarians, and changed by the rapidly changing circumstances, 1646-1648, found themselves more close to a Royalist position by 1648.<br>It was important for the army to try the King in public, with a show of legal process. None of the High Court Judges would sit on the trial, so the regicides had to procure John Bradshaw, a provincial judge from Cheshire, to preside.<br>But the trial of the King was highly illegal. It took place under no new constitution, no new political settlement had been made upon which the King could be tried. He was tried according to the theory of power ascending upward from the people, when England had always been a monarchy with a theory of descending power. No new constitution or Leveller-inspired agreement of the people was in place to legitimise the trial.<br>The army's supporters entered into the trial to demonstrate the extent of the King's wickedness, but famously of course were wrong-footed by his tactics. The King refused to plead, declining to recognise the illegal court.<br>Onlookers from across the political spectrum, from Levellers to Royalists, saw the proceedings as a sham.<br>So who were the regicides? Of the 135 Commissioners appointed, 59 signed the death warrant. But ten more who did not sign were present and stood in approval when the sentence was passed, on 27 January. So the number of regicides, it might be said, not 59 as is the commonly given number, but 69. These men were a mixture of army officers, soon-to-be Republican MPs, and independent ministers from the City of London. Some, not all, were united by religious conviction that Charles I had broken God's Providence, and had the blood of the people on his hands.<br>After the Restoration, several of these men, including one commissioner – Thomas Waite – testified they'd been forced to participate in the trial and that doubt had remained, at the time, over its outcome. At first glance, this would appear to strength Sean Kelsey's argument that many of the King's judges were reluctant, uncertain, and far from united.<br>Thomas Waite contended that as late as 28 January, his patron Lord Grey of Groby, the second signatory on the warrant, remained uncertain that the King would die, and that many did not sign the document until 29 January, the very day before the King's execution.<br>Yet Mark Kishlansky and Clive Holmes have dismissed this evidence as unreliable. Indeed it was taken from a man who was surely lying, to avoid the horrific execution that was threatened to him, of being hanged, drawn and quartered.<br>So other post-Restoration testimony from regicides on trial for their lives is obviously tainted and they were trying to excuse what they had done, they were trying to paint their actions in the best possible light. So as these men turned on each other, in 1660-1662, when the trials of the regicides took place, as these men turned on each | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | other, they suggest very little of an organised party amongst the judges, intent on delivering an alternative or lesser sentence, and that's kind of a key part of Holmes' argument.<br>So what of the two leading generals of the New Model Army, Sir Thomas Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell? They developed very different political positions during the trial, but both became associated with the outcome, much to the former, much to Fairfax's later regret. But Fairfax was the most notable absence among the King's regicides. He feared more bloodshed, but nevertheless allowed the execution to proceed. He was named among the trial commissioners, and from the manuscript journal, in the exhibition downstairs, we can see he attended a preliminary meeting of commissioners in the Painted Chamber on 8 January 1649.<br>Yet once he was convinced the trial was to be in earnest, he withdrew from proceedings. This might undermine notions that the King's fate was still very much up for grabs at this stage. A masked lady, thought to be his wife, interrupted proceedings of the trial to vindicate him from involvement, causing the prosecution some trouble with this disturbance. This did not prevent Fairfax, as General of the Army, though as being depicted as directly responsible for the King's execution in a number of ill-informed contemporary illustrations<br>Even before the trial began, Edward Stephens, an MP, excluded by Pride's Purge, compared Fairfax to Pontius Pilate, beginning a series of connections that would link the sacrifice of Charles I to the sufferings of Christ. The reality was that he had been side-lined by his own officers, and his relationship with Cromwell and Ireton never recovered. Yet after the King's execution he was allowed to write his own Oath of engagement to the Commonwealth, which had proved nothing of the past, which shows that the new Republic was very keen to keep him on board as Lord General of the Army. His ultimate failure to either endorse or prevent the regicide led to strong criticism of him being ridiculed as a mere pawn, or fool, or a tool of Cromwell's ambition.<br>So what of Lieutenant General Oliver Cromwell's ultimate role in the trial and execution of Charles I? This is murkier, more uncertain. The old question, 'was the King doomed from the moment Cromwell decided he should die?', remains a vexatious one, because we cannot know for certain when Cromwell decided this and how set he was upon that course of action thereafter. None of his letters survive between the purge of Parliament on 6 December 1648 and the regicide on 30 January.<br>Instead, Cromwell's actions during the trial, and its prelude, are seen through the distorting lens of the popular press, which printed much rumour and speculation. Our knowledge is further skewed by the evidence for his behaviour, testified by those regicides on trial for their lives, after 1660. Naturally, these men had an interest in downplaying their role and magnifying his. As he'd been head of state thereafter – and eventually Lord Protector – he was a convenient 'bogey-man' on which to blame everything, when they were seeking to save their lives in their trials.<br>It used to be thought that Oliver Cromwell lingered at the Siege of Pontefract in Yorkshire, which was still going on – the Second Civil War was still going on – during the King's trial and execution. It used to be thought that this was very political of Oliver, to delay arriving in London until after the Purge had happened, as if he had no hand in the matter. He successfully delayed Fairfax's order to return to London for some time so that he'd arrive after the Purge had happened. | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Yet a recent discovery among John Evelyn's papers in the British Library, by Jason Peacey, suggests otherwise. He's found a London correspondent, writing on 30 November 1648, that Cromwell was in fact among the army, 'as thick as bees around about this city'. Why is this primary evidence being neglected by leading historians in the prelude to the trial? The evidence could overturn traditional opinion, and if Cromwell was present in London during the Purge, maybe he played a more proactive role in it than once thought. How does that then impact on the conception of what the trial was about?<br>It could be argued that the real driver of events in precipitating the King's downfall was no single individual, but the collective weight of the New Model Army itself. Mounting pressure to execute the King came from army units and garrisons and provincial forces, stationed across the country, not just those immediately around London. Parliament received dozens of provincial petitions calling for capital justice against the authors of the war. From October to December 1648, John Lambert and his Northern Brigade, came out in favour of a trial, or at least the Council of War, the Chief Officers of the Northern Brigade, did so.<br>In addition, several civilian petitions supporting justice against the king were received from Yorkshire and from Newcastle; one claimed to represent the well-affected of Leeds and Bradford, and another, the gentlemen and freeholders of Yorkshire. David Scott has highlighted the important role of the North in bringing the King to trial, where he argues that there was some kind of regionally-derived grievance against the King evident.<br>It's often forgotten by Westminster-centric histories that the Civil War was still being fought in Yorkshire at the time of the execution, Pontefract had been withstanding a siege for months, and the North had suffered terribly from repeated occupation by Scottish armies in 1640, again in 1644, and again in 1648. So to have these occupations, to have the insult of this third Scottish invasion in 1648, instigated by a King insensitive to his people's suffering, was too much for many Northerners. No less than eight of the regicides came from the five Northern counties; six were Yorkshiremen.<br>Scott suggests then that Northerners' support for the regicide was an attempt to sever the link between England and Scotland, in order to make future Scottish incursions less likely. Quite an interesting point there about the interplay between the kingdoms of England and Scotland; it's not one that's been universally accepted, but there is certainly a strength of feeling amongst those Northern regicides, and certainly a very anti-Scottish sentiment, something that perhaps continues to this day amongst Yorkshiremen and Geordies, over the centuries since!<br>So the survival of the King was also an obstacle to the formation of any new regime that could guarantee an indemnity for the soldiers once disbanded. This was crucial; without an indemnity soldiers would be vulnerable to legal prosecution for acts committed whilst under orders.<br>Along with the problem of their mounting and unmet pay arrears, this was a practical issue which had done much to radicalise the army. So for instance, if you were a soldier, who, acting under the orders of your captain, had requisitioned horses from a local gentleman, once you were disbanded and sent home and you were resident in that area, you could be tried for horse theft and hanged. So that's why Parliament were so eager to have a legal indemnity in place, to protect the soldiers for what they'd done during the war. The King was seen by some to be an obstacle to achieving this. | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Prominent army officers called for justice against the king. Colonel Thomas Harrison famously called Charles I 'that man of blood'. Colonel Robert Lilburne, brother to the famous Leveller John Lilburne, demanded 'a trial to make answer for all the blood that had been spilt in this land'. The religious motive behind the execution was that God witnessed against Charles in battle during the First Civil War. And rather than accepting the will of God, the King had defied it, by attempting to renew the Civil War. He negotiated with the Scots' army of the Engagement to invade, to restore him to his throne by force. He'd instigated these provincial uprisings across England and Wales, in his support to rekindle the flames of civil war, a second time.<br>These provincial arguments carried an enormous weight amongst some of the regicides. Demands for justice against the King from the Northern garrisons stressed 'the special overruling hand of Providence'. These were men who feared God; if they did not punish Charles I then surely God would punish them – and the English people too – for their neglect in following his signs and implementing his providential will.<br>Alongside this stood millenarian fervour; the idea that England was God's elect nation and that the English people were living through the last days. The kings of the earth must fall for Jesus to return and rule with his saints. For this, Joseph Salmon implored the army to continue with its reformation in 1649, writing 'you are the rod of God, you strike through king, gentry and nobility, they all fall before you'.<br>There was also the realisation that Charles I could not be treated with. He would never stop plotting and deceiving to recover his crown; because he felt he need not keep his word to rebels because word could not be trusted. He had the capacity for several lines of action, several lines of political plans at the same time, even if they were in direct contradiction with each other. If he were not disposed of, England would run the continual risk of further civil war. So, he became too great a risk to be negotiated with, and a liability for those seeking to keep the army under control; some feared what the rank-and-file of the army would do, if they were loosened out of the power of their officers.<br>Now I've argued that it was Fairfax's ultimate realisation of this that prevented him from intervening to stop the trial. The consequences of such a political intervention would have been too great, it would have split the army, and possibly reignited further armed conflict. Thomas Chaloner, a Yorkshire regicide and MP, and associate of the Fairfax's, felt that the people's safety was the highest law. He argued against a reprieve for the King, on 6 January 1649, saying:<br>'Unless we should value this one man, the king, above so many millions of people whom we represent, and prefer his honour, safety and freedom, before the honour, safety and freedom of the whole nation'<br>Major William Rainsborowe, brother of the famous Leveller, Colonel Thomas Rainsborowe, took up this theme in July 1649, when devising a motto for his standard: sallus populi suprema lex (the people's safety is the highest law).<br>Ultimately, the nature of the evidence of the 55 days between the Purge and the execution is hugely problematic. As Clive Holmes has pointed out, the evidence is marked and distorted by wishful thinking, self-interest, selective briefing, spin, and deliberate 'promulgation of misinformation' as he puts it. Much depends on how we read the | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | problematic evidence relating to the trials of the English regicides from 1660 to 1662. So both of the opposing interpretations remain tenable, with strengths and weaknesses on both sides of the debate.<br>Yet, interestingly, neither side of the argument can really place Cromwell convincingly as the prime mover. In Kelsey's case, the king seized on indecision and weakness among his prosecutors, and then overplayed his hand, leaving them little choice but to execute him. This distances Charles I from attempts to portray him as knowingly taking on the role of martyr king, against his cruel persecutors, in this selfless royal sacrifice, beloved of the High Anglican tradition. Of course, you can still witness 'Charles the Martyr' sermons on 30 January in many English cathedrals.<br>In Kishlansky's and Holmes' case, it was the weakness of the perhaps more moderate members of the trial's commissioners but ultimately, really, the strength of hostility of the army as a whole, that eventually sealed Charles I's fate. Their interpretation might be said to put the King in a more favourable light – Charles I was not the personal disaster and political non-entity that his detractors have maintained. Indeed, if he'd been so useless as a King, why was civil war possible? Why did it go on so long? Why was an armed Royalist party so potent through the 1640s?<br>In retrospect, it is hard to envisage putting a 17th Century monarch on trial in public, unless you are confident of a capital sentence being implemented. The delay with the trial, and the multiple opportunities for the King to plead, were about openess, publicity, and sustaining as broad a support for the proceedings as possible, not about a chance for a negotiated acquittal.<br><br>**How is the government going to change?**<br>In February 1649 the Rump voted to abolish monarchy and the tools of monarchical government.<br>This formally made England a republic for the first and only time in its history.<br>In January 1650 the Rump passed the Engagement Act which meant that all adult males had to declare loyalty to the new regime.<br>This act was reinforced by the Treason Act in July, which made it illegal to deny the authority of the regime.<br>The Rump now had a sound legal base, its next task was to deal with the growing threat in Scotland, Ireland & Charles Stuart.<br><br>The Rump had three problems to deal with, see pages 130-135.<br><br>**Was the Interregnum period a success or failure?**<br>Are they constantly at war?<br>In this period, yes!<br>Between 1652 and 1654 the Rump was involved in the Dutch War. This led to them struggling to keep control as the war became a source of division between the Rump and the NMA.<br>This was because the Dutch were Protestant and a Republic, therefore the NMA saw them as a natural ally. | |

However after the Navigation Act was passed in 1651 by the Rump the Dutch lost their economic advantage over the English. The Act said that only English ships should bring goods into England and its colonies.
This obviously angered the Dutch and led to a full scale naval war between the two countries.

## So they ditched the Rump and tried another way of running the country…

- This new parliament had a number of names in 1653 when it was first set up, these included; Little Parliament, Barebone's Parliament, The Parliament of Saints and the Nominated Assembly.
- What does this suggest about this new style of governance?

## Success or failure? Nominated Assembly edition

| Success | Failure |
|---|---|
| • Reform of the law on debt<br>• More humane treatment of the insane<br>• Civil registration of births, deaths and marriages<br>• Tougher measures against thieves and highwaymen | • The Fifth Monarchists in the Assembly voted for a number of controversial measures including – abolishing chancery and lay patronage. These measures were extremely radical<br>• Tried to cut the pay of the NMA |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | In December 1653 the moderates in the Nominated Assembly voted to hand power back to Cromwell.<br>They met early to ensure that they would outvote the radicals in the Assembly.<br>The key figure behind this military coup was Lambert, who was the leading army officer after Cromwell.<br>The idea was the Cromwell would become Lord Protector (what does this title sound suspiciously like?!).<br><br>Biddle's Case<br>Biddle was a teacher who immersed himself in the study of the Bible.<br>He denied the Trinity (a key component of Christianity) and the divinity of Christ. Why is this risky in the 1650s?<br>He was accused of Blasphemy by MPs in the Protectorate parliament and was imprisoned. His written work was also burnt. Why?<br>This highlights the religious conservativism of the political nation during this period, due to the fact that someone was being prosecuted for their religious views. Who would that put them against?<br>This case along with other failures to fund the army, forced Cromwell to dissolve the Parliament in January 1655.<br><br>The Major-Generals is killed off by the Militia Bill in 1657.<br>Cromwell shifted his position from religious/military radical (Major-Generals) to again look for healing and settling the nation.<br>This is highlighted by Cromwell's support of the MPs unease at the Militia Bill. This would make the decimation tax permanent and strengthen the position of the Major-Generals.<br>By opposing the tax and the Militia Bill, Cromwell showed that he was willing to sacrifice the Major-Generals in order to try and achieve a lasting settlement.<br>Therefore the Major-Generals failed in their goal to transform society.<br><br>Cromwell refuses the crown.<br>He refuses it for a number of reasons:<br>(1) The army was seriously opposed to the idea of Kingship and had the potential to remove Cromwell<br>(2) For Cromwell the army was God's instrument on earth. Army opposition would signify to Cromwell that God had judged against kingship.<br>(3) There were also political reasons why the army did not want Cromwell to become king. They felt that this would give him too much power and would reduce their influence over political life.<br>Knowing what we do about Cromwell, which reason was the most important for him refusing the crown? Why?<br><br>Cromwell dies in 1658.<br>Richard Cromwell, Oliver's son, was nominated as his successor. He wasn't as strong willed as his father.<br>He faced opposition from republicans, who were against a Protectorate and refused to acknowledge Richard as Protector. | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | He also faced opposition from the army who were provoked by measures to restrict religious toleration. The army, triggered by Parliament discussing settling the army as a militia, forced Richard to dissolve the Protectorate Parliament. The Rump was reinstated by the army.<br><br>To what extent was Cromwell a more successful ruler than Charles I?<br><br>**How is the government going to change?** | |

| CHARLES I | CROMWELL |
|---|---|
| Successes<br>Personal Rule<br>Still viewed as part of the settlement until 1649<br>Fiscal Feudal finance | Successes<br>Militarily successful – creation of NMA<br>Lord Protector<br>Offered crown<br>Defeats Scots and Irish |
| Failures<br>Personal Rule<br>Bishop's War<br>Civil Wars<br>Grand Remonstrance | Failures<br>Nominated Assembly<br>Political conservatism vs religious radicalism<br>Tried a number of settlements post war that failed. |

## The 1640s had their own Brexit situation…

- Why might I say this? Think back to what we have learnt over the past few weeks.


Links to be made to Brexit – complete change in the structure of the running of the country. A completely new constitution would have to be created in order to move forward. Links to chaotic processes immediately following the changes made as well.

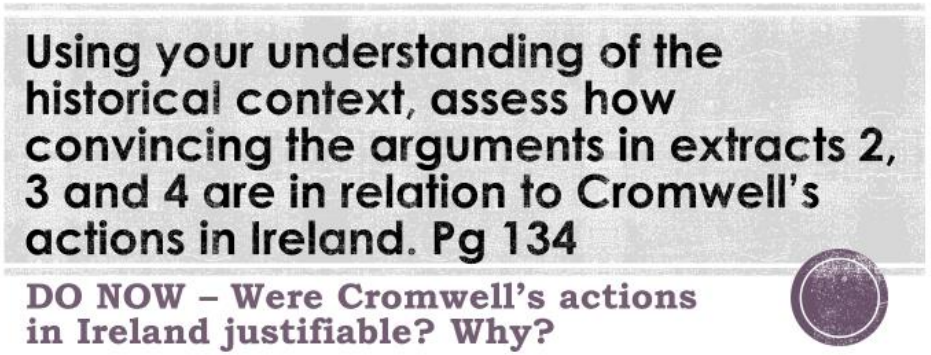
Consider the following: Cromwell is a Godly man, a Puritan. This puts him in a minority in the political nation. However, he is socially conservative, he is still a member of the political nation and therefore does not want politics to change too much. This puts him at odds with the NMA.
Some ideas below

- Introduce a religious state based on Puritan views.
- Introduce a Republic with elected officials in control of the country.
- Let the army take over in a military coup.

In February 1649 the Rump voted to abolish monarchy and the tools of monarchical government.
This formally made England a republic for the first and only time in its history.
In January 1650 the Rump passed the Engagement Act which meant that all adult males had to declare loyalty to the new regime.
This act was reinforced by the Treason Act in July, which made it illegal to deny the authority of the regime.
The Rump now had a sound legal base, its next task was to deal with the growing threat in Scotland, Ireland & Charles Stuart.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | See pages 130 to 136 (Scotland, Ireland and Charles Stuart) as to how the Rump was able to deal with these issues in the early parts of the Republic.<br><br>**<u>The consolidation of the republic – Scotland and Dunbar, campaigns in Ireland, Charles and Worcester</u>**<br>Britain was now classed as a Republic.<br>This meant that supreme power is held by the people and their elected representatives rather than the monarch.<br>However is essence 'the people' in this system were the political nation and landed gentry.<br><br>1ST Civil War 1642-1646 – Charles defeated.<br>2nd Civil War 1648 – Defeat of Charles.<br>Windsor Prayer Meeting 1648 – The New Model Army gathered to pray for victory against their enemies. Said Charles was a 'man of blood'.<br>Regicide of Charles 1649 – The first and only time a monarch has been executed in England by the Rump Parliament.<br><br>The limitations of the support for the revolution carried out the years after – it was driven by a minority in the NMA and Parliament.<br>However this minority were politically conservative, therefore they had to balance this with there religious radicalism.<br>There was tension between the NMA and the Rump.<br>There were also several perceived and real threats to the Rump from Ireland, Scotland, Royalists and Charles I's son, Charles Stuart. | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| |  <br>READ THROUGH THE SCOTLAND AND DUNBAR PARAGRAPH.<br><br>WHAT DOES THIS CARTOON SUGGEST ABOUT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHARLES STUART AND THE SCOTTISH COVENANTERS?<br><br>The Scottish Covenanters knew that Charles Stuart was willing to do whatever necessary in order to return himself to the throne. He was willing to accept taking the covenant in Scotland and to introduce Presbyterianism to England if he was successful in his counter revolution. However Charles was defeated by the NMA at Dunbar after he had looked like winning the battle. This further reinforced the NMA's belief in divine providence in their cause for Republicanism and godly rule. | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| |  Using your understanding of the historical context, assess how convincing the arguments in extracts 2, 3 and 4 are in relation to Cromwell's actions in Ireland. Pg 134<br>DO NOW – Were Cromwell's actions in Ireland justifiable? Why?<br>What was the main motivation for Cromwell's actions in Ireland; religion or politics? | |

| Extract | Overall message | Quote | Own knowledge | RTQ / mini conclusion |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |

Students to use this grid in order to plan and structure their essay. This follows examiner advice on how to structure extract question answers from previous analysis of exam answers.

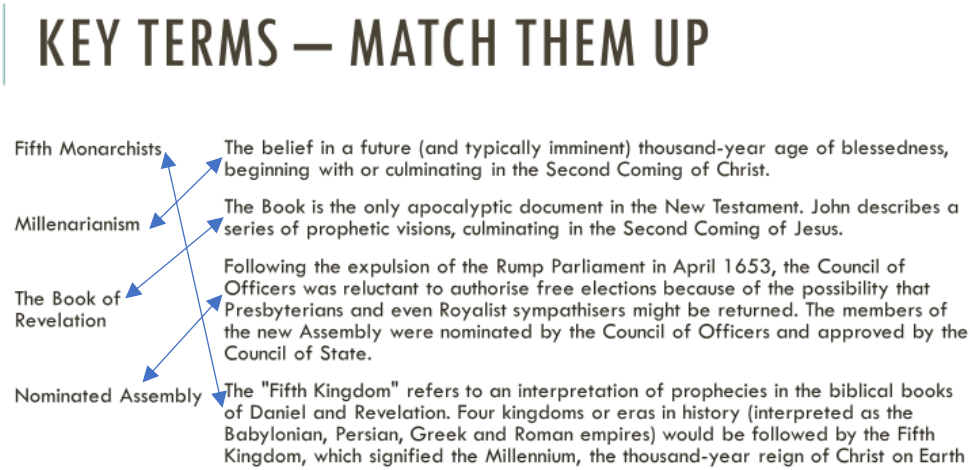
**Republicanism and the Rump.**

You Irish, unprovoked, put the English to the most unheard of and most barbarous massacre in 1641 (without respect of sex or age) that ever the sun beheld. And at a time when Ireland was in perfect peace. You are part of Antichirst, whose Kingdom the Scriptures so expressly speaks should be laid in blood. Before long, you must all of you have blood to drink; even the dregs of the cup of the fury and wrath of God, which will be poured out unto you.

*Cromwell's declaration to the Irish Catholic clergy (Jan 1650).*

Cromwell's guiding principle for the campaigns he waged in Ireland were mainly religious; he was a radical puritan and saw the Catholics as the anti-Christ.

**Why did Cromwell introduce the Nominated Assembly?**




The Rump's dissolution in 1653 left power in Cromwell's hands. Cromwell was not, however, interested in being a military dictator. As a political conservative, he sought another parliament as a means of settlement. The question was what kind of parliament and, more specifically, the means of selecting MPs. Cromwell decided to turn to those whom he felt could trust: the godly. The Fifth Monarchist Harrison in particular seems to have helped persuade Cromwell that this way was the way forward. But the army officers instead selected 139 MPs nominated by the separatist congregations across the country to form the next parliament, the Nominated Assembly.

**Why did the protectorates and major-generals fail?**

Extract on Lambert
http://bcw-project.org/biography/john-lambert
With the ending of the civil wars on the mainland of Britain, Lambert became actively involved in civilian politics as well as maintaining his military commands. He was one of the eight commissioners appointed to supervise the settlement of Scotland in October 1651. After the death of Henry Ireton, Parliament nominated Lambert to succeed him as Lord-Deputy in Ireland—but while he was preparing to leave for Ireland in May 1652, Parliament reorganised the Irish administration and voted to abolish the office of Lord-Deputy. Lambert refused the offer of a lesser appointment and Charles Fleetwood went to Ireland in his place. After this, Lambert became an active

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | opponent of the Rump Parliament. Apart from his disappointment over Ireland, he shared the impatience of fellow army officers over Parliament's lethargy in formulating a permanent form of government.<br>Lambert fully supported Cromwell when he forcibly dissolved Parliament in April 1653. In the constitutional discussions that followed the dissolution, Lambert proposed a small executive council to govern the nation, with powers limited by a written constitution. Lambert's proposal was passed over in favour of the Nominated Assembly or "Parliament of Saints" proposed by Major-General Harrison. Lambert declined a place in the Assembly and worked to undermine it. He collaborated with the moderates who organised the abdication of the Assembly's powers to Cromwell in December 1653. Furthermore, Lambert sent troops to subdue the protests of the radicals and to drive them from the Parliament House. He had already drafted the Instrument of Government—the written constitution that defined Cromwell's powers as Lord Protector—and he came to play a major role in the Protectorate through his energetic participation in key offices and committees. He was widely regarded as the probable successor as Lord Protector in the event of Cromwell's death.<br>After the failure of the First Protectorate Parliament in 1655, Lambert proposed the imposition of direct military government under the Rule of the Major-Generals. He was appointed Major-General of a large area of northern England, with his seat of government at York, but he preferred to remain at the centre of power in London and delegated the administration of his districts to his deputies Robert Lilburne and Charles Howard. However, a rift was developing between Lambert and Cromwell. They disagreed over the advisability of a war with Spain in 1654; Lambert's position was further undermined by the refusal of the Second Protectorate Parliament to grant taxes to finance the government of the Major-Generals, which led Cromwell to abandon the system early in 1657. The final split with Cromwell was over the terms of the Humble Petition and Advice. Lambert opposed moves towards a wholly civilian form of government and led the Army's opposition to Cromwell's acceptance of the offer of the Crown. He refused to take the oath of loyalty when Cromwell was installed as Lord Protector for life and was ordered to resign his commissions in July 1657. Lambert retired to his house in Wimbledon with his wife and ten children, where he devoted himself to gardening and artistic pursuits.<br>Consider…<br>Lambert’s relationship with Cromwell<br>His relationship with Parliament<br>Any positions of power that he held | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Mr. Speaker,<br><br>This plan of government that the Parliament has offered to me - truly I would have to be very self-confident for it not to cause me a great deal of stress. It is of so high and great importance, as is clear to all men by your introduction of it, and by the reading of it. It involves the welfare, the peace, the settlement of three nations, and all that rich treasure of the best people in the world. I say this thought alone ought to give me the greatest respect and fear of God that was ever held by a man in this world. .....<br><br>So I have just one word to say to you. Seeing you have moved forward in this business, and completed your part of the work, I want a short time to ask the advice of God and of my own heart! And I hope that neither the praise of weak or unwise people, nor the desires of people lusting after things that are not good, will steer me [wrong. I want to] give an answer that is honest and thankful, thankfully recognising your care and goodness, and an answer that is for the good of those that I presume you and I serve, and are ready to serve.<br><br>These extracts come from a speech that Cromwell made to Parliament in 1657. He was responding to the 'Humble Petition and Advice', which asked Cromwell to become king.<br>Cromwell was already Lord Protector. In 1657 Parliament asked him to accept the 'Humble Petition and Advice'. This was basically a new constitution or plan for government, which would make Cromwell king.<br>Cromwell eventually refused the crown. We do not know for sure why he did this. Most MPs wanted him to accept. However, most of the army officers and soldiers did not want him to become king. Some historians think that Cromwell refused the crown because he thought God would frown on him. Accepting the crown would show pride and ambition and Cromwell thought this would offend God.<br><br>**Charles II and the nature of the Restored Monarchy** | |

# Charles I v Cromwell

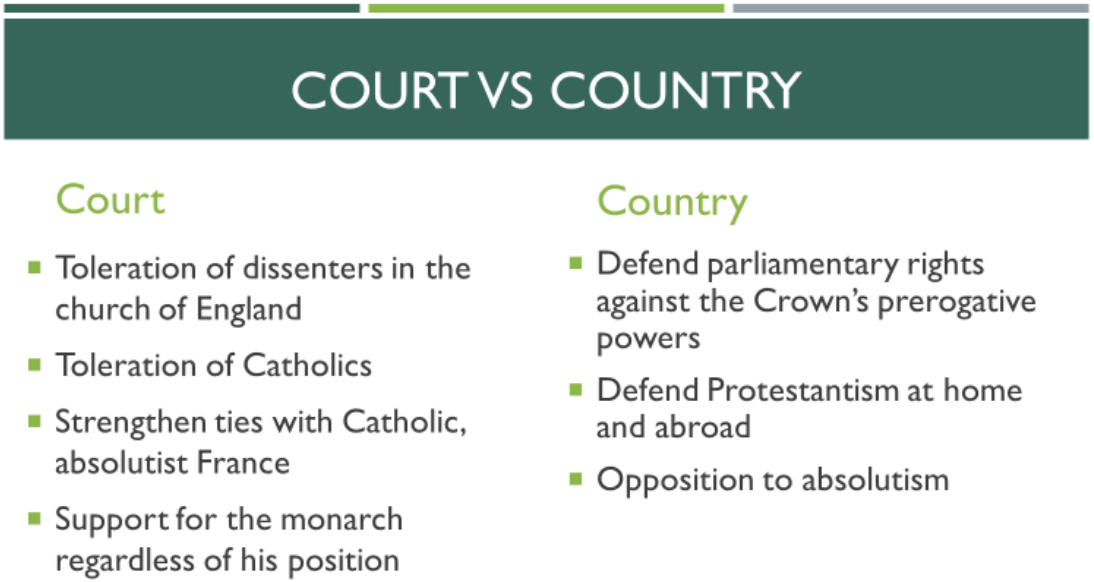
- Charles I
- POSITIVES – 1628 Petition of Right – Charles eventually compromised with MPs agreeing amongst other things that Parliament had to consent to taxation.
- - Charles had support from aristocracy who had military experience. Useful during ECW.
- - The King provided 'stability' that many in parliament wanted right up until his execution

- Cromwell
- POSITIVES – Cromwell was a go-between for parliaments and the army. He would often try and balance the two for the benefit of the country.
- There was attempts at reform throughout the Protectorates and Major-Generals.
- He rejected the kingship – showing ability to compromise that Charles didn't have.

Convention and Cavalier Parliaments – see page 159-161.

Earl of Clarendon
Hyde was elected MP for Saltash in the Long Parliament (November 1640). Although he supported the impeachment of the Earl of Strafford, he became associated with Viscount Falkland and Sir John Culpeper in a nascent Royalist party. Hyde opposed the Root and Branch Bill which threatened to abolish episcopacy, and in November 1641 he voted against the Grand Remonstrance which he regarded as too disruptive of the balance of power between King, Church and Parliament. Hyde's pamphlet in answer to the Remonstrance was adopted by King Charles and published as an official response entitled His Majesties' Declaration to all his Loving Subjects. From 1641, Hyde became an adviser to the King. He drafted most of the declarations issued in the King's name and attempted, where possible, to tone down his more reckless policies. Always acutely aware of legal and constitutional considerations, Hyde despaired at the King's attempt to arrest the Five Members in January 1642, but joined him at York in May, after which he was expelled from Parliament and denounced as one of the King's "evil councillors".

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | In February 1643, Hyde was knighted and appointed to the privy council; the following month he was made chancellor of the exchequer. During the autumn of 1643, he was appointed to the secret committee or "junto" which discussed all important matters with the King before they were put before the privy council. Hyde was anxious to reach a political settlement with Parliament rather than rely upon a military victory, and to this end he made efforts to win over key individuals to the King's cause. He advised the King to summon the alternative Oxford Parliament in December 1643, hoping to deprive the Long Parliament of its authority.<br>Shortly after the Restoration, a scandal broke when Hyde's daughter Anne (1637-71) was discovered to be pregnant. She claimed that James, Duke of York (later King James II), was the father and that they had been secretly married. Although James initially denied his marriage to a commoner, Anne was recognised as Duchess of York early in 1661. Hyde was offered a dukedom but, aware of his vulnerability to charges of deliberately insinuating himself into the royal family, he preferred to accept the lesser title of first Earl of Clarendon. Although Anne died before James became King, she was the mother of the future queens Mary and Anne.<br>Clarendon continued to hold the office of lord chancellor and was a strong influence during the early years of Charles II's reign. He favoured the Anglican church and opposed moves towards toleration of nonconformists. However, his caution and conservatism made him enemies in Parliament while his criticism of the loose morals of the Restoration court irritated the King and his ladies. As the King's chief minister, Clarendon became the scapegoat for England's defeat in the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665-7), even though he had opposed going to war against the Dutch.<br>Threatened with impeachment by Parliament, Clarendon went into exile in France where, despite chronic ill-health, he completed his history of the civil wars. He died at Rouen in December 1674. His body was returned to England and buried in Westminster Abbey. He was succeeded as second Earl of Clarendon by his eldest son, Henry Hyde (1638-1709).<br><br>**<u>The emergence of court and country parties</u>**. | |




Crypto-Catholics – Secret Catholics who kept their religion to themselves in order to keep political office.
Freethinkers – those outside the church and did not believe in the literal truth of the Bible. Natural thinkers.
Conventicle – a secret meeting of religious non-conformists.
Patronage – the power of a monarch to give jobs as a means of gaining loyalty.
Exclusion crisis – 1679-1681 Exclusion Bill sought to exclude James II from the throne because of his Roman Catholicism

The Crown's attempt to manage Parliament led to mutual mistrust and the emergence of division in the period 1673-78, when Danby was most influential. This division came to a head with the Exclusion Crisis, which was an attempt to exclude James, Duke of York, from the throne after 1678.

Some 'court' party members shared the beliefs of Charles
Others, more generally, supported Charles because of ambition
They acted as clients of the monarch in parliament, suggesting or supporting bills or proposals they knew the king wanted to proceed with
For example the CABAL functioned as a court party, despite their differences, to influence policy for the king.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | The differences between the court and country parties started to develop during the CABAL's phase of support. By the time the CABAL had collapsed in 1674, the 'country' party had added to its number the Duke of Buckingham and Earl of Shaftesbury both former CABAL members.<br>The country party began to coordinate itself – for example the 1674 founding of the Green Ribbon Club in a London tavern can be seen as a more formal organisation of an 'opposition' grouping.<br><br>How far can the emergence of distinct political groups in the reign of Charles II be linked to developments before 1660?<br>BEFORE CHARLES II – Long Parliament and the emergence of Royalist and Parliamentarian parties. Interregnum period and the emergence of Parliament vs NMA.<br>AFTER CHARLES II – COURT VS COUNTRY is the development of earlier divisions. Their beliefs and thinking can be traced back to earlier groups.<br><br>How far can the emergence of distinct political groups in the reign of Charles the II be linked to developments before 1660?<br>LONG TERM<br>The Root and Branch Petition – demanded the end of episcopacy driven by Puritan forces. Many saw this as the dismantling of the C of E. Forced people to take distinct sides.<br>Ten Propositions – confirmed the radicalism of Parliament – wanted parliamentary input into the Privy Council, those around the queen.<br>Grand Remonstrance – list of criticisms of the king and his government since 1625. Alarmed moderates creating divisions.<br>Removal of the Rump 1653 – NMA successes in Ireland and Scotland made them believe that they God's instruments on earth, which led to clashes and eventual removal of the Rump.<br><br>SHORT TERM<br>Court party – can be seen to develop from the Royalist parties of the early 1640s. Support for the monarch regardless of his position, Toleration of dissenters in the church of England (support of Armenianism for eg) CABAL and Danby.<br>Country party – can be seen to develop from the Parliamentarian parties of the early 1640s. Support of Parliamentary privilege over the crowns prerogative. Organisation of the opposition party at the Green Ribbon Club in London.<br>Exclusion Crisis – the two distinct groups came to the fore when discussing the Exclusion Crisis.<br><br>**<u>Religious divisions and conflicts UNDER CHARLES II.</u>** | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | • Religious problems were not of Charles' own making.<br>• Conservative political nation wanted their views to be mirrored in the Church of England.<br>• They chose to ignore the diversity of views that had come about since the 1640s.<br>• Charles was generally more tolerant than Parliament when it came to Catholics in particular.<br>• But also fluctuated between toleration for dissenters, something which Parliament did not do. Charles' attitude towards Quakers and Baptists was however, particularly harsh.<br>• The figure for dissenters outside of the Church of England remit set by the Cavalier Parliament was between 200,000 and 300,000.<br>• For many Protestant dissenters, the restoration of the monarchy was felt as punishment for failing to establish godly rule in England after 1649.<br><br>**How were religious disputes dealt with?**<br>1664 Conventicle Act.<br>• This stated that religious meetings of 5 or more people were forbidden.<br>• If you were caught three times, the punishment could be transportation into exile.<br>• However, when the act expired in 1668 , Charles did not seek to have it renewed. Why do you think this was this the case?<br>• Charles II wanted a more comprehensive (more inclusive) church. When the act expired, dissenters were able to meet more freely.<br>• In 1669, as a reaction to the lapsing of the Conventicle Act, the Commons refused to grant Charles II a subsidy of £300,000. This led to a desired outcome, for in 1670 Charles allowed a more rigid Conventicle Act in return for parliamentary funds.<br>• But in March 1672 Charles issued a Declaration of Indulgence. It stated his suspending power in relation to all the penal laws against Catholics and dissenters.<br>• As a consequence, if the preacher had a royal licence, dissenters could worship in public.<br>• Many in the political nation were suspicious of Charles' motives.<br><br>Summary<br>• Charles II's desire to broaden the Church of England was stopped by the Political Nation, who largely remained more conservative than their monarch.<br>• The resulting rigid Anglican Church alienated many dissenters who were mainly moderate and wanted to be loyal to the church and state.<br>• Those dissenters regarded as more radical, such as Quakers, suffered great persecution. Over 450 Quakers died in prison under Charles II.<br>• Outward resistance to the Restoration religious settlement was limited because dissenters became less politically active. | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | • Religion was becoming a more personal, than public and political, issue.<br><br>**<u>How important were the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis?</u>**<br>• In 1669 James' Catholicism became public knowledge.<br>• James then refused to swear an oath of loyalty to the Church of England in 1673 under the Test Act.<br>• Charles II had no legitimate children.<br>• Again in 1673 James married for a second time to a 15-year-old Catholic Princess.<br><br>Titus Oates and the Popish Plot<br>historylearningsite.co.uk.<br>The Popish Plot of 1678 was the result of the fertile mind of Titus Oates. In fact, no Popish Plot existed but the circumstances within the country at the time resulted in many listening to what Oates had to say.<br>Titus Oates was a renegade who had joined the Church after Cambridge University but was dismissed from his post for drunken blasphemy. He became the chaplain for a Royal Naval ship, the 'Adventurer', but he was dismissed from this as well for sodomy.<br>To get some elevation in society after his fall from grace, it seems that Oates discovered a plot to kill the king – what became known as the 'Popish Plot'. This was a plot 'uncovered' by Oates after he managed to infiltrate Jesuits based in London. The plan was to kill the king, Charles II, and replace him with his Catholic brother James. Then thousands of Protestants would be killed in a blood bath.<br>It was all nonsense – the invention of a fertile if warped mind – but events at the time conspired to assist Oates. In 1666 many Londoners had blamed the Catholics for the Great Fire – so blaming the Catholics was not new. London was also in the grip of an economic depression and many were unemployed. Catholics became a convenient scapegoat who could be blamed for just about anything.<br>Oates gave, under oath, an account of what he had found out from the Jesuits. This account was made to a magistrate called Sir Edmund Geoffrey. He was found murdered in London a while after Oates had given his statement. This only served to heighten tension as many blamed the Catholics for taking their revenge out on a man who was only doing his job.<br>In September, Oates named many Catholics as being part of the conspiracy. Charles II treated his claims with huge scepticism but Parliament latched on to them and argued that they should be investigated. Oates was given a state apartment in Whitehall and an annual allowance of £1,200.<br>He also gained much credibility when one of the first names he gave – Edward Coleman – was found to be in treasonable communication with the French. This played into the hands of Oates and 'proved' that his claims were true. Coleman had been a secretary to the Catholic Duke of York. To many in London, Oates' story seemed to make perfect sense. Known Catholics were ordered to leave London and many Protestants in the city openly carried weapons to defend themselves against the impending Catholic 'onslaught'. This hysteria played into the hands of Oates and only served to elevate his status in London. | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Oates continued with his campaign. He accused five leading Catholic lords of treason. This was greeted with laughter by Charles II. The king personally questioned Oates and found many large discrepancies in his story. Oates upped his story by accusing the queen and the royal doctor of plotting to poison Charles. The king was not willing to accept such nonsense and ordered the arrest of Oates. However, he was saved by Parliament such was the paranoia he had created. Unwilling to take on Parliament, Charles agreed not to proceed with the arrest. By the end of 1678, Parliament had passed two acts that forbade Catholics from being members of both the Commons and the Lords.<br>Oates constantly made outrageous claims that were believed. One was that the king would be shot by silver bullets so that the wound could not be treated. Some even believed that the French had invaded the Isle of Purbeck.<br>It was only in 1681, that senior legal figures started to question what had gone on. Judge Scroggs declared innocent men accused of treason by Oates. In previous years, Catholics had been executed near enough on the say so of Oates and the 'evidence' he presented. Scroggs even declared some of the executed posthumously innocent.<br>The fall from grace for Oates was swift. The Popish Plot showed just how easy it was to create an enemy that did not exist. Such was the fragility of society that even someone like Oates with his background, could be believed.<br>The Popish Plot ended as quickly as it had begun, though one of the lasting legacies was that Catholics were forbidden to stand as MP's or in the Lords for many more years. However, a number of Catholics had been executed as a result of the hysteria created. Oates was sent to prison for perjury but was released in 1688 by William III with a weekly income of £10. For the short-term chaos he had created, it was probably not a deserved outcome.<br>Titus Oates and the Popish Plot<br>historytoday.co.uk.<br><br>The Popish Plot panic of 1679 exploded in response to allegations of a Jesuit conspiracy to murder Charles II, restore the Roman Catholic faith as the state religion of England and establish a French-backed tyranny under the King's brother James, Duke of York, whose Catholic and autocratic sympathies were well known. The threat struck a deep chord in the public psyche. The House of Commons was fully convinced that there was 'a damnable and hellish plot'. People swarmed to burn the pope in effigy on bonfires. Various Catholics were convicted of involvement and some were executed, and a fierce campaign was launched to bar the Duke of York from the throne.<br><br>At the heart of it all was the unlovely figure of Titus Oates, fantasist and virtuoso liar. A former naval chaplain, expelled from the service for homosexuality, he was in his late twenties in 1677 when, 'lulled asleep by the allurements of the Popish Syrenes' as he later put it, he was received into the Catholic church. He went to the English Jesuit College at Valladolid in Spain, where he was described as 'a curse' and soon expelled, then wheedled his way into a Catholic school at St Omer in France, to be quickly expelled once more. Deeply dislikable, ugly, foul- | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | mouthed, unsuccessful and painfully poor, he seems by this time to have been bent on revenge on the world that had rejected him, and he came back to England with the tale of a sensational conspiracy.<br><br>The panic died down in time and the tide turned against Oates. When he was tried for perjury in 1685, Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys called him 'a shame to mankind' and said it was a reproach to the nation that innocent people had suffered death because of him. Oates was duly convicted, sentenced to prison, put in the pillory and whipped at the cart's tail bellowing horribly from Aldgate to Newgate and two days later from Newgate to Tyburn. Released from prison after William III's accession, he presently took a rich wife, ran rapidly through her money, was reduced to poverty again and became preacher at a Baptist chapel in Wapping. Still harping on about Catholic iniquities, Oates went down well, but in 1699 he arrogantly disrupted the obsequies of a woman who had failed to ask him to preach her funeral sermon and he was thrown out once more. In trouble again in 1702 for hitting a woman with his cane, he disappeared at last into well-deserved obscurity. He was in his middle fifties when he died in Axe Yard in Westminster, almost completely forgotten.<br><br>What was the Exclusion Crisis?<br>• The Exclusion Crisis was an argument as to whether James, Charles II's brother, should be allowed to take the throne once his brother had passed away.<br>• This argument was created because James was Catholic.<br>• The Popish Plot accelerated the Exclusion Crisis. There was a lot of fear in England that there was a Catholic uprising on the horizon that would put James in charge at the expense of his brother.<br>• Charles had to stand up to 'exclusionists' who wanted James to be banned from taking the throne.<br><br>See page 189/190 – why exclusion failed rank order.<br><br>**<u>The establishment of constitutional monarchy.</u>**<br>Charles' court<br>• Mirrored that of his grandfathers, James.<br>• Leading courtiers were debauched, eg the Earl of Rochester died at the age of 33 from alcoholism and syphilis. This undermined the image of the divine right of the monarchy.<br>• There were a number of high profile Catholics at court – Charles' mother, Charles' wife (Catherine), Charles' brother (James) and George Digby (Earl of Bristol).<br>• Charles however kept the Catholics in court under control, it was the outward appearance that troubled many.<br>• Charles wished to emulate his cousin Louis XIV of France. This was more to do with his absolutism than Catholicism.<br>• Many of Charles' mistresses were also Catholic – this promoted the merry monarch stereotype. | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Why did some in parliament and the political nation at large wish to exclude James II from the throne?<br>Consider the following and discuss with your partner whether exclusion was necessary?<br>• Charles was only three years older than James, so it was quite possible that James would die before Charles anyway.<br>• Until 1688 James had no male heir.<br>• After James' death, the throne could pass to either of his protestant daughters, Mary or Anne.<br><br>James II<br>• Was naturally authoritarian and was inflexible<br>• His ultimate aim was to improve the position of Catholics and give them power<br>• He wanted to repeal the penal laws against Catholics and dissenters<br>• However his attitudes towards dissenters was inconsistent. He suspended penal laws against them but would not allow them into universities or serve as army officers<br>• At the start of his reign James declared 'never depart from the just rights and prerogative of the Crown'<br>• Despite the strength of his position in 1685 James failed to recognise that the Tories' loyalty was to an intolerant Church of England rather than a monarch who wanted to alter the religious settlement of the country radically<br><br>Using your understanding of the historical context, assess how convincing the arguments in Extracts 1, 2 and 3 are in relation to political divisions to 1685 | |

# What I came up with...

- EXTRACT 1 – Political instability was due to long-term issues and were exasperated by Charles and the 'popish' threat.
- EXTRACT 2 – Catholic succession was a big issue and exclusion was a logical way of dealing with this. Became necessary to go through with it.
- EXTRACT 3 – Whigs failed to convince moderates that exclusion was the right thing to do due to the strengths of the Tory side.

# Quotations...

- EXTRACT 1 – 'long-standing tensions and uncertainties about the nature of Church and state'. 'threat posed by popery and arbitrary government.' 'These issues were not resolved in 1681.'
- EXTRACT 2 – 'fear of future tyranny and retribution led logically to the demand for Exclusion' 'it became a matter of self-preservation to go through with it.'
- EXTRACT 3 - 'result of policy and police:' 'remove Whigs from power at the central and local levels' 'intimidate'

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | **Extract 1**<br><br>Extract 1 suggests that there was a split between Whigs and Tories due to the unsolved issues of the restoration settlement. There is also a suggestion that the issue of popery and arbitrary government has not been remedied. 'split between Whigs and Tories grew out of long standing tensions and uncertainties about the nature of Church and state'. There was fear of James' Catholicism, that had been hidden from the Political Nation due to rising anti-Catholicism during the 1670s. This anti-Catholicism grew due to the Popish Plot in the late 1670s. Titus Oates' fabricated story that James was plotting to overthrow Charles with the help of France and Jesuit priests' created an atmosphere of tension that split the Whigs and Tories in their support of the monarch. This, coupled with the rising power of France in continental Europe, paved the way for Whigs in particular to question the judgement of their monarch, due to his ties with Catholicism and absolutist France. Creating a political split between the Tories and themselves, making the extract very convincing.<br><br>**<u>To what extent was the power of the monarchy threatened in the years 1660 to 1687?</u>** | |

## To what extent was the power of the monarchy threatened in the years 1660 to 1687?

| Was challenged | Was not challenged |
|---|---|
| ▪ Exclusion crisis? | ▪ Exclusion crisis? |
| ▪ Duke of Monmouth rebellion | ▪ Declaration of Indulgence |
| ▪ Popish plot | ▪ Oxford Parliament |
| ▪ Conflict over Catholic influence at court | ▪ Secret treaty of March 1681 |
| ▪ Persecution of dissenters | ▪ Trial of Thomas Harrison 1660 |

**The 'Glorious Revolution' and its consolidation.**

Charles II's defeat of the attempts to exclude his brother and heir, James, from the throne saw Charles emerge in the years 1681-85 as the strongest of the Stuart monarchs.

James inherited that position in 1685 and sought to use it to promote the interests of his Catholic co-religionists. By 1687 his whole ruling circle was Catholic, but this did not provoke resistance. On the whole, the elite remained passive. This gave James the confidence of success with his next parliament.

However the English elite were alienated enough not to support him. James mistook the Tory support from 1681 to 1685 as support for him rather than the monarchy they wanted, which was Protestant and NOT absolute.

See page 195-198 for the events of the Glorious Revolution.

**Government under William III and Mary**

- William's chief priority was the war in Europe – particularly the conflict with Louis XIV.
- His approach to government was shaped by his desire to defeat France.
- He therefore accepted cabinet government – a small group of ministers who would provide advice and direction for the crown.
- Cabinet government was seen as the most efficient way of administrating a war effort.
- Due to the rise of cabinet government the importance of the court as a political force was reduced.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Why did Parliament meet so regularly?<br>• Parliament met every year from 1689, when William and Mary became joint monarchs.<br>• Parliament's increased importance was due to its ability to finance the Crown (and William's European war) through greater taxation.<br>• During the 1690s appropriation begun; Parliament would specify a purpose for the money they granted.<br>• As part of this some bills included clauses to address constitutional issues.<br>• Most important of these was the use of financial power to encourage William's acceptance of the 1694 Triennial Act, which said that Parliament had to meet every year and general elections were held every 3 years.<br><br>William's first Parliament 1690-95<br>• Act of Grace passed to pardon the majority for their actions before the Glorious Revolution of 1688.<br>• Commission of Public Accounts 1690. Members were chosen by Parliament to review state finances. In Nov 1691 the commission's report attacked the government for wasting money and recommended cuts to the army and the navy.<br>• In the first two parliamentary sessions between 1690-91 £4,600,000 in grants was approved. This was due to Danby and Nottingham management of MPs but also because MPs were fearful of Louis XIV and James II.<br>• During the third and fourth sessions (Oct 1691 to Mar 1693) Whigs and Tories joined together to propose the Treason Trial Bill and the Judges' Bill to limit the monarch's prerogative in legal matters.<br>• The joining of these groups was seen as a move towards a country position. The Lords defeated the first bill and William vetoed the second.<br>• Despite Parliament's voting of £4 million for the war by a proposed land tax, their was criticism of the cost and conduct of the war.<br>• This led to a 'blue water' strategy; a cheaper, naval campaign, another example of a country position. William looked to appoint new ministers to aid him in his fight against Louis XIV.<br>• The developing country position led to the Earl of Sunderland becoming one of William's advisers.<br>• The Junto Whigs were appointed on Sunderland's advice. These people were:<br>  ○ Shrewsbury, Secretary of State<br>  ○ Edward Russell, Admiral<br>  ○ Montagu, Chancellor of the Exchequer<br>• All the Junto Whigs had connections with the City of London and to 'monied interests' and they were able to provide William a means to fund his war.<br><br>Second Parliament 1695-98<br>• Opposition to war and the Junto Whigs developed. | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | • The country opposition focused on:<br>  ○ Apparent escalation in involvement in the war<br>  ○ The influence of Dutch advisers<br>  ○ Increasing land taxes<br>  ○ The Bank of England<br>  ○ The influence of the 'monied men'.<br>• These issues symbolised changes that would threaten them. Their influence would decline.<br>• The Junto Whigs were undermined by the 'country' opposition BUT had a short-term advantage as there was an assassination attempt on the king in Feb 1696.<br>• An oath was imposed on office holders to swear to William as 'the rightful and lawful king', but many Tories could not bring themselves to do this because they only saw William as the de facto king.<br>• The Whigs also organised themselves into something more like a political party.<br>• The 1697 Treaty of Ryswick ended the European war, and this undermined the position of the Junto Whigs because it removed their key hold over William.<br><br>Third and Fourth Parliament see page 221 222.<br><br>To what extent did the power of the monarchy change in the period 1681 to 1701? [25 marks]<br>• Popish Plot<br>• Exclusion crisis?<br>• Oxford Parliament<br>• Duke of Monmouth's rebellion<br>• James' first parliament – extension of the army to 20,000<br>• Glorious Revolution<br>• The Bill of Rights 1689<br>• Parliament met every year from 1689<br>• Appropriation<br>• Cabinet government<br>• Triennial Act 1694<br>• Act of Settlement 1701 – excluded 57 Catholics, any non-English monarch had to have consent of parliament to start a war, all government was to be completed in the Privy Council to prevent secret advisers.<br><br>**How did religious toleration change under William and Mary?**<br>Make brief notes on the changes to Anglicans' positions, Protestant dissenters and Catholics. (211-214). | |

**The condition of Britain and its monarchy by 1702.**

- **The Church of England by 1702**
- The Glorious Revolution meant that high Anglican clergymen who dominated since the 1660s lost influence.
- The refusal of high clergymen, such as William Sancroft the Archbishop of Canterbury, to approve the revolution led to their removal.
- William preferred latitudinarians, who dominated the church by 1702.
- Religious toleration improved but the high Anglicans remained influential among the average clergymen and gentry.

- **Non-Conformism by 1702**
- Whereas the high Anglicans wanted the state to protect their position, latitudinarians believed that a church that appealed to most people would combat the threat of non-conformists.
- This led to tension within the church but there was a gradual realisation that religious toleration was better for political stability.
- This position was helped by the moderate nature of most dissenters, which proved the limited political threat that they posed.

- **Catholicism by 1702**
- Anti-Catholicism was a major part of English Protestantism.
- The Glorious Revolution and the Act of Settlement highlighted anti-Catholic feeling in England.
- Catholics were seen as a threat because – they had a majority in Ireland, the catholic French monarchy was very powerful in Europe.
- Ireland's Protestantisation – by 1702, whilst only making up 20% of the population, Protestants owned 86% of the land. All MPs in the Irish Parliament had to take an oath denying key Catholic beliefs.

See pages 223 and 224 for the Act of Settlement.