Parliament also divided between National Church Presbyterians and those wanting to allow religious toleration - liberty for 'tender consciences.' Presbyterian and Independents also divided on the King - to the P, the King was indispensable but to the I, the King had to be forced to come to terms. Presbyterian and Independents also divided on taxes - Presbyterian wanted lower taxes, Independents wanted higher.

**New Model Army:** The politicisation of NMA, its relations with Levellers, attempts to settle with Charles, Role of Key Army Figures - Looked at the Levellener plan to reduce taxes and told them to take a hike! That was for their pay! - Wanted Pay and Indemnity after the Civil War Army become politicised - Independents no longer fully representing their views. Owed about £3 Million in arrears and feared royalist uprising if disbanded. In April 1647, Holles issues Declaration of Dislike - declaring that soldiers petitioning to Parliament were 'enemies of the state.' Army officers and men elect a General Council of the Army. June 1647, Army seize the king - issue Heads of the Proposals Army split between Rank and File members (agitators) and Grandees who issue the Heads of the Proposals (seen as sell-outs) Putney Debates - Army divisions had been exposed - King escapes and starts Second Civil War - Parliament continue to negotiate. Windsor Prayer Meeting - refer to Charles as a "man of blood." Pride's Purge carried out in December 1648 only allowing MP’s into parliament who would put the king on trial.

**Radicalism:** - Picked up steam because the army were camped outside London and Levellers were joining the regiments. - Levellers elect agitators to produce The Case of the Army Truly Stated and Agreement of the People

**The Scots:** Expected the war to end with Presbyterian settlement - but kept up in England to match Scotland, seize king in 1646. Parliament not keen and want to pay Scots off. Scots hand over King to Parliament in January 1647. The Scots are not happy with the outcome of this and therefore sign the engagement with Charles in 1648.

**HISTORIOGRAPHY!**

H Shaw: Emphasised the socio-economic conditions of the period as factors causing the development of Radicalism. Conditions blocked upward mobility for those at the level of copyholder in rural areas and craftsmen in the towns. The dislocation of the economy caused by war, along with a series of poor harvests in 1646 increased the frustration felt by these groups. They came up with Radical solutions.

Hill: Hill argues that long-term socio-economic trends encouraged the breakdown of feudal ties of obligation and obedience and the existence of a greater proportion of wage-earners. This led to an increase in the numbers of masterless men. This, he claims, created the conditions in which radicalism became a possibility. Hill even identifies class antagonism as a characteristic of pre-civil war disputes. He demonstrates that the
HISTORIOGRAPHY!

Dorothy Osborne (Contemporary) 'If Mr Pym were alive again I wonder what he would think of these proceedings, and whether his would appear as great a breach of privilege of Parliament as the demanding of the five members.'

Dissolution of Rump removed the notion of King, Lords and Commons. Now, you have Lambert’s republican vision of a small government and Thomas Harrison’s Fifth Monarchist vision of an assembly of Godly men.

Barebones Parliament replaces Rump:
140 Members were selected including 6 seats form Ireland and Scotland. Cromwell did not take a seat but did open it (Kingly action)
He did not want it to be mistaken for a Parliament.

War with the Dutch reaching its climax - Council of State present Dutch with terms they could not accept - English win final big battle - both sides recognised that they needed the fighting to stop but the Nominated Assembly had no high diplomatic experience.
Cromwell declared that the Nominated Assembly would quickly arrange a new constitutional settlement and disband
Instead, the Nominated Assembly called themselves a Parliament - Fifth Monarchists made everything very difficult - legal reforms and compulsory tithes would break them.

HISTORIOGRAPHY!

Coward 'Most progress was made on law reform. Acts were passed for the relief of creditors and poor, civil marriages carried out by JPs were legalised. To fill the gap left by the collapse of the church courts, machinery was established for the probate of wills and for registration of births, marriages and deaths.'

Issues of Tithes
Tithes had long been a source of discontent. They legally obligated a parishioner to pony up cash to support a minister they probably had no say choosing, often didn't like and sometimes hadn't even met.
The Puritan Reform movement held the notion that congregation should choose its own ministers and then support them voluntarily.
Complicating the matter was the right to collect tithes had slowly passed into the hands of laymen - in fact, by the time of the revolution, 1/3 of tithes were collected by landlords. These tithes were inherited in the families and considered a form of property - abolishing them would be direct assault on the freeborn rights that John Lilburne had been ranting about.
Barebones split between those in favour of reforming the system to correct the worst abuses and those, more radical, in favour of outright abolition.

Legal Issues
The other issue that fractured Barebones was legal reform. Similar split, those who wanted to tweak the system to make it less corrupt and those who wanted to scrap it completely. Fifth Monarchists worsened the splits because they argued that biblical law was all that anyone needed!
The committee that was setup to handle legal reform was moving in a conservative direction based in part on the work of the Hale Commission.
One day, however, the Radicals found themselves in the majority and voted to setup a
separate committee whose task would be devise a whole new model of law. Two committees working towards opposite ends. Barebones was now completely split. End of 1653, things began to go down hill. Radicals attacked Council of State and Assembly because Harrison almost lost his seat. Attendance dropped. John Lambert had given up on the assembly - he had become a political philosopher - he had spent the Autumn of 1653 writing the Instrument of Government.

**July - August 1653**

Foreign Policy forced Cromwell to intervene the Nominated Assembly, had no experience of negotiations and were divided when dealing with Dutch War.

**Decembe r 1653**

Barebones Parliament Dissolved:

Tithes broke Barebones Parliament. The moderates wanted to reform the system but the Radicals, Conservatives and some behind Lambert who playing Devil's Advocate voted against it.

On December 12th, the moderates convened in Parliament early morning. The radicals were outnumbered. Moderates began to denounce them for destroying the legitimacy of the Assembly. Soldiers came in and forcibly dissolved the session.

The moderates collectively resigned, Cromwell knew something was up, had already seen a copy of Lambert's constitution idea but held out in the hope that the Assembly would persevere.

When he accepted their mass resignation, he claimed to be surprised but he can't have been that surprised.

For the second time in a year, the political system of England had collapsed onto the shoulders of Oliver Cromwell.

**HISTORIOGRAPHY**

**Woolrych:** When talking about dissolution 'The finger points not at Cromwell but irresistibly at Lambert' He enacted a coup to establish Cromwell as Lord Protector.

**Clarendon:** His damning assessment was that it was full of ‘weak and senseless fellows’

**Coward:** Discusses the lack of support from the mainstream because of the way the Rump was dissolved and the betrayal they felt ‘Rumpers could not forgive what they saw as a violation of parliamentary privileges’

‘For Cromwell and the army, the end of the Barebones' Parliament solved nothing’

Instrument of Government is introduced.

Next day, Cromwell sworn in as Lord Protector.
Instrument of Government loosely based on Heads of the Proposals, grounded in the theory of separate powers.
Instrument of Government divided power between three interlocking, mostly co-equal branches - Parliament, Council and Lord Protector.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parliament</th>
<th>Council</th>
<th>Lord Protector</th>
<th>Scotland</th>
<th>Ireland</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>400 Members for England, 30 each for Scotland and Ireland</td>
<td>13-20 members that would serve for life. Once a councilor was in.</td>
<td>King is all but name. Not like the King Charles I had tried to be but rather what</td>
<td>After defeat of Charles II at Worcester, the Rump had intended to simply annex the</td>
<td>Rather than limiting blame to certain rebel leaders, English seemed to blame the Irish</td>
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of government.  
Aimed to legitimize the constitution since it came from an elected Parliament.  
Included proposals for the re-introduction of a second House of Parliament and for the establishment of a national church regulated by a Confession of Faith.  
25th March: Parliament vote to offer Crom the Kingship by a majority of 2 to 1.

Number of people who thought that it needed to be revised in a particular way, the entire socio-political structure of England was built around the idea of a Monarchy.  
In February 1657, a bill was introduced into the house called the **Humble Petition and Advice** - it was designed to supersede the IOG and the Major-Generals... it did the following:

- Reform of Constitution - create an upper legislative house, modelled on the House of Lords which would act as a check on the passions of the commons.  
- Decided how Executive Councillors would be chosen - making it easier to remove if they proved untrustworthy.  
- A King would be put back at the center of England's constitutional system.

| May 1657 | Cromwell accepts the HPA and rejects the offer of the Crown: Army did its best to dissuade Cromwell from accepting the Crown. Being King would limit his powers. God's decision - providence - if God wanted Cromwell to be King he would have been born into royalty so it was clear to him that God wanted him to lead not to rule. He feared the sin of pride. He 'wields more authority' without the position of King. May be unable to fulfil his quest for Godly reform. |
| June 1657 | Cromwell's 'coronation as Protector': First session of the Second Parliament ends.  
Rest of 1657 had a lot to do with foreign affairs - on the international front Cromwell was still holding out hope that he would able to create a protestant alliance. Sweden and Denmark were about to go to war and the Dutch were negotiating with the Spanish about an anti-British alliance. Cromwell settled on a continuation of the alliance with France - the two countries agreed to a one-year partnership based on a very specific set of objectives:  
- Seizing 3 Spanish-held cities on what is today the Northern Coast of France.  
- Britain would supply Navy and 6,000 infantry.  
- France would supply a land army 20,000 strong.  
- Britain would get Dunkirk and Mardyke  
- France would get Grovline  
Getting Dunkirk would allow control of access to the North Sea and get the Spanish to think twice about trying to run Charles back into power because Dunkirk was the logical platform for it. The invasion of Dunkirk would not happen until Spring, so, meanwhile in London... |
| January 1658 | Second session of the Second Protectorate Parliament begins Republican attack the new constitution: opposed the form of government not Cromwell, channel their opposition through the Parliaments and saw the removal of the Rump as the removal of legit authority in Parliament. Under the Humble Petition, Parliament itself now held control over which members would |

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