whether the opposition of the gentry was based on religious grounds or on grounds of their own prospects of personal gain from a limited monarchy. Laud also used his authority over the prerogative courts to punish many people, including Puritan martyr Willia Prynne.

- Strafford was Lord deputy of Ireland and domiciled in Ireland for much of the personal rule. He left the running of England largely down to Laud, although the application of Thorough in Ireland was entirely down to Strafford. The fear that Strafford instilled in the Irish through the policy of “Thorough” can be demonstrated when looking at the ease in which Strafford extracted subsidies from the Irish Parliament as the Second Bishops War approached during 1640.

6. Why was Wentworth so unpopular in Ireland?

- In long run his successes were turned, in hands of opposition, into failures.
- The religious problem in Ireland was too deep seated to be solved.
- The existing native Catholics, Old English, New English and Ulster Presbyterians resisted Laud’s brand of Anglicanism.
- The Primate of Ireland, the Archbishop of Armagh, was of Calvinist outlook. He resented the activities of the Court of High Commission and Wentworth’s religious policies closely involved the land problem in Ireland.
- He tried to regain impropriated tithes and on lands at expense of powerful enemies such as Earl of Cork.
- Historian Terence Ranger maintains that, in many of these cases, Wentworth was both prosecutor and judge, defy existing situations in the common law and showing a lack of political judgment overall.
- His policy for increasing Crown lands was ruthless, but of limited success.
- He rode roughshod over lord Falkland’s Graces, but failed to secure plantation of Connacht.
- Earl of Clanricarde challenged his policies in Galway in English Privy Council.
- Until crisis in Scotland, Wentworth had certainly ruled ruthlessly in interests of King.
- To that extent, he was efficient administrator.
- His policies were those of confrontation rather than compromise.
- Both Hugh Kearney and Terence Ranger show how Wentworth alienated the two groups upon which he might have built a power base: the Protestant New English and the Catholic Old English.
- This was partly due to his nature, but largely because of his church policies.
- These may have originated in his need to keep Laud as an ally in England.
• Just looking at sheer numbers of emigrants is ambiguous – we don’t know why people left the country.

• Ship money:
  o Only after 1637 were there problems with its collection.
  o In 1635 and 1636 respectively 98% and 96% of tax imposed was collected.
  o In 1637 91% of tax imposed was collected but much more slowly than in other years.
  o 1638 only 80% was collected and in 1639 only 25% was collected.

• Historians K. Sharpe and Clarendon both argue that opposition only in last three years.

• Clarendon says “[The First Bishops’ War] was the first alarm England received towards any trouble, after it had enjoyed for so many years the most uninterrupted prosperity, in a full and plentiful peace, that any nation could be blessed with”.

• Sharpe noted that there may have been some tensions before 1637 but they were not serious tensions and posed no threat. However the war with Scotland gave the people the opportunity to express their discontents, as well as creating further problems. He writes “At court, the decision to fight the scots meant the end of domestic reform, a crash from financial stability to indebtedness and the distraction of the council from the business of normal government. In the counties, that decision, like the wars of the 1620s, strained the fabric of local government and threatened the peace of local society.”

Prelude to War: 1640-42

1. Why was the Short Parliament called?
   • Short parliament was a Parliament of England that sat from 13 April to 5 May 1640.
   • Lasted only three weeks.
   • After 11 years of personal rule, Charles recalled Parliament in 1640 on the advice of Strafford (Wentworth).
   • He was forced to call Short Parliament primarily to obtain money to finance his military struggle with Scotland in the Bishops’ Wars.

2. Why was parliament dissolved so soon?
   • like its predecessors, the new parliament had greater interest in redressing perceived grievances occasioned by the royal administration than in voting the King funds to pursue his war against the Scottish Covenanters.
In spring of 1644 he was brought to trial which ended without a verdict: as with Strafford it proved impossible to point to any specific action which could be seen as treasonable. Parliament took up the issue and eventually passed a bill of attainder (act of legislature declaring a person guilty of some crime and punishing them often without trial) under which he was beheaded on 10 January 1645 on Tower Hill, notwithstanding being granted a royal pardon.

- Strafford:
  - Chief target of attack from Scotland and England when Long Parliament called in Nov 1640.
  - He was advised to leave the country but the King relied on his help and assured him he should not suffer in life or fortune.
  - November 10 the leader of Commons, John Pym, impeached Strafford before he could take his seat in the House of Lords.
  - His trial began in March 1641.
  - 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.
  - The Commons passed it by a large majority; the Lords, intimidated by popular rioting, passed it, too, but by a much smaller majority.
  - Strafford wrote to 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, had always worked.

7. What role did Pym play in events?
   - Pym and his supporters drafted the Grand Remonstrance in an attempt to undermine confidence in the King and his advisers.

8. What was the Root and Branch petition?
   - Petition presented to Long Parliament on December 11 1640.
   - Petition had been signed by 15,000 Londoners and was presented to the English Parliament by a crowd of 1,500.
- Battle resulted in standoff between forces of Charles I and much larger Parliamentarian army under command of Earl of Essex.
- In blocking the Royalist army’s way to London, however, the Parliamentarians gained an important strategic victory as the standoff forced Charles and his army to retreat to Oxford for secure winter quarters.

- **Adwalton Moor – 30 June 1643:**
  - Earl of Newcastle, Royalist commander, was marching on Bradford which was Parliamentarian in sympathy.
  - Fairfax, Parliamentary commander, had fewer men but came to intercept the Royalist army as Bradford was ill-prepared to resist a siege.
  - The strong Royalists defeated the Parliamentarians.

- **Marston Moor - 2 July 1644:**
  - 7pm Parliamentarian army launched surprise attack and following a confused fight lasting only 2 hours, Parliamentary cavalry under Oliver Cromwell routed Prince Rupert’s Royalist cavalry and declined their infantry.
  - Battle confirmed how a well-equipped and trained army could win the war and established Cromwell’s reputation as a great commander.

- **Naseby – 14 June 1645:**
  - First battle fought with New Model Army.
    - King was persuaded by his more reckless advisers to engage the New Model Army.
    - Military suicide to attack uphill against a force nearly double the size of his own.
    - The royalists, though outnumbered nearly 14,000 to 10,000, attacked all along the line of Broad Moor.
    - Rupert was successful in driving back the left wing of Parliamentary cavalry under General Henry Ireton but made mistake of engaging in wild pursuits thus leaving the surrounded royalist infantry in the centre unsupported.
    - More disciplined Parliamentary cavalry on the right under Cromwell was then able to regroup and deliver a decisive assault on the centre.
    - As a result the royalist army was completely routed, with the Parliamentarians taking about 4000 prisoners and the royalists’ artillery.
    - With the loss of his best infantry regiments at Naseby, Charles could no longer meet the NMA in open battle and had effectively lost the war.
They also wanted to put the king on trial for treason (betrayal of the country).
They had a lot of support from ordinary soldiers in the army and some support in the towns.

**Moderate MPs – Parliament:**
- Did not hold extreme views.
- Many MPs were horrified by the damage and chaos caused by the Civil war.
- Some believed it was God’s punishment for opposing Charles.
- They were now prepared to give Charles virtually all the powers he had had before the Civil War.
- Did not trust the army leaders like Cromwell, many of whom were hard-line Puritans.
- Many moderate MPs wanted the church to stay as it was and not become more Puritan.
- They also wanted the army to disband because of the enormous cost of paying for it.
- England had never had a full time army before and people were not used to paying the heavy taxes needed to keep it.
- Moderates were also worried by the Levellers, and were more afraid of them than the monarchy.

**Army (and radical MPs):**
- Not prepared to give king everything he wanted.
- Some radical MPs were also senior army officers, such as Oliver Cromwell.
- Wanted a settlement with the king that would put some limits in his power.
- They also wanted greater freedom for groups like the Puritans to be able to worship God in their own ways.
- However, the radicals shared the moderates’ worries about the Levellers.

**Who were the Grandees? Agitators? Levellers?**

**Grandees:**
- Senior officers in the parliamentary, New Model Army.
- Typically from the landed gentry and opposed several of the Levellers demands, such as “leveling” enclosures around their estates.
- Most famous and influential were: Sir Thomas Fairfax, Oliver Cromwell and Henry Ireton.

**Agitators:**
- Representatives of the ranks-and-file soldiers of the New Model Army.
- First elected in 1647 when Parliament planned to disband the NMA and form a new army for the invasion of Ireland.
Army grievances after the First Civil War were suppressed and so agitators were elected in the army to convey the soldiers' views to the senior officers, or "Grandees".

- Levellers:
  - Political radicals initially associated with John Lilburne, Richard Overton and William Walwyn.
  - They had no special name for themselves; the term "Leveller" was coined by their enemies to imply that they favoured the abolition of property rights and the equalization of wealth, which they strenuously denied.
  - Leveler programme included reform of law, religious toleration and free trade. Their principal constitutional demands were for an extended franchise, for individual rights guaranteed under a written constitution and for a government answerable to the People rather than to King or Parliament.

5. What role did Cromwell/ Ireton/ Lilburne play?
   - Cromwell:
     - 1647-8 he argued in favour of a settlement with the king that would require him to accept Cromwell’s political allies as his ministers and which would guarantee rights of liberty for all sincere protestants.
     - This brought him into conflict with those in Parliament who wanted to replace the old Church of England, with a new “Presbyterian” Church based on the teachings of Calvin and the experience of Geneva and Scotland, but also with more radical voices that wanted a much more democratic system of government – the right of all adult males to vote, for example.
     - For too long, Cromwell trusted in the King's willingness to agree to his proposals.
     - When instead, he escaped from army custody and launched a second civil war, Cromwell rounded on him and hounded him to death.
   - Ireton:
     - English general in parliamentary army during civil war.
     - Ireton emerged as one of the ablest politicians among the army leadership – he played an important part in upholding his men’s interests during arguments with parliament, but declined to support their more extreme political ideas, proposing a constitutional monarchy.
     - He was involved with negotiations with the king, but after Charles fled to the Isle of Wight, Ireton became convinced there was no point negotiating further.
     - He was involved in organization of king’s trial and was one of those who signed his death warrant.
   - Lilburne:
     - Was a leveller.
• Crown and Church lands were sold and the property of Royalists was confiscated and the income appropriated.
• However, although income was high it did not meet expenditure.
• Royalists were unlikely to be reconciled to sequestration (the confiscation of Royalist lands to finance the Civil Wars). Despite their having been absolved of their actions in the wars by the Act of Pardon and Oblivion.

6. Why did the Army and Rump fall out? (think: long-term and short-term reasons)
• By late 1651, when Oliver Cromwell had succeeded in defeating the Rump’s immediate enemies, the Rump had done little that equated with his or the army’s ideals.
• Besides the failure to satisfy them regarding religion and the legal system, no progress had been made in securing the regime.
• The Rump was still sitting and had not made arrangements for electing a successor.
• This was a necessary precursor to the Rump dissolving itself and calling a general election.
• This made for a serious situation; if the Commonwealth was to survive, the franchise had to be adapted in order to ensure that a pro-monarchic parliament would not result.
• In April 1653 Cromwell brought about the dissolution of the Rump.

7. Why did Cromwell dissolve the Rump Parliament?
• Rump was not intended to be a permanent body.
• Parliament was divided over the form that the new representative should take.
• Sir Henry Vane and his supporters proposed a redistribution of constituencies but with sitting members of the long Parliament retaining their seats and further “recruiter” elections to fill the vacant places; Oliver Cromwell and the Council of Officers criticised Vane’s scheme for promoting the self-interest of sitting MPs and demanded a general election for an entirely new Parliament.
• During the early months of 1653 tension between Parliament and the Army increased.
• At a conference between Army officers and MPs at Whitehall on 19 April 1653, Cromwell proposed that the parliamentary system be temporarily suspended and replaced with an interim council to govern while final preparations for an election were put in place.
• The MPs present agreed to suspend discussion of the new representative at least until Cromwell’s proposal had been debated.
• The following day, however, Cromwell was incensed to learn that discussion of the new representative was continuing in Parliament regardless.
• In addition, developments during the Interregnum had polarized radicals and conservatives.
• In particular, civilian Cromwellians viewed the growth of religious radicalism with increasing unease.
• Some of the sect threatened to undermine the social and moral fabric on which the gentry depended for their authority.
• The ruling elite was, therefore, inclined to close ranks and push for a less tolerant religious position.
• This ran counter to the continues religious radicalism of the rank-and-file of the Army whose support was still necessary.
• While Oliver Cromwell was able to maintain an uneasy balance between the two sides, he failed to reconcile the conflict.
• In retrospect, it is not surprising that his death triggered the sequence of events that led to the collapse of the Protectorate.
• However, with hindsight this raises other questions, chief among them being why the collapse of the Protectorate did not lead more swiftly to the restoration of monarchy.

3. Why did the Rump Parliament fail to establish a stable form of government in 1659?
• After seven months the Grandees in the NMA removed Richard Cromwell and, on 6 May 1659, they reinstalled the Rump Parliament.
• Charles Fleetwood was appointed a member of the Committee of Safety and of the Council of State and one of the seven commissioners for the army.
• On 9 June he was nominated Lord-general (commander-in-chief) of the army.
• However, his power was undermined in Parl, which chose to disregard the army’s authority in a similar fashion to the pre-Civil War parliament.
• On Oct 12 1659, the Commons cashiered General John Lambert and other officers, and installed Fleetwood as chief of a military council under the authority of the Speaker.
• The next day Lambert ordered that the doors of the House be shut and the members kept out.
• On 26 October a “Committee of Safety” was appointed, of which Fleetwood and Lambert were members.
• Lambert was appointed major-general of all the forces in England and Scotland, Fleetwood being general.
• Lambert was now sent, by the Committee of Safety, with a large focus to meet George Monck, who was in command of the English forces in Scotland, and either negotiate with him or force him to come to terms.

4. What was the Committee of Safety? Why did it fail?
Charles’s actions are important in explaining the timing of the Restoration and its terms, rather than whether or not it would happen.