2) Was Charles I trying to establish royal absolutism?

- Jan 1649 Parliament put Charles I on trial for treason.
- Accused Charles of having a “wicked design to erect and uphold in himself an unlimited and tyrannical power to rule according to his will, and to overthrow the rights and liberties of the people.”

View 1: The Eleven Years’ Tyranny:
- Parliament: Charles decided to rule without Parliament permanently. He forbade anyone in his presence to even suggest the recall of Parliament.
- Taxation: Charles’s government raised taxes without Parliament’s consent. This was an attempt to make the Crown financially independent, in order to avoid ever having to call Parliament. This was also a clear violation of Magna Carta.
- “Thorough”: The Earl of Strafford showed how absolutism could be imposed through the rigorous use of the prerogative courts and other government agencies. He used Ireland as a model to show how England could be governed.
- The Church of England: Archbishop Laud sympathized with the King’s authoritarian tendencies. Using the prerogative courts, he launched an attack on Puritanism that drove many Puritans into exile.
- Silencing Opposition: Charles’s government censored the press to silence its critics. It imposed cruel punishments on Puritans such as William Prynne and others who were accused of sedition (rebellion against govt).
- Propaganda: Charles used propaganda in the form of paintings, masques and sermons to create an image of Divine Right monarchy by reminding his subjects of their duty of obedience.
- The Court: The court reinforced the image of Divine Right by distancing the King from his subjects.
- Strafford’s advice: Charles was forced to call Parliament by his defeat in the war with Scotland. The Earl of Strafford advised him to do so in the belief that he could manage the Parliament in England as he had managed the Irish Parliament.
- Absolutism: Therefore, Charles I was guilty of attempting to create an absolute monarchy in violation of the ancient laws of England. Had he succeeded, Parliament would have become nothing more than a “rubber stamp”, summoned occasionally but not to debate, only to approve royal demands.
- T. Macaulay said Charles had “systematically attempted to make himself a despot, and to reduce the parliament to a nullity [nothingness].”

View 2: The Personal Rule:
- Parliament: Charles decided to rule without parliament temporarily, until wiser counsels prevailed among MPs. He was perfectly within his rights to do so.
• 1639 king believed English army would quickly overcome Scottish resistance.
• Charles appointed Earl of Arundel Captain-General of the army, supported by Earl of Essex.
• He then angered them both by giving Lord Holland independent command of the cavalry.
• King was counting on support from within Scotland, a party that would come into the open when he arrived in force and to which he could hand over power once the war was over.
• Charles expected victory to strengthen his position in England, driving home the futility of resistance to his programme of reform.
• English opponents of personal rule watched approach of war with alarm.
• Leading members of Puritan network began secret negotiations with the Scottish rebels.
• The commanders of the Scots, Alexander Leslie, was a veteran of the Thirty Years’ War in Germany.
• As king crossed Scottish border he realized Scots were prepared to fight.
• The cavalry, far in front of the infantry, ran unsupported into the Scottish army at Kelso.
• Leslie had drawn up his army on the forward slope of a hill, to give impression it was much larger than it actually was.
• English cavalry turned and fell back to join the infantry, bringing with them exaggerated reports of the Scots’ strength.
• Charles knew his army was in no state to take them on.
• Little choice but to open negotiations with the Scots at Berwick-upon-Tweed.
• In Pacification of Berwick both sides agreed to disband their armies and the king agreed to a Scottish General Assembly and Parliament.
• Treaty solved nothing.
• Scots refused to disband and king began preparing for another war.

Why did the king lose the First Bishops’ War?
• The deficiencies of the English military system:
  o Early 17th century England was caught in the transition from medieval private armies to modern public armies.
  o The old feudal system no longer existed, but it had not yet been replaced with a professional standing army paid for by taxation.
  o The “English army” was put together from the county militias, poorly trained and equipped and uncommitted to any national cause.
  o There was also the usual problem of desertion, made worse by lack of pay.
• The discretionary nature of English local government:
  o Government “of the county, by the county, for the county” was not a system likely to produce an efficient, well-trained national army during an unpopular war.
  o Unpaid local officials trying to raise troops and money faced the wrath of friends and neighbours, many of whom would rather have made war on the Spanish than on the Scots.
• When its contents were shown to the House of Commons then surely the threat of war with France would focus the MPs minds and all loyal men would rally to the King’s cause.

Why did the King then decide to dissolve parliament?
• King demanded parliament vote taxes before he would consider its grievances.
• Commons was led by John Pym and John Hampden who were determined to call the government to account for the personal rule.
• When parliament turned its attention to religion the king quickly dissolved the parliament.

Why was the short parliament short?
• The King:
  o Hard to believe Charles I expected the short parliament to succeed.
  o None of his previous parliaments had been a success.
  o By April 1640 the country had gone eleven years without a parliament, so he must have realized that the House of Commons would want its grievances addressed before voting taxes.
  o If parliament failed yet again to cooperate, the king would feel justified in resorting to prerogative taxation, as in 1627.
• The Godly MPs:
  o Hard to believe the “godly party” (politically active Puritans) wanted parliament to succeed.
  o “Success” would involve granting the king subsidies with which to fight another war with the Scots.
  o Even if the king made some concessions, it is hard to see how the “godly party” would benefit from the defeat of the Covenanters.
  o The godly MPs wanted this Parliament to fail without taking the blame for its failure.
• The moderate MPs:
  o Most MPs wanted parliament to succeed.
  o They believed passionately in the ideal of king and parliament working harmoniously together to “heal the nation’s wounds”.
  o However, the war with Scotland was very unpopular.
  o Could king and parliament be reconciled?
• The Scots:
  o Hard to believe the Scots wanted the English Parliament to succeed, since “success” would result in the king raising money for another war.
  o On the other hand, the Covenanters must have known that only an English Parliament could limit the King’s power enough to protect Scotland from Charles’s religious policy.
  o The Scots did not want this Parliament to reach agreement with the king.

The Long Parliament – why did the King call another Parliament in Nov 1640?
• Immediate task was to prevent the scots from marching to York, so on 21 Oct 1640 the king signed the Treaty of Ripon, agreeing to:
  o The scots would continue to occupy Newcastle until a settlement was reached.
  o King would pay scots £850 a day until this was done.
  o English parliament would be recalled.
• Nov 1640 king issued the writs to county sheriffs to hold another parliamentary election.
• Personal rule was over.

Why did king abandon personal rule in 1640?
• Personal rule aroused opposition within England for many different reasons.
• Religion played a crucial role in focusing opposition to the Personal Rule. This helped motivate people who might not otherwise have actively resisted it.
• Critical year was 1637. Charles had to face the trial of Prynne, Bastwick and Burton; the Ship Money trial; and the Scottish Rebellion. From this moment on, the personal rule was in serious trouble.
• The Bishops' Wars played a vital role in forcing Charles to recall parliament.
• Charles’s defeat in the Bishops’ Wars was largely cause by domestic factors – the unpopularity of the wars; the inefficiency of local government; the financial weakness of the Crown.

4) When did the Civil War become inevitable?
• When Long Parliament opened in Nov 1640, there was no immediate prospect of civil war.
• For the first year king had almost no supporters – war had to be fought with two sides.
  o General agreement amongst MPs that king had overstepped the mark and had to be prevented from returning to personal rule.
• First session of long parliament concentrated on curbing king’s power.
• By summer of 1642 country was at war.
• King had raised an army of loyal subjects and many MPs who had attacked the personal rule were now on his side.

Timeline of the coming of civil war, 1640-42

The Long Parliament’s first session, Nov 1640- Aug 1641:
• General agreement in parliament. Concerned mainly with curbing of king’s power. Many Acts of Parliament to destroy the Personal Rule.

  Impeachment of Strafford and Laud
  Parliament attacks personal rule
1641 Feb: Triennial Act
1641 March: Trial of the Earl of Strafford begins
1641 April: Prosecution of Strafford fails to prove its case
Crowds had gathered outside Whitehall Palace, which was poorly defended. King probably feared for safety of Queen and his children. He was under intense pressure from Lords and bishops to sacrifice Strafford in the interests of peace.

The end of prerogative government:
- Strafford’s execution left the king isolated and demoralized.
- Had to concede to parliament’s demands.
- Parliament was free to destroy the instruments of the Personal Rule.
- During next three months, a collection of laws was passed by Parliament and signed by king, each Act another nail in the coffin of prerogative rule.
  - Strafford’s death broke the political deadlock and unleashed a torrent of laws that did away with the Personal Rule.
  - Tonnage and Poundage Act, 22 June: Customs duties not to be charged without Parliament’s consent.
  - Acts for the Abolition of the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission, 5 July: Abolished the King’s prerogative courts.
  - Ship Money Act, 7 August: Abolished all forms of ship money, including occasional charges on coastal counties and ports.
  - Limitation of Forest Acts. 7 Aug: Limited the boundaries of forests to those that existed in 1623.
  - Act Prohibiting Knighthood Fines, 10 Aug: Made the distraint of knighthood fines illegal.

The Irish Rebellion, Oct 1641 – what effect did it have on England?

The situation in the autumn of 1641:
- By September, political situation in England appeared to have reached a stalemate.
- Parliament wrong-footed by own success.
- Many leading members of Puritan opposition had been promoted to king’s government.
- More difficult to maintain argument that king was surrounded by evil advisers.
- Pym did not trust Charles, but each further concession made by the king undermined the argument for further change.
- Charles was now in Scotland, trying to regain control of political initiative.
- His priority was to persuade the scots to remove their army from England.
- To do this he pursued a dual strategy: he made concessions to the Covenanters, meeting with the Scottish Parliament and General Leslie, and he promoted the Earls of Montrose and Rothes.
- At same time he was preparing to strike at the Covenanters, exploiting divisions between the Scottish clans and also the jealousy between Montrose, who was increasingly alienated from the Covenanting cause, and the Marquis of Argyll, who was deeply committed to it.
• Pym’s aim was to strengthen Parliament’s resolve and halt the slow but steady growth in royal support among MPs who felt that the King had proven his willingness to co-operate with Parliament.

• “Grand Remonstrance” was a review of Charles I’s entire reign, stating evidence for a conspiracy lying at the heart of the King’s government.

• Embedded in document was list of demands for radical constitutional changes:
  o Parliament to control king’s ministers
  o Bishops and Catholic peers to be excluded from the House of Lords
  o Root and Branch reform of the Church

• Pym’s aim was to force reluctant MPs to support further attacks on the royal prerogative.

• Document stood or fell as a single item.

• Wavering MPs could not reject the more radical clauses without rejecting the critique of the entire reign, which commanded widespread acceptance.

• To vote against the Remonstrance might also be dangerous in the prevailing climate.

• Remonstrance was passed by only eleven votes.

• Nearly 200 MPs abstained or did not attend the debate.

• Was a turning point for many MPs – moment when a Royalist party began to form visibly around the King.

• Realising the Remonstrance had no chance of success in the Lords, Pym avoided humiliation by not sending it to them.

• The Commons published the Remonstrance anyway.

• Lucy Hutchinson, a wife of a parliamentary officer, said in the Grand Remonstrance parliament “spared him as much as truth would allow, and complained only of his evil counsellors and ministers” but this angered Charles.

The Attempt on the Five Members:

• 4 Jan 1642 King attempted coup d’etat against Parliament’s leaders.

• Supported by his armed guard and accompanied by his dispossessed nephew Frederick, the Elector Palatin, Charles approached the House of Commons.

• Wanted to arrest five members of House of Commons and one of House of Lords who were most prominent in Parliament’s attempt to transfer control of the armed forces away from the Crown.

• King believed these members had encouraged the Scots to invade England in the recent Bishops’ Wars and that they were intent on stirring up riots and tumults against him in London.

• Rumour that they were planning to impeach Queen Mary for alleged involvement in Catholic conspiracies prompted Charles to take action.

• Ordered speaker to point out MPs whose impeachment he had demanded on the previous day.

• Speaker famously replied “May it please Your Majesty, I have neither eyes to see nor tongue to speak, except as the House shall direct me.”
For king or Parliament?

- Some supported Charles I because they had never known anything different.
- Some had loyalty to the King – Sir Edmund Verney, who carried the king’s standard at the Battle of Edgehill, after much anguish, decided to support the king. He said: “I have eaten his bread and served him near thirty years, and will not do so base a thing as to forsake him” despite the fact he knew he would have to “defend those things which are against my conscience”.
- Stoyle says some men “enlisted under compulsion” – they didn’t care much either way just had to choose.
- Religion: those who wanted reform in church supported Charles and those who thought reform had gone far enough supported parliament.
- Class divisions: peerage and greater gentry favoured Charles but “middling sort” (says Stoyle) favoured parliament.
- Mercenaries joined whoever paid – they didn’t have such an allegiance, more just necessity – matter of prudence (who they were going to gain more from supporting).
- Ethnic divisions: parliament emphasized “Englishness”, welsh and Irish found this divisive.
- Attitude towards Charles himself.
- Politics: people joined parliament because felt they were fighting for liberties against Charles’s absolutism.
  - Whig interpretation.

When did the Civil War become inevitable?

- Some point after Nov 1640, armed conflict between parliament and the king became inevitable.
  - King did not have enough support to fight in 1641; only eleven MPs and 59 Lords voted against the attainder of Strafford.
- Three occasions, king tried to resort to force to break the political deadlock: the Army Plot, the Incident, and the Attempt on the Five Members.
- Perhaps Charles did not believe England’s problems could be resolved peacefully.
- By August 1642 enough Englishmen agreed with him to form a Royalist army.
- Took four years for parliament to defeat it.
- Parliament could be blamed for outbreak of war.
- Anti-royal consensus of Nov 1640 broke down because the king made so many concessions.
- By Nov 1641 a Royalist party was forming around Charles, convinced that Pym and his friends were going too far: men who a year before had agreed to limit the King’s power were not prepared to see their king humiliated.
- Pym pressed ahead with demands for further concessions.
- Once king had tried to arrest parliament’s leaders on a charge of treason, a struggle for control of the kingdom’s military forces was bound to follow.
- This led to civil war.
5) Outline of the English Civil War, 1642-46

Main events of Civil War, 1642-46:

1642:
Aug: King raises his standard at Nottingham
Sept: King raises troops in the Welsh border country
Oct: Battle of Edgehill – inconclusive first major battle of the war
Nov: Battle of Turnham Green – Royalist march on London halted by the London trained bands
Dec: Parliament opens peace negotiations
   Parliament establishes the Eastern Association

1643:
Feb: “Oxford Treaty” negotiations begin
   Parliament’s weekly Assessment Ordinance
April: “Oxford Treaty” negotiations collapse
   Parliament’s Sequestration Ordinance
May: Parliament’s Compulsory Loans Ordinance
July: Parliament’s Excise Ordinance
   Royalists capture Bristol
   Battle of Lansdown Hill
   Battle of Roundway Down
   Westminster Assembly begins discussions on a new church settlement
Aug: Siege of Gloucester begins
   Parliament’s Impressment Ordinance
   Solemn League and Covenant – Parliament allies with Scotland
Sept: Parliament relieves the siege of Gloucester begins
   King signs Cessation Treaty with the Irish
   First Battle of Newbury

1644:
Jan: Royalist Parliament meets at Oxford
   Scottish army enters England
June: Siege of York
   Battle of Cropredy Bridge
July: Battle of Marston Moor
Aug: Essex defeated at Lostwithiel, Cornwall
Oct: Second Battle of Newbury
Nov: Political rift in Parliament between Independents and Presbyterians

1645:
Feb: Parliament’s New Model Army
April: Parliament’s Self-Denying Ordinance
June: Battle of Naseby
July: Battle of Langport
Aug: Parliament’s ordinance establishing a national Presbyterian church
Sept: Parliament captures Bristol

1646:
May: King surrenders to the Scots

The Battle of Edgehill, 23 Oct 1642:

- First battle of civil war.
- Parliamentarian army attempted to beat Royalist Army to London – or block their route – when both armies accidently converged in a corner of Warwickshire.
- Ended inconclusively with both sides too exhausted to carry on – but parl did manage to block royalists.
- Charles missed opportunity – if he had acted quickly he could have taken London.
- The Earl of Essex withdrew towards Warwick, leaving road to London open, however Charles hesitated, moving to Oxford allowing Essex to reach London before Charles.
- Royalists retreated to Oxford.
- Opportunity for speedy victory was lost.

The “Oxford Treaty”:

- Under pressure from House of Lords, Parl drew up new terms and began negotiations with King’s commissioners at Oxford. – frightened of fighting long war.
- Essentially a mild version of the Nineteen Propositions with additional clauses against Papists.
- Fear of Catholicism strengthened with some of King’s correspondence with the Earl of Newcastle, captured by the Parliamentary Sir Thomas Fairfax and read out in the Commons, proved that Charles was encouraging the recruitment of Roman Catholics in his northern army.
- The captured letters helped to remind Parliament of what was at stake if the king should win.
- Parliament had spent weeks drawing up proposals, but King declared that whoever had drawn them up only wanted “to make things worse and worse”.
- Negotiations dragged on into spring of 1643 but had little chance of success.
- In spring and summer of 1643, king thought that he was winning war.
- Charles was urged to pursue outright military victory, paving the way to revoke all the concessions made to the Long Parliament.
- This possibility had led Pym and his supporters to push for further safeguards in the Grand Remonstrance of 1641.

1643 – the Royalist “high tide”:

- 1643 king was winning war.
- Parliament shaken by series of military defeats, high-profile desertions and the deaths in battle of John Hampden and Lord Brooke, both leading members of Puritan network.
- Parliament’s resources took time to take effect whilst king’s supporters appeared to have mobilized quickly.
• Did the king’s Irish negotiations contribute anything to the Royalist war effort?
• Many Irish troops brought into England were captured or killed at Nantwich, Cheshire, in Jan 1644.
• For a time Irish troops helped to secure the Welsh border country.
• But the “Irish peace dividend” never really materialized for the king.
• Parliament’s control of the navy prevented large numbers of Irish forces from being transferred to England, and numbers of English and Irish troops available for such service were smaller than was generally believed.

• Could the king have received help from the Continent?
• In Feb 1642 Henrietta Maria departed for Europe in search of assistance, returning a year later with weapons and money.
• None of continental powers had any intention, however, of intervening in England’s troubles.
• They had troubles of their own.

The Parliamentarians:

The Solemn League and Covenant:
• Aug 1643 parl formed alliance with Scots called the Solemn League and Covenant.
• Scots would send an army of 22,000 men into England to help defeat king.
• In return, English parliament had to sign Solemn League and Covenant, meaning that parl’s MPs and officers were expected to swear an oath to uphold treaty or alliance.
• This committed England to a Presbyterian settlement.
• Cementing the alliance was the Committee of Both Kingdoms, creating a joint command over the Scottish and Parliamentary armies.
• In Jan 1644 the Scottish army commanded by Alexander Leslie, Earl of Leven, crossed the border into England, forcing the Earl of Newcastle to shift his army northwards from the Midlands to meet the new threat.
• By June, Newcastle’s army was besieged at York by a combination of Scottish and Parliamentary forces.
• Prince Rupert’s army forced its way through to York, only to be destroyed at the Battle of Marston Moor.
• Marston Moor was parliament’s first great victory.
• Enable parliament to redeploy its armies to the Midlands and the south, boosted parliament’s morale, and enhanced the reputation of Alexander Leslie and Oliver Cromwell.
• Rupert’s reputation as the king’s ablest general was damaged, and the Earl of Newcastle went into exile.
• Cromwell was critical of the Scots’ performance at Marston Moor, but the battle would never have been fought if they hadn’t threatened York.
• Victory at Marston Moor placed the terms of the Solemn League and Covenant at the centre of a growing controversy over the Scots’ contribution to Parliament’s war effort.

Earl of Montrose:
• Became the royalist leader in Scotland despite being a Covenanter in the 1630s.
• Like many English Royalists, Montrose chose to support the king because he believed the opposition was encroaching too far on the royal prerogative.
• Personal rivalry with the Marquess of Argyll also played a part in his decision.
• Most of his support came from the Highlands, which were largely Catholic.
• After a brilliant campaign that forced the Covenanters to divert forces from England, he was finally defeated at Philiphaugh in Sept 1645 and went into exile.

Marquess of Argyll:
• Argyll was a leading Covenanter in the 1630s.
• When civil war broke out in England, he pressed for the alliance with the English Parliament which led to the Solemn League and Covenant.
• He believed that only a Parliamentary victory in England could secure the Presbyterian faith in Scotland, if the king won, he would then have overwhelming military force with which to crush the Covenanters in Scotland.

Duke of Hamilton:
• Close friend of king and had accompanied Charles on his visit to Madrid in 1623.
• Events of the 1630s strained their relationship: Charles sent Hamilton to negotiate on his behalf with the Covenanters, but he was never sure where Hamilton’s true loyalties lay.
• In 1643 Hamilton tried to keep Scotland out of English civil war, arguing that king would eventually win and that, when he did, Scotland’s loyalty would be the only way to keep the Presbyterian faith and the Covenant intact.
• King was not impressed by Hamilton’s failure to support Montrose, and imprisoned him from 1644 to 1646.

Political struggles:
• Throughout civil war both sides faced problem of internal division and political arguments.
• Both had men of widely differing views, held together with great difficulty by their political leaders.
• King was obviously political leader of the royalists and had final say when choices had to be made.
• With parliament the task was more complicated – no single person could claim right to make decisions.
• In both, political thought ranged from moderates, who wanted peace at any cost, to hard-liners, who wanted complete military victory.
4. In 1644 and 1645 the Royalists lost several major battles. This forced them to rethink this approach, developing a more impersonal system for raising resources.

5. Parl’s uncontested control of London and East Anglia gave it a reliable source of revenue and manpower.

6. The closest the king could come to matching this was his uncontested control of Wales.

7. Parliament overcame two major political crises, which enabled it to take the practical steps necessary to win the war.

8. Parliament was more successful than the king in making alliances to introduce “foreign” soldiers into the English war.

9. In the course of the war, parl found commanders capable of winning major battles.
   - C Wilson argues economic resources played a part but mainly down to “the failure in leadership”.

8) Who was to blame for the king’s execution in 1649?

   - Optimism of 1646 had given way to confusion and despair.
   - England had endured religious and social upheaval, political anarchy, a second civil war and revolution resulting in the death of the king.

Was it impossible to make peace with Charles I?

   - King’s refusal to accept the military verdict of 1646 contributed to the political instability of England after 1646.
   - If king had accepted Propositions of Newcastle, much of what happened could have been avoided:
     Propositions of Newcastle:
     ➢ Peace treaty offered to Charles in July 1646, at end of first civil war.
     ➢ Its terms were essentially same as the Nineteen Propositions of 1642.
   - Charles I in letter to Henrietta Maria: “they are such as I cannot grasp without loss of my conscience, crown and honour... a flat denial is to be delayed as long as may be”.

Why was the king so obstinate?

   - Blamed himself for Strafford’s death – after this he decided never to betray those who were loyal to him, and refused any terms which didn’t pardon all the Royalists.
   - As king, he had responsibility to protect the monarchy’s prerogative -his duty to reject any proposals for a settlement that diminished the authority of the crown.
   - Experience had taught him the longer he held out, the deeper divisions became among his enemies.
   - Nation faced chaos and eventually his enemies would have to turn to him to save the nation from turmoil.
New army to be formed from London trained bands, to defend the capital against the NMA.
Disbanded New Model soldiers to be given only eight weeks’ arrears of pay. Many soldiers were owed much more than this.
- When the soldiers responded with a NMA Petition in March, the petition was condemned by parl as an act of treason (the Declaration of Dislike).

Grievances and demands of soldiers:
- In April the regiments elected Agitators to speak to the officers on their behalf.
- Demands included mixture of national and personal issues:
  - Indemnity for actions committed during the war
  - Arrears of pay
  - Freedom from conscription
  - Soldiers not to be forced to serve in Ireland
  - Right of soldiers to petition against their grievances
  - Freedom of worship
  - Reform of the law
  - Ex-Royalists to be purged from office
  - Quartering of the troops on civilians to be curbed
  - Army pensions to be paid to war widows and disabled soldiers
  - Apprentices who training had been interrupted by the war to be given freedom to practice their trades
  - Civilian corruption to be investigated.

Phase 1: revolt of the rank and file, May-June 1647:
- A spontaneous revolt by rank and file, who rebelled at their treatment by parl after war.
- On 2 June 1647 troop of cavalry from the NMA, led by Cornet Joyce, seized the king from his parliamentary guards at Holdenby House in Northamptonshire and placed him in the protective custody of army at Newmarket.
- Parl could no longer negotiate with Charles without army’s approval.

Phase 2: Intervention of the Army officers, June 1647:
- Many officers felt that the soldiers’ grievances were justified.
- They were worried that if they tried to enforce parl’s orders to disband army, they would not be able to control the rank and file.
- To assert their authority, the officers adopted the soldiers’ case and intervened in the negotiations between parl and the king.

Solemn Engagement of the Army, 5 June 1647:
- General Fairfax called a general rendezvous of the NMA at Newmarket, when he spoke to the regiments.
- The army promised not to obey parl’s order to disband until its grievances were met.
Presbyterians had always been convinced the country needed a quick settlement.  
Now many Independents in parl had reached the same conclusion.  
28 April 1648 House of Commons voted not to alter “the fundamental Government of the kingdom, by king, Lords and Commons”.  
King still central to any settlement.  
Parl would therefore have to negotiate.  
Aug it revoked Vote of No Addresses and began new round of negotiations – “Treaty of Newport”.  
Parl’s terms no longer negotiable but starting point for further discussion, to be completed within 40 days.  
5 Dec, when 40 days had expired, parl again voted to continue negotiations.  
But time and army’s patience had run out for parl.

Pride’s Purge:

“Treaty of Newport” was trigger.  
Army General Council could either watch parl betray the cause for which the army had fought or it could act.  
16 Nov Ireton persuaded the Council to issue a remonstrance (formal protest) accusing the king of tyranny and calling for his trial.  
Army remonstrance was presented to parl on 20 nov.  
By time Cromwell returned from Lancashire, Pride’s Purge had already happened.  
Excluded MPs were held under arrest to prevent them taking part in the debate which led parl once again to adopt the Vote of No Addresses.  
Forty-seven of the excluded MPs were arrested.  
Others either kept away for fear of being arrested, or stayed away in protest.  
Last-minute effort was made to avoid Charles’s martyrdom by offering to make his second son, the Duke of Gloucester, regent (someone who rules on behalf of the king). – but king declined.  
1 Jan the Commons voted to establish a High Court of Justice for the trial.  
Next day House of Lords threw it out.  
Two days later Commons excluded the Lords from the trial.  
Way was clear for the trial and execution of the king.  
This revolution was followed by the abolition of both the monarchy and the House of Lords.  
Crown, Lords, and Church of England had been destroyed by the great constitutional crisis of the 1640s.

Why did pride’s Purge take place?

Army rank and file were threatening another revolt.  
Collapse of the Independent party meant the Army’s interests were no longer being protected in parl.
When army regiments were drawing up their lists of grievances, electing Agitators and organizing petitions, Cromwell tried to prevent an open breach between them and parl.

He still believed only a parliamentary settlement could work, and argued against any military revolt.

In May he was sent by parl to assure army of parl's good intentions.

- 21 May Cromwell assured parl army would remain loyal and follow its orders.
- 27 May Cromwell took the full £2000 arrears of back-pay he was owed, at a time when parl was offering his soldiers a fraction of what was owed to them.
- 29 May Fairfax held a Council of War. The officers warned Fairfax that the army could not be disbanded without disorder. Cromwell remained in London, apparently undecided on a course of action.

Cornet Joyce seizes the king from Holdenby House, 3-4 June 1647:

- Cromwell may or may not have known what Joyce was about to do.
- Possible he encouraged Joyce without wanting to take responsibility for giving the order to seize the king.

PHASE 2:

Phase 2: Intervention of the Army’s officers, June-Dec 1647:

- As army began its slow march on London, Cromwell was still trying to reach a settlement acceptable to the king, parl and the army.
  - 7 June Cromwell met with Charles I for the first time near Cambridge. During the summer and autumn Cromwell was involved in intensive negotiations with the king, particularly at Reading, after the publication of the Heads of Proposals.
  - 28 Oct- early Nov: Cromwell chaired the Putney Debates between the Army Council and the Levellers. While giving the Levellers a chance to air their views, he probably hoped they could be persuaded to drop their more radical demands.
  - 15 Nov: Cromwell was present at the general Army rendezvous at Ware, where he helped suppress an incipient Levellers mutiny, riding among the defiant regiments and plucking copies of the Agreement of the People out of their hats.

Heads of Proposals, July 1647:

- Army officers’ terms for a settlement with the king aroused suspicion among the rank and file.
- 16-17 July representatives from the Army Council debated the merits of the Heads of the Proposals with the regimental Agitators, in an attempt to win them over.
- The Agitators wanted the army to march on London, purge parl of its Presbyterian MPs and impose more radical terms.
4. During the Long Parliament Cromwell acted with zealous certainty about the righteousness of Parl’s cause. The main controversy about this period focuses on whether he was acting independently or whether he was being used by more powerful men, such as Lord Saye and Lord Sele, John Pym, John Hamden and others, who took the lead themselves during the major crises.

5. Cromwell began the first civil war as one of a large number of junior provincial officers, helping to organize the defence of east Anglia. He was rapidly promoted, becoming within two years the second-in-command of the army of the Eastern association.

6. His willingness to promote men from humble backgrounds and unorthodox religious beliefs drew Cromwell into arguments with some of his fellow officers. After Marston Moor he became more outspoken in criticizing the Scots for their intolerance. After the Second Battle of Newbury, he became highly critical of his commanding officer, the Earl of Manchester.

7. In the crisis which led to the Self-Denying Ordinance and the NMA, Cromwell showed that he had lost the political naivety of his Long Parl days. His exemption from the Ordinance forms one of the most controversial aspects of his career.

8. When the war ended in 1646, Cromwell anticipated a settlement in which the king returned to power under conditions that would safeguard Parl’s privileges.

9. The failure of the search for such a settlement forced Cromwell to make uncomfortable choices. His actions between 1647 and 1649 have been the subject of much argument and are open to a wide differing interpretations.

10. The second civil war forced Cromwell to confront the issue of resistance to authority – not only the King’s authority, but parliament’s. Convinced of the justice of the army’s case, Cromwell accepted Pride’s Purge as providential. Thereafter he helped to bring the king to trial and execution.

10) Cromwell and the Commonwealth, 1649-53: was Cromwell ambitious?

Timeline of Cromwell and the Commonwealth, 1649-53:

Jan 1649: Trial and execution of Charles I
Feb 1649: Act abolishing the monarchy
          Act abolishing the House of Lords
          Leveller leaders arrested
March 1649: Parliament asks Cromwell to lead the expedition to Ireland
April 1649: Digger communities established in Surrey
          Sale of estates formerly owned by the Crown and by cathedral Dean
          and Chapter begins
May 1649: Act declaring England a republic
          Cromwell suppresses Leveller mutiny at Burford
August 1649: Cromwell’s Irish campaign begins
Sept 1649: Parliament orders censorship of the press
          Massacre at Drogheda
Oct 1649: Massacre at Wexford
- No more than 31 members, no less than 13.
- Chooses the Lord Protector’s successor after his death.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scotland and Ireland</th>
<th>To meet 3 Sept 1654 and subsequently every three years.</th>
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<td>460 Members, including 30 each for Scotland and Ireland.</td>
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- 30,000 men
- Constant provision for a navy £200,000 per annum to cover costs of law courts and other expenses, paid for from the customs.

- To meet 3 Sept 1654 and subsequently every three years.
- No parl to be dissolved within five months.
- 460 Members, including 30 each for Scotland and Ireland.

- Majority consent needed when parl not in session
- Control of the militia and the navy
- Power to make treaties with foreign states
- Parl must give consent when in session

- Majority consent needed to go to war
- Power of war and peace
- The vote (franchise)

- Provision to be made as soon as possible for the selection and maintenance of diligent clergy.
- Tithes to be preserved in the meantime.
- “That to the Public Profession held forth none shall be compelled... but that endeavours be used to win them by sound doctrine and the example of good conversation.”
- Liberty of worship for those Protestants sects that do not disturb the peace or abuse their liberty “to the civil injury of others”.

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How successful was Cromwell’s foreign policy?

Peace with the Dutch:
- By the Treaty of London, English merchants received compensation for their losses and the Dutch agreed to recognize English sovereignty in the Channel.
- England received the island of Pula Run in the East Indies, an important base in the Spice islands (islands that produced valuable spices such as cinnamon and nutmeg).
- The Dutch agreed to refuse any help to Charles Stuart.
- These terms were never entirely fulfilled, but Cromwell had ended an expensive war on terms that bolstered English prestige abroad and helped to deliver greater prosperity at home.

The Piedmont massacre, 1655:
- When news broke that Protestants in the mountains of Piedmont had been massacred by the Catholic Duke of Savoy, the Protectorate reacted with horror.
- Confirmed the opinion held by many English Protestants of the threat posed by international Catholicism.
- No direct practical assistance England could give to the persecuted Protestants, but some success in relieving their suffering was achieved by diplomatic means through the treaty with France.
- Sense of helplessness may have stirred Cromwell into war with Spain.

The Western Design:
- As soon as the Dutch war was over, Cromwell and the Council launched an unprovoked war against Spain’s Caribbean empire.
- Motives for the expedition appear not to have been well thought through.
- Blatantly a populist move, pandering to traditional English puritan prejudices against Spain.
- Historian Ronald Hutton argued the expedition sprang from Protectorate’s inability to pay off 160 warships that were suddenly unemployed after peace parliament wanted Charles I to fight in 1625, a war that would pay for itself.
- Expedition was a failure.
- English were driven off from Hispaniola and took Jamaica instead, which had no real value.
- When news of the disaster reached London, it drove Cromwell into crisis of confidence.
- For first time in his life, Cromwell’s God had refused to “own” the Protector’s cause.
- National Day of Fasting and Humiliation was called to help regain God’s blessing.
War with Spain:

- Western design escalated into war with Spain in Europe.
- Essentially a naval war.
- Admiral Blake achieved a spectacular success against the Spanish treasure fleet in 1657, but failed to capture the silver bullion.
- Spain severed trading links with England and launched a privateering war against English trade.
- War cost the Protectorate about £1 million per year, forcing Cromwell to recall parliament.
- In 1658 a brigade of the NMA was sent to fight alongside French against the Spanish Netherlands.
- Spanish were defeated in the Battle of the Dunes.
- France rewarded England by giving it the port of Dunkirk – but not very useful for trade and cost a lot to maintain and England couldn’t afford further European campaigns.

How successful was Cromwell’s British policy?

The Protectorate in Ireland:

- Cromwell’s policy towards Ireland changed over time.
- In 1651 Ireland was to be moulded to suit England’s needs.
- Even speculation that it may set the agenda for the spiritual and moral reformation of England.
- Soon replaced by less ambitious policy aimed at restoring Ireland to civilian rule under a Protestant ascendancy.
- After Ireton’s death in 1651 Cromwell’s new son in law, Charles Fleetwood, was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland.
- He supervised military occupation by an army that shared his vision that Ireland could be reborn through sectarian religion and English colonization.
- But radicalism of the occupying army conflicted both with the older English Protestants in Ireland, many of whom were former royalists, and with the Presbyterian Scots in Ulster.
- In 1654 Cromwell sent his younger son Henry Ireton to Ireland to investigate growing friction between army and rest of country.
- This led to friction between himself and Fleetwood.
- Fleetwood returned to England in 1655 and Henry Cromwell governed Ireland from 1655 until Cromwell’s death in 1658.
- Henry Cromwell aimed at healing and settling Ireland by encouraging reconciliation between English Protestants (Royalists and Parliamentarians), old English Catholics and the Protectorate.
- Native Irish Catholics were the losers, as land was transferred from their hands to create a common bond of interest between the English.
- The Anglican Church of Ireland was reinstated to restore good relations with the old Protestant communities, with a committee acting as Triers and Ejectors to improve the clergy.
• Cromwell was worried as king he might be unable to fulfill his quest for godly reformation – he said he felt God had “blasted the title” of king.
• Also possible he feared sin of pride.
• Would be hard to deny ambition.
• Nor had he forgotten string of providences which had led to abolition of monarchy.
• Took weeks to decide and over that time he wore down parl’s insistence that HP was non-negotiable.
• Realised he could accept it whilst rejecting offer of crown.
• But he basically was king (even though technically he wasn’t).
• He was invested as Lord Protector in a new ceremony at Whitehall and took oath of office and was presented with gold sceptre and sword of state.
• Addressed as Your Highness and lived at Whitehall not Hampton Court.

How was Cromwell seen by his contemporaries?
What did Cromwell look like?
• Cromwell famously instructed Sir Peter Lely to paint him as he really was.
• Cromwell wanted to emphasise his humility to reinforce the republican virtues of the Interregnum.

How was he portrayed by his enemies?
• No rigid censorship of press.
• Wide range of critical images circulated.
• Portrayed as a man of low social origins: an ambitious hypocrite who abandoned friends and principles in pursuit of power.

Did Cromwell die a disillusioned man?
• Cromwell dissolved parl in Feb 1658 – sounded like a man who had given up.
• Warned parl in his final speech that Charles Stuart was ready to invade England, waiting for dissension in army to cause chaos.
• Ended on note of defiance: “Let God judge between you and me.”

Why did Cromwell dissolve his second parliament?
• Lasted less than three weeks.
• Opposition came from hundred or so MPs who had been excluded in 1656 but were now allowed to take their seats.
• Included many Presbyterians and republicans, incl Sir Arthur Haselrig and Sir Henry Vane, who immediately launched attack on new constitution.
• Cromwell had little support in Commons because members of the Upper House were nominated and many of his old independent allies turned down his invitations.
• So the reconstituted House of Lords had to be filled with loyal MPs.
effective govt, helped to create the conditions in which restoration of monarchy was possible if not likely.

Why did the Interregnum fail to provide a stable form of government?

- Probable that continued army influence on govt was main factor causing instability in govt during Interregnum.
- Army involvement was common factor in each change of constitutional policies.
- Events after first civil war created an army that acted as a political force.
- Ruling elite felt since government paid army it should also control it.
- Lacking ability to counter army’s force, civilians could not prevent its interference.
- Army pressure prevented Cromwell from accepting crown in 1657, but new constitution was resented by army because it was not their suggestion.
- Curtailing Protector’s powers and introducing second chamber into parl reduced army influence.
- Continued army dominance prevented many civilians from supporting the government.
- Oliver and Richard Cromwell recognised need for civilian support, and both tried to gain it.
- Oliver knew that he relied more on army than on civilians, while Richard worked to achieve civilian support but lost power because the ordinary soldiers lost faith in him and he gave not that lead to those in the army who did support him.
- 1653 army had produced two alternative means of ruling country, but in 1659 there were stronger internal divisions.
  - Many Grandees still favoured Protectorate, but they were over-ruled by junior officers and rank-and-file who demanded return of the rump.
  - This underlines political bankruptcy of Interregnum.
  - No new suggestions were forthcoming at this juncture.

What role did Monck play in the restoration of the king?

- One of the less politically involved army Grandees.
- At each change of regime or leader, he declared his loyalty.
- When rump was dismissed in Oct 1659, Sir Arthur Haselrig, one of its leaders, had appealed for help.
- Monck responded, moving his army to the English border.
- This, along with Navy declaring for the rump, caused Committee of Safety to restore rump.
- Monck then moved south declaring he was acting to defend parliaments.
- When he arrived in London, which was in almost open rebellion, he readmitted the secluded members.
- Republicans were in a minority.