however, sought to cement his self-image as Rex Pacificus through his policy of the Spanish Match. Also to facilitate this he promoted anti-Calvinist Arminians such as Lancelot Andrewes who not only supported his policy but also reassured the Catholic Spanish.

- The constitutional dispute of 1621 over the Commons Protestation could be said to be rooted in different religious mentalities and concern that James’s willingness to engage with Catholics abroad was mirrored by a shift to the anti-Calvinist Arminians at home.
- Religion as central to seventeenth century life and with the complexities of religious diversity across his three kingdoms was always going to create disputes for James. In this context he handled the demands of Puritans, Catholics and Arminians well.

FINANCE

SUCCESS –

- Before 1600, a combination of price inflation and Elizabeth’s sales of Crown land to finance the war with Spain had made ordinary revenue inadequate. James inherited a debt of £100,000. As a family man, James’ expenses were bound to be greater than childless Elizabeth.
- The financial system was ineffective, so the King would regularly receive less than what was intended. Robert Cecil, J’s first chief minister, recognised the need for reform. He stated in a speech to Parl in 1610 ‘the consequences will be dangerous both to the King and the people.’
- The Great Contract (1610) Cecil negotiated with Parl for major reform. In return for an annual grant of £200,000 and the removal of debts of around £600,000, the Crown would give up some prerogative income, such as wardship. But, they could not come to an agreement.
- It took 1642 and rule without a monarch after the regicide of Charles I for real change to be made to the financial system.
- Even before the Stuarts came to power, England had been at war with Spain. J made peace with Spain in Treaty of London (1604) and reduced Crown expenditure significantly. James saw himself as ‘Rex Pacificus’.
- The Book of Bounty (1608) Cecil attempted to make reform by ordering a survey of Crown lands, but this failed as J continued to grant Crown lands.
- The Book of Rates (1606) Cecil advised James to use his right to levy impositions to source revenue. Cecil used Bate’s Case to impose more.
- Bate’s Case (1606) the merchant Bates refused to pay the imposition on currants as these were illegal to impose. The Court of Exchequer declared he had an ‘absolute’ prerogative to issue impositions.
- The title of ‘baronet’ was introduced in 1611 and sold to anyone for £1095. This established over £90,000 revenue with 200 baronets.
- Cranfield took over finances after 1618 and he reduced expenditure by half.
- Elizabeth exploited the use of monopolies, but James used initiative to use them as a reward for favourites.
- Before 1614 finances were buoyant and cloth exports increased steadily.
- (Smith) James was not to blame as the system needed reform and he tried this with the Great Contract in 1610.
• ‘Distraint of Knighthood’. The custom had been long-abandoned, but in 1630 fines were levied on freeholders for failing to present themselves at Charles' coronation. The freeholders then had to buy their knighthoods and also became liable for extra dues on their land because of their increased social status. It raised £175,000.

• ‘Forest Fines’ was a declaration was made the limits of the royal forests the same as during the reign of King Edward I. People with property within these boundaries were fined for having encroached on the King's land.

• ‘Wardship’ was exploited to a greater degree than previously. The King became guardian of the children of rich parents who died and then profited by selling off the estates that would have been inherited. The amount collected from this increased by 1/3.

• The King also gained revenue by granting monopolies and charging for positions at court. Monopolies were unpopular, for example popish soap, which raised £33,000, these measures were within the King’s prerogative.

• The most unpopular of Charles' taxes was ‘Ship Money’, a medieval custom that required coastal towns to pay for the upkeep of naval defences in times of emergency. King Charles taxed the coastal counties to pay for the building of new warships. In 1635, he extended the tax to include inland counties. It raised an average of nearly £200,000 a year, equivalent to 3 parl subsidies.

• Sharpe said that Ship money was a 'success story’ and ‘one of the most successful taxes... in early modern history.’

**WEAKNESS** –

• There were strong objections to ‘Ship Money’ because the King had imposed what amounted to a new tax without the consent of Parliament.

• **The Hampden Case in 1637** saw Hampden challenge the legality of the tax. Of the 12 judges 6 found in Hampden’s favour while 7 supported the King. Although the verdict had gone against Hampden, he was widely regarded as having won a moral victory against the King’s tyranny.

• Many of the methods he used to raise the money were resented. Distraint of knighthood and the revival of forest laws as these were seen to be outdated laws that were being unfairly raised. The most resented tax was ship money, largely because it became a regular tax (whereas before it was only raised in times of war) and was made payable even in the inland counties (previously just coastal counties).

• **Sir David Foulis** attempted an uprising against Distraint of Knighthood in 1634, but it gained little support and was more motivated by a rivalry with Wentworth.

• **Richard Chambers** refused to pay t&p in 1629. He was imprisoned and fined £2,000.

• Sharpe calculates that up until 1638 90% of ship money was collected, therefore showing that it was still being paid, and hence not being overly unpopular. But collection rate dropped to only 20% from 1639-40.

• **Taxpayers’ Strike 1639-1640** shows unpopularity. Marxist Hill said C was brought down by a ‘revolt of the taxpayers’.
of these was the Common Council and the elections for this in December 1641 produced a radical body that supported Pym. He used the mob to put pressure on the Lords and make C fearful.

PYM

- Pym emerged as a leading figure in the Commons in 1640 and was regarded as C’s chief opponent. He was known as ‘King Pym’ and his faction was ‘Pym’s Junto’.
- Pym’s obsession with ‘true religion’ (Morrill) meant the threat of popery and other threats to Parl would be removed. Removing C’s policies of Catholicism and absolutism with a true Protestant Church would strengthen England politically. Initially, Pym’s agenda was not radical but he became more so during the Long Parliament as a result of the heightened religious and political tension created by the Irish Rebellion, particularly the Army Plot.
- He impeached Wentworth and Laud. He formed a working alliance with the Covenanters as military protection for the long parl. He supported Bedford’s ‘bridge appointments’ scheme. He used parl financial pressures to control C by only giving C t&p income on a two-monthly basis. Allowed Parl to transfer itself some of the key prerogative powers of the Crown.
- Pym was the visible and vocal face of the radical attack on C’s prerogative. He was seen as contemporaries as a symbol of how Parl became more of a threat to moderates than C was in 1641. As moderates reacted to Pym’s stance in Parl, this led to the development of constitutional royalism, the formation of a royalist party and, importantly, the 2 divisions that lead to a Civil War.

GROWING DIVISIONS IN THE LONG PARL

The Root and Branch Petition, 1640

- It was signed by 15,000 Londoners in December. It was Puritan-fuelled and demanded an end to bishops and episcopacy. It caused division in Parl when debated in February.
- Pym was a chief supporter of the Petition, but he did not want to destroy the Church. He wanted to remove C’s influence by allowing locals more control of their local church. Many saw the dismantling of the Church structure and removal of bishops as undermining the entire order of society. Men such as Hyde became a supporter of C as a symbol of the Church.
- The Petition debate was significant as it ‘prefigured subsequent political allegiance at so early a date’ (Smith).

The Triennial Act, 15th February 1641

- This abolished ship money without parl consent and stated that C had to call a parl every 3 years and it had to last a minimum of 50 days. If the king failed to do this, the written legal order for calling parl would be done so by the Lord Chancellor. This meant there couldn’t be another Personal Rule.

The development of a ‘royalist party’
• C’s defeat in Naseby in 1645 ended his hopes of winning the English Civil War but he was still king. He was still regarded as essential to achieving a settlement.

• (Manchester) ‘If we beat the king 99 times, yet he is the king still… but if the king beat us once, we shall all be hanged.’

• Keith Wrightson (Post-Revisionist) says there are different causes for the different groups of people. ‘It was a war of principles’

THE FAILURE TO REACH A SETTLEMENT BY 1649 (SECOND CIVIL WAR)

THE DIVISION BETWEEN THE ARMY AND PARL

• The tension was furthered when the PPs tried to get C to accept a revised version of the Newcastle Propositions, which in effect amounted to a counter-revolution. The NMA would be demobilised bar a small group to crush the Irish rebels and there would be an alt. ‘safe’ army base on the London Trained Bands.

• Holles, the PP leader, further abused the NMA in the ‘Declaration of Dislike’ where he said that they were ‘enemies of the state and disturbers of the public peace’.

• The NMA was first commanded by Fairfax and Cromwell. The Newcastle Propositions and Declaration of Dislike obviously offended them. They were also concerned with other immediate issues such as their wages of £3 million arrears. There was the possibility of being charged with offensives committed during the war as Parl had not passed an indemnity act. The NMA entry into politics (mainly due to finances) had a significant impact on the settlement. They sought the money owed to them by Parl. The PP in control at the time also failed to address the army’s concerns and thus they became progressively radical.

• They first petitioned Parl in March 1647 for the redress of their grievances but Parl condemned this petition.

• The Commons accepted C’s 3rd reply to the Newcastle Propositions (May 1647). He conceded to Presbyterianism for 3 years and control of the militia for 10 years. The NMA felt that these terms were much too lenient for C and that he could not be trusted to honor them.

• The Commons voted to disband the NMA with only 8 weeks arrears of pay (25th May). In response the NMA held a general meeting in Newmarket. This meeting saw the organisation of a more formal political structure with the General Council of the Army. Due the Commons vote, the army created a body that Ireton would seek to lead the army to settlement.

• They seized C and took him to their Newmarket HQ (2nd June 1647). Their physical control of C made them a significant force in the political settlement.

• On the 4th June they produce a ‘Humble Remonstrance’ declaring that they would not disband until their needs were met, which included indemnity and the removal of the Presbyterian faction of Parl, highlighting the divide.
THE RESTORATION 1660 (UNLIKELY TO COME UP)

CONSTITUTION AND FINANCE

• Charles II pragmatically addressed more complicated issues such as constitution and finance. C and the PN decided to return to the unwritten constitution so as to function successfully from the vague ideals instead of the pre-war 'ancient constitution' (Smith) that failed during the Interregnum due to CI’s misuse of it.

• Parliament continued to have say in Charles' ministers and attacked and removed Clarendon (1667) and Danby (1678/79).

• The PN ultimately controlled C and limited his power though finance, as a ‘bargaining tool’ (Cogswell). The Convention Parl voted for an annual grant income of £1.2 million and lifelong tonnage and poundage in order to limit his prerogative feudal income. C could only raise up to £400,000 from customs through the annual grant. They also granted him the 1662 Hearth Tax which was also overestimated in the funding it could produce.

• Due to his expensive court and continued war with the Dutch his finances were strained. By the mid 1660s his annual revenue had fallen to £700,000 and his debts were up to £1.25 million.

• He was reliant on Parl for grants which strengthened C-P relations, as he had to call Parl annually between 1660-1681 which began the process of Parl becoming an institution, not an event (Russell).

• CII was gregarious and flexible in character and this was reflected in his court, thus allowing his court to function openly with communicative ‘points of contact’ (Elton) between himself and Parl.

• However, the ‘merry monarch’ (Miller) represented ‘extravagance and baroque splendour’, which suggested Catholic influence and absolutism (Marshall). A lavish nature of court concerned the PN because it mirrored the Baroque style court of the Catholic French King Louis XIV (CII’s cousin). This Catholic fear was also reflected in the high-profile positions of Catholics in court, such as his brother, mother and mistresses. This evidenced his pro-Catholic and Francophile nature.

• CII’s FP drained the Crown of money and after committing to a third war with the Dutch he was in financial need. C-P relations were further worsened when CII signed the ‘Secret Treaty of Dover’ in 1670.

• The Restoration settlement had failed to deal with the structural financial issues and by 1672 CII was bankrupt and was forced to ‘Stop the Exchequer’.

• However the limit to the financial system should not be judged too harshly, as it was not until after 1688 under William of Orange that the financial system was transformed into a Fiscal-Military State (Braddick).

RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENT

• In comparison to CI’s Laudian dominated Church it was much broader. CII committed to a broader Church in Declaration of Breda in 1660, where he called for ‘liberty to tender consciences’. He also made his intentions clear in
the Worcester House conference in 1660, where he curbed bishop’s power and enforced a degree of leniency towards some compulsory church services.

- Religion was arguably the most important cause of instability after 1660. This was because the monarch was Supreme Governor (Coward). He wanted to broaden the Jacobethan Balance (Smith) to pragmatically include Presbyterians and be more tolerant to limit opposition. However, the Cavalier Parl wanted a narrower Church with more Anglican control. This left potential for disagreement.

- Because the PN controlled him via finance, they forced him to impose the ironically named, narrow Clarendon Code in 1662. The Draconian measures included the Act of Uniformity, the Five Mile Act and Quaker Act. Thus out of England’s 9000 ministers, 700 were removed. This was an issue for CII by making the ‘potentially loyal, disloyal’ (Harris).

- CII managed the threat of religious radicalism through persecution. At the height of persecution several thousand dissenters died.

- He introduced persecution of dissenters when necessary, this is seen when the 1663 Northern Rising caused the 1664 Conventicle Act.

- His prosecution of Protestant dissenters varies, but he was more likely to persecute than tolerate. This was seen in the Quaker act that saw at least 450 Quakers died in prison and 15,000 suffered from some sort of punishment.

- However, Hill argues that religious radicalism was more passive now due to the ‘Experience of Defeat’. This was demonstrated by the Quakers who believed that through providence they should live less radically due to God’s judgement of 1660 and the ministers were determined to maintain control given to them. Thus, the Clarendon Code was mostly accepted.

- This also helped defeat Millenarianism, which was a fundamental success as it was perceived as a great threat. By 1661 the Quakers, now led by Fox, issued their first declaration of ‘absolute pacifism’. Further, Thomas Harrison, a Fifth Monarchist and leading Millernarian, was one of the regicides executed following a series of ‘show trials’ in 1660.

- Venner’s Rising in January 1661 was a Fifth Monarchist uprising that lasted 4 days. Venner took over form the executed Harrison. The actual threat was minimal but provoked a conservative reaction from the fearful parts of the country that exaggerated the fear. It was rather easily defeated and from this the group disappeared and Venner and co were hung, drawn and quartered.

- The previous Catholic fear still existed in CII’s court.

- He sacrificed his religious goals to remain in power, thus he backed away from ‘liberty of tender consciences’ when rule of law proved stronger.

**POLITICAL**

- Between 1665-1667 the 'Honeymoon period’ (Smith) ended and CII’s rule was damaged by national disasters. This included the Plague in 1665, then the Great Fire of London in 1666 and the humiliating defeats in the Dutch Wars 1655-1667.
Tories, such as Roger North, were anti-exclusionist, believed in the divine right and no right of resistance, even against tyranny and the Church of England.

Whigs, such as Shaftesbury, were exclusionist and believed in civil authority from people and the right of resistance against tyranny. They saw the threat of absolutism with Catholicism and favoured religious tolerance and dissent.

TRANSFORMATION OF THE POWER OF THE MONARCHY
1660-1687 (UNLIKELY TO COME UP)

- From absolutism/potential absolutism/personal monarchy to constitutional monarchy. However, Parl have a greater role but not quite constitutional.
- After the regicide, traditional monarchy was fundamentally weakened and therefore the PN were determined to secure a conciliatory relationship with the Crown.
- The defeat of the Exclusion Crisis saw CII emerge as the most powerful Stuart monarch on the surface by 1685.
- It was post 1688 that real change happened to constitutional monarchy, due to transformation of Britain into a ‘Fiscal-Military State’ (Braddick).

ABSOLUTISM OF CHARLES AND JAMES II

- Both favoured Catholicism, which had always been linked to absolutism, since the Tudor period. This is characterised by ‘Bloody Mary’ and ‘Foxe’s Book of Martyrs’.
- CII’s favouring of Catholicism was highlighted in the Secret Treaty of Dover (March 1681). This alliance with Louis XIV allowed CII to secure income to prorogue Parl and rule without their help as an absolute monarch. He abused his proroguing powers and regularly dissolved Parl in the years 1679-81.
- CII even remodeled his Privy Council in the autumn of 1679 and replaced his opponents with younger advisors that he could control.
- JII also had Catholic nature and was thus accused of absolutism. He recruited 90 Catholic army officers. The speed of which he enforced Catholicism worried the PN and is described as ‘an old man in a hurry’ as he tried to secure a catholic heir.
- The Declaration of Indulgence in 1687 was issued through ‘absolute power’ and provocatively legalized the toleration and admission to offices for Catholics.
- In Ireland Catholic Earl of Tyrconnel was appointed JII’s lieutenant and he remodeled the Irish army so it was mostly Catholic. He also made Protestants give up their land to Catholics.
- His 1685 Parl only had the power to exempt dissenters and it was prorogues by JII after only sitting for less than 2 weeks. He stated that ‘God hath given me this dispensing power and I will maintain it’.
- This was also seen in the Godden versus Hale Case in 1868. JII removed 6 judges before the trial to ensure a favourable judgment. Nevertheless, the judges voted against him, highlighting the limits to his power.
In 1626-40 non-parliamentary income was 76% but in 1689-1714 it was limited to just 3%, highlighting the transformation from JI and CI, where Crown finance was indistinguishable from their prerogative power.

The financial pressures of war turned Britain into a Fiscal Military State (Braddick) and thus gave Parl a much more permanent role than the Bill of Rights during the Glorious Revolution.

Finance was key in allowing a monarch to rule arbitrarily, so this change saw a step towards constitutional monarchy. It was a power shift rather than constitutional, as W was willing to give power to Parl due to his need for war funds.

**Political Developments**

This shift was also driven by Political developments such as Parl acts to restrict the absolute power of a monarch.

The Triennial Act in 1694 restricted the Crown’s ability to summon and dissolve Parl and they had to meet yearly. This was similar to Elizabeth I’s reign, where Parl met 3 weeks a year for 45 years.

The Act of Settlement in 1701 limited future monarchs’ FP and aimed to defend a Protestant succession. It provided the throne to be passed to the Electress Sophia of Hanover – granddaughter of James I, niece of Charles I. 57 Catholic heirs to the throne would be excluded in favour of Sophia.

Thus Parl’s issuing of religious changes to the constitution during 1688 to 1702 demonstrated that Parl was becoming ‘institutionalised’ (Russell).

**Who is the most powerful CII, JII, or W?**

They were all limited by Parl, who had control over finance. William’s prerogative power was weaker, but he achieved the crucial transformation of the antiquated financial system.

**Charles II**

The Exclusion Crisis was disputably CII’s greatest achievement, as Scott argues, there was a lot more at stake than J’s exclusion.

C acted pragmatically by compromising and using his prerogative whilst being helped by the Tories. He moved Parl to Oxford in 1680: This was a Royalist city where an anti-exclusion atmosphere existed. He also prorogued Parl using the money gained from the 1670 Secret Treaty of Dover with Louis XIV.

After 1665-1667 CII’s ‘political brutality’ (Hutton) left him in a much stronger position. CI would never have sacrificed Buckingham, but CII sacrificed his leading minister, Clarendon, to survive. This strength was due to the result of concentrated power had with the CABAL ministers who replaced Clarendon.

CII can be seen as a success as JII came to the throne in 1685 in the strongest position of any English monarch (Harris).

However, he was still controlled by the PN and Anglican reaction in order to defeat the Exclusion. It was the PN and especially the Tories who held the position of real power.