

Stuarts Revision: Politics

Politics

- First section of politics focuses on the reign of Charles I.
- This period lasts between 1625-1629.
- Questions covering this period will focus on if the breakdown of the relationship between Charles and his government was down to the **reign/personal attributes** of Charles I.

KEY:

- **RED** = Charles I's personal attributes were to blame
- **BLUE** = Parliament were to blame
- **GREEN** = Other factors were to blame

<p>Upon coming to the throne, Charles I found he had an empty treasury and dwindling credit. He did manage to secure a £60,000 loan from City of London merchants but this was not enough. He had no choice but to approach parliament for help.</p>	<p>The Commons refused to grant Charles the right to collect an excise tax, Tonnage and Poundage, for life (this was because of the disastrous Mansfield Campaign where troops had been left to die from the ravages of weather and disease on the coast of Belgium). Parliament instead suggested a grant that would last a year or two and then another parliament could be called.</p>	<p>There was additional pressure on Charles on account of his wife, Henrietta Maria being Catholic. Charles also promoted the Arminian faith and some of their practices bore a resemblance to the Catholic faith.</p>	<p>The threat of war meant that troops had been conscripted and billeting was forced on people of troops in their own homes at a time when people were still trying to recover financially from an outbreak the plague.</p>
<p>A naval expedition, organised by Buckingham and led by Viscount Wimbledon, was sent to Cadiz in Spain at the end of 1625. This was another failure as troops were poorly trained and equipped.</p>	<p>Charles decision to call another parliament in 1626 showed a serious lack of awareness on his part. The issue of subsidies was set aside, instead an attack on Buckingham was launched by the Commons, Lords and court rivals who Buckingham had driven from office.</p>	<p>Parliament wanted to start impeachment proceedings against Buckingham and in order to stop this Charles dissolved parliament.</p>	<p>Charles instead demanded a forced loan from all taxpayers and refusal to pay would lead to imprisonment or forced conscription into military service. Lord Chief Justice Carew refused to endorse the legality of the loan and was dismissed.</p>
<p>In 1627 a group of five knights who refused to pay the loan (through taxes) were imprisoned, they sued for release under habeas corpus. They were refused to go to court because the king claimed he had a right to emergency power of arrest. The first confrontation in 1628 was the 'Five Knights case'.</p>	<p>The second confrontation in 1628 was when Charles summoned parliament again as there was now a desperate need for funds for national defence. The attack on Cadiz was followed by a deterioration of relationships with the other Catholic power, France. Buckingham's actions had led to war (England was now at war with both France and Spain).</p>	<p>This time parliament was aware that another attack on Buckingham could lead to dissolution so went for a more subtle strategy. The Commons voted for a total of five subsidies in taxations.</p>	<p>Charles was presented with a carefully worded Petition of Rights from Parliament asking him to review the Five Knights case. The Petition of Right contained four main points:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> No taxes could be levied without Parliament's consent. No English subject could be imprisoned without cause--thus reinforcing the right of habeas corpus. No quartering of soldiers in citizens homes. No martial law may be used in peacetime.

Charles ended the session of parliament because of the complaints about Buckingham and the promotion of Arminians he had promoted within the church. Charles then published a revised version of the Petition and asserted his right to continue collecting Tonnage and Poundage without parliamentary grant.

He then used what he deemed his "emergency powers in the national interest" and imprisoned any merchants who refused to pay the Tonnage and Poundage. When Richard Chambers (a merchant) was granted bail by the common law court, Charles had him imprisoned by the Prerogative Court on direct royal authority.

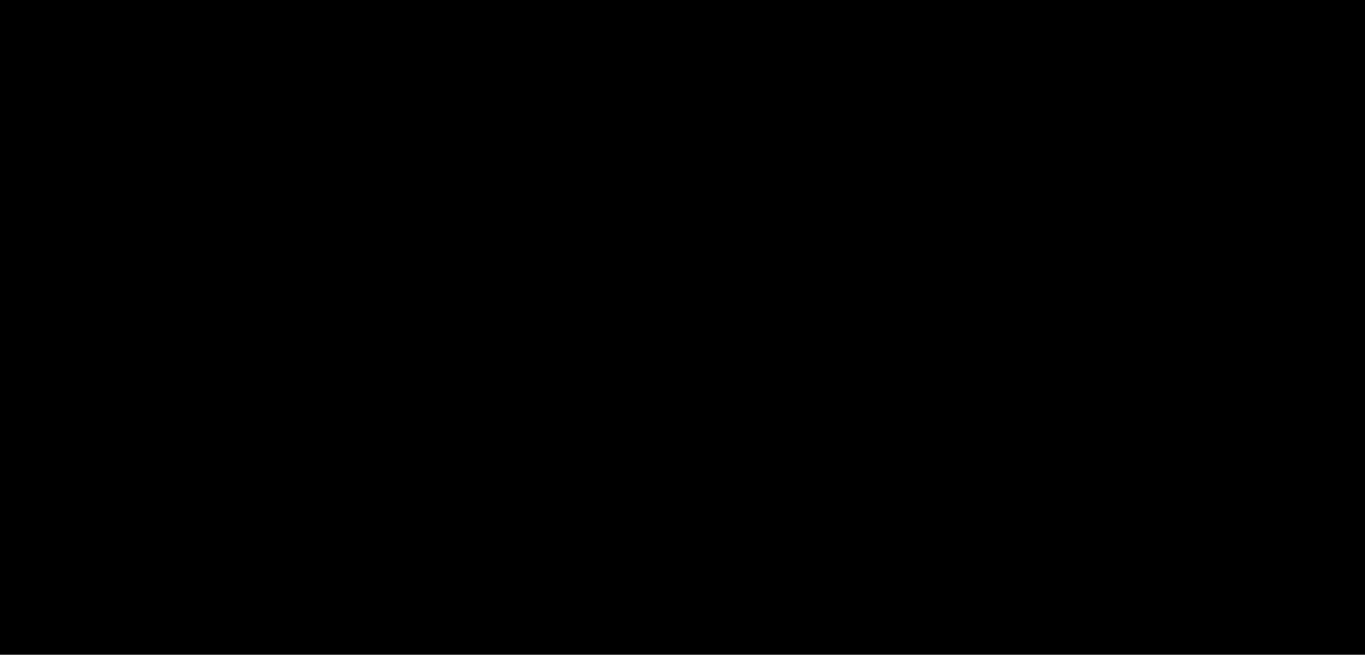
To make matters worse Buckingham was then assassinated by a disgruntled army officer, John Felton. Charles grieved but the public celebrated, lighting bonfires and MPs further celebrated when they reassembled (met) in January 1629.

When parliament began to look at breaches of the Petition Charles ordered parliament to adjourn (break off).

On the day this happened a group of MPs, led by Denzil Holles and Sir John Eliot, demanded the passing of three formal resolutions against:

- The growth of Arminianism,
- The levying of Tonnage and Poundage,
- Action against those refusing to pay Tonnage and Poundage.

When the Speaker refused to delay the adjournment he was held in his chair by force, amid shouting and confusion by MPs, until the resolutions had been passed.



Politics

- Second section of politics focuses on personal rule.
- This period lasts between 1629-1640.
- Questions covering this period will focus on why personal rule failed.

KEY:

- **GREEN** = personal rule was not a failure
- **RED** = personal rule was a failure

<p>Under James I, the Royal Court had lost structure and become extremely unwholesome due to sexual scandal, favouritism and murder. Charles I decided to restore order by re-introducing morals, manners and general etiquette. Charles wanted the Royal Court to be the model of moral restraint - establishing royal virtue at the heart of the kingdom.</p>	<p>Under Charles I, access to the King was severely restricted, whereas under James I it had become a free-for-all with court jesters, dwarves and American Indians providing entertainment for the many people who wandered freely through the court. Charles I's sense of dignity led to greater formality. The King was to be a remote figure, safeguarded by a strict formal hierarchy and proper etiquette.</p>	<p>Access to the King was strictly regulated by the sequence of chambers at court, becoming progressively more exclusive. Only the princes of blood or King's personal body servants attended the King in the royal bedchamber. The Presence Chamber contained the throne, which was treated with reverence even when the King was not there.</p>	<p>One aspect of court life which also drew in criticisms were masques. A masque was a spectacular stage performance that combined elements of theatre, opera and ballet. The content was usually based on a story from ancient history. In these masques the theme was clear: the aristocracy had power which came from the fact that they were nobility born. The stages for these masques were extravagant and used the latest technology - clearly costing a lot of put on. In the masques the King and Queen would be shown as the hero/God and angel who would float from the sky and land on Earth, bringing peace and order to world full of troubles.</p>
<p>The King's law enforcement powers were formidable. He appointed all the judges, and could expect verdicts in his favour.</p>	<p>The Privy Council had the authority to investigate any aspect of local government structure, appointing in each county the Lord Lieutenants and the sheriffs.</p>	<p>The King was the Supreme Head of the Church of England, whose courts were responsible for the enforcement of family law and for punishing offences such as adultery and non-attendance.</p>	<p>JPs, constables, sheriffs and churchwardens were all unpaid officials. Which led to a culture of discretion and mediation permeated the administration of justice and government. Also, in the absence of Parliament, the only way the King could 'legislate' was to ensure that existing laws were reinterpreted to achieve new versions of the old laws.</p>
<p>In 1630, the Civil Service did not exist, so Charles had to rely on unpaid local officials to uphold his laws. Charles and local officers used persuasion, rather than coercion.</p>	<p>Local officials were landowners and Charles needed their support to rule as they had the task of raising funds for him. However, the landowners did not want to upset the people within their communities as the people worked for them. This frustrated Charles.</p>	<p>When Charles signed the Treaty of Madrid in 1630 it ended hostility with Spain. This would end Charles annual spending on war from £500,000 in the years 1625-29 to less than £70,000 in the 1630s.</p>	<p>Charles now focused on his Crowns finance; reorganising the management of Crown land, adding new impositions to the collection of Tonnage and Poundage, reviving the number of feudal payments (such as fines for building on or encroaching on royal forests), selling monopoly licences was revived i.e. on soap, and most controversially the establishment of an annual levy of Ship Money (worth £200,000 a year).</p>

<p>Ship Money was not new, it was intended for the upkeep of the navy and most monarchs had levied it once or twice during their reign. In 1634 when it was first introduced it was collected in the traditional manner, from counties that lined the coast, and provoked little comment. In 1635 it was repeated but collected from inland counties. By 1636 Charles had introduced it as an annual tax!</p>	<p>Ship Money as an annual tax led to Charles no longer being dependant on parliament for grants. There was now a fear that parliaments would not survive. Charles also used other financial methods such as 'distraint* of knighthood'. A medieval custom where those with land worth over £40 per annum were expected to be knighted by the monarch. More than 9,000 were charged for failing to attend Charles coronation. Despite a brief campaign against this the Exchequer judges supported Charles right to collect this tax.</p>	<p>Most of those opposing Charles new financial measures also had strong Puritan connections which meant they were also unhappy about church reforms. Laud, now a prominent Arminian appointed by Charles as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633, believed in; strict adherence to rules and that bishops controlled the clergy and the clergy controlled the laity*. However, this did not fit in with the Puritan emphasis on individual prayer and preaching.</p>	<p>Those ministers not adhering to Lauds demands were brought before the court and could be deprived of their livings. Puritan gentry could no longer buy the right to appoint their own ministers or collect tithes (which formed their salaries). Although many clergy were not forced out during the 1630s many chose instead to emigrate to Puritan colonies of New England in America.</p>
<p>Charles had created a well organised court with an emphasis on hierarchy and ceremony. This was intended to instil respect for monarchy as well as the religious roots of his power. Churches were decorated with statues and colour and organs were restored. The altar was moved so traditional communion could take place.</p>	<p>As well as Charles most loyal servants, Laud and Wentworth, the Queens most loyal servants also became increasingly influential. Queen Henrietta Maria had her own Catholic chapel and encouraged others, including her own children to partake in Catholic worship. From 1635 Charles even welcomed to his court an ambassador of the Pope.</p>	<p>Charles tried to tell Scotland how their churches should look and practices to be followed - as practised in England. Charles introduced the English Prayer Book to Scotland. Charles went to war against Scotland over his religious changes but could not win the war so signed the Treaty of Berwick in 1639 - ending the First Bishops' War. People were unhappy with funding Charles' war so taxpayers went on 'strike' from 1639-40.</p>	<p>Charles asked his good friend Wentworth (who he had made Earl of Strafford) for advice - who told him to call Parliament - to gain money to fund his war with Scotland. Charles called Parliament and met with them in April 1640. To gain money, it was clear that Charles needed to negotiate and this Short Parliament that he met with had many petitions they wanted to present regarding his years of 'personal rule'.</p>
<p>However, Charles demanded money, Parliament started debating various issues which Charles did not want to hear so he dissolved Parliament after only 3 weeks.</p>	<p>After this Charles gathered together a poorly organised & equipped army to fight a Second Bishops' War against the Scottish.</p>	<p>Charles' forces were defeated by the Scots at the Battle of Newburn, near Newcastle. As a result he was forced to sign the Treaty of Ripon in Oct 1640 which made him pay the Scottish £850 a day whilst they occupied Newcastle. After dismissing Parliament after 3 weeks he tried to solve his problems on his own but failed. After 6 months he accepted he could no longer rule without Parliament's help, so he called to meet them.</p>	

Politics

- Third section of politics focuses on breakdown of relations between Charles I and government again.
- This period lasts between 1640-1649.
- Questions covering this period will focus on why their relationship broke down.

KEY:

- **RED** = Charles I made relations worse
- **BLUE** = Parliament made relations worse
- **GREEN** = Other factors

<p>When the Long Parliament met in November 1640, John Pym (an MP & leading Puritan) and his allies were ready to seize the opportunity they had waited for so long. The group that led the opposition was known as 'Pym's Junto'*.</p>	<p>In February 1641, Parliament introduced the Triennial Act which laid down an obligation for Charles to call a Parliament at least once every three years.</p>	<p>The first months of the Long Parliament saw the arrest and impeachments of Laud and Strafford.</p>	<p>Strafford was put on trial in 1641, but to be found guilty of treason he would have to be tried in the House of Lords. The King assured Strafford that no harm would come to him, regardless of the verdict. Parliament began Strafford's trial on March 22nd 1641, hoping that he was going to be found guilty.</p>
<p>The underlying theme of the trial was that Strafford had committed treason by creating division between the King and his government. The prosecution argued that Strafford's actions added up to an attempt to rule the three kingdoms by force. In his defence, Strafford argued that the charges did not amount to high treason. Strafford defended himself and did quite a good job.</p>	<p>As mentioned previously, to be found guilty the House of Lords would have to decide that was the case. However, it soon became clear to Parliament that the House of Lords were reluctant to do so as if they found Strafford guilty then he would have been hanged, drawn and quartered. Some of these same Lords had sat on the Privy Council with Strafford when he had made the decisions he was now on trial for and they had agreed to these decisions with him.</p>	<p>Knowing that the Lords would find him not guilty, as he was one of their own, those in Parliament who hated him resorted to passing the Act of Attainder against Strafford. * Act of Attainder - Is an Act of Parliament that effectively acts as a death warrant. The Act only required a suspicion of guilt, and, as long as it was passed by both Houses and signed by the monarch, so no trial was required.</p>	<p>To secure the use of the Act, Pym revealed the existence of a plot by Catholic army officers, with support from the King were plotting to release Strafford and dissolve Parliament by force. This became known as the First Army Plot and was followed by another at the end of 1641 aimed at bolstering support for Charles. An angry mob surrounded Parliament after the Act of Attainder was passed, and Charles, who had promised to protect Strafford, was compelled to sign his death warrant. At the same time, Pym secured another Act against the Dissolution of this Parliament without its Own Consent.</p>
<p>To ensure there were no further threats to Parliament, they threatened to impeach any sheriff/customs officer who collected Ship Money or Tonnage and Poundage. This led to many of his advisors leaving King's court to their country homes or actually leaving the country.</p>	<p>Some MPs thought that Pym had gone too far in pursuing Strafford and, when a bill was introduced to exclude bishops from the House of Lords and the establishment of a new Church along Presbyterian lines, clear divisions among MPs started to become clear.</p>	<p>After the execution of Strafford, in June 1641 Pym then pushed for more constitutional changes, including the abolition of the Prerogative Courts and the Ship Money. But, a middle group of 'moderates' emerged in the Commons nicknamed the "Constitutional Royalists".</p>	<p>The opposition drew up Ten Propositions to be considered by the king and requested he accept them before he left for Scotland to make peace. These propositions included significant extensions of parliamentary power, such as the right to approve the king's advisers and measures to protect themselves from royal vengeance.</p>

<p>By September the situation reached a stalemate - Charles began to negotiate. He appointed leading Puritans to his government so he was not surrounded by "evil" advisors anymore.</p>	<p>Pym still did not trust Charles but as the King continued to negotiate, it made it harder for Pym to call for even more changes.</p>	<p>The MPs returned to Westminster in October and they were greeted by growing rumours of a rising among Irish Catholics and attacks on Protestant settlers there. Rumours developed into tales of massacre resulting in 200,000 deaths, and the landing of an Irish army in north-west England. Even though the reality was only a few thousand deaths the tales of a rise in an Irish threat, Catholicism and a mistrust in Charles led to mass panic amongst the English population.</p>	<p>Despite the panic in England Charles remained in Scotland until November (negotiating a peace deal). In his absence Parliament decided that an army should be raised to tackle the rebellion. However, there were fears that an army might be used by Charles against Parliament. Pym devised a plan to unite the House of Commons behind a demand that Parliament should be allowed to approve the King's choice of commander.</p>
<p>On 22 November 1641 Pym sent the 'Grand Remonstrance', a document that asserted much of what had been included in the Ten Propositions. This document was a review of Charles' reign, stating point by point the evidence for a conspiracy lying at the heart of the King's government. In the Remonstrance, Pym demanded the following: Parliament were to control the King's ministers/ Bishops & Catholic peers were to be excluded from the House of Lords. Reform of the Church.</p>	<p>Pym's aim was clear: to attack the royal prerogative & get support from all MP's, even the reluctant ones. MP's voted as to whether to pass or reject the document... Pym's strategy worked, the Remonstrance was passed by 159 votes for, to 148 against. After narrowly getting the Remonstrance passed through the House of Commons, Pym decided not to try to get the House of Lords to pass it.</p>	<p>On January 4th 1642, the King attempted to arrest 5 leading members of Parliament (by impeaching them). Charles entered Parliament and demanded the Speaker to point out the Five Members, to which the Speaker responded "May it please Your Majesty, I have neither eyes to see nor tongue to speak". However, the Five Members were not there as they had slipped out of the chamber into a boat, which had taken them down the Thames to a safe house in the City. Charles left Parliament empty handed.</p>	<p>In the days that followed it became clear that Charles had made a huge mistake. With this one move he had undone the growing impression that he was a King who could be trusted. He had tried to resort to force. Support for the King was in ruins. Charles had made it impossible to himself and his Court to remain in London. On January 10th 1642 the King left London for Hampton Court and the Five Members returned to Parliament in triumph. Both sides then started to prepare themselves for the inevitable... WAR!</p>

Politics

- Fourth section of politics focuses on Republican rule.
- This period lasts between 1649-1660.
- Questions covering this period will focus on why Republican rule did not work - political differences, military involvement or religion.

KEY:

- **RED** = Military differences
- **BLUE** = Political differences
- **GREEN** = Religious differences

<p>From the very beginning those who carried through the execution of Charles I faced problems in establishing a government to replace him.</p> <p>Ireland was already a royalist stronghold. Scotland immediately proclaimed Charles II as king there (although he was in exile in Holland and wouldn't be crowned until 1651).</p>	<p>Ireton intended to dissolve parliament and hold new elections.</p> <p>In the end power simply passed to the MPs who remained at Westminster.</p> <p>4 January 1649 - these MPs, known as the Rump, reassembled.</p> <p>When the few Lords who had remained allies refused to return, the assembly declared itself to be the sole legislative authority and elected Council of State*.</p>	<p>March 1649 - the monarchy and House of Lords were abolished and just two months later England was declared a Commonwealth*.</p> <p>The revolution of 1649 was the work of a minority who now needed wider support in order to establish a government.</p> <p>Their first task needed to be the establishment of stability, calm the fears of the men of property and gain confidence.</p>	<p>Unfortunately the main cause of fear was the very army on which the regimes existence depended.</p> <p>During the first two years the army suppressed threats from the Levellers and counter the threat from royalists in Ireland and Scotland.</p>
<p>The Council of State turned its attention to reforming the law and social justice (for example ending the imprisonment of debtors and ending of high taxation). This, it was hoped, would gain support from across a range of social classes.</p> <p>Greater gentry refused to cooperate with the new regime.</p> <p>Lesser gentry had taken over much of local government.</p> <p>There was a lack of support for Charles II attempted invasion in 1651 which suggested the new regime was gaining acceptance.</p>	<p>The proposed reforms involved complex areas such as the law, these could not be agreed upon.</p> <p>The Hale Commission, set up in 1651, investigated the reform of the legal system.</p> <p>This Commission met regularly for a year but its recommendations were never adopted.</p> <p>The rate of reform slowed over the years, from 125 Acts in 1649 to just 51 Acts in 1652.</p>	<p>The need to maintain a large army was a major reason for the continuation of high taxation.</p> <p>Without reliable support from the political nation maintaining the army was essential.</p> <p>However, as long as the army existed the reliable support would not be forthcoming.</p>	<p>April 1649 - the Rump started selling off Crown land to raise money. But wars in Ireland, Scotland and against the Dutch led to a shortfall of £700,000 in 1653.</p>
<p>August 1649 - Cromwell landed in Ireland to suppress Catholic royalist sympathisers.</p> <p>He expected a quick victory, but this was only achieved after storming Drogheda and Wexford and controversially slaughtering thousands of defenders and civilians AFTER they had surrendered.</p>	<p>1650 - Cromwell returned to conquer Scotland, leaving Ireton to complete the Irish campaign.</p> <p>Although the Scots had been parliament's allies they had cut ties after the execution of Charles I.</p>	<p>Cromwell was appointed commander-in-chief and in 1650 defeated the Scots at Dunbar.</p> <p>A year later Charles led his army south but a disheartened army was defeated by Cromwell in Worcester on 3rd Sept 1651.</p>	<p>The first Anglo - Dutch War (1652 - 54) meant the monthly assessment* had to be raised in order to build warships. The monthly cost alone was £90,000, the same as Charles I's entire annual revenue!</p>

<p>Cromwell dissolved the Rump by force in 1653 due to repressive measure and self seeking by parliament. Cromwell took it upon himself to combine stability and reform.</p>	<p>Since Worcester Cromwell had tried to restrain the demands of the Army. The Rump would not enact the reforms needed and Cromwell grew impatient. The last straw had been when the Rump wanted to hold elections to replace MPs who had been excluded or chosen to stay away. Cromwell believed as soon as this had taken place the strong conservative views of the Rump would put a stop to any new reforms.</p>	<p>After the dissolution of the Rump, Colonel Lambert advised Cromwell to introduce a new constitution. Cromwell asked nominated 'good men' from various churches and radical groups to consider and formulate a government. Cromwell formed a committee of four generals, they asked the Independent Churches to nominate members for a new parliament. They were known as the 'Nominated Assembly'.</p>	<p>Once the members had been nominated, the Council of Officers added several more names and then reduced the total down to 140. Even members from Wales, Scotland and Ireland were included. Cromwell told members that they were to answer the call of God.</p>
<p>The Nominated Assembly was nicknamed the 'Barebones Parliament'. The majority of its members were lesser gentry, were conservative by nature and had little interest in godly reforms. The reforms enacted were;</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. War with the Dutch was continued in order to secure trade routes. 2. Legal measures to help debtors were introduced. 3. Civil marriage was allowed, officiated by JPs. 	<p>The Nominated Assembly did include a minority of Fifth Monarchists. Their radical schemes for godly government frightened the more cautious members. Radical 'Saints' did not feel they could work with conservative 'Sinners'. Cromwell needed to find a way to overcome this. For example 'radicals' wanted to abolish tithes which was often key to 'conservatives' financial well being.</p>	<p>In December 1653, moderate members met and voted to dissolve the Assembly. Major-General John Lambert produced the: Instrument of Government.</p> <p>Instrument of Government: A Protectorate, Cromwell had executive authority under a parliament designed by Lambert.</p>	<p>First Protectorate Government: Designed by Lambert with the Army Council. The Lord Protectorate would be supported by the Council of State and single chamber parliament (460 members). Government to rule over England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland. Parliament elected every 3 years (voters to have minimum of £200 personal property). State religion but also freedom of worship (not to incl. Catholicism). Cromwell remained head of New Model Army.</p>
<p>First Protectorate Gov: 84 ordinances were issued. Bear baiting and cock-fighting was banned. Improved postal services and made allowances for the improvement of roads. Laws passed to prohibit blasphemy and drunkenness.</p>	<p>Cromwell faced resentment from republican MPs (who he excluded from power after the dissolution of the Rump). Resentful MPs caused the first parliament to be dissolved in Jan 1655.</p>	<p>Rule of Major Generals 1655-56, Second Protectorate Gov: Spring 1655: Royalist rising, led by John Penruddock, broke out in Wiltshire - but was easily defeated. Cromwell organised greater control of the provinces: Imposed centralised military control by dividing the country into 11 districts. Each district was under the control of a major-general responsible for local government, security and a 'reformation of manners'. Major-generals were supported by a new militia.</p>	

<p>Second Protectorate Gov: There was mixed success.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Lancashire, Major-General Worsley: closed down 200 alehouses. ➤ Lincolnshire, Major-General Whalley: suppressed traditional entertainments (i.e. stage plays and horse racing). ➤ Many others were not as successful and neglected many of their duties. 	<p>Cromwell established a <i>Commissions of Triers and Ejectors</i> to supervise the running of the Church. The emphasis was on quality of preaching and flexibility of belief.</p>	<p>In 1657 Cromwell was offered the Crown by a second parliament, however, this meant Cromwell's power would be defined and limited by law.</p>	<p>Although the major-generals were reasonably successful what they were aiming to do was unpopular. The new second parliament was therefore intent on replacing them and Cromwell recognised the need for compromise.</p>
<p>The new constitution was based on the restoration of monarchy. The Humble Petition and Advice (offered to Cromwell by the Second Protectorate Parliament) consisted of:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Government by a king (changed to Lord Protector when Cromwell refused the Crown). 2. Provision for hereditary succession. 3. Parliament to control the army, and officers of state to be approved by parliament. 4. Regular elections and limited religious toleration. 	<p>The Humble Petition was welcome by some as it was seen as a step towards Stuart Restoration. However, Cromwell knew if appointed king he would face a severe backlash.</p>	<p>Oliver Cromwell died on September 3rd 1658. Richard Cromwell succeeded his father- he was declared the new Lord Protector on September 3rd 1658. In January 1659 he summoned what is known as the Third Protectorate Parliament. Unlike his father he had no experience of politics or the experience of warfare. As a result of this he was deemed "unacceptable" and was forced to resign in April 1659. The Rump was then recalled in May 1659.</p>	<p>As before, the Rump failed in their attempts to rule the Commonwealth. With their rule falling apart,, the initiative was taken by General George Monck to install change. Monck was a professional soldier who had fought for the Royalists in the English Civil War and had later fought on the same side as Cromwell in the Anglo-Dutch War. Riots broke out in London due to the poor efforts of the Rump to rule the Commonwealth, so Monck took action.</p>
<p>In January 1660 - General Monck marched his forces to London and restored order after riots by the Army who attempted to remove the Rump and demand free elections. In February 1660 - He allowed members of the Long Parliament (who had been purged in 1648) to return so it could dissolve itself.</p>	<p>In April 1660 - a newly elected assembly (calling itself the new Convention Parliament as it had not been called by a King) met and was presented with a copy of the Declaration of Breda (issued by Charles II on 4 April 1660 on advice from Edward Hyde and Monck and named after the Dutch city of Breda where it was devised).</p>	<p>Charles II had spent most of his time in exile in France (at the court of Louis XIV). In late 1659 restoration looked likely, Monck advised Charles to move to Protestant Holland and here Charles Declaration was devised and promised:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Amnesty - for action taken during the years of war and Interregnum* (except for those who had signed Charles I's death warrant). ▪ Settlement - of outstanding issues in partnership with Parliament. ▪ Arrears of pay for the army. ▪ Religious tolerance would continue. 	

Politics

- Fifth section of politics focuses on Charles II & James II (Restoration).
- This period lasts between 1660-1688.
- Questions covering this period will focus on why their reigns failed.

KEY:

- **RED** = Their reigns were a failure
- **GREEN** = Their reigns were stable

<p>5th May 1660- Parliament voted that government would consist of the King, Lords and Commons. 25th May 1660 - Charles II landed at Dover and received an ecstatic welcome.</p>	<p>The Convention Parliament was dissolved in December 1660 and new elections took place after Charles II's return. There was a failed rebellion in London in 1661, led by the Fifth Monarchist Thomas Venner (a rebel). As a result of the new elections, a new Parliament, nicknamed the Cavalier Parliament, due to the massive royalist majority - came into rule. This Parliament wanted revenge.</p>	<p>The aims of the Cavalier Parliament were:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To weaken any restrictions on the King's power. ▪ Undermine any clarity achieved by the Convention Parliament which included: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Retention of the 1641 Triennial Act. 2. Ensure Parliamentary control of the militia. 3. Confirming abolition of the Prerogative Courts. 	<p>Militia Act of 1661 - said the King had supreme control of the army.</p> <p>Revised Triennial Act of 1664 - said not enforce the calling of Parliament every 3 years.</p>
<p>The Act of Uniformity of 1662 - restored the Laudian Church with strict conditions which resulted in 1,800 ministers being able to conform so were expelled. The Act of Uniformity also ensured that only few Puritans would be able to sit on borough corporations which governed towns/ports. Sheldon was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury - his mentor had been Laud. Conventicle Act passed which punished any who tried to have separate religious meetings away from the Church. This unified religious separatists.</p>	<p>Charles needed to raise regular taxation - Hearth Tax was introduced in 1661. This was based upon the number of hearths (fireplaces) in a household. Only 1/3 of the expected £250,000 was collected - this displeased Charles but pleased Parliament.</p>	<p>The Restoration Settlement did not solve the problems that led to the Civil War in the first place. When Charles II returned to England and claimed to be in his 12th year of rule he had laid down a claim to Divine Right.</p>	<p>However, in reality it had been Parliament who had recalled Charles as monarch. Charles II was restricted by Parliament, who: Denied/restricted his funding, Denied him independence (even on aspects he had prerogative), Stood in the way of the religious tolerance Charles was prepared to compromise on.</p>
<p>In 1672 Charles tried to establish religious tolerance, (through the Declaration of Indulgence) for the second time, but because of the fear of Catholicism this caused conflict (the first attempt was 1662, but he was forced to withdraw due to a strong Anglican Parliament).</p>		<p>Puritan dissenters had declined and people disliked the persecution of those who were otherwise peaceful and respectable.</p>	<p>However, there were problems with the Declaration of Indulgence; It included Catholics and stated royal prerogative meant Charles could dispense with 'operation of the law'.</p>

<p>However, the Declaration of Indulgence could be maintained as long as Parliament was not called but Charles needed money to pay debt. Although he had suspended payment to debtors known as the 'Stop of the Exchequer', a third Anglo-Dutch War meant he had little choice. This was Parliaments chance to stop the Indulgence. The Commons tried to pass tolerance for Protestants but this was blocked by the Lords.</p>	<p>Charles could not stop a Test Act which forced holders of public office to deny Catholic doctrines. As a result, Lord Treasurer Clifford and the Lord Admiral (Charles' brother James) immediately resigned. Charles realised he had overstepped his powers which could have led to conflict. So appointed Treasurer Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby who was impeccably Anglican and Protestant.</p>	<p>August 1678 - fears of a Catholic emergence resulted in the so-called Popish Plot. An Anglican priest, Titus Oates, who was educated as a Jesuit in France approached Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, with a story of a plot, organised by French Jesuits to kill Charles and replace him with his Catholic brother. The story lacked credibility. Godfrey was found dead in a London park. All of a sudden the plot seemed more credible.</p>	<p>Investigations followed. Correspondence was found, written between Edward Coleman, former employee of the Duke of York to Jesuit and French agents. This further seemed to confirm Oates's story. Oate's could now accuse whomever he wanted until he finally went too far. Rumours meant there was now a full political crisis and Parliament attempted to pass a law excluding James from the succession.</p>
<p>For Shaftesbury (Cooper) the Popish Plot provided a golden opportunity to challenge Osborne's (Danby) power. Danby used corruption and bribery, funded by France. This all tied in very well with Oate's accusations of Popish Plots and treasons. Attempts were made to impeach him. Charles' attempted to save him by dissolving the Cavalier Parliament but failed.</p>	<p>New elections had created an anti-Danby majority. These MPs, known as Whigs, favoured reform at the expense of the crown: The next Parliament forced Charles to appoint a new Privy Council (chosen by parliament), excluded James from succession, replaced him with Charles illegitimate Protestant son, the Duke of Monmouth, people feared James would adopt a pro-Catholic approach and force these views with an absolute monarchy.</p>	<p>For Charles this was all one step too far, he was determined to resist. He would not tolerate a blatant attack on hereditary Divine Right monarchy. Whilst Charles showed tolerance and even apathy on other matters this was not the case on this matter.</p>	<p>1679 - The first Exclusion Bill was stopped from going to the House of Lords as Charles dissolved Parliament.</p>
<p>1680 - A new Parliament presented another Bill, defeated by the Lords due to heavy pressure from the King. This prevented a Whig triumph and created a delay until a time when Popish Plot fears started to subside, as well as Whig support, by this point 35 Catholics had been executed or fled into exile.</p>	<p>1675 - Charles made a secret agreement with Louis XIV, stating that if Parliament showed hostility to France he would suspend it. The first time Parliament was suspended in 1675 Charles received £100,000 and 1681 he was financially independent. Charles decreed the 1681 Parliament should meet in Oxford, away from the London Whig stronghold. This he hoped would stop London Whig intervention. When Shaftesbury (Cooper) proposed another Exclusion Bill, Charles dissolved Parliament and had him arrested for treason.</p>		

<p>Following the Whigs passing another Exclusion bill, Shaftesbury was arrested for treason. However, he was acquitted by a sympathetic jury, but then Shaftesbury found himself facing new charges and was forced into exile in November 1682.</p>	<p>In desperation, in April 1682 a group of old Cromwellian soldiers plotted to kill Charles II at Rye House and replace him with the Duke of Monmouth (his illegitimate son). However, the plot failed and they were arrested. This allowed Charles II to destroy the Whig government - Charles targeted them all, even on doubtful evidence.</p>	<p>The Rye House Plot allowed Charles II to discredit the Whigs and allowed Charles to avoid calling Parliament for the rest of his reign (therefore going against the Triennial Act of 1664 in which he had agreed to call Parliament every 3 years).</p>	<p>Charles was then able to recall and revise (change) the borough charters (rules) that controlled elections, to help select Parliamentary candidates.</p>
<p>Charles died in 1685, whilst this was taking place, but it was continued by his brother James, who succeeded Charles without any opposition.</p>	<p>In June 1685 the Duke of Monmouth (Charles II's illegitimate son) raised a rebellion against the newly crowned James II (his own uncle).</p>	<p>James was a Catholic so posed a threat to Protestants.</p>	<p>James personality meant he alienated every section of society - this led to a lack of support from everyone.</p>
<p>James used his royal prerogative to establish what he wanted if Parliament refused it - like freedom for Catholics.</p>	<p>James used legal cases to get a judicial (court) order which stated he could issue dispensations when he wanted.</p>	<p>1688 - James' wife gave birth to a son, this instilled fear into all as they knew this child would be raised a Catholic, unlike James' two daughters from his first marriage, who had been raised Protestants.</p>	<p>James wanted religious freedom & legal equality for Catholics.</p>
<p>1685 - allowed personal dispensations for Catholics to become army officers.</p>	<p>1687 - James issued a new Declaration of Indulgence, granting freedom of worship to both Catholic and Protestants.</p>	<p>An Ecclesiastical Commission was set up to act as a Court for Church affairs, with power similar to the Prerogative Court of High Commission which had been abolished in 1641. Using this James expelled the Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, and replaced them with Catholics.</p>	<p>1688 - James renewed the Declaration of Indulgence and ordered that it be read from the pulpit in every parish, forcing the Church to accept its own reduction of power.</p>

James continued the work of Charles II by further remodelling borough charters and he appointed Catholics as magistrates. By making religious changes without the approval of Parliament, it meant he had threatened their existence.

In the summer of 1688 a letter, signed by seven leading political figures, was carried to Holland. This letter invited William of Orange, the husband of James' daughter, Mary, to intervene in England with an armed force. This was not an invitation to take the throne, but, an invitation to mount an invasion.

The invitation was accepted because:

It had been signed by representatives of nearly all the political elite in England.

Whigs - Russell, Sidney, Lumley and Devonshire.

Tories - Earl of Danby (whose impeachment had been rescinded) and Henry Compton (the Bishop of London).

Catholics - Shrewsbury (who had been forced to convert to Anglicanism).

Also, It helped William in his struggle. He wanted to ensure the survival of the Dutch Republic against Louis XIV who had been trying to destroy it since 1667. If William could bring England into the equation then that might tip things against Louis and instead in Williams favour. For this reason William was supported by the Dutch authorities. Ships, supplies and a small but well prepared army set sail for England, arriving at Torbay in November 1688.

When faced with this threat James hesitated. This led to any supporters he had deserting him. As William approached London James fled. James was recaptured but the opportunity for him to escape was given to him as this was the ideal outcome. There was to be no trial, no public execution. If James fled it could be claimed he abdicated, thus leaving the throne vacant for his Protestant heir, William and Mary.

Stuarts Revision: Religion

Religion

- The focus of the religion section is to determine the following:
 - If the Church of England was fully established.
 - If non-conformity/dissent existed.

KEY:

- **GREEN** = The Church of England was fully established
- **RED** = The Church of England was not fully established

Laud/Arminianism 1625-29

<p>1633: Laud, as Archbishop of Canterbury, starts to make changes to Churches which people fear is a return to Catholicism.</p>	<p>Arminianism was growing in popularity amongst a section of the clergy. Arminians, saw the Catholic Church as misguided rather than evil.</p>	<p>English Arminians claimed the Anglican Church had found the correct balance; Strip away superstition and misleading elements. Restore purity. Retain enough ceremony and hierarchy in order to ensure order and respect.</p>	<p>This reasoning justified decorated churches, symbols, clergy in the robes of their office and access to certain areas of the church denied to laity. This raised fears that clergy would be restored to a position of authority and dispensers of God's grace.</p>	<p>Arminians went against the Protestant belief that spiritually all men were equal before God... ..this was why Arminianism was seen as offensive.</p>
<p>What actions did Charles I take; Took Richard Montagu under his protection following his published attack on Calvinists, <i>A New Gag for an old Goose</i>. Appointed Arminian clergy to the role of royal chaplain. Duke of Buckingham, high profile Arminian. 1626 - Charles forbade the public discussion of sensitive religious doctrine.</p>	<p>Parliament started to oppose the reforms that Laud was introducing in 1640. This came with an attack on the Laudian bishops due to: Their role of enforcers, Arrogance, Pretentious lifestyles, Willingness to impose their views. These complaints however, were not simply about religion but also directed at their activities in government.</p>	<p>Laudian reforms to churches:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organs installed • Fonts decorated • Statues & colour returned • Removal of communal table from the centre to the east 	<p>Lay nobility and gentry were unhappy about the growing prominence of people like Privy Councillor Laud or Lord Treasurer Bishop Juxon.</p>	<p>Many bishops came from humble beginnings (including Laud) so they were entirely dependant on royal favour for their advancement. This mean bishops were more likely to obey the king's wishes regardless of its impact on others. This fuelled the fear that an absolute monarchy was being built.</p>

Parliament 1640-60

<p>Parliament, with the support of the House of Commons, launched an attack against Charles I, because of;</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Arminian influence, 2. Loyalty of the bishops to carry out the kings wishes, regardless of the consequences. 	<p>Parliament called for the abolition of the Prerogative Courts to remove the ability to control the Church and the ability of individuals to discuss it.</p>	<p>Parliament were angry about the Laudian reforms so the 'Root and Branch Petition' emerged, signed by 15,000 Londoners. An attempt to remove the problems of the Church - the bishops! This led to an unsuccessful request to abolish episcopacy (the government of the church by bishops).</p>	<p>Complaints supported by Anglicans like Edward Hyde (a future royalist) were expressed over the 'Honourable' men who were brought before the Court of High Commission and subjected to punishment for their religious beliefs.</p>	<p>Although complaints were sometimes on moral issues they often showed more concern over the status and privacy of the men. This caused leaders of the opposition, who were mainly Puritan, to gain widespread support and force Charles to; remove the bishops from the Privy Council, House of Lords but not to abolish episcopacy.</p>
<p>The Covenant (agreement) with the Scots was signed in 1643. This was an attempt to establish a Presbyterian form of organisation. However, at Westminster Pym only agreed to only an assembly of clergy to meet and draw up a 'model to be established'.</p>	<p>1645: Parliament officially resolved that the government of the church should be Presbyterian in form.</p>	<p>Conservative (against change or innovation and holding traditional values) Puritans only had limited support for a change towards a Presbyterian organisation.</p>	<p>There was no reason to suspect that the ministers who met in 1644 would have had a problem in agreeing a Presbyterian organisation. However, on 3 January 1644 they were presented with an <i>Apologetical Narration</i> (an appeal for the right to establish independent churches - BUT NOT an appeal for religious tolerance). This appeal was rejected but did go on to have longer lasting implications.</p>	
<p>1646: Parliament confirmed the collapse of episcopacy.</p>	<p>The mobility of the New Model Army was a threat to Presbyterian plans.</p>	<p>The New Model Army was accused of having radical religious beliefs. There was certainly an element of truth in these accusations although accounts were exaggerated.</p> <p>In the New Model Army men were;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Isolated so had lost any aspect of their life that provided social control, Mixing with colleagues who had strong Protestant traditions and a history of radicalism (East Anglia and Lincolnshire), Had a strong loyalty and trust of their colleagues (= greater openness to radical ideas). 		

Parliament 1640-60

There were a number of preachers who had volunteered to join the New Model Army. They would obviously step forward when an ordained minister was not available but also held secret meetings, outside the normal services of the Church. In the aftermath of Nasby the New Model Army moved across the country to mop up the remaining royalist forces, this encouraged and spread religious conversion. When attempts were made to disband the New Model Army in 1647 it led to the collapse of Presbyterian hopes.

It was unlikely that Charles I would have agreed to Presbyterian change, however, a renewal of civil war in 1648, the purge of parliament and the kings ultimate execution was the final blow. The kings execution sparked a new and more dangerous wave of radical ideas and groups.

However, before Presbyterianism could be fully established the attention of parliament was distracted. Presbyterian leaders in parliament and the City of London were quarrelling with Independents who wanted the rights for the godly to set up their own churches. The Independents were supported by a small number of MPs and key members of parliaments New Model Army.

The Independents and Baptists were not part of these dangerous radicals as they both had more organised churches...
...despite Puritan principles which rejected any external authority and demanded complete religious tolerance for all.

1650 - radical ideas led to a 'conservative reaction' which was both intense and widespread. This led to the Rump passing the *Blasphemy Act* (religious groups could suffer severe penalties). Most radical groups did not last long - some simply died out whilst others lost momentum once they lost their leaders (death/imprisonment). One exception to this was the Quakers under the leadership of George Fox. They spread rapidly in the North, 1650-52 and by 1654 preachers were being sent out to convert others in new areas.

When fighting in Ireland and Scotland ceased, soldiers returned to their civilian lives. More extreme soldiers that remained were either disciplined or forced to resign (following purges by the Council of Officers). Many army leaders and Independents in the Rump sympathised with those wanting their own churches, however, they did not want to break from convention and were afraid of giving people complete freedom.

Two independent ministers, John Goodwin and Philip Nye, had helped write the Apologetical Narration, they still wanted the right to govern themselves. They maintained that; They shared the views and habits of the Presbyterian majority, The only difference between their views and the Presbyterians was Church government

When Cromwell took power he dissolved the Rump and looked for a 'sensible compromise' regarding government. His aims were to;
Reform government,
Build a godly society,
Encourage a 'reformation of manners' (adhere to the word of God and live morally virtuous lives).

1625-88 non-conformity?

<p>During the years of the Commonwealth religion functions using a variety of practices based on: The preference of individual minister and their committees. However, now things changed and the Church was placed under the control of two committees of ministers. Their job was to ensure ministers were competent, educated and capable of preaching the word of God. They were called; The Triers and The Ejectors.</p>	<p>Presbyterians and moderate Anglican ministers found employment. A number of Independents served as parish ministers (but met with their own church members separately). However, many Independents chose to ignore parish boundaries and drew their congregation from a wide area. Calvanists sects met outside of the established Church with relative impunity (exempt from punishment).</p>	<p>Those who posed a greater risk or danger to the regime, or attempted to disrupt society were more at risk. However, Cromwell was adverse to persecution of these people believing that everyone should be allowed to find their own way to God as long as they didn't cause harm to others. Amongst those who <u>were</u> considered to pose a risk to others were Arminian and Catholic churches (although discreet individuals may be left in peace).</p>	<p>Quakers however, were subjected to persecution when they tried to spread their views (although, once again, discreet individuals or those in more remote areas may be left in peace). Quakers were pacifists (against war and violence) but sometimes early Quakers used extravagant and excitable methods to preach and convert others.</p>
<p>Although they had a great emphasis on morality Quakers used methods such as: Appearing naked to demonstrate purity of mind, On one such occasion, on Palm Sunday, James Nayler, a preacher sent by Fox to convert others, did this. He was also riding on a donkey and accompanied by a female Quaker who was laying branches and flowers in his path. This was a re-enactment of Christ's entry into Jerusalem and was seen as blasphemous.</p>	<p>Some MPs wanted Nayler executed. It was Cromwell who objected to the treatment of Nayler by the political nation in parliament. Cromwell saw Nayler as being foolish rather than evil and challenged parliament's right to inflict such severe punishment. Some MPs wanted Nayler executed. It was Cromwell who objected to the treatment of Nayler by the political nation in parliament. Cromwell saw Nayler as being foolish rather than evil and challenged parliament's right to inflict such severe punishment. In the end Nayler was publically flogged; Bored through the tongue; Imprisoned.</p>	<p>1659: The republican regime that followed Cromwell started to disintegrate. 1660: The republican regime that followed Cromwell collapsed. A Quaker scare followed the collapse of the republican regime.</p>	
<p>Under Charles II the Convention Parliament of 1660; 1. Re-established the Church of England, 2. In the Worcester House Declaration (details to be worked out in the Savoy House Conference 1661) bishops were restored.</p>	<p>There were two main events in the winter of 1660-61 that prevented this broad and flexible national Church. 1. An ill-conceived and ineffectual uprising by the Fifth Monarchists which led to increased fear of radicals (Fifth Monarchists believed the 2nd coming of Jesus would take place in 1666). 2. An election in the aftermath of the rebellion of a conservative parliament of Cavaliers, who were bent on revenge. For Puritans and moderates at the Savoy this was a disaster.</p>		

1625-88 non-conformity?

<p>Alongside moderates the Anglican representatives included a significant number of Arminian thinkers. Among the Arminian thinkers was the Bishop of London, Gilbert Sheldon. Sheldon wanted the strict uniformity that Laud favoured and to drive out anyone who would not conform. He had the support of parliament and the bishops in the Lords. Moderates protested the best they could but Presbyterians had a tendency to get bogged down over non-essential details, which proved to be in Sheldon's favour.</p>	<p>There was a conference in May 1661 which ended without agreement.</p> <p>This meant the decisions that were supposed to be made here (nature of belief, role of the Prayer book and demand of clergy) were now left in the hands of the High Church Arminians and anti-Puritan parliament.</p> <p>This resulted in the anti - Puritan attitudes contained within the <i>Act of Uniformity, 1662</i>.</p>	<p>The Act of Uniformity resulted in imposed; Formality, Rituals, Priestly robes, Episcopal control.</p> <p>Which led to; Non-conformists were restricted in the positions they could now hold, 1800 ministers were driven out of their livings, Sheldon being appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1663.</p>	<p>During the 1640s Anglican ministers were pushed out in favour of Puritans. The Act of Uniformity saw a reversal of this and in 1660 new ministers were being appointed.</p> <p>Those ministers that wanted to continue with their service were required to;</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Accept re-ordination if they had not already been ordained by a bishop (this emphasised power of the bishops and suggested their previous ministry was invalid).
<p>Under the Act of Uniformity, in order continue with their service ministers were required to;</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Renounce the Presbyterian Covenant (which they had sworn an oath of loyalty to). 3. Acceptance of every element of the Prayer Book. 	<p>After the Restoration the Anglican Church was now; Socially dominant, Politically significant.</p>	<p>The Corporation Act of 1661; Laid down requirements of conformity (including those holding positions in local government having to take Holy Communion). Later covered a range of institutions i.e. universities.</p>	<p>The social, intellectual and political elite were now predominantly Anglican. Charles II was supposed to offer royal approval of such 'elites' but this was intermittent at the beginning of his reign. Political necessity meant that he did eventually take a bigger role in offering royal approval.</p>
<p>1662: Charles II attempted to suspend the Act of Uniformity but was defeated by bishops and Cavaliers in parliament.</p>	<p>1662: Instead of the Act of Uniformity Charles II wanted to introduce a First Declaration of Uniformity (offered religious tolerance).</p>	<p>1672: Second Declaration of Uniformity issued by Charles II. Followed by a Test Act which increased the requirements of conformity. This led to the future James II being forced to resign his post as Lord High Admiral.</p>	

1625-88 non-conformity?

<p>1673: Charles appointed Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby, as Lord Treasurer. Danby renewed persecution of Protestant dissenters. Used royal social and political patronage to strengthen royal and Anglican majorities in both Houses of Parliament - known as 'Tory' policies.</p>	<p>After the problems of Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis in 1678-82 Charles returned to a strategy of persecution against Protestant dissenters with a vengeance - probably the harshest period during his reign. Borough charters were remodelled - ensuring Tory and Anglican control. By 1685: The Anglican establishment was truly the Church of England, although no it did not have the level uniformity desired.</p>	<p>1688: Anglican supremacy was seen through the trial of the Seven Bishops who opposed James II's Declaration of Indulgence, which offered tolerance to both non-conformists and Catholics. They were firm supporters of Anglicanism and found <u>not</u> guilty.</p>	<p>John Smyth adopted Baptist ideas and established the General Baptist movement. They rejected infant baptism and predestination. In the 1620s there were 5 such churches and a membership of 150. Therefore, under Charles I there was a small but well established tradition of Puritanism. Laud placed restrictions on preaching and imposed the use of a <i>Catechism</i> to teach the laity set prayers and Church doctrines, which were to be learned by heart.</p>
<p>Clerical ejections and the number of dissenters meeting outside of the Church increased, although exact numbers are hard to obtain. 1604 - James I reign - 90 ministers affected by changes to religious policy - 100 emigrated to Puritan New England. 1662 - Act of Uniformity - 1,800 ejections took place.</p>	<p>Charles and Laud feared Puritans - this is clear from the use of Prerogative Courts to punish dissent. Including: John Bastwick - for writing anti-Arminian text. Henry Burton and William Prynne - punished by Star Chamber in 1637 - Burton's sermons deviated from set text and were liable to attack bishops. Prynne was a lawyer and author who had written <i>Histriomastix</i>, early 1630, denouncing stage plays and actresses as ungodly. All were released by Long Parliament and sentences declared illegal.</p>	<p>Long Parliament were Puritans, including: John Pym - who had been keeping a dossier on Charles I's mismanagement of government between 1629-1640. John Hampden - who earned notoriety in the Ship money case.</p>	
<p>By 1616, Henry Jacob had returned to England and established a Congregational Church in London. By 1640, this had multiplied into 8 Congregational Churches (in part due to opposition to Laudian reforms). Because of Long Parliaments attitude towards religion this led to further development which included the practice of allowing laymen to preach. However, on the eve of the Civil War there were only about 1,000 active separatists in a city of 350,000 (this was supposed to be a hotbed of radicalism).</p>	<p>The war saw further growth due to a variety of factors; Breakdown of normal restraints - allowed existing separatist groups and their preachers to be more active. A number of more radical ministers were able to take on parish responsibilities/preach as lecturers in towns and boroughs sympathetic to parliament/ held meetings to debate the Bible.</p>		

1625-88 non-conformity?

<p>By 1647, when the quarrel between parliament and the army intensified, the argument for religious freedom and radical social change were already well publicised and available to those who were interested through both the press and the pulpit.</p>	<p>September 1658: By the time Cromwell dies, most of the more dangerous sects have disappeared.</p>	<p>But the Quakers posed a threat. [They had become a refuge for earlier radical groups such as Lilburne the <i>Leveller</i> and Winstanley the <i>Digger</i>. Both converted in the 1650s].</p>
<p>Growing more organised and established/national organisations and <i>Confessions of Faith</i>: Independents (increasingly known as Congregationalists) had been given more freedom and different orders of Baptists had been set up.</p> <p>[Quaker and Baptists would suffer renewed prosecution after 1660 but were able to survive this].</p>	<p>Presbyterians also gained the opportunity to work in the Church. They set up voluntary organisations such as the regional association of ministers.</p>	<p>1660: Two Presbyterian ministers, John Shaw of Hull and Edward Bowles of York, liaised with Sir Thomas Fairfax and General Monck over -> the seizure of York which made way for -> Monck's march to London.</p>
<p>1,200 deserters left John Lambert's regiment of the army and backed Fairfax. Shaw and Bowles travelled to Breda and met with Charles II [Shaw was appointed as a royal chaplain]. A Presbyterian minister from Yorkshire, Oliver Heywood of Coley, wrote of his excitement over Charles' return to England in his diary (which became a record of Puritanism during the reign of Charles II and his brother James).</p>	<p>The Clarendon Code:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The Corporation Act (1661) was intended to make it impossible for non-conformists to hold municipal offices (local government of a town or city). 2. The Act of Uniformity (1662) that followed excluded non-conformists from Church offices. 3. It soon became apparent that meetings, of some kind, would continue, this was followed by the Conventicle Act of 1664, intended to widen the targets to include the laity who attended meetings and to isolate the ministers. 4. Followed by the Five Mile Act (1665), which sought to drive non-conformists away from their friends and allies that remained. 	
<p>The Acts of the Clarendon Code, although spread over 4 years, were part of a plan on the part of High Church party to create uniformity of worship and silence dissent. By 1669 it was clear this strategy had failed.</p>	<p>Quakers suffered the worst, mainly because they refused to meet in private. Because they worshipped in silence there were also rumours that they were meeting for a more secretive purpose.</p> <p>Quaker Scare 1659 - several Quakers were executed.</p>	
<p>1662 - Quaker Act was in force, they could now be:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> > Arrested, > Tendered the Oath of Allegiance (despite knowing their religion forbade them from swearing and oath). 	<p>Quakers offered to make a declaration but this was rejected so they were imprisoned instead for indefinite periods [see Baptist preacher John Bunyan].</p>	

1625-88 non-conformity?

<p>1,800 ministers left the Church → 1,000 were ejected in the summer of 1662 (however, many continued to preach in private).</p>	<p>1666 - the mood for revenge was beginning to soften. 1667 - the first Conventicle Act expired.</p>	<p>In 1669 - it is difficult to generalise about the strength of dissent. Before 1669 - it is difficult to generalise about the amount of suffering. However, there is significant evidence to suggest that the worse of suffering was over by 1669.</p>	<p>There were growing concerns over the decline in numbers of dissenting clergy. There were not enough clergy for the number of meetings. Dissenters started to look at how to find replacements. This was in part due to the growing age of clergy. No-one wanted to have to rely on laity.</p>
<p>1669 - Heywood and others, including the ejected Presbyterian, Richard Frankland, founded an Academy to provide an education for potential clergy.</p>	<p>1678 - the first ordination of new pastors took place and by 1689 over 100 new recruits had been added to the ranks of the dissenting clergy. Perhaps most importantly, the development reflected a changing attitude, in which the ejected Presbyterians were beginning to accept an existence outside of the Church and plan for the future.</p>	<p>There were plans to revise the Act of Uniformity which was already being introduced in 1669 by two judges; Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Sir Matthew Hale, ...and supported by; John Wilkins, bishop of Chester. It was envisaged this would allow the <i>Comprehension</i> of most dissenters within the Church.</p>	
<p>This planned Act of Uniformity failed. Charles already demonstrated some sympathy with non-conformists in 1662, however, effective action was impossible due to anti-Puritan sentiment in parliament and Church. Despite this there were many who found the persecution that followed unacceptable.</p>	<p>Within the Church there were many who held Latitudinarian views, this signified a belief that some variation of religious views were both rational and sensible. Bishop John Wilkins held such a view, his background meant he was able to maintain a good relationship with Oliver Cromwell. Into whose family he married. Wilkins and others argued persecution was both irrational and counter productive.</p>	<p>There were many in The Church whose views were very similar to non-conformists. John Tillotson, who became Archbishop in 1691, had conformed himself in 1664. Others from the wealthy classes including; alderman and JPs shared the dissenters views even though they were responsible for enforcing the law against dissenters. Early 1660 these men (and women) offered to help individual ministers but found it difficult to speak out against persecution.</p>	
<p>Charles II took advantage of changes to the political climate due to: Changing attitudes, Disgust against the excesses of the law, The dignity with which many non-conformists bore their suffering. The fall of Clarendon in 1667 (unfairly blamed for the failings of the Dutch war as well as the code that bore his name, neither of which he supported), Charles appointed a group of close advisers who included two Catholics, one near-atheist, and two who had close associations with moderate Puritanism. With their support he now felt able to challenge the High Church Anglicans and their parliamentary allies for control of the policy.</p>			

1625-88 non-conformity?

<p>Within a year it was clear that Charles' had misjudged the situation. He had a war with the Dutch on his hands and a financial crisis. He withdrew the Indulgence in 1673. ...however, the foundations of future development had been laid. Sometimes the foundations were physical; meeting houses and education/ training academies. For the Presbyterian majority however, it was the psychological impact of taking out a licence and defining a ministry outside of the national Church.</p>	<p>Although the Indulgence was withdrawn in 1673 licences were not recalled until 1675. By which time there were well established practices of worship in place. There was also a lack of enthusiasm when persecution returned. Although there were local variations in Hull the Presbyterian and Congregationalist groups worshipped largely undisturbed, even the close-by Quaker meetings had intermittent problems at the hands of individual clergy/JPs.</p>	<p>Some, Danby in 1676, tried to persuade Charles to renew persecution, however, this failed. Charles argued - both dissenters and Catholics were too numerous to be suppressed. 1678 - 83: the impact of the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis cemented the alliance between the dissenters and their Whig allies even more firmly, in a development that ultimately backfired for the dissenters.</p>	<p>1682-83: Failed Exclusion, Rye House Plot and collapse of Whig support freed Charles to pursue his own agenda. 1. Renewed attack on dissent (and Whig power associated with them).</p>
<p>In some areas the persecution of 1683-86 was the harshest ever experienced. Meetings were abandoned. It was reported in paces such as Devon the dissenting groups had ceased and even Quakers only met in the most remote of places to avoid detection.</p>	<p>When Charles then started to recall and amend local administration and MPs, it was feared that persecution of dissenters might now get even worse.</p>	<p>However, persecution ceased in 1686-87 and the speed with which dissenters returned indicated that persecution had failed to rid the country of dissenters instead it had merely put them hiding. Dissenter chapels were stronger and better organised and public opinion had already shifted away from uniformity.</p>	<p>Earl of Plymouth ordered his local courts to enforce laws against dissenters with 'full rigour'.</p>
<p>There were 3 factors which were crucial in helping the survival of dissenters;</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Commitment and dedication to the dissenters religious beliefs. 2. The level of support given by sympathisers (individuals and then an increasing number of social and political organisations). 3. A number of mistakes made by their enemies. If Presbyterian desires for more religious diversity had been allowed then there would have been only a small number of more extreme dissenters. However, strict uniformity meant the number of dissenters was high, large numbers equaled a greater strength and higher possibility of survival. 		<p>It was widely believed that Catholics wanted to destroy the Protestant Church in England so if they were tolerated then they would demand equality and this would lead to the destruction of the Church of England.</p>	<p>Charles I married Henrietta Maria and allowed her to continue being a Catholic and have her Catholic clergy at court.</p>
<p>1624-25 complaints about Catholics at court.</p>	<p>Some wealthy Catholics had priests live with them.</p>	<p>Recusancy laws and restrictions on Catholics were intermittent.</p>	

1625-88 non-conformity?

Foreign merchants in London meant Catholicism still existed.	Henrietta Maria encouraged other Catholics to join her and allowed her priests to officiate outside her private chapel.	Charles I promoted Arminians in the Church and at court. He made many bishops and excluded Puritan nobility.	The Catholic painter, Rubens was called upon to paint the ceilings & rituals at Whitehall.
Charles allowed members of his Privy Council to marry Catholics.	Charles I children and a large number of courtiers worshipped in the queen's Catholic chapel.	Charles I's closest companion was the Catholic papal ambassador,	Puritans were harassed and Catholics left alone during Charles I's reign.
Catholics benefitted from a soap monopoly under Charles I.	Those who protested were punished harshly.	Charles I was believed to side with the Irish & Pope during the Civil War for help.	The Rump excluded Catholics.
Toleration Act of 1650 - removed the requirement to attend Anglican Church, but Catholics were still not given freedom.	August 1643 - law against Catholics over 21 whereby they had to swear an Oath of Abjuration denying their beliefs. If they refused they had to hand over 2/3 of their land & goods.	Catholics were required to pay double the assessment tax during the republican rule.	The Oath was reissued in 1656 with stricter terms and the Act of Parliament which came with it called for the closing down of Catholic chapels in foreign embassies, with a fine of £100 for anyone caught worshipping at them.
Many Catholics had their estates confiscated after the Civil War so conformed.	1654 - Cromwell issued an order stating the laws issued by Elizabeth I and James I against Catholics were to be continued.	1655 - laws against Catholics in the priesthood to be adhered to.	Cromwell was close friends with Sir Digby, a Catholic.
In Lancashire authorities turned a blind eye to Catholic practices, which Cromwell was well aware of.	Charles II rewarded Catholics for faithful service and gave them more freedom.	1666 - rumours Catholics started the Great Fire of London.	1668 - Charles II tried to negotiate with Catholic France to avoid invasion. His sister was married to the French king's brother.
1668 - Duke of York converted to Catholicism.	1670 - Charles entertained his visiting sister & signed the Treaty of Dover with France. He also took a French mistress.	Charles took subsidies from Louis.	Charles made a secret pledge to declare himself Catholic when it was safe to do so.

1625-88 non-conformity?

<p>1672 - Declaration of Indulgence which explicitly allowed Catholics to worship in private.</p>	<p>Charles II was forced to withdraw the Declaration of Indulgence in 1673.</p>	<p>Test Act - excluded all but Anglicans from public office.</p>	<p>The Duke of York was permitted to marry Mary of Modena in 1673.</p>
<p>Danby built up control of parliament in the 1670s through patronage and French subsidies.</p>	<p>Shaftsbury issued a pamphlet entitled <i>A letter from a Person of Quality to his Friends in the Country</i>. It argued Anglican bishops were persecuting Protestants and government under the guise of protecting the Church.</p>		<p>1686 - James II issued instructions to bishops forbidding the preaching of anti-Catholic sermons.</p>
<p>James II set up the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission to oversee the enforcement of banning anti-Catholic sermons.</p>	<p>James II set up an office to sell permits to dissenters, exempting them from the laws of the Clarendon Code.</p>	<p>The king was given the right to exempt individuals from the Test and Corporation Acts so James used it to force Oxford to accept a Catholic President.</p>	<p>James II dismissed Anglican advisers.</p>
<p>James II issued a Declaration of Indulgence in 1687 allowing both dissenters and Catholics to worship freely.</p>	<p>1688 - James II issued another Declaration, allowing Catholics and dissenters to meet without a specific license.</p>	