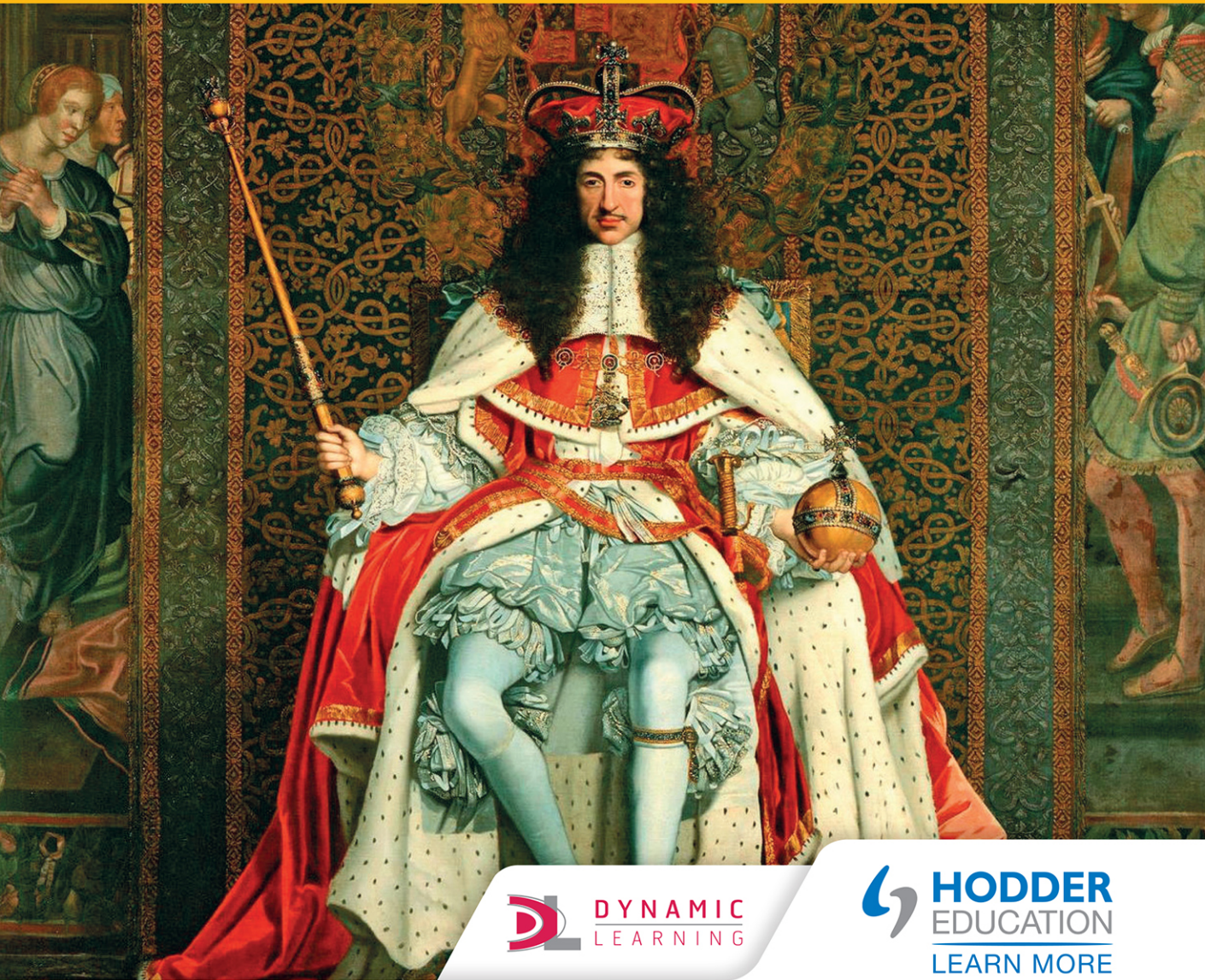


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The Later Stuarts and the Glorious Revolution

1660–1702

OLIVER BULLOCK



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Context

In the seventeenth century, the monarch was the most important individual in the political system. The organisation of elections and parliaments bore little resemblance to the democracy we know today, although many of the institutions appear to be the same. The **prerogative powers** possessed by monarchs enabled them to control the following areas of government:

- they could declare war
- they could sign treaties with foreign powers
- they had the power to call parliament when they wished (and dissolve it)
- they could appoint a **Privy Council** of their own choosing, for the day-to-day running of government
- they controlled some sources of income such as money received from **feudal dues** and customs duties.

KEY TERMS

Prerogative powers

Powers that are unique to the monarch.

Privy Council A body of advisers appointed by the monarch.

Feudal dues Taxes traditionally paid by a lower class to a higher class under the feudal system.

Parliament

Despite the vast powers that could be wielded by the monarchs, they faced restrictions:

- In order to pass legislation, a parliament had to be called. This meant that members of parliament (MPs) could scrutinise and debate proposed laws. This often led to conflict and division. In the early Stuart era, parliament had grown more assertive and these conflicts became increasingly regular.
- When a new parliament was called, a general election would take place. Like today, the country was divided up into a number of geographical constituencies with members elected at county and borough level. In the early Stuart period, it was rare for these constituencies to be contested by more than one person as the local gentry tended to agree who would stand for election among themselves. Later in the period, however, election contests became more common.
- Normal Crown revenue was often not enough for a monarch, especially in times of war. This meant that parliament was relied on to approve new taxes and make grants of money. If parliament did not agree to funding, a political stalemate could occur.

Society

The population of England had roughly doubled between 1500 and 1660, from around 2.5 million to more than 5 million. The population was scattered unevenly, with around three-quarters of people living in the southeast. Large swathes of the north were effectively uninhabited, and in all areas, large towns

Table 1.1 Society in 1660

Group	Description	Involvement in political life
Nobility	The elite class with titles (earls, dukes and so on) and extensive lands. Made up a tiny fraction of society	Many of the nobility had close associations with royalty and they could sit in the House of Lords in parliament
Gentry	Large landowners who dominated county government. Numbers had risen from 5000 to 15,000 in the century before the Civil Wars	Many greater gentry sat in the House of Commons in parliament. Many lesser gentry became office holders in local government
Yeomen	Normally landholders and farmers, and from the late sixteenth century expected to hold land worth over £6 (over £2500 in today's money)	They could sit on juries and wealthier yeomen could take part in elections for MPs
Merchants and professionals	Increased international trade resulted in the growth of a merchant class, many of whom were based in London. The growth of this class, and that of the gentry, created a need for the services of professionals such as doctors, architects and lawyers	Never commanded the same amount of respect and prestige as the landed elites. Entered public office as aldermen on town councils and could become mayors
Husbandmen	Farmers who worked their own land and produced enough to sell some of their surplus at market	Very little involvement in political affairs outside their immediate parish
Labourers	Worked for others for a wage. Made up the majority of the population	Most were illiterate and could not become involved in political life

KEY TERM

Stratified Arranged into groups or classes.

were still a rarity. London bucked this trend as it continued to dominate in terms of population, making it the largest city in western Europe.

Rural society was still strictly **stratified** as it had been for centuries. In the towns, a growing merchant and professional class was beginning to challenge the authority of the traditional gentry elites and with the increase in population growth came an increase in inflation and poverty.

The rule of James I

James came to the throne in England in 1603 after becoming James VI of Scotland in 1566. His mother, Mary, Queen of Scots, was a cousin of the childless Elizabeth I, making James the closest living heir. Elizabeth had faced financial difficulties before her death and this meant that James struggled to raise adequate revenue. James also held a strong belief in the **divine right of kings** and held the authority of the Church in high regard.

He was a fiercely loyal **Protestant**, and although he had misgivings about the more extreme **Presbyterian** Reformation that had taken place in Scotland, he was suspicious of **Catholicism**.

Key milestones in the reign of James I

The Hampton Court Conference, 1604

- In 1603, a group of **Puritans** produced the Millenary Petition, containing the signatures of 1000 ministers.
- They argued that the Church of England was too similar to the Catholic Church.
- James called the conference in order to find a compromise between both sides, and it ended with James refusing to reform the Church along Presbyterian lines. He did, however, accept the suggestion that a new translation of the Bible should be made and the new, King James Bible, was completed in 1611.

The Gunpowder Plot, 1605

- A group of Catholics conspired to blow up parliament and remove James.
- The conspirators were caught and punished – eleven were executed.

The Great Contract, 1610

- James agreed to abandon his right to claim a number of feudal taxes in return for an annual grant from parliament.
- Both James and parliament ultimately rejected the terms.

The Cockayne Project, 1614

- Cloth exports decreased drastically in 1614 and the Dutch had been carrying out the final dyeing and finishing of English cloth for many years.
- A merchant, William Cockayne, devised a plan to complete all cloth production in England.
- James granted Cockayne a **monopoly** over cloth exports, but when the Dutch refused to purchase English cloth, sales slumped and failed to recover.

The Statute of Monopolies, 1624

- Greatly reduced the Crown's ability to sell monopolies and patents and caused tension between king and parliament.

KEY TERMS

Divine right of kings

The belief that the power of kings is ordained by God.

Protestants Followers of the Christian Churches that had separated from the Catholic Church. They focused on the belief that faith alone was required to enter heaven.

Presbyterian A Church governed by a council of elders rather than a hierarchy of bishops.

Catholicism

The dominant form of Christianity under papal (the pope's) authority in Europe before the Protestant Reformation. The Catholic Church was founded on the belief that bishops were the successors of Christ's apostles and that the pope was the successor to Saint Peter.

Puritans Protestants who believed that the Reformation of the Church under Elizabeth I had not gone far enough, and sought to simplify worship and 'purify' it.

Monopoly The exclusive control of trade in a commodity.

The reign of Charles I

Charles inherited the throne from James in 1625 and shared his father's firm belief in divine right. He aimed to restore a sense of order and decorum to the Royal Court, maintain order in the Church and establish a sound financial base in response to debts created during his father's rule. Charles called a number of parliaments in the years 1625–9 and these were defined by conflict over Charles's **Arminian** religion, his right to collect taxes and the funding of foreign wars.

Charles dissolved parliament in 1629 and it did not meet again until 1640. During these eleven years of 'personal rule', Charles allowed the Arminian Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud, a high degree of personal control over Church affairs, much to the irritation of the Puritans. Without a parliament to provide him with funds, Charles also had to embark on new methods of raising money. He set about reviving long-forgotten taxes. The most notable of these was ship money, a tax originally designed to be levied on coastal counties in times of war. Charles instead imposed it on the entire country at a time when England was at peace.

Build-up to war, 1637–42

Charles's taxes were generally paid as expected, across the counties between 1634 and 1639. There were a small number of complaints, however, with the most high-profile challenge made by the Buckinghamshire gentleman and Puritan, John Hampden, against ship money. Despite losing the case, contemporaries recorded that the reaction of the gentry to the result of the case was generally hostile.

In the same year as Hampden's trial, Charles attempted to impose the **Anglican Book of Common Prayer** on the Presbyterian Scots. When the book was first read in churches, riots erupted, which spread across the lowlands. The Scots formed a national covenant to defend their religious rights and the so-called First Bishops' War broke out in 1639.

Parliament was recalled in 1640 and its leaders, headed by John Pym, secured a number of concessions from Charles, including restrictions to the Arminians and the prohibition of some taxes. When the Catholic Irish launched a rebellion in 1641 against Protestant English rule, the question of who should control the army came to the fore and this led to further suspicion of the Royal Court and attacks on Charles in parliament. When Charles tried and failed to arrest five of the rebellious MPs, including Pym, in January 1642, he was left with no choice but to leave London, fearing for the safety of himself and his family as the London mob grew increasingly enraged. In the following months, both Charles and parliament began to raise armies and Charles formally declared war on parliament in August 1642.

KEY TERMS

Arminian A follower of the Dutch theologian Jacobus Arminius. Arminians were associated with 'high-church' practices (similar to those of the Catholic Church), such as the use of organs, hymns and bowing to the cross.

Anglican The Church of England.

Book of Common

Prayer The English prayer book, first introduced in 1549.

Parliamentary victory, 1642–6

Parliament secured victory in the First Civil War in 1646. This success can be attributed to the following:

- *Royalist weaknesses:* Charles struggled to resolve differences between his senior commanders, and the money raised for his cause through traditional levies soon ran out.
- *Parliamentarian strengths:* parliament controlled London, the navy, many of the ports and some of the wealthiest areas of the south and east of England.
- *The formation of the New Model Army:* in February 1645, an ordinance was passed establishing a new parliamentary army. It was a single, national force of 21,000 men, whose members were well-paid, godly, uniformed and disciplined.

The road to regicide, 1646–9

Charles gave himself up to the Scots – who had made an alliance with parliament – in May 1646. Parliament offered Charles a settlement proposal called the Newcastle Propositions, which outlined a future government where the militia, the Church and many royalists were to be punished for their role in the war. Charles delayed his answer for a year, and after he finally rejected it, the New Model Army revolted and kidnapped the King. A debate began within the army about what a future political settlement should look like, with radical **Levellers** demanding a **republic** and **universal male suffrage**, and senior military commanders, such as Oliver Cromwell, calling for moderation.

Charles escaped from house arrest at Hampton Court and signed the Engagement, a deal whereby the Scots would assist him in starting a Second Civil War. It was during this conflict, in 1648, that the senior commanders of the army, including Cromwell, began to move towards the idea of placing the King on trial. Parliament was purged of members who were hostile to the idea of **regicide** in an episode known as Pride's Purge, leaving what became known as the 'Rump' Parliament. The trial took place in January 1649; Charles was found guilty and beheaded.

The Rump Parliament

The Rump Parliament governed the country for the next four years. Its initial radicalism was soon diluted by the conservative nature of many of its members, who were overwhelmingly from the ranks of the lesser gentry. As the rate of reform slowed, it seemed increasingly clear that the Rump's members were concerned only with self-preservation. Cromwell – now commander of the army – dissolved the Rump by force in April 1653.

KEY TERMS

Levellers A radical movement that was particularly popular in the New Model Army.

Republic A state in which power is vested in elected representatives rather than a monarch.

Universal male suffrage The vote for all men aged over eighteen.

Regicide The action of killing a king.

KEY TERMS

Executive The branch of government holding authority and responsible for the day-to-day running of the state.

Council of State

An administrative body responsible for deliberating on matters of government policy.

The Protectorate

After a brief attempt at creating a more godly 'Parliament of Saints', a body that suffered a similar fate to the Rump in December 1653, a new constitution was produced by Major General John Lambert. It was called the Instrument of Government and created a new system called the Protectorate. **Executive** authority was vested in Cromwell as Lord Protector, with a **Council of State** of 21 members.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

In the years before the Restoration, England had seen profound political, social and religious change. Population growth during the previous century led to an increase in poverty and a steady upsurge in public disorder. Against the backdrop of this change, the early Stuart kings faced opposition to their wishes and policies that

eventually led to civil war and regicide. The Stuart dynasty had been overthrown (at least for the time being) and replaced with a republic. The new republican system was far from ideal, however, and after eleven years a Stuart king would sit on the throne once more.

The Restoration Settlement, 1660–5

The execution of Charles I in 1649 resulted in an abrupt pause to the Stuart dynasty. Oliver Cromwell rose to become Lord Protector in 1653. After he died in 1658, his son, Richard, struggled to maintain political balance and in less than two years the monarchy was restored once more. This chapter looks at the Restoration and the political settlement that followed it by focusing on the following events:

- ◆ Background to the Restoration Settlement
- ◆ The political settlement
- ◆ The financial settlement
- ◆ The religious settlement

KEY DATES

1660	Restoration of the monarchy; election of the Convention Parliament	1663	Gilbert Sheldon nominated Archbishop of Canterbury
1661	Election of the Cavalier Parliament; Corporation Act	1664	Conventicle Act; Triennial Act
1662	Act of Uniformity	1665	Five Mile Act

1 Background to the Restoration Settlement

■ Why was the monarchy restored in 1660?

Following the execution of Charles I in 1649, England was declared a 'commonwealth and free state' under a republican system. The monarchy and House of Lords were abolished and from 1653, executive power was placed in the hands of Cromwell and the Council of State selected by members of parliament (MPs). On Cromwell's death, it was decided that a new Protector would be elected by the Council of State. However, when Cromwell had been offered the Crown under the terms of the *Humble Petition and Advice* (1657), he had rejected it. Consequently, provision had been made for a hereditary succession. Before his death in 1658, Cromwell declared that his inexperienced son, Richard, should become Lord Protector, bypassing his more experienced (although younger) son, Henry. Before this, he may have intended to nominate another major general, Charles Fleetwood, who was married to Cromwell's daughter, Bridget.

KEY TERMS

Council of Officers

An organisation first established to coordinate the activities of the New Model Army in the Civil War. By the late 1650s, it had become an influential and politicised body of senior commanders.

Petition A formal written request appealing to authority in respect of a particular cause.

Convention Parliament

An irregular parliament that assembles without being summoned by a monarch.

Constituency An area whose voters elect a representative to parliament.

KEY FIGURE

George Monck (1608–70)

Monck was from a Devon gentry family and became a professional soldier at a young age. He fought for Charles I in the First Civil War (1642–6) and later for Cromwell. He rose to become commander-in-chief of the republican forces in Scotland, and from there he plotted the restoration of the Rump Parliament.

Political vacuum after the death of Cromwell

On succeeding his father, Richard Cromwell summoned the brief Third Protectorate Parliament to meet in January 1659. Richard was a civilian and, unlike his father, he had no experience of warfare or politics. He was unacceptable to the **Council of Officers**, who forced him to resign later in 1659 and then recalled the Rump. The newly restored Rump appeared to have learned nothing from its earlier failures and its leading members began to lose enthusiasm. In October, the army closed it down by force.

General Monck and negotiations for the return of the monarchy

George Monck was the leader of the army in Scotland. He was a former royalist, but had worked closely with Cromwell. Fearful that the country was sliding towards military rule, he assembled an army to bring the Rump to power once again. Monck's motives for this remain unclear. He had been loyal to the Republic in 1659 when Sir George Booth mounted a royalist rising in Cheshire, although he was clearly concerned by an upsurge in radicalism in London and the continued intervention of the army in politics.

The return of the Long Parliament

The army sent a force north under Major General Lambert to counter the threat of Monck. Meanwhile, other members of the army in London, fearful of Lambert's potential slide towards military rule, reinstated the Rump once again. Lambert lost support and was imprisoned to the Tower of London, and Monck entered England on 1 January 1660. He arrived in London in February and was met with **petitions** in favour of both a new parliament and a return of the Long Parliament that had existed before its members were purged to clear the way for the trial of Charles I in 1648. Against the wishes of most MPs, Monck moved to reverse Pride's Purge and restored the Long Parliament. The nature of its membership meant that this parliament was always likely to favour a return to monarchy. In March, the restored Long Parliament voted to dissolve itself, leading to elections for the Convention Parliament.

The Convention Parliament

A large number of known royalists were elected to the **Convention Parliament**, and around 100 of the 145 peers who took their seats in the House of Lords were fiercely loyal to the monarchy. This was countered by a number of former republicans who intended to place political and religious conditions on Charles if he was to return to re-establish the monarchy. However, any enthusiasm to place serious conditions on the Crown dissipated quickly, as MPs began to realise the strength of royalism in their **constituencies**.

Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon

- 1609** Born to a gentry family in Wiltshire
- 1626** Graduated from Oxford University and pursued a career in law
- 1640** Elected as MP for Wootton Bassett in the Short Parliament and Saltash in the Long Parliament
- 1643** Knighted by Charles I
- 1660** After a period in exile, returned to England with Charles II at the Restoration
- 1667** Removed as chief minister and was exiled to France
- 1671** Began work on his *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*
- 1674** Died in Rouen, France

Background

Born into the gentry, Hyde studied law and became adept at establishing influential connections at both parliament and the Royal Court. He took the side of the royalists in the Civil War and joined Charles II in exile. He returned to England with the King and his daughter,

Anne, who soon married the future James II.

Career

Until 1667, Clarendon effectively acted as chief minister to Charles. This was in part because he had gained Charles's trust and friendship during his exile. His association with a number of national disasters, including the loss of the Second Anglo-Dutch War and the Great Fire of London, led to his downfall.

Later years

His later years were spent in exile in France. Although keen to maintain good relations with Charles, Louis XIV attempted to have him banished on several occasions. Clarendon began completing and editing his history of the Civil Wars, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, which he had begun in the 1640s. This was not published until after his death in 1674.



Declaration of Breda

Charles's court was still in exile in the Netherlands, and on 4 April he sent the Declaration of Breda to parliament, along with a series of letters to Monck, the Speakers of each House and the City of London authorities. The Declaration was conveniently timed to coincide with the elections to the Convention, serving to strengthen the position of royalist candidates. The Declaration offered the following:

- An amnesty for those who had taken up arms against Charles I.
- Religious toleration and 'liberty to tender consciences', the details of which were to be settled by parliament.
- Payment of arrears to the army.
- A settlement of land disputes.

The document was deliberately vague, designed to appeal to as many people as possible. Those who had been wavering in their commitment to a restored monarchy out of fear of reprisals were to be reassured by the promise of a general amnesty, and the brief mention of religious toleration was designed to appeal to dissenting Puritans. The ambiguous nature of the proposed settlement was highlighted in parliament, with one MP commenting that, 'as for liberty to tender consciences, no man knew what it was'.

The tone of the Declaration made it seem as though Charles's return was an inevitability. Charles's close adviser, and the man responsible for much of the wording of the document, Edward Hyde (see page 10), deliberately intended to leave many of the matters of detail to a future parliament.

? SOURCE QUESTION

How are Charles's skills as a politician illustrated in Source A?

KEY TERMS

Political nation People able to take part in politics and vote in elections.

Quakers Members of the Religious Society of Friends, a movement founded by George Fox in the early 1650s. Central to their beliefs is the doctrine of the 'Inner Light' of the Holy Spirit that can be accessed by anyone. As a result, their meetings did not follow the same pattern as church services and their organisation did not have a hierarchical leadership structure.

ONLINE EXTRAS AQA

WWW

Get to grips with analysis by completing Worksheet 1 at www.hoddereducation.co.uk/accesstohistory/extras

ONLINE EXTRAS Pearson Edexcel

WWW

Test your understanding of the Restoration of Charles II by completing Worksheet 1 at www.hoddereducation.co.uk/accesstohistory/extras

SOURCE A

The Declaration of Breda, 1660

Charles, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, to all our loving subjects. If the general distraction and confusion which is spread over the whole kingdom does not awaken all men to a desire and longing that those wounds which have so many years together been kept bleeding, may be bound up, all we can say will be to no purpose; however, after this long silence, we have thought it our duty to declare how much we desire to contribute thereunto. And to the end that the fear of punishment may not engage any, we do grant a free and general pardon, excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament ... All notes of discord, separation and difference of parties be utterly abolished among all our subjects, whom we invite and conjure to a perfect union among themselves, under our protection, for the resettlement of our just rights and theirs in a free parliament.

Monarchy restored

The Declaration was formally read to the Convention Parliament, which proceeded to announce Charles as king. Charles landed at Dover in May and was received with a mood of celebration and enthusiasm. However, despite the clear fervour for the Restoration displayed by much of the population, there were still many issues to be resolved, including the funding of the Crown, religious toleration and the future balance of power between Charles and parliament.

Why was Charles restored?

Historians have put forward various arguments to explain why the monarchy was restored in 1660:

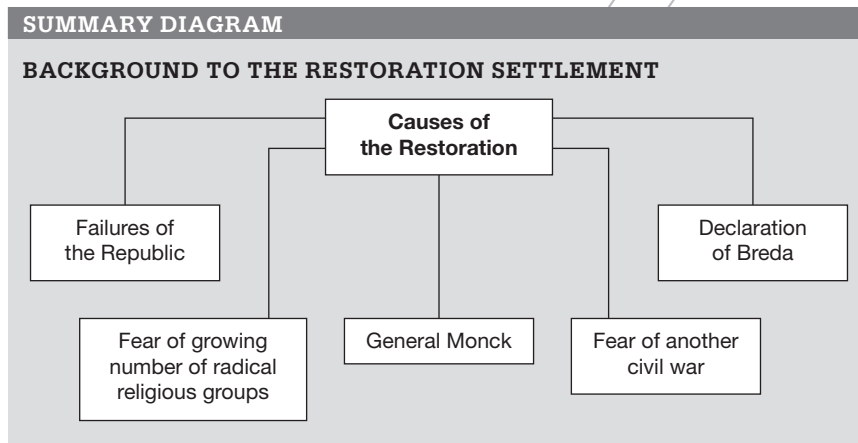
- It has been argued that a rejection of the republican governments of the 1650s was inevitable after the return to one-man rule under Cromwell.
- There was fear of another civil war in the context of the political uncertainty of 1659.
- The number of radical religious groups alarmed the **political nation** in the late 1650s. In 1659, there were as many as 60,000 **Quakers**.
- As the Republic had collapsed so quickly, it was essential to men of property that a stable government be restored.
- Charles's Declaration of Breda made him appear as an attractive option, as he offered religious toleration and payment of arrears to the army.

**SOURCE QUESTION**

Study Source B. What is the significance of the reference to Charles beginning his reign in 1648?



A contemporary engraving commemorating the Restoration of 1660. The text around the edge includes the words 'honour the King' and 'fear God', as well as references to the regicides who executed Charles's father.



2 The political settlement

- *To what extent were the powers of the monarchy fully restored?*

The primary task of the Convention Parliament was to ensure that there was a peaceful and ordered transition to monarchical government. Not all MPs, however, agreed on how this was to be achieved.

The Convention, April to December 1660

The Convention had two important issues to resolve:

- First, it needed to produce a raft of legislation aimed at providing a settlement that would be acceptable to the majority of the nation, including the settling of land disputes and religious toleration.
- Second, the issue of the status of the army and its future needed to be determined.

MPs in the Convention can be split into two groups, each of which had different objectives:

- The Presbyterians were associated with the republican system and did not favour a return to an Anglican national Church.
- The royalists were Anglicans who were firm supporters of Charles II.

The Act of Indemnity

In the Declaration of Breda, Charles had promised to pardon those who had participated in any rebellious actions against his father. An 'Act of Pardon, Indemnity and Oblivion' was passed in August 1660. This included the following details:

- All crimes committed during the Civil Wars were pardoned, with the exception of serious offences, such as murder.

- The Act was generally lenient, providing immunity for soldiers who had fought for parliament and the republic, many of whom were still serving in the army.
- The regicides (those who had been involved in the trial and execution of Charles I) and 29 others were exempted from the Act and were liable to punishment.

The Act attempted to solve some of the land issues that had emerged during the Republic. It was routine for the estates of suspected royalists to be confiscated, and lands belonging to the Crown had been sold on the abolition of the monarchy in 1649. In addition, much of the land belonging to the Church of England had been sold off when the national Church became Presbyterian in 1645. In total, £5 million worth of land had been sold. Now that the monarchy was restored, a number of questions needed to be answered:

- What would the new government do to reinstate lands to loyal royalist supporters?
- What would happen to the rights of those who had purchased these lands during the Republic in good faith?

The Convention Parliament attempted to address these questions by adding clauses to the Act of Indemnity that deprived owners of former Church and Crown land of their legal title. Generous compensation was given to those forced to give back land, which resulted in very little opposition.

Land lost by former royalists

The reinstatement of Crown and Church land resolved the issue for some, but much land had been confiscated from private individuals accused of being royalist, and this was not addressed by the Act. In addition, land that was sold to pay for the fines imposed on former royalists was difficult to claim back through the courts because the sales were voluntary. Despite the lack of legal assistance, over 70 per cent of land lost by royalists was reinstated in 1660, normally through a process of negotiation and compromise to produce out-of-court settlements.

Disbanding the New Model Army

The soldiers of the 40,000-strong army were still owed arrears of pay, and there was a consensus at both Court and in parliament that the army should be disbanded in order to facilitate a peaceful political settlement.

In May 1660, there were 57 regiments in the army, together with a number of garrisons in towns across the country. The Indemnity had already guaranteed soldiers immunity from prosecution and Monck was tasked with arranging their demobilisation, with just two regiments surviving to be incorporated into Charles's forces. He arranged for their arrears to be paid, costing £835,000 in total, to be funded from an increase in taxes. As part of the marriage contract that secured Charles's marriage to Catherine of Braganza in 1662, 4500 English troops were required to be sent to Portugal to support the fight for independence

KEY TERMS

Fifth Monarchist

A radical Puritan sect whose members believed that Christ's return to Earth was imminent. They had supported the Republic at first, but turned against one-man rule under Cromwell. They wanted a new parliament to be elected based on godly principles.

Protestant

Dissenters Members of Nonconformist churches who did not follow the Church of England.

KEY FIGURE

Thomas Venner (c.1609–61)

Venner worked as a cooper (barrel maker) in London before spending time at a number of Puritan colonies in New England. Venner returned to London in 1651, and became the leader of a militant Fifth Monarchist congregation located in Swan Alley. He was involved in several plots against Cromwell and the Protectorate government. After his uprising, Venner unsuccessfully defended himself in court by claiming that Jesus was the true leader of his congregation.

from Spain. This came at a convenient time for Monck, who had been struggling to provide enough funds to disband the entire army.

Demobilisation was not wholly successful. An increase in rioting and a spate of robberies in the southeast of England were publicised in the royalist press, with contemporaries blaming ex-soldiers for the increase in crime. In September 1660, Clarendon informed parliament of several seditious plots organised by disbanded veterans. A volunteer militia of 90,000 loyal royalists was raised to undertake many of the policing duties once carried out by Cromwell's troops, which helped to dissipate much of the discontent.

The Cavalier Parliament, February 1661

The Convention Parliament was dissolved in December 1660 and new elections were held in early 1661. In January, the **Fifth Monarchist Thomas Venner** attempted an uprising in London with around 50 supporters. They attempted to seize St Paul's Cathedral and soldiers were given orders to use as much force as necessary to quell the disturbance. Over 40 people were killed in street fighting that lasted several days. With an election only days away, Venner's Rising reminded the political nation that the threat of radical religious groups was still very much alive.

In the same month, there was nearly a Presbyterian coup in the London Corporation elections. When the general election came, these fears of religious radicalism helped to produce a 'Cavalier Parliament', so-called because it contained a royalist and Anglican majority suspicious of both **Protestant Dissenters** and Catholics. At least 73 per cent of the MPs elected in 1661 can be classified as loyal to the Royal Court. There were exceptions, for example, in London where all four seats were won by Presbyterians opposed to the Anglican Church. Away from London, the government intervened to block Presbyterian candidates. It was rare for constituencies to be contested by more than one candidate, but in the elections for the Cavalier Parliament, eleven counties and 32 boroughs saw opponents stand in defiance of the expected MPs.

Prerogative powers

The Cavalier Parliament continued with the task of restoring the monarchy and its associated institutions, although the prerogative courts that had helped to maintain Charles I in power were not revived. The monarch was, however, given the power to appoint his own ministers and state officials, and the Sedition Act (1661) made it a treasonous offence to levy war against the King or encourage a foreign power to mount a war against the monarchy. The Privy Council remained the most important organ of government and Charles doubled its size to 120 in order to accommodate an increasing number of different factions. This made it difficult to manage, so Charles relied on a small inner circle, headed by Clarendon.

Restrictions on the press

A Licensing Act – fully titled *An Act for Preventing the frequent Abuses in Printing Seditious, Treasonable and Unlicensed Books and Pamphlets* – was introduced in 1662. Restrictions on the press were nothing new, and the Act mirrored similar moves taken by the government of Charles I. All intended publications had to be accepted by the government-approved Stationers' Company, and the number of London printing presses was limited to twenty. Houses and shops could be searched to confiscate unlawful material and imported books were the target of particular suspicion. To remove the threat of the kind of large-scale petitioning seen during the Civil Wars, an Act against Tumultuous Petitioning was passed in 1661.

Restrictions on printed material were only partially successful. Despite attempts to limit the number of printing presses to twenty, there is evidence that many more were in operation in the years immediately following the Restoration and countless critical pamphlets were produced that were read and discussed far from London.

The Militia Act

The status of the army had been partially resolved by the Convention, although the King's role in commanding the militia was a major issue that remained unresolved. In July 1661, parliament agreed that the King had the sole authority to control the militia. This put to rest an issue that had been integral in causing the breakdown in relations between king and parliament in the early 1640s. The organisation of the militia under this Act essentially mirrored arrangements put forward by the Rump in an ordinance of 1659:

- Each county was required to levy a tax to pay for soldiers, horses and arms.
- All men of military age (normally those aged between sixteen and 60) were required to attend an annual **muster**.
- In times of emergency, the King could levy a tax of £70,000 to prepare the militia for war.

The reformed militia was far from an instant success. The Act reduced the total strength of the militia and there were delays in its implementation. Continued rumour of plots and rebellions led to Charles establishing five new regular regiments in late 1662. This was criticised by some MPs as the beginnings of a return to the professional and powerful army of the Republic.

The Triennial Act, 1664

Historians who have sought to emphasise the growing power of the monarchy, as opposed to parliament, after the Restoration, have pointed to the 1664 Triennial Act as a key piece of evidence. During the prelude to Civil War in 1641, a Triennial Act had been passed, ensuring that parliament was compelled

KEY TERM

Muster A formal gathering of troops.

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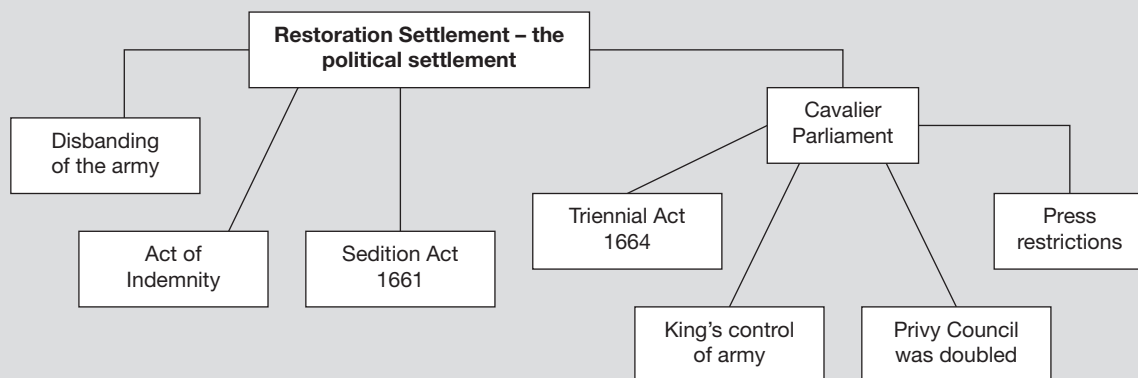
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to assemble at least once every three years. This major constitutional shift had been carried out in order to avoid any future return to personal rule. In 1664, the Act was renewed and although it stated that 'there should be a frequent calling, assembling and holding of parliament once in three years at the least', Charles II modified the terms, ensuring that there were no legal mechanisms to enforce the Act. Both he and James II would later act in contravention of the Triennial Act.

SUMMARY DIAGRAM**THE POLITICAL SETTLEMENT**

3 The financial settlement

■ Was Charles II provided with adequate funding?

If parliament was content to restore Charles to the throne with political powers close to those possessed by his father in 1642, its members were more divided over the issue of government finances. The Convention was more agreeable than the Cavalier Parliament, and its generosity is reflected in the £800,000 raised through extraordinary taxes in the immediate aftermath of the Restoration. This was used to pay for the disbanding of the army. The Convention then approved a permanent Crown revenue of £1.2 million.

Government income

It soon became clear that the Convention had significantly overvalued the proceeds Charles would receive from the various strands of revenue that had been projected. In reality, the average revenue received in the 1660s was around £700,000 (see Table 2.1, page 17). Even in years when England did not have to pay for wars, Charles would need at least £1 million to cover government expenditure. This shortfall was the result of a number of factors:

- War with Spain in the 1650s had disrupted trade and affected the many industries that relied on Spanish raw materials.
- The political upheavals of 1658–60 had a depressing impact on trade, leading to a reduction in customs revenues.
- The high taxes levied under the Republic had led to an economic slump that had continued.
- Poor harvests between 1658 and 1662 led to an increase in food prices.
- Apart from economic factors, there was a genuine desire from many MPs to deliberately restrict the King's revenue so he would have no choice but to work closely with them.

Table 2.1 Projected sources of Crown revenue in 1660.

Sources of revenue	Revenue raised
Customs duties	£400,000
Compensation for the removal of some feudal revenues	£100,000
Rents on Crown land	£263,598
Income from the Office of Postage	£21,500
Wine licences	£22,300
Tax on exported coal	£8,000
Proceeds from the Dean Forest	£4,000
Income from the Queen Mother's estate	£87,929
Liquor excise	£300,000
Total	£1,207,327

Mercantile legislation

With the general consensus that the majority of the King's revenue should now come from sources approved by parliament, Charles hoped to gain from a renewed parliamentary focus on **mercantilism**, which might bolster the inadequate revenue he had been given. Mercantilism was popular with many of the European powers and had been prioritised by Cromwell in the 1650s. A Navigation Act had been passed in 1651, which stated that goods being transported to English colonies could be carried only on English ships. This was designed to break a developing Dutch monopoly on transatlantic trade. In the years immediately following the Restoration, further legislation was passed:

- Another Navigation Act in 1660 was designed to strengthen the original legislation. It stated that a number of goods produced in the colonies (see Chapter 10), including sugar and tobacco, could be supplied only to England. It also required English vessels to be manned by crews of at least three-quarters English by nationality.
- The Statute of Frauds (1662) introduced tight controls on ships carrying goods that became subject to customs duties on arrival in England. Government agents were given permission to board ships suspected of withholding goods liable to taxation.

KEY TERM

Mercantilism

A economic policy that attempts to achieve self-sufficiency and surplus wealth for a state by regulating trade and acquiring overseas possessions and colonies.

- A further Navigation Act, also known as the Staple Act, was passed in 1663. It stated that all foreign goods being shipped to England's American colonies had to first be routed through English ports. This ensured that the appropriate customs duties could be collected.

The increased revenue raised from this legislation resulted in an improved financial position for Charles, although the enhanced customs duties did not make much difference until the 1670s.

Court and government expenditure

As Table 2.2 shows, Charles's personal expenditure was high. His reputation as the 'Merry Monarch' is reflected in the £58,000 spent on his wardrobe in 1664. This amount is significantly higher than the £30,000 spent by his father in the 1630s. On top of this, the arrival of his new queen in 1662 and her associated household expenses added further to Charles's financial burden. The Royal Court was inefficient and Charles provided salaries and pensions to courtiers based on their friendship rather than their ability to dispense valuable advice.

Table 2.2 Expenditure on the Royal Court in 1664

Item	Cost
Households	£117,000
Wardrobe	£58,000
Stables	£2,700
Art	£12,000
Private expenses	£21,000
Other departments	£12,700
Meetings and associated expenditure	£32,000
Pensions to courtiers	£83,000
Total	£338,400

Charles would have to wait for an improvement in trade in the mid-1660s to see his income come close to matching expenditure. Any optimism about the government's long-term financial position was soon dampened when Charles committed England to war with the Dutch in 1665.

Sale of Dunkirk, 1662

Charles could still raise money independently of parliament, but this came with the disadvantage of eating into his capital. The sale of most of the remaining Crown lands in the 1670s raised £800,000, leaving Charles with only the estates used by the royal family. The inadequate nature of the financial settlement is reflected in his decision to sell Dunkirk in 1662. Dunkirk, in northern France, had been captured from Spain in 1658 and maintained a garrison of former Republican soldiers. Charles agreed to sell the town to Louis XIV of France for £320,000.

The Hearth Tax

Another blow to Charles's hopes of accessing more funding was the initial failure of the Hearth Tax. The tax was based on the number of hearths (fireplaces) in a house, with each hearth being liable to one shilling (5p), collected twice a year. Parliament approved this in November 1661 and the tax was first levied in 1662, with contemporaries often calling it the 'chimney tax'.

Constables acted as local tax collectors and faced significant opposition, as well as pressure to overlook hearths. Only one-third of the expected revenue of £250,000 was collected in the first year. In 1664, the local officials were replaced with independently appointed subcontractors, but they found it even more difficult to obtain local cooperation. It took several more years for the tax to become lucrative enough to make up the shortfall for which it had been originally intended.

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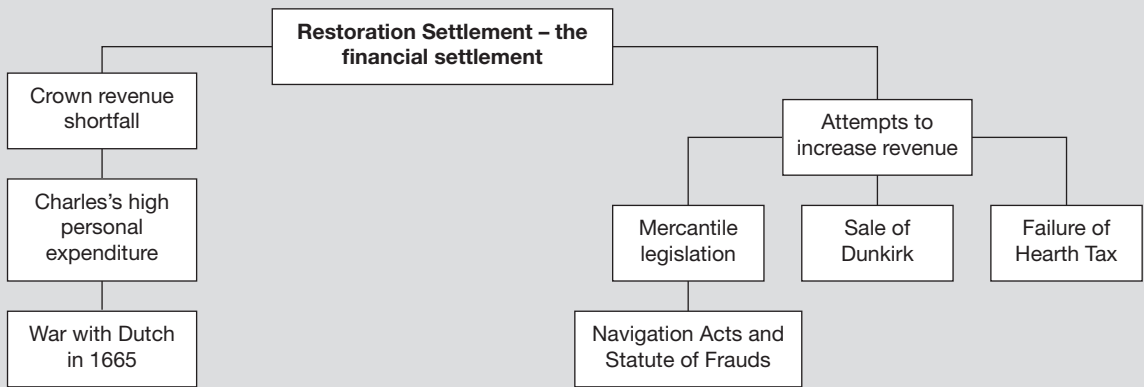
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SUMMARY DIAGRAM

THE FINANCIAL SETTLEMENT



4 The religious settlement

■ *How was Anglicanism restored to a position of pre-eminence?*

Because of Charles's reliance on parliament's support to raise revenue and the shortfall in the financial settlement, parliament was able to exert influence on Charles over the future of the Church. As the Cavalier Parliament was overwhelmingly Anglican, it was inevitable that its members would insist on the full restoration of the Church of England to a form similar to that inherited by Charles I in 1625. It did seem, however, that a compromise might be found when the Convention arranged the Worcester House Conference in October 1660.

KEY FIGURES

Richard Baxter (1615–91)

Baxter worked as a chaplain in the parliamentary army and became a high-profile Presbyterian writer and preacher during the Republic. After the Restoration, he called for a national Church that could encompass both Presbyterian and Anglican views, but was cast aside when the Anglicans became the dominant religious force.

Gilbert Sheldon (1598–1677)

Sheldon was ordained as a priest in the 1620s and became a royal chaplain to Charles I. He was nominated Bishop of London in 1660 and joined the Privy Council. He became a key figure in the High Anglican movement and was a strong supporter of the Act of Uniformity. He became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1663 and held the post until his death.

Worcester House Conference, 1660

The meeting included Presbyterian and Anglican clergy and resulted in the Worcester House Declaration. This proposed that the bishops be reinstated in an Anglican hierarchy, but with a Presbyterian to be appointed as royal chaplain and several concessions made to the Presbyterians. Clarendon suggested a clause that would allow 'others' to meet so long as they did not disturb the peace, but the Presbyterians' leader, **Richard Baxter**, opposed it as allowing liberty to Catholics. Less than six weeks after the publication of the Declaration, a motion transferring it into law lost in parliament by 183 votes to 157. Ultimately, the recommendations in the Declaration were not implemented for the following reasons:

- Charles supported the Worcester House Declaration because he had hoped to appeal to as many people as possible until he was secured on the throne. As his position became safer, he was able to distance himself from the negotiations.
- Charles was aware of the large number of Presbyterians in Monck's army and in the Convention Parliament, so had no choice but to support a more enhanced role for them in late 1660.
- Many of Charles's advisers, including Lord Chancellor Hyde, believed that the monarchy would survive only if the Anglican Church was restored on a broad, rather than a narrow basis.

Savoy Palace Conference, 1661

Charles issued a warrant for a conference at the Savoy Palace – the residence of **Gilbert Sheldon**, Bishop of London – in March 1661 to revise the *Book of Common Prayer* (see below) and discuss details of the long-term religious settlement.

Baxter was once again the most vocal of the Presbyterians, and although he was asked to prepare a new form of worship for consideration, his suggestions were rejected outright.

No concessions were offered by the Anglicans and no compromises were made. Any hope for an inclusive Church of England was now lost and it was only a matter of time before Puritan clergy like Baxter would be ejected from the Church. Although both the high-church and low-church factions had been represented at the Conference, the impact of Venner's Rising and the election of the Cavalier Parliament meant that High Anglicanism would now dominate. The four Acts of the Clarendon Code (discussed on page 21) reflected the nature of this settlement.

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