

The English Revolution & Constitutionalism



A portion of Hippolyte Delaroche's (French) 1836 oil painting *Charles I Insulted by Cromwell's Soldiers*, damaged in The Blitz and thought lost, until rediscovery in 2009

Limited Monarchy and Republics

- Poland, The Dutch Republic and England as examples of states that served as a contrast to the absolutist direction taken by other European states in the 17th C. – resisted the power of hereditary monarchs

Polish Monarchy

- A merged kingdom of Poland-Lithuania had emerged since the late 14th C. with the Jadwiga dynasty.
- Assemblies of nobles elected the king and limited royal power and keep the peasantry in serfdom
- Practice of electing outsiders emerged – w/ the intent to create strategic alliances.
- This strategy failed with the election of the Swede Sigismund III (1587-1631) – despite his designs on Russia, Finland and Sweden
- Elective nature of the Polish diet (Sejm) kept the monarchy weak – forced monarchs to agree to share power
 - *liberum veto* allowed in 1652 – one vote stops the Sejm from meeting
- Basically a confederation of semi-independent states – easy to invade, difficult to rule
 - Plays into the interests of the nobility



Dutch Republic

- 17th C. a golden age for the Dutch Republic – it was an Atlantic power
- Emergence really came with the successful Revolt of the Netherlands (7 northern provinces) against Spain – called themselves the United Provinces in 1581
- The Dutch Republic was recognized in 1648 with the Treaty of Westphalia
- Internal dissension followed independence
 - Each of 7 provinces had a “stadtholder”
 - House of Orange developed a stadtholder in each of the seven provinces and pushed for a centralized hereditary monarchy
 - The States General was an assembly of representatives from every province and desired a decentralized republic
 - Louis XIV’s Dutch War of 1672-1678 pulled the provinces toward monarchy – William III (1672-1702)
 - William III died w/out a direct heir and the republican faction gained control
- Wars (Dutch War, War of the League of Augsburg and the War of Spanish Succession) and internal dissention were costly and by the end of the 17th C., the Dutch were being challenged by the English commercially and by 1715 they were experiencing economic decline



Understanding the Conflicts, 1628-1688: Unresolved Questions, Tensions, and Flaws

- **The problem of sovereignty, law, and counsel**
 - What is the king's relationship to the law; is he subject to it or not?
 - Who should advise the king: courtiers, councilors, or Parliament?
 - What are the proper roles of king and Parliament, and whose interest do they represent?

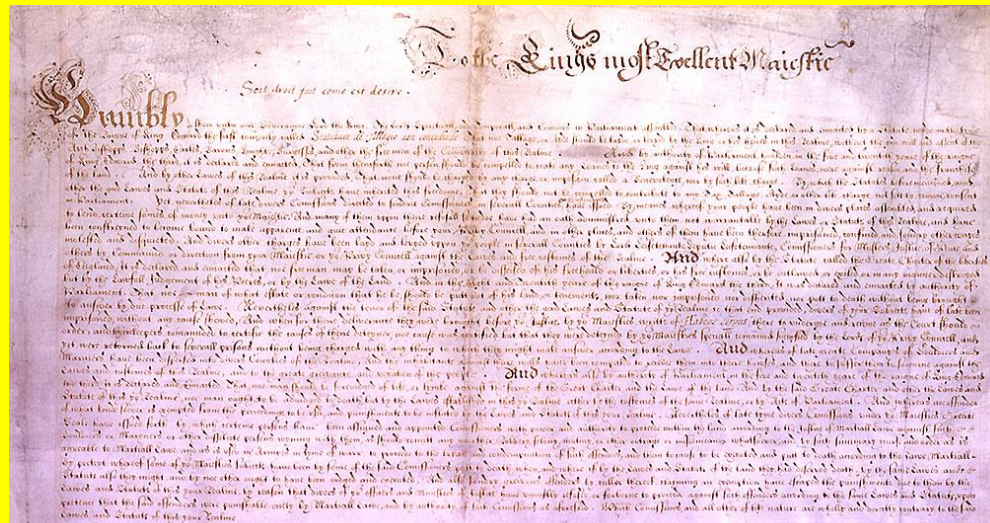


The King-in-Parliament

Unresolved Questions, Tensions, and Flaws

- **The problem of government finance and the economy**
 - How should government pay for itself?
 - In what ways do the property rights of the king conflict/coincide with the property rights of his subjects?
 - What role should government play in the national economy?

The Petition of Right, the document that helped launch the Personal Rule



Unresolved Questions, Tensions, and Flaws

- **The problem of war and foreign policy**
 - **What is England's proper role in Europe?**
 - **With whom should England align in times of war and peace, and how active a military role should England have in foreign conflict?**
 - **Who should pay for England's foreign policy, and by what means?**



Medal commemorating Charles I's "domination" of the seas, 1630



James II; Louis XIV,
his cousin and role model

Unresolved Questions, Tensions, and Flaws

- **The problem of religion**
 - What principles and practices should define England's state religion, and to what degree should difference be tolerated?
 - Who makes religious policy: king, Parliament, ecclesiastical hierarchy, local communities, or some combination of those entities?
 - What is the answer to these questions for Scotland?
 - What is the answer to these questions for Ireland?



William Laud (1573-1645),
Archbishop of Canterbury



The Prayer Book Riot
Scotland, 1639



Coin: the Popish Plot

Unresolved Questions, Tensions, and Flaws

- **The problem of local control**
 - What relationship should exist between the central government in Westminster and the English localities (and leadership)?
 - Local notables had resisted extraordinary taxes by the King
 - Central gov't & Scotland?
 - Central gov't & Ireland?



England and Constitutional Monarchy

- Death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603
 - end of the Tudor line
- James I (1603-1625) (James VI of Scotland) to the throne – Stuart line – Elizabeth's cousin – (son of Mary Queen of Scots)
 - Claimed divine right/absolutist philosophy – alienated parliament – “balanced polity” *****Excerpts*****
 - Parliament – strong // no local bodies like in the Continent
- Parliamentary resentment of James (absolutist claims, Star Chamber, High Commission)
- Parliament refuses to fund James I's government
- Puritans (Calvinist Anglicans) also disliked James I – he refused to dissolve the office of bishops (episcopos) in the Anglican Church for presbyter –
 - b/c by doing so he would relinquish control of the Anglican church
 - Puritans tended to be wealthy landed gentry (wealthy non-nobles) who held important government positions and seats in the House of Commons

Charles I

- Charles I comes to power (1625-1649)
- Parliament passes the Petition of Right in 1628
 - No taxation w/ out consent of Parliament
 - No arbitrary imprisonment, quartering of soldiers
 - No declaration of martial law during peacetime
- Charles at first accepts and later reneges and then in 1629 suspends Parliament (until 1640)
- Funding needed w/out Parliament – “ship money”
 - To apply beyond coastal areas – resented by middle class merchants/gentry
- Religious problems:
 - Marriage to Henrietta Maria (Catholic sister of Louis XIII)
 - Reforms by Charles I and William Laud (Archbishop of Canterbury) to add more ritual to the Anglican Church created a great deal of resentment from Puritans.
 - **THEME:** Fear of Catholicism – “popery”



Lead-Up to English Civil War

- Inciting Incident: Laud (Archbishop of Canterbury) tries to impose the Anglican Book of Common Prayer and Anglican Bishops on the fiercely Presbyterian Scots
 - Scots start a rebellion
- Charles I forced to call Parliament to deal with the insurrection
- Parliament had a score to settle (“Long Parliament” 1640-1660)
 - Score to settle: called for impeachment/death of royal advisors
 - Placed severe limitations on royal authority
 - Abolition of arbitrary courts
 - Abolition of taxes w/out parliaments consent (ship money)
 - Triennial Act – regular 3-year meetings of Parliament w/ or w/out kings consent
- Parliament fractures – Radical Puritans want more change (elimination of bishops in the Anglican Church)
- King takes advantage of the fracture by arresting some members of the radical faction

The Prayer Book Riot
Scotland, 1639



The Arch-Prelate of S^t Andrewes in Scotland
reading the new Service-booke in his pontificalibus
assaulted by men & Women, with Cricketts, stooles
Stickers and Stones.



Civil War – 1st Phase (1642-1646)

- Puritan “New Model Army” (composed of radical Independents) successful in the first phase of the war (1642-1646) under Oliver Cromwell
 - Captured Charles I in 1646
 - Split in parliamentary forces
 - Presbyterian majority of Parliament wanted to restore Charles I and establish a Presbyterian state church (Solemn League & Covenant)
 - The army, composed mostly of radical Independents, opposed the Presbyterian Church and marched on London in 1647 and attempted to negotiate with the King
 - Charles flees to Scotland

“Cavaliers”

vs.

“Roundheads”



2nd Phase of the War – 1648

- Ended with Cromwell's victory and a recapturing of the King
- Cromwell: death of Charles was a forgone conclusion
- Presbyterian members of Parliament – purged of moderates (from 500 in 1640) – “Rump Parliament” – 53 members of the House of Commons

Trial, Conviction and Execution of Charles I

- Charles I – tried, convicted the king on a count of treason:
“He, the said Charles Stuart, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy to the good people of this nation, shall be put to death by the severing of the head from his body.”
- January 30, 1649 – beheading of Charles I





Abſcheulichſte Verhörte Execution /
An weſtland dem Durchleuchtig: vnd Großmächtigſten
Carl Stuart /
König in Groß: Britannien, Frankreich vnd Irland ꝛc. vorgegan in London vor der Reſidents Whithall / dienſtag
den 30. Janua: 9. Februa: Anno 1649. Nachmittag zwifchen 2. vnd 5. vhren .



Scottish
 rebellion –
 Converted
 royalists

A. Seine Kön: May: an dem Block. B. Doctor Juxon. C. Colonell Tomlinson. D. Colonell Hacker. E. F. die 2. Executorn . C. R. V. N. 1649

Formation of the English Commonwealth (1649-1653)

- Rump Parliament abolished the Monarchy and the House of Lords
- Religious toleration (no Unitarians, atheists, Catholics, hard Anglicans)
- England proclaimed a commonwealth (republic) – 1649-1653
- Cromwell crushes a Catholic uprisings in Ireland – BRUTAL (most repressed people in Western Europe) and in Scotland (Charles I's son)
- Faced and crushed opposition from radical groups: the Levellers
 - Freedom of speech
 - Religious toleration
 - Democratic republic
 - Voting rights for male householders over 21
 - Annual parliaments
 - Women's equality
 - Government programs for the poor
- Also the Quakers, Diggers, Fifth Monarchy Men
- War with Dutch (1651) & Spain (Jamaica)



19th C. depiction of
massacre at
Drogheda (Ireland)

Military Dictatorship and the “Lord Protector”

- Cromwell disbanded the Rump Parliament – difficult to work with – April 1653
- Constitutional government was a military dictatorship – under Lord Protector (Cromwell)
- Parliament reconstituted, but again debated Cromwell’s authority and pushed for Presbyterian state church
 - 1655 – parliament dissolved again
- Military governorship in 11 regions of England
 - Puritanical laws: repressed vagabonds, closed ale houses, outlawed cockfighting
- Cromwell dies in 1658 – military government falters (18 months)



Legacies of Protectorate/Revolution:

- Rejection of “godly” England, Puritan zealots, Peasant apathy – those who pushed for democratic reform: “Levelers”
- Leaders of the discredited revolution to English Colonies in America

The Restoration (Charles II)

- Restoration – Charles II (1660-1685) and the House of Lords
- After restoration – Cromwell's body dug up, hung on public display, head severed, put on a pike
- **IMPORTANT** – Parliament kept the power it had won:
 - (Charles II – initially careful not to provoke Parliament)
 - Role in government
 - Consent needed to tax (dissolved feudal land obligations to king in favor of new taxation)
 - Abolishment of arbitrary courts – *habeas corpus*
- New Parliament (Cavalier Parliament) met in 1661 – restored Anglican Church
- Powers: local judges, supervised local church, local poor relief, roads



Fear of Catholicism...



Seven bishops taken to the Tower of London b/c they refused to read the Declaration of Indulgence – later acquitted ...

- Parliament passes laws to force conformity to Anglican Church amongst Catholics and Puritans
- Charles *w/ Catholic sympathies and a Catholic brother, James* passes the Declaration of Indulgence which suspended anti-Catholic and anti-Puritan laws passed by Parliament
- Parliament opposes and induces the King to suspend the declaration and passes the Test Act in 1673 (only Anglicans could hold military and civil offices)
- Charles sought alliances with Louis XIV - resentment
- “The Popish Plot” 1678-81 (Titus Oates) – forged papal document

Imaginary rumor about a Catholic/Jesuit assassination plot to kill Charles – Parliament passes a bill that would have barred James from the throne as a Catholic

Two political groupings develop:

- Whigs – exclusion of the Catholic King – push for protestant king
- Tories who believed in the lawful succession of James, in spite of his Catholic faith to the throne.

- Charles II dies in 1685 and his brother James II (1685-1688) comes to the throne

Ousting of James II

- James II resented for allowing Catholics to serve in high office/military
 - Issues new Declaration of Indulgence (1687) in violation of Test Act
 - Later tolerated when his two protestant daughters were in line for the throne
- Had a Catholic son w/his second wife and so the threat of ongoing Catholic Monarchy became real
- Nobles invite William of Orange, husband of James's daughter Mary to invade England
- James II escapes to France

*Battle of the Boyne
(Ireland) between
James II
(French, Irish support)
and
William III
(Dutch, German state,
Scottish, French Huguenot
support),
11 July 1690, [Jan van
Huchtenburg](#).*



Glorious Revolution – 1688

Triumph of Constitutional Monarchy

- Revolution Settlement – James had “*broken the original contract between king and people*” and declared the throne vacant offered it to William and Mary if they accepted the English Bill of Rights (1689):
 - Make laws and levy taxes
 - Standing armies only called by Parliament
 - Free elections and debates in Parliament – no interference from the King
 - Citizens could petition the gov’t, keep arms, have jury trials, not subject to excessive bail
- Toleration Act of 1689 – religious tolerance for Puritan “Dissenters” – exclusion from office persecution
 - Continued persecution of Catholics ... declines over time (1701...English Act of Settlement Roman Catholics – No Catholic King/Queen of England)



Importance of Glorious Revolution:

- Demolished the divine-right theory of kingship – William king by the grace of ... Parliament (not God)
 - Vindication of:
 - Principles of Parliamentary gov't
 - Rule of Law
 - Natural Rights (of gentlemen)
 - Right of Rebellion ... except Ireland (Locke)
 - BUT somewhat regressive
 - Aristocratic movement
 - Increased property requirement to serve in Parliament
 - MP pay eliminated



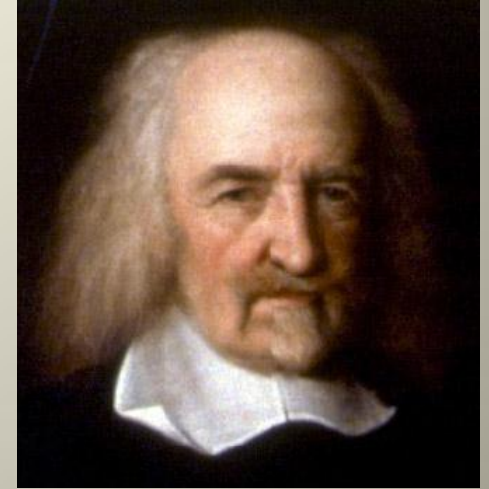
Questions, Tensions, and Flaws Resolved:

The Glorious Revolution and Settlement

- **Sovereignty**: Parliament (enhanced further by the Act of Succession, 1701 – guaranteed protestant succession to throne)
 - Continued fear of Stuart/Catholic restoration and French influence (Scotland)
 - 1707 – “Britain” – uniting thrones of Scotland/England
- **Religion**: Abandonment of quest for a single, coercive national church and the establishment of measured religious toleration (excluding Catholics)
- **War and foreign policy**: the long, anti-French 18th century
- **Finances**: requirement of Parliamentary support
- **Local control**: linkage of local notables to Crown
 - *The important exceptions: Ireland and Scotland*

Two Responses: Hobbes

- Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679)
 - Alarmed by revolutionary upheavals in England
 - Defended absolute authority in *Leviathan*
 - State of nature before society: “solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short”
 - Humans not guided by reason but by animalistic instincts and self-preservation
 - To save themselves people needed government, a commonwealth: “that great Leviathan (mortal god) which we owe our peace and defense” – a sovereign ruler to serve as a executor, legislator and judge – unlimited power
 - Subjects may not rebel – should be suppressed



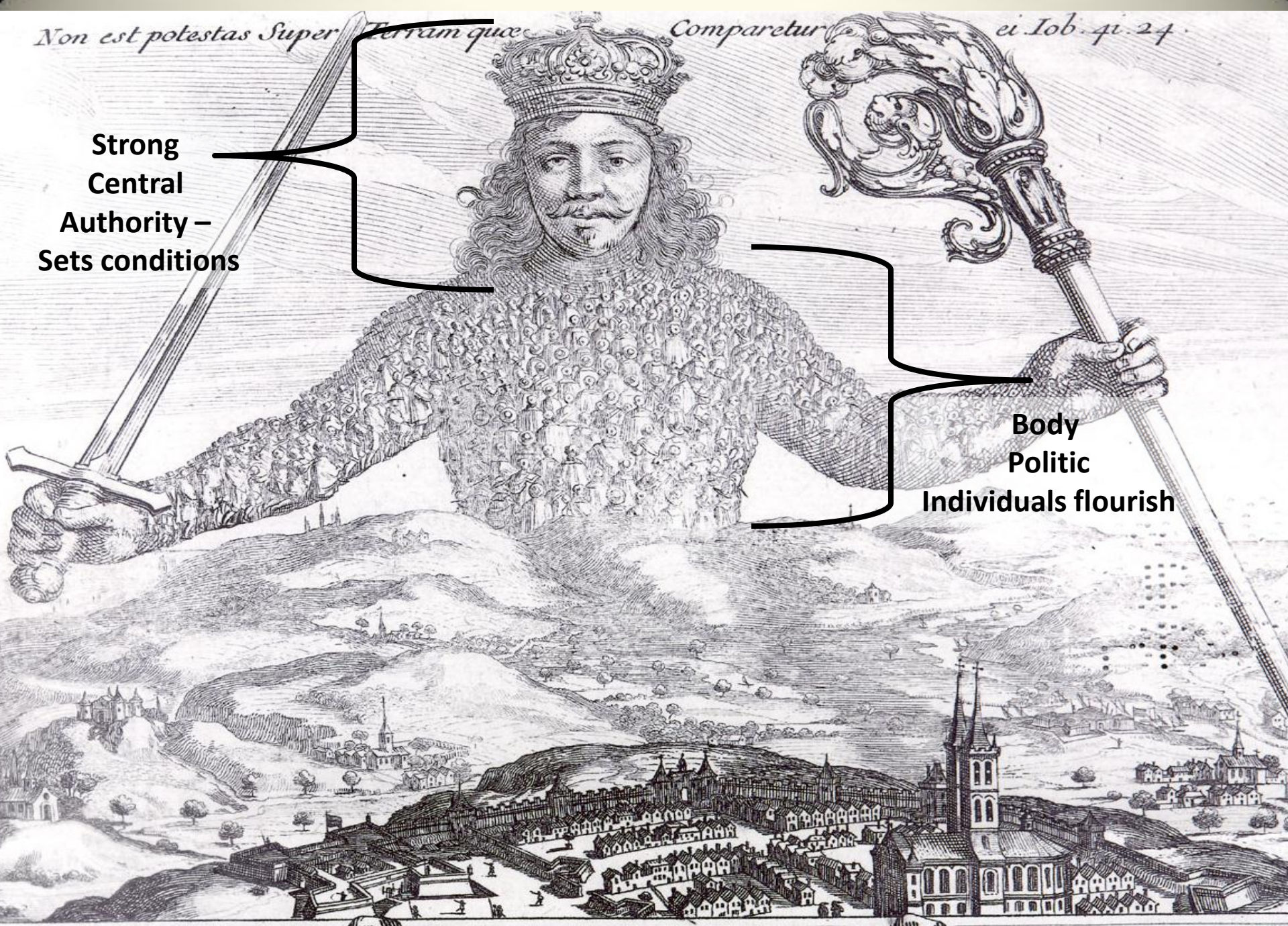
Non est potestas Super Terram quae Comparetur ei Iob. 41. 24.



Non est potestas Super Terram quae Comparetur ei. Iob. 41. 24.

**Strong
Central
Authority –
Sets conditions**

**Body
Politic
Individuals flourish**



Two Responses: Locke

- John Locke (1632-1704)
 - Against the absolute power of one man
 - *Two Treatises of Government*
 - State of nature – equality and freedom w/ certain inalienable rights: life, liberty and property
 - No impartial judge in the state of nature – difficult to protect these rights
 - Thus people mutually agreed to establish government to protect rights
 - Mutual obligation: gov't protects rights, people would act reasonably toward gov't
 - If this contract is broken – people have the obligation to form a new government
 - Government gets its power from the people
 - “People” = landed aristocracy
- His work is influential in the American and French Revolutions

