

# How did the Civil War affect democracy in England?

## Reading



### Set a Purpose

There were many important changes in England after the execution of Charles I. As you read, make note of political and social changes in English society.

**republic** a government where there is no king or queen; power rests with the citizens who vote to elect their leaders

Although Charles I had been executed, there was still a question of whether or not England was now a **republic**. By ancient right, Charles's son, who at that time was in exile in Europe, should be Charles II. The English republic, now called the Commonwealth of England, only came into being when the Rump Parliament voted to abolish the monarchy and the House of Lords in 1649.

## The Rump Parliament During the Commonwealth

Many people disagreed with decisions made by the Rump Parliament, and some questioned its right to make any decisions at all. With only about 80 active members, it could hardly claim to represent the people of England. However, at this time the Rump Parliament was still supported by the victorious Roundhead army and its leader, Oliver Cromwell. Parliament kept Cromwell and his army busy dealing with Charles II, who had returned from Europe to reclaim his father's throne. After the Battle of Worcester in 1651, Charles II again fled to Europe.

The Rump Parliament did take some actions in an attempt to change British society:

- The Adultery Act of May 1650 imposed the death penalty for incest and adultery.
- The Blasphemy Act of August 1650 was meant to restrain more extreme religious groups.
- To allow Puritans freedom of worship, parliament ended compulsory attendance at an Anglican Church.

The Rump Parliament also taxed Crown and Church lands, which was a popular decision. However, its members failed to agree on a new constitution, which would have been a vital step in the formation of the Commonwealth. By 1653, they had lost the support of Oliver Cromwell and the army.

## Who Was Oliver Cromwell?

Oliver Cromwell lived modestly for most of his life. In his late 20s, he developed a profound belief in Puritanism. Through family connections he became a member of parliament, and served in both the Short and Long Parliaments.

During the Civil War, Cromwell became a military commander. He was known for his ability to lead and his strict authority. His cavalry's successful charge at the Battle of Marston Moor led to a victory for the Roundheads, and Cromwell became lieutenant-general of cavalry when the New Model Army was formed. He fought successfully at the Battle of Naseby, ensuring a final defeat for the Royalist army.

Cromwell later defeated the Scots who had invaded England in support of Charles. He also pursued a brutal campaign against the Irish, beginning in 1641. When the city of Drogheda resisted in 1649, Cromwell's soldiers massacred its entire garrison. All Catholic landowners in the north of Ireland were forcibly removed from their lands and sent south. Northern Ireland was resettled with English and Scottish Protestants, making it the stronghold of the Protestants in Ireland.

## The Lord Protector

In 1653, the Rump Parliament refused to hold an election unless they could be guaranteed their seats. Cromwell lost patience. He marched into a parliamentary session with a troop of soldiers and physically drove the members out. According to some accounts of the event, he shouted, "You are no parliament!"

Soon after, senior army officers named Oliver Cromwell the Lord Protector—or military **dictator**—of England. Cromwell divided the country up into districts and ruled through major-generals. Each of these men was responsible for law, order, and collecting taxes in his district. Calvinist **blue laws** outlawed "pagan" ceremonies, such as Christmas, and forbade dancing, gambling, sports, and the theatre.

Cromwell's military dictatorship was very unpopular. Cromwell himself thought that he had failed as a leader. When he died in 1658, his son Richard—nicknamed "Tumble-Down Dick"—inherited the position of Lord Protector. However, he proved incapable, and he quickly resigned. The Commonwealth of England was over.

## Judgements

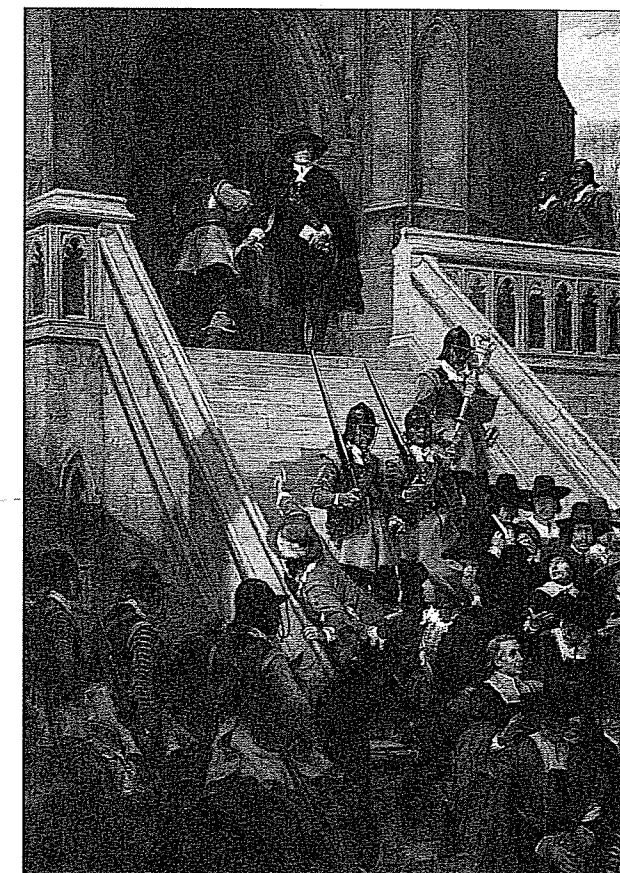


FIGURE 4-20 Cromwell dissolving the Rump Parliament

**dictator** a ruler with unrestricted authority

**blue laws** strict laws, often printed on blue paper

## Reading



### Make Connections

Imagine you are in Oliver Cromwell's position. What might you have done differently to avoid using military force to keep control of England?

## The Restoration of the Monarchy

Within a year of Cromwell's death, the army commander, General Monck, recalled parliament in order to prevent another civil war. He then ordered an election for a new parliament. It was this new parliament that decided to restore the monarchy. In 1660, it invited Charles II to return to England and become king.

This was a very popular decision. The people of England did not oppose having a monarch—they simply wanted a parliament capable of protecting their rights. In addition, only Puritans had been pleased with Cromwell's blue laws—the rest of the people resented them. There was great rejoicing when Charles II returned to England as king.

**FIGURE 4-21** This stylized image from the early 1800s shows Charles II returning to London. What evidence in the picture suggests that this was a joyful occasion?



### Did You Know?

The word *Tory* comes from an Irish word meaning "outlaw." *Whig* came from a Scottish word meaning "cattle driver."

### The Rule of Charles II

Parliament insisted that the king rule as a constitutional monarch, with his powers controlled by parliament. Charles II outwardly accepted this restriction, but he also tried to influence who was elected into parliament. He did this through persuasion, bribery, and blackmail. Royal supporters came to be known as Tories, and were the beginning of England's first real political party. The opponents of the monarchy came to be known as Whigs.

Charles was a fun-loving person whose lifestyle was often scandalous. Under his reign, the people of England were able to enjoy the theatre and other entertainments again. Charles even granted licences allowing female actors to perform on stage—a first for England. Poets, playwrights, actors, and theatre owners found their business flourishing. In many ways, life returned to the way it had been before the Civil War.

Those behind the execution of Charles I were punished severely. Ten members of the former Rump Parliament were hanged, drawn, and quartered. The body of Oliver Cromwell was dug up and hanged outside Westminster Abbey, the coronation church and resting place of English monarchs since 1066.

### The Test Act

In 1672, Charles issued a royal proclamation that supported religious freedom for Catholics. Parliament responded by issuing the **Test Act** in 1673. This act made the Church of England supreme. Catholics were not allowed to hold political office, vote, or join the professions. Charles's own brother, James, had to give up his job as High Admiral because of the Test Act.

Parliament had made it clear that it made the laws, not Charles. As well, the Church of England was now supreme, and it seemed that there was little chance of Catholics regaining power in England. However, the will of parliament would soon be tested.

### The Problem of James II

The death of Charles II in 1685 created a problem. His successor, James II, was openly Catholic. From the very beginning of his reign, James infuriated parliament by giving high offices to Catholics in spite of the Test Act. Did he also intend to make England Catholic once again?

James also believed in divine right, and he meant to take power away from parliament. Rebellions and anti-Catholic riots broke out, and support for James quickly evaporated. Following a rebellion in support of Charles's **illegitimate** son, the Duke of Monmouth, James instituted a reign of terror. The number of execution orders were so high that they were called the **Bloody Assizes**. Parliamentary leaders feared that the progress that had been made since the Civil War was being lost.



**FIGURE 4-22** Aphra Behn was a spy for Charles II. Behn found that she could make a living writing about her adventures. She also wrote poems, novels, and 15 plays.

**Test Act** an act forbidding anyone except members of the Church of England from holding political office or entering the professions

**illegitimate** born of parents not married to each other; not recognized by law as an heir

**assizes** criminal court sessions



**abdicate** to give up or renounce

## The Glorious Revolution and Political Reform

In 1688, James II finally produced a male—and Catholic—heir. It now seemed that the English throne would remain in the hands of Catholics. Several members of parliament contacted James's Protestant daughter, Mary, and her Dutch husband, William of Orange. They made it clear that if William and Mary claimed the English throne, there would be no opposition.

In November 1688, William and a force of around 20 000 men landed in Torbay, in southwest England. Left without much support, James quickly fled. Parliament declared that he had **abdicated** his throne, giving William and Mary a legal right to claim the monarchy.

In 1689, William and Mary became king and queen when they agreed to the terms of a new Bill of Rights. This document made it clear that the monarch's power was limited. Absolute monarchy in England was over. This was the Glorious Revolution.

### Did You Know?

William of Orange's motto was "I will maintain." When he landed in England, he added these words to his motto for the occasion—"the Liberties of England and the Protestant Religion."

## EXPLORING SOURCES

Patterns and Change

### The Bill of Rights, 1689

The Bill of Rights was an important statement of democratic rights in England, and Canada's government, legal system, and constitution reflect these principles today.

### Thinking IT THROUGH



#### Summarize What's Important

1. Translate the clauses in the Bill of Rights into modern-day English.

#### Analyze Critically

2. Identify which clauses support the rights of parliament and which ones support the rights of the individual. Which clauses do you believe are more important in a democracy? Share your thinking with a partner.

#### Synthesize and Evaluate

3. If you were creating the Bill of Rights, which rights would you add? Are there any you would remove? Explain.

- That the pretended power of suspending the laws or the execution of laws by regal authority without consent of Parliament is illegal
- That the election of Members of Parliament ought to be free
- That the freedom of speech and debates or proceedings in Parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament
- That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted
- That levying money for or to the use of the Crown by pretence of prerogative, without grant of Parliament, for longer time, or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal
- That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of Parliament, is against law
- ...that it is inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom to be governed by a popish [Catholic] prince, or by any king or queen marrying a papist [Catholic]:...

## War in Ireland

Although the Glorious Revolution was relatively peaceful in England, Irish Catholics did not support the crowning of a new Protestant king. Catholic supporters of James II, known as Jacobites, immediately resisted efforts by William's troops to secure his power in Ireland. James himself arrived in Dublin, and was invited to lead the Irish parliament. Fighting went on for years, until William led an army into Ireland in 1690. After a defeat in the Battle of the Boyne, James again fled, and William crushed any remaining resistance. Ireland was now firmly under the control of Protestant England, but Catholics in Ireland would struggle against this rule well into the 20th century.

### WEB LINK

To read more about the Battle of the Boyne, visit our website.

## EXPLORING SOURCES

### A Theory of Government: John Locke

English philosopher John Locke fled to Holland in 1683, afraid that his life was at risk for his anti-Royalist beliefs. After the Glorious Revolution, he returned to England and published his ideas on government and other matters. Locke was very popular and influential. His ideas about government reflected feelings during the Glorious Revolution, and he had a significant impact on the American and French Revolutions.



FIGURE 4-23  
John Locke

Shown here is an excerpt from Locke's *Second Treatise of Government*. As you read, think of how Locke's ideas may have influenced the development of government in England.

### Thinking IT THROUGH

1. Locke believed laws should be established by the majority. As you read this selection, identify the statements where Locke supports this belief.
2. Do you believe that people have the right to resist laws that are not supported by the majority of citizens in a society? Give reasons for your answer.

*Civil society being a state of peace...the society consisting in having one will, the legislative, when once established by the majority, has the declaring, and as it were keeping of that will. The constitution of the legislative is the first and fundamental act of society, whereby provision is made for the continuation of their union, under the direction of persons, and bonds of laws, made by persons authorized...by the consent and appointment of the people, without which no one man, or number of men, amongst them, can have authority of making laws that shall be binding to the rest. When any one, or more, shall take upon them to make laws, whom the people have not appointed so to do, they make laws without authority, which the people are not therefore bound to obey...being in full liberty to resist the force of those, who without authority would impose any thing upon them.*

**constitutional monarchy** a form of government in which a monarch acts as head of state, but his or her powers are limited by a constitution

## The Legacy of the Glorious Revolution

While the fight for full democratic rights was not over, never again would the monarch have more power than the elected representatives of the people. England was becoming a **constitutional monarchy**.

Parliament passed a series of acts in the years following the Glorious Revolution that would set the foundation for British government. These included

- the Mutiny Act, which made it illegal for an army to form without the consent of parliament
- the Triennial Act, which guaranteed that parliament sit every three years (preventing a monarch from ruling alone)
- the Act of Settlement, which allowed parliament to decide who would inherit the throne when William and Mary, and then Mary's sister Anne, failed to produce an heir. This act also declared that all future monarchs must be members of the Church of England.

### Did You Know?

The Act of Settlement declared Anne's heir to be a German-born member of the House of Hanover. George I spoke little English, but he was a Protestant. His descendants still sit on the throne of England today.

The English Civil War and the Glorious Revolution brought great developments toward political reform in England, but social reform was still to come. Political reform happens when government is made better. Social reform happens when society is made better. The lower classes were not much better off by the end of the Glorious Revolution. Catholics were now barred from parliament and from the army. Women had also failed to gain equal rights. The structure of English society, with its deeply embedded social classes, had not really changed. Making a more fair society would be the task of future generations.

## Thinking IT THROUGH



### Summarize What's Important

1. Create a chart that lists the names and dates of England's rulers after the execution of Charles I. Identify the key aspects of each reign.

### Analyze Critically

2. List the evidence that would support the following statement: "The restoration of the monarchy in 1660 is directly linked to Cromwell's military dictatorship."
3. Did the Glorious Revolution satisfy the desires of parliament? Was there anything the parliament wanted that the revolution did not provide?

### Synthesize and Evaluate

4. Is the Glorious Revolution appropriately named? If so, why? If not, suggest another name for it and give reasons to support your thinking.
5. Write a paragraph to answer the section question: *How did the Civil War affect democracy in England?* Set aside your paragraph to help you answer the Chapter Focus Question at the end of the chapter.