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# BRITISH CIVIL WARS



DISCOVER THE CONFLICT THAT DIVIDED A NATION




BLOODY BATTLES ✦ POLITICAL INTRIGUE ✦ REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS



HISTORY  
WAR  
*Book of the*

# BRITISH CIVIL WARS



The mid-17th century was one of the most explosive periods in history across the British Isles. In England, a desperate king fought bitterly against his defiant Parliament; in Scotland religious turmoil sparked invasions from the north; and in Ireland, an oppressive regime led to an all-out Catholic rebellion. In this bookazine, we explore the how all these events, and more, combined to make up the British Civil Wars, from the political machinations of Parliament to the bloody battlefield clashes at Edgehill, Naseby and Marston Moor. We follow the meteoric rise of Oliver Cromwell and his New Model Army, as well as the tragic decline of Charles I – a king executed by his own subjects. We also investigate how the countries transformed in the period of Interregnum, for better and for worse, before taking a look at how the monarchy made a stunningly peaceful return during the Restoration. Whether you're an enthusiastic novice or a seasoned history buff, there are a wealth of expert features, illustrated battle maps and superb imagery for you within these pages.



**HISTORY  
WAR**

*Book of the*

# BRITISH CIVIL WARS

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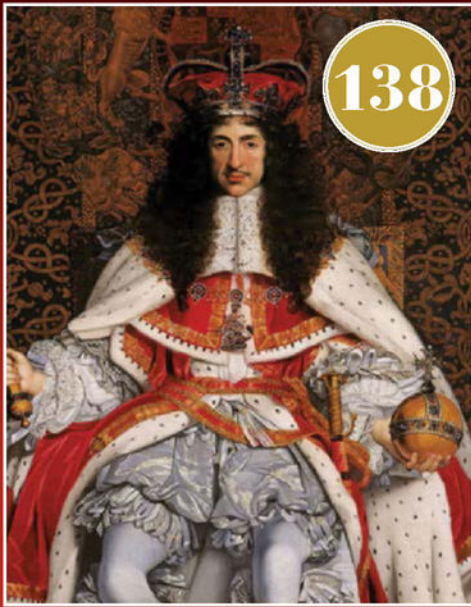
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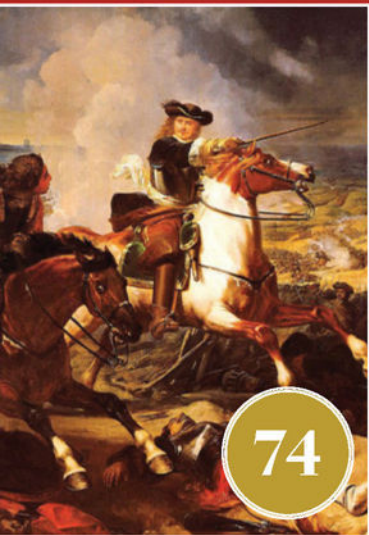
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# OLIVER CROMWELL: KING KILLER

Discover how a struggling farmer destroyed the most powerful man in England

**T**he king was furious. His anger was so great that it clouded his vision and drove his marching feet forwards through Parliament. The swords of his soldiers clanked noisily as they followed him, but as they approached the doors of the House of Commons, he ordered them to wait outside. He had business to attend to.

The rows of men inside slowly rose as he entered, watching silently as the man who believed God himself had put him on the throne strode towards the speaker's chair, sat down and lounged back, his arms upon the rests. A murmured ripple passed over the crowd – this was an unprecedented move, as the monarch's place was in the House of Lords. No king before had ever dared to break such a basic rule of Parliament, but Charles looked over the shocked MPs with a ghost of a smirk tugging at his lips. Finally he broke the stunned silence with a bark: "Speaker! I request the presence of these men – John Pym, John Hampden, Denzil Holles, Sir Arthur Hesilrige and William Strode! I have men outside ready to arrest them. Tell me where they are."

The man he addressed had lowered to his knees, his neck bent humbly, but his words were spoken with strength as he addressed his king: "I have neither eyes to see nor tongue to speak in this place but as this House is pleased to direct me." Charles's jaw stiffened at his words. They weren't there. His spies had failed him. They were probably hiding in some godforsaken corner of London. As he slowly rose to his feet what began as a whispered word rose louder and louder among the gathered men: "Privilege! Privilege!" They yelled from the benches as the king turned sharply and marched to the door. "Privilege!" they cried as he stormed from the room and slammed the doors shut behind him.

Since the day he entered the world his father, James I, had told Charles he had a divine right to rule. Kings were 'little gods on Earth', as his father put it. James had ruled with the same self-righteous kingliness, but had been spared rebellion due to his peace-loving tendencies. Charles, though, was a raging fire where his father was crackling embers. Not only had he dared to marry a Catholic in a time when Catholic plots were the greatest fear of the largely Protestant British population, but he had



## BRITISH CIVIL WARS

also followed the advice of unpopular ministers and suffered defeats in Scotland and Ireland. Parliament was furious, so Charles responded by dissolving it and refusing to recall it for a decade in a period known as his 'personal rule.'

The king tried to impose taxes to replace the funds Parliament brought in, but the people simply refused to pay. The final nail in his coffin was hammered when he tried to force a new prayer book in deeply Protestant Scotland. The resulting rebellion was so costly that Charles had no option but to remove the lock on the doors of Parliament and recall them after a gap of 11 years. Upon being recalled Parliament weren't slow to vent their displeasure, as trust between the two most powerful institutions of the country had been eroded. When a rebellion ignited in Ireland, Parliament refused to grant the king with the army they believed he would undoubtedly one day use against them, and so raised their own force. Akin to treason, this led to him storming into Parliament to arrest the ringleaders. His failure sealed Britain's fate; as Charles raised his flag at Nottingham on 22 August 1642, the country was officially at war.

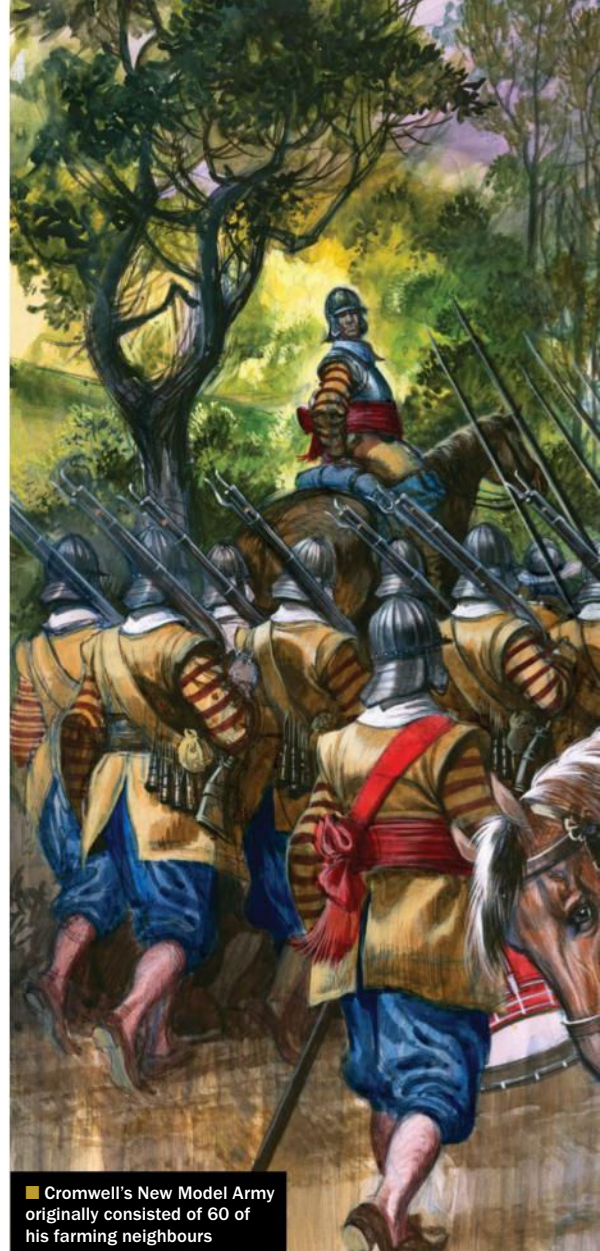
Little did Charles know that when he finally recalled Parliament it would include the most powerful foe he would ever face, Oliver Cromwell. Charles could be forgiven for underestimating him; at Parliament he seemed little more than a seat-filler and hadn't exactly covered himself in glory thus far in his career. It was entirely possible Charles did not even know his name at the outbreak of the Civil War. By the end of it, though, he would know exactly who he was, as would the entire country.

The two sides had fought for two years without either one gaining a significant advantage until on 2 July 1644, when the two armies met in a wild meadow in York known as Marston Moor. For two hours the battle waged as every encounter before had, with

neither side gaining advantage, when suddenly Cromwell's forces unleashed a devastating assault. Known as ironsides, his elite riders were like no other the country had seen before, hand-picked and trained by Cromwell himself. Cromwell thundered across the field with the ferocity of an uncaged lion. His riders smashed into the Royalist right flank and decimated it in moments. The plain-clothed, long-haired colonel seemed unstoppable, even when he was wounded in the neck he returned to the battle immediately. While the enemy forces were tired and disorganised, Cromwell's men were disciplined and deadly, attacking as one in a brutal and bloody assault. The Northern army was crushed and 'Cromwell' was the name on everyone's lips. To the Parliamentarians he was a hero, to the Royalists a devil in disguise. But just who exactly was he?

At first sight he seemed unremarkable, a tall man with untidy hair, a large nose and a firm mouth who dressed in suits made from cheap cloth. His modest inherited fortune had placed him on the bottom rung of the gentry but in his early thirties he was forced to sell everything and rent a farm in St Ives. With barely enough money to support his wife, children, six sisters and widowed mother, he suffered a deep crisis, which only passed due to a spiritual awakening – he was made to believe that his suffering was a gift from God who had great plans for him. Cromwell emerged from this religious epiphany as a Puritan, and his strong belief in God's grand plans for him were strengthened when he inherited land from an uncle and managed to claw his way back up the social ladder.

With a fiery temper and outspoken tendencies, the headstrong puritan was ill-suited to the subtleties of Parliament. It was on the battlefield where he proved himself again and again, rising from captain to colonel with his mighty ironsides decimating the enemy



■ Cromwell's New Model Army originally consisted of 60 of his farming neighbours





■ Lords John and Bernard Stewart both fought for King Charles in the Civil War



## Oliver Cromwell

Cromwell's father was the youngest son of one of the wealthiest landowners in the country and so he inherited only a small amount of land. Cromwell languished in the bottom rung of the gentry, not rich enough to be classed elite, but with enough money to maintain his status.

Cromwell was raised Protestant in his youth but his Puritan tendencies emerged after a period of depression in which he experienced a religious conversion. He believed in freedom of religion, with religious groups able to practise their beliefs as they saw fit – as long as they were Protestant.

Cromwell was at his strongest on the battlefield commanding an army of men. This was mainly down to his strict discipline and calm under pressure. Because he was able to keep his head, his soldiers did not panic and he did not suffer a single defeat in his military career.

Cromwell had a fiery temper that got him into trouble several times. When he got into a fight with the gentry of Huntingdon he had to make a public apology, causing himself much disgrace. This sort of rashness was ill-suited to the subtle complexities of Parliament.

**“That sloven, [...] if we have a breach with the king, will be one of the greatest men of England.”** *John Hampden*

**“The English monster [...] for five years space, he wallowed in the blood of many gallant and heroick persons.”** *Gerard Winstanley*

Cromwell has gone down as one of the most controversial figures in British history. Some consider him a regicidal dictator, while others regard him as a revolutionary hero. He was once rated the tenth-greatest Briton of all time in a BBC poll.

# CROMWELL VS KING



## King Charles I

The second son of King James I, Charles was a sickly child and may have suffered from rickets. He was so weak that it was thought he couldn't survive the journey to England and remained in Scotland in his early years, he also suffered from slow speech and a stammer throughout his life.

Charles was deeply religious, but his views opposed those of many of his subjects. He believed church services should be grand and full of ritual. For his Protestant public this was too Catholic. His controversial religious policies would play a large part in his downfall.

His commitment to his wife and children was something even Cromwell admired. He had no known mistresses or illegitimate children so avoided the scandals that surrounded many other monarchs. He was also a capable commander with a will of steel and led the Oxford army throughout the war.

Charles was unable to understand the opposing views of Parliament and because of this he was unable to negotiate with them, leading to lack of trust on both sides. He was also stubborn, unwilling to compromise or take a wiser course of action if it conflicted with his beliefs.

**“A mild and gracious prince who knew not how to be, or how to be made, great.”** *Archbishop William Laud*

**“Tyrant, traitor and murderer; and a public and implacable enemy to the Commonwealth of England.”** *John Bradshaw*

Conservatives regard Charles as a martyr, but the general view of the king is negative. He has been described by Professor Barry Coward as, “the most incompetent monarch of England since Henry VI.” The common view of Charles I is that of a delusional, uncompromising monarch.

UPBRINGING

RELIGION

GREATEST STRENGTH

GREATEST WEAKNESS

WHAT HIS FRIENDS SAY

WHAT HIS ENEMIES SAY

LEGACY

“[CROMWELL] HAD BECOME THE SURPRISE POSTER BOY OF PARLIAMENT’S SIDE OF THE CIVIL WAR”

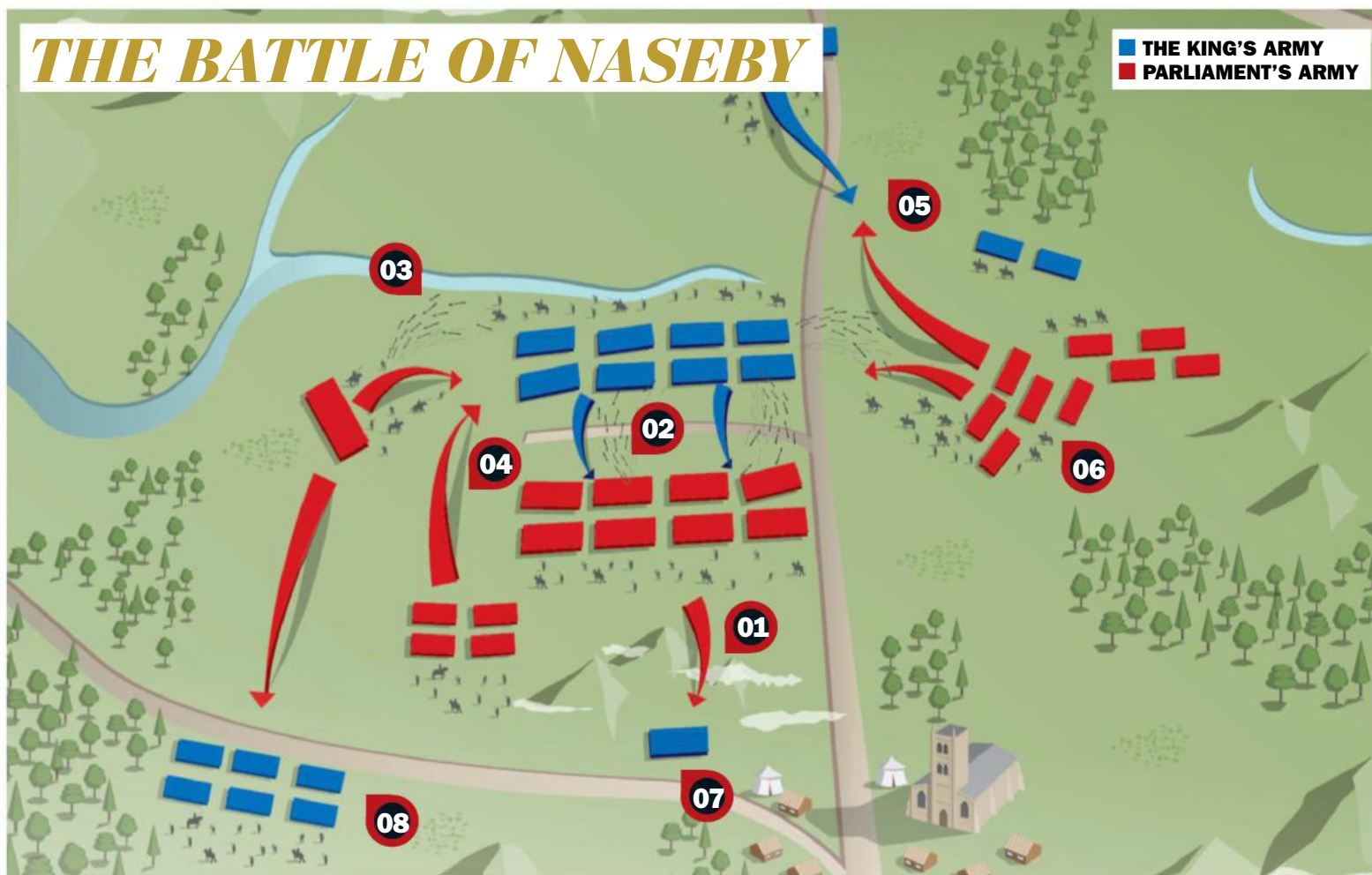
lines. In a relatively short space of time the struggling farmer had become the surprise poster boy of Parliament’s side of the Civil War.

Cromwell was the epitome of the strength of the common man, of God’s righteous judgement of an unjust king, but he was surrounded by men who didn’t possess the same fire in their bellies. The majority of Parliament were scared. They had grown up in a land where the king was unfathomable,

indestructible. “If we fight 100 times and beat him 99 he will be king still”, commented the Earl of Manchester. There was whispering in Parliament that the goal of the war should be to bring the monarch to the table to negotiate. But Cromwell, led by his belief that God guided his actions, wanted to smash Charles and his forces into dust and force him to accept Parliament’s terms. Military victory, Cromwell concluded, was the only way. So the hot-headed

lieutenant general decided to do things his way and created Britain’s first professional fighting force, the New Model Army. Trained like his mighty iron-sides, Parliament’s new army would prove to be the most powerful bartering chip they could hope to bring to the table.

Bullish and impulsive he may have been, but Cromwell understood a basic rule of successful revolution: that the power lay not with king, but with the army. It was with this army that he marched into Naseby, Northamptonshire, as commander. Cromwell’s forces, like him, were unremarkable to look at, described by himself as “poor, prayerful men”. They were drab compared to the elaborate Royalist forces mounted on their magnificent horses with their long flowing curls and lace-rimmed hats. But Cromwell was led by his all-consuming belief that he had been hand-picked by God



### 1 A favourable position

The New Model Army's position is on a ridge, and Cromwell suspects no one would dare attack it, so Commander Sir Thomas Fairfax moves the army back to Naseby. The morning fog prevents Royalists from spotting the Parliamentarian forces before it is too late to withdraw.

### 2 The centre attacks

Led by Lord Astley, the Royalists crash into the Parliamentary infantry. Their muskets can only be used briefly before the fighting descends into hand-to-hand combat, causing mass chaos. The superior skills of the Royalist forces force the infantry back.

### 3 The prince charges

The Royalist right flank led by Prince Rupert charges towards the Parliamentary left flank led by Cromwell's son-in-law General Ireton. Despite initially pushing back, awaiting pikemen drive them back and General Ireton is taken prisoner.

### 4 Left flank defeated

The second line of Royalist cavalry charges towards the left flank. The dragoons fire upon the Royalist forces, limiting the damage, but many of Parliament's soldiers break away and flee the field. The Royalist forces gallop off in pursuit of the fleeing enemy.

### 5 Parliament bites back

As Rupert attacks Ireton, Cromwell and Langdale face each other, neither moving for half an hour. Finally the Royalist cavalry charges towards Cromwell. Faced with riding up a slope littered with bushes and rabbit holes, the Royalists are swiftly defeated by Cromwell's men.

### 6 Cromwell to the rescue

Cromwell turns his reserves against the Royalist centre and Commander Fairfax leads his own regiments into the fray, surrounding the Royalist forces from all sides. The Royalists proceed to throw down their arms and Fairfax takes their standard.

### 7 Royalists return

Rupert's forces ride to Naseby to attack a Parliamentarian camp. The camp guards refuse surrender so Rupert leads his forces back into the battlefield. However, his men refuse to fight. When they see Fairfax's newly organised lines advancing toward them they flee.

### 8 Parliament pursues the Royalists

Fairfax's forces pursue the fleeing Royalists, but when Prince Rupert's men make a wrong turn they are unable to escape. Parliamentarian forces butcher the trapped men and also kill about one hundred female camp followers.

to lead Parliament to victory, and with this feverish devotion he commanded his forces. Unleashing a devastating attack at the climax of the fighting, Cromwell shattered the Royalist military. The victory was so overwhelming that Charles could not hope to reform his forces. The king was defeated – Parliament had won.

On 7 June 1647, the two men at the centre of the war that had torn the country in two finally met. Cromwell sat opposite the king he had crushed and offered him a deal. He could keep the crown if he gave up his most unpopular reforms. Considering the absolute defeat of his forces, these were lenient terms, but Cromwell, for the first time in his life, had encountered a man as stubborn as he was. Charles refused, and in secret the cunning king made an alliance with the Scots and escaped to the Isle of Wight, but this was to be a brief respite; the resulting war was swiftly squashed by Parliament and Charles was captured again.

In fleeing, Charles had proven he was unworthy of trust; he needed to die, and Cromwell would do whatever it took to make sure that happened. With the uncompromising spirit that had damned the king, Cromwell supported a ruthless purge of all in Parliament who did not agree with the traitor's punishment – he had no time for those who would bow and scrape at the feet of a villain.

On 20 January 1649 the king of England was tried at Westminster Hall for high treason. It had been difficult for the charismatic Cromwell to persuade anyone to stand against the man who had been the most powerful in the country. However, Cromwell used his powers of persuasion – and his sheer force of character – to push the trial ahead. Charles entered the trial accompanied by his lawyers, casting a penetrating glare over every person gathered there. He finally sat, but did not remove his hat. When questioned he refused to answer, uttering the warning, "Think well upon it, before you go further from one sin to a greater." But Parliament had done their thinking, and there was never any real doubt of the verdict, which was delivered by judge John Bradshaw: "For all which treasons and crimes this court doth adjudge that he, the said Charles Stuart, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer and a public enemy, shall be put to death, by the severing of his head from his body."

The morning of 30 January 1649 was bitterly cold. It was a day that would forever change the fate of England and the world; the people were going to kill their king. Before the end, Charles had made his peace with the verdict, telling his sobbing children not to grieve. His demeanour was eerily calm for one who had ruled with such fire; he had finally discovered his kingly dignity. The crowds gathered outside the Palace of Whitehall: men, women and children who were oddly quiet and sombre. The killing of a king, no matter the circumstances, was not a celebration. As it neared 2pm Charles was led to the scaffold. He wore two undershirts, fearing that if he shivered in the cold his subjects would mistake it for fear. He was not, and never had been, a coward king. As he reached the block he turned to the crowd and uttered, "I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown; where

## RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES

One of the major points of contention that catapulted the country into civil war was the subject of religion. During the Protestant Reformation, many faith groups split away from the Roman Catholic Church and the population

of Britain was divided on the correct way to worship God. While Catholic ceremonies were concerned with grand traditions and their churches full of elaborate statues and artwork, the Protestant and Puritan churches preferred

a far more simple affair. Charles's marriage to a Catholic woman and his support of adding more Catholic-like ceremony and tradition to Protestant services, were not well received by the Puritans.

### Ornate decoration

Although Puritans believe God is everywhere, for Catholics the church itself is the house of the Lord. As a result, great emphasis is placed on the buildings themselves, and they are ornately decorated with detailed and beautiful artwork.

### Altar

The altar is placed at the front and centre of the church. The most important Catholic tradition during mass is the Eucharist, the belief that the communion host and wine turn into the body and blood of Christ. The priest conducts this ceremony from the altar, which is the most elaborately decorated part of the church.

### Pulpit

In traditional Catholic churches there is a pulpit on the left where the gospel is read, and another on the right known as the lectern. Catholic ceremonies are steeped in tradition and the structure of the church reflects this.

CATHOLIC

PURITAN

### Stark decoration

As preaching was the primary focus of Puritan services, anything that distracted the congregation away from this was eliminated. This meant elaborate clothing, images and even candles were excluded and their churches remained bare and simple.

### No idols

For Puritans idol worship was a sin, because statues are made by men and have 'no authority from God', so treating a statue as divine was akin to worshipping an alternate God. As a result of this, Puritan churches had no statues or idols.

### Pulpit

In a Puritan church preaching was the central focus. The pulpit would always be raised high so the preacher could be viewed and heard by all present. A Bible would sit in the centre of the pulpit as it held extreme authority in the church.



■ Charles Landseer's painting *The Eve Of The Battle Of Edge Hill, 1642*



■ Oliver Cromwell led the Parliamentarians to victory in the Civil War



## WHY DID THE ROUNDHEADS WIN?



### The Royalists' lack of finance

Although the Royalist forces initially benefited from an influx of money from the English aristocracy, of which around 75 per cent supported Charles, throughout the war they suffered from funding difficulties. The areas the Royalists controlled were the sparsely populated rural areas in the North, Wales, and the South West. By comparison Parliament had control over more wealthy populated areas and, most significantly, London. This allowed them to gather much needed funds more quickly than the taxation that Royalist forces had to rely on, which could take a long time to implement.

### New Model Army

Created by Oliver Cromwell himself, the New Model Army was Britain's first professional fighting force. Paid and equipped by Parliament, the officers were promoted based on merit rather than social standing and as a result the army became a powerful weapon. Rather than the Royalist forces that had a tendency to run off in pursuit of booty in the midst of battle, the New Model Army was highly disciplined and posed a brutal, unflinching opposition to the Royalist side.

### Allies in the North

Faced with the threat of Irish Catholics joining with the Royalists, Parliament signed the Solemn League and Covenant with Scotland under the agreement that the Scottish system of church government was implemented in England. This gave the Roundheads an injection of fresh allies to the south and was disastrous for Charles as his forces were grossly outnumbered. When Charles surrendered to the Scottish force they swiftly handed him over to Parliament.

# EXECUTION OF A KING



### The mystery executioner

The mask the executioner wore hid his identity well. After the restoration, there were many trials of potential executioners of the king, but none were sentenced. To this day the true identity of the executioner is unknown.

### The respectable king

Although his reign was tarnished with selfish and rash actions, Charles approached his execution with a quiet dignity that encouraged sympathy and even a cult of martyrdom to form around the deceased monarch.

### A less than enthusiastic crowd

Executions commonly attracted a large crowd and Charles's was no exception, but rather than it being a triumphant and joyous occasion, the execution of a king was no time for celebration, and it was a sombre affair.

# THE FINAL HOURS OF A TRAITOR

- **Warmly dressed**  
Charles wakes and calls for two shirts, so his possible shivering from the cold won't be seen by spectators.  
**8.00am**
- **Final walk**  
The king is granted a final walk through St James Park. He walks slowly through the park with his pet dog.  
**10.00am**
- **Last meal**  
As he has taken communion, the king refuses to eat a large meal. He has a glass of claret wine and a single piece of bread.  
**12.00pm**
- **Delay**  
The original executioner suddenly backs down. The replacement is paid £100 and given permission to wear a mask.  
**1.00pm**
- **A king on the scaffold**  
Charles is led to a scaffold covered in black cloth. He turns to the crowd and gives his last speech.  
**1.50pm**
- **One stroke**  
Charles lays his head on the block. When he gives the signal, the executioner brings down the axe and severs his head from his body.  
**2.00pm**
- **The head of a traitor**  
The executioner holds up the king's head and shows it to the people, as is tradition with the executions of traitors.  
**2.02pm**
- **A king's blood**  
Spectators are invited to pay to go up to the scaffold and dip handkerchiefs in the king's blood.  
**2.10pm**

no disturbance can be, no disturbance in the world." Then he knelt and laid his neck upon the block. The executioner severed his head in one blow. There was no cheer, no triumphant joy as the tyrant king was killed, but instead a great groan rose from all who were gathered there.

The legend goes that those who guarded the dead body of the king that fateful night spied a solitary figure dressed in black. As he looked upon the body of the deceased monarch he uttered the words, "Twas a cruel necessity, 'twas a cruel necessity." Whether this mysterious visitor was Cromwell is unknown, but what wasn't in doubt was that the people of England had sanctioned the killing of their monarch for the first time in their long history.

Also for the first time in its history, England was without a monarch. Instead a lord protector was put in his place for which there was no more viable candidate than the hero who had won the war – Oliver Cromwell. By February 1649 he had abolished the office of king, deeming it "unnecessary, burdensome and

  
**“HE NEEDED TO DIE, AND CROMWELL WOULD DO WHATEVER IT TOOK TO ENSURE THAT HAPPENED”**  


dangerous to the liberty, society and public interest of the people”, and the imperial crown was destroyed. When, some eight years later, he was offered the crown he immediately rejected it, proclaiming, “I would not build Jericho again.”

England was finally a republic and Cromwell its first citizen, but he would find that it was harder to eradicate the idea of monarchy than it was to kill a king. The monarchy would soon return and the man who had driven the execution of Charles I would find himself on

trial for his crimes, albeit when he was already dead; in a macabre ceremony his body was dug up and propped up in court to answer for the crime of regicide.

But that was all to come. In 1649 Oliver Cromwell could look back at what he had achieved with pride – the king who had tried to push Catholicism on his nation and had ignored Parliament for over a decade was dead, thanks largely to Cromwell's military skill and unwavering belief that he was doing the work of God. The king was dead, long live Parliament.



# KINGDOMS DIVIDED

Betrayal, corruption and religious strife:  
trace the events that sent England,  
Scotland and Ireland hurtling towards  
rebellion and revolution



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- 22** The perils of personal rule
- 26** Parliament's path to power
- 30** Wars of words and worship
- 34** The Short Parliament
- 36** Trouble in Ireland: The Catholic uprising
- 40** The Arrest of the Five Members







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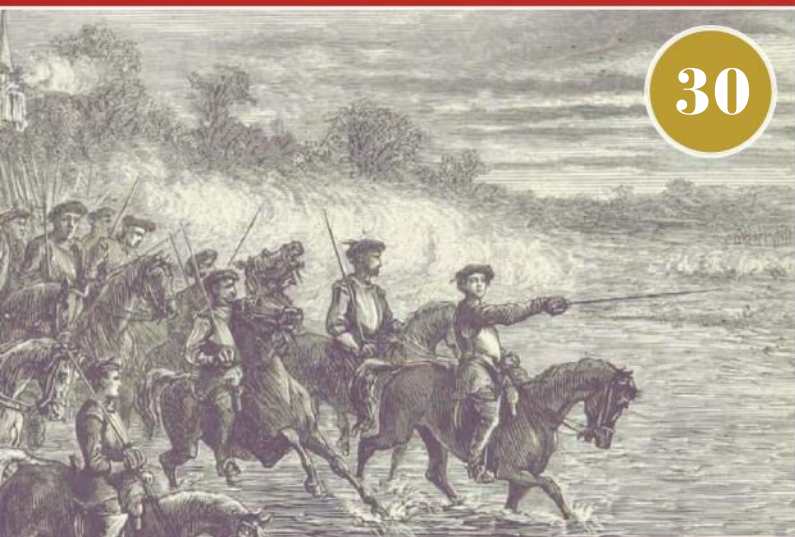
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22

# TIMELINE

King James I of the House of Stuart espoused the divine right of kings and clashed with Parliament

- **1566 James VI is born**  
Devout Catholic Mary, Queen of Scots, gives birth to the future King James VI of Scotland and James I of England. His Protestant baptism is presided over by Calvinist John Knox.
- **1567 Mary, Queen of Scots, is forced to abdicate**  
Arrested by Protestant insurgents, Mary is imprisoned. She abdicates, fleeing to England, where she is held for 19 years by Queen Elizabeth I. Her infant son becomes Scotland's King James VI.
- **1587 Mary is beheaded**  
Judged guilty of plotting to assassinate her cousin, Queen Elizabeth I of England, Mary, Queen of Scots is executed at Fotheringhay Castle. Elizabeth is unaware that the sentence is being carried out.
- **1598 Divine right of kings**  
King James VI publishes *The True Law of Free Monarchies*, which describes his perspective on the doctrine of the divine right of kings. During his lifetime, he authors several additional works.
- **1600 Charles I is born**  
Anne of Denmark gives birth to Charles, the second son of King James and the future King Charles I of England, Scotland and Ireland, on 19 November at Dunfermline Castle.
- **1603 James VI ascends England's throne**  
Upon the death of Queen Elizabeth I, James VI of Scotland is proclaimed king of England. James relocates his court from Edinburgh to London, returning only once to his homeland.
- **1603 Nine Years' War ends**  
Also known as Tyrone's Rebellion, the Nine Years' War, a protracted conflict initiated by several Gaelic Irish chieftains against the expansion of English rule in Ireland, comes to an end.
- **1604 Complete union denied**  
Rather than accepting only a personal union of the two countries, King James I attempts to fully unite Scotland and England. His efforts are rebuffed in Parliament, presaging future conflict.
- **1607 Flight of the Earls**  
After their defeat at Kinsale and the end of the Nine Years' War, Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and Rory O'Donnell, 1st Earl of Tyrconnell, flee Ireland with approximately 90 followers.
- **1609 The Plantation of Ulster begins**  
In an effort to pacify Ireland, the Plantation of Ulster, a settling in Ireland by Protestant Scots known as Undertakers, begins. Lands formerly owned by Irish chieftains are seized and colonised.
- **1610 King versus Parliament**  
King James I angrily dissolves Parliament as the Great Contract, offered by Lord Salisbury, fails to achieve compromise. The king again dissolves Parliament in 1614 and 1621.
- **1625 King James I dies**  
In the final years of his reign, James is plagued by ill health, succumbing on 27 March 1625, at the age of 58. Charles I assumes the throne.



# THE STATE OF THE THREE KINGDOMS

In the decades preceding the Civil Wars, England, Scotland and Ireland all faced political turmoil



■ The royal heraldic badge of King James I depicted the Tudor rose and the Scottish thistle joined together



By the dawn of the 17th century, political intrigue and religious rancour, common threads throughout the history of England, Scotland and Ireland, were emerging with renewed vigour.

The ripples of the Reformation had created a bitter divide within Western Christendom as Protestant and Catholic factions were at odds. Royal families vied for pre-eminence amid divided loyalties, arranged marriages, imprisonments and even murder.

Elizabeth I, the last Tudor monarch of England, died childless on 24 March 1603, at Richmond Palace, Surrey. King James VI of Scotland, heir to the English throne as great-great-grandson of King Henry VII, became the first ruler of England, Ireland and Scotland – known as King James I in England and Ireland.

James, of the House of Stuart, had long coveted the English throne, and with it came Ireland, more or less under English domination since the 12th century. Although he was the son of the devoutly Roman Catholic Mary, Queen of Scots, the pragmatic James had realised that his best opportunity to maintain good relations with Elizabethan England was to remain a Protestant. He protested only slightly when his mother was executed in 1587. When James proclaimed himself King of Great Britain 16 years later, it was a personal union rather than thoroughly political as the states maintained their parliaments, national churches, and powers to regulate trade and levy taxes.

James I was a staunch proponent of the 'divine right of kings', a doctrine dating to the Middle Ages and asserting that a king derived his authority to rule directly from God and was not accountable to any earthly body, such as a parliament – or even the church. James considered the monarchy to be unassailable. "The state of monarchy is the supremest thing upon earth," he told the English Parliament in 1610, "for kings are not only God's lieutenants upon earth and sit upon God's throne, but even by God himself they are called gods. There be three principal similarities that illustrate the state of monarchy: one taken out of the word

of God, and the two other out of the grounds of policy and philosophy."

Though he was certain that kings were endowed by God with the authority to rule, therefore separated from the common people, James also prophetically wrote in 1598, "...the highest bench is the slipperiest to sit upon." His assessment was borne out a generation later as his son, King Charles I, paid a dear price following his father's lead.

Even before ascending to the English throne, James I had sought to curb the influence of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland but was only partially successful. After moving his court to London, he returned to his homeland only once during his reign, and the rivalry between episcopacy, the rule of bishops within the Scottish church, and Calvinism in its purest form, grew more contentious. James I's efforts to further his agenda, particularly bringing the practices of the Scottish church into greater compatibility with the Church of England, were met with hostility by the Scottish people. Throughout his reign, James I grew more distant from his home country. Again, his son Charles I was to bear a heavy burden as his inherited belief in the divine right of kings engendered conflict.

With James I on the throne there was a glimmer of hope in Roman Catholic Ireland that their persecution would ease, even though the king proclaimed himself a Protestant. To a great extent, however, such sentiment was wishful thinking. Concern with the political subversion that some Catholic priests were thought to be spreading and constant worry about interference from Rome led James to declare his intent to leave anti-Catholic measures in place. He retained recusancy fines against those who failed to attend Protestant church services.

Further, in 1616 the king proclaimed, "I confess I am loth to hang a priest only for religion's sake and saying mass; but... those that so refuse the oath and are holy pragmatic

recusants, I leave them to the law. It is no persecution but good justice."

Restive Ireland had erupted in rebellion in the 1530s during the reign of King Henry VIII. With its suppression, England tightened its grip on Ireland during the next 60 years. In 1594, Irish chieftains led another insurrection. The subsequent Nine Years' War resulted in an English victory, sealed just a week after the death of Elizabeth I. The resulting self-imposed exile of rebellious leaders was termed the Flight of the Earls. This was followed by James I's attempt to calm the situation in Ireland with the Plantation of Ulster, an organised colonisation of Protestant settlers from England to "pacify" and "civilise" the region of Ulster in northern Ireland.

King James I failed to properly comprehend the substance of parliamentary power. He argued with the legislative bodies over matters regarding the church and the collecting of taxes. Against concerted opposition, he also sought to improve relations with Spain, England's traditional enemy and its rival in the New World. The Spanish Armada, threatening to ravage English shores, had been turned

away in defeat in 1588, and the memory was fresh in many minds. The two countries remained at least nominally at war until a peace treaty was signed in 1604.

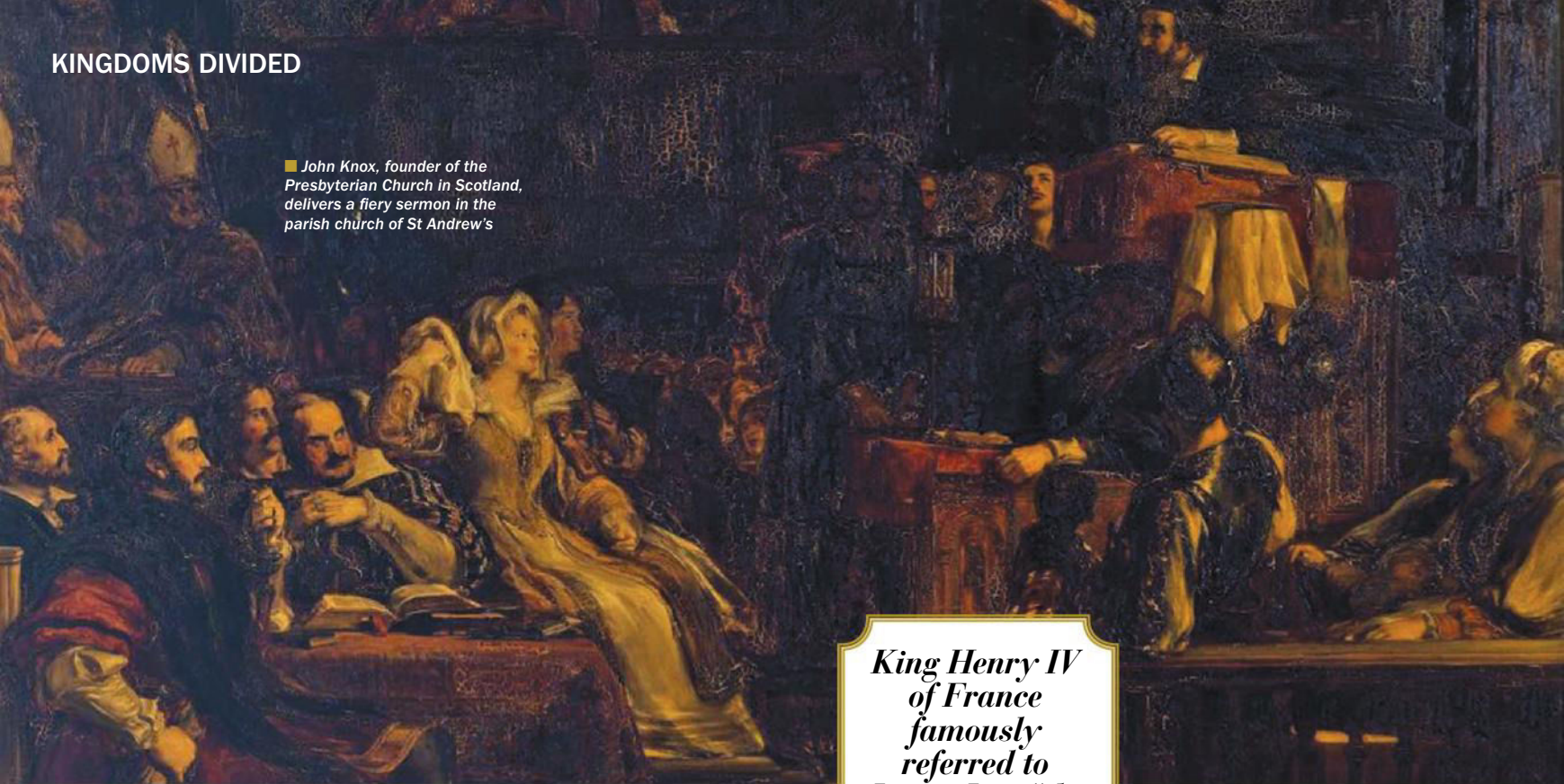
James I faced immediate challenges upon his assumption of the English throne. Dissident Catholics conceived the Gunpowder Plot in 1605, a failed attempt to blow up Parliament and bring down the Protestant monarchy. Despite gaining some sympathy following the abortive terrorist attack, James was already at odds with Parliament. In 1604 he was turned back in an effort to legislate the complete union of England and Scotland as well as to procure additional financial support.

An inflationary economy, war in Ireland and with Spain, and a degree of financial mismanagement by the king and his ministers had caused the crown to incur a significant

*A succession of regents cared for the young James, until the king reached the age of 17*



■ John Knox, founder of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, delivers a fiery sermon in the parish church of St Andrew's



*King Henry IV of France famously referred to James I as “the wisest fool in Christendom”*



debt. Parliament demanded concessions from James in exchange for funding. Neither was inclined toward compromise. In 1610, a proposal termed the Great Contract offered a single payment of £600,000 to liquidate current indebtedness and a guaranteed annual stipend of £200,000 for the king – again in exchange for concessions, including some of James’ royal rights to levy taxes. When heated negotiations failed, the king dismissed Parliament.

In 1614, the king convened Parliament again. This time, however, the outcome was even more discouraging. After only nine weeks, the so-called ‘Addled Parliament’ was dissolved, again over the question of money. For the next seven years, James I ruled without a parliament and relied on his close advisors in an effort to raise additional revenue.

Then, in 1620 the Thirty Years’ War widened as the Spanish invaded territories of James’ son-in-law, Frederick, Elector of Palatine. The king felt obliged to come to Frederick’s aid, but funding was needed. So, another Parliament

was convened in 1621. The chilly relationship between crown and legislature persisted, however.

Money could be appropriated, but it would come with significant strings attached. Parliament required that Charles, then Prince of Wales and heir to the throne, should marry a Protestant princess, although James had been orchestrating the betrothal of his son to the Catholic Maria Anna, Infanta of Spain and daughter of King Philip III, as a means of improving relations with Spain and raising money. That unsuccessful effort was derisively dubbed ‘the Spanish match’. Laws further curbing Catholic freedoms were to be enacted. Perhaps most offensive was a written protest that parliamentary rights, particularly its freedom of speech, were being infringed.

James considered the demands a direct challenge to his royal sovereignty. In response, he angrily dissolved Parliament

yet again. Meanwhile, the king’s matchmaking enraged aristocratic and common people alike in both England and Scotland. In 1625, Charles did marry Henrietta Maria, the Catholic daughter of King

Henry IV of France, whose religious faith immediately made her an unpopular figure.

As the health of James I began to decline noticeably, Charles assumed a more active role in government. Among other things, contrary to his father’s wishes Charles advocated a declaration of war against Spain.

When James I died on 27 March 1625, the king was mourned throughout the land. Opinions vary as to his effectiveness as a ruler. He is best remembered for his commissioning of a classic translation of the Bible and his effort to unify Scotland and England.

The newly crowned Charles I inherited a future fraught with uncertainty, the kingdom threatened perhaps as much from within as outside its borders.

## DEFINING MOMENTS

### 25 July 1603

#### Coronation of James I

James VI of Scotland is proclaimed king of England on 24 March 24, 1603, the day that Queen Elizabeth I dies. He departs for London on 5 April, travelling slowly and arriving on 7 May. During coronation ceremonies at Westminster Abbey on 25 July 1603, James and his wife, Anne of Denmark, are crowned. Ben Jonson and Thomas Dekker, popular poets and writers of the time, present works before the sizable crowd. Dekker writes, “...Stalls instead of rich wares were set out with children, open casements filled up with women.” An outbreak of the plague keeps the celebration to a minimum.

### 5 November 1605

#### The Gunpowder Plot

Guy Fawkes, a conspirator among a group of Catholics led by Robert Catesby intent on assassinating King James I and killing large numbers of members of Parliament, is arrested on 5 November, after the group has rented a house adjacent to Parliament and manages to smuggle 36 barrels of gunpowder into a cellar beneath the House of Lords. Acting on a warning received in an anonymous letter, soldiers discover Fawkes, waiting to ignite the fuse, on the morning of the 5th. He is interrogated and tortured before confessing his role in the plot and is executed on 31 January 1606.



### 25 August 1618

#### Five Articles Of Perth

In an attempt to align worship practices of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland with the Church of England, King James I declares the Five Articles of Perth, measures he has considered since 1616, travelling from London to Scotland to sponsor them the next year. The Scottish Parliament reluctantly ratifies the Articles in 1621. These measures include: kneeling during communion; private communion in case of illness; private baptism if necessary; confirmation by bishops; and the observance of holy days such as Christmas and Easter. The measures are contrary to certain puritan and presbyterian worship practices and infringe on the autonomy of the Church of Scotland.

■ Queen Elizabeth I of England was a cousin of Mary, Queen of Scots, and godmother to her son, King James I



## SPANISH MATCH

The controversial marriage plan that was eventually cancelled

From 1614 to 1623, King James I negotiated the potential marriage of his son, Charles, Prince of Wales, to Maria Anna, Infanta of Spain and daughter of King Philip III. Such a union would prevent a costly war with Spain and perhaps even lead to a lasting peace. At the same time, James was fatigued with efforts to gain financial support from Parliament. Conversely, the Spanish sought to prolong the negotiations to prevent English troops from opposing them in the continuing Thirty Years' War.

The idea was initially proposed to James I by the Count of Gondomar, a Spanish diplomat who offered a bargain. Among other provisions, Gondomar offered the hand of King Philip's daughter along with a dowry of £500,000. During negotiations, the amount was increased to £600,000. Anti-Catholic sentiment was on the rise in England, and Parliament vehemently opposed 'the Spanish match'. James advised the body not to interfere with the negotiations or risk severe penalties. In 1623, Prince Charles and George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham, travelled to Spain under assumed names in an unsuccessful attempt to win the hand of the Infanta directly.

Although James I signed a contract, the marriage did not take place.



■ Maria Anna, Infanta of Spain, was personally opposed to marrying a non-Catholic. She eventually married Ferdinand III, Holy Roman Emperor

# THE PERILS OF PERSONAL RULE

King Charles I chose to rule from 1629 to 1640 without a Parliament; his opponents called it the 'Eleven Years' Tyranny'



As patron of the arts with impeccable manners, slight of build, and stuttering in his Scottish brogue, the second Stuart king of Great Britain and Ireland, Charles I hardly cut the figure of a tyrant. However, political enemies termed him just that. The son of James I was crowned on 2 February 1626. At age 25, Charles was already involved in the intrigue and exercise of power that had brought years of acrimony to his father's court.

Like James I, Charles was firm in his belief in the divine right of kings. He rarely travelled around his kingdom and remained aloof, never cultivating the common touch. Undoubtedly, these traits contributed to his perception of Parliament and his inability to work in co-operation with it. Amid the swirl of religious, political and military turmoil that he had both contributed to and inherited, Charles I and the legislative body were on a collision course from the beginning of his turbulent reign.

While an amalgamation of Puritans, Anglicans, and Roman Catholics – who often practised their faith in secret – populated Parliament, Charles I, himself a high Anglican, married Henrietta Maria, the Catholic daughter of King Henry IV of France, three months after his coronation. The union created distrust in Parliament, particularly among the Puritans who believed their king was intent on re-establishing the primacy of the Roman Catholic Church in England.

In matters of state, the early reign of Charles I was heavily influenced by George Villiers, 1st duke of Buckingham, previously also a favourite of James I. For three years, Buckingham played a key role in the worsening relationship between Charles I and Parliament. He steered the country into war with both Spain and France by 1627, while his ineptitude and manipulation cost Charles dearly in terms of respect and personal sway with Parliament. Buckingham was assassinated in 1628.

Although Charles I did inherit a contentious relationship with Parliament, he was intransigent in his own right. Many members of Parliament were suspicious of the king due to his marriage to a Catholic princess and policies that apparently favoured the Catholic church. Over time, the animosity reached fever pitch. The king dissolved Parliament on three occasions during the first four years of his reign.

The first Parliament convened under Charles I voted against the king's authority to assess poundage and tonnage, customs duties that provided significant revenue for the Crown. Parliament had previously granted such a right to sovereigns for life. Its refusal at this juncture was a personal affront to Charles I.

The second troubled Parliament met in early 1626 and was dissolved in June as the country became embroiled in wars with the Spanish and French. The need to finance the conflicts strapped the king's coffers, but Parliament again refused to provide adequate revenue. Charles I requested support directly from the people with a plea that they "lovingly, freely, and voluntarily" contribute. This failed attempt was followed by a 'forced loan', threatening non-compliant individuals with arrest and trial before the king's privy council. The caustic mandate ultimately generated about £250,000.

By the time the third Parliament convened in 1628, Charles I had lost all credibility with the legislative body, which denounced taxation without its consent and listed numerous concerns over the king's conduct in a 'petition of right'. Four principles were outlined in this document. Martial law could not be declared in peacetime; military personnel could not be housed in subjects' homes; individuals could not be imprisoned without charges; and taxes could not be levied without Parliamentary approval. Charles was forced to sign the petition and subsequently dissolved the third Parliament.

The fourth Parliament gathered in January 1629. Charles I had continued to collect poundage and tonnage without its consent. Anti-Catholic sentiment was on the rise, and numerous members of Parliament voiced concerns that Charles was heavily influenced by his wife, who refused to participate in Protestant services and practised her Catholic rituals openly. Three resolutions against His Majesty's conduct were passed. Parliament was dissolved on 2 March 1629, amid rhetoric that approached revolutionary levels.

For the next 11 years, known as the period of 'personal rule', Charles I governed Great Britain and Ireland without calling a Parliament.

He exercised the Crown's authority to impose taxes and influence the conduct of worship in the Church of Scotland, neither of which was popular among the people affected. Opponents of personal rule referred to the period as the 'Eleven Years' Tyranny'.

By 1629, Charles I was saddled with debt that exceeded £1 million. Wisely, he made peace with France in April 1629 and Spain in November 1630. Relieved of the burden of financing these conflicts, the treasury did benefit from duties supported by a revival of commerce and trade.

To generate additional revenue, Charles I made appointments to his court in exchange for money and granted monopolies while also exploiting the Court of Wards to plunder the estates of deceased parents whose children became wards of the state, selling off assets that would have been inherited by these children and diverting the proceeds. He also reinstated levies that had been set aside for many years.

A proclamation that the extent of royal land holdings and forests were actually those existing during the reign of King Edward I in the

*Charles was an art enthusiast, inviting famed painters to England and purchasing works by Titian and Raphael*



■ George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham, was a favourite – and possibly lover – of James I and also confidante of Charles I



■ King Charles I, assured of his sovereignty through the divine right of kings, pursued personal rule for 11 years

“FOR 11 YEARS, IN THE PERIOD OF ‘PERSONAL RULE’, CHARLES I GOVERNED GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND WITHOUT CALLING A PARLIAMENT”

## KINGDOMS DIVIDED

■ This heroic painting of Charles I by Flemish artist Anthony van Dyck depicts a king of exaggerated physical stature





13th century brought fines against those who 'owned' property within these boundaries. Another 400-year-old tax called the 'distraint of knighthood' was imposed again in 1630. All landowners whose holdings were valued at £40 or more had been required to attend the king's coronation and to be knighted. Although the notion had been abandoned for generations, Charles I resumed collecting fines against those who had not attended his coronation, requiring them to purchase their knighthoods and pay additional taxes due to their elevated social status.

The most far-reaching and despised of Charles I's revenue enhancements was known as 'ship money'. A tax on coastal towns to pay for the maintenance and upkeep of the Royal Navy in its defence against pirates and invaders, this practice dated to the Middle Ages. In 1634, the king extended the requirements for ship money payments to municipalities in England's interior. This tax burdened many of the country's poorest people, and there was open defiance to its imposition. Viscount Saye-and-Sele led the effort, and the court of the exchequer ruled against his associate John Hampden in 1637, upholding the king's prerogative to collect ship money. However, five of the 12 judges who heard the case sided with Hampden.

William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, was a close associate of Buckingham and extended his influence steadily as an advisor to James I and then Charles I. Laud sought to enrich the Church of England financially and to quell Puritan elements in Parliament. While the Stuart kings largely ignored the land of their birth, the Church of Scotland had matured around Calvinist, or presbyterian, tenets.

Laud, with the support of Charles I, was determined to unify worship practices in Scotland and Ireland with those of the Church of England and increase ecclesiastical authority, or the rule of bishops, in direct conflict with Calvinist practices, which did not include bishops. Stained glass windows, statuary and priests wearing vestments that reflected their position in society were all reintroduced. The conservative Puritans decried

*William Laud was influenced heavily by the theology of Dutch reformer Jacob Arminius, whose followers were known as 'Arminians'*



these initiatives, advocating for a more 'pure' form of worship that shunned these trappings of the Church of England – or worse,

Roman Catholicism.

In 1637, Laud's introduction of the Book of Common Prayer, to be used throughout the land, raised such an outcry in Scotland that the resulting general assembly of Glasgow repudiated the book and renounced for a second time the Five Articles of Perth, revisions in the practice of worship that James I had forced through the Scottish Parliament more than a decade earlier.

The impertinence of the Scottish people, who rioted in the streets of Edinburgh after the Book of Common Prayer was read during worship services, and the actions of the assembly at Glasgow enraged Charles I. Finally prompted to take action, the king made the decision to settle the matter of religious practice – and with it much of the ongoing political strife – by force of arms.

Lack of funding impeded the progress of the king's military offensive, and so the need to finance the war with the so-called 'covenanters' finally compelled Charles I to recall Parliament in April 1640. After more than a decade, the period of personal rule had come to an end.

■ William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, was a leading proponent of extending Anglican influence to the Church of Scotland



## QUEEN CONSORT AND CATHOLICISM

The king's French wife was treated with suspicion by many for her religious beliefs

Her Catholic faith precluded an actual coronation, and as wife of King Charles I Henrietta Maria of France was properly addressed as queen consort. As her husband was crowned King of Great Britain and Ireland in an Anglican ceremony, she was allowed to watch from a respectful distance.

With the death of the duke of Buckingham, a once cold and distant relationship between the royal couple warmed considerably to one of genuine affection. The marriage stirred controversy in Parliament and among the people, many of whom derisively called Henrietta Maria 'Queen Mary', referring obviously to Charles's Catholic grandmother, Mary Queen of Scots. Still, the queen consort became more influential

during her husband's troubled reign as the kingdom moved closer to civil war. The mother of two future kings, Charles II and James II, Henrietta Maria was once described in less than flattering terms as "a short woman perched on her chair with long, bony arms, irregular shoulders and teeth protruding from her mouth like a fence [but with] beautiful eyes, a well-shaped nose and an admirable complexion."

The North American colony of Maryland, founded in 1632 as a haven for Catholics, was named in her honour.

■ A devout Roman Catholic, queen consort Henrietta Maria was the daughter of King Henry IV of France



# PARLIAMENT'S PATH TO POWER

From the Anglo-Saxons to the reign of Charles I, Parliament evolved to wield power that shaped the future of England, Scotland and Ireland



The origin and evolution of Parliament from Anglo-Saxon rule to the impasse with King Charles I on the eve of civil war began with a simple premise – the wisdom in seeking advice.

At his sole discretion, an Anglo-Saxon king might call together noblemen to discuss matters of state. Known as the Witan, this gathering offered perspective; however, decision-making authority resided with the king.

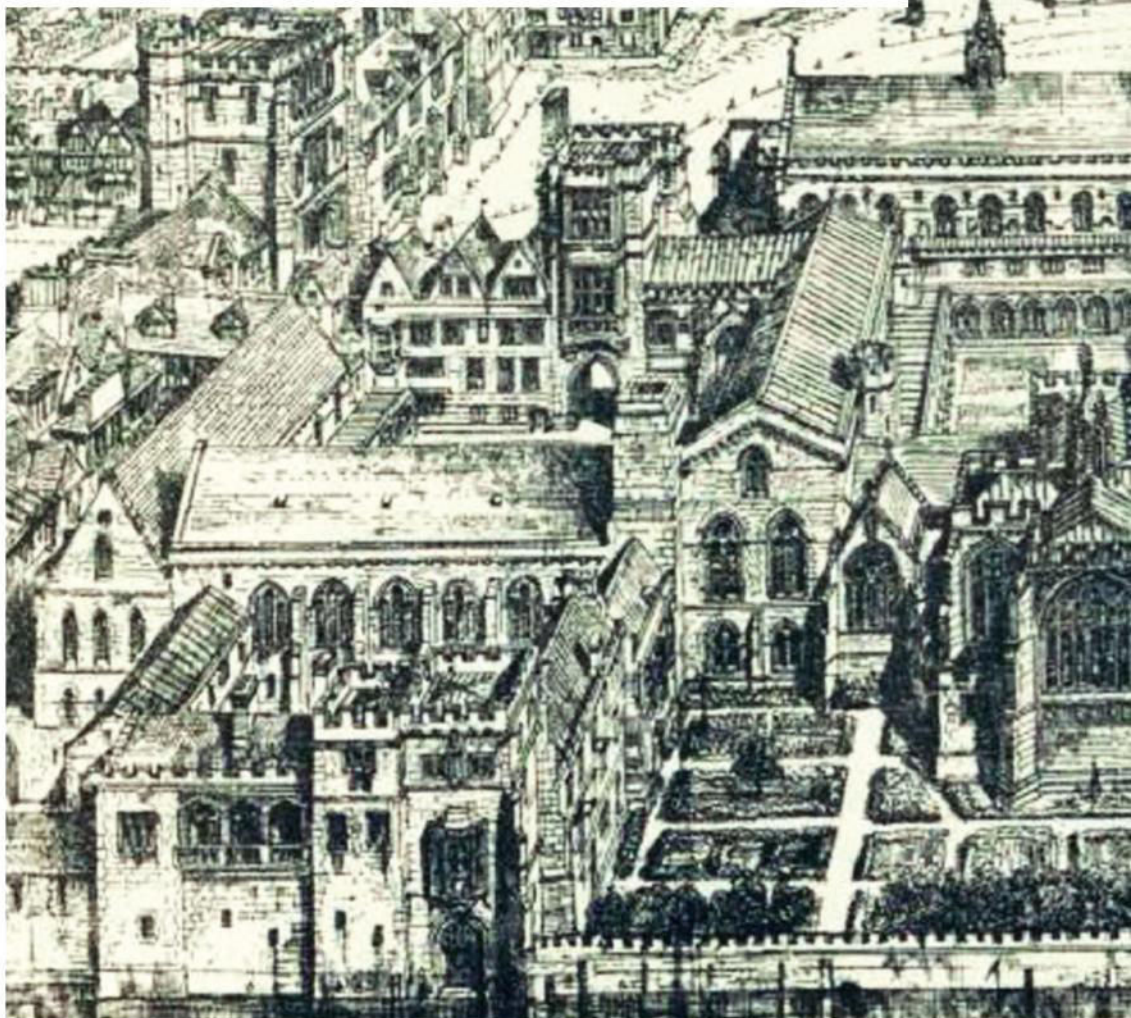
In Norman England, the king relied on close advisors. Occasionally this group was enhanced as additional noblemen and church representatives were called to a 'Great Council'. Often, this larger gathering convened to discuss taxation.

Regular meetings were also conducted at the county, or shire, level in Anglo-Saxon and Norman England. Originally called the moot and later the county court, these meetings included local civil and religious leaders. After centuries of separation, these two bodies combined to form the earliest Parliament; the Witan and Great Council being the forerunners of the House of Lords, and the moot and county court preceding the House of Commons.

With King John's signing of the Magna Carta at Runnymede in 1215, the first English sovereign acknowledged that his rule was subject to tenets of law. Half a century later, Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, seized power from King Henry III and sought a broad base of support.

Montfort called together not only knights and barons, but also representatives, called burgesses, from the towns. Their purpose was to consider an array of issues, rather than dealing solely with taxation. Montfort's Parliament is significant for its breadth of representative government and its national scope of discussion.

Parliament became more formalised under King Edward I, ruler of England from 1272-1307. A tall, imposing figure also known as Longshanks, Edward called his first Parliament in 1275 with a directive that two burgesses from each town should attend along with two knights of the shire from each county. With the Model Parliament of 1295, the attendance of two burgesses and two knights of the shire from their respective areas became standard. As with many future monarchs, Edward's motivation to convene Parliament was often the financing of military campaigns, including the English



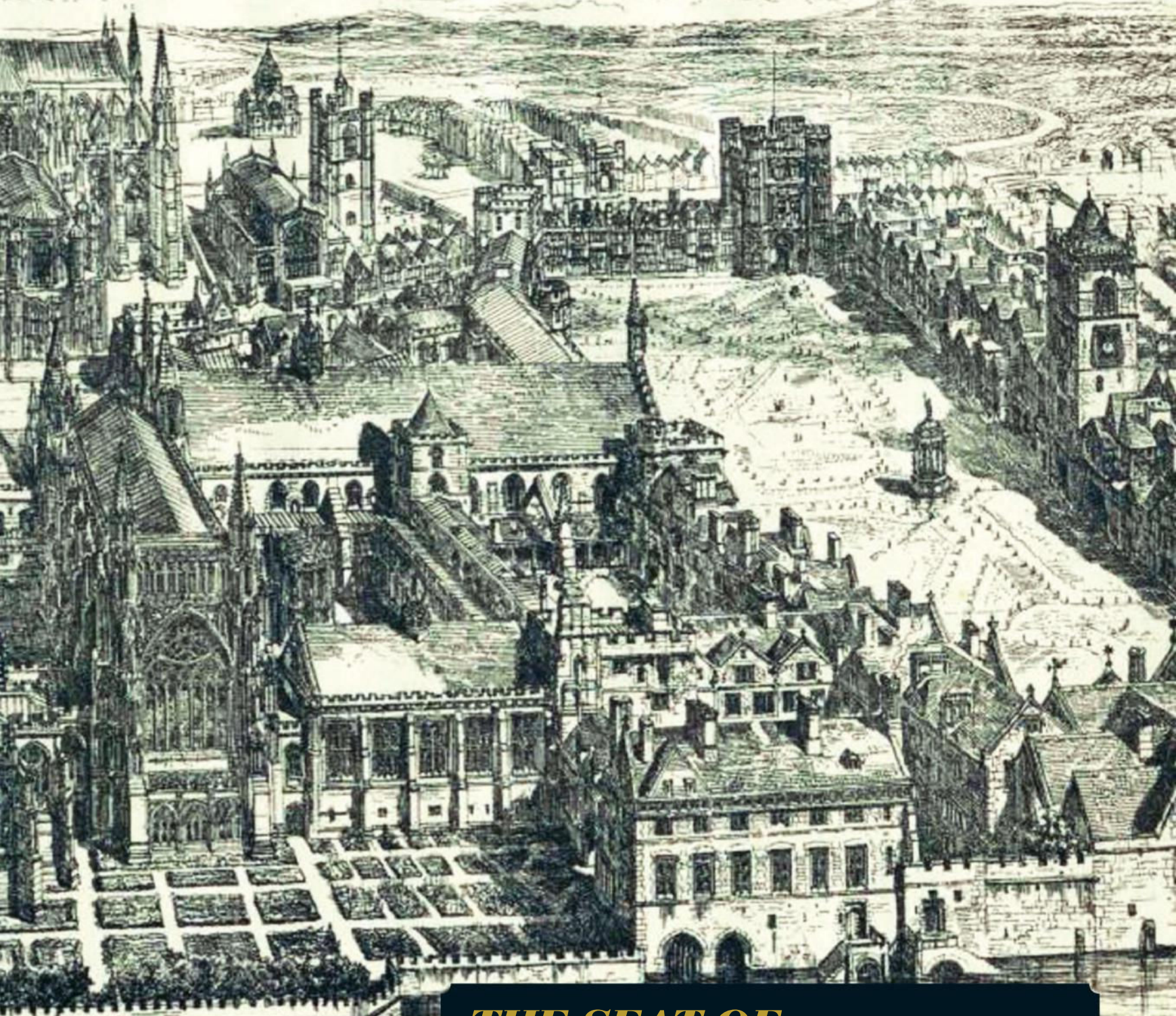
commitment to the Ninth Crusade and wars against the Welsh.

Negotiations were frequent, and Parliament agreed to a levy in the spring of 1270 to finance the Ninth Crusade, while requiring Edward I to reaffirm the Magna Carta and impose restrictions on Jewish financiers. Following this established precedent, both the king and

Parliament continually probed the relative limits of power.

In January 1327, Parliament removed the ineffective King Edward II, son of Edward I, who abdicated in favour of his son, crowned Edward III. Since that time, Parliament always included representatives of the people, with burgesses and knights of the shire attending.

*“KING EDWARD'S MOTIVATION TO  
CONVENE PARLIAMENT WAS OFTEN THE  
FINANCING OF MILITARY CAMPAIGNS”*



■ The Palace of Westminster at the time of King Henry VIII included numerous buildings that were later destroyed by fire

## **THE SEAT OF PARLIAMENTARY POWER**

**The history of the Houses of Parliament spans over 900 years, from the Anglo-Saxons to the present**

Each Parliament also functioned in three components: the monarch, and the Houses of Lords and Commons. The term 'House of Commons' came into regular use in 1332 as knights and burgesses began sitting together in one chamber.

Edward III advocated annual meetings of Parliament beginning in 1327. For roughly the next 150 years, Parliament met regularly. Both the Houses of Lords and Commons asserted greater roles in government. The Parliament of 1376 is remembered as the Good Parliament because of the impeachment, or prosecution, of corrupt members of the king's court.

A decade later during the Wonderful Parliament, the House of Commons compelled King Richard II to relieve his lord chancellor, Michael de la Pole, 1st earl of Suffolk, after

During much of its early history, Parliament met in the Old Palace of Westminster, constructed in the 11th century. Fire destroyed most of the Old Palace in 1834. However, the Great Hall, also known as Westminster Hall, remains. Built by King William II, son of William the Conqueror, between 1097 and 1099, Westminster Hall was the largest building of its kind in England at the time of its completion.

The Great Councils, predecessors of Parliament, sometimes met at the Old Palace. Simon de Montfort's Parliament and the Model Parliament were among the historic gatherings there. Sessions opened in the Painted Chamber,

south of Westminster Hall and named after the large paintings that adorned its walls. The House of Lords met in the White Chamber.

The House of Commons convened in the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey beginning in 1352 and moved to the Abbey dining hall, called the Refectory, in 1397. In 1547, St Stephen's Chapel, previously used by the Old Palace's royal residents, was given to the House of Commons, which convened there until the catastrophic 19th century fire.

The Old Palace served as the royal residence until Henry VIII moved to a building in Whitehall after a fire in 1512.

# TURNING POINTS

## Major watersheds in the history of Parliament

### 600 AD

#### Anglo-Saxon advisory

With its roots among the ancient Germanic tribes, the Witan is brought together as early as the 6th century when Anglo-Saxon kings seek counsel from bishops, landowners and officials on matters often requiring popular support to be effective. The Witan, or Witenagemot – old English for meeting or moot – usually considers matters of taxation but sometimes discusses laws and mutual defence. Its size depends on the matters being discussed and the meeting time. Larger groups convene during religious festivals. Modern scholars assert that the consent of the Witan may have been required for a new king to take the throne of England.

### 1265

#### Power to the people

French-born Simon de Montfort, a rebellious baron, calls an historic session of Parliament in 1265 that includes a much larger gathering of diverse individuals than previous such meetings. For the first time, two burgesses from larger towns across England join with knights of the shire, bishops, and barons. Seeking reforms, Montfort has led a revolt against King Henry III, whose taxation methods and susceptibility to outside influence are in question. Temporarily taking power after his victory in the Second Barons' War, Montfort realises that the consolidation of his rule depends on popular support, a concept that influences the composition of future Parliaments.

■ Simon de Montfort is depicted with armour and shield in a stained glass window at Chartres Cathedral in France

### 1529

#### Rights and the Reformation Parliament

As Henry VIII breaks from the Roman Catholic Church, he convenes Parliament in 1529, to secure approval of his divorce from Catherine of Aragon and to divest the pope of any power in England. Laws are passed forbidding anyone from seeking authority outside the crown to judge a matter within England's borders. Appeals to Rome of any kind are prohibited, and payments of certain contributions previously made to the papal treasury are diverted to the crown. Clergymen charged with crimes are no longer to be tried in separate courts. From 1529, they are subject to the same courts as ordinary citizens.

■ King Henry VIII initiated sweeping change with the Reformation Parliament, redefining the role of the Church



the official was impeached for embezzlement and negligence.

The Merciless Parliament convened in 1388 and passed death sentences on de la Pole and other corrupt officials. Parliament eventually forced Richard II to abdicate in 1399 after a 30-year reign, for acts of "tyranny and misgovernment". Although his claim to the throne was tenuous, Henry Bolingbroke, Richard's cousin, was crowned King Henry IV.

When Henry IV took the throne, he looked to Parliament to solidify his hold and provide operating funds. In response, the House of Commons required that significant concerns be addressed. In 1407, Henry IV agreed that the Commons was to control all measures of funding. Within 50 years, the Commons was a full partner in national government and regulated financial appropriations to the crown.

The Commons also exerted authority in approving new laws. From its earliest days, Parliament had provided the venue for petitions from the people. The Commons claimed the right to advance petitions to the House of Lords and thence the king for consideration. Petitioners then began submitting pleas first to House of Commons rather than to the House of Lords or the king.

In 1414, King Henry V and the House of Lords agreed to make no alterations to submitted petitions unless the House of Commons approved. Further, no bill would become law without approval of the Commons.

The early composition of the House of Lords consisted of the Lords Spiritual and Lords Temporal. The Lords Spiritual included the archbishops of Canterbury and York along with up to 24 bishops, who were called to Parliament regularly from 1305 until the English Civil War erupted in 1642. Abbots, leaders of monasteries, were called until King Henry VIII abolished their religious houses in the 1530s. The Lords Temporal was initially a group of earls and barons. By the mid-15th century, it was further stratified into those with titles of duke, marquess, earl, viscount and baron.

Henry VIII summoned the Reformation Parliament, in session from 1529 to 1536,

primarily to validate the king's divorce from Catherine of Aragon. The transfer of papal power and influence from Rome to the crown was just beginning. Parliament enacted laws concerning virtually every aspect of life, particularly the customs and practices of the Church of England. In the process, Parliament wielded unprecedented power.

Ironically, Henry VIII maintained the authority to call and dissolve Parliament. However, he came to intuitively realise that the furtherance of his agenda was dependent on Parliamentary co-operation. For much of the next century, the Tudor monarchs worked shrewdly to maintain favour with Parliament.

During the reign of Elizabeth I, as religious tensions ran high, a vocal element in the House of Commons, led by Peter Wentworth, asserted that Parliament should be free to consider

any issues it deemed to be important without interference from the queen. Wentworth was arrested three times.

The character of Parliament during the late 1500s is a topic of continuing debate. Some historians see Wentworth's conduct as a harbinger of the burgeoning opposition to royal authority, a Parliament that was coming of age, and the approach of civil war. Others insist that Elizabeth I retained the authority to call Parliament and that its members considered themselves servants of the crown with a

focus on conducting legislative business.

The contentious relationship between the English monarchy and Parliament ebbed and flowed during the first half of the 17th century, eventually leading to civil war. King James I ruled with a firm belief in the divine right of kings – and with a continual need for money. Parliamentary control of the purse strings was a direct contravention to the monarch's prerogative. Religious rumblings and political currents infiltrated Parliament, producing a poisonous potion that grew steadily more toxic.

Open hostility between king and Parliament erupted under Charles I, who embarked on an 11-year course of 'personal rule', only bringing Parliament back into session in

*Due to a seemingly endless need for wartime financing, King Edward I called Parliament 46 times between 1272 and 1307*



# TIMELINE

#### 1215 Signing the Magna Carta

Noblemen compel King John to sign the Magna Carta and an English monarch acknowledges for the first time that his rule is subject to the application of the law.

#### 1295 The Model Parliament

During the reign of Edward I, the Model Parliament convenes and establishes a precedent for future Parliaments with two knights of the shire and two burgesses attending.

#### 1327 Removal of a Monarch

Parliament forces the abdication of King Edward II, and Parliament begins functioning effectively in three components – the monarch, House of Lords and House of Commons.

#### 1388 The Merciless Parliament

The Merciless Parliament convenes in October, passing death sentences on many members of Richard II's court, following his failed military attempt to overthrow the Lords Appellant.

#### 1407 Commons controls funds

After consulting with the House of Lords regarding a pending tax, King Henry IV must acknowledge that the Commons retains the right to grant funding for any purpose.



■ House of Commons Speaker William Lenthall kneels before the king as Charles I attempts to arrest five of its members

April 1640 to request funding for the renewal of the Bishops' War with Scottish religious rebels. Parliament refused unless its long list of grievances were heard by the king, and Charles I abruptly dissolved the so-called Short Parliament.

The Long Parliament met in November 1640, and drove a proverbial stake through the heart of personal rule. By mid-1641, Parliament had forced the execution of a key member of

Charles I's court, Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford. Laws were enacted curbing the authority of the courts, making any taxation without Parliamentary approval illegal, and requiring that Parliament meet at least every three years without dissolution unless it consented.

The winter of 1641 was truly one of discontent. The Commons passed the Grand Remonstrance, a litany of Charles I's

abuses of power. Enraged by the document's publication and circulation, the king sought the arrest of John Pym and other opposition leaders. Personally entering the Commons chamber, Charles I confronted Speaker William Lenthall, who famously refused to divulge the whereabouts of the five dissenters.

Disgraced, Charles I left London five days later. Licking their wounds, both king and Parliament girded for war.

**1413**  
**Regulating election of burgesses**

In a largely futile effort to limit the unscrupulous election of burgesses, a statute is enacted that those who are selected to serve must live in the town they represent.

**1429**  
**Forty shilling voters**

In an effort to disenfranchise individuals of lower social status, a new statute decrees that only free landowners with holdings worth 40 shillings or more may vote for Parliamentary representatives.

**1497**  
**Maintaining accurate records**

Parliament establishes its own independent officials and administrative process with its clerk maintaining custody of records at Westminster rather than placing them in the Tower of London.

**1576**  
**Freedom of speech**

In a provocative speech criticising the conduct of Queen Elizabeth I, Peter Wentworth is silenced before he concludes his comments and is imprisoned in the Tower of London.

**1629**  
**Charles I and personal rule**

After failing to compromise with Parliament three times during the first four years of his reign, Charles I chooses personal rule and does not call another Parliament for 11 years.

**1640**  
**The Short Parliament**

Parliament refuses to discuss financing a continuation of the Bishops' Wars without addressing numerous other issues, and Charles I angrily dissolves the body less than a month after it convenes.

**1641**  
**The Long Parliament**

The Long Parliament, meeting November 1640 to March 1660, convicts the Earl of Strafford and passes laws shredding the concept of personal rule, curbing the power of Charles I.

# WARS OF WORDS AND WORSHIP

In the Bishops' Wars, King Charles I sought to subdue Scotland over the accepted conventions of worship and found himself rebuffed

**O**n Sunday 23 July 1637, James Hannay, dean of Edinburgh, stood before his congregation and began to read the liturgical text. Whispers rippled through the assembly. Moments later Jenny Geddes, a street vendor, stood amid the crowd and yelled, "Devil cause you colic in your stomach, false thief! Dare you say the Mass in my ear!" With that the enraged woman hurled her stool directly at Hannay's head. The uproar sparked rioting in the streets. Soon the Bishops' Wars – as much conflicts of ideology and power as of arms – had erupted.

The spark that brought about open conflict was the will of King Charles I and William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, the printed word in the Book of Common Prayer, mandated for the Churches of England and Scotland in 1637. The book was symptomatic of a wider chasm, a test of power and political preeminence, and the Bishops' Wars were harbingers of the broader English Civil Wars that led to Charles's downfall and eventually cost him his life.

Firmly believing in his divine right to rule, Charles I sought to consolidate control over Scotland in several ways, one of which was the uniformity of religion in the Anglican tradition. However, the Calvinist Scottish

church, particularly its Puritan element, fiercely opposed Anglican influence, preferring Presbyterian rule – that is, without bishops.

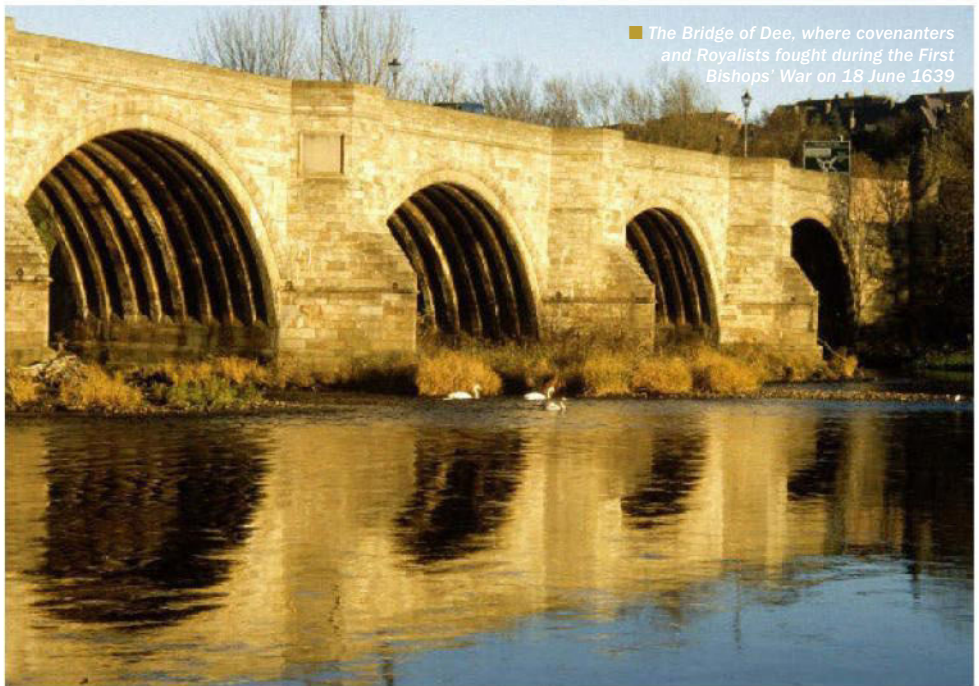
In response to the Book of Common Prayer, Scottish church leaders met in February 1638 at Greyfriars Kirk in Edinburgh and ratified the Scottish national covenant to defend the "true religion." In November, the Glasgow assembly refused the order of the king's emissary, James Hamilton, 3rd marquess of Hamilton, to disperse. Then, in open defiance of the king's order, the assembly abolished the episcopacy and the Book of Common Prayer in Scotland. The Scots, known as covenanters, prepared to defend their territory, while Charles I vowed to



■ En route to the decisive engagement at Newburn, the covenanter army commanded by Alexander Leslie fords the River Tyne



■ Alexander Leslie, the brilliant covenanter military leader during the Bishops' Wars, was created 1st earl of Leven in 1641



■ The Bridge of Dee, where covenanters and Royalists fought during the First Bishops' War on 18 June 1639

bring the rebellious subjects to heel. Archibald Campbell, 8th Earl of Argyll, and James Graham, 1st Marquess of Montrose, led the covenanters as a call for volunteers passed throughout the country. Alexander Leslie, a veteran military campaigner, was appointed commander of the covenanter forces.

Meanwhile, Charles I intended to raise a force of 20,000 men, including Scottish Royalists, and quell the uprising with offensive moves from several directions. From the beginning, however, the king met with resistance. There was little support for a war against the Scots, and funds were scarce. A levy of 7,000 troops, 6,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry was imposed, and another 4,000 militia were raised in the counties of northern England that were vulnerable to Scottish incursions. The king's army reached a peak strength of 18,000 men, but rather than a well-trained, disciplined force, it was more akin to a rabble.

In contrast, the covenanters seized the initiative, occupying Edinburgh Castle after blowing open the main gate with explosives, while the port of Dumbarton was captured and the Scottish crown jewels were confiscated at Dalkeith. When covenanters seized the city of Aberdeen in the spring of 1639, the Royalist commander, George Gordon, 2nd marquess of Huntly, deserted his post.

A series of minor confrontations followed. Royalists under Sir George Ogilvy of Banff met covenanters at the town of Turriff in a confrontation called the Raid of Turriff. Shortly afterwards, the covenanters were chased out of the town in a bloodless action called the Trot o'

Turriff since they had taken to their heels with great speed.

Ogilvy marched into Aberdeen, allowing his men to sack the homes of covenanters, but the approach of an enemy force under Montrose caused offensive enthusiasm to wane. The Royalists withdrew. One man was wounded during the brief Royalist siege of Towie Barclay Castle.

In March 1639, Charles I marched northward from York at the head of his army in a coordinated effort with the marquess of Hamilton, who sailed from Yarmouth to the Firth of Forth with 5,000 men but was prevented from landing because of covenanter control in the area. James Gordon, 2nd viscount Aboyne, Huntly's son, took a few of Hamilton's ships northward and marched on Aberdeen. Striking south, Aboyne reached Stonehaven but was pushed back by covenanter forces in mid-June.

When Aboyne's men took up defensive positions, the 9,000-man covenanter army under Montrose and William Keith, 7th earl Marischal, moved along a dirt road past Muchalls Castle to confront the enemy at the Bridge of Dee, blocking the road to Aberdeen. On 18 June, the covenanters laid an artillery barrage on the defenders, who withdrew from

the bridge and abandoned Aberdeen. Ironically, a tenuous peace settlement was already being negotiated at Berwick.

Neither side wished for an escalation of the war and neither was fully aware of the other's relative strength and potential fighting effectiveness. In May, Charles I issued a proclamation that he would discuss pertinent issues with the Scots when some semblance of order was restored. With a covenanter advance on Kelso and an English cavalry reconnaissance that revealed a disciplined covenanter army, Charles became even more reluctant to fight. Leslie boldly marched his covenanter force to Duns, and English morale plunged amid rumours that the Scots outnumbered them significantly.

In camp at Berwick, Charles I negotiated directly with the Scottish leaders. The king supposedly conceded that the Scottish church should be governed in assembly rather than by bishops; however, he

refused to accept outright the decisions of the Glasgow assembly. Nevertheless, a treaty, such as it was, ended the First Bishops' War on 19 June 1639. Amid an air of mistrust, no one really believed that the issues were settled. Charles I returned to London in July 1639, while the situation simmered.

As a new assembly reaffirmed the declarations made at Glasgow, Charles I became suspicious, believing that traitorous Scots were in league with the French. In September 1639, Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, was recalled from Ireland to become the principal advisor to the king. Convinced that a renewal of hostilities was inevitable, Charles needed money to prosecute another war and called his first Parliament in 11 years. The so-called Short Parliament convened in April 1640,

*When Alexander Leslie was summoned to lead covenanter forces, he returned from a posting abroad, as did many Scottish soldiers*



**“THERE WAS LITTLE SUPPORT FOR A WAR AGAINST THE SCOTS, AND FUNDS WERE SCARCE”**

■ Thomas Wentworth, 1st earl of Strafford, provided dubious advice to Charles I during the renewal of the Bishops' Wars against Scotland



*While marching to York in 1639, Charles I called upon noblemen to furnish additional troops, causing strained relations with his subjects*



and the emboldened body refused to entertain a petition for funds until other grievances were heard. The chief complaint was the king's broad levy of ship money. Exasperated, Charles I dissolved the Short Parliament after only three weeks.

Acting quickly as the threat of invasion loomed, the Scottish Parliament empowered a Committee of Estates to conduct military operations. In May 1640, Earl Marischal seized Aberdeen while covenanters attacked Royalist strongholds in the northeast of Scotland and the Earl of Argyll led 5,000 men against Royalists in the Highlands before laying siege to Dumbarton.

Meanwhile, Charles I's efforts to raise an army were uncoordinated and disappointing. The king's force was perhaps even less worthy to be called an army than its predecessor. The Scots swiftly massed 20,000 men and 60 cannon on the English frontier. The English commanders failed to recognise the threat in time to prevent the decisive action of the Second Bishops' War.

On 20 August 1640, the Scottish army under General Leslie invaded England, crossing the river Tweed at Coldstream. Bypassing English defences, the Scots marched on Newcastle. On 28 August, west of the city at Newburn Ford on the river Tyne, the opposing forces met. Covenanter artillery pounded Royalist positions, but a spirited cavalry charge was driven back by concentrated musket fire. A renewed artillery bombardment broke the English, who fled before another covenanter charge. Shaken by the defeat, the English abandoned Newcastle, and Leslie marched into the undefended city on 30 August.

The defeat at Newburn destroyed the English army's will to fight on, and Charles I was compelled to discuss peace terms after seeking advice from a council of peers that also recommended the calling of a new Parliament. On 14 October 1640, the Treaty of Ripon was signed. Its terms were humiliating for the king. The Scots would occupy Durham and Northumberland and receive £850 per day from England to cover the cost of the occupation. Even worse, the Scottish forces would also be compensated for the expense of fighting the war.

On 3 November, the famous Long Parliament convened. The road to civil war lay open.

## **FROM RIPON TO LONDON**

The terms of the original treaty were formalised in London

The Treaty of Ripon, a temporary measure, was signed in October 1640, ending the Second Bishops' War. On 10 November, English and Scottish commissioners met in London to formalise their agreement. Boisterous in defeat, Charles I labelled the Scottish emissaries as rebels; however, Puritans in Parliament objected and the king was forced to retract his comments.

Negotiations made little progress, lasting into the summer of 1641, while the Long Parliament

was also in session. As two of the king's principal advisors, the earl of Strafford and William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, were impeached by Parliament and civil disturbances became commonplace, Charles I pursued the conclusion of the treaty with renewed vigour.

The king made significant concessions to quicken the pace of negotiations. He ratified the rulings of the Scottish general assemblies, returned Scottish property seized during

the Bishops' Wars, silenced criticism of the covenanters, conceded that the castles at Dumbarton and Edinburgh would be maintained only for defence, eliminating a threat to Scottish security, and endorsed the Parliamentary award of £300,000 in compensatory payments to Scotland. The Treaty of London was concluded on 10 August 1641. The Scottish ministers realised their gains were substantial and quietly chose to drop further demands.



# TIMELINE OF THE BISHOPS' WARS

● **23 July 1637**

**Unrest in Edinburgh**



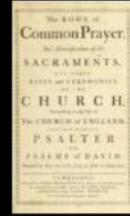
Jenny Geddes loudly protests the reading of the Book of Common Prayer during services in St Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh. Members of the congregation throw bibles, stools, stones and other objects toward James Hannay, dean of

Edinburgh, and a number of protesters are forcibly removed from the church. The disturbance spreads into the streets of Edinburgh, and local officials are besieged in the city chambers. Although some historians doubt that an individual named Jenny Geddes actually existed, she is remembered as the first to throw her folding stool that day and denounce the forced use of the Book of Common Prayer in Scotland.

● **23 February 1638**

**Scottish national covenant**

The first organised opposition to the imposition of the Book of Common Prayer and the extension of episcopacy within the Scottish church is ratified at Greyfriars Church in Edinburgh.



● **28 November 1638**

**Rebellious Glasgow assembly**

The marquess of Hamilton, representative of King Charles I, demands that the Glasgow assembly dissolve. Instead, the assembly continues to deliberate, dismissing the Book of Common Prayer from the Scottish church. Ten days after resolving to ignore the king's order, the assembly abolishes the episcopacy from the church. The Glasgow assembly remains in session until 20 December, setting the stage for the First Bishops' War as Charles I vows to suppress Scottish rebellion. Hamilton attempts to negotiate with the Scots; however, his effort is half-hearted, buying time for the king to raise an army for an anticipated invasion of Scotland.

● **5 June 1639**

**To the negotiating table**

As the morale of his army disintegrates amid further offensive manoeuvres of the covenanter force under Alexander Leslie, Charles I announces his intent to undertake negotiations with the Scots.

● **3 June 1639**

**Formidable covenanter force**

Royalist cavalry under the command of the earl of Holland encounter a covenanter army that appears well disciplined and professional, leaving Holland stunned and in no mood to fight.

● **14 May 1639**

**Trot o' Turriff**

In one of their few real victories during the First Bishops' War, Royalist troops put covenanters to flight, abandoning the village in what becomes known as the Trot o' Turriff.

● **26 January 1639**

**Raising an army**

Perhaps a bit naive as to the difficulties of raising an army, King Charles I proclaims his decision to do so as he asserts royal authority over the Scottish church.

● **18 June 1639**

**Across the Bridge Of Dee**

Covenanter troops under the marquess of Montrose succeed in dislodging approximately 100 Royalist musketeers defending the Bridge of Dee on the road to Aberdeen. Casualties are light on both sides.

● **19 June 1639**

**Pacification of Berwick**

A sham of a treaty leaves neither side satisfied, many issues unresolved, and both Scot and Englishman suspicious of the other; however, the First Bishops' War comes to an end.

● **13 April 1640**

**Short Parliament convenes**

The aptly named Short Parliament meets in London amid entreaties from Charles I to fund a second military campaign against the covenanters. The king ultimately dissolves Parliament within days.

● **9 May 1640**

**No Short Parliament supplement**

The earl of Strafford, Thomas Wentworth, reluctantly votes to dissolve the Short Parliament after Charles I, intent on finding the funds



to finance the Second Bishops' War, is unable to persuade the body to subsidise it. Strafford, recently returned from Ireland with a pledge of some financial assistance and the raising of an Irish army to fight the covenanters, advises, "Go on vigorously or let them alone... go on with a vigorous war as you first designed, loose and absolved from all rules of government... You have an army in Ireland you may employ here to reduce this kingdom..."

**"ON 14 OCTOBER 1640, THE TREATY OF RIPON WAS SIGNED. ITS TERMS WERE HUMILIATING FOR THE KING"**

● **10 August 1641**

**Peace at great cost**

Charles I ends lengthy negotiations and signs the Treaty of London, formally ending the Second Bishops' War as the landmark Long Parliament wrests significant power from the king.

● **14 October 1640**

**Peace at Ripon**

The Treaty of Ripon brings an informal end to the Second Bishops' War, inflicting an embarrassing defeat on King Charles I and compelling him to make significant concessions to gain peace.

● **28 August 1640**

**Victory at Newburn**

Although English musketry thwarts an initial cavalry charge, the covenanters prevail in the decisive battle of the Second Bishops' War. A lengthy artillery bombardment unnerves the defenders, who flee the field.

● **2 June 1640**

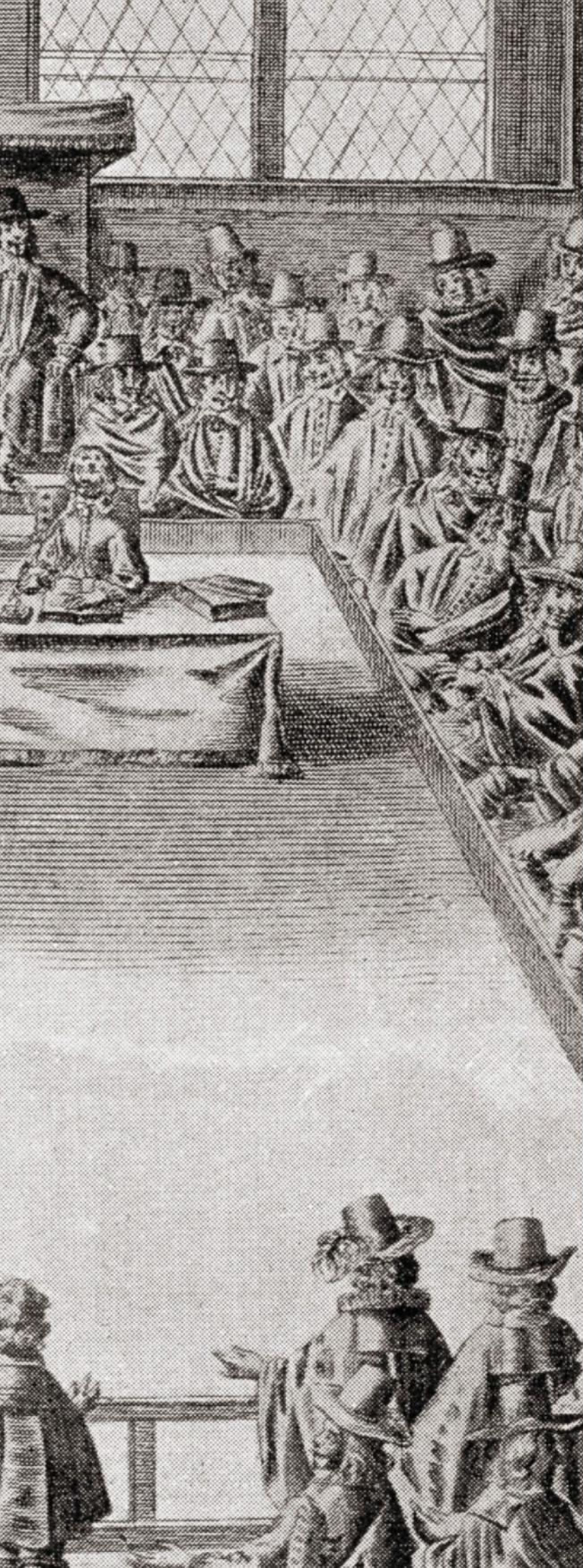
**Scotland prepares for war**

The Scottish Parliament appoints a Committee of Estates to manage military affairs during the expected renewal of hostilities with Charles. The committee subsequently votes to assume the offensive, mounting an invasion of England.

# THE SHORT PARLIAMENT

The Short Parliament was only in session for three weeks and was the first Parliament to be called in 11 years





## What was it?

The Short Parliament is rather obviously named as it only ran for an extremely short time span. It would be the fourth Parliament called in Charles I's reign and ended the 11-year stint, known as the king's personal rule, of the monarch ruling alone without convening Parliament.

Charles, without interference from Parliament, had attempted to reform the Scottish church and met with fierce opposition. The covenanters, Scottish Presbyterians who were opposed to Charles, took charge and the Bishops' Wars broke out between the two countries. Charles gave command of the military campaign to Sir Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, who quickly realised that England could not bear the financial cost of the war without help. Starting with the Irish Parliament, he used it to raise funds and recruit Irish men to fight, a tactic which he hoped to repeat in England.

Convinced of this, Charles called the Parliament in April of 1640, hoping for a swift resolution and the money he needed to put the Scots down. Members of the House of Commons had other ideas and became angry at these claims, as many supported the covenanters. Even Charles's trump card, a letter from the covenanters asking King Louis XIII of France to pledge support to the Scottish, was largely ignored and failed to sway opinion.

Now that Charles had made his intentions clear, the members of the House of Commons, led by a man named John Pym, refused to pay any funds unless a list of grievances, amassed over the last 11 years, was acted upon. To quash this, the earl of Strafford sidestepped the Commons and took the king's plea to the House of Lords, with Charles himself asking for help on 24 April. When the two houses met to discuss the issue, the Lords insisted that the money be paid before the supposed wrongs were rectified. The ensuing arguments unnerved Charles to such a degree that he, against advice, dissolved Parliament. Lasting only three weeks, the Short Parliament was just the start of Charles's troubles.

## Who was involved?



### Earl of Strafford

13 April 1593 – 12 May 1641

Thomas Wentworth was the man who convinced Charles to recall Parliament in order to raise funds for the war effort.



### King Charles I

19 November 1600 – 30 January 1649

Having enjoyed 11 years of personal rule, Charles thought that he could push his own agenda through Parliament without opposition.



### John Pym

1584 – 8 December 1643

His speech at the Short Parliament led Charles to dissolve the assembly, with Pym becoming one of the leading opposition figures.



# TROUBLE IN IRELAND: THE CATHOLIC UPRISING

As tensions rose between king and Parliament in England, the fragile situation in Ireland spilled over into all-out rebellion

**T**he conflict between Royalist and Parliamentary forces in England was inevitably going to affect Ireland. But preceding the Civil Wars themselves was an attempted Catholic coup that soon escalated into bloody sectarian fighting that pitched Protestants against Catholics. This was the beginning of the Eleven Years War, a series of battles that involved shifting alliances between four armed forces on the island: Royalists and Parliamentarians together with indigenous Catholic and Protestant rebels. It is generally regarded as Ireland's most destructive war, wreaking a level of devastation comparable to the Great Famine over two centuries later. Much of what ensued three centuries on, events that have resulted in a partitioned island and tensions that persist even today, can be traced back to the bloodshed that raged across the four provinces of 17th-century Ireland.

In the dying days of Elizabethan rule, the Nine Years War had ended with the defeat of the two major Gaelic dynasties, the O'Neills and O'Donnells. The conquest of Ireland had begun when King Henry II launched an invasion force in 1169, but over the next few centuries most of the Crown's power was contained within a scrap of east coast territory known as the Pale, ruled from Dublin Castle. The territories to the west divided into the earldoms of nominally loyal Anglo-Norman (aka 'Old English') families and the territories of the largely autonomous Gaelic chieftains.

Ireland's great sweeps of forest and bogland made full occupation ruinously expensive for

Queen Elizabeth's forces but by 1603, the entire island was ruled from Dublin. Following the 'Flight of the Earls' in 1607, Hugh O'Neill (earl of Tyrone) and Rory O'Donnell (1st earl of Tyrconnell) had fled to the continent with dozens of followers. The Crown engaged in the wholesale confiscation of the Gaelic lords' lands in the province of Ulster and after 1609, the first Protestant settlers were introduced there.

A few smaller plantations had been created during the Jacobean reign, one third of the estates of indigenous land owners being claimed in exchange for the recognition of their land titles. Under James I, the constituency of the Irish Parliament changed to create a Protestant majority, antagonising the Old English families.

Upon Charles I becoming monarch in 1625, he had to deal with an empty treasury and an expensive war with the Spanish. Knowing that Ireland could be a source of revenue, he decided on a deal with the Catholics there. In return for three annual payments of £40,000 they would be granted the 'King's Graces', which involved royal concessions on religious tolerance and the seizure of Irish lands.

During the Eleven Years' Tyranny, Charles I was determined that Ireland would be a source of revenue for the crown. He dispatched 'Black Tom' (Sir Thomas Wentworth) the 1st earl of Strafford as lord deputy. His policies were financially but not politically successful. Wentworth encouraged industry in Ireland and established a navy to combat piracy and boost foreign trade. But he was unpopular with the Old English families in the province of Connaught and Ulster Puritans, some of the latter being replaced by Anglicans. The

promises of the 'Graces' failed to materialise. The earl of Cork, whom Wentworth fined £15,000 and forced to hand back land to the Church described him as a "most cursed man to all Ireland and to me in particular," after his recall to London in 1639.

In an era of bad harvests and religious and economic resentments, Ireland was a potentially volatile island. Led by the Catholic landowners Rory O'More and Phelim O'Neill, an attempt was made to seize Dublin Castle and several key points around the island in October 1641. The rebels claimed not to oppose King Charles but the seditious Parliamentarians.

However, the rebellion was betrayed by a native Irish convert to Protestantism named Owen O'Connolly; thus Dublin did not fall, but in the north, the rebels captured the towns of Dungannon, Newry, Castleblaney and the Fort of Charlemont in County Armagh. Most of the province of Ulster was soon in rebel hands. Ostensibly, members of the 30,000-strong rebel army were under instruction only to kill in battle, arrest gentry and not to harm the Scottish planters.

But these rules broke down within days. Whether O'Neill and other rebel leaders countenanced what happened next has long been debated, but religious resentments quickly came to the fore. In November, Protestants at the Ulster town of Portadown were driven onto a bridge over the River Bann to be shot, piked and drowned.

Other Catholics joined in the rebellion in the provinces of Leinster and Munster.

■ Thomas Wentworth was appointed lord deputy in 1631



*“DURING THE ELEVEN YEARS’ TYRANNY, CHARLES I WAS DETERMINED THAT IRELAND WOULD BE A SOURCE OF REVENUE FOR THE CROWN”*



■ An etching depicts the forced drowning of Protestants by Irish Catholic soldiers during the uprising

## THREE KEY EVENTS

### The battle of Benburb

The battle in County Tyrone was the only major confederate victory of 1646. The covenanters were led by the Scotsman Robert Monro and as they drew up to the River Blackwater, they faced Owen Roe O'Neill's forces on a rise. Monro's forces fired artillery upon the confederates but inflicted little damage. When Monro's cavalry charged, they failed to break the pike and musket formations of the Irish. The confederates used pike to push enemy forces back and then fell in among them with swords and daggers. First the cavalry then the infantry fled. That same year, the confederates captured Bunratty Castle in County Clare, and the town of Sligo, but an offensive to capture Dublin failed.



### The battle of Dungan's Hill

Occurring in August 1647, the battle was a major setback for the confederates at the hands of the Parliamentarians. Thus the confederates were compelled to reach an accommodation with the Royalists which caused divisions between Old English and Gaelic rebels. Thomas Preston's confederates faced a force of 7,000 men led by Michael Jones, a one-time Royalist who had defected to the Parliamentarians. Despite the presence of 'Red Shanks' troops who had accompanied Alasdair MacColla with a force that fought for the Royalists at Philiphaugh, Scotland, the battle resulted in a rout of Preston's forces and the deaths of up to 3,000 confederate troops.

### Sack of Cashel

Following the 1641 uprising, Cork and several southern towns remained in Protestant hands. Murrough O'Brien, baron Inchiquin, was the major Parliamentarian ally in the region. In September 1647 his forces attacked civilians who had attempted to take refuge at the Rock of Cashel, a medieval sanctuary that was believed to be a neutral space. Inchiquin's troops fired on the sanctuary at first. When that failed, he piled turf against Cashel's walls, lighting it until its flames and smoke disabled the defenders. Thousands were then slaughtered as Inchiquin's forces stormed into the cathedral.

By late 1641 there had been widespread killings and expulsions of Protestants across the island. Up to 4,000 were killed outright and another 12,000 died of starvation and exposure after their homes were destroyed.

That same month James Butler, 1st duke of Ormonde, was made lieutenant general of Ireland and placed in charge of the English troops garrisoned in Dublin. At the end of the year, English reinforcements arrived, led by Sir Simon Harcourt. English forces, based in Dublin and Cork – and after January 1642, Scottish forces in Ulster – struck back, soon matching the rebels for cruelty.

The outbreak of First Civil War in England was now just months away, pitching Royalists and Parliamentarians against each other and reducing the money and troops available for Ireland. The Irish rebels hoped some kind of Royalist alliance could be worked out.

In March 1642, the Irish bishops convened a meeting in Armagh in order to bring the rebellion under control and also, perhaps, channel the rebellion towards attaining Catholic objectives. The scale of violence escalated ahead of 22 August and the outbreak of the First Civil War back in

England. King Charles had been dismayed by the rebellion and in March the Long Parliament had passed the Adventurers' Act which allowed for the mass confiscation and sale of Gaelic lands in order to pay the army.

Throughout April-May, thousands more English and Scottish troops were sent into Ulster and to reinforce Dublin and Cork. The occupying troops fought without quarter. In the summer, the covenanter Sir Duncan Campbell's soldiers laid siege to Rathlin Island off the northern coast of County Antrim. The island had already been subject to two massacres during the Elizabethan era, each killing hundreds of civilians. Campbell's forces landed on the island, wiping out the Catholic population; estimates of the numbers killed ran from several hundred to nearly three thousand.

Against this backdrop, on the initiative of the Irish clergy, Catholic landowners formed what was effectively an Irish government between 1642-9. The Catholic Confederate Association of Ireland was formed between May and October with the motto Pro Deo, pro Rege, pro Hibernia unanimes (for God, for King and Unity in Ireland) and immediately began minting its own currency.

Based in the town of Kilkenny, the Catholic confederates would rule two thirds of Ireland



■ Duncan Campbell's forces landed on Rathlin Island and ruthlessly wiped out the Catholic population

## TIMELINE

### October 1641 Uprising begins

Rebellion by Catholic elite led by Sir Phelim O'Neill and Rory O'Moore begins but fails to capture Dublin. Rebels capture a string of towns in Ulster.

### November 1641 Portadown massacre

Protestant residents of the town are driven onto a bridge over the River Bann and then shot, piked and drowned. More killings of Protestants soon follow across the country.

### March 1642 Irish clergy convene

The Irish bishops meet in Armagh in order to bring about an end to the rebellion and acquire concessions from King Charles I on the treatment of Catholics in Ireland.

### August 1642 Rathlin Island massacre

Catholics belonging to clan MacDonald are slaughtered by Scottish covenanter forces led by Sir Duncan Campbell on Rathlin Island. Women and children are thrown over the cliffs to their deaths.

### 22 August 1642 English Civil Wars erupt

As the English Civil Wars begins, the confederates under Garret Barry are defeated by the Protestant 1st of earl Inchiquin's forces at Liscarroll, County Cork.

### 18 March 1643 Battle of New Ross

The most senior Old English Royalist, James Butler, 1st duke of Ormonde, defeats a larger force led by the confederate Thomas Preston, 1st viscount of Tara in County Wexford.

## KEY FIGURE: JAMES BUTLER <sup>1st duke of Ormonde (1610-88)</sup>

The Butlers of Ormonde were an important Old English (Anglo-Norman) family who had ruled much of southeast Ireland since the 13th century. Born in Clerkewell in London, James Butler was three times lord lieutenant of Ireland in the 17th century. His relationship with the Kilkenny-based Catholic confederates was conflicting. Succeeding to the earldom in 1633, he was placed in charge of English troops in Dublin after the 1641 uprising and the recall of Thomas Wentworth, 1st earl of Strafford. Ormonde proved to be a capable Royalist commander, securing victory at New Ross in March 1643. He also supported the Alasdair MacColla-led expedition into Scotland to fight the covenanters. Two treaties were named after him and both were major sources



of division and ultimately violence within the confederation. In June 1647, reasoning that he preferred English to Irish rebels, Ormonde surrendered Dublin to Michael Jones, the Parliamentarian officer who went on to inflict defeats on the confederates at Dungan's Hill and Knocknanuss. Ormonde took control of the Royalist-confederate alliance but failed to take Dublin following the 1649 battle of Rathmines. His lands were confiscated by Cromwell after 1650. Loyal to Charles II during his exile, he was rewarded with various high-ranking posts after the Restoration.

■ James Butler, duke of Ormonde, was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland by Charles I in 1644

for the next seven years, but their attempts to subdue pockets of Protestant resistance would consistently fail. The confederates assembled their own army, led by Catholic officers who had served in Spain. The most eminent of these were Owen Roe O'Neill and Thomas Preston. The confederates planned to negotiate a ceasefire with the Royalist forces in return for a pardon for the 1641 uprising and religious

freedoms. Thus by 1643 a Royalist-confederate ceasefire was agreed. But while the English forces under Ormonde respected the ceasefire, Protestants in Cork under the earl of Inchiquin (Murrough O'Brien) mutinied and allied with Parliamentarian forces. So did Scottish planters in east Ulster and Derry who clashed with the confederate forces in central Ireland. The confederates' ruling Supreme Council then

arranged a treaty with the Royalists, called the Ormonde Peace, in 1646. The confederates could feel confident: that June they had smashed Scottish forces at Benburb in County Tyrone.

The confederates were hampered, however, by internal divisions over the terms of a post-war Ireland. Dominated by Old English Catholics, their leadership was at odds with the Gaelic Irish, who felt that the Ormonde peace treaties did not go far enough in addressing their grievances.

Moreover, after Pope Innocent X sent the papal nuncio Giovanni Battista Rinuccini to Ireland, he proved a divisive figure within the confederation. Arriving with weapons and money, Rinuccini stated that his mission was to safeguard the reign of Charles I and ensure Irish Catholics got a good deal on religious freedom. He repudiated the Ormonde Treaty and threatened the supreme council with excommunication if its members accepted it.

The Parliamentarians led by Michael Jones took Dublin in June 1647 and when the confederates attempted to extend their control over the whole of Ireland, they suffered crushing defeats at Dungan's Hill in County Meath and Knocknanuss in County Cork.

The confederates once again opted for a deal with the Royalist Ormonde. But more militant confederates associated with Owen Roe O'Neill rebelled in mid 1648. Rinuccini left Galway for Rome in 1649, leaving the confederates fatally divided, although the second treaty with Ormonde put them under effective Royalist control.

■ Despite being a religious sanctuary, the Rock of Cashel was the scene of an infamous massacre in 1647



**1644**

### Confederate excursion into Scotland

Led by Alasdair MacColla of the clan MacDonald, over 1,500 confederates are sent to Scotland to assist the Royalists against the covenanters. Many are killed at Philiphaugh the following year.

**1645**

### Arrival of papal nuncio

Giovanni Battista Rinuccini (1592-1653), archbishop of Fermo, arrives in County Kerry with weapons and money for the confederates, but the Old English and Gaelic members of the movement become divided over terms of land and religion.

**28 March 1646**

### Ormonde Peace

An alliance with the Royalists is worked out in return for greater Catholic freedoms, but it is opposed by the Catholic clergy and Rinuccini. Parliamentarian forces subsequently land in Ireland.

**June 1646**

### Battle of Benburb

The Gaelic officer Owen Roe O'Neill, opposed to the Ormonde Peace, smashes Scottish covenanter forces in County Tyrone. An attempt to take Dublin later in the year fails.

**Early 1648**

### Inchiquin defects

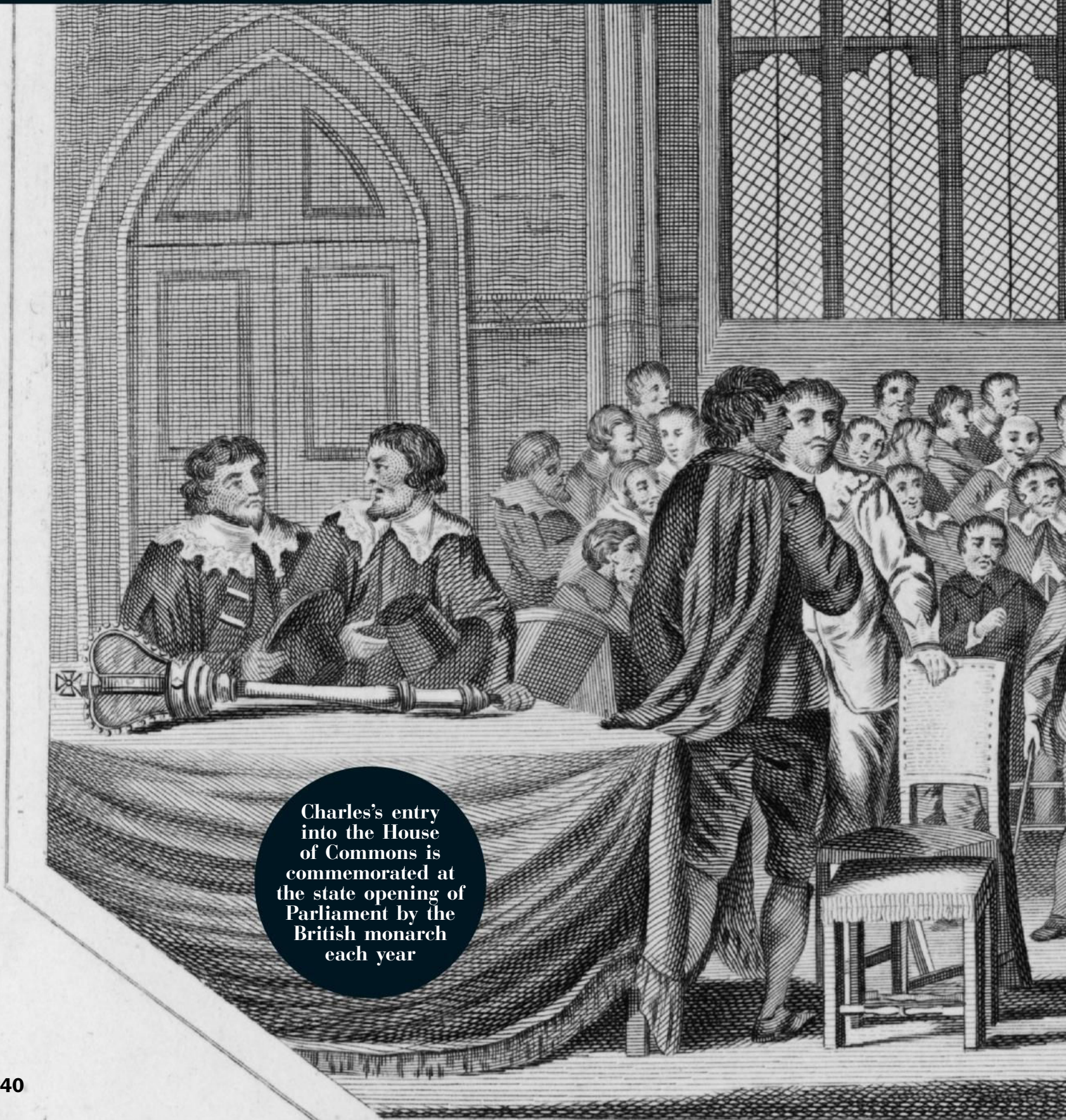
The major Protestant rebel in the south, Murrough O'Brien switches from the Parliamentarians to the Royalist cause and signs a truce in May. Some confederate hardliners oppose accommodation with Inchiquin.

**23 February 1649**

### Dissolution of the confederation

Dissolution of the confederation with the Second Ormonde Peace; the papal nuncio Rinuccini leaves for Rome. The Catholics in Ireland are put under Royalist control and led by Ormonde.

# THE ARREST OF THE FIVE MEMBERS



Charles's entry into the House of Commons is commemorated at the state opening of Parliament by the British monarch each year





## What happened?

The date was 4 January 1642 and it was notable as being the last time that a monarch entered the House of Commons. Such was the extreme measure that King Charles I had to take in order to ensure the apprehension of the five MPs whom he believed had encouraged the Puritans – a group of English reformed Protestants who sought to ‘purify’ the Church of England from its Catholic practices – to persuade the Scots to invade England in the recent Bishops’ Wars. Charles had competed against Parliament for most of his reign, but now felt compelled to act since he feared that the dissenting MPs – who became known as the Five Members – were intent on turning much of London against him.

Upon entering Parliament to order the arrest of the Five Members, Charles noticed that they weren’t present and exclaimed, “I see the birds have flown.” The king then turned to William Lenthall, the Speaker of the House, and demanded to know if the accused were present in the House, to which Lenthall dropped to his knees at the king’s feet and defended the privileges of Parliament – and thus defied the king – by saying, “May it please your Majesty, I have neither eyes to see nor tongue to speak in this place but as the House is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am here.” The king responded by fleeing London to Oxford, essentially leaving London in control of Parliament. His actions in attempting to arrest the Five Members had created an even greater divide between Parliament and the monarchy, which in turn contributed to the First English Civil War, which began later that same year.

## Who was involved?



### John Pym

1584-1643

Served as treasurer of the Providence Island Company from 1630, linking him to a small, intense group of Puritan opponents to the king.



### John Hampden

1595-1643

A leading Parliamentarian involved in challenging the authority of Charles I, Hampden stood trial in 1637 for his refusal to pay tax for ship money.



### Denzil Holles

1599-1680

Drew up the Grand Remonstrance, arguing that if kings are misled by their counsellors then the Lords should be able to inform them of it.



### Arthur Haselrig

1601-1661

Heavily involved in the act of attainder against Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, the Root and Branch Bill and the Militia Bill of 1641.



### William Strode

1594-1645

Strongly pursued the prosecution of the earl of Strafford and recommended that all who appeared as his counsel should also face charges of conspiracy.



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# KINGDOMS AT WAR

With battle lines drawn, Royalists and Parliamentarians faced off in a series of conflicts that would change the fate of the nation forever



- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <b>44</b> Timeline of the British Civil Wars      | <b>68</b> The Witch-finder General               |
| <b>48</b> State of play: 1642                     | <b>70</b> Battle of Marston Moor                 |
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# TIMELINE OF... THE BRITISH CIVIL WARS

With the complete erosion of Charles I's relationship with Parliament, armed conflict became inevitable. Here we present the key events that defined the British Civil Wars

■ The National Covenant, rejecting religious uniformity, was signed on 28 February 1638 at Greyfriars Kirk in Edinburgh

## THE NATIONAL COVENANT

When looking to impose religious uniformity throughout his kingdoms, King Charles I was met with political resistance in Scotland. The Scots declared their loyalty to the crown but seized control of the kingdom.

1638

1640

## SCOTTISH COVENANTERS INVADE

In August 1640, a Scottish army marched south and invaded England on the invitation of seven English noblemen who were intent on overthrowing royal authority over England.



## THE OUSTING OF THE EARL OF STRAFFORD

In order to form any lasting settlement with the king, the new Parliament's reformists had to neutralise one of his most ardent supporters, Thomas Wentworth, the earl of Strafford. Wentworth was executed after a botched attempt to spring him from prison.



■ Strafford's brilliance in the dock almost led to an acquittal, before Parliament simply declared his crime and stipulated the death penalty

1641



■ Charles I requested the Adventurers' Act, which was passed swiftly and unanimously by Parliament

## THE ADVENTURERS' ACT

Following the Irish Rebellion of 1641, the Adventurers' Act was designed to pay the army needed to thwart the rebellion by using borrowed money. The cash was then going to be recouped by taking the rebels' land and selling it.

## THE BATTLE OF EDGEHILL

With relations between the king and Parliament having broken down, both sides saw a test of arms as the likeliest way of determining the conflict. However, after a long and arduous battle, neither side emerged as a clear winner.

■ A memorial marks the spot where the battle of Edgehill took place - a long and viciously fought engagement with heavy casualties on both sides



1642

1642

1641

1644

## THE BATTLE OF JULIANSTOWN

After decades of political and religious discrimination, the Catholic Irish of Ulster rebelled by ambushing and massacring around 600 government troops. The victory prompted the Old English Catholics of Pale to join forces with the rebels.



■ Depictions of the supposed Irish atrocities during the Rebellion of 1641 showed the Irish slaughtering English children



## THE REFORM OF THE PARLIAMENTARIAN ARMIES

With no side any closer to securing a decisive victory, Parliament's failure fell at the feet of its commander-in-chief, the earl of Essex, who was promptly ousted by an influential group of peers and Commons-men.

■ Essex was replaced as commander-in-chief by Sir Thomas Fairfax and a clique was in place to take control of Parliament's war effort



■ The battle of Naseby was a one-day battle intended to decide the outcome of the war once and for all

## THE BATTLE OF NASEBY

A decisive engagement of the British Civil Wars, fought on 14 June, saw Oliver Cromwell's Parliamentarian New Model Army inflict a crushing defeat on Charles I's Royalist forces, forcing the king to take refuge in the marquis of Worcester's castle in the Welsh borders.

1645

1647

1648

## AN AGREEMENT OF THE PEOPLE

FOR  
A firme and preferre Peace, upon  
ground of common-right and free-  
dome;

As it was proposed by the Agents of the five  
Regiments of Horse, and by the general representa-  
tion of the Army, offered to the joynt confer-  
ence of all the free C O M M O N S of  
E N G L A N D

The Names of the Regiments which have already appeared for the  
Call of the Call of the Army ready made, and for this  
proffered Agreement, P. 12.

- |                        |                        |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Gen. Regiment       | 1. Gen. Regiment       |
| 2. Life Guards         | 2. Col. Harbord's Reg. |
| 3. Gen. Reg. of Foot   | 3. Col. Lambert's Reg. |
| 4. Col. Harbord's Reg. | 4. Col. Lambert's Reg. |
| 5. Col. Harbord's Reg. | 5. Col. Lambert's Reg. |
| 6. Col. Harbord's Reg. | 6. Col. Lambert's Reg. |
| 7. Col. Harbord's Reg. | 7. Col. Lambert's Reg. |
| 8. Col. Harbord's Reg. | 8. Col. Lambert's Reg. |
| 9. Col. Harbord's Reg. | 9. Col. Lambert's Reg. |

Printed Anno Dom. 1647.

## THE AGREEMENT OF THE PEOPLE

New Model Army soldiers and London citizens submitted an 'Agreement of the People' that demanded radical Parliamentary reform, guaranteeing frequent and fair elections.

■ Among other things, the Agreement of the People proclaimed a freedom of worship, which no government may invade

## PRIDE'S PURGE

Parliament aimed to restore Charles I to the throne under compromised conditions. However, troops of the New Model Army, under the command of Colonel Thomas Pride, forcibly removed members before this could happen.



■ On 6 December 1648, leaders of the parliamentary 'peace party' found their entry to the Commons blocked by Pride's soldiers



## THE DECLARATION OF THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT

■ The Scottish declaration of Charles II as king of Great Britain meant that war with England was inevitable

The Scottish Parliament declared its opposition to the events unfolding in England by declaring Charles II king of Great Britain, France and Ireland, placing the Scottish covenanters on a direct collision course with the Commonwealth.



■ Around 3,500 English and Irish Royalists were massacred at Drogheda alongside an indeterminate number of civilians

## THE MASSACRE AT DROGHEDA

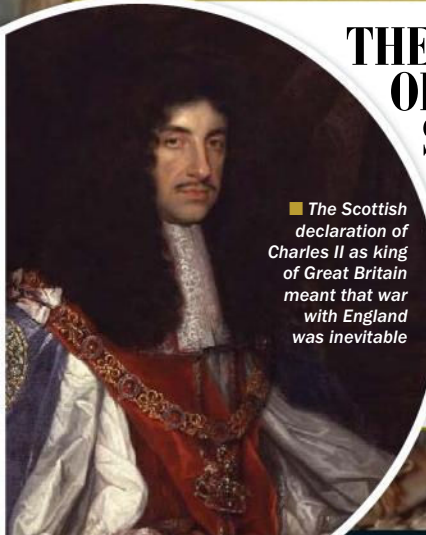
Irish and English Royalists, both Catholic and Protestant, were massacred by Cromwell's New Model Army in the Irish town of Drogheda, creating a legacy of bitterness that persists to this day.



■ Cromwell's victory at Worcester ended large-scale Royalist resistance across the three nations

## THE BATTLE OF WORCESTER

Royal resistance throughout England, Scotland and Ireland was effectively ended when Scottish troops led by Charles II, having marched south through England, were overwhelmed by Cromwell's 28,000-strong New Model Army at Worcester.



1649

1649

1649

1651

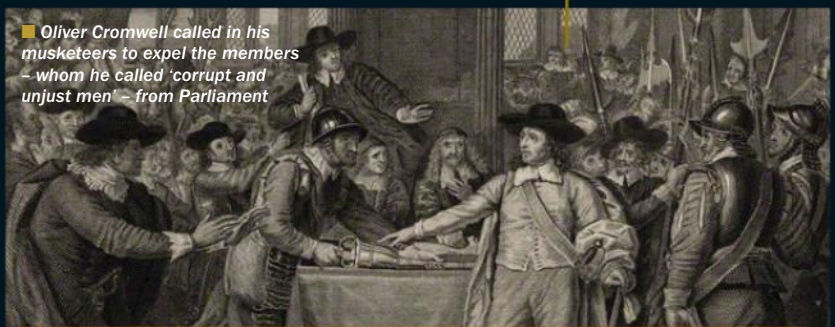
1653



■ At his execution, Charles wore two shirts to avoid shivering and giving an appearance of fear

## TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF CHARLES I

King Charles I was tried for treason by a High Court of Justice set up especially. The court found Charles guilty and he was executed and buried in St George's Chapel, Windsor.



■ Oliver Cromwell called in his musketeers to expel the members - whom he called 'corrupt and unjust men' - from Parliament

## THE DISSOLUTION OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT

Oliver Cromwell launched a tirade against the members of the Long Parliament and called in his troops to clear the chamber before locking the doors to prevent them returning. He later set up a nominated assembly to replace Parliament.

# STATE OF PLAY: 1642

*At the outset of the Civil Wars, Parliament quickly established strongholds throughout southeast England and the Midlands, but Charles' Royalists forces retained support in Wales and the north of the country.*





## Artefact Of War

# ROYALIST BRANDING MITT



This unusual relic of the mid-17th century is a shocking reminder of Britain's most divisive struggle



The British Civil Wars (1639-51) were among the most devastating conflicts in the history of the British Isles. During this time a greater proportion of the population at the time was lost than in WWI, with casualties being incurred through battle, disease and atrocities against civilians. Families, communities and regions were torn apart by the bitter struggle between King Charles I and the English Parliament; many men served in their respective forces either by volunteering or conscription.

Because of the horrendous nature of the wars, desertion was rife on both sides but it was a particular headache for Charles's Royalist armies whose declining fortunes against Parliament were matched by an inability to pay its soldiers properly. Pay was often two years in arrears and consequently whole regiments would sometimes desert, which severely hampered Charles's war effort. Wages were not the only reasons for desertion, however, and soldiers were frequently known to change sides or were simply war-weary.

The punishment for leaving the King's army was severe and if caught, Royalist deserters faced a painful humiliation. This mitt is full of sharp metal spikes and was used to brand such deserters. The appliance would be heated to a high temperature and then clamped onto the palm of the unfortunate victim who would then be branded with the letters 'C R' ('Charles Rex') and a picture of a crown. It was a brutal, but ultimately futile method of maintaining discipline, as the Royalists failed in their campaigns in England, as well as in Scotland and Ireland, and the monarchy was abolished in 1649 when Charles was executed by Parliament for treason.

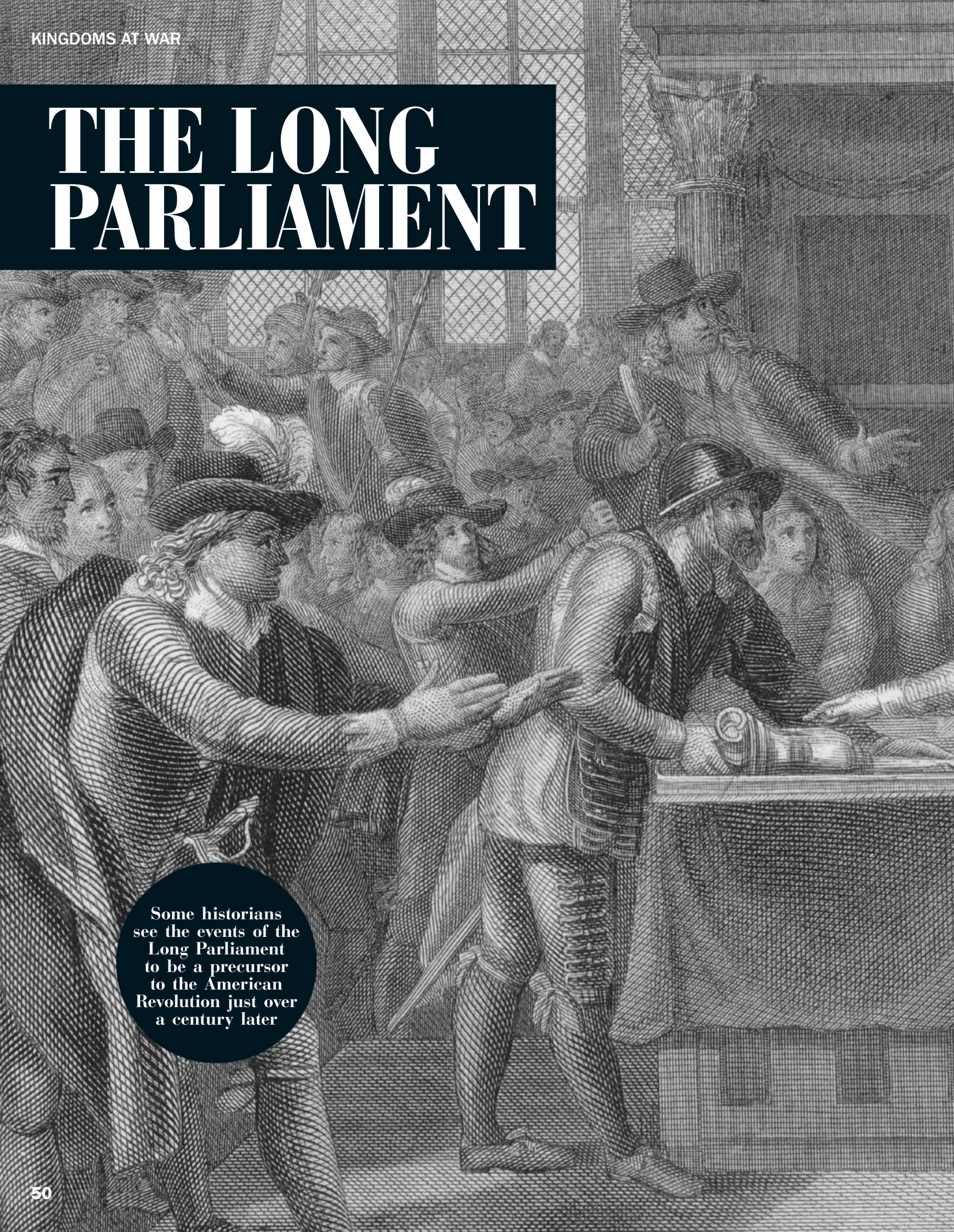
■ Charles I. The failure of his armies to defeat England's Parliament contributed to his downfall and ultimate execution



■ This mitt is on display at the National Civil War Centre in Newark, which is open daily from 10am-5pm. For more information visit [www.nationalcivilwarcentre.com](http://www.nationalcivilwarcentre.com)



# THE LONG PARLIAMENT



Some historians see the events of the Long Parliament to be a precursor to the American Revolution just over a century later



## What was it?

Called in November 1640, just a few months after the dissolution of the Short Parliament, the Long Parliament spanned the years of the Civil War until the purge by the New Model Army. Carrying on where the Short Parliament left off, it started by attempting to curb the king's personal rule that he had enjoyed for the last 11 years. Rather than target the king himself, John Pym went after his advisors and had the earl of Strafford and Archbishop Laud impeached, calling them 'evil councillors'. After this, laws were abolished or amended to limit the king's power while stipulating that Parliament had to be called every three years.

The Grand Remonstrance was brought against Charles I in an effort to wrestle control of the armed forces away from him. In a disastrous blunder, Charles tried to have his main opponents arrested, and this failure was the final nail in the coffin. The trust and communication between the king and Parliament had broken down completely and Civil War began.

The conflict would rip the Parliament apart, with around a third of the House of Commons and most of the House of Lords following Charles to Oxford to found his own assembly in 1643. During the war, Parliament was mainly interested in gathering funds to outfit its armed forces, but infighting would pave the way for the dissolution. Three parties emerged: the 'peace party' were Presbyterians who wanted to bring Charles to the negotiating table, the 'war party' were independents who wanted to crush the royal forces, while the 'middle group' were a bridge between those two sides.

After the Civil War had ended, the New Model Army, angered at the Presbyterians' reluctance to issue their back pay, supported a coup to expel the Presbyterians and their allies from Parliament. Known as Pride's Purge, after the officer who carried it out, this saw many members expelled in April 1653. The Long Parliament was replaced by a much smaller Rump Parliament.

## Who was involved?



### **William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury**

7 October 1573 – 10 January 1645

Targeted as a supporter of the king, Laud was accused by Parliament of treason and imprisoned; he was later executed



### **Henry Vane the Elder**

18 February 1589 – 1655

A loyal supporter of the king, he indirectly gave evidence in the trial accusing the earl of Strafford of high treason



### **Baron Finch**

17 September 1584 – 27 November 1660

An extremely unpopular MP, Finch was targeted for impeachment almost as soon as the Parliament was called into session



# KEY CAVALIERS

The Royalist forces were led by some of Charles I's most trusted allies

## JOHN BYRON

A short-sighted battlefield commander

Years: 1599-1652 Country: England

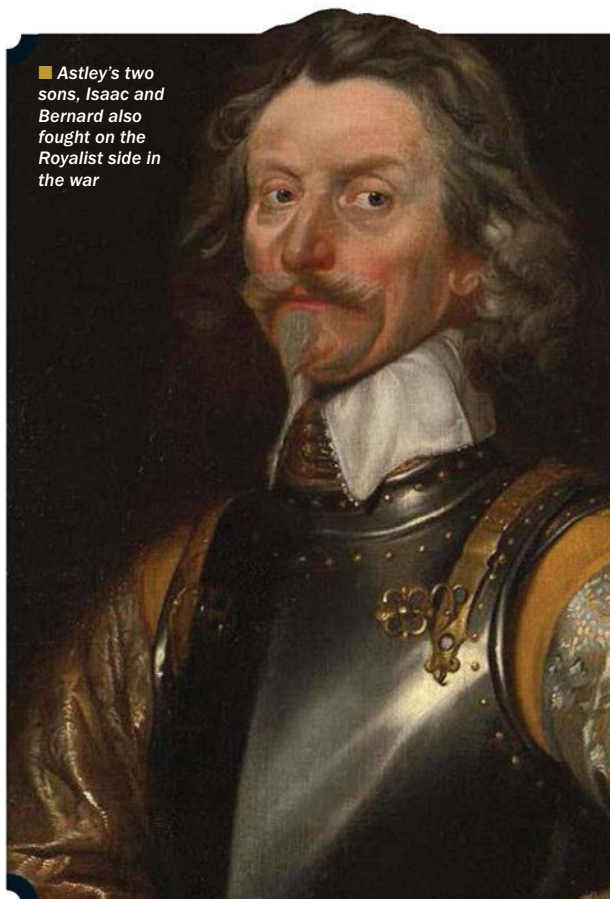
One of Charles's most trusted men, Byron was a Cavalier general at the decisive battle of Marston Moor. It was one of his errors that set the wheels in motion for a catastrophic defeat. Prior to this, Byron had served in the Dutch army and been one of the king's most loyal aides. When the war broke out, Byron became a colonel of the Royalist cavalry regiment and fought at the battle of Edgehill. It was during this battle that he first showed his tendency to break rank and go against orders as he directed his cavalry to pursue fleeing Parliamentarians, leaving his allies with no cavalry of their own for the remainder of the battle. Edgehill aside, Byron showed himself to be a talented commander, capturing Bicester and fighting hard at the first battle of Newbury. By December 1643 his stock had risen so much that he was appointed field-marshal of the Royalist forces. His army was bolstered by recruits from Ireland and he earned the nickname 'Bloody Braggadocchio' after his troops massacred Parliamentarian supporters in Cheshire. The tide began to turn for Byron after

his defeat by Fairfax at the battle of Nantwich and his rash mentality came back to the fore at Marston Moor. Leading the cavalry on the Royalist right wing, his men first got in the way of friendly musketeer fire and were then routed during a shattering defeat. He later retreated to Chester and held it for 20 weeks while Charles was defeated at Naseby. At the end of the war he slunk off into exile before popping up in the Second Civil War and a number of other conflicts, finally dying in Paris in August 1652.



Byron sported a scar on his left cheek after being hit with a Roundhead halberd during the battle of Edgehill

*"BYRON EARNED THE NICKNAME 'BLOODY BRAGGADOCCHIO' AFTER HIS TROOPS MASSACRED PARLIAMENTARIAN SUPPORTERS"*



Astley's two sons, Isaac and Bernard also fought on the Royalist side in the war

## JACOB ASTLEY

A grizzled Royalist campaigner

Years: 1579-1652 Country: England

Astley was already a 63-year-old veteran by the coming of the war. He had taught Prince Rupert how to fight and had been knighted by the previous king, James I, in 1624. Charles I was keen to get a man who had fought in the Thirty Years' War on board and Astley served the king as sergeant-major-general. He commanded the infantry at Edgehill, leading the men in prayer after the sudden resignation of the earl of Lindsey. After the battle ended inconclusively, Astley continued to serve in the king's Oxford army for the remainder of the war. His men fought hard at Naseby but were no match for Cromwell's Ironside cavalry. The Royalist war effort was in disarray after Naseby, but Astley fought gallantly on until his brief imprisonment in Warwick Castle in 1646. Now aged 69, he played no part in the Second Civil War and retired to the quiet life.

*"HE HAD TAUGHT PRINCE RUPERT HOW TO FIGHT AND HAD BEEN KNIGHTED BY THE PREVIOUS KING"*

## LORD GORING

A brave yet frequently irresponsible cavalry commander

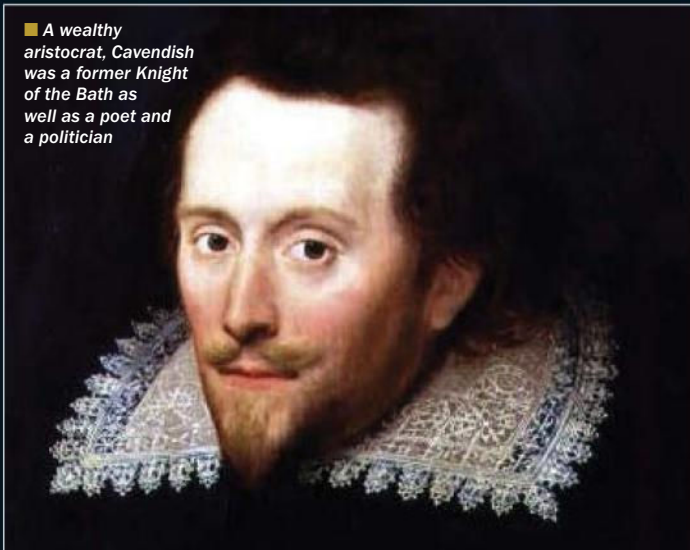
Years: 1608-1657 Country: England

**C**avalry commander Goring witnessed the full ferocity of the New Model Army at Marston Moor. A hard gambler, he was a very ambitious man and very often acted selfishly. On the eve of the war he was unsure which side to join and nearly sided with the Parliamentarians before pledging his allegiance to the king. He was a talented but ill-disciplined leader. He was imprisoned by Fairfax in 1643, but was later released in exchange for prisoners. Joining up again with the Royalists, he fought on the left flank under Prince Rupert at Marston Moor, going head to head against his former captor, Fairfax. He emerged victorious, but his glory was short-lived as Cromwell cut his men down, forcing a Royalist retreat. The defeat drove Goring to alcoholism, but he was still favoured by Charles, despite his mental instability. More defeats proved his undoing and he fled to France, later fighting in the 1652 siege of Barcelona during the Catalan Revolt.



■ Goring initially played the two sides off against each other, receiving sums from both Parliament and the queen to fortify Portsmouth

■ A wealthy aristocrat, Cavendish was a former Knight of the Bath as well as a poet and a politician



## WILLIAM CAVENDISH

The poet turned soldier

Years: 1593-1676 Country: England

**U**pon the outbreak of war, William Cavendish put down his quill and raised his sword for the king's call to arms. Cavendish started off with a slew of victories as he and his 8,000-strong army captured Wakefield, Rotherham and Sheffield as Yorkshire and Lincolnshire felt the full force of the Royalist advance. His successes persuaded the king to promote him to commander-in-chief of the Royalist counties in northern England and he also became marquis of Newcastle. His advances were checked by Cromwell at Winceby in October 1643 and he suffered further from the entry of the Scots into the conflict, since he now had to fight on two fronts. Hearing of the defeat at Marston Moor, Cavendish grew tired of war and abandoned the cause for the relative safety of Hamburg. Very much a fair-weather ally, he returned to the many estates he had left behind in England when Charles II was on the throne.

## PRINCE MAURICE OF THE PALATINATE

The forgotten brother

Years: 1621-1652 Country: Bohemia

**N**amed after Dutch hero Maurice of Nassau, the younger brother of Prince Rupert of the Rhine had a lot to live up to. He arrived in England along with his older brother to fight alongside their uncle, King Charles I. Although often overshadowed by his brother, Maurice was a competent leader in his own right and inflicted the first ever defeat on Roundhead general William Waller at the battle of Ripple Field on 13 April 1643. After Royalist forces were besieged at Devizes, he rode to Oxford to call for aid and returned with reinforcements, successfully lifting the siege. Now an undisputed commander, he attacked Exeter and Plymouth before suffering a huge loss to Waller at the second battle of Newbury. Maurice supported his brother in the run-up to Naseby, where he was powerless to prevent defeat. Once Parliament had taken control of the country, it was quick to banish the two brothers from English shores.



■ Maurice often let his soldiers pillage the lands they had taken, which was looked unfavourably upon by fellow Royalist commanders

# KEY PLAYER: SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX

The architect of the Parliamentary victory at Naseby and the final destruction of the Royalist armies



Thomas Fairfax was a courageous soldier who matured into one of the finest commanders of the entire war. Born on 17 January 1612, he was the eldest son of Ferdinando

Fairfax and Mary Sheffield. The Fairfaxes were an aristocratic family and had a history of fighting for protestant causes in Europe. His grandfather, also called Thomas, raised him in a house that was run with military efficiency. He first saw military action with his own eyes in the Netherlands, fighting on the side of the protestants in the Eighty Years' War, under the leadership of Sir Horace Vere. He would learn the art of war from Vere and also later marry his daughter, Anne. From here on out, Fairfax would experience a life of battle. He actually fought on the side of the monarchy during the Bishops' Wars, leading a troop of Yorkshire dragoons against the Scots, demonstrating his prowess as a commander of cavalry.

In the following years, Charles I riled a lot of elites in England and Sir Thomas Fairfax was

for himself. A series of victories at Nantwich, Selby, York and Marston Moor gave Fairfax a glittering reputation. His bravery in the heat of battle shone throughout as he sported both a broken shoulder and a bloodied wrist from musket fire.

Having proved his mettle at Marston Moor, Fairfax was voted by his peers to be commander-in-chief of this new army, aged just 32. The honour was bestowed onto him by Cromwell, who entrusted the initially reluctant Fairfax with the sole leadership of the New Model Army's cavalry. The reshuffle wasn't harmonious to start with as Fairfax's plans were directed from above by the committee of both kingdoms. The commander-in-chief managed to break loose of these shackles and used his tactical acumen to turn the remnants of the Parliamentary armies into a feared fighting force. This was first put to the test as the men took to the field at Naseby. The additional discipline that Fairfax had instilled into his troops was immediately successful as the Roundheads recorded a shattering defeat on the Cavaliers. It was a loss that was

Normally considerate to his enemies, Fairfax was solely focused on victory and saw these aggressive methods as a necessity to destroy the rebellion.

Despite his ferocity on the battlefield, Fairfax was never as brutal as Cromwell and as the lord protector pursued wars in Ireland and Scotland, Fairfax began to lose faith. He was against going to war with Scotland in particular as it was technically an English ally at the time. Within a year he had resigned his position. Now a weary campaigner after leading so many battles, Fairfax was happy to leave the limelight of what was becoming a ruthless regime. He slid off into retirement, but he often kept tabs on the goings-on in Westminster. He became so disillusioned that he later returned to the fray as an advocate of the restoration of the monarchy, supporting General Monk against the fast-dissolving protectorate. Fairfax helped seize York from the Parliamentarians, an area he had once fought so hard to win for Cromwell. His valuable assistance to the restoration would prove to be his final act and he died in 1671.

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*“FAIRFAX WAS ENTRUSTED BY CROMWELL WITH THE SOLE LEADERSHIP OF THE NEW MODEL ARMY'S CAVALRY”*

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one of them. He first urged Parliament and the king to make a pact, but after this was not forthcoming, he sided with the former. He was second in command to his father in Parliament's northern army and in the initial stages of the war; the father-son partnership struggled as the Royalist numerical advantage in the north paid off. Cavalier generals like the marquis of Newcastle and Lord Goring had the upper hand on the Roundhead forces, but the courage and talent of the younger Fairfax was plain to see as he scored an imperious victory at the battle of Wakefield in May 1643. Despite his prowess on the battlefield, Fairfax's forces were made to retreat to the fortified city of Hull.

Fairfax left his father in Hull and rode south with a mounted unit to join up with Parliament's eastern association. It was here that he fought alongside Oliver Cromwell for the first time and also where he would make an even bigger name

a hammer blow to the king and the monarchy – one from which they would never recover. Fairfax now had the job of rounding up the last remaining Cavalier armies and brought Hopton and Goring's forces to their knees at Torrington and Truro. With the capture of Oxford on 24 June 1646, the war was over.

After Charles's defeat, Fairfax was appointed commander-in-chief of the entirety of Parliament's land forces. Much more a military than a political mind, Fairfax left administrative disputes to Cromwell while once again going to battle, this time against Royalist revolts in Kent and Essex. Fairfax, always gracious to defeated foes (he once banned his forces from looting after the capture of Dartmouth), changed tack and left no quarter in what was a bloody conflict. The siege of Colchester was a bloodbath and after a long drawn-out victory he executed the Royalist leaders. He also helped bring down the Leveller mutinies.



■ Fairfax was a moderate man and although he condemned Cromwell's warmongering in Scotland and Ireland, he disapproved when his body was desecrated

■ *Sir Thomas Fairfax was one of the greatest generals of the war and his tactics often outclassed his Royalist rivals*

## ***DEFINING MOMENTS***

Fairfax fought for and against kings during an illustrious military career

**1639**

### **Fighting for a king**

Fairfax put the sword to the Cavaliers in the Civil War, but he had previously fought for their king. In 1639, he joined up with supporters of Charles I to fight in the Bishops' Wars. The king was so impressed by his performance in battle that he knighted Fairfax. Perhaps this was still at the back of his mind when he chose not to attend the king's execution in 1649.

**June 1646**

### **Winning the war**

After Naseby, Fairfax became Cromwell's attack dog. The Royalists never recovered from the defeat and Fairfax took full advantage, routing the final Cavalier resistance at Taunton and Langport as he got even with Goring, who had previously defeated him at Marston Moor. He then captured Bristol and Dartmouth before pushing Oxford, the epicentre of Royalist resistance, into surrender and submission.

**1660**

### **Fighting for a king... again**

By 1660 Fairfax was in retirement and played no part in the running of the protectorate. Having disagreed with Cromwell's methods, he supported George Monck's attempt to bring back the monarchy. Fairfax once again used his military mind to destabilise Parliamentary forces in the north of England, giving Monck and his men a clear route south to London.

# KEY ROUNDHEADS

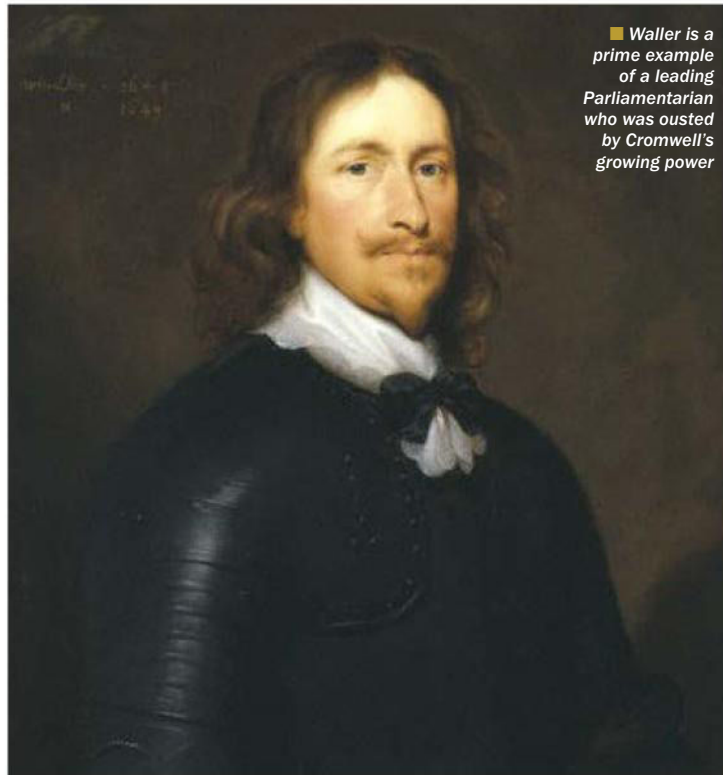
The men tasked by Parliament to bring the British monarchy to its knees

## WILLIAM WALLER

William the conqueror

Years: 1598-1668 Country: England

**T**hirty Years' War veteran Waller started off the Civil War by capturing Portsmouth, but was part of the badly performing Parliamentary left wing at Edgehill. He subsequently led several successful campaigns in the southwest, earning him the nickname 'Conqueror'; he captured Winchester, Farnham, Arundel and Chichester over the winter of 1642. This resulted in his ascension to leader of the western association army. High command had entrusted him with cutting off the king in Oxford from reinforcements in Cornwall and Wales. Waller skilfully defeated greater numbers led by Prince Maurice and took both Monmouth and Chepstow, keeping Royalist forces locked down on the Welsh border. His winning streak couldn't last for ever, though, and the general was brought back down to earth with shattering defeats, first by Maurice and then by Sir Ralph Hopton's Cavaliers at Roundway Down in July 1643. Waller bounced back the following year, defending Sussex and stopping Hopton in his tracks as he marched to London. Waller's failure to defeat the king at the second battle of Newbury on 27 October 1644, however, had lasting effects. It encouraged Cromwell to create a professional army rather one led by freelance generals. Like Montagu and Essex, within two months Waller was cast aside by Cromwell in February 1645, after the formation of the New Model Army. He also lost his position in the House of Commons and was later imprisoned twice after being accused of favouring the return of Charles II and the English monarchy.



■ Waller is a prime example of a leading Parliamentarian who was ousted by Cromwell's growing power



*“WALLER LED SEVERAL SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGNS IN THE SOUTHWEST OVER THE WINTER OF 1642, EARNING HIM THE NICKNAME ‘CONQUEROR’”*



■ Montagu was against the execution of Charles I and snubbed the Commonwealth oath of loyalty



## EDWARD MONTAGU

A disappointment to Cromwell

Years: 1602-1671 Country: England

**T**he former MP for Huntingdon and 2nd earl of Manchester was an outspoken critic of Charles I. He quickly swapped politics for war and served at Edgehill under Robert Devereux. Given command of the eastern counties army, Montagu delivered another victory, taking Lincoln. His streak of successes led to his appointment as major-general, working closely with Cromwell. The high point of his military career came shortly after at Marston Moor where, as supreme commander, he orchestrated a vital victory. From here on out it was a downward trajectory as he began to doubt the reasoning for continuing the war, preferring a settlement with the king. A poor showing by his forces at the second battle of Newbury prompted Cromwell to force him to resign command. Montagu did so and by 1645 was no longer a Parliamentarian general. The rift between the two never healed.



# ROBERT DEVEREUX

## An inconsistent old-school commander

Years: 1591-1646 Country: England

**R**obert Devereux, the 3rd earl of Essex, had a formidable military CV by the time of the Civil Wars. He had fought in both the Thirty Years' War and the Bishops' War and was a fierce and vocal opponent of Charles I. He was quickly appointed as a Parliamentarian general and would hold the position for the first three years of the war. Unfortunately, Essex faltered immediately, suffering defeat in a small skirmish at Powick Bridge. His fortunes improved after he relieved Gloucester from Royalist attack, captured Reading, was victorious at Newbury and wielded a pike with the infantry at Edgehill. His methods on the whole were considered too safe and calculated and for the remainder of his leadership he was tasked with protecting London from attack. As the Roundheads began to gain the upper hand in the war, Cromwell formed the New Model Army, which replaced all existing military structures with younger dynamic leaders like Sir Thomas Fairfax. Essex was one of the old-school commanders swept by the wayside.



■ Essex was the highest-ranking nobleman to support Parliament and had a chequered tenure as a Parliamentarian general

■ Lambert fought successfully in the latter stages of the war, defeating the last Royalist stronghold at Pontefract in March 1649



# JOHN LAMBERT

## One of a new breed of Parliamentarian generals

Years: 1619-1684 Country: England

**A** young and dynamic general, Lambert was present at Marston Moor and had reached the title of major-general aged 28. He also helped Cromwell defeat Charles II at Worcester in the final battle of the war and was for a time considered as his likely successor. By July 1647, he was in command of the northern association, tasked with attacking Scotland; after the Charles's defeat, Lambert continued to be Cromwell's attack dog as deputy lord lieutenant of Ireland. His many successes made him a favourite of Cromwell, but this friendliness was not to last. He later resigned from office after refusing to take the oath of loyalty over the make-up of the new government. He returned in 1658 to try to oust Oliver's son Richard Cromwell from rule and was later sentenced to death after the return of the monarchy.

# HENRY IRETON

## A devoted and regicidal Parliamentarian

Years: 1611-1651 Country: England

**C**aptaining a troop of cavalry, Ireton distinguished himself at the battles of Edgehill and Gainsborough. Later, he became closer to Cromwell and was appointed deputy governor of the Isle of Ely. A vital cog in the Roundhead war machine, he contributed to the victories at Marston Moor and Naseby. At Naseby he commanded the cavalry's left wing and despite being wounded and captured by Royalist forces, managed to escape. After the war, he married Cromwell's daughter and happily signed Charles I death warrant. Staying loyal, he fought in Cromwell's bloody Irish campaigns.



**“IRETON CONTRIBUTED TO THE VICTORIES AT MARSTON MOOR AND NASEBY”**



■ To escape from Royalist captivity at Naseby, Ireton bribed his captors, promising their freedom after the war



# BATTLE OF EDGEHILL

Words: William E Welsh

A successful Royalist cavalry charge was not enough to win the day against well-led ranks of Parliamentary infantry in the opening clash of the war

**C**rim-faced Royalists and Parliamentarians faced each other across a soggy stretch of open ground in south Warwickshire on the afternoon of Sunday 23 October 1642. After marching for weeks, they were at last ready for the inevitable clash of arms. Following a short artillery duel, six Royalist guns fired in unison at 3pm. It was the prearranged signal for 3,000 Royalist horsemen, divided almost evenly and positioned on each flank, to try to sweep away their Roundhead counterparts 850 yards away.

The king's charismatic nephew, 22-year-old Prince Rupert of the Rhine, led the five

regiments on the right flank, and Lord Henry Wilmot led the five on the left flank. The riders began their advance at a brisk walk with the flanks of the horses touching. The Parliamentary horsemen, with raised pistols and carbines, stood ready to receive the mounted attack.

When the Royalists came to within 200 yards of the enemy's front rank, trumpets sounded and the riders, brandishing their swords, broke into a fast trot. Roundhead pistols, carbines and muskets sputtered, sending lazy clouds of smoke skyward. Because the nervous defenders had fired prematurely when the attackers were out of range, no damage was to done to the Royalist ranks. The Parliamentary

horsemen swung their mounts around and fled, with the Royalists giving chase.

The Royalist cavalry had won an initial advantage for their king over the Parliamentary forces led by Captain General Robert Devereux, the 3rd earl of Essex. The awful spectre of civil war into which the country had been plunged might be over by nightfall if the rest of the battle followed the same course.

Having gained the ire of Parliament, Charles had fled London for the Midlands in January 1642. He raised the royal standard at Nottingham on 22 August, officially announcing he was at war with Parliament. After a final round of recruitment at Shrewsbury, where he pulled in large numbers of men from North

*“THE WHOLE BODY OF ROYALIST CAVALRY CHASED THE ROUTED FLEEING ROUNDHEAD CAVALRY TO KINETON”*



OPPOSING FORCES	
<b>ROYALIST LEADER</b>	<b>PARLIAMENTARIAN LEADER</b>
■ King Charles I of England	■ Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex
<b>INFANTRY</b>	<b>INFANTRY</b>
■ 11,000	■ 9,000
<b>CAVALRY</b>	<b>CAVALRY</b>
■ 3,000 plus 800 dragoons	■ 2,850 plus 700 dragoons
<b>ARTILLERY</b>	<b>ARTILLERY</b>
■ 14 guns	■ 16 guns

Wales and Lancaster, the king set out on 12 October for London with a sizeable army. Essex, whose Roundhead army had been at Worcester seeking to obstruct the king's recruitment in Wales, had to counter-march to catch up with the Royalists. On 22 October, the Royalists, who were east of Edgehill, realised that the Roundheads were a short distance to the west. King Charles decided to turn west and give battle.

The Royalists deployed on Edgehill astride the Kineton-Banbury Road. The open terrain between the two armies was known as Red Horse Field. As the morning wore on, a disagreement broke out among the Royalist high command. Lord General Robert Bertie, earl of Lindsey, commanding the Royalist infantry, and Field Marshal Patrick Ruthven, a Scottish general who had served in the Swedish army, squabbled over the best way to deploy the foot regiments.

The Swedes and Dutch were the leading practitioners of the art of war, and some officers on both sides had fought in their wars on the continent. Lindsey favoured the Dutch style of regimental deployment with two battalions forward and one in support, whereas both Rupert and Ruthven argued in favour of the Swedish style that called for

the grouping of four battalions in the shape of a diamond. Lindsey quit in a huff and took his place with his regiment, thereby allowing the deployment of the foot soldiers in the Swedish manner.

As for the Parliamentary infantry, Essex was trained in the Dutch style, and he adhered loosely to it by deploying his troops in a chequerboard pattern with seven regiments forming the front line and six in the second line aligned to the gaps between the front-line regiments.

Confident of a successful cavalry charge, Rupert had issued instructions for the cavalry troops at the back of the charge to remain on the battlefield to support the Royalist infantry while those at the front pursued the broken cavalry. But those orders went unheeded, and the whole body of Royalist cavalry chased the routed fleeing Roundhead cavalry to Kineton. Rupert and his victorious horsemen stumbled upon the enemy's baggage train at Kineton, which they plundered with zeal.

Heavy rains in the days preceding the battle had an adverse effect on the artillery. The soft

ground absorbed the impact and prevented the round shot from bouncing along the ground and knocking down men like bowling pins.

The infantry of the period consisted of musketeers and pikemen who provided mutual support to each other. Although the firepower of the musketeers was rapidly changing the nature of combat, pikemen continued to play a crucial role in mid-17th century warfare. They not only protected musketeers from cavalry, but also fought enemy pikemen during the melee phase known as 'push of the pike'.

Shortly after the Royalist cavalry charged, Sergeant-Major General Jacob Astley, carrying a halberd, waved the five Royalist brigades forward, shouting, "March on, boys!" The Royalist infantry began a steady advance through the scrubland with their drummers beating a steady rhythm. Sir Edmund Verney carried the king's royal banner in the front line. The Royalists halted when they were 20 yards from their foe. The two sides unleashed crashing volleys at each other.

Although the majority of Parliamentary cavalry were chased off the field by the Royalists,



■ A romantic depiction of the fight for the royal standard at Edgehill shows a contest between cavalymen when the royal standard was carried into battle on foot by Sir Edmund Verney.

Sir Philip Stapleton's 300 cuirassiers and mounted harquebusiers and Sir William Balfour's 200 cuirassiers had deployed on the reverse slope of a ridge behind the Parliamentary right, and this concealed them from the view of the Royalist horsemen, who failed to engage them. At approximately 3:30pm, the two sides made contact. On the Royalist far left, the men of Henry Wentworth's brigade shied away from pressing their attack. This enabled Sir John Meldrum to reinforce the Parliamentary forces engaged with Sir Nicholas Byron's brigade, which was the only one fully engaged on the Royalist left.

Throughout the infantry fight, the Royalists were hampered by their adoption of Swedish tactics in which one-quarter of each brigade was deployed in a support role specifically to prevent a cavalry attack from the rear. In an effort to break the Royalist infantry, Stapleton and Balfour led their mounted men into the fray. Balfour led his cuirassiers in an attack on Richard Fielding's Royalist foot soldiers who were hotly engaged with two Parliamentary foot regiments in a sharp contest for control of the centre of the field. Fielding's brigade gave way under the additional pressure applied by Balfour's horsemen, and his demoralised troops streamed back towards Edgehill. Balfour's cuirassiers rode through the gap in the Royalist line and overran an enemy battery on the far end of the battlefield.

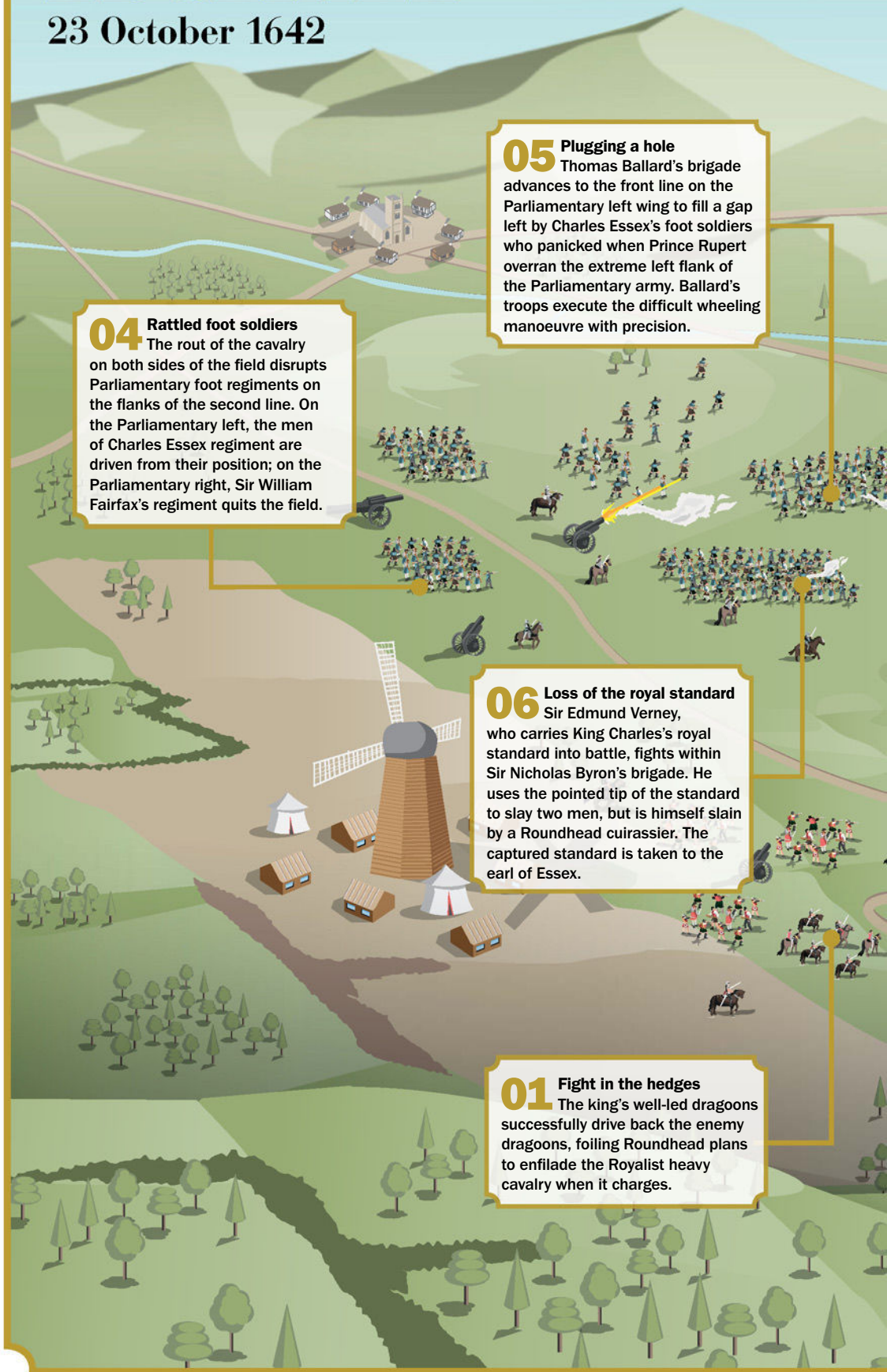
The rout of Fielding's brigade uncovered Byron's right flank, exposing it to an attack by Stapleton's cuirassiers. Repeated attacks by the enemy cavalry drove Byron's musketeers inside a ring of protective pikes. Sensing the battle hanging in the balance, Essex sent two fresh foot regiments forward to join the attack on Byron's beleaguered brigade. Pinned in front by Parliamentary foot soldiers, and assailed on the flanks and rear by enemy cavalry, Byron's troops also withdrew toward Edgehill. Nearly half of the king's foot soldiers had been driven from the field after an hour of melee, and a full withdrawal of the Royalist infantry was under way by 4:30pm. Charles Gerard's brigade, which had been positioned on the far right, covered the withdrawal of the other four Royalist brigades.

Fresh Parliamentary horsemen arrived at dusk and helped drive Rupert's cavalry from Kineton. The following day, the Royalists withdrew from the battlefield; they were estimated to have suffered a devastating 2,500 casualties, compared to the Roundheads' 1,500.

Both sides had reason to claim victory. The Roundheads could claim a tactical victory because they retained control of the battlefield, whereas the Royalists could assert that they were the victors since after the battle they were closer to London than the Roundheads. A race then ensued to see which army could reach London first. The king went via a longer route through Oxford; this allowed Essex, who marched through St Albans, to reach the city first. When the king arrived on the outskirts, he found the Parliamentarians in firm control of the city. The king's army withdrew to Oxford. A long war lay ahead.

# BATTLE OF EDGEHILL

23 October 1642



**04 Rattled foot soldiers**  
The rout of the cavalry on both sides of the field disrupts Parliamentary foot regiments on the flanks of the second line. On the Parliamentary left, the men of Charles Essex regiment are driven from their position; on the Parliamentary right, Sir William Fairfax's regiment quits the field.

**05 Plugging a hole**  
Thomas Ballard's brigade advances to the front line on the Parliamentary left wing to fill a gap left by Charles Essex's foot soldiers who panicked when Prince Rupert overran the extreme left flank of the Parliamentary army. Ballard's troops execute the difficult wheeling manoeuvre with precision.

**06 Loss of the royal standard**  
Sir Edmund Verney, who carries King Charles's royal standard into battle, fights within Sir Nicholas Byron's brigade. He uses the pointed tip of the standard to slay two men, but is himself slain by a Roundhead cuirassier. The captured standard is taken to the earl of Essex.

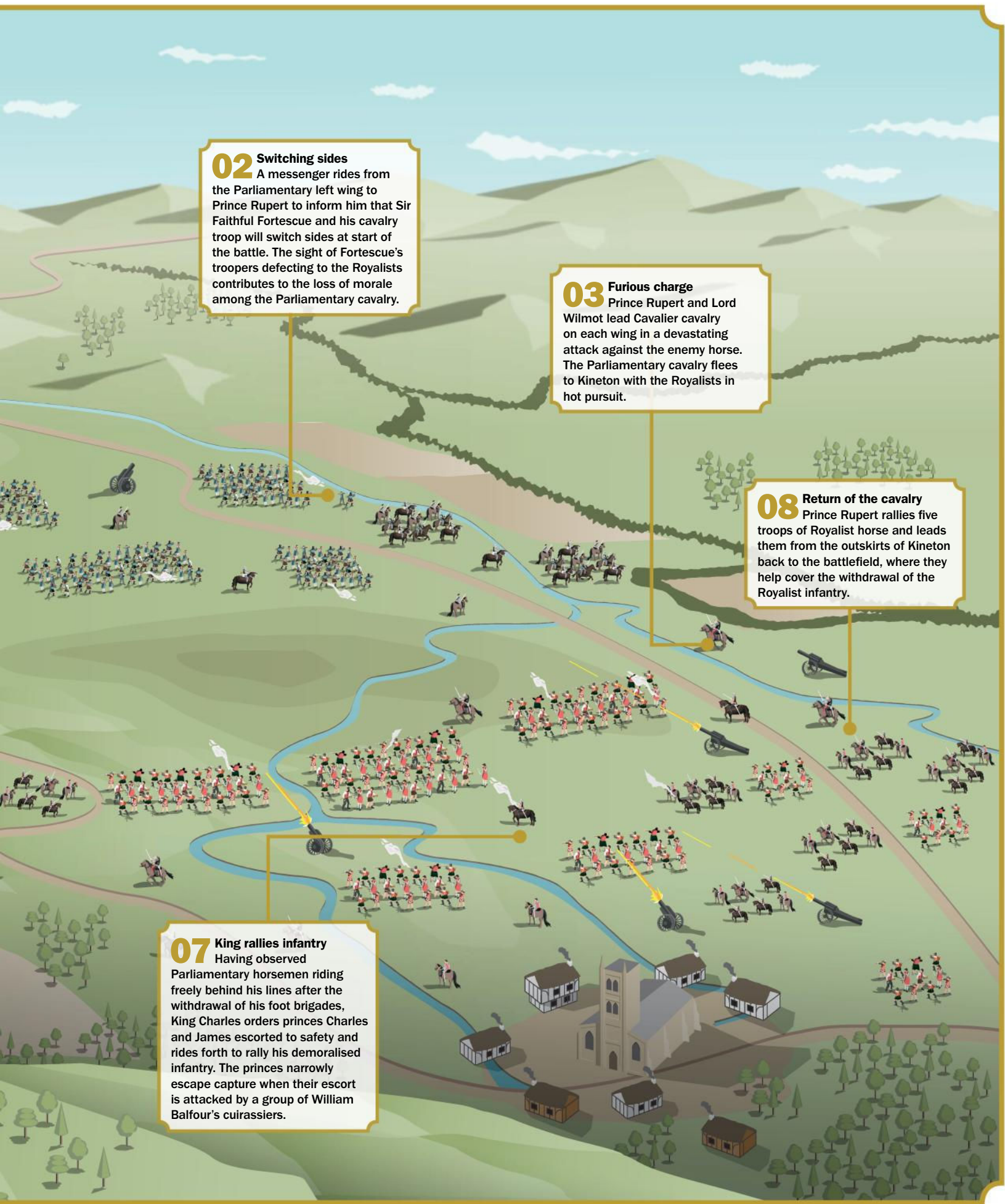
**01 Fight in the hedges**  
The king's well-led dragoons successfully drive back the enemy dragoons, foiling Roundhead plans to enfilade the Royalist heavy cavalry when it charges.

**02 Switching sides**  
 A messenger rides from the Parliamentary left wing to Prince Rupert to inform him that Sir Faithful Fortescue and his cavalry troop will switch sides at start of the battle. The sight of Fortescue's troopers defecting to the Royalists contributes to the loss of morale among the Parliamentary cavalry.

**03 Furious charge**  
 Prince Rupert and Lord Wilmot lead Cavalier cavalry on each wing in a devastating attack against the enemy horse. The Parliamentary cavalry flees to Kington with the Royalists in hot pursuit.

**08 Return of the cavalry**  
 Prince Rupert rallies five troops of Royalist horse and leads them from the outskirts of Kington back to the battlefield, where they help cover the withdrawal of the Royalist infantry.

**07 King rallies infantry**  
 Having observed Parliamentary horsemen riding freely behind his lines after the withdrawal of his foot brigades, King Charles orders princes Charles and James escorted to safety and rides forth to rally his demoralised infantry. The princes narrowly escape capture when their escort is attacked by a group of William Balfour's cuirassiers.



# RUPERT: THE CAVALIER PRINCE

Charles I's swashbuckling nephew was a daredevil soldier who led an action-packed life of cavalry charges, sieges and adventures on the high seas

**T**he British Civil Wars of the mid-17th century have largely been defined in the popular imagination as a momentous clash between the dour, puritanical 'Roundheads' of the English Parliament and the 'Cavalier' supporters of King Charles I. The truth is far more nuanced and the wars were exceptionally complicated, both militarily and politically. Nevertheless, the legend of the swashbuckling Cavaliers is enduring and the man most responsible for cementing their fame was Charles's nephew and commander of his cavalry: Prince Rupert, Count Palatine of the Rhine.

Rupert was the Royalists' most dashing figure and he was their foremost military commander during the First English Civil War (1642-46). His role during this historically important conflict is well known, but the prince's career was not just confined to the blood-soaked fields of England. Rupert's life was defined by war and he fought across Europe and at sea, as a horseman, commander-in-chief, admiral and even a pirate. For deeds of derring-do and a life steeped in action, one need look no further than this colourful, if controversial, figure.

## A HARSH APPRENTICESHIP

Prince Rupert was born on 17 December 1619 in Prague, Bohemia, at a tense time in European history. His mother Elizabeth was the sister of Charles I of England but his father was Frederick V, Elector Palatine of the Rhine and the recently crowned king of Bohemia. Frederick came from a long line of German nobility but his assumption of the Bohemian throne in 1619 was ill timed.

The Thirty Years' War (1618-48), which would devastate continental Europe, had originally broken out in Bohemia the year before and Frederick had been asked to fill the vacant throne. This provoked the Holy Roman Emperor to invade the country and after just a year, Frederick and his family were forced to flee into exile to the court of the Prince of Orange in the Netherlands. It was here that Rupert grew up and developed a keen interest in the military. He first witnessed warfare aged 14 in 1633, when he joined the Prince of Orange at the Siege of Rheinberg and two years later, he took part in an Orange invasion of Brabant. These early campaigns were followed by his participation in the Siege of Breda in 1637 and

by then, Rupert had achieved the status of a seasoned soldier.

During this period, Rupert visited England for the first time with his elder brother Charles Louis, who was the new elector of the Palatinate. He made a favourable impression on his uncle Charles I and was awarded an honorary MA from the University of Oxford. This auspicious visit would determine his future life and career, but for now the young prince returned to Europe to continue the fight against the Holy Roman Emperor.

It was a decision that nearly destroyed him. In 1638, Rupert joined an army of mercenaries led by Charles Louis in an invasion of Westphalia but this force was defeated by the Imperial general, Melchior von Hatzfeldt at the Battle of Vlotho and the prince was taken prisoner. Rupert was imprisoned at Linz Castle in Austria for the next three years in relatively harsh conditions where he continually resisted attempts to convert to Roman Catholicism.

At the same time, he spent his confinement educating himself on many topics, including studying military textbooks and manuals. This was an education he would rigorously apply and when Charles I negotiated his release in October 1641, one of the conditions was that Rupert would never bear arms against the Emperor again. The war in Europe was now off-limits to Rupert and so he travelled to a country where his skills would be needed: England.

## BRITISH CIVIL WARS

Rupert arrived in England in August 1642 with his younger brother Prince Maurice and a retinue of veterans from the Thirty Years' War to fight for Charles I at the outbreak of war between king and Parliament. His arrival was met with acclaim and Charles conferred on Rupert the Order of the Garter – appointing him commander of the Royalist cavalry. Although he was only in his early 20s, Rupert was considered to be an experienced professional and his charisma inspired Charles's soldiers. One eyewitness remembered, "Of so great virtue is the personal courage and example of one great commander... he put that spirit into the king's army that all men seemed resolved."

In an army of 12,500, the 2,500 men that comprised the Royalist cavalry meant that Rupert's prominence was assured. Although he only had a small staff of 16 officers, Rupert had the power to commission regiments, operate



Illustration: Jean-Michel Girard - The Art Agency

Prince Rupert as he might have appeared in the early part of the first British Civil Wars. The prince contributed to the popular image of the dandyish 'Cavaliers' and a contemporary noted he was "always very sparkish in his dress." The most prominent colour on his clothing reflects his status as colonel of the elite infantry regiment known as the 'Bluecoats'. His sword and breastplate are based on contemporary cavalry equipment and his face is re-created from a portrait he sat for in the early 1640s. At his feet is his pet dog 'Boye' who accompanied Rupert on campaign between 1642-44.



■ Rupert's hunting poodle Boye achieved significant fame during the Civil Wars, acting as a mascot for the Royalist cause. Parliamentarians propagandists even alleged the dog had magical abilities

independently and strike deals with civilian authorities. He could also deploy his unique brand of cavalry warfare.

Rupert's most famous innovation was an engagement tactic where the cavalry were ordered to charge as close as possible to the enemy while staying in ranks with swords in hand. The conventional approach of the day was to charge, halt and then discharge pistols but Rupert's shock tactic was a reversion to the past in the age of gunpowder.

Rupert dramatically proved the worth of this tactic when he routed a Parliamentary reconnaissance party at Powick Bridge near Worcester on 23 September 1642. This victory did much to dishearten the Roundheads, but Rupert's real test would come at the first pitched battle of the war at Edgehill in Warwickshire, on 23 October.

Charles's army was positioned on the high ground of Edgehill itself above the Parliamentarians, who were commanded by the Earl of Essex. Rupert used the slopes to sweep down and scatter the Roundheads. His cavalry managed to capture Essex's artillery and even his coach.

While Rupert's tactic initially worked, he could not control his horsemen, who charged beyond the Parliamentary lines and plundered the baggage train and nearby villages. Consequently, instead of a decisive Royalist victory, the battle ended inconclusively. However, Rupert had proved his cavalry's worth to Charles and it was described as 'the greatest pillar' in the king's army.

After the battle, Rupert suggested an immediate cavalry advance on Roundhead-held London before Essex's demoralised army could return, but Charles's senior advisers overruled him. They proposed an idea for a slow march on the capital with the whole army and it was this policy that prevailed. Rupert tried to operate on his own by destroying the Roundhead

regiment that guarded the Thames at Brentford, but this action terrorised the Londoners into assembling formidable defences and by the time Charles's army finally arrived, they could not break through.

Charles had lost the chance to win the war in a decisive stroke and he withdrew to establish a new capital at Oxford. Meanwhile, Rupert had earned a fearsome reputation and he became a hate figure for Parliamentary propaganda.

From now on Rupert was the most energetic Royalist commander. Much has been written about Oliver Cromwell's relentless determination and spectacular success to

The prince had a particular talent for taking towns, such as raising the Siege of Lichfield before sacking Birmingham. On 26 July 1643, the prince co-ordinated Royalist forces from Oxford and Cornwall and launched an assault on the important port of Bristol. The attack was ferocious, with Royalist stormtroopers using flaming 'fire pikes' to intimidate the defenders before making a breach along the northern line of defences. The Parliamentary governor was forced to surrender and Rupert was triumphant. At the time, Bristol was England's second city and its major port was essential for overseas supplies. In the wake of its capture, Rupert

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***“WHEN CHARLES I NEGOTIATED HIS RELEASE, ONE OF THE CONDITIONS WAS THAT RUPERT NEVER BEAR ARMS AGAINST THE EMPEROR AGAIN”***

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ensure Parliamentary gains in the war, often at Rupert's expense. Nevertheless, before the emergence of Cromwell as a military leader, it was Rupert who gained notable victories and he was certainly no pushover.

## THE SCOURGE OF PARLIAMENT

Between 1643-44, Rupert galloped all over England while tackling a variety of administrative tasks. He was adept at exercising his cavalry and expanding their quarters, as well as conducting probing missions deep into enemy-held Buckinghamshire and Berkshire.

took command of a strong infantry regiment to supplement the Bristol garrison and they became known as the 'Bluecoats' for their distinctive attire.

The Bluecoats would follow Rupert into battle for the rest of the war, and for the remainder of 1643 the prince attempted to consolidate Royalist territory around Bristol. After chasing Essex's new army from the Cotswolds into Berkshire, Rupert's tired army fought an indecisive battle at Newbury on 20 September, but the Royalist cavalry's morale remained high.

Rupert's vigorous pursuit of the war reaped its own reward when Charles made him an English lord and duke of Cumberland in January 1644. The following month he was appointed president of Wales, with responsibility for

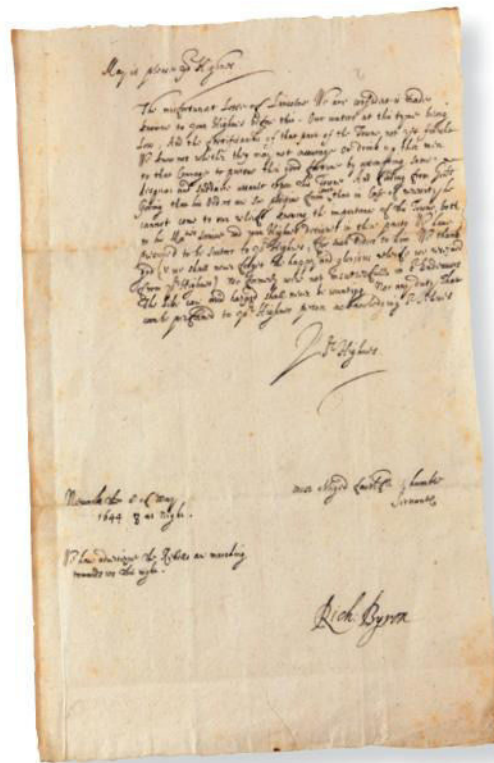




the civil and military administration of the principality and the Welsh Marches. The prince took his duties seriously and he helped to reinvigorate Royalist fortunes in the area by inspecting garrisons, raising military taxation and deploying professional soldiers in the area.

Elsewhere, the Royalist position north of the River Trent was coming under increasing pressure, which resulted in a Parliamentary siege at the strategically important Royalist town of Newark in Nottinghamshire. Rupert rushed to relieve the town by gathering together soldiers from nearby garrisons and force-marching them, day and night, to arrive at Newark in March 1644. His speed surprised the besieging Scottish-Parliamentarian army and in the subsequent battle, they were completely surrounded and forced to surrender.

Rupert allowed the 7,000-strong Roundhead army to depart unmolested but he captured all of their firearms, including 3,000 muskets, 11 artillery pieces and two mortars. This was one of Rupert's most brilliant victories, with a personal congratulations from Charles himself. Newark remained in Royalist hands for the rest of the war but despite this success, Rupert's civil war career had reached its high point and dark clouds were gathering for the king's cause.



■ This letter was sent to Prince Rupert by Rich Byron, the Governor of Newark requesting help against further Parliamentarian attacks. Unfortunately for Byron the letter was sent two months before Rupert's disastrous defeat at Marston Moor and the prince was unable to provide aid

## DIVISION AND DEFEAT

Although Rupert was courageous and daring, the Royalist high command was ridden with division and others, particularly Lord George Digby and Sir John Colepeper, regarded the prince as "so great an enemy" because he was "rough and passionate, and loved not debating." This made co-ordinating effective operations difficult and a reorganised Parliamentary army, which included new commanders such as Sir Thomas Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell, further compounded the situation. Parliament had also allied with a Scottish Covenant army and the north of England was now seriously threatened.

Despite the internal division, Rupert conducted a lightning campaign in Lancashire, capturing both Bolton and Liverpool. He then turned to Yorkshire where Charles urged him to relieve York stating: "If York be lost, I shall esteem my crown a little less. Beat the rebel armies of both kingdoms, which are before it." Rupert relieved York by marching across the Pennines but soon encountered the Scottish-Parliamentarian army at Marston Moor.

On 2 July, in what was reputed to be the biggest battle ever fought in Britain (39,000 men in total), a bitter fight led to a decisive defeat for Rupert that was largely thanks to the emerging talent of Cromwell's disciplined 'Ironsides' cavalry. 4,000 Royalists were killed

## THE 'DUKE OF PLUNDERLAND'

The conduct of the prince's troops on campaign in England earned Rupert the hatred of many and he became the subject of vitriolic propaganda

Prince Rupert gained notoriety in England from the destructive behaviour of his troops while on campaign. By the 1640s, the Thirty Years' War had been raging in Europe for decades and had seen much of Germany destroyed. Looting, rape, massacres and the destruction of towns had become commonplace but this practice was not common in England as it had managed to avoid becoming embroiled in the continental

fight. Nevertheless, Rupert, who was German and had largely served his military apprenticeship in Germany, was accustomed to this kind of warfare and his lax approach regarding his soldiers' conduct earned him the ire of both the civilian population and his Parliamentarian enemies.

Although he was a successful cavalry commander, Rupert and his storming of English towns, became infamous for his ferocity. One of the first towns to feel his wrath was the intensely Puritan Birmingham, which was famous for its iron industry and supplied Parliament with swords. After driving out the Roundhead garrison in April 1643, Rupert torched and plundered the town, which resulted in the destruction of 80 houses and 400 people were left homeless. Although the incident was comparatively small by continental standards, the incident fuelled Roundhead propaganda.

When Rupert was created Duke of Cumberland, he was scathingly dubbed as "Prince Robber, Duke of Plunderland" and a Parliamentarian colonel declared he was not "a gentleman, a Christian or an Englishman, much less a prince."

This criticism was not unfounded particularly in Rupert's other attacks on towns including Bolton and Leicester. In May 1644, the prince besieged Bolton and his Royalist army despised the Puritan population, particularly after the garrison hanged a

captured soldier during the first assault. When the Royalists broke into the town, the storming was prolonged and brutal. The soldiers were allowed to rampage and up to 1,600 of the town's defenders and inhabitants were killed.

It was a similar story the following year when Rupert stormed Leicester on 31 May 1645. By the now the Royalists were losing the war and Rupert was attempting to advance north through the Midlands to regain control of that area of England. Leicester had minimal defences but its garrison did not immediately surrender to Rupert and when the cavalry entered the town, there was fighting in the streets and hundreds of defenders were killed. One Royalist commander remembered, "Many shots were fired at us out of windows. I caused my men to attack and resolved to make an example for the rest. Breaking open the doors, they killed all they found there without distinction." Some of the town committee were hanged and others were "cut to pieces."

The sack of Leicester was later used as evidence against Charles I during his trial in 1649 and Rupert was vilified by Parliamentary pamphlets, "How many towns hast thou fired? How many virgins hast thou ruined? How many Godly ministers hast thou slain?" The Roundhead responses were hypocritical as they were no strangers to committing atrocities, but Rupert's actions arguably gave them an excuse to further their own bloodthirsty campaigns.



■ This crude piece of Roundhead propaganda from 1644 depicts Royalist commanders ordering their soldiers to impale babies on spikes, among other atrocities. It tellingly demonstrates the bitterness of the Civil Wars

compared to 300 Parliament casualties and all of Rupert's ordnance, baggage and 100 regimental colours were lost. York fell soon afterwards and the Royalist hold on northern England was irretrievably lost.

The prince himself only just escaped the carnage but his position at court was unaffected and he worked hard to rebuild the Royalist war effort. In November 1644, he was promoted to captain-general of the army, which effectively made him commander-in-chief. This increased the hostility with Charles's advisors, even though Lord Goring was given an independent command in the south west

Charles's artillery, his stores and even his private papers were captured.

Rupert realised the war was lost and tried to persuade Charles to negotiate with Parliament but the king refused. When Rupert was forced to surrender Bristol in September 1645, he was shown every respect by Fairfax and Cromwell but Charles felt betrayed and dismissed his nephew. Angered by this stain to his honour, Rupert demanded to be court-martialed and although he was cleared, his war was over and he left England in June 1646 after the fall of Oxford. Despite his loyalty to his uncle and the service he had shown (including riding more



■ An older and rehabilitated Rupert was painted in c.1670. By then, he was an integral part of Charles II's court and a leading admiral in the Royal Navy

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***“THIS GERMAN ARISTOCRAT HAD FOUGHT HIS WAY UP TO BECOME A PILLAR OF THE BRITISH ROYAL FAMILY”***

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of England, a decision that severely hampered Royalist co-ordination.

The war had now turned in Parliament's favour and in the summer of 1645, Rupert faced his biggest test. In an attempt to relieve Chester, the main Royalist army of 9,000 men marched north and stormed Leicester but Charles and Rupert collided with a Parliamentary force of 14,500 at Naseby, Northamptonshire on 14 June 1645. The prince fought in the right wing with his cavalry and as in previous battles. They broke through the enemy's lines but their lack of discipline compared to the Ironsides was telling. As with previous engagements, Rupert's cavalry continued to attack the baggage train in Naseby village and after intense hand-to-hand fighting, the Ironsides' discipline, high morale and superior numbers won the day.

The Royalist infantry retreated and Rupert's Bluecoats made a gallant stand, repulsing two Parliamentary attacks – but they were eventually overwhelmed, with Fairfax personally killing the regimental ensign. The Bluecoats' destruction decided the battle and all of

than 9,250 kilometres during the conflict), Rupert was rewarded with exile and near-disgrace. However, his career and loyalty to the British crown was not over and the prince would continue to fight Parliament at sea.

### **A PRINCELY PIRATE**

For the rest of his military career, Rupert's activities were almost exclusively at sea and were met with highly mixed fortunes. In the late 1640s, he reconciled with the now exiled royal family and when civil war broke out again in 1648, he took command of several warships that had defected from Parliament. These formed the nucleus of a Royalist squadron but an attack on England was chased to Holland in August 1648. Rupert only had eight ships available but he sailed to Ireland and from a base at Kinsale, preyed upon Parliamentary shipping in the English Channel, and donated any captured booty to the Royalist war effort.

When Charles I was executed in January 1649, Rupert was driven from Irish waters by the new Commonwealth General-at-Sea Robert

Blake and he sought sanctuary in Portugal. Now fighting in the name of his cousin Charles II, Rupert's squadron continued to harass English shipping in the Atlantic and Mediterranean and was constantly pursued by Blake who denounced the prince as a pirate.

Blake's accusation was not without substance as Rupert repeatedly captured ships and sold their goods to the Portuguese. The prince managed to evade Blake and proceeded to West Africa where he was wounded in a fight with the native population. In the summer of 1652, he sailed to the West Indies where he hoped to find a Royalist enclave in Barbados, but he discovered it had surrendered to the Commonwealth. His luck worsened when he lost two of his four remaining ships in a storm off the Virgin Islands and his brother, Prince Maurice, drowned. This loss devastated Rupert and he returned to European exile in 1653, an exhausted man. For the next six years, the prince lived in obscurity but the changing political landscape in England would steer his fortunes again.



## ADMIRAL OF THE RESTORATION

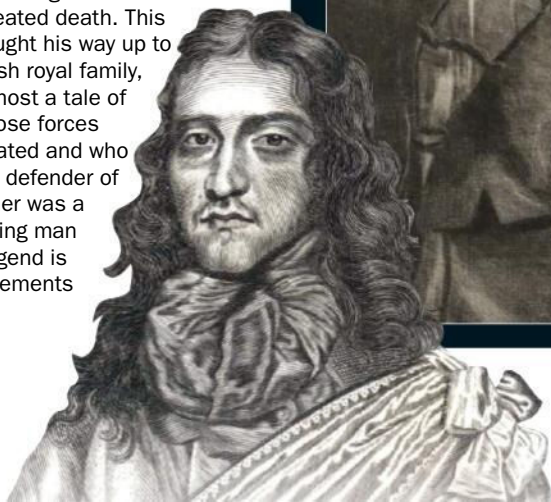
In 1660, Charles II was restored to his throne and Rupert was invited back to England. The memory of his role in the Civil Wars had not been forgotten and Samuel Pepys recorded in his diary: "I hear Prince Rupert is come to Court; but welcome to nobody." Now something of an aging dandy, Rupert was unpopular but the king highly regarded him and he was given a pension, appointed as a privy councillor and named as an admiral. His naval rank meant that he held significant commands in the Second and Third Anglo-Dutch Wars that dominated Charles's foreign policy.

The Anglo-Dutch Wars were largely naval conflicts that arose out of the trading and colonial tensions between England and the Dutch Republic from 1652-74. Rupert first participated in the second war (1665-67) but almost lost his life in 1664 when a block of rigging fell on his head while he was inspecting a ship. He had only just recovered from his wound when war was declared in 1665.

Rupert helped to defeat the Dutch at the Battle of Lowestoft, taking or sinking 17 ships. Heartened by the victory, Rupert collaborated with George Monck, Duke of Albemarle, to entrench aggressive "fighting instructions" that were based on lines abreast tactics. These proved their worth at the Four Days Battle between 1-4 June 1666 where Albemarle had to fight the Dutch alone for the first three days and the English were almost decisively defeated. Rupert, who had been away fighting a French squadron, managed to arrive on the fourth day and was conspicuous for his active leadership. He was forced to change his flagship three times but he managed to claw a stalemate from defeat.

A month later, Rupert and Albemarle won a victory at the Saint James's Day Battle, where the Dutch lost as many as 5,000 casualties and the English won control of the sea around the Dutch coast. His last military command took place during the Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672-74) where he was appointed as vice-admiral, second only to the Duke of York. This conflict was characterised by an uneasy alliance with France, which Rupert opposed. Communication problems with French commanders led to Dutch victories at the battles of Schooneveld and Texel in 1673. Despite this, Rupert was popularly hailed as a hero but he retired from active naval command and never saw action again.

Prince Rupert died in London in 1682 aged 62, a great age considering the innumerable occasions he had cheated death. This German aristocrat fought his way up to be a pillar of the British royal family, however his life is almost a tale of two; one the man whose forces were repeatedly defeated and who was the controversial defender of the old order. The other was a talented, swashbuckling man of action. Rupert's legend is secure but his achievements are open to question.



## RENAISSANCE MAN OF THE RESTORATION

Prince Rupert was not just a soldier, but an artist, scientist, inventor and bibliophile who generously encouraged the pursuit of knowledge

Rupert was a man of many talents. His library contained more than 1,000 volumes in five different languages and he was skilled at the new process of mezzotint engraving, giving demonstrations "with his own hands" for the diarist John Evelyn. The prince also excelled at military science and was an honorary founding member of the Royal Society. His research included testing gunpowder and submitting ideas for water pumps, improved navigation instruments and even an early machine gun.

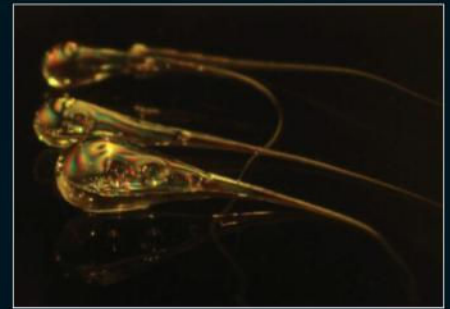
Rupert's chief scientific interest was in metallurgy and he set up several laboratories. He used his influence to begin experiments in improving iron cannons and developed an alloy of iron and zinc known as 'Prince's Metal'. He also attempted to produce a perfectly round lead shot and popularised the almost-magical glass phenomena known as 'Prince Rupert's Drop'.

The drop is a tadpole-shaped droplet of glass with a bulbous end and a long, thin tail. Created by dripping molten glass into cold water, its unique property is its simultaneous strength and weakness. The bulb can resist a hammer blow but when the tail is clipped, the drop explodes.

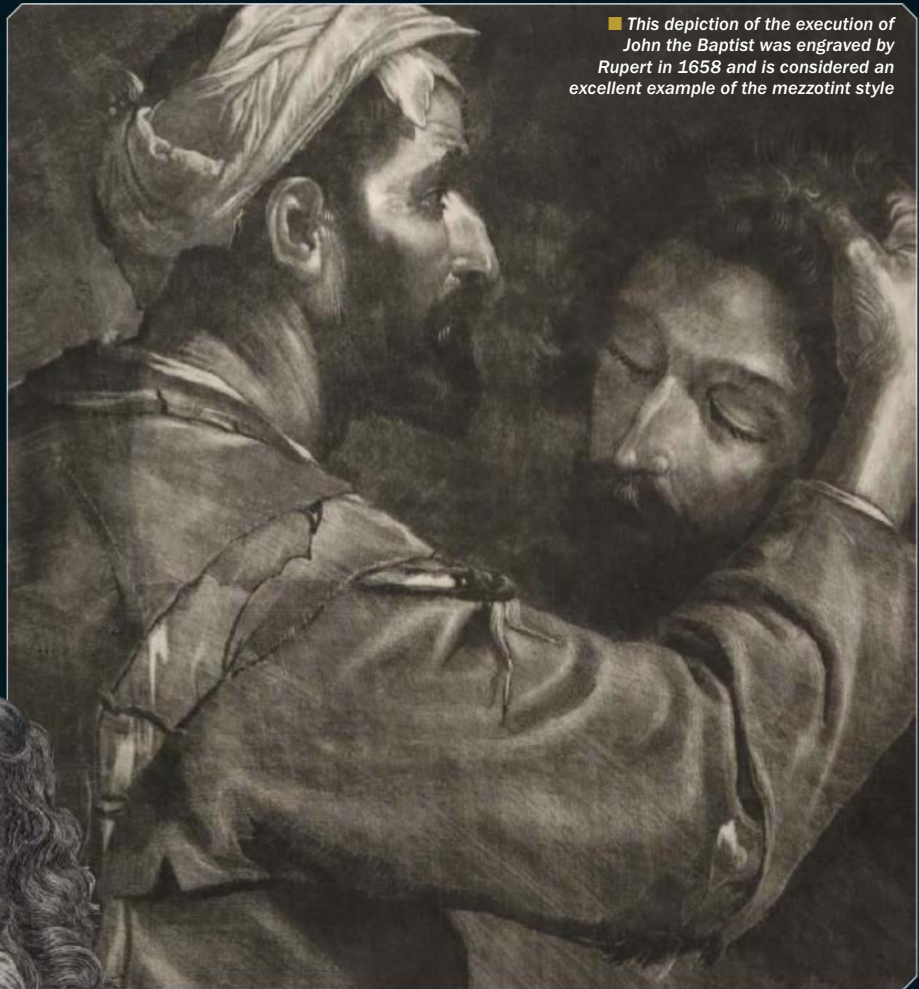
Although he did not invent them, Rupert presented the drops to the Royal Society and attracted the interest of eminent scientists such as Robert Boyle and Robert Hooke.

Ultimately, the rise of science during the Restoration period was benefitted by the unlikely patronage of Rupert and he therefore helped lay the foundations for the Enlightenment and, much later, industrialisation.

■ 'Prince Rupert's Drops' were initially presented to Charles II as a scientific novelty, but they soon attracted the attention of the Royal Society



■ This depiction of the execution of John the Baptist is engraved by Rupert in 1658 and is considered an excellent example of the mezzotint style



# THE WITCH-FINDER GENERAL

Operating against the backdrop of the British Civil Wars, Matthew Hopkins preyed on fear and uncertainty to carry out a brutal reign of terror

**T**hough it seems scarcely comprehensible now that practising witchcraft was deemed a criminal offence back in the 17th century, the fact that you could actually be executed for it seems all the more incredible. And God help you if you dabbled in the occult in East Anglia between 1644 and 1647, because if you did then you would have been severely dealt with by Matthew Hopkins, the self-proclaimed 'Witch-finder General'.

Amazingly, during this three-year period, Hopkins and his associates were believed to have been responsible for the deaths of over 300 women, more than in the previous 100 years and around 60 per cent of the total number of witch-related executions between the early 15th and the late 18th centuries.

The witch-hunts undertaken by Hopkins took place mainly in Suffolk, Essex, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, but also in Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire, extending throughout the strongest puritan- and Parliamentarian-influenced areas, which formed the eastern association from 1644 to 1647. Operating with his colleague John Stearne against the backdrop of the British Civil Wars, Hopkins' work was not necessarily to prove that the women accused had committed any evil acts, only that they had made a pact with the devil. Prior to the Lancaster witch trial of 1634, any malicious acts committed by witches were treated like other crimes. However, as it was then deemed that they had made a conscious choice to



■ Although in Hopkins' trials convicted witches were hanged, his methods were adopted further afield and eventually led to burnings

align themselves with evil in order to obtain the powers needed to carry out the crimes and become heretics to Christianity, normal legal procedures were suspended in favour of more brutal and swift forms of justice. That is where Hopkins came in. As proof was needed beyond all doubt that the women accused were witches, it was Hopkins' job to extract confessions.

Although torture was against the law in England, Hopkins' methods for getting his victims to confess included sleep deprivation and more brutal forms of persuasion. One such method he employed to prove beyond doubt that the accused had made a covenant with the devil was the swimming test. Based on the logic that, seeing as they had renounced their Christian baptism, water would reject the accused women, they were tied to chairs and flung into lakes and rivers.

case, Hopkins, Stearne and their female assistants (the ones responsible for 'pricking' duties) were paid well for their work – which perhaps provided ample motivations for their actions. Though Hopkins claimed to have only taken 20 shillings per town for his services to "maintain his company with three horses", actual records show that he charged Stowmarket alone £23 (which equates to about £3,400 in modern money) plus travelling expenses, and that Ipswich had to levy a special tax in 1645 just to cover his payment.

Not everyone bowed down to Hopkins' demands, though, and he soon met with opposition from John Gaule, the vicar of Great Staughton, who began a programme of Sunday sermons denouncing the practice of witch-hunting. Hopkins also had to defend his torture methods and substantial fees in

*“METHODS FOR GETTING CONFESSIONS INCLUDED SLEEP DEPRIVATION AND MORE BRUTAL FORMS OF PERSUASION”*

If they floated – or swam – then they were considered witches. This somewhat harsh trial by water was abandoned in 1645 as Hopkins was told he must obtain permission from the victims before utilising it – permission, one can only assume, that wasn't forthcoming.

Another method for unmasking witches involved looking for the devil's mark. Said to be a mark that all witches possessed (though in reality probably nothing more than a mole, birthmark or third nipple), the devil's mark was supposed to be impervious to pain and would not bleed when pricked. In the event of no visible mark being present, the accused would be shaved of all bodily hair and poked and pricked with knives and needles in an attempt to locate invisible ones. As the British Civil Wars were well under way, in the event of a woman being proven by Hopkins to be practising witchcraft, she would be tried by justices of the peace (lone judicial officers appointed to keep the peace), rather than justices of assizes (periodic courts), and sentenced to death by hanging.

Claiming to be officially commissioned by Parliament, though this was never the

front of justices of the assizes, who asked if his brutal and malicious methods didn't make the witch-finders themselves evil. However, by the time this court session resumed in 1647, Hopkins and Stearne had retired from their lucrative business, presumably to collective sighs of relief from freckle-faced females everywhere.

That wasn't quite the end of the story, though. Hopkins' methods were detailed in his book, *The Discovery of Witches*, which was published in 1647, and recommended in all subsequent law books. The following year, trials and executions for witchcraft began in the New England colonies of America, and continued until 1663 (by which time around 80 'witches' had been accused and 15 executed), and some of Hopkins' methods were also employed during the Salem Witch Trials in Massachusetts in 1692. So although Hopkins should be considered little more than a brutal and sadistic chancer who profited from fear and was allowed to operate on the fringes of the law against a backdrop of political uncertainty, his influence was far-reaching.

■ Matthew Hopkins was a self-appointed witch-hunter whose career flourished during the British Civil Wars



## DEFINING MOMENTS

How Hopkins came upon a lucrative new career of witch-finding

**1620**

### Origins of a bogeyman

Hopkins was born in Great Wenham, Suffolk around 1620 and was the fourth son of six children born to James Hopkins, a puritan clergyman and vicar. Very little is known of Hopkins before 1644. The way in which he presented evidence at his witch trials led many to believe he had trained as a lawyer, although there is no real evidence that this was ever the case.

**1644**

### A sadistic new career

In his book, *The Discovery of Witches*, which was published in 1647, Hopkins wrote that he began his career in witch-hunting after he overheard various women discussing their meetings with the devil in Manningtree in March 1644. However, the first accusations of witchcraft were actually made by John Stearne, with Hopkins acting as his assistant.

**1647**

### Death and legacy

Aged around 27, Hopkins died at his home in Manningtree, Essex on 12 August 1647, most likely from pleural tuberculosis. He was buried at the Church of St Mary at Mistley Heath. While Hopkins didn't carry out the witch executions himself, he is largely remembered as an evil anti-hero and bogeyman, paid by authorities to commit perjury.

## OPPOSING FORCES

### ROYALIST

#### LEADER

■ Prince Rupert  
of the Rhine

#### INFANTRY

■ 11,000

#### CAVALRY

■ 6,500

#### ARTILLERY

■ 14

### PARLIAMENTARIAN

#### LEADER

■ Earl of Leven

#### INFANTRY

■ 17,000

#### CAVALRY

■ 7000

#### ARTILLERY

■ 50



■ Savage cavalry clashes  
would decide the Royalists'  
fate at Marston Moor

# BATTLE OF MARSTON MOOR

In one of the largest battles ever fought on British soil, the Royalists, supporters of Charles I, would face calamity at Marston Moor

**C**ivil war had been raging in England for over two years. Charles I, monarch of the three kingdoms of Scotland, England and Ireland, was fighting a rebellion against his rule by the

English Parliament and their allies. The king's ruinous reign had split the country in two, with Charles's Royalist supporters facing off against the Parliamentarians. Northern England was a Royalist stronghold, with much of the king's support coming from there, but the battle at Marston Moor would see the Royalist cause in the north begin to crumble.

In 1644 a combined English and Scottish army besieged York, which was held by the marquis of Newcastle, a Royalist supporter. Sir Thomas Fairfax, a talented and popular commander known as 'Black Tom' because of his dark complexion, led the English Parliamentarians who were joined by a Scottish force led by Alexander Leslie, 1st earl of Leven. Commanding the largest contingent in the allied army and possessing military experience gained on the continent, the earl of Leven took overall control of the Parliamentarian army as well as his covenanter forces. These were Scottish men who resisted Charles I's religious policies in Scotland and had fought the Bishops' War against him. With the outbreak of the British Civil Wars, they had allied with the English Parliamentarians against the king.

A Royalist army, commanded by the indomitable Prince Rupert of the Rhine, was dispatched to relieve the city and drive back the enemy. Rupert was known for his brash and daring style of warfare and the Parliamentarians wisely broke off their siege and turned to face this new threat.

The Parliamentarians had originally decided not to give battle, but rather withdraw and consolidate their forces. It was only when elements of the Royalist advanced guard were engaged that Leven and Fairfax realised that they would have to stand and fight.

A rising star in the Parliamentary army was an officer named Oliver Cromwell. His leadership along with his 'Ironside' cavalry, heavily armed shock troops who adhered to the Puritan branch of Protestantism, were defining factors in winning the day. Facing off against an



equally gifted cavalry commander in the form of Prince Rupert, the Ironsides' discipline would see them deliver two devastating charges into both the front and rear of the Royalist forces, the latter carrying the day.

An act that may have sealed the Royalists' defeat occurred just a day before the battle.

The marquis of Newcastle, glad to see a relief force lift the siege, sent Rupert an extravagant letter of congratulations to which he received a rather curt reply asking that he ready his forces for battle. This perceived snub made Newcastle drag his feet when preparing his men and saw them arrive late and piecemeal to the battlefield. This delay cost the Royalists precious time and Rupert lost the ability to strike early at his unprepared opponents. As the rest of the infantry finally arrived at around 4pm, the Royalist generals drew up their forces to meet the enemy, but decided to delay the attack until the morning.

The armies were drawn up just under 400 metres apart, with the Royalists making use of a drainage

ditch to anchor their line and shield their valuable matchlock-armed musketeers. These men would also be present on the wings, where they were arrayed in the Swedish style, being interspersed among the cavalry units to harass oncoming troops. The Parliamentarians would also adopt this tactic, but as both sides were using similar strategies and units, the Parliamentary advantage came in their superior numbers.

With heavy rain dampening both spirits and weapons, the Royalists were shocked when signalling fire, like the clap of thunder, heralded the start of the Puritan charge. A chaplain

present at the battle described the moving force as "like unto so many thick clouds," an unsettling image that boded ill for the battle to come.

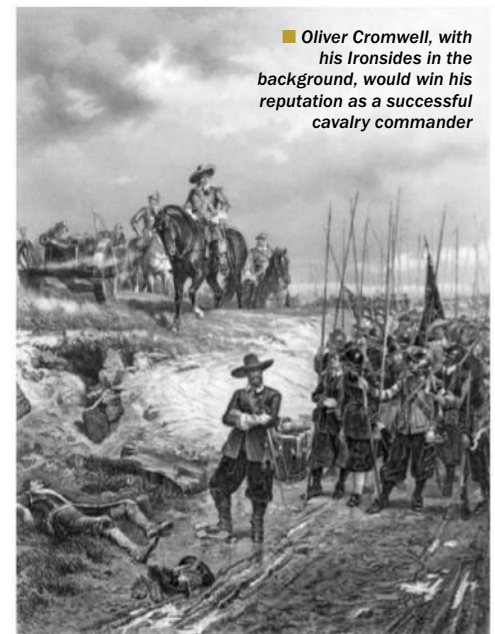
During this period, cavalry often decided the outcome of a battle, and Marston Moor was no exception. The left cavalry wing of the Parliamentarians, with Oliver Cromwell at the head, hastened forward, the weight of their charge carrying them crashing into their Royalist counterparts. Not a man to stay on the defensive, Prince Rupert immediately ordered a counter charge that he led personally. Cromwell and Rupert's forces would meet in a flurry of steel, hooves and blood. Although Cromwell received a flesh wound to his neck and had to retire to the rear to have it dressed, Prince Rupert was unhorsed. Not living up to his fearsome reputation, the prince would spend the remainder of the battle hiding in a field until escaping after the fighting had died down.

On the opposite wing the Parliamentarians were faring badly, with Royalist wing commander Lord Goring pushing his enemy back. With musketeers deployed behind the drainage ditch, they were able to harass Thomas Fairfax's cavalry and inflict heavy losses. Under the cover of this storm of lead, Goring led a charge that crashed home into Fairfax's units, and with Royalist reserves pouring in after them, the Parliamentarian wing began to collapse.

*With combined casualties exceeding 4,000, Marston Moor was one of the deadliest battles of the Civil Wars*



■ Oliver Cromwell, with his Ironsides in the background, would win his reputation as a successful cavalry commander



With the tide of battle turning against the Parliamentarians, Thomas Fairfax tried a desperate gamble. Tearing off his field sign, either a handkerchief or piece of paper that identified him on the battlefield, he galloped through the enemy army to appraise Cromwell of the situation. Meanwhile the Royalist infantry began a furious counter-attack that drove the Parliamentarian centre back. If Fairfax couldn't get through to Cromwell, the battle was all but over.

Once appraised of the situation, Cromwell wasted no time in looping around the back of the Royalist army to face Goring and the remaining Royalist cavalry. Out of position, they quickly disintegrated under the Ironsides' ferocious charge. With no cavalry left to stop him, Cromwell now had the ability to strike any part of the Royalist line with impunity. Flying into the rear of the Royalist infantry, the Ironsides had snatched victory from the jaws of defeat. Newcastle's Whitecoats would make their last stand here, repulsing the Ironside charge again and again until only a handful of men were left alive. This sacrifice is seen as a desperate rearguard action that allowed other Royalist units to escape unmolested.

With over 40,000 men from both sides taking the field, Marston Moor is thought to be the largest battle ever fought on British soil and was over in just two hours. Even in that short time the carnage was considerable, with the defeated Royalists having 4,000 men killed, and 1,500 taken prisoner. The Scots' and Parliamentarian casualties were much lighter by comparison, with as few as 300 killed. In addition to the cost of human life, the Royalists lost their artillery, munitions, baggage train and 100 regimental colours. This humiliating defeat so affected Prince Rupert that he would keep an ambiguously worded letter from Charles I, sent near the onset of battle reiterating the importance of victory, with him for the rest of his life. On an equally personal level, the prince would lose his hunting poodle and faithful companion, Boye. The dog had become a mascot and minor celebrity in the Royalist army and was demonised by the Parliamentarians.



■ Alexander Leslie, 1st earl of Leven, commanded the covenanter and Parliamentarian armies

# BATTLE OF MARSTON MOOR

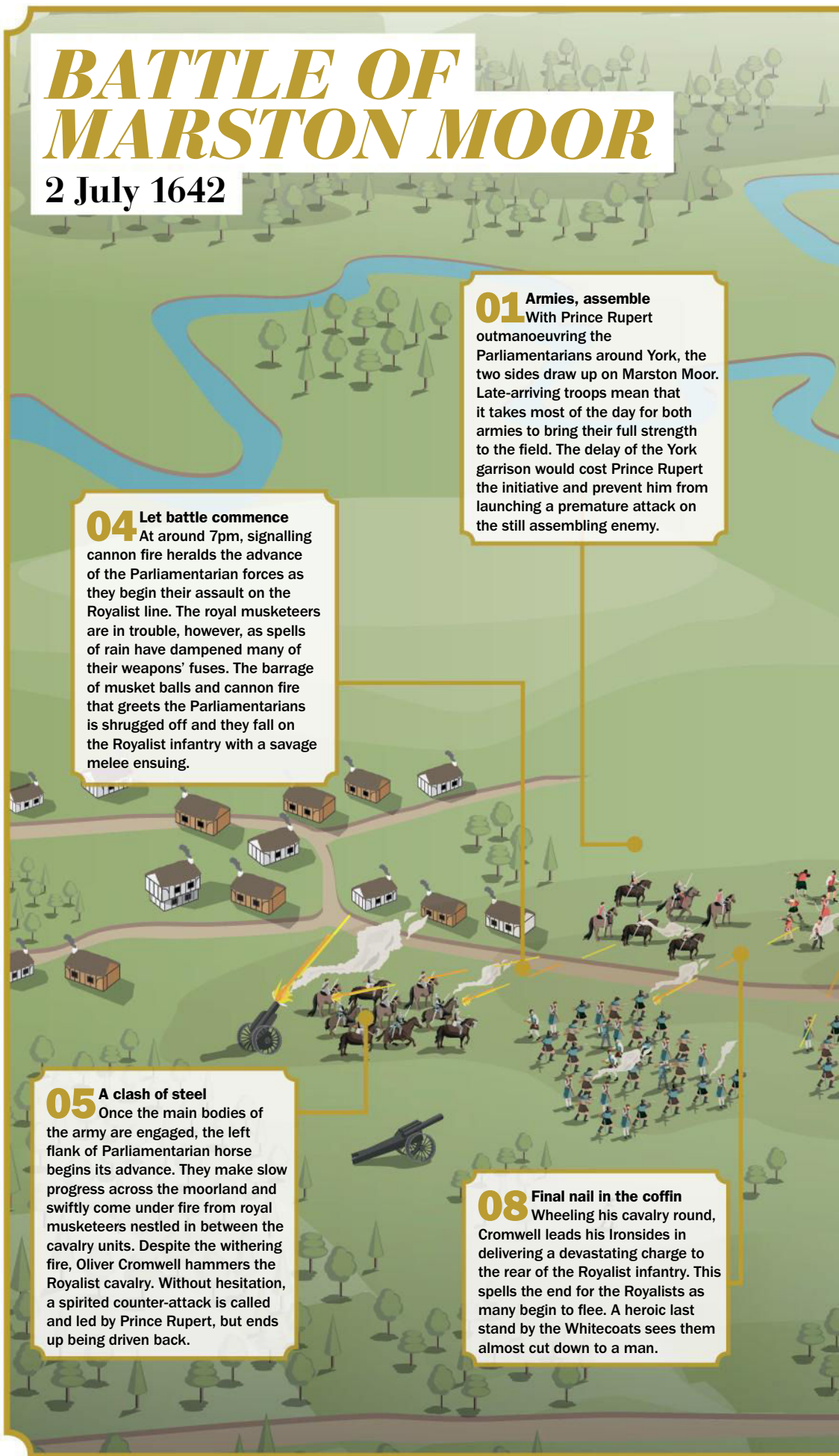
2 July 1642

**01** **Armies, assemble**  
With Prince Rupert outmanoeuvring the Parliamentarians around York, the two sides draw up on Marston Moor. Late-arriving troops mean that it takes most of the day for both armies to bring their full strength to the field. The delay of the York garrison would cost Prince Rupert the initiative and prevent him from launching a premature attack on the still assembling enemy.

**04** **Let battle commence**  
At around 7pm, signalling cannon fire heralds the advance of the Parliamentarian forces as they begin their assault on the Royalist line. The royal musketeers are in trouble, however, as spells of rain have dampened many of their weapons' fuses. The barrage of musket balls and cannon fire that greets the Parliamentarians is shrugged off and they fall on the Royalist infantry with a savage melee ensuing.

**05** **A clash of steel**  
Once the main bodies of the army are engaged, the left flank of Parliamentarian horse begins its advance. They make slow progress across the moorland and swiftly come under fire from royal musketeers nestled in between the cavalry units. Despite the withering fire, Oliver Cromwell hammers the Royalist cavalry. Without hesitation, a spirited counter-attack is called and led by Prince Rupert, but ends up being driven back.

**08** **Final nail in the coffin**  
Wheeling his cavalry round, Cromwell leads his Ironsides in delivering a devastating charge to the rear of the Royalist infantry. This spells the end for the Royalists as many begin to flee. A heroic last stand by the Whitecoats sees them almost cut down to a man.



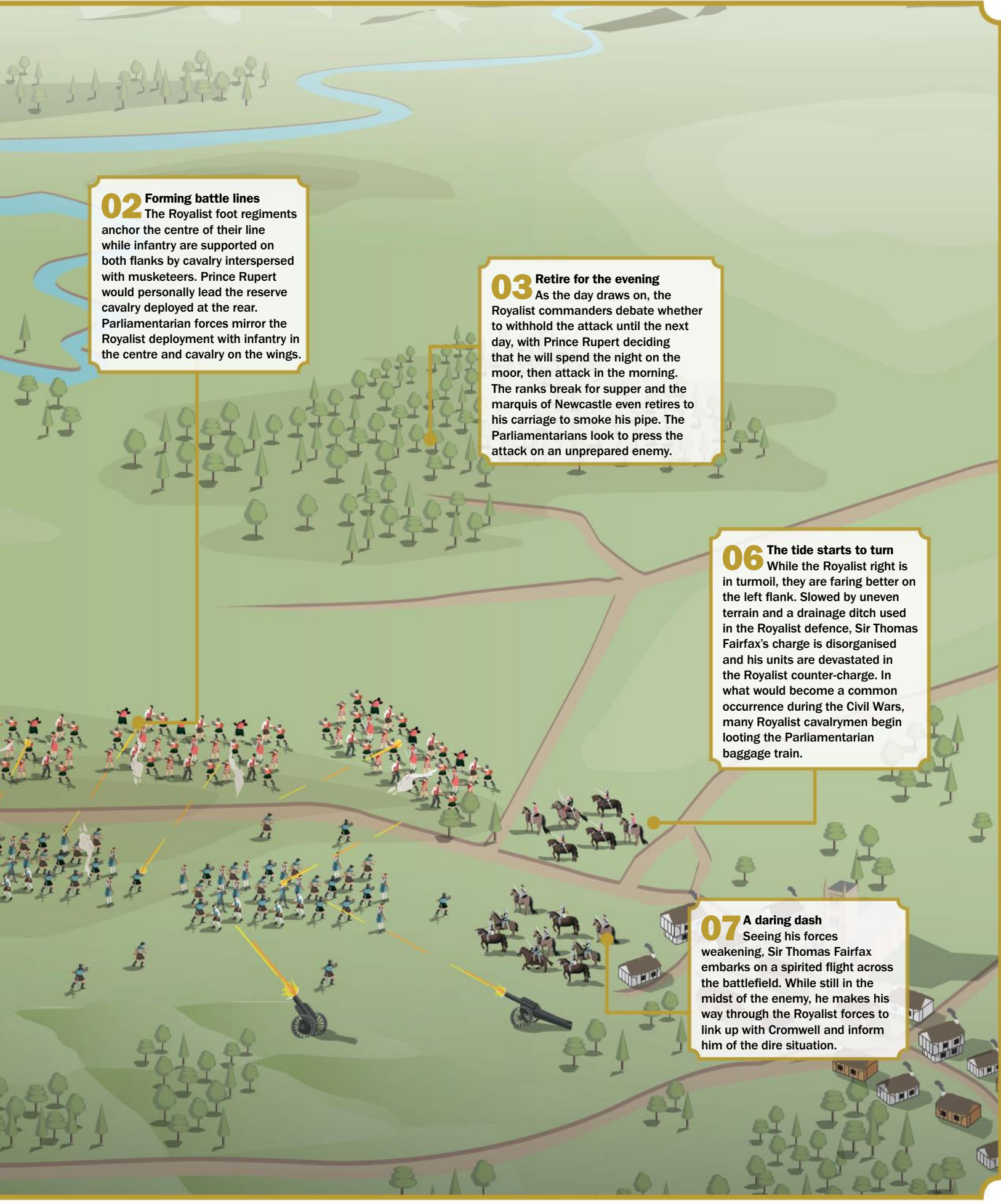


**02 Forming battle lines**  
 The Royalist foot regiments anchor the centre of their line while infantry are supported on both flanks by cavalry interspersed with musketeers. Prince Rupert would personally lead the reserve cavalry deployed at the rear. Parliamentarian forces mirror the Royalist deployment with infantry in the centre and cavalry on the wings.

**03 Retire for the evening**  
 As the day draws on, the Royalist commanders debate whether to withhold the attack until the next day, with Prince Rupert deciding that he will spend the night on the moor, then attack in the morning. The ranks break for supper and the marquis of Newcastle even retires to his carriage to smoke his pipe. The Parliamentarians look to press the attack on an unprepared enemy.

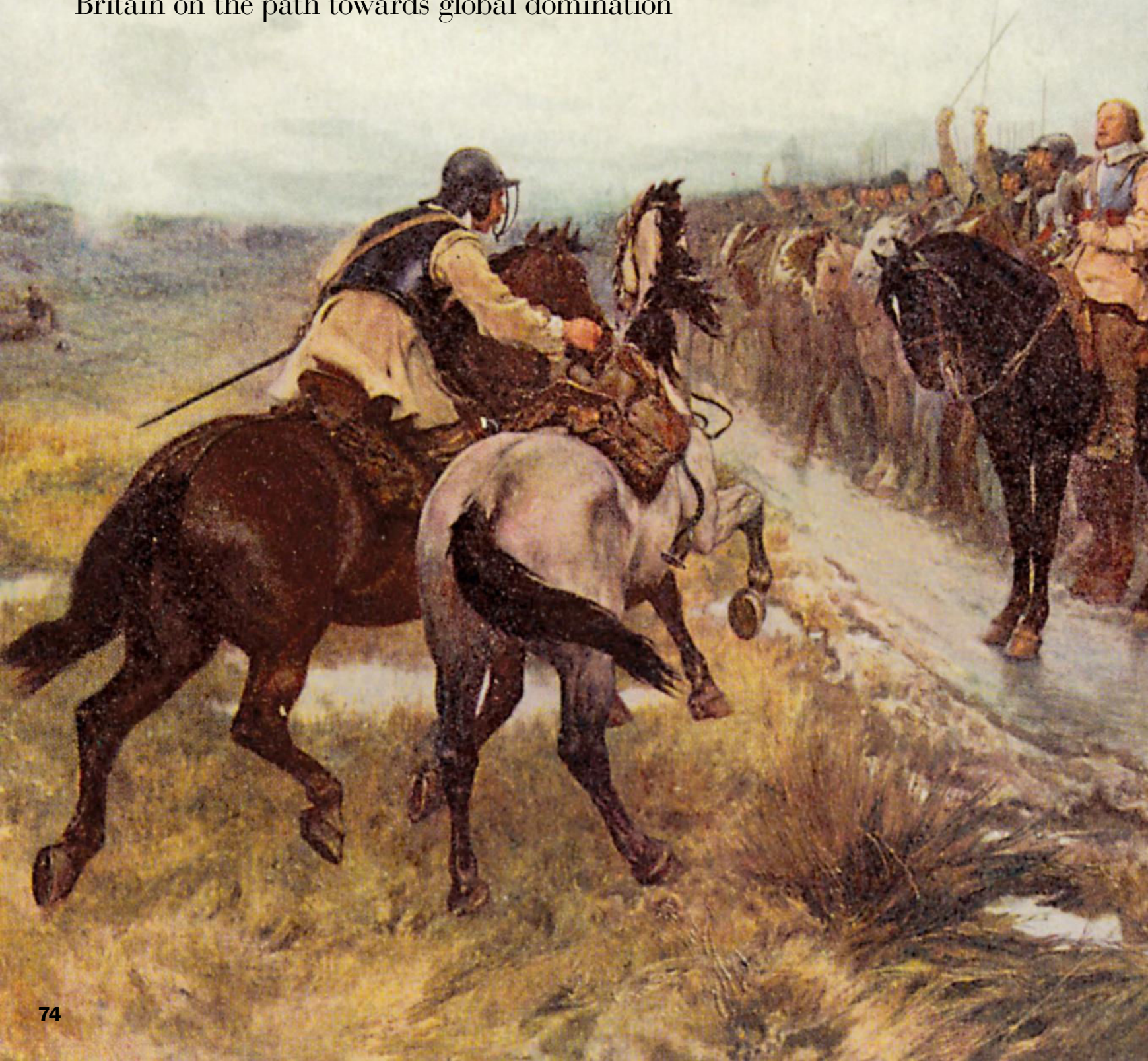
**06 The tide starts to turn**  
 While the Royalist right is in turmoil, they are faring better on the left flank. Slowed by uneven terrain and a drainage ditch used in the Royalist defence, Sir Thomas Fairfax's charge is disorganised and his units are devastated in the Royalist counter-charge. In what would become a common occurrence during the Civil Wars, many Royalist cavalymen begin looting the Parliamentarian baggage train.

**07 A daring dash**  
 Seeing his forces weakening, Sir Thomas Fairfax embarks on a spirited flight across the battlefield. While still in the midst of the enemy, he makes his way through the Royalist forces to link up with Cromwell and inform him of the dire situation.



# THE NEW MODEL CROMWELL'S REBEL ARMY

This first professional standing army conquered all before it, launching Britain on the path towards global domination





In the 1640s, people of all classes were embroiled in a grim struggle over a fundamental question – who was the supreme power in the land, the king or parliament?

The British Civil Wars raged for a decade and became a cataclysmic struggle for England's soul. It was also a conflict that would engulf Wales, Scotland and Ireland with devastating consequences. The resulting chaos saw the execution of a king and the establishment of a republican Commonwealth. Two things were largely responsible for making this radical change possible. One was an obscurely born MP from Huntingdon called Oliver

Cromwell; the other was the most innovative military force of the age – the New Model Army.

When Charles I declared war on 22 August 1642, the Royalist and Parliamentary armies were evenly matched – both amateur in attitude and performance, particularly regarding their commanders. On the Royalist side, Prince Rupert of the Rhine was an experienced soldier but also hot-headed and unable to control the cavalry under his command. During the first major battle of the war, at Edgehill on 23 October 1642, the Royalists nearly won the day having broken through the Roundhead lines with a cavalry charge. However, this breakthrough was not properly followed up as Rupert's cavalry charged away from the battlefield to loot nearby villages – the end result was stalemate. Similarly, Parliamentary

forces were at first commanded by ineffectual aristocrats such as the Earls of Essex and Manchester, whose field strategy was timid and lethargic. This meant there was no decisive battle for the first two years of the war. Oliver Cromwell observed these circumstances from the sidelines with frustration, and resolved to change the situation to parliament's advantage.

Already in his 40s when the war broke out, and without any military training, Cromwell was an unexpected innovator determined to reorganise parliament's army. His personal strength stemmed from his religious fervour. In an age where religion dictated everything, Cromwell was a zealot, seeing the hand of God in everything. This enabled him to be a supremely confident commander who was willing to take risks. In 1643, he formed his

■ *Dunbar 1650. This remarkable battle saw the New Model Army completely rout a Scottish force twice its size*



own cavalry regiment in Huntingdon, initially known as the Army of the Eastern Association but remembered by history as the 'Ironsides'. This force was at first composed of determined Puritan farmers, deliberately chosen for their strict religious resolve. Cromwell's training of his Ironsides made him stand out against other commanders, particularly his Royalist counterparts. He followed the common practice of arranging his cavalry in three ranks, while leading them forward for impact rather than firepower. However, he also encouraged his troops to charge in close formation, riding knee-to-knee – a tactic already familiar in Europe, but entirely new to English shores. Cromwell quickly became an ambitious professional soldier and his Ironsides an asset on the battlefield.

Cromwell's cavalry played a notable part in the Parliamentary victory at the Battle of Marston Moor on 2 July 1644. Unlike their Royalist counterparts, the Ironsides stayed on the battlefield after their initial charge and attacked the Royalist infantry. This show of discipline secured the north of England for parliament and sealed Cromwell's reputation. Nonetheless, the army was still commanded by incompetent nobles who did not follow up Marston Moor with similar victories, much to Cromwell's frustration. After the Earl of Manchester failed to chase Charles I to Bath at the Second Battle of Newbury, Cromwell decided that the existing commanders had to be replaced by professionals. He was not alone in this view – another Roundhead commander, Sir William Waller, wrote to parliament stating: "Till you have an army merely your own that you may command, it is in a manner

impossible to do anything of importance."

In early 1645, the 'New Model Ordinance'

■ **Oliver Cromwell**. MP for Cambridge and militant Puritan. Cromwell was chiefly responsible for the success of the New Model Army

was passed, which encompassed a total reorganisation of parliament's army. This new force was to have 22,000 men in which there would be 12 regiments of foot – 1,200 men in each section. Each regiment would contain two-thirds musketeers and one-third pikemen. Additionally, there would be 11 cavalry regiments, one regiment of dragoons and an artillery train of 50 guns. The highly experienced Sir Thomas Fairfax would command the army and Philip Skippon the infantry.

In April 1645, Cromwell forced through the 'Self-Denying Ordinance' bill, preventing MPs in the House of Lords and Commons from holding military positions. Essex and Manchester resigned, but Cromwell, as MP for Cambridge, was considered too important and so kept his command. Fairfax made Cromwell the commander of the cavalry, with the Ironsides forming the nucleus of parliament's force. The New Model Army was born.

Cromwell and Fairfax quickly developed the New Model into an efficient force. In a unique move for the period, officers were appointed and promoted on merit rather than social standing. Like Colonel Pride, a former brewer, these officers also often came from humble origins. Discipline was strictly enforced but soldiers were compensated with regular pay. Infantrymen were paid eight pence a day while the cavalry received two shillings, as they had to supply their own horses and pay for their



■ **Sir Thomas Fairfax** was the talented first commander-in-chief of the New Model Army. The decisive Battle of Naseby was won under his command

upkeep. The New Model's structure was also well organised. Officers undertook specific duties, such as the administration of justice and the acquisition of supplies. These tasks were performed nationally and under a unified command. By contrast, the Royalists were hindered by factional infighting at Charles I's court in Oxford, where key decisions often ended in confused squabbling.

Key to the strength of the New Model was its highly religious outlook. Cromwell believed that military victory was the outcome of God's will. He wanted the army to "valiantly fight the

*"THIS SHOW OF DISCIPLINE SECURED THE NORTH FOR PARLIAMENT AND SEALED CROMWELL'S REPUTATION"*



■ Cromwell's Ironsides were instrumental in the Parliamentary victory at Marston Moor in 1644



# THE ORIGINAL REDCOATS

Parliament's elite soldiers were the first to wear the uniform soon to be known the world over

## MORION HELMET AND BREASTPLATE

These two items were designed for pikemen and were intended to be pistol proof. It was a different helmet, with the 'lobster pot' design, that became an iconic symbol of the Ironsides.

■ This pikeman officer is seen wearing a helmet similar to those famously used by the Spanish conquistadors

## MATCHLOCK MUSKET

This was the standard firearm used by western European armies in the 17th century. They were clumsy and dangerous pieces of equipment with a very slow reloading time. Muskets were best used when fired in a volley.

## GUNPOWDER FLASKS

These wooden containers were designed for musketeers and were effectively a 'shot in a box'. Each flask contained a musket ball and enough gunpowder to fire one round. They were made of wood rather than paper both to protect the round and to speed up the loading time.



The British redcoat is a legendary figure in military history, a symbol of the all-conquering power that helped create and maintain the British Empire. Though even today British soldiers wear red coats for ceremonial occasions, they originated in the fires of civil war.

During the early years of the British Civil Wars, specific regiments on both sides wore coloured uniforms. For example, on the Royalist side there were regiments of 'whitecoats' and 'bluecoats'. However, there were no specific colourings for whole armies, so individual soldiers usually wore their own clothes. During a battle, the opposing sides told each other apart by using 'field signs'. These could include coloured armbands or sprigs of wild plants pinned to hats. Of course, in the din and smoke of battle, it could be very difficult to tell apart comrades from enemies.

When the New Model was created, Oliver Cromwell concluded that the soldiers' equipment had to be standardised, as this would ease the logistical demands on campaigns – this included both weapons and clothing. Venetian Red was chosen as the colour of the official uniform as it was the cheapest dye available. This inexpensive quality fitted in well with the Puritan ethic of not appearing to be ostentatious, although as the centuries went by the redcoat would become associated with dashing swagger and swooning ladies. Indeed, the redcoats of the New Model Army would not have appeared in the plush scarlet that is associated with today's Trooping of the Colour, but a muddy brownish-red tone.

The introduction of the redcoat seems to have had a positive effect on the troops and promoted solidarity among its often low-born but capable soldiers. Cromwell himself was proud of the meritocratic red-coated army he created and famously declared: "I had rather a plain russet-coated captain that knows what he fights for and loves what he knows, than that which you call a gentlemen, and is nothing else. I honour a gentleman that is so indeed."



**"THOUGH EVEN TODAY BRITISH SOLDIERS WEAR RED COATS FOR CEREMONIAL OCCASIONS, THEY ORIGINATED IN THE FIRES OF CIVIL WAR"**



■ Charles I's personal baggage was captured at Naseby, and Cromwell later published his letters from the Irish Catholic Confederation



Lord's battle" as "an army of saints". To that end, recruits were drilled using a book called *The Soldier's Catechism*. This instilled the troops with a sense of divine mission. One of the first questions in the book asked: "What are the principal things required of a soldier?" The answer was: "That he be religious and Godly." Additionally, the men were encouraged to be honest, principled, politically motivated and sober. They were fed propaganda that the Royalists were the complete opposite in their behaviour, being described as arrogant, drunk and pretentious. This was an army that stood apart from others in that it was specifically designed to aid a modern political and religious movement. The term 'New Model' was apt – nothing like it had been seen before. The pious passions of its soldiers would be the deciding factor in the outcome of the Civil War.

Within months of its creation, parliament's army gained its first major victory at Naseby on 14 June 1645. This battle showed the difference in discipline between the Royalists and Parliamentarians. Fairfax was the overall commander, but it was Cromwell's Ironsides that again tipped the balance in parliament's

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***“THE NEW MODEL WAS AN ARMY THAT STOOD APART FROM OTHERS IN THAT IT WAS SPECIFICALLY DESIGNED TO AID A MODERN POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT”***

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favour. After breaking many of the Roundhead horsemen, Prince Rupert could not prevent his cavalry from breaking away from the main battle in order to attack the Parliamentary baggage train. This repeat blunder, reminiscent of Edgehill, contributed to the Royalist defeat. However, what was more essential to the Parliamentary victory was Cromwell's disciplined command of his cavalry. Forbidden to leave the battlefield, instead the Ironsides smashed the Royalist centre before Rupert's cavalry returned and then remained on the

field to consolidate their position. When Rupert eventually rallied his troops to return to the battlefield, they refused to attack the Ironsides.

Naseby was a decisive triumph. Charles I's army was shattered and all its artillery and stores captured. The New Model Army's superiority was confirmed. Before Naseby, the Royalists had mockingly referred to parliament's reorganised army as 'The New Noddle'. Now they could no longer hope to win the war. Within a year, Charles surrendered and the First Civil War was won for parliament,

# WINNING TACTICS AT DUNBAR

A tired New Model Army triumphed against the odds with the help of daring leadership and some rousing singing

The Battle of Dunbar was arguably Cromwell's greatest victory. He had invaded Scotland with a veteran army of 15,000 men (10,000 foot and 5,000 horse) to pre-empt an invasion of England by Charles II. His army was supplied from the sea on the east coast of Scotland as the Scots had adopted a scorched-earth policy between Edinburgh and the border. By September 1650,

the fatigued New Model Army started to retire to their supply base at Dunbar. However, the Scots got there first and blocked their path, positioning themselves on Doon Hill overlooking the Berwick road – the only route back to England.

The Scots were also numerically superior, some 22,000 men, and fighting on home territory. With some of his men suffering from illness, Cromwell was outnumbered almost two to one and with battle now the only option, even he acknowledged that the situation had turned desperate: "We are upon an engagement very difficult... the enemy hath blocked up our way... through which we cannot get without almost a miracle."

To add to Cromwell's misery, the Scots were commanded by David Leslie, a highly experienced soldier. Leslie and Cromwell had fought together at Marston Moor where the former had played an important part in the Parliamentary victory. However, on 2 September, under pressure from the Scottish Kirk and parliament to attack, Leslie moved down from his commanding position on Doon Hill and towards Dunbar town to launch an attack on the English encampment. Cromwell immediately saw this mistake and decided to meet the challenge the next day, 3 September.

■ The Dunbar victory medal, showing Cromwell's bust, was given to Parliamentary soldiers that fought



## 2. REGROUP WITH A SONG

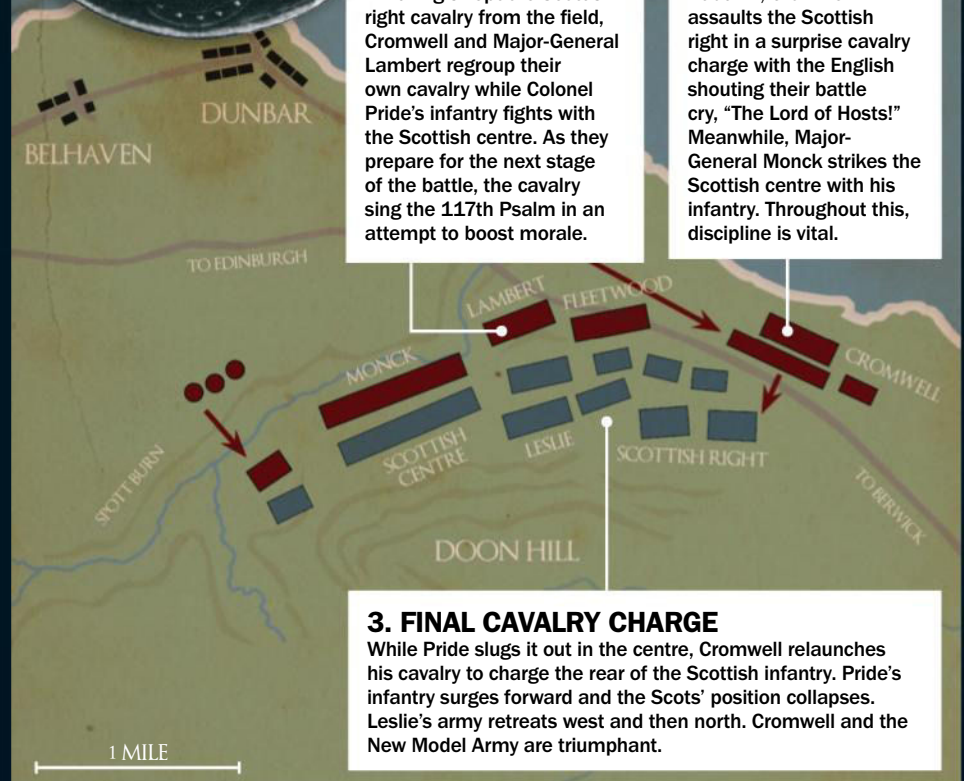
Having swept the Scottish right cavalry from the field, Cromwell and Major-General Lambert regroup their own cavalry while Colonel Pride's infantry fights with the Scottish centre. As they prepare for the next stage of the battle, the cavalry sing the 117th Psalm in an attempt to boost morale.

## 1. CROMWELL ATTACKS

At dawn, Cromwell assaults the Scottish right in a surprise cavalry charge with the English shouting their battle cry, "The Lord of Hosts!" Meanwhile, Major-General Monck strikes the Scottish centre with his infantry. Throughout this, discipline is vital.

## 3. FINAL CAVALRY CHARGE

While Pride slugs it out in the centre, Cromwell relaunches his cavalry to charge the rear of the Scottish infantry. Pride's infantry surges forward and the Scots' position collapses. Leslie's army retreats west and then north. Cromwell and the New Model Army are triumphant.



thanks largely to the strength and effectiveness of the New Model Army.

However, parliament's victory did not end the conflict. In a sense, the New Model Army won its spurs at Naseby, but it would face many more battles in the coming years, and it was these encounters that would confirm the New Model's reputation as the era's pre-eminent fighting force. After Charles I's surrender, there was an extended period where parliament, the army and the Scots struggled to reach an agreement on how to settle the kingdom. Although Charles was a prisoner, he was considered crucial to the proceedings. The king was unco-operative and secretly negotiated with the Scots to invade England on his behalf. This sparked another civil war and a Scottish army crossed the border in July 1648. After a month of skirmishes, Cromwell marched north to confront it. The two armies met outside Preston in mid-August.

Parliament's army had to fight a large Scottish force of nearly 20,000 men, commanded by the Duke of Hamilton. By contrast, Cromwell only had 9,000 troops, and of those just 6,500 were experienced



■ The Battle of Naseby was the first major test of the New Model Army and was a decisive victory in the First English Civil War





soldiers. Despite this, Cromwell's force was much more disciplined than the Scots, who additionally were spread out over 20 miles around Preston. This meant Hamilton couldn't communicate properly with his troops. The Scottish commander had placed his cavalry in the vanguard, while his infantry was left trailing behind traversing over boggy ground, which hampered their speed.

Cromwell saw these advantages, and on 17 August, attacked the infantry in the rear of Hamilton's army. However, the boggy ground also restricted the New Model's movement, particularly as it was reliant on the Ironsides for success. This left a brutal and bloody struggle for control of Preston, as Cromwell's troops clashed with the Scottish infantry.

At the end of the day, the fighting had cost the Scots 8,000 killed or captured. One action at the Ribble Bridge had seen hard fighting lasting more than two hours, but the battle was not yet won and it continued again the following day. Cromwell had to invest Preston with a strong garrison and guards for the large number of prisoners. He now only had 3,000 infantry and 2,500 cavalry to fight the remaining 10,000 Scottish troops. Luckily for the English, Hamilton was experiencing his own problems – his men were exhausted, lumbered with wet ammunition, and many of the hungriest had gone to Wigan to plunder food. This enabled Cromwell to continually harry the Scots as they fought a disorganised retreat. Despite making some determined stands at various passes and bridges, Hamilton's army could not withstand the disciplined onslaughts from the Ironsides, and eventually what was left of the troops offered their surrender.

Once again the New Model Army had flattened Royalist hopes of victory, and this time parliament no longer accommodated the king. He was put on trial for treason against his own people, found guilty and publicly beheaded in Whitehall on 30 January 1649. Cromwell was one of the signatories to his execution and England was declared a republican Commonwealth with the New Model Army acting as the enforcer of this new state. Fairfax resigned his army command in protest against the king's death and Cromwell became commander-in-chief of the army.

Many others were also outraged by Charles's execution, particularly the Royalists and the Scots who had not been consulted about their monarch's fate. This anger found an outlet in Ireland, where English Royalists formed an alliance with Irish Catholic Confederates and Ulster Scots against the Commonwealth. So, in March 1649, parliament commissioned Cromwell to invade Ireland with the New Model Army. Leaving nothing to chance, he made sure the men, including some 12,000 veterans, were fully paid and equipped before setting sail. His Irish campaign would be of a different nature to the ones that came before and after. Instead of decisive battles, the army would engage in a series of sieges that would whittle down Irish resistance.

For Cromwell, it would be a militarily brilliant campaign, but also one marred by controversy. His tactics centred around massive artillery bombardments of fortified towns and speedy marches to surprise neighbouring garrisons. To

*“DESPITE THE SEEMINGLY  
UNSTOPPABLE FORCE OF THE NEW  
MODEL ARMY IN IRELAND, IT WAS ALSO  
THE ONLY PLACE WHERE IT SUFFERED A  
SERIOUS BEATING”*

save time and men, he would issue generous surrender terms, but if the garrison refused to comply, he used shock tactics to persuade others that capitulation was the best option against the advancing force.

The most notorious of these incidents occurred at the Sieges of Drogheda and Wexford, though militarily both these were notable successes for Cromwell. At Drogheda, artillery was used to concentrate firepower into the breaches and Cromwell personally rallied his troops by leading them into the fray. Parliamentarian casualties were low, numbering about 150 men. Similarly at Wexford, Cromwell skilfully manoeuvred around the port and approached it from the

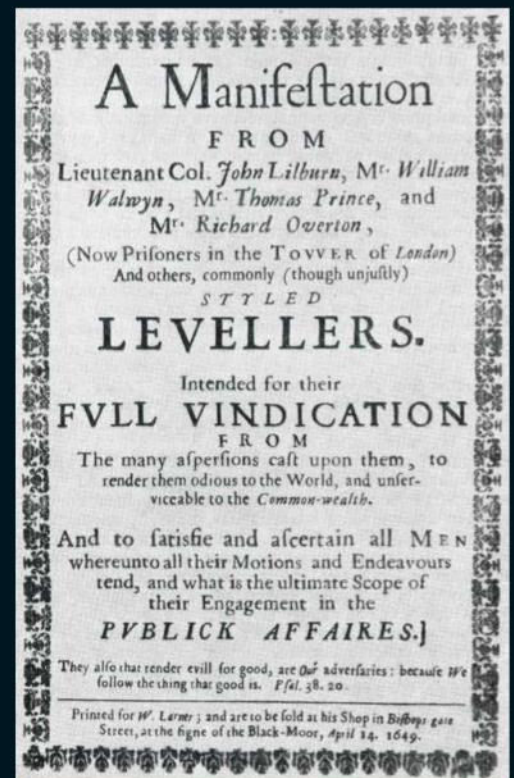
south. This took the garrison by surprise as they were expecting the army to approach from the north. The town was quickly taken and the army captured ships, artillery, ammunition and tons of supplies. Once again losses were very low with casualties of 20-30 men.

What tarnished these successes were the massacres of enemy soldiers and civilians. During the storming of Drogheda, about 3-4,000 soldiers and civilians were killed, many of them in cold blood. Likewise at Wexford a similar number of Irish soldiers and civilians were dispatched. In both sieges, the massacres occurred when New Model troops went on a frenzied rampage after the towns

## REVOLUTIONARY ARMS

**The New Model was a hive of political dissent, calling for democratic rights 150 years before the French Revolution**

The meritocratic nature of the army encouraged grassroots political activity that was unprecedented and strikingly forward thinking. Common soldiers known as 'Agitators' were elected in 1647 to demand unpaid wages from parliament, but when this was refused, they arrested the imprisoned Charles I to use him as a bargaining tool against the army 'Grandeess' such as Cromwell. By this time, Agitators were co-operating with Levellers – who believed in an extended franchise, individual rights enshrined in a written constitution and a government answerable to the people, not the king. Cromwell agreed to discuss the issues at the Putney Debates in October 1647, where many soldiers passionately argued for universal democratic rights. Colonel Rainsborough famously declared: "I think that the poorest he that is in England hath a life to live, as the greatest he. I think it's clear that every man that is to live under a government ought first by his own consent to put himself under that government." The Grandeess rejected many of these demands, which fuelled further discontent. In 1649, Leveller mutinies broke out in the army and were brutally crushed. The radical ideas that were espoused by the army rebels were never forgotten and heavily influenced later revolutions.



■ A Leveller manifesto published in 1649. John Lilburne was an Ironside veteran of Marston Moor

were stormed. In 17th-century Europe atrocities such as this were tragically common.

However horrific the massacres were, they did serve a purpose. Many Irish towns subsequently surrendered to Cromwell out of fear, not just of the New Model's military prowess but also to prevent further loss of life. This saved Cromwell time and supplies in conducting drawn-out sieges. He also showed strategic foresight over the following winter in 1649-50. The season was unusually mild and the army used this to procure supplies of fodder for its horses and draught animals. This allowed Cromwell to renew operations at the end of January 1650, rather than having to wait for the spring.

Despite the seemingly unstoppable force of the New Model Army in Ireland, it was also the only place where it suffered a serious beating. At the Siege of Clonmel in May 1650, Cromwell attempted his usual tactic of storming the town after an artillery bombardment. However, unknown to the army, the breach was internally surrounded with an enclosed area that was filled with Irish cannon and musketeers. Two assaults by New Model troops ended in disaster. On both occasions, the English became trapped and eventually an estimated 1,500-2,500 soldiers were killed. This was the New Model's first major setback and its greatest loss of life sustained in a single action. Nonetheless, the Irish had also suffered

and abandoned the town having lost several hundred men.

Cromwell left Ireland soon afterwards but his remaining troops carried on the systematic conquest of the country, with the whole island eventually being subjugated.

After many negotiations, Charles II sailed to Scotland and was proclaimed king. This presented a genuine threat to the Commonwealth and Cromwell subsequently invaded Scotland to prevent a Scottish invasion into England. After the miraculous New Model victory at Dunbar in September 1650, the Royalist cause looked lost. Nonetheless, Charles II was crowned king of Scots on 1 January 1651, and later in the year he led a



■ Charles II was forced to flee after defeat at the Battle of Worcester

# THE COLDSTREAM GUARDS

Despite being one of the most prestigious regiments that protect the royal family, the Coldstream Guards are ironically revolutionary in origin

When Oliver Cromwell died in 1658, he was succeeded by his ineffectual son, Richard. This created a power vacuum, with some in the army wanting to restore parliamentary power and others seeking to restore the monarchy. The commander of the army in Scotland, George Monck, wished to preserve the stability of England and so marched his force across the Anglo-Scottish border at the Coldstream River and occupied London in February 1660. Monck then entered into secret negotiations with Charles II while parliament was re-elected. The new assembly was overwhelmingly pro-Royalist and Charles was restored in May 1660. The New Model Army was ordered to disband in conjunction with the Indemnity and Oblivion Act, which sought to reverse the effects of the Civil Wars, and the king's new army would be created from scratch.



Monck's regiment was allowed to be the last New Model outfit to disband, however, in January 1661, it was required to suppress an insurrection in London and the order for disbandment was repealed. On 14 February 1661, the regiment took part in a symbolic ceremony. On Tower Hill, the soldiers publicly put down their weapons as a unit of the New Model Army, before immediately being ordered to pick them up again as soldiers of Charles II's army. For a regiment that was created by Oliver Cromwell in 1650, this was quite a shift in identity. From 1670, the unit became known as the Coldstream Regiment of Foot Guards, in honour of the march that restored the monarchy. Today, the Coldstream Guards is the oldest regiment with continuous service in the British army and, along with the Blues and Royals, is the only unit that can directly trace its lineage to the New Model Army.

**“THE COLDSTREAM GUARDS IS THE OLDEST REGIMENT WITH CONTINUOUS SERVICE IN THE BRITISH ARMY”**

■ The Coldstream Guards were originally formed in 1650 by Oliver Cromwell to defend the Republican Commonwealth of England

last-ditch invasion of England to regain his throne. This was against the advice of David Leslie, the defeated commander at Dunbar. In August 1651, 14,000 Scottish troops crossed the border. Cromwell, who was still reducing Scotland, followed Charles and collected reinforcements as he headed south. The New Model Army caught up with the invading army at Worcester on 3 September. By this time, Cromwell's force numbered 28,000 regular troops and 3,000 militiamen. This was the first occasion when the New Model Army had overwhelming numerical superiority and Cromwell's confidence was at its peak.

The Battle of Worcester took place in a wide area around the city. Cromwell attempted to encircle Worcester in order to force Charles into a defensive position within its walls. However, to the south and south west of Worcester, the Rivers Severn and Teme blocked the army's advance. These would need to be crossed in order to carry out the battle plan, so Cromwell began the fight by personally leading three brigades to attack the pontoon bridge on the River Teme. Once the north bank had been

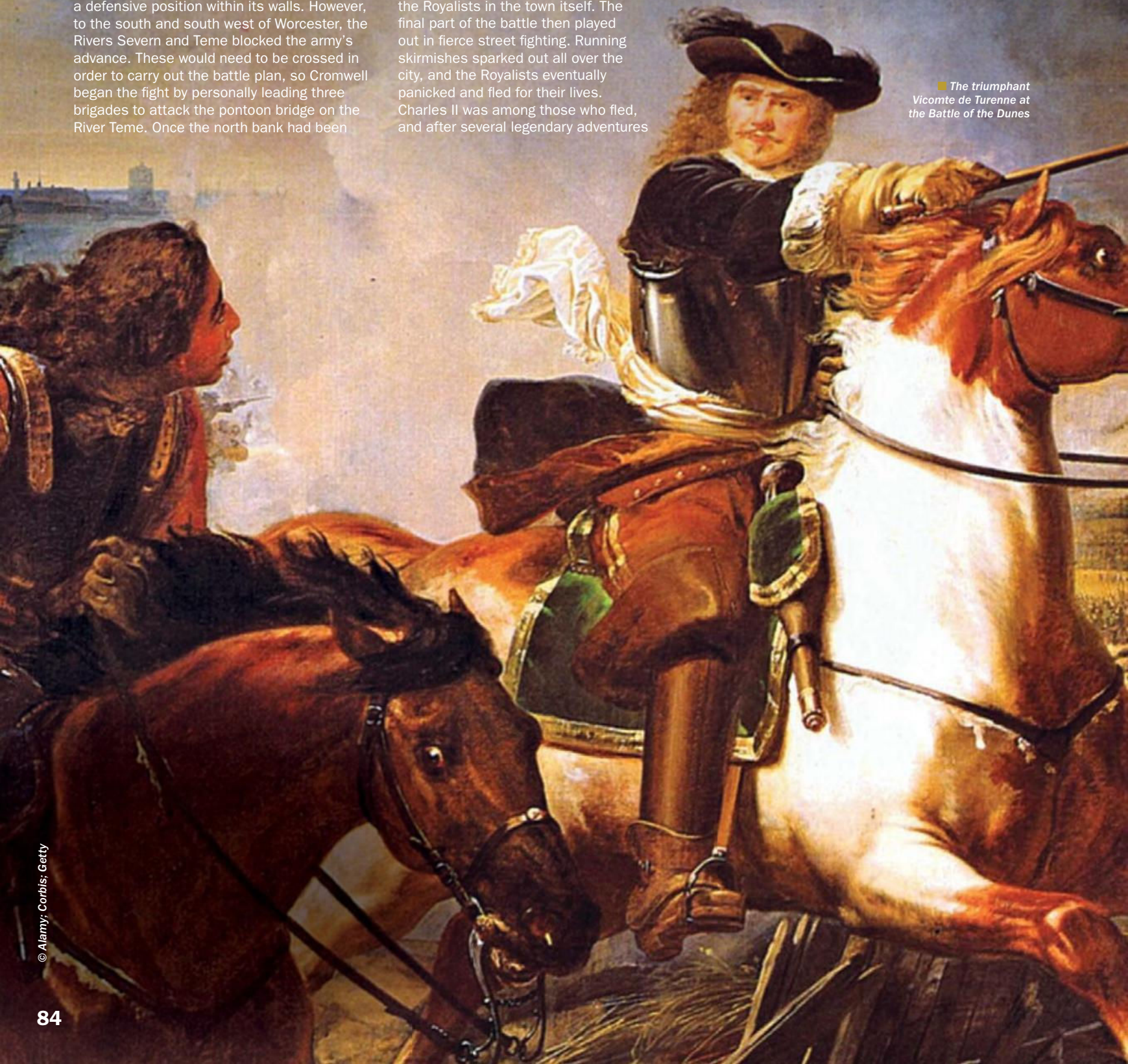
taken, the Scots collapsed back towards Worcester itself. While Cromwell was crossing the rivers, the east flank of his army was threatened when Charles II rallied his troops to sally out of the town and assault the New Model infantry. This surprise attack was initially successful and there was a moment when the entire east wing of the army almost collapsed. However, Cromwell came charging back from his position on the River Severn to bolster his troops. The return of his brigades turned the tide of the battle and the Royalists were thrown back into Worcester.

At this point, parliament's Essex militia stormed and captured Fort Royal, which was a defensive entrance into the city. Once the guns inside were taken, they were turned on the Royalists in the town itself. The final part of the battle then played out in fierce street fighting. Running skirmishes sparked out all over the city, and the Royalists eventually panicked and fled for their lives. Charles II was among those who fled, and after several legendary adventures

while hiding from the enemy, he eventually escaped to the continent.

The vast majority who followed him were not so lucky – 3,000 Scots were killed at Worcester and another 10,000 taken prisoner, most of who were transported to the colonies as indentured slaves. For the New Model Army, the Battle of Worcester was a triumph, as well as the last major battle of the Civil Wars. The Parliamentarians had only lost 200 men on the field, which had seen among the first skirmishes of the Civil Wars back in 1642. Cromwell described Worcester as a "crowning mercy" and it was to be his final battle as an active commander. Nevertheless, the New Model would continue as the backbone of the Commonwealth throughout the 1650s, achieving a last hurrah in

■ *The triumphant  
Vicomte de Turenne at  
the Battle of the Dunes*



the dying days of Cromwell's Protectorate, at the Battle of the Dunes.

Taking place on 14 June 1658, the Battle of the Dunes earned a victory for the combined Anglo-French army commanded by the Vicomte de Turenne against the Spanish. Cromwell had agreed to form an alliance with the French to put pressure on the exiled Charles II and acquire the Channel port of Dunkirk by diplomatic means. France was at war with Spain and Dunkirk itself was part of the Spanish Netherlands, which meant it would need to be taken by force. Turenne besieged Dunkirk with 15,000 troops, of which 3-4,000 were red-coated soldiers of the New Model Army. A Spanish force of 15,000 men was

sent to relieve the town, about 2,000 of which were English Royalists led by the Duke of York, the future James II. The battle was a miniature replay of the Civil Wars re-created on a European stage.

The battle played out on coastal sand dunes that lay north east of Dunkirk. Turenne took the initiative and attacked the Spanish entrenched in strong defensive positions among the dunes. English Major-General Thomas Morgan and Sir William Lockhart commanded the New Model contingent – it was Lockhart's Regiment of Foot that particularly distinguished itself. They astonished both the French and Spanish with the ferocity of their assaults against enemy positions. In particular, Lockhart's regiment

launched a dramatic attack on a Spanish-held sand hill that was 150 feet high. The speed of the English attack took the hardened Spanish veterans defending the hill by surprise, and after a tough fight, the French came to support the English and the Spanish were driven away. Soon afterwards, the battle was decisively won for the Anglo-French army.

Dunkirk fell and was gifted to the English, but more importantly for the Protectorate, it also prevented the restoration of Charles II for another two years. The Battle of the Dunes demonstrated to the European powers that the New Model was one of the best fighting forces on the continent – one that would make England a power to be feared and respected.

***“THEY ASTONISHED BOTH THE FRENCH AND SPANISH WITH THE FEROCITY OF THEIR ASSAULTS AGAINST ENEMY POSITIONS”***

# BATTLE OF NASEBY

Parliament's New Model Army wins the day during the decisive encounter of the British Civil Wars



Though Englishman continued to fight Englishman in the field and at siege throughout the course of the year, by mid-summer 1645 the outcome of the civil war was no longer in any real

doubt. The Royalists and Parliamentarians met in battle on Saturday 14 June at Naseby parish in Northamptonshire and it was here that the decisive blow was struck.

The Roundhead victory was precipitated by a move to reform its martial structure, which gathered pace early in the year following the removal of MPs from their military commands and their replacement with experienced, dedicated soldiers. The Self-denying Ordinance, as it was known, carried the notable exception of Oliver Cromwell, who had proved his own martial excellence at Marston Moor during the previous year and was permitted to retain his seat in the Commons while also taking the position of lieutenant general within the new structure.

The new system saw Parliament merge several existing armies into one centrally controlled unit consisting of ten regiments of cavalry, 12 of infantry and a regiment of dragoons. This new force, numbering more than 20,000 men, came to be known as the New Model Army.

It was placed under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax and by the end of April it was ready to start what Parliament hoped would prove a conclusive campaign. During May, the New Model was ordered to besiege King Charles's capital city of Oxford, and though Fairfax lacked the manpower and firepower to take the city outright, the move allowed the New Model's scattered regiments to unite into one army and would, Parliament hoped, lure the king into battle as he moved to Oxford's relief.

At this time, the king was campaigning in Cheshire with his experienced Oxford Army and he responded to the siege of his capital by moving south, sacking the Parliamentarian stronghold of Leicester. Though this caused uproar in London, Parliament's strategy had worked – the king had moved south. Fairfax lifted the siege of Oxford and marched northwards in a bid to bring the king to battle. Scattered skirmishes on 12 and 13 June notified the king of Fairfax's close proximity and Charles, ignoring advice to move north, turned to offer battle with his numerically inferior, though battle-hardened, force.

After scouting the countryside and jockeying for position, the armies deployed during the morning of 14 June on an elevated plateau crisscrossed by small hills and vales; much of the area was unenclosed and therefore ideal for a showdown. The Roundheads formed up





■ This painting depicts the moment when the Earl of Carnwath discourages the king from committing his reserve to the fray

■ Both armies' cavalry forces met upon the wings before Cromwell launched his men against the Royalist infantry

***"IRETON THEN HAD HIS HORSE SHOT FROM BENEATH HIM AND SUFFERED A PIKE WOUND TO THE TORSO AND A HALBERD SLASH TO HIS FACE, BEFORE BEING CAPTURED BY ROYALIST TROOPS"***





north of Naseby village atop Mill Hill and upon its northern slope, while the Royalists deployed about a mile further north on the south-facing slope of Dust Hill. A shallow valley called Broad Moor ran between the two positions with a parish boundary, known as Sulby Hedge, running along the battlefield's western rim.

## THE BATTLE BEGINS

The armies formed in conventional array, with the infantry placed centrally and the cavalry massing on the wings. Major-General Lord Astley commanded the Royalist infantry in the centre, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale took command of the cavalry on the army's left. The cavalry on the right were placed under Prince Maurice, though his elder brother and military superior the young gallant Prince Rupert moved with him, positioning squads of musketeers among his cavalry units.

The Parliamentary infantry, meanwhile, came under the control of Major-General Skippon, while Commissary-General Ireton commanded the cavalry on the Roundhead left, and Cromwell's formidable troop of horsemen took the right. A 'forlorn hope' of 300 musketeers stood in front of the army to counter any early Royalist movements, though they were ordered to withdraw if placed in peril. How they fared in the battle remains unknown. The reserves and the baggage trains took their positions in the rear of each army.

The opening move came on the Parliamentary left at the battlefield's western edge, where the New Model's regiment of dragoons (musket-armed horsemen) under the leadership of Colonel John Okey scurried forward to take advanced positions along Sulby Hedge so that they could fire into the flanks of the cavalry stationed on the Royalist right. Not long afterwards, at about 10am, the Royalist army began its advance, perhaps nudged into action by Okey's dragoons firing into their flank.

While suffering casualties from the heavy musket fire, Rupert and Maurice's cavalry charged uphill to meet Ireton's on the Parliamentary left. Here, the Royalist charge proved a success in part, with the extreme left of Ireton's force buckling under the onslaught and losing several of their guns. Their leader, Colonel John Butler, also suffered serious wounds. The dragoons, however, continued to pepper the Royalist cavalry and Okey wrote: "Had not we by God's providence been there, there had been but few of Colonel Butler's regiment left."

On the battlefield's western lip, the Parliamentarians managed to contain the Royalist charge, though Ireton then made a critical error. Believing that his men had fully stemmed the Royalist surge, he switched his attention to the infantry battle unfolding on his right, in the

## OPPOSING FORCES

### ROYALIST LEADERS

- King Charles I, Prince Rupert, Prince Maurice, Sir Langdale, Lord Astley

### INFANTRY

- 6,000

### CAVALRY

- 5,500

### GAME CHANGERS

- Rupert's cavalier horsemen had many experienced warriors among its ranks

### PARLIAMENTARIAN LEADERS

- Sir Thomas Fairfax, Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, Philip Skippon

### INFANTRY

- 7,000

### CAVALRY

- 8,000, including a regiment of dragoons

### GAME CHANGERS

- Cromwell's mounted 'Ironsides' were well-disciplined and vigorous horsemen

■ Sources differ wildly on the numbers involved and even modern historians disagree. The figures cited are research-based estimates.

centre of the two armies, leading his own unit of cavalry to the relief of Skippon's infantry, which was being hard pressed by the Royalist infantry advance.

Ireton then had his horse shot from beneath him and suffered a pike wound to the torso and a halberd slash to his face, before being captured by Royalist troops. He was able to escape, but Rupert and Maurice had by then broken through the Parliamentary left wing, much of which began to retreat from the battlefield. The Royalist cavalry then continued forward, pursuing Ireton's fleeing men and charging on to attack the battle train at the Roundhead rear. It is thought by some that part of the Royalist cavalry looked to attack the New Model infantry but, finding the throng so impenetrable, moved on. As at the Battle of Edgehill, the first major engagement in the civil war, vital Royalist cavalry units left the main battlefield at a crucial moment.

## THE ROYALIST SUCCESS

At the outset, the Royalist infantry fared well, with Astley's three infantry brigades engaging Skippon's eight regiments and each side exchanging just a single volley of fire before coming together with pikes and firearms, which they wielded as clubs. Though the Parliamentary infantry outnumbered the Royalists, the latter were more experienced and had surprised Skippon's men

with the speed of their assault. Furthermore, the Roundhead guns and muskets had mostly fired too high from their elevated position on the slopes of Mill Hill, and had therefore failed to check the progress of the Royalist surge.

During the charge, Skippon took a musket ball in the chest, "shot through the right side under the ribs, through armour and coat, but not mortal," according to one account. With no second-in-command to relay his orders, the New Model infantry suffered confusion and a diminishing morale. The Royalists, wasting no time upon seeing this, pressed home their advantage. Parliament's army began to waiver, with a section of the front line dissolving and falling back, some parts in chaos. At this stage, the Royalists looked set for a possible victory.

It was now that the New Model's commander-in-chief, General Fairfax, justified his position. Observing that Skippon's infantry units were faltering, he committed to the fray three regiments from his reserve, and at the same time the second line of Parliamentary infantry seemed to stabilise its position. The numerically inferior Royalists had failed to make the breakthrough and now fought within a wedge jammed into their enemy's front.

On the Royalist left, meanwhile, Langdale's Northern Horse had earlier moved to engage Cromwell's cavalry on the Parliamentary right. Charging uphill with their ranks broken by thick gorse and a sprawling set of rabbit warrens, the Royalist cavalry were here at a disadvantage and Cromwell unleashed the left wing of his Ironsides upon them.

### POT HELMET

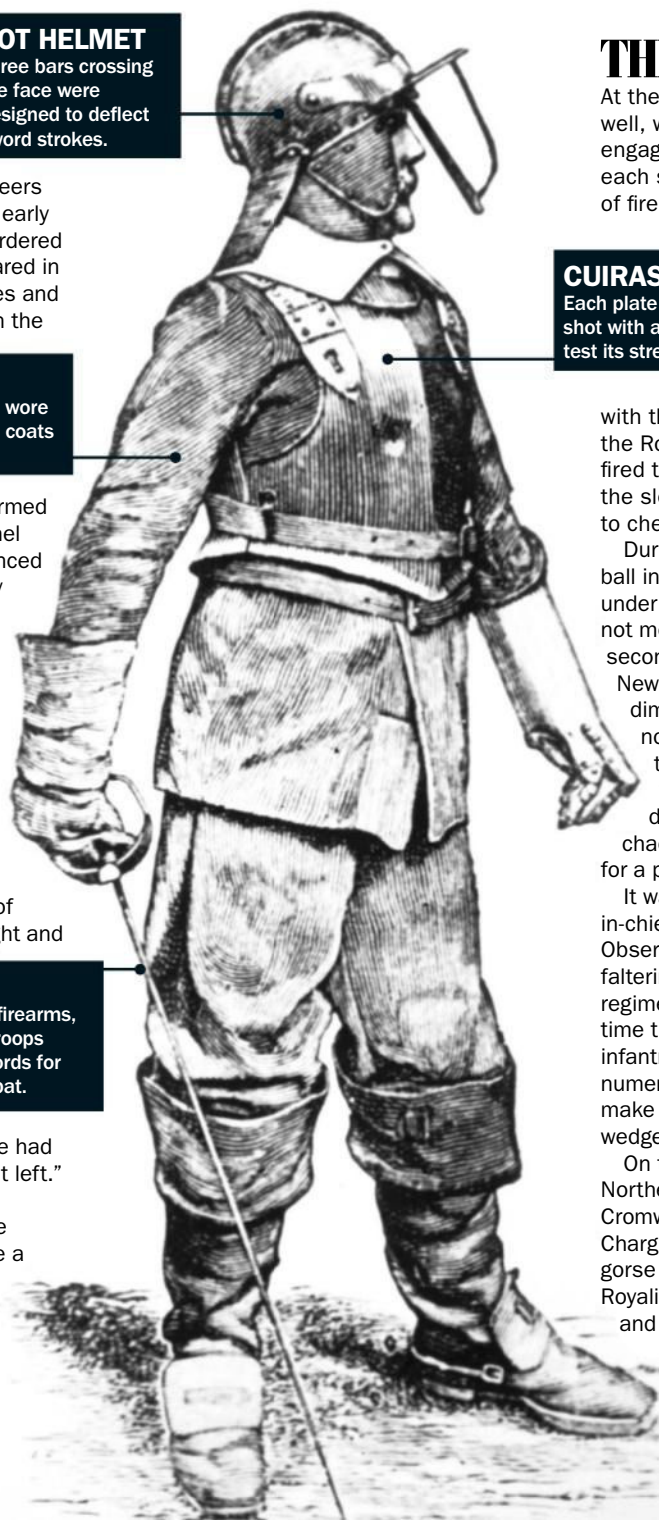
Three bars crossing the face were designed to deflect sword strokes.

### COAT

Troopers often wore simple woolen coats under armour.

### SABRE

As well as firearms, mounted troops carried swords for close combat.



### CUIRASS

Each plate would be shot with a pistol, to test its strength.

The battle was fierce and the two sides fought in a constrained space, flanked by the warrens and gorse, which hampered easy movement. Cromwell's men here gained the upper hand and pushed back the Northern Horse, who turned and retired, seeking the help of one of the Royalist reserve units, Prince Rupert's infantry regiment, the Bluecoats. One of the Royalists' own accounts claimed that the Northern Horse was "routed without any handsome dispute."

## THE TIDE TURNS

The confined space in this area of the battlefield continued to play to Cromwell's advantage, preventing the right wing of his cavalry from charging off after the retiring cavaliers. This allowed Cromwell to hold much of his force in check and to then wheel them round and launch an assault on the left flank of the Royalist infantry, while the remainder pursued the remnants of Langdale's fleeing cavalry. As at Marston Moor, Cromwell brought his cavalry to bear against Royalist infantry and helped win the day.

Back in the centre, the infantry battle raged on. The ferocity of the Royalist assault had been checked and the tide began to turn with Astley's men feeling the pressure of the enemy's greater numbers. As the Royalist front line began to gradually disintegrate, Astley's second line regrouped on Broad Moor to stand against the New Model infantry.

Also regrouping, the New Model Army was now boosted by their reserve units, as well as by the survivors from Ireton's left-hand wing, including Okey's dragoons, who had charged the right of the Royalist infantry, flanking them entirely. At this stage, it seemed the die-hard Bluecoats had also entered the melee from the Royalist reserve.

It is thought that Fairfax had been on the move throughout the combat, fighting with Cromwell's men against the Northern Horse, "in which the General charged valiantly and lost his headpiece," and then "charged bareheaded within push of pike," according to one witness. He encouraged his Lifeguard to assault an unbroken body of Royalist infantry, most likely the Bluecoats, who received glowing tributes even from Parliamentary sources, such was their courage and vigour. And yet the New Model Army's superior numbers began to tell, and the Royalist infantry were suffering battle fatigue. Troops started to surrender, encouraged by the promise of clemency, and they were soon dropping their arms in droves.

■ A 17th-century dragoons helmet



# BATTLE OF NASEBY

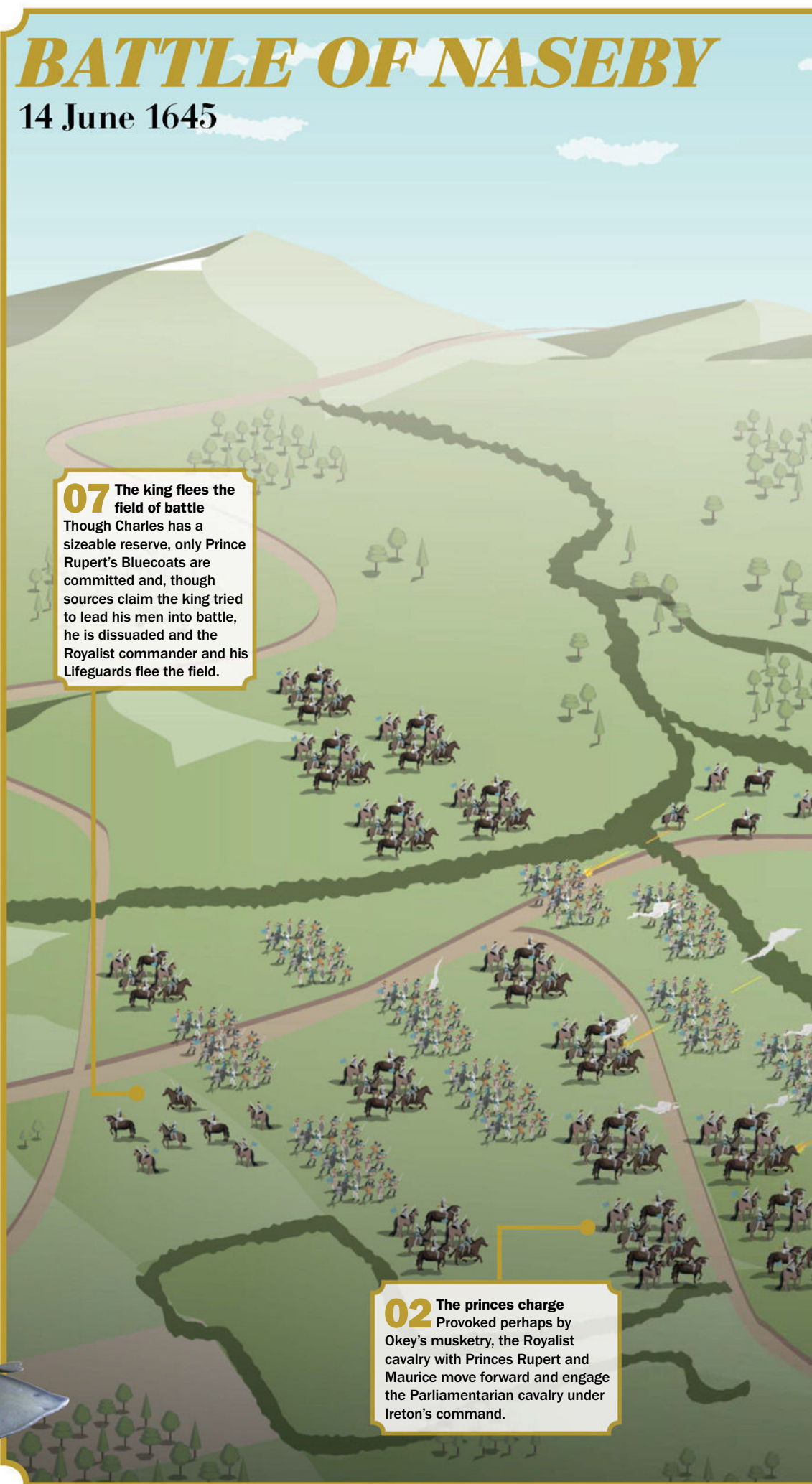
14 June 1645

### 07 The king flees the field of battle

Though Charles has a sizeable reserve, only Prince Rupert's Bluecoats are committed and, though sources claim the king tried to lead his men into battle, he is dissuaded and the Royalist commander and his Lifeguards flee the field.

### 02 The princes charge

Provoked perhaps by Okey's musketry, the Royalist cavalry with Princes Rupert and Maurice move forward and engage the Parliamentary cavalry under Ireton's command.



**05 Rupert's cavaliers charge the baggage train**

Having broken through Ireton's cavalry but unable to move freely against the Roundhead infantry, the Royalist cavalry leaves the main battle to attack the baggage train, where they meet stiff resistance.

**06 The tide turns**

The Parliamentarian reserves bolster their flagging centre and begin to push the tiring Royalist infantry back. They're supported by Cromwell's cavalry, which engages the Royalist left, and by the survivors of Ireton's troops, who assail the Royalist right.

**03 The infantry engage**

At about 11am, the Royalist infantry moves against the New Model infantry and enjoys some early success, the terrain concentrating their assault against the Parliamentarian centre.

**01 The hostilities commence**

At about 9.30am, Cromwell orders Colonel Okey to move his men up behind Sulby Hedges, the dragoons dismount and fire their muskets into the flank of the Royalist horse.

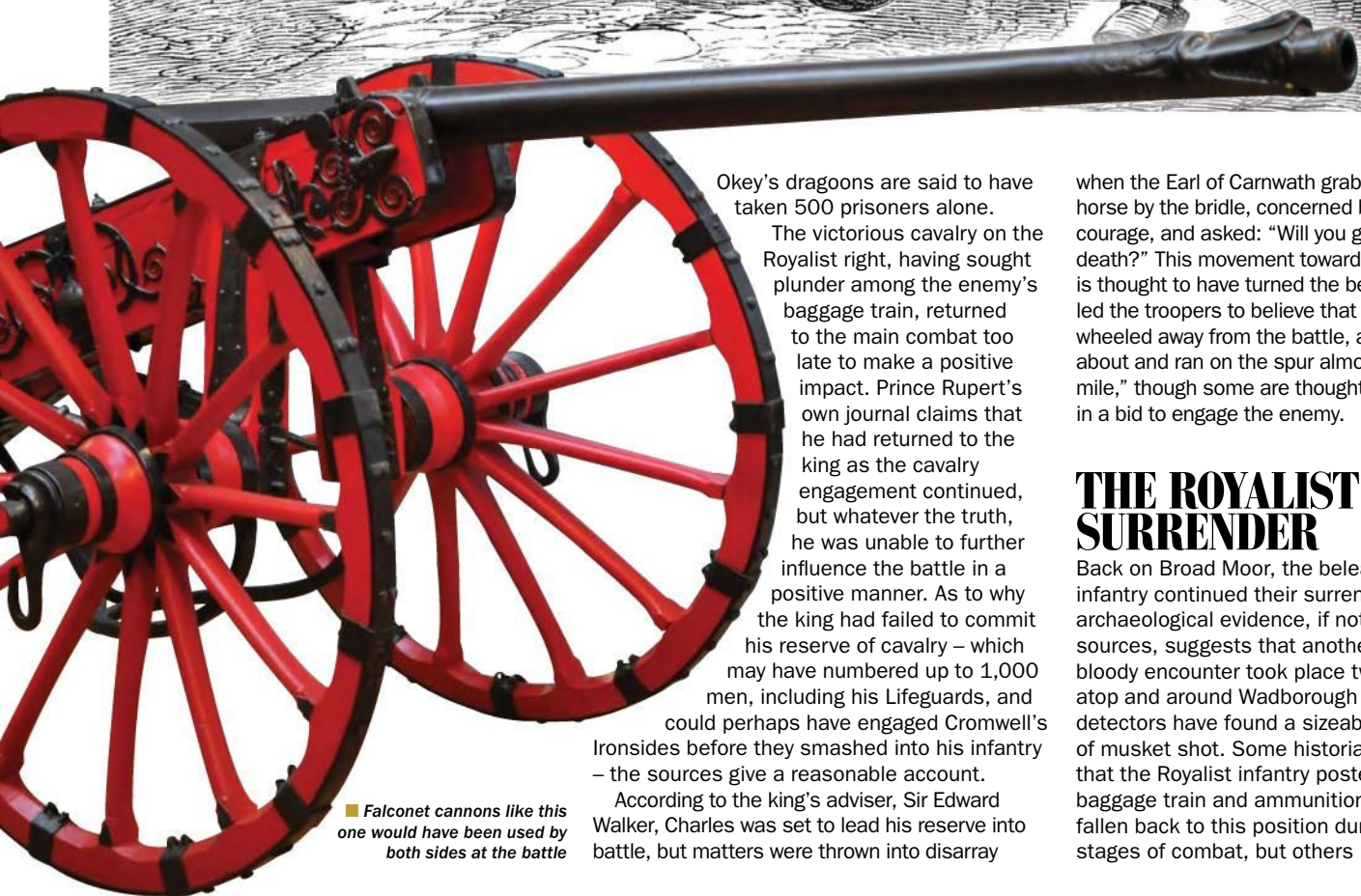
**04 Northern Horse vs Ironsides**

Possibly before the infantry engaged, Langdale's Royalist cavalry moves against Cromwell's, but by about 11.30am the left of the Parliamentarian front line forces them back. This frees up Cromwell to move against the left flank of the Royalist infantry.





■ King Charles and his Lifeguards fled the field once his infantry units began their surrender



■ Falconet cannons like this one would have been used by both sides at the battle

Okey's dragoons are said to have taken 500 prisoners alone.

The victorious cavalry on the Royalist right, having sought plunder among the enemy's baggage train, returned to the main combat too late to make a positive impact. Prince Rupert's own journal claims that he had returned to the king as the cavalry engagement continued, but whatever the truth, he was unable to further influence the battle in a positive manner. As to why the king had failed to commit his reserve of cavalry – which may have numbered up to 1,000 men, including his Lifeguards, and could perhaps have engaged Cromwell's Ironsides before they smashed into his infantry – the sources give a reasonable account.

According to the king's adviser, Sir Edward Walker, Charles was set to lead his reserve into battle, but matters were thrown into disarray

when the Earl of Carnwath grabbed the king's horse by the bridle, concerned by such reckless courage, and asked: "Will you go upon your death?" This movement towards the king's horse is thought to have turned the beast around, which led the troopers to believe that they were being wheeled away from the battle, and they "turned about and ran on the spur almost quarter of a mile," though some are thought to have returned in a bid to engage the enemy.

## THE ROYALIST SURRENDER

Back on Broad Moor, the beleaguered Royalist infantry continued their surrender, though the archaeological evidence, if not the written sources, suggests that another large-scale and bloody encounter took place two miles north, atop and around Wadborough Hill, where metal detectors have found a sizeable concentration of musket shot. Some historians have argued that the Royalist infantry posted to guard the baggage train and ammunition might have fallen back to this position during the closing stages of combat, but others point out that



■ The battle site at Naseby is marked by small hills and vales and was largely unenclosed at the time



■ This painting by Charles Landseer depicts Cromwell reading a letter found in Charles's cabinet after the battle

the vast concentration of metallic objects suggests a fray involving far greater numbers.

Whatever the case, the Royalist forces were now on the run and their baggage train and camp followers were left exposed. The Parliamentarian troops set about slaying or mutilating a number of women, which included soldiers' wives as well as prostitutes. "The Irish women that Prince Rupert brought upon the field," wrote Fairfax's secretary, "our soldiers would grant no quarter to, about 100 slain of them, and most of the rest of the whores that attended that wicked army are marked in the face or nose, with a slash or cut." It has been pointed out that many of the 'Irish' women were most likely Welsh. It was with this murderous conclusion that the New Model Army claimed its greatest victory, and took the field at Naseby.

Though the camp followers were treated horribly, the Royalist army itself suffered quite lightly, with relatively few fatalities on the battlefield. The battle was over not long past noon, and the Parliamentarian commissioners in attendance with the New Model Army reported that about 600 Royalists perished that day and 200 Roundheads, though

modern estimates put the Royalist loss somewhere in the vicinity of 1,000.

## THE AFTERMATH

Somewhere in the region of 5,000 Royalist prisoners were taken, maybe more, mostly from the infantry units. This was an almighty blow to the king's cause, as was the loss of arms and, vitally, ammunition. The manufacture of gunpowder required saltpetre and sulphur, both of which were mostly imported from overseas, and the Roundheads controlled the majority of important port towns along England's eastern seaboard. Charles also lost a cabinet containing his personal correspondence, including letters communicating with supporters on the continent. Though he made light of the loss, the wily Parliamentarians employed the letters for propaganda, publishing their content in a bid to showcase the king's Catholic sympathies to the public.

The king retained some troops, and had a number of smaller armies and garrisons scattered across the British Isles, while a pro-Royalist army held the upper hand in

Scotland. He hoped for further support from across the Irish Sea, yet nothing came of the negotiations with the Irish and his supporters north of the border were soon heavily defeated in September.

In England, the king found recruitment difficult in the aftermath of Naseby. The New Model Army mopped up pockets of resistance, and Oxford and Bristol fell. In May of the following year, the king surrendered to the Scots, who handed him over to Parliament. He briefly escaped, but was swiftly recaptured and sent to London to be tried as "a tyrant, traitor, murderer and public enemy to the commonwealth of England."

Though the execution of a monarch appalled many of Parliament's supporters, the king was eventually sentenced to death. The conflict between Parliament and the crown had escalated into war when the King raised his standard at Nottingham, followed shortly with the battle at Edgehill in October 1642. In January 1649, on a scaffold outside Whitehall, Charles I lost his head to the executioner's axe. The Commonwealth of England was declared and Parliament's victory was complete.

Artefact Of War

# CIVIL WAR BREASTPLATE

This piece of armour from 1643 is a poignant relic of the deadly cost of the British Civil Wars

■ Armoured breastplates were a common piece of equipment for soldiers of the British Civil Wars but they were of limited use against musketry and artillery



It is very rare to link a 17th-century military artefact to an ordinary soldier, but this piece of armour is a remarkable survival from the British Civil Wars. In 1643 the war between King Charles I and the English Parliament was in a state of flux and neither side could gain a decisive

advantage. Consequently, English towns could change hands several times, such as Gainsborough in Lincolnshire. It was during the siege of this town that a soldier called John Hussey was shot.

Hussey was a native of Lincolnshire, from Doddington Hall, and a cavalry officer fighting for the king. He was defending Gainsborough from a parliamentarian army that included Oliver Cromwell among its ranks. A Parliamentarian musket ball killed him on 27 July 1643, when it penetrated the upper rim of his steel breastplate and entered the right part of his chest. The wound carried fragments of metal, leather and cloth, which tore into his right lung. The exact angle of the shot is unclear, but it may have been from above, while the attacker was on horseback. Death would have occurred from bleeding, heart failure and suffocation within 24 hours. The bullet hole is a sad indicator that the age of gunpowder was rendering personal armour obsolete.

Hussey was one victim among countless others during the British Civil Wars but unlike most, his armour was preserved by his family at Doddington Hall. There is even a surviving portrait of him that helps to put a human face to the savage conflict that tore Britain apart.

■ The complete uniform of John Hussey is on display at the National Civil War Centre in Newark, which is open daily from 10am-5pm. For more information visit: [www.nationalcivilwarcentre.com](http://www.nationalcivilwarcentre.com)

■ A portrait of John Hussey. Like many other members of the English gentry, Hussey fought and died for King Charles I



# STATE OF PLAY: 1645

*The New Model Army's decisive triumph at the Battle of Naseby cemented its military primacy. While small pockets of Royalist resistance still held out, it was now just a matter of time before Parliament achieved total victory.*



**ROYALISTS**

**PARLIAMENT**



# CHARLES I: OUR KING, THE TRAITOR

After years of ruinous war, the king was made to pay the ultimate price

**O**n the morning of 30 January 1649, a bitter, biting wind tore through the streets of London, enough to send men and women to seek solace in the sheltered corners of the city. Despite the frost, people

swarmed expectantly to a makeshift scaffold outside the Banqueting House at the Palace of Whitehall. It wasn't every day the king was to be executed, after all.

Guided onto the stage set for his death, Charles I faced out towards the city, separated from spectators by a swarm of soldiers. Anticipating the chill, Charles was wearing two heavy shirts to buffer his shakes so his people wouldn't mistake his shivering for fright.

Charles opened his mouth, ready to deliver his last speech, but the words were whipped from his mouth by the wind. Instead, the king turned to the men surrounding him on the scaffold: "I shall be very little heard of anybody here, I shall therefore speak a word unto you here," he began. "Indeed I could hold my peace very well, if I did not think that holding my peace would make some men think that I did submit to the guilt as well as to the punishment. But I think it is my duty to God first and to my country for to clear myself both as an honest man and a good king, and a good Christian." For the first and only time, Charles defended his position, a futile attempt to clear his name and defend his innocence. As his speech drew to a close, he stated simply, "I have delivered my conscience. I pray God, that you do take those courses that are best for the good of the kingdom and your own salvations."

He turned and muttered to his masked executioner, then dropped to his knees. Silently, the king prayed before leaning forwards and laying his neck on the block. For a moment, nothing happened. He then stretched his arms forward. It was the sign his executioner had been waiting for – Charles I was ready to meet his end.





■ Sir Anthony van Dyck's famous portrait of Charles I shows the king from three viewpoints



The axe dropped. A soft groan grew and reverberated through the crowds. Men, women and children slowly pushed forwards, handkerchiefs in hand, ready to soak up the blood of England's executed king. In silence, the executioner grabbed the decapitated, bloody head by its matted hair and brandished the lifeless face of Charles I at his people. The king was dead.

It was an unprecedented move that sent shock waves the world over, but Charles certainly hadn't helped himself, and perhaps inadvertently signed his own death warrant.

Early in December 1648, members of Parliament who were sympathetic to the Royalist cause were arrested in what was known as Pride's Purge. Left were those who supported the military, forming the so-called Rump Parliament. On 1 January 1649, this stripped-down House of Commons submitted an ordinance to try the king for treason – yet just the next day, the House of Lords rejected it, declaring the indictment as unlawful; after all, by his very nature, the king was above the law.

*Cromwell allowed Charles's head to be sewn back onto the body a day after his execution*



Incensed, the Commons declared itself capable of passing laws with neither the House of Lords' approval, nor the royal assent. On 6 January, it declared that a court would be set up in order to put the king on trial. A list of 135 commissioners and three judges was made, known as the High Court of Justice, though fewer than half of those nominated were at court for Charles's sentencing. Although not the first choice, a lawyer named John Bradshaw was made head of the court, while John Cook, a solicitor, was chosen as the prosecutor.

The High Court of Justice faced a problem. No king had ever been tried in a court of law before. However, a Dutch historian – and staunch anti-monarchist – called Isaac

Dorilaus played a key role in legally overthrowing the king. Appointed as a legal advisor to the High Court of Justice, Dorilaus used his studies on ancient Roman laws to base the charges against King Charles I on a law that stated that the military could overthrow a tyrant. On 8 January, the High Court of Justice officially opened. On 9 January, the king's trial was publicly announced,





**“STUBBORN TO THE END OF HIS TRIAL, CHARLES DENIED ITS LEGALITY AND REFUSED TO RESPOND TO HIS ACCUSERS’ CLAIMS”**



■ The head of Charles I is held aloft by the masked executioner



## WHO KILLED THE KING?

The probable executioner of Charles I

For centuries, the identity of the man who took the life of King Charles I has remained a mystery; the executioner was masked, and even when the king's decapitated head was presented to the crowd, the axeman remained mute so that his voice couldn't be recognised. However, with the beheading over in one swift swing of the axe blade, there's no doubt that

the executioner was experienced. One notorious executioner has long been held as prime suspect: Richard Brandon.

Initially approached by Cromwell's forces and offered £30 for the position, it's known that Brandon initially refused to execute the king. Whether the man caved in later after threats or offers of more money, however, is unknown.

Brandon himself had inherited his trade from his father, an equally infamous executioner called Gregory Brandon, whose first name became synonymous with death. After his son took up the mantle, he found himself branded with the nickname 'Young Gregory', and collectively the family business, known as 'the Gregorian tree', became a synonym for the Tyburn gallows.

and the following days were spent finalising the charges, garnering evidence, and completing any final arrangements.

On 20 January, the trial began at Westminster Hall. Among a crowd filled with commissioners, judges and soldiers, Charles sat to hear the charges against him. Yet the king himself questioned the legality of the court and refused to plead his innocence. Charles didn't recognise the court, pointing out that the ordinance that had led to it hadn't been sanctioned by either the House of Lords or himself, exclaiming, "I would know by what power I am called hither... I would know by what authority, I mean *lawful*." For Charles, this became his response to any question – stubborn to the end of his trial, he denied its legality and refused to respond to his accusers' claims.

With the king refusing to enter a plea, the court continued as if he had pleaded guilty – standard practice should the defendant refuse to cooperate. The trial continued over the rest of the week, with over 30 witnesses summoned to provide evidence of the king's tyranny and treason. Yet with witnesses providing their statements in a separate room to the rest of the court, Charles didn't hear their claims, nor was there an opportunity for their statements to be questioned.

*The king's blood, which had been soaked up in handkerchiefs, was thought to cure any illness*



By 27 January 1649 – the last session of court – a verdict had been agreed. The king was found guilty and declared a "tyrant, traitor and murderer; and a public and implacable enemy to the Commonwealth of England" by the head of the High Court of Justice, Bradshaw. His sentence was death.

Only now, condemned to death, did Charles attempt to defend himself. But for the king, it was too little too late. Instead of hearing his plea, the court informed the king that the time had passed to defend himself, and he was quickly ushered out of the court by soldiers. Over the course of that day and the next, Charles's death warrant was signed by 59 of the commissioners.

With the execution set for 30 January, the Rump Parliament set about abolishing the monarchy. An 'Act prohibiting the proclaiming any person to be King of England or Ireland, or the Dominions thereof' was passed (naturally without Royal Assent) and put into effect the day that Charles was executed. As the blade fell on Charles's neck, the future of England was irrevocably shaped. For the first time since its foundation as a united country, England had no monarch; there was no king to rule the land.

Cromwell had known that with Charles I alive, there would always be unrest; the nation was

divided by tradition and innovation, and under Charles I's authoritarian rule, the two could not work alongside each other. Stubborn, arrogant and resolved on his divine right to rule to the very end, Charles I met his tragic fate. Not only was it an unprecedented execution of a king, it was the end of absolute monarchy. In death, Charles I taught a lesson to monarchs of all nations that followed – and those that chose not to listen and opted instead to pursue their own autocratic rule faced a wrath that likewise couldn't be quelled without bloodshed.



■ Charles refused to enter a plea in court



■ Charles I is led to his execution

# WHEN WORDS BECAME WEAPONS

Away from the battlefields of the British Civil Wars, the fight for the hearts and minds of the people raged just as fiercely

**P**ropaganda was nothing new even in the 17th century. Long before the birth of Christ, rulers and regimes had sought to portray themselves to their populations as virtuous, worthy, right and just, when the truth was often very different. 'News management' is a modern-day term for some distinctly old tricks.

Yet what can be considered unprecedented during the Civil Wars was how the protagonists and their supporters in the conflict bombarded the population with their messages. The printing press had been invented barely two centuries before the first pitch battle of the national conflict at Edgehill, but it was becoming formidable. In the two decades leading up to 1660, there were more publications made available to the masses than in the preceding 150 years. During the same 20-year period, more than 30,000 different publications were printed in London alone.

Several factors were at play which gave rise to this volume of output. Printing itself was becoming cheaper, with printing presses more abundant. Most significant of all, however, was that in the political turmoil around 1640, government censorship had broken down. When the Long Parliament abolished controlling departments such as the Star Chamber and Court of High Commission, London printers seized the opportunity to publish what they dared. Publications known as news-books, previously firmly restricted in their subject matter, began to print details of domestic current affairs. While some merely reported events, far many more quickly sought to shape

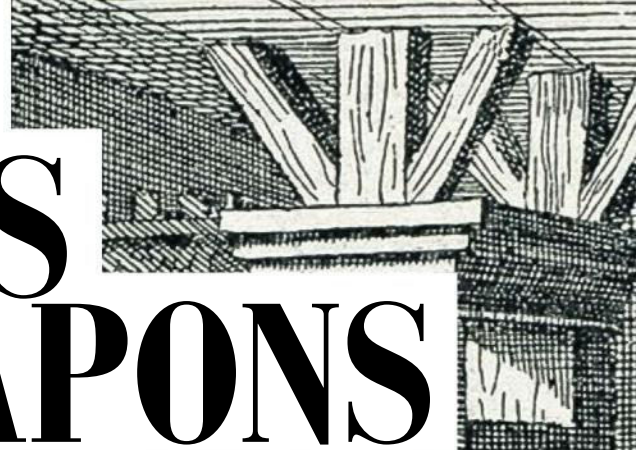
them with flagrant propaganda.

The aim was to manipulate public perceptions, rallying support for one side of the conflict or the other. Pro-Parliamentarian copy argued the 'Puritan' case for further Protestant church reform, and stoked up anti-Catholic and xenophobic feelings by caricaturing their opposition as violent, lecherous plunderers out to ransack England; they were even dubbed 'Cavaliers', from the Spanish word *caballeros*, suggested foreign banditry and cruelty. The Royalists were equally unsubtle. Largely,

though not exclusively, conservative or traditional Protestants, they fostered the stereotypical view of opponents who were low-born subversive rebels hell-bent on the destruction of the wealth and social structure of both church and state. The detested Roundhead nickname derived in part from the shaven-headed apprentices of London who swelled the ranks of the Parliamentarian forces.

The propaganda initiative in the Civil Wars was first seized by the Parliamentarians. They had control of London, home

to much of England's printing trade, and swiftly sought to exploit that advantage. As well as news-books, pamphlets, tracts and broadsheets rattled off the presses, with fly-posters nailing the latter overnight to any place of prominence, even to the House of Commons. Character assassinations featured heavily, none more so than in the anti-Royalist tract, *The Bloody Prince*. A no-punches-pulled attack on Prince Rupert, the king's nephew, it was accompanied by a woodcut illustration aimed at convincing even those unable to read that this commander of the Royalist cavalry, with his



*Before the Civil Wars, news-books were restricted on what subjects they could feature. They chiefly reported on European political affairs*



pistol spewing out flame after his brutal firing of Birmingham, had no regard for English life. The tract pandered to prejudice, emphasising that this was a wicked foreign aristocrat fighting for his own gain at the country's expense.

Though at first reluctant to appeal to the common people for backing, the Royalist faction later put its own propaganda machinery into operation to bolster supporters and acquire potential converts. Its key news-book was *Mercurius Aulicus*. Printed at the king's base of Oxford under guidance from principle editor Sir John Berkenhead, it had a smaller output than Parliamentary equivalents, yet penetrated far and wide.

To counter the barbed wit of Berkenhead's publication, Parliament supporters were soon able to turn to *Mercurius Britannicus*. This was written by a man some regard as the nation's first effective news journalist, Marchamont Nedham. His news-book titles changed as he

**“PUBLICATIONS KNOWN AS NEWS-BOOKS BEGAN TO PRINT DETAILS OF DOMESTIC CURRENT AFFAIRS”**



## ***'FREEBORN' JOHN LILBURNE***

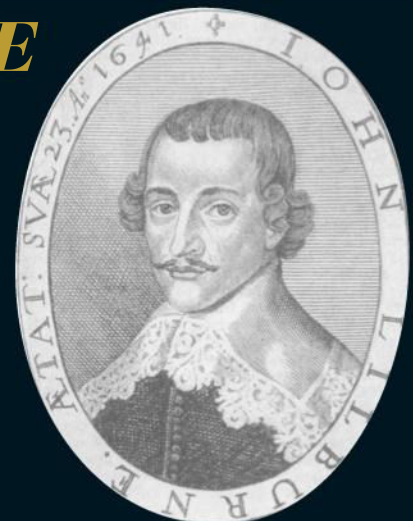
A campaigner for religious freedoms, he later became a champion of the Levellers and political democracy

A firebrand radical, Lilburne faced trial before the Star Chamber in 1638 for distributing banned religious tracts. Sentenced to be whipped and pilloried, Lilburne protested so loudly that his punishment was an abuse of rights of a freeborn Englishman that he had to be gagged. He continued to petition for legal rights from prison, eventually securing release after intervention by Oliver Cromwell in the Long Parliament.

Lilburne served with distinction during the first Civil War, though refused to join the New Model, campaigning instead for religious freedoms. An effective propagandist gaining popularity, he clashed with both MPs and the House of

Lords, ending up in the Tower of London. His imprisonment raised serious issues over individual rights under the law, while he further questioned what Parliament stood for and what the war had been fought to achieve. With other radicals, Lilburne formulated An Agreement of the People, effectively an attempted written constitution to establish economic, religious and political rights.

His opposition to the new Commonwealth government led to a further trial for treason. Though the 'not guilty' verdict was greeted enthusiastically, indicating his popularity, his movement had lost momentum. In later life, he abandoned radicalism to become a Quaker.





■ The frontispiece engraving by Abraham Bosse to Hobbes's *Leviathan*, with hundreds of people forming the sovereign's torso and arms

**Thomas Hobbes, exiled in Paris, taught mathematics to the young prince of Wales, who would later be crowned Charles II**

altered his perspective; Nedham's switch of support to the king in the late 1640s was covered in his *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, while his subsequent reversal back to champion the Commonwealth was outlined in a further news-book, *Mercurius Politicus*.

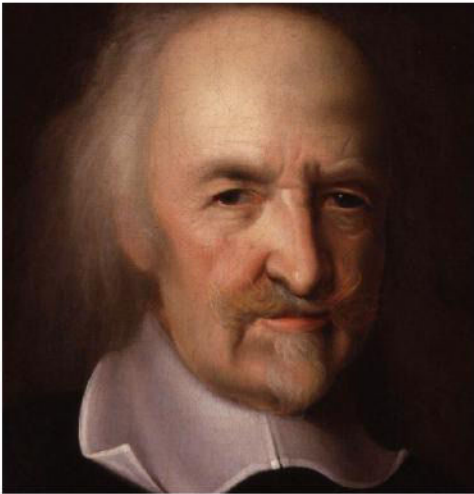
Nedham's flip-flopping was perhaps indicative of the range of conflicting opinion which surfaced in print through those turbulent times. An explosion of ideas was taking place, on significant subjects such as religious organisation and state structure. While crude character assassination and disinformation propaganda abounded throughout the Civil Wars, there were also many sincerely formed proposals from eminent thinkers and committed activists published.

Among those seeking to steer public opinion with persuasive argument and so shape the nation's future was poet and historian John Milton. The author of *Paradise Lost*, regarded by many as the second most important English writer after Shakespeare, was a staunch supporter of the

Parliamentary cause. In 1645 he published *Aeropagitica*, a defence of freedom to print without licence as a means of circulating ideas, which he saw as essential for moral and intellectual growth. Following his work *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, published shortly after the king was beheaded – in which he argued for a republican form of government and stoutly defended regicide to remove tyrannical monarchs – Milton was appointed by the new government to be its spokesman and secretary of foreign languages, communicating in Latin and other languages to diplomats and politicians from abroad.

In contrast, there were others of high intellect who supported the Royalist cause. Political philosopher and scientist Thomas Hobbes, for example, produced a treatise justifying Charles I's position in 1640 which MPs quoted often in Parliamentary debates of the period. Hobbes revised and extended his ideas several times, culminating in what is considered his masterpiece, *Leviathan*, published in 1651. In this, as well as outlining what he believed were the civil obligations of Christians, and the church's role within a state, Hobbes postulated that government was primarily a device to ensure collective security. Political authority was justified by a hypothetical social contract among the population that ceded in a sovereign person or entity the responsibility for the safety and well-being of all. Formulated initially in defence of the king, Hobbes's notion of a social contract greatly influenced a number of subsequent political philosophers including Locke, Rousseau and Kant.

Yet at the time the king was handed over to Parliament in early 1647, radical political thought was reaching a wide audience via further pamphleteering. The writings of William Walwyn, Richard Overton and John



■ Political philosopher and scientist Thomas Hobbes argued for a social contract and rule by an absolute sovereign in his most famous book, *Leviathan*



■ An engraving by William Marshall, laden with allegorical imagery, which formed the frontispiece in the propaganda masterwork, *Eikon Basilike*

Lilburne began to coalesce into a movement that its opponents labelled Levellers. The derogatory term implied that the radicals sought the abolition of property rights and the equalisation of wealth, which the movement's founders firmly denied. What they were seeking was reform of the law and religious toleration, coupled with individual rights guaranteed under a written constitution and a government elected by an extended franchise which was answerable to the people rather than Parliament or the king.



■ Spin doctor? Poet John Milton became an important spokesman for the new Commonwealth government after the execution of Charles I

**“BY 1647, RADICAL POLITICAL THOUGHT WAS REACHING A WIDE AUDIENCE VIA FURTHER PAMPHLETEERING”**

The movement produced a manifesto, An Agreement of the People, to further those aims, which was promoted in a weekly newspaper, *The Moderate*. The manifesto gained much support with rank-and-file soldiers in the New Model Army, to the extent that the Agreement was discussed at the Putney debates between army radicals and grandees. This was an attempt to reach an agreement on the content of a new constitution, although the grandees, principally

Oliver Cromwell and General Henry Ireton, manipulated proceedings to sideline those with views they considered extreme. Conveniently, the king escaped days after the debates were suspended. The prospect of a second Civil War meant the New Model Army swiftly closed ranks, changing everything.

By March 1649, the movement's leaders were imprisoned after they criticised the new Commonwealth government for seizing power from the people. The grandees had purged

the army of those who might have supported the radicals, and without hope of any military backing, the movement subsided.

The king had been beheaded by then, too, yet that act produced perhaps the most effective piece of propaganda of the whole period.

*Eikon Basilike* – in Greek, ‘The Royal Portrait’ – appeared in print less than a fortnight after the execution, purporting to be the king's spiritual autobiography. Debate continues as to the actual author, with the bishop of Worcester John Gauden most often cited. Regardless, the image the book portrayed of Charles as a Christian martyr to political principle, admitting his weaknesses yet facing his imminent demise with fortitude and piety, was remarkably effective. The book remained popular despite strong disapproval of it during the protectorate. The message it delivered echoed through the next decade, paving the way for support to grow for a restoration of the monarchy.



# INTERREGNUM

The death of Charles I ushered in a new era in British history, as Oliver Cromwell asserted himself at the head of the Protectorate



**106** The Rump Parliament

**108** Cromwell's conquest of Ireland

**114** The Diggers

**116** The Royalists' final stand

**120** The flight of Charles II

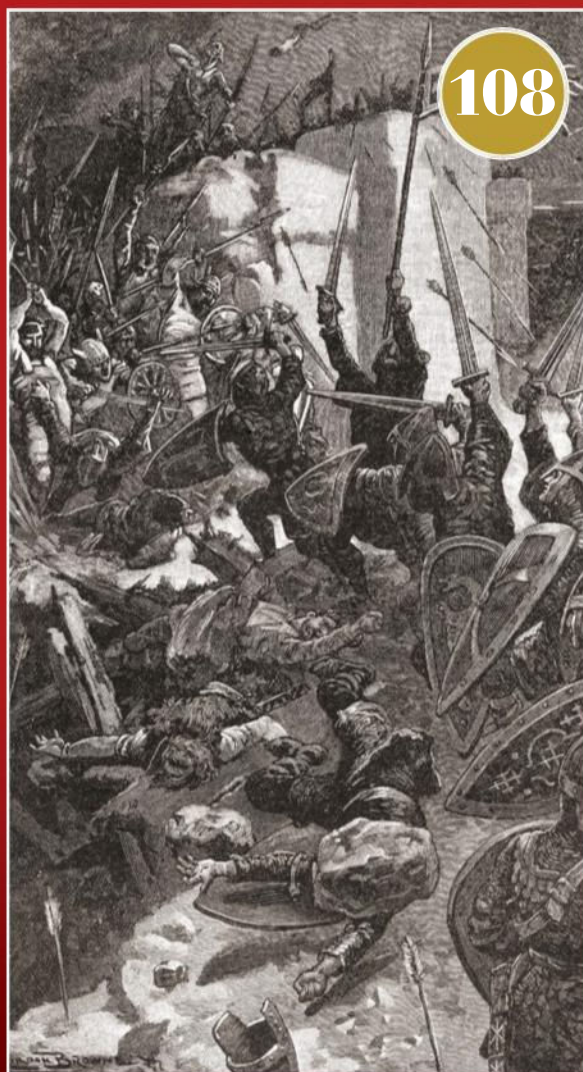
**122** The Levellers

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**132** To war with Spain

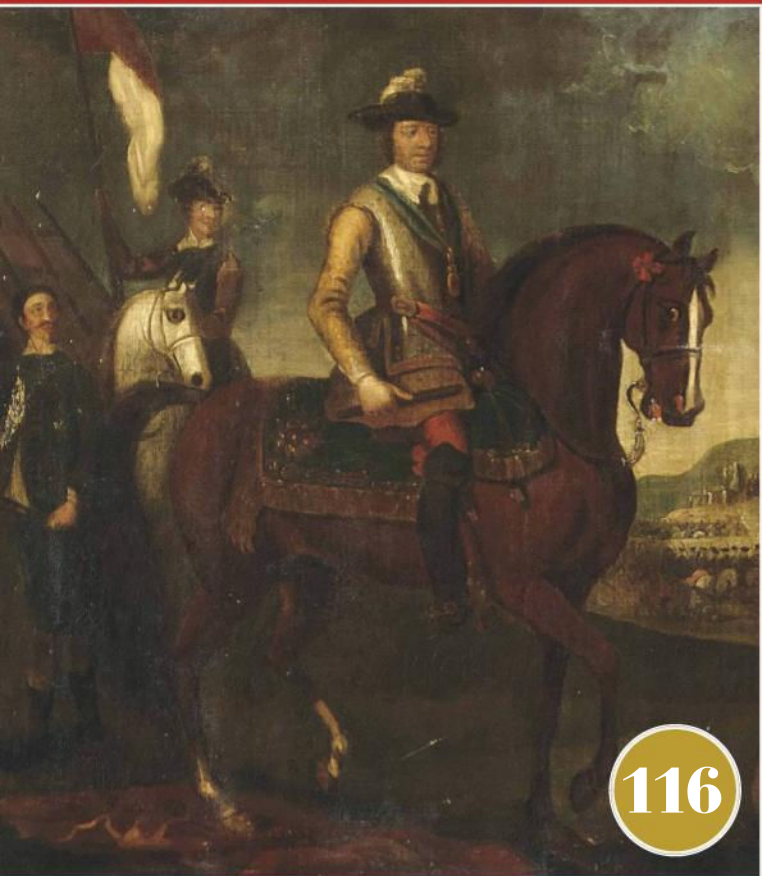
**134** The question of succession







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# THE RUMP PARLIAMENT



Oliver Cromwell's fiery tirade against Parliament is often paraphrased, as the full text of the original speech has not survived

*Be gone you rogues  
You have sate long enough*



## What was it?

Despite the rather unflattering name, the Rump Parliament was the legitimate power in the land and it wasn't long before the 80 or so remaining MPs from the Long Parliament declared themselves 'the supreme power in this nation'. The House of Lords was cut out of the law-making process in January 1649, and abolished completely in May with the institution of the republic. The king was taken out of the equation as well, albeit in a more extreme manner. Many MPs gave the assembly a wide berth during the chaotic weeks between Pride's Purge and Charles I's execution, in the hope that this would save them from charges of regicide.

The Rump Parliament was the power behind the new Commonwealth of England, holding all the influence without the traditional aristocratic hierarchy. In the immediate aftermath of the king's execution, its members refrained from any radical policies of reforms, concessions of the fact that killing Charles was an extreme action and that Presbyterian opinion was still rife throughout the nation.

Religious and financial matters would dominate the Parliament, with religious laws forbidding fornication and imposing the death penalty for adultery or incest, although this was never enforced. The debt that was inherited from the Long Parliament would become a source of contention. With tax-gathering methods widely unpopular, confiscated royal lands were sold back to their original owners to supplement income. This move caused even more unrest, since the Royalists being reinstated would do nothing to heal the wounds left by the civil wars.

The dissolution of the Rump Parliament, in true dramatic fashion, came at the end of a sword in April 1653. A fiery speech by Oliver Cromwell to the assembly ended with his troops driving the MPs out of the building. That night, a wag placed a scribbled note on the door: 'This House to be let, unfurnished.'

## Who was involved?



### Oliver Cromwell

25 April 1599 – 3 September 1658

Running out of patience with the indecisive assembly, Cromwell took matters into his own hands and dissolved the Rump Parliament.



### Thomas Fairfax

17 January 1612 – 12 November 1671

Although outraged when he heard of the dissolution of the Long Parliament and calling of the Rump, Fairfax did little to intervene.



### Thomas Pride

Unknown - 1658

Colonel Pride commanded the troops that forcibly removed members of the Long Parliament, leading to the smaller Rump Parliament.



# CROMWELL'S CONQUEST OF IRELAND

The Parliamentarians fought a remorseless campaign to take town after town in Ireland as the Eleven Years' War drew to an end

**B**y 1649, with the confederates in theory under the command of the earl of Ormonde and allied with the Royalists, Oliver Cromwell aimed to bring the whole of the island under Commonwealth control. He also sought to enforce the Adventurers Act of 1642 and avenge the massacre of Protestants in 1641. His New Model Army was at an advantage in that the Gaelic Irish, Old English (descended from medieval Anglo-Norman colonists), New English and Scottish were highly distrustful of each other and their respective aims, a factor that had already weakened the Catholic confederate movement.

This was the beginning of the final and most brutal phase of the Eleven Years' War. Having begun in 1641, it would end with over 600,000 people dead out of an overall Irish population of 1.4 million. The post-war settlement left Gaelic Ireland impoverished, disenfranchised and the name of 'Black' Cromwell has been vilified in the collective Irish memory ever since.

The lord protector and his men found the country far more difficult to subdue than England. Plague and influenza often proved more devastating to the invaders than Irish arms.

They arrived in Ringsend in Dublin on 15 August 1649 to be greeted by the roar of cannons from the walls and enthusiastic crowds. Previously, Colonel Michael Jones had expelled all Catholics from the city.

A first priority was the town of Drogheda near the Ulster border. Ormonde had put a Royalist named Sir Arthur Aston in charge of the town together with 2,200 infantry and 20 cavalry. Aston had remarked that "he who could take Drogheda could take Hell."

Although Cromwell had 8,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry, the town was contained within a wall 20 feet high and six feet wide at the base; any attacking army arriving from the south would have to negotiate a steep hill. Embedded in the wall, St Mary's Church offered an excellent vantage point for the defenders. On 10 September, Cromwell issued his first official summons to Sir Arthur Aston.

Aston refused to surrender, and Cromwell's cannons opened fire, gouging craters out of

Drogheda's walls. The Parliamentary fleet blockaded the harbour. Ormonde was unable to send reinforcements because his arms and provisions were running short. Moreover, some of those within the walls regarded the confederates with disdain and preferred rule by the Parliamentarians.

The defenders fought with tenacity, at first turning back the attackers, but eventually the Parliamentarians crashed through the walls and seized St Mary's Church. Parliamentary soldiers then rushed up a hill known as Mill Mount. All of the defenders, including Aston, were killed by order of Cromwell. Against orders, civilians were cut down and butchered.

Priests and friars were treated as combatants by the attackers and summarily executed. The church of St Peter was put to the torch and refugees within its walls immolated. By nightfall, only small pockets of resistance on the walls remained. Nearly 4,000 confederates died at Drogheda. When the confederate officer Owen Roe O'Neill was told of the massacre, he swore an oath that he would retake the town even if he had to storm Hell.

Cromwell set out for the south a fortnight after Drogheda.

Winter was approaching and it was vital that the southern part of the island be subdued because harsh weather conditions precluded fresh offensives. If the Parliamentarians failed to consolidate victory, the scattered Irish forces might recover from the initial panic and join in a stronger union.

Cromwell and his army encamped near the southern walls of Wexford on 1 October 1649. Wexford was of vital importance: its harbour had been the conduit through which the confederates received their arms and kept in touch with supporters on the continent.

Ormonde also realised the importance of Wexford and sent 1,000 infantry and 300 cavalry to reinforce the garrison. The townspeople, however, did not trust Ormonde, remembering how he had allied with the

notorious Protestant rebel Baron Inchiquin (Murrough O'Brien) responsible for numerous massacres and sometimes called 'Murrough of the Burnings.' Remembering too how Ormonde had turned Dublin over to Colonel Michael Jones two years before, they initially refused entry to his forces and only did so after the Parliamentary fleet arrived.

Cromwell found Wexford garrisoned by more than 2,000 men. Within the fort were nearly 100 cannons. In the harbour were three ships, one with 34 guns. Winter was just weeks away, and sickness would soon take its toll on any troops camped in the open. Ormonde and his forces lay roughly 20 miles away at Ross, waiting for a favourable moment to strike.

Following the bombardment of the castle walls by Parliamentary artillery, on 11 October the commander of the castle, Captain James Stafford, agreed to surrender it. In a repeat of the events at Drogheda, however, Franciscans and other priests were killed as Cromwell's troops stormed the town. Hoping to prevail on the Christianity of the town's attackers, three hundred women were massacred while standing at the cross in the public square. But this

merely identified them as Catholics and they were slaughtered. The churches were then destroyed. The total number of dead at Wexford was about 2,000 and its harbour so badly burned and looted that it couldn't be used by the Parliamentary forces afterwards.

Word of the cruelty of the New Model Army soon spread to other towns. After Wexford, Parliament sent Cromwell reinforcements and an enormous sum of money to buy off any English enemies he encountered in Ireland. Cromwell then marched on New Ross. Two days after the summons, the town surrendered without a fight, although Ormonde had sent 2,500 extra men there. Cromwell granted terms: the inhabitants

*By the end of the 17th century, Catholics owned only 10 per cent of Irish land. This issue would define the politics of the island for another two centuries*



■ A brutal depiction of the Siege of Waterford demonstrates the ferocity of Cromwell's campaign



of Ross were protected from looting and violence, and the garrison was allowed to march away under arms. But Cromwell turned down a request for freedom of worship.

About 500 men from the New Ross garrison, mostly serving under Baron Inchiquin, defected to Cromwell. The reinforcements were extremely welcome, because the expedition was beginning to take its toll. In the wet, boggy climate around New Ross, Cromwell himself suffered from a mild form of malaria. The defection of the Inchiquin-led troops was a blow to Ormonde and he appealed to Charles II for reinforcements.

In early November, Owen Roe O'Neill in County Cavan died of a mysterious illness. Some believed he was poisoned. Before he died, he had signed a treaty with Ormonde and sent some of his troops south. But his loss was another severe blow and thereafter, Ormonde had to assume defensive positions in most battles.

After Ross, Cromwell built a bridge of boats across the River Barrow, advanced into Tipperary and captured Ormonde's castle. He then joined his son-in-law, General Henry Ireton, at Duncannon. Most of the army was withdrawn from Ross and placed at a less fortified

post to form a blockade around Duncannon to prevent supplies coming in from Waterford, another important town on the south coast.

The confederates were able to hold Duncannon, but meanwhile the garrison at Cork revolted in favour of the Parliamentarians on 16 October. There had long been animus among local Protestants towards the confederates in the southern province of Munster and Cromwell was able to send agents to aggravate these tensions. One was Roger Boyle (Lord Broghill), a former Royalist who had joined Cromwell out of financial need. Another Cromwell agent was Colonel Richard Townsend, a onetime supporter of Baron Inchiquin, who pretended to be angered at the execution of King Charles I. Broghill raised 1,500 infantry and a troop of

*Captured Irish prisoners were frequently sent into slavery in the West Indies to work in the cultivation of sugar cane*



*Cromwell taking Drogheda by Storm*

## COUNTRY AND TOWN LIFE IN 17TH-CENTURY IRELAND

Following the Eleven Years' War, confederate lands were confiscated en masse by Cromwell's forces. The English economist Sir William Petty was tasked with completing a detailed survey in 1656, called the 'Down Survey.' He found that 150,000 people were engaged in looking after cattle and 100,000 more tilled the land. Their diet was described as "milk, sweet and sour, thick and thin and bread in cakes... potatoes from August until May; mussels, cockles and oysters near the sea; eggs and butter, made very rancid by keeping in bags. As for flesh (meat), they seldom eat it." Most townsfolk lived in walled settlements with timber houses and narrow streets. While most Irish towns had a postal service by 1670, public lighting with lanterns was not

■ Sir William Petty's 1656 of Ireland painted a grim picture of how most people lived

installed in Dublin until 1697 and in Cork until the 18th century. The larger towns had a town crier to 'give notice of the wind and weather and the time of night.' Town clocks were erected on the walls of churches or castles at the expense of wealthier citizens. Each significant settlement had a beadle who would keep animals off the streets and rid the town of beggars. However, poorer residents were allowed to beg if they fastened leaden tokens to their caps.



■ A contemporary drawing shows Cromwell taking Drogheda



cavalry from his family estates. Townsend led the English troops and citizens of Cork in driving out the Irish and declared the city for Parliament. Having discredited the confederates and driven a greater wedge between them and the Protestants, the revolt was a greater disaster for Ormonde than the mere loss of an important city. These events turned the war even more into an ethnic confrontation between the English and Gaelic Irish.

With the capture of Drogheda and Wexford, the major strongholds on the east coast, and the possession of Cork, the first stage of Cromwell's Irish campaign was over. By late November 1649, the Parliamentarians held the east coast from Belfast down to Wexford, plus Cork in the west. Only a few towns in the north remained in Irish hands. Cromwell was still afflicted by malaria, so he sent Colonel Jones and General Ireton to County Kilkenny to secure the garrisons there. They planned to cut Ormonde off from Waterford and draw him into open warfare in Leinster.

At first, several garrisons held out and famine and plague took a punishing toll on the Parliamentarians during the winter of 1649-50. But the strategic town of Carrick soon fell, and Cromwell, now recovered from his illness, led his army across the River Suir to Waterford.

Ormonde camped with 10,000 men on the Kilkenny side of the Suir opposite Waterford and the Parliamentarians. He sent Baron Inchiquin to try to recapture Carrick, but he failed. Cromwell had 7,000 at the beginning of the siege, but wet weather and plague reduced this number by over half. Again, Ormonde's army prevaricated, because of the same disunity that plagued the Irish at Drogheda and Wexford and which had divided the confederates in the 1640s.

Cromwell sought to exploit this feeling in his summons to Waterford on 21 November 1649, issuing a similar warning to those at Drogheda and Wexford. But this time, hunger and disease had taken such a toll on Cromwell's force that eventually he was compelled to retreat.

Cromwell came out of winter quarters at the end of January 1650 and began the conquest of southern Ireland: in quick succession, the towns of Fethard, Cashel and Callan were captured.

Next up was Cahir, whose garrison was under the command of Captain George Mathews, Ormonde's half-brother. Mathews refused to surrender at first. After the Parliamentarians tried to scale the walls, a force of Ulstermen repulsed the attack, but Cromwell brought up his cannons. Mathews realised he could not hold out and surrendered under terms to which Cromwell agreed: that the officers, soldiers and clergymen be allowed to march out unharmed.

Cromwell advanced further, taking the towns of Kiltenan, Dundrum, Ballynakill and Kildare. His and other Parliamentarian force next converged on Kilkenny, headquarters of the confederacy. He summoned the city to surrender on 22 March 1650. Sir Walter Butler, governor of Kilkenny and Ormonde's cousin, responded that he would maintain the city for the king. Kilkenny was not in good shape, however. Hundreds of the garrison died of plague, and reinforcements deserted. Nearby Cantwell Castle surrendered. Ormonde and the ruling supreme council had long since fled.

Even so, Cromwell found it not so easy to take Kilkenny. The city was divided by the River Nore into two parts: Kilkenny proper and Irishtown. A plot to betray the city was uncovered, and a Captain Tickell executed. Butler refused to surrender, and an attack beginning on 24

“AFTER THE PARLIAMENTARIANS TRIED TO SCALE THE WALLS, A FORCE OF ULSTERMEN REPULSED THE ATTACK, BUT CROMWELL BROUGHT UP HIS CANNONS IN RESPONSE”

■ This cutting shows the overwhelming force deployed by Cromwell during the Siege of Drogheda



## ACT OF SETTLEMENT 1652

The Parliamentarians were not magnanimous in victory. Over a decade of war had killed a fifth of the population and left Ireland wracked by plague, starvation and wolves roaming a depopulated countryside. Passed by the Rump Parliament in August, the Act of Settlement sought to confiscate lands from anyone who had opposed the Parliament during the Confederate Wars. Originally it was intended that about 12,000 New Model Army veterans, together with more Scottish covenanters, would be 'planted' in Ireland, but the war-wrecked Irish countryside was not an enticing prospect and slightly more than half

that number stayed there on a permanent basis. Protestants who could not prove non-involvement in the Royalist cause could keep their lands on payment of a fine, but Gaelic Irish found living east of the River Shannon after May 1654 faced the death penalty or transport to slavery in the West Indies. Only on the agriculturally poor lands of the western province of Connaught would they be safe. Over the next two centuries, the Gaelic Irish would congregate there, two million being removed by famine or emigration to Britain and the Americas nearly two centuries on. This was later summed up by the phrase 'to Hell or Connaught!'

March at Irishtown was first driven back, but ultimately succeeded. Butler again refused to surrender, and the Parliamentary attack continued on the 25th. Hours of bombardment caused a breach in the walls of Kilkenny proper and after two attacks were repulsed, Butler finally conceded defeat. Upon payment of 2,000 pounds sterling, the citizens of Kilkenny were protected from looting, and the officers and soldiers were allowed to march out unarmed for two miles. The clergymen were also permitted to leave.

For some weeks after Kilkenny, Cromwell took no active role in operations – he instead directed them, first from Carrick, then from Fethard. He realised that Ormonde was fast





he arrived and, as in other places, it was ruled a treasonable offence to aid Cromwell's effort. Still, one Major Fennell accepted 500 pounds sterling from Cromwell and opened the gates to 500 Parliamentary soldiers. Luckily for Black Hugh, he discovered the plot and arrested Fennell, who confessed on promise of a pardon. The 500 Parliamentarians were slaughtered by his Ulster soldiers.

This was a serious setback for the Parliamentarians. On 30 April, they brought up the big guns and began the bombardment. On 9 May, Parliamentary soldiers poured through a breach in the wall... into a trap. Just 80 yards from the breach, O'Neill had built breastworks with a hidden battery. The Irish fired chain shot from their cannons, along with stone and timber, and maintained continuous fire from the breastworks. More Parliamentarians entered, to be killed. Finally, the Parliamentary forces withdrew with the loss of 2,500 men. Cromwell had lost more men at Clonmel than he had in all the other battles in Ireland combined and may well have suffered heavier casualties had reinforcements not been sent.

Less than a month later, Cromwell returned to an England that faced a threat of invasion from Scotland for having declared for the exiled Stuart King Charles II. General Henry Ireton was left in command. The war in Ireland continued: some speculated that Charles II would come in from Scotland, but, for the most part, the Irish effort continued as sporadic guerrilla warfare for another three years.

Two months after Clonmel, Bishop Heber

MacMahon led an Ulster force against Sir Charles Coote against the advice of Henry O'Neill, son of Owen Roe O'Neill. On the order of Coote and Ireton, the bishop was captured, hanged and quartered – even though he had appealed to Owen Roe O'Neill to spare Coote's life at the siege of Derry several years earlier.

General Ireton's forces took Waterford on 21 June and attempted but failed to capture Limerick. Coote defeated the remnants of Owen Roe O'Neill's army at Scariffhollis, County Donegal, in June 1650. At the end of 1650, Ormonde left Ireland for the continent and was replaced by Ullick Burke, 1st marquess of

*The political 'Tory' originates from the Gaelic word **tóraí** (outlaw), which was the name given to those who engaged into the residual rebellion after major confederate towns were taken*



running out of supplies. On the east coast, only Waterford was held by Royalist forces. On the west coast, the city of Galway lay plague-devastated. Limerick refused to admit any forces not dominated by the Catholic clergy. The bishop of Derry in Ulster was also in the process of making arrangements with foreign princes to transport several thousand men out of Ireland.

Baron Inchiquin made an attempt to invade Limerick, but was routed by Lord Broghill's forces. Broghill then joined Cromwell at Clonmel after repelling an invasion of County Cork by David Roche.

By the end of March 1650, the next objective was to capture Clonmel, Waterford

and Limerick and reduce the scattered Irish remnants. By this point, the last major confederate commander besides Ormonde, Baron Inchiquin, was negotiating with Cromwell.

Cromwell's next objective, Clonmel in County Tipperary, was commanded by Owen Roe's nephew, General Hugh Duffy O'Neill, known by the nickname of 'Black Hugh'. Having previously served in the Spanish army, Black Hugh was an expert in siege warfare. He commanded 12,000 troops, mostly Ulstermen; all but 50 of them were infantry.

Cromwell arrived at Clonmel on 27 April. There is no record of a summons for the city to surrender. Supplies were running low when

Clanridarde, who like Ormonde was a divisive and distrusted figure and could not unite Ireland's factions. Ireton again tried to take Limerick in June 1651, and after a siege of five months, the city, under the command of Black Hugh O'Neill, finally yielded. Ireton succumbed to the plague in November, but Edmund Ludlow and Charles Fleetwood, both of whom later became lord lieutenants of Ireland, continued with the conquest of Catholic Ireland. Galway, the last city to resist, surrendered in May 1652 and one of the most calamitous wars of the 17th century was at an end.

# THE DIGGERS



## What happened?

During the late 1640s there was a series of bad harvests that led to widespread hunger and unemployment, and so poor people seized supplies and threatened landowners in desperation. There were also mutinies in the New Model Army and a combination of all these factors led to the emergence of the Diggers.

Calling themselves 'True Levellers', the Diggers published pamphlets calling for the overthrow of the nobility and the equalisation of wealth. They regarded the land as a 'common treasury' belonging to everyone and set up cultivating communities in many counties including the most famous settlements at St George's Hill and Cobham Heath in Surrey. At St George's Hill, around 50 Diggers renamed it 'George Hill' to disassociate the place from the saint of the established Anglican Church. Similarly, the radicalism at the Wellingborough Digger site in Northamptonshire later saw it become a centre of Quakerism.

A unifying core belief of the Diggers was that the common people were the true owners of the land, and the king and the nobility had usurped their rights for centuries.

## Why did it happen?

The Diggers' active defiance against private property in favour of universal common ownership was extremely radical in the 17th century and the rapid spread of the movement provoked a fierce reaction. They were first denounced by their own radical brethren the Levellers, who were trying to negotiate political reform within the existing social order. They firmly rejected the Diggers' ideas for wealth equality, abolition of property rights and the enfranchisement of the poor.

Digger communities faced persecution by local gentry with a combination of economic boycott, legal action and violence. The Surrey Diggers were evicted and their settlements were destroyed in 1650, only one year after their establishment. By the end of 1650 the movement had effectively been crushed, but their ideas silently endured. The agrarian ideals of the Diggers later inadvertently influenced radical theories centuries later, ranging from green politics to Marxist ideas of property and wealth distribution.

## Who was involved?



### Gerrard Winstanley

1609 – 1676

Winstanley was the founder of the Diggers who radically proclaimed, "When men take to buying and selling the land, saying 'This is mine', they restrain other fellow creatures from seeking nourishment from mother earth... as if the earth were made for a few and not for all men."



### William Everard

1602 – ? (date of death unknown)

Everard was an agitator who helped to found the famous Digger community at St George's Hill. He believed in freeing the English from centuries of oppression under the 'Norman yoke'.



### Sir Thomas Fairfax

1612 – 1671

The Parliamentarian commander investigated the Diggers and encouraged local landowners to destroy the fledgling communities.

# THE Declaration and Standard

Of the *Levellers of England*;  
 Delivered in a Speech to his Excellency the Lord Gen. Fairfax,  
 on Friday last at White-Hall, by Mr. Everard, a late Member of the  
 Army, and his Prophecie in reference therunto; shewing what will  
 befall the Nobility and Gentry of this Nation, by their submitting to  
 Community; With their invication and promise unto the people, and  
 their proceedings in *Windsor Park, Oatlands park,* and severall other  
 places; also, the Examination and confession of the said Mr. Everard  
 before his Excellency, the manner of his deparment with his Hat  
 and his severall speeches and expressions, when he was comma  
 to put it off. Together with a List of the severall Regiments of  
 and Foot that have cast Lots to go for *Ireland*.



Imprinted at London, for G. Lawrence, April 23. 1649.

## TIMELINE

### December 1648

Two pamphlets known as 'Lights Shining in Buckinghamshire' call for the overthrow of the nobility and the equalisation of wealth.



### March 1649

A Digger community is established in Wellingborough, Northamptonshire. Corn is dug on wasteland and the Diggers publish a declaration.



### 1 April 1649

Gerrard Winstanley and William Everard lead dozens of men and women in digging and planting vegetables on the wasteland of St George's Hill, Surrey.



### April 1649

The Diggers announce their intentions in a manifesto called 'The True Levellers Standard Advanced' where they proclaim, "Not one word was spoken in the beginning, that one branch of mankind should rule over another."



### 20 April 1649

Gerrard Winstanley and William Everard appeared before Sir Thomas Fairfax in London. Both men refused to remove their hats in front of the general.



### April 1650

After only a year, local landowners hire men to raze Digger communities across England by setting fire to houses and destroying crops.



■ A contemporary painting depicts Oliver Cromwell and his officers overseeing the action at the Battle of Worcester

# THE ROYALISTS' FINAL STAND

Words: William E Welsh

Parliamentarian forces won two great victories over the Royalists, thwarting Scotland's attempt to put Charles II on the throne

**T**he Roundheads sloshed through the mud as they formed up in the pelting rain two miles southeast of Dunbar on the night of 2-3 September 1650. Cromwell had ordered them to form a deep column of attack astride the Berwick Road opposite David Leslie's covenanter army. When the rain stopped in the early morning hours and the moon emerged from behind the clouds, Roundhead cuirassiers scattered the Scottish pickets. To the right of the cavalry, Colonel George Monck's veteran musketeers fired two stinging volleys at Sir James Lumsden's green foot soldiers. Cannon on both sides roared. As the lines closed, musketeers stepped aside to allow their pikemen to engage.

Monck's musketeers were able to gain an initial advantage because the majority of Lumsden's musketeers had extinguished the slow-matches used to ignite the powder in their muskets. Nevertheless, Lumsden's pikes forced their Roundhead adversaries to give ground. The moon disappeared behind the clouds, and the horse and foot on both sides decided to wait the arrival of dawn. The stakes were high. Both sides wanted a decisive result. The looming battle would decide whether the English Parliamentary army would survive or be destroyed.

The execution of Charles I by the English drove a wedge between England and Scotland. Outraged by what they considered an extreme measure, the Scots immediately proclaimed his eldest son in exile in Holland as king

of Scotland. However, the Kirk party that controlled the Scottish government demanded the young king sign the covenant before they would crown him. Charles initially resisted in the hope that he would be able to circumvent the covenant, which he found unpalatable. He held out hope that he might be able to establish a strong Royalist faction in opposition to the Kirk party.

Shortly after his father's execution, Captain-General James Graham, marquis of Montrose, implored Charles to allow him to campaign on his behalf in Scotland. With Charles's permission, Montrose sailed for the Orkneys where Royalist sympathisers had seized control of Kirkwall in September 1649.

In April 1650, Montrose led 1,200 mercenaries and local levies south from the



■ *Fearing capture at the hands of the Parliamentarians, the future Charles II flees the battlefield at Worcester*

Orkneys to Carbisdale where they established a fortified camp. The Scottish government dispatched Lt Col Archibald Strachan with a small group of professional soldiers to crush Montrose. Strachan had the good fortune to be unexpectedly reinforced by 400 Highlanders on his way to Carbisdale. A short battle unfolded on 27 April in which Strachan's expert horsemen overran the Royalist cavalry. Montrose's foot levies fled and his mercenaries surrendered. Montrose was caught a few days later and summarily executed in Edinburgh.

Lacking funds or supporters, Charles II signed an agreement known as the Treaty of Breda with the representatives of the Kirk party in which he promised to sign the covenant, convert to the Presbyterian religion, and unite the crowns of England, Ireland and Scotland.

News of Charles II's arrival in Scotland on 24 June disturbed the English. Fearing that the Scots were going to invade England in order to install Charles on the English throne, Parliament recalled Cromwell from Ireland. Although they appointed Thomas Fairfax commander-in-chief and Cromwell second

*English cuirassiers did not charge, but trotted in a tightly packed formation with stirrups touching. When they collided with the enemy, they pushed it back in an effort to break it*



in command, Fairfax felt it was wrong to invade Scotland. Cromwell readily agreed to the task.

Cromwell led his 16,350-strong army into Scotland on 22 July. He established a forward base at Dunbar, where his troops could be resupplied by sea. Alexander Leslie, the earl of Leven, was the commander-in-chief of the Scottish army, and his principal lieutenant was David Leslie. They shared the same surname, but were not related. Although Cromwell tried on two occasions to capture Edinburgh, he was outsmarted by Leven each time. The Scots had prepared extensive fieldworks at Edinburgh, and Cromwell deemed them too strong to assail in a frontal assault.

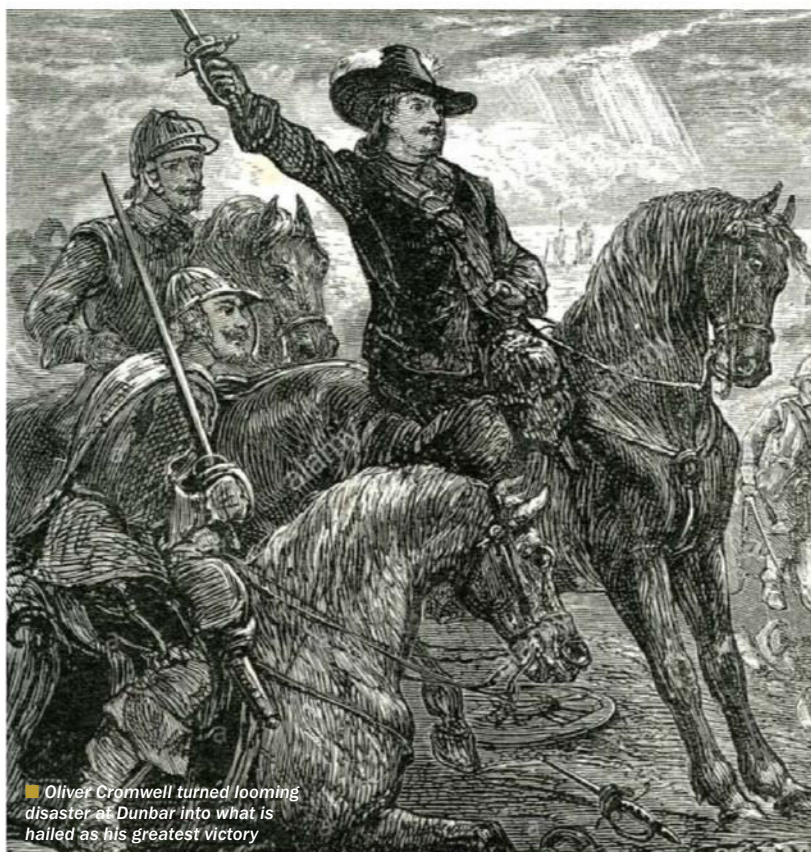
During Cromwell's second retreat from Dunbar on

31 August, a Scottish brigade marched undetected over the Lammermuir Hills and occupied Cockburnspath, where the Berwick Road passes through lowlands between the mountains and the sea. This blocked the road back to England. The covenanter main body camped on windswept Doon Hill just south of Dunbar.

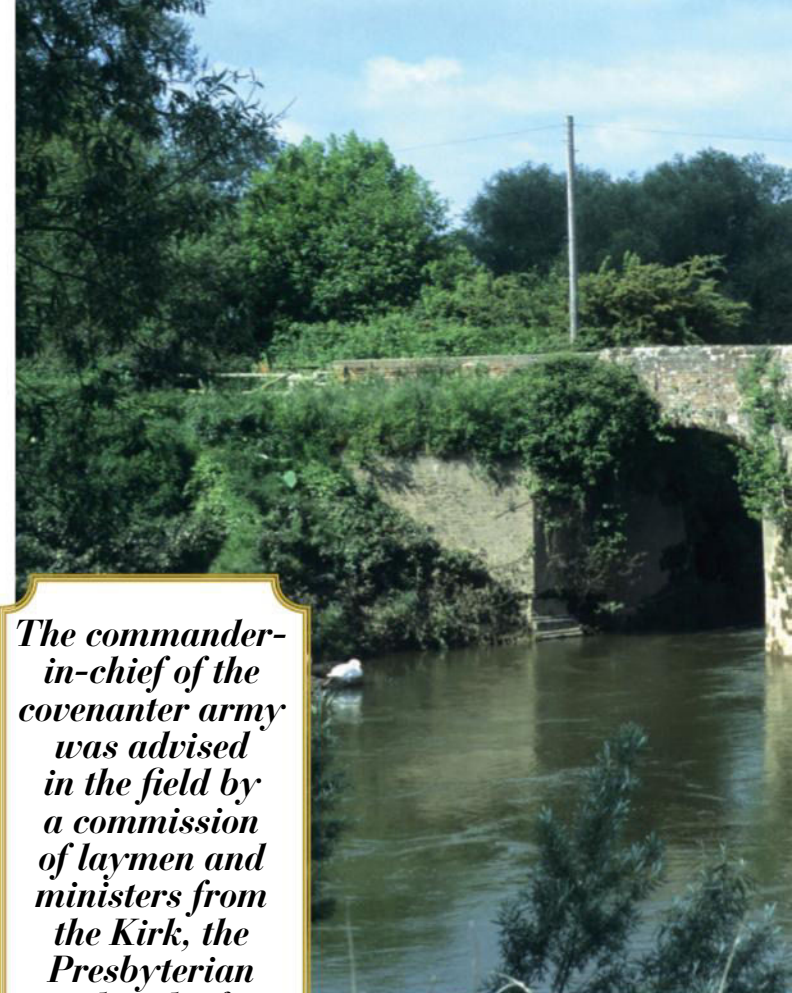
Bottled up in Dunbar, Cromwell could either try to extract his army by sea or fight his way south on the Berwick Road leading back to England. Cromwell knew that an extraction by sea was a difficult process that risked the destruction of his army. He therefore chose to fight his way south.

Leven turned over command of the covenanter army to General David Leslie. Based on signs at the beginning of September that the English were weakening, Leslie moved his men onto the plain between Doon Hill and the Broxburn. In response, Cromwell deployed his men behind the Broxburn on the north bank. Leslie deployed his men opposite the Roundheads on the south bank.

***“BOTTLED UP IN DUNBAR, CROMWELL COULD EITHER TRY TO EXTRACT HIS ARMY BY SEA OR FIGHT HIS WAY SOUTH”***



■ Oliver Cromwell turned looming disaster at Dunbar into what is hailed as his greatest victory



*The commander-in-chief of the covenanter army was advised in the field by a commission of laymen and ministers from the Kirk, the Presbyterian church of Scotland. They recommended the dismissal of any soldiers deemed ungodly*



The covenanter army's left wing was crowded into a narrow space between a section of the Broxburn with a steep ravine to their front and the Lammermuir Hills to their rear. This left them no room to manoeuvre. Cromwell had discerned this as soon as the Scots had moved onto level ground. As the battle unfolded on the morning of 3 September, the Scottish foot and cavalry on the right wing initially held their ground against a spirited Roundhead attack. But when the Scots committed their second line of cavalry, it was attacked in front by Colonel Robert Lilburne's troops, and also in the flank by Cromwell's regiment of horse, the renowned Ironsides. The powerful strike broke the Scottish cavalry. The Roundhead attack had succeeded.

Cromwell then redirected his victorious cavalry, which was still full of fight, to the

centre, where it worked in tandem with the Parliamentary foot to carve up Sir James Campbell of Lawers' brigade in the covenanter centre. The regiments on the covenanter left fled north across the Broxburn with the English in pursuit. By day's end, Cromwell had completely reversed his fortunes. There was no need to return to England just yet.

Leslie established a new defensive line behind the Forth at Stirling. A stalemate ensued until the following summer. The Roundheads outflanked the Scots in July 1651 with an amphibious assault across the Firth of Forth. After the turning movement, Cromwell

advanced on Perth with his army, leaving the road to England open to the Scots. King Charles II decided his best option at that time was to invade England. In early August, Charles led his Royalist army into England. Rather than marching directly on London, Charles marched southwest in order to raise

more troops on the Welsh Marches. Cromwell immediately led his Parliamentary army south in pursuit of Charles.

The decisive battle of the third war occurred at Worcester exactly one year after Dunbar. The Royalists, who had 12,000 troops, were outnumbered by more than two to one. Charles's forces occupied the walled city. The Scots' left

## THIRD ENGLISH CIVIL WAR TIMELINE

5 February 1649

**Charles II proclaimed king**

Deeply embittered over Charles I's execution in London six days earlier, the Scots proclaim his eldest son, Charles Stuart, King Charles II. The Scots press him to accept the covenant.

9 May 1649

**Highlander early revolt**

A covenanter force of three troops of horse and 12 musketeers led by Colonel Gilbert Kerr routs a 1,000-strong army of untrained rebels at Balvenie. Three months earlier, Thomas of Pluscardine led a Royalist uprising and captured Inverness. In response, Lt-Gen David Leslie began systematically clearing the Highlands of remnants of the Engagers who were militant Royalists. The end of Pluscardine's uprising dampened enthusiasm among the Highlanders for the marquis of Montrose's Royalist campaign the following year.

23 March 1650

**Montrose appointed captain-general**

James Graham, marquis of Montrose, who Charles appointed his captain-general, sails from Sweden with 500 Dutch and German mercenaries and lands at Kirkwall in the Orkney Islands to secure a Royalist foothold in Scotland.

1 May 1650

**Treaty of Breda**

Charles signs the Treaty of Breda with the Scots covenanters, in which he agrees that in return for control of the Scots army he will unite the crowns of Scotland and England and establish a national Presbyterian church in England.

21 May 1650

**Montrose's execution**

James Graham, marquis of Montrose, is summarily executed at Edinburgh for being a traitor to Scotland following the defeat of his army at Carbisdale on 27 April.

12 June 1650

**English army mobilises**

Unlike the largely conscripted Scots army, the English army consists of volunteers. Fewer than half of the English regiments that participated in the 1650-1651 campaign in Scotland belonged to the New Model Army established five years earlier.

13 December 1650

**Mossers resupply Edinburgh**

Augustine Hoffman leads 120 mounted 'moss troopers' on a mission to resupply defenders of Edinburgh Castle with ammunition and gunpowder. Putting a captured English trooper at the front of their column to enable them to pass through English lines, they enter the city at night, ride to the castle, drop off the supplies and ride out.

## ASSAULT ON PIRATE HAVEN

### The Parliamentarian invasion of the Scilly Isles

The fleet of Parliamentary warships dropped anchor off the sandy shores of the Scilly Islands on 13 April 1651. Royalist pirates had preyed on Parliamentary and Dutch shipping in the Western Approaches since a mutiny three years before had transformed the tiny archipelago into a pirate's haven.

Admiral Robert Blake sent 40 boats full of musket-toting marines against Tresco Island on 17 April, where he hoped to gain a foothold. This would allow him to prepare for an invasion of the main island of St Mary's, where Sir John Grenville's Royalists benefited from the strong ramparts of Star Castle. On the second night, a fierce melee with swords and clubbed muskets drove the Royalist forces to St Mary's.

Over the next two weeks, Blake maintained a steady pressure, even as negotiations for surrender were under way. On 23 May, Grenville surrendered after negotiating favourable terms that allowed his men to return to Scotland or Ireland. He even received compensation for equipment left behind.



Admiral Robert Blake pressed the attack against the Royalist buccaneers on the Scilly Islands with every means at his disposal



Colonel George Keith's regiment of Scots defended the north bank of the River Teme at Powick Bridge against a determined Parliamentary assault at Worcester

flank was anchored by Leslie's cavalry to the north of the city and Royalist foot in fortified positions within the city. Major-General Robert Montgomery commanded the Royalist right wing south of the city, where it was stationed behind the River Teme near its junction with the Severn.

Cromwell sent his veteran English infantry against the Royalist right wing with orders to force their way over the Teme at two crossings: one at Powick Bridge and another where the English had thrown a pontoon bridge across the Teme further downstream. Cromwell also put a second pontoon bridge over the Severn and fed fresh troops into the fight. The Royalists' reserve brigade, which should have been fed into the fight to hold the Teme line, was never committed.

Charles watched the battle unfold from the cathedral tower in Worcester. When the Royalists

deployed along the Teme were driven back toward the city, Charles ordered an attack on Cromwell's right flank. The Royalists overran the Parliamentarian guns. They continued to advance, nearly overrunning the English militia on the hills east of the city, but Major-General John Lambert rallied the militia. Leslie, who seemed convinced that the Royalists were doomed to defeat, failed to commit his cavalry when it was desperately needed. The Parliamentarians advanced on the city to mop up the remaining resistance.

Knowing the battle was lost, Charles mounted a fresh horse and made good his escape, leaving behind thousands of dead and dying who gave their lives that he might obtain the crown of England. Beaten in the north and the south, Charles went into exile again on the Continent.

#### 24 December 1650 Edinburgh surrenders to Cromwell

The town is protected by medieval fortifications improved during the 16th century. Cromwell besieges the city and has a difficult time forcing the garrison to surrender.

#### 1 January 1651 Charles II crowned

Charles is crowned King of Scotland at Scone. Keeping to the terms of the Treaty of Breda, the Scottish Parliament gives him nominal command of the Scottish army; however, Lt-Gen David Leslie continues to oversee its day-to-day operations.

#### 20 July 1651 Roundhead victory at Inverkeithing

After successfully ferrying 4,100 men across the Firth of Forth on flat-bottom boats, Maj-Gen John Lambert soundly defeats Sir John Brown of Fordell at the battle of Inverkeithing.

#### 5 August 1651 Covenanters invade England

King Charles leads the covenanter army south from Stirling on 31 July. Cromwell, who is besieging Perth at the time, has deliberately left the road open. To hasten the Scots' march, most of its force is mounted.

#### 25 August 1651 Lancashire Royalists crushed

Roundhead Colonel Robert Lilburne defeats a force of Lancashire Royalists raised by the earl of Derby and Sir Thomas Tyldesley at Wigan.

#### 15 October 1651 Charles II sails to France

Charles flees on a fresh horse from the battlefield at Worcester on 3 September. With a £1,000 reward on his head, Charles is compelled to alter his stately appearance. His protectors persuade him to trade his finery for peasant's clothing and cut his long locks. He is aided throughout the six-week ordeal by Royalist sympathizers in the West Midlands. On one occasion, he hides in an oak tree while Roundhead soldiers search for him. Making his way to the Channel Coast, he sails on a cargo ship from Shoreham to Fécamp in Normandy.

# THE FLIGHT OF CHARLES II

As Cromwell's forces swarmed England, Charles II took his life into his own hands and attempted to flee in disguise

## THE BATTLE OF WORCESTER IS LOST

Oliver Cromwell and his Parliamentary forces defeat Charles II and his predominantly Scottish Royalist army at the last battle of the Third English Civil War, Charles flees with several lords, including Lord Wilmot, in tow.



## CHARLES GETS A DISGUISE

Charles and his party head to White Ladies Priory, where they meet the Penderel brothers. George and Richard Penderel disguise the king in ragged clothes and shear his hair. The king's feet are too large for the labourer's shoes, and they cut his feet.



## ATTEMPTS TO CROSS THE SEVERN



Parliamentary soldiers and turn back to White Ladies Priory.

Accompanied by Richard Penderel, Charles II attempts to cross the River Severn, but they find the river guarded by

As well as providing Charles with a disguise, the Penderel brothers taught the king to walk and talk like a labourer

3 SEPTEMBER 1651

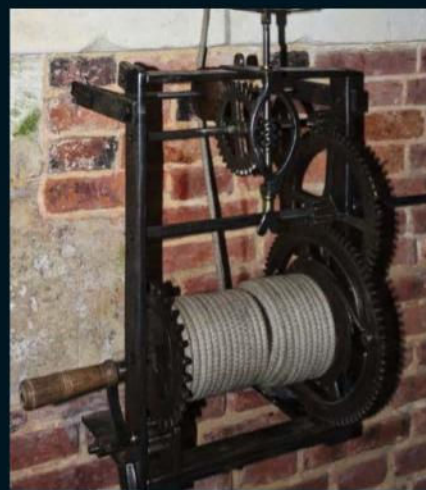
4 SEPTEMBER 1651

5 SEPTEMBER 1651



## CHARLES IS RECOGNISED

At 6'2" (1.88m) and with his dark eyes and hair, Charles II isn't easy to miss, even in disguise. However, Pope, a Royalist butler, recognises the king. Pope goes on a recon mission to find a ship that can carry Charles to Europe, but to no avail. Instead, Pope sorts out lodgings for the king in Trent, Dorset.



## THE CONVOY ARRIVES

Arriving at Wootton Wawen, Charles, still in disguise, is put to work by the host's chef, who scolds him for being clumsy with the roasting jack. In an attempt to preserve his cover, Charles claims that he's just so poor that he's never eaten meat.

## CELEBRATING THE KING'S DEATH

Charles II arrives in Trent, staying at the home of Colonel Wyndham. Here, he witnesses a peculiar party, where revellers are celebrating the alleged death of Charles II at the battle of Worcester.



## AN ESCAPE IS FOILED

Charles attempts to flee via Bridport, but Parliamentary forces have flocked the town and any attempts to leave go awry, so he returns to Trent for the next few weeks.



17 SEPTEMBER 1651

22 SEPTEMBER 1651

7 OCTOBER 1651



The Royal Oak is the third most popular pub name in Britain, and references the king's stay in the tree

## CHARLES HIDES IN A TREE

Colonel William Careless, one of the king's supporters, arrives at White Ladies. Both he and the king are forced to hide up an oak tree while Cromwell's army scour the fields and woodland. When they return, it is revealed that there is a £1,000 price on the king's head.

## THE KING MEETS ALLIES

Charles II moves on to Moseley Old Hall, where the Whitgreaves house him, providing him with food, clothes and a bed. Here, a Catholic priest tends to the king's shredded feet.



## A CLOSE CALL

Parliamentarian forces storm Moseley Old Hall, accusing Thomas Whitgreave of fighting for the king's cause at the last battle. After he convinces Cromwell's men of his innocence, the troops leave without searching the house. In the meantime, Charles has been hiding in a secret priest hole.



6 SEPTEMBER 1651

7 SEPTEMBER 1651

9 SEPTEMBER 1651

## CHARLES MEETS A BLACKSMITH

Just 20 miles into their journey near Bromsgrove, Charles and Jane's horse has lost its shoe. Acting as the servant, Charles takes the horse to the blacksmith to replace it. Here, he speaks to the farrier to find out news, though the man has little to tell.



Charles allegedly joked to the farrier that the fugitive king should be hanged, to which the farrier commented on his honesty

## THE KING BECOMES A SERVANT

Fearful, Charles leaves for Bentley Hall. Here, he is re-dressed and given the name William Jackson. He meets Jane Lane, who has a permit to travel south with a servant to visit a pregnant friend. Disguised as her servant, Charles heads out.



10 SEPTEMBER 1651

## THE GREAT ESCAPE IS PLANNED

Lord Wilmot arranges the king's secret passage on a brig named Surprise for £80 with Captain Tattersell. When Tattersell realises it's the king he's transporting, he's furious and demands an extra £200. On 15 October, they board the ship at Shoreham and set sail.

Two hours after their departure, Parliamentarian forces arrived, scouring Shoreham in search of the king

## CHARLES ARRIVES IN FRANCE

King Charles II steps off the Surprise in France near Le Havre. From here, Charles continues on to Rouen and then to Paris, where he stays with his mother. It will be nine years before he returns to England for the Restoration of the monarchy.



16 OCTOBER 1651

# THE LEVELLERS



## TIMELINE

● **July 1645**

John Lilburne is imprisoned in the Tower of London for slandering the speaker of the House of Commons. He is released without charge three months later.



● **28 October 1647**

Agitators within the New Model Army meet Cromwell and the army grandees in Putney, to put their case for constitutional reform (the 'Putney Debates').



● **October 1648**

Thomas Rainsborough is killed during a bungled Royalist kidnap attempt. His funeral is attended by thousands wearing green Levellers' ribbons.



● **11 September 1648**

The Levellers' largest petition "To The Right Honourable The Commons Of England" is presented to Parliament, signed by a third of all Londoners.



## Who were they?

The Levellers were a loose coalition of campaigners for social equality and civil rights that emerged towards the end of the First English Civil War. The name of the group was originally an insult, used by their critics to suggest that they wanted to redistribute wealth and property equally among everyone. This wasn't true – what the Levellers actually wanted was extended voting rights, the abolition of the monarchy and the House of Lords, an end to censorship of the press and to stop taxation of anyone who earned less than £30 a year.

Unlike the Diggers, who came afterwards, the Levellers opposed common ownership of property. The group wasn't a political party in the modern sense and most of their support came from the rank and file soldiers of Cromwell's New Model Army. These soldiers were owed substantial back pay for their service during the civil war and were concerned for their future – both that they might be sent to Ireland to fight a new war and that Parliament might cut a deal with King Charles and undermine the cause they had fought for.

## What were the consequences?

Support for the Levellers spread rapidly through the army and in many regiments they held the majority. The highest-ranking army officers (known as the grandees) were much less radical, however, and tried to water down the Levellers' demands. This led to a series of mutinies in 1649 at Bishopsgate in London and Burford in Oxfordshire. Several hundred soldiers were eventually arrested and four of the ringleaders were shot. Having put down the mutinies, Cromwell reported to Parliament on 25 May 1649 that the Levellers had been suppressed. But while their demands weren't directly accepted by Parliament, many of their ideas have subsequently been adopted by the British constitution, including the right to avoid self-incrimination, freedom of religion and the press, and proportionate taxation. Their most influential manifesto, Agreement Of The People, was a primary source of inspiration for the US Declaration of Independence 127 years later.

## Who was involved?



### John Lilburne

1614 – 29 August 1657

The leader of the Levellers served in the Parliamentary army. Imprisoned several times, he wrote manifestos from jail.



### Thomas Rainsborough

6 July 1610 – 29 October 1648

The leading spokesman for the Levellers was a colonel in the army, and he later became a member of Parliament.



### William Walwyn

c.1600 – 1681

A doctor and Leveller pamphleteer, Walwyn was regarded by some as being even more dangerously radical than Lilburne.

### 30 January 1649

Charles I is executed after being convicted of treason and England temporarily becomes a republic. The monarchy will not be restored for 11 years, in 1660.



### 17 May 1649

Cromwell skirmishes with the Banbury mutineers. Several Leveller leaders are killed, destroying Levellers support within the New Model Army.



# WAR ON THE WAVES

With the British Civil Wars at an end, the Anglo-Dutch War saw the new Commonwealth of England emerge as Europe's premier maritime power



**I**f anyone thought that Parliament's victory over the Royalists would usher in a period of prolonged peace, they were in for a rude awakening. With military capacities greatly

enhanced over the preceding nine years, the country's new rulers set about reasserting Parliamentary influence in Scotland and Ireland via the iron hand of Cromwell and the New Model Army. The navy, meanwhile, was used to press home a belligerent and increasingly expansionist foreign policy.

The first overseas territory to feel the force of the Commonwealth's burgeoning naval power was the Dutch Republic, a confederacy of semi-autonomous Protestant provinces that many had considered among England's most natural European allies. But the relationship was under strain. The Dutch declined a 'close union' with

the new Commonwealth against their European rivals, most notably France and Spain, while the expanding Dutch merchant navy was threatening English commercial interests.

The conclusion of the Thirty Years' War in 1648 had freed the republic to rekindle its full array of mercantile operations and Dutch influence blossomed through trade deals with Denmark and Spain, much to the detriment of the English. In response, Parliament introduced the Navigation Act in October 1651 – aimed specifically at the Dutch – which demanded that all goods ferried to or from English colonies should be carried only in English ships. England also exploited a deteriorating

relationship with France to insist upon the right to search Dutch shipping thought to be carrying French goods. More than a hundred Dutch ships were seized in 1651 and again

in the first half of 1652. As tensions simmered, the Dutch in 1651 opted to boost their naval strength. The English read this as tantamount to a declaration of war.

When the countries' navies clashed briefly off Start Point near Dartmouth on 12 May 1652, war looked unavoidable. The deciding moment came seven days later when a fleet of 40 Dutch ships under the command of Lieutenant-Admiral Maarten Tromp was spotted heading for Dover. The Dutch

*Most in Europe, including the Dutch, expected that their superior seamanship would lead to victory over England*



government had ordered Tromp to use his discretion when interacting with the English and he appears to have erred on the side of caution, assuring the English flotilla that he merely sought shelter from inclement weather. However, with the arrival of a second English squadron under General-at-Sea Robert Blake, and the subsequent appearance of a convoy of 17 Dutch merchant ships, the two sides became increasingly confrontational until, eventually, Blake felt he was under serious threat. He fired upon Tromp's flagship, Brederode, and hostilities erupted. Though the Dutch force was larger, the English had the better of the fight.

War was officially declared in July 1652, though neither side demonstrated any cogent strategy. As regards ships and tactics, the Dutch favoured frigates, built for speed, light on guns but heavy on manpower, which allowed them to catch their opponents and overwhelm them by boarding in numbers. The English, in contrast, favoured heavy ships carrying many guns. Launched in 1610, the Prince Royal, for example, with its 102 guns was the largest and heaviest-armed warship in Western Europe. In the aftermath of the armada conflict in 1588, the English had also adopted the broadside, whereby a ship's guns would be fired in unison.

At the war's outset, the English focused their attention on the Dutch East Indies fleet, and July saw Tromp and Blake engaged in a game of cat and mouse in the North Sea and around the Shetland Isles. When bad weather struck, the English found safety, while the Dutch did not. Tromp lost 16 vessels and was forced to resign his command. The unpopular Witte de With took charge. He commanded the Dutch during the war's first major battle, the Kentish Knock on 28 September when two fleets, numbering around 60 ships apiece, came head to head. The combat in many ways set the tone for the conflicts to come. First, the English ships were more heavily armed and inflicted many casualties among the Dutch crews. "We found the guns on their smallest frigates carrying further than our heaviest cannon," reported de With. "And the English, I am sure, fired smarter and quicker than did many of ours."

Only the onset of night and the superior seamanship of the Dutch allowed their escape. Secondly, as the English forced the action,



■ 'The Battle of the Gabbard' by Heerman Witmont shows the Dutch flagship Brederode, right, in action with the English ship Resolution

*Before the outbreak of war, the English and Dutch navies had not fought full-scale battles since 1588 and 1639, respectively*



■ Battle of Leghorn. The exploding ship is the English vessel Bonaventure

## GENERAL AT SEA

**Robert Blake is regarded as one of the founding fathers of the Royal Navy**

A Somerset merchant and MP, Robert Blake (1599-1657) earned his spurs at the siege of Bristol and cemented his burgeoning reputation at the sieges of Lyme and Taunton, eventually achieving the rank of colonel. In 1649 he was promoted to general-at-sea and he served with distinction, blockading the Royalist fleet under Prince Rupert in Ireland, thereby allowing Cromwell to land his army during August of that year. In 1651 he took the Isles of Scilly, the last bastion of the Royalist navy, before proving his mettle during the Anglo-Dutch and then the Anglo-Spanish wars (1654-1660).

Though lacking the sharp tactical acumen of men like Nelson, Blake is widely regarded as one of the founding fathers of what would become the Royal Navy and he did much to lay the foundations for England's naval supremacy throughout the 1650s. He was given a state funeral at Westminster Abbey when he died in 1657, although following the Restoration his body was exhumed and thrown into a common grave.



■ Lieutenant-Admiral Maarten Tromp was the finest Dutch naval commander of his age



many Dutch captains failed to support their admirals. This would prove a problem for the Dutch throughout the war.

The English success at the Kentish Knock saw Tromp reappointed to his position of command and the pendulum swung with a Dutch victory at the year's end. Some suggest that complacency had set in among the English and certainly Blake showed no alarm on hearing that Tromp had been recalled.

The alarm bells rang soon enough, though, as the Dutch caught the English at a disadvantage on 30 November during the battle of Dungeness. With a superior-sized fleet, running at somewhere between 80-95 men-of-war, Tromp engaged the English when they were close to shore and found their manoeuvrability compromised. This time, around several English ships failed to support their commander in combat when urgently required.

Only the onset of night prevented the Dutch from scoring a major coup, and Blake slunk away towards Dover. The Dutch failed to press

home their advantage, however, and though Tromp did land a pair of raiding parties on English soil, one was captured.

The English suffered in the Mediterranean, too, where the Dutch won comprehensive victories. The English admiralty responded to this and Dungeness by laying down the Articles of War in 1653, a new code of naval discipline, which served as the basis of naval administration for over a century. They set a new pay scale for seamen, legislated in the sharing of prize money and ordained severe punishment, even death, for captains who

disobeyed orders or who appeared reluctant to engage the enemy.

The admiralty also focused its manpower on the great ships with their numerous cannon; subsequent English victories owed much to the number of guns, and their heavier shot. Indeed, the success of the English gunnery was seen in the action off Portland Bill.

When the fleets once more came together on 18 February 1653, the English were scattered and the Dutch looked set to press home their numerical advantage. However, their weak firepower yet again rendered them ineffective.

“THE ARTICLES OF WAR SERVED AS THE BASIS OF NAVAL ADMINISTRATION FOR OVER A CENTURY”

## ANGLO-DUTCH WAR TIMELINE

1652

19 May

Blake and Tromp's clash off Dover sparks imminent war.

8 July

War is officially declared between English Commonwealth and the Dutch.

24 July

Blake and Tromp almost clash off Shetland Isles. Bad weather damages the Dutch fleet.

16 August

The Dutch enjoy the better of a skirmish with Sir George Ayscue in the Channel.

27 August

The Dutch defeat the English off Monte Cristo, near Livorno in Italy.

28 September

An English victory at Kentish Knock as Blake defeats de With.

28 November

The Dutch enjoy their greatest victory of the war as Tromp bests Blake off Dungeness.

■ The war's final battle, Scheveningen, in which Tromp died, was rendered by Dutch artist Willem van de Velde the Elder



■ 'Action between ships in the First Dutch War, 1652-1654' by Abraham Willaerts may depict the battle of the Kentish Knock. The mighty English warship, Sovereign, is on the left



*The heaviest English cannonball weighed 27kg (60lbs). The heaviest Dutch gun fired shot weighing just 11kg (24lbs)*



A running fight ensued and by 20 February the English were in the ascendancy. Tromp managed to save much of his fleet, but suffered more than 2,000 dead and 1,500 taken prisoner. The English, meanwhile, suffered minimal losses. Their hegemony in the Channel was now set.

In a bid to push home its advantage the admiralty in March issued its Fighting Instructions, penned by Blake, which laid the foundations of English naval tactics for the next hundred years. The English would adopt a 'line-ahead' formation, whereby ships sailed in line with only a short gap between each vessel, allowing swift communication and more concentrated fire from their broadsides. The Instructions came into play during the war's decisive engagement, the battle of the Gabbard Bank, fought over 2-3 June.

The Dutch, who still favoured melee combat, suffered heavily at Gabbard Bank from continual English broadsides. On the second day, the Dutch launched an offensive with disastrous results as ships ran low on powder, several captains failed to engage and the fleet lost cohesion. The English destroyed ten Dutch ships and took a further 11 before

General-at-Sea George Monck launched the war's first blockade.

Monck's blockade proved a disaster for the Dutch, who saw their economy suffer. The English fleet strangled seaborne trade and some of the coastal cities were said to be facing famine. In a bid to break the blockade, Tromp put to sea again in late July. The two fleets, each numbering around 100 ships, met off Scheveningen on the 31st of that

month. The English, maintaining line formation, repeatedly broke through the Dutch fleet, concentrating their devastating broadsides on individual ships. When Tromp fell to musket fire, mortally wounded, the tide turned. The Dutch lost somewhere between 15-20 ships and up to 4,000 men, while the English casualties amounted to but one ship and no more than 500 men.

Even as the warships fought off Scheveningen, the two governments were discussing peace terms. In April 1654 the Treaty of Westminster officially terminated the Anglo-Dutch War. The Dutch agreed to acknowledge the English flag in territorial waters, pay compensation to English merchants and to respect the Navigation Act. The first Anglo-Dutch War had seen Cromwell's navy increase its number, define its tactics, refine its administration and, crucially, enjoy a morale-boosting victory against a major rival. The English had now emerged as Europe's dominant seafaring force.

1653

● **18 February**  
Hostilities begin off Portland Bill, leading to a decisive English victory

● **4 March**  
The English are again bested in Mediterranean at the battle of Leghorn.

● **29 March**  
Admiralty issues Blake's Fighting Instructions.

● **2 June**  
Monck is victorious over Tromp at battle of Gabbard Bank.

● **31 July**  
Tromp is killed in an English victory at battle of Scheveningen.

1654

● **15 April**  
Peace declared with the signing of the Treaty of Westminster, ratified by the States General on 22 April and Cromwell on 29 April.

# LIFE IN THE PROTECTORATE

As England adjusted to life without a monarch, things would never be the same again

**I**n 1649, the fires of civil war had dimmed to smouldering embers and among them, a shattered nation was trying to pick up the pieces of the life it had once known. What had gone before had changed England for ever. The king was dead, and the time had come for a new type of government, not to mention a brand new world for those who had been his subjects.

From 1649, England and Ireland were governed by a Council of State and the Rump Parliament, with Scotland joining them in 1653. Never a happy situation, Oliver Cromwell regarded the Rump with distaste and, in April 1653, he led a troop of soldiers into Parliament and declared that it was dissolved. Permanently.

Its replacement was the Barebone's Parliament, which proved no more easy to marshal and by the winter of 1653, it was clear that there must be a more permanent change. One of Cromwell's most loyal supporters, John Lambert, took on the role of settling the fractious government once and for all. He drew up the Instrument of Government, which named Oliver Cromwell as 'lord protector', granting him executive power for life. While it's thought that Cromwell was likely reluctant, on 16 December 1653 he assumed this new role. With it, he became the most powerful man in the land.

Cromwell waited until September 1654 to call his first Protectorate Parliament, yet it soon proved to be far from malleable. Once he realised that government were not willing to bow unquestionably to his will, Cromwell employed his powers of dissolution and promptly dismissed the session. This called for a more drastic solution, the lord protector decided. His response was to prove sweeping, yet it wasn't motivated primarily by politics or personality, but rather by God.

Cromwell's decision to change the governmental make up of England came in 1655 as result of a failed expedition to Hispaniola Island, which cost the English dear. Rather than focus on the part improved Spanish defences had played in their victory over English efforts to land on the island, Cromwell became convinced that the defeat was God's punishment for the ungodly nature of the English people. In response, he decided

to win back the Lord's favour by creating a country of pious, God-fearing people. This nation would show unquestionable devotion to God. In addition, Cromwell sought to restore order following some failed Royalist uprisings.

Under the guidance of John Lambert, Cromwell devised a new system of government in which England was carved up into ten military districts under the auspices of major-generals, who answered directly to the lord protector. The 'rule of the major-generals' saw the face of government in England change beyond recognition. The major-generals, 'godly governors', were charged with supervising local military forces, collecting revenue, ensuring that laws and governmental deacons were upheld and, crucially, renewing the religious faith of their individual districts. The major-generals were famously charged with identifying the flippant or ungodly and coming down on it hard.

Under the iron fist of Puritanism, the people were expected to follow the bible to the letter and live a pious, blameless life. As far as Cromwell was concerned, he was leading by example, and he expected everyone to follow his lead. After all, those who gambled, drank and indulged in worthless pastimes such as sports or theatre would never be accepted into heaven, whereas those who rejected such pointless merrymaking would surely be warmly welcomed at the pearly gates. Pleasure for the sake of pleasure was something to be frowned upon and the punishments for those who dared to argue or go against the new laws were severe, ranging from corporal punishment to imprisonment.

It is hardly surprising that the behaviour of women soon came under the eye of Cromwell and his major-generals. There was to be no more make-up and frippery, they decided. Instead, women must go bare-faced and wear the plainest garments, usually a black gown with white apron. Likewise, the fancy hairstyles that had been popular in preceding years were replaced by severe white caps, beneath which the hair would be hidden. Perhaps remembering the flamboyance of the 17th century court, the Protectorate imposed strict dress codes for men, too. Their hair was to be cut into a sensible short back and sides and their clothes should be predominantly black and plain, with no sign of the rich colours and fabrics that had once been a mark of money and prestige.

*Earlier Puritan efforts to cancel Christmas celebrations had resulted in violent riots*





While Cromwell refused to take the crown, as lord protector he became even more powerful than a king



**“ENGLAND WAS CARVED UP INTO TEN  
MILITARY DISTRICTS UNDER THE  
AUSPICES OF MAJOR-GENERALS”**

MON  
TΩ ΘΕΩ  
ΔΟΞΑ



Per flatus per fluctus



Ararat

Moria



Pro Deo lege et grege

Floreat Protektor

et Parliamentum Angliæ &c



Constantia Fortitudo

Lex Corona Columna

Salus Populi Suprema Lex

Magna Charta

Honos pro Bonis

Salvat Insula Legibus Munita

Ex Charta Charitas



Anglia



SCOTIA



Hibernia

Fama



Via unita fortior

Mons Ston



Babilon

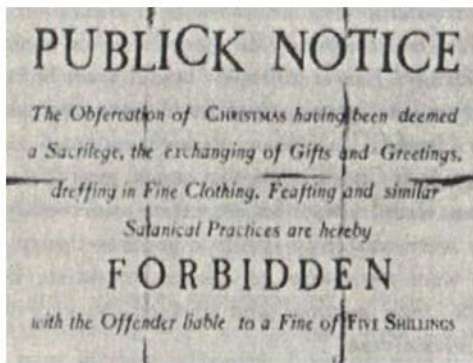
Error

Lotrant Lutrones

Proditores non sunt sancti

Uros dum alij non uruntur

The EMBLEME of ENGLANDS Distractions As also of her attained, and further expected Freedome, & Happines Per H. M.



Sunday became the most important day in the weekly calendar. It was to be reserved for worship and reflection, with any effort to work, enjoy one's hobbies or simply indulge in fun on the Sabbath resulting in punishment. Even something so simple as taking a stroll could see a walker fall foul of the law, unless they could prove their stroll was only going to take them as far as the nearest church and then straight home.

Famously, Cromwell is often referred to as the man who cancelled Christmas, but in actual fact, it wasn't only Christmas celebrations that the Puritans looked down on. Gluttony and partying were the basest form of so-called worship, after all, and religious feasts were replaced by fasts. These were to be held once per month, and people were expected to pay their respects properly on holy days not by carousing, but by going hungry.

In a nation battered by conflict and war and thrust from monarchy to republic under a new and unfamiliar system, all of this proved too much. There is only so much piety one can impose on the mass public and as the scant months of the rule of the major-generals passed, the people who lived under its weight began to push back. They had greeted news of a fast day with disbelief and once soldiers were patrolling the streets searching for the mouth-watering smell of Christmas feasts or the sound of joyous celebration, they had had enough.

England had already seen riots in 1647 over efforts to prohibit feasting and celebration and

*Women caught performing unnecessary work on a Sunday could be placed in the stocks*



concerted efforts to improve the lot of the people in their district. On the whole, though, this effort to rule by the might of military was destined to fail.

In fact, the time of the major-generals was one of unease and disquiet across the country, which was still trying to come to terms with this new landscape. Debts were climbing and military costs seemed to be spiralling out of control until even a 10% tax imposed on Royalists could barely scratch the surface of the cost of the militia. Beset by opponents on all sides, the rule of the major-generals was over by November 1656, a mere 14 months after it had begun.



John Taylor's 1652 pamphlet, *The Vindication of Christmas*, satirised the Puritan attack on festivities and celebration

the weight of the rule of the major-generals proved a burden for the people. Of course, not all major-generals were created equal and while some proved deeply unpopular with those they governed, others were less of a blunt instrument and made

The failure of the major-generals only added to the growing belief that the army wielded too much power even in peacetime. It also proved beyond a doubt that there was no taste for pious godliness in the country, and that the people would not be cowed by government when it came to faith.

In response to the failure of his grand scheme, Cromwell reconsidered his approach to government. Though they had been broadly successful in enforcing the law and ensuring that any hint of unrest was quashed, the brief to restore godliness had singularly failed. It was a lesson well-learned; while there might be a time for moral reform and governmental reform, to try to combine the two in a military landscape simply doesn't work.

When Cromwell was offered the crown in 1657, he begged for time to consider and seek the council of God. It seems that the Almighty wasn't keen and, after more than a month of consideration, Cromwell rejected the offer. Instead he continued as lord protector, governing through the armed forces from the first day to the last.

## THE GODLY CROMWELL

While Cromwell enforced piety across the nation, he didn't always follow his own strict rules

Although Oliver Cromwell, as lord protector, had strong views when it came to the piety and godliness of the people he governed, he didn't always follow his own rules. In a country held in the thrall of the sometimes fierce, always forceful rule of the major-generals, feasting, celebrating, entertainment and most sports were banned. Those who dared to transgress were fined, corporally punished or even imprisoned, but one who wasn't was Oliver Cromwell himself. Believing he was the most godly of all, Cromwell decided that the rules he had set didn't necessarily apply to him. As people across England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales



came under strict new rules regarding how they could spend their free time, their lord protector continued to enjoy his favourite music. He unwound by hunting across his extensive lands and even, after a hard day of governing and enforcing godliness, relaxed with a soothing game of bowls. When Cromwell's beloved daughter was married, the occasion was marked with an enormous feast and a lively party that any king would have been proud of. As the saying goes, 'do as I say, not as I do'.

When his daughter, Bridget, married Charles Fleetwood, Cromwell threw a right royal party

# TO WAR WITH SPAIN

The Anglo-Spanish War saw the Protectorate flex its military muscle and launch an audacious invasion in the Caribbean

**T**he end of the Anglo-Dutch War in 1654 left the Protectorate with an impressive fighting force. Alongside an army of 30 regiments, Cromwell now had a large navy boasting 160 ships. With the threat of Royalist insurrection at home, and a clutch of powerful enemies overseas, the government could not risk disbanding either force.

The navy, however, posed a difficult problem; dissent and mutiny were a constant danger. The government, therefore, needed to keep its fleet occupied and far away from English ports. War and privateering were the obvious choices; France and Spain the obvious foes. Cromwell, ever the pragmatist, chose to unleash his navy on Spain, which was perceived as militarily weaker and less likely than France to support the return of the exiled Charles II. Cromwell could also argue that Spain offered greater prizes when it came to privateering, and elected to focus his efforts on the Spanish West Indies.

This move found articulation through a project called the Western Design, a difficult and ambitious mission to capture a Spanish

possession in the Caribbean. Cromwell initiated the venture by sending a naval squadron from England with 3,600 troops under the command of General-at-Sea Sir William Penn and General Robert Venables, who were later reinforced by a further 5,500 troops raised from the English colonies. The quality of the troops was questionable however – especially among the colonials – and they were poorly supplied and armed.

They launched their major offensive in April 1655, targeting the island of Hispaniola. Things went badly from the outset. The English landed on 14 April, although they disembarked 30 miles from the capital, Santa Domingo, and were soon running short of drinking water. As they struggled through the island's dense vegetation, they were ambushed and routed. Penn's fleet ended its bombardment of the capital to undertake a rescue bid.

Disheartened but not yet defeated, Penn tried again ordering an assault on Santiago (modern-day Jamaica), landing on 11 May. The island was not deemed that important to Spanish ambitions and so was only lightly garrisoned. In less than a week, Penn had broken the resistance, though the Spanish

embarked on a potent guerrilla campaign that cost the English dearly. Penn and Venables returned to England and a furious Cromwell committed both to the Tower of London.

Jamaica did eventually prove its worth to the English, who employed it as a base for privateering against the booty-laden ships returning home from the Spanish colonies. On occasion the navy joined in with the buccaneers, the frigate *Marston Moor* in 1659 landing a prize said to be carrying up to £300,000 worth of plunder. The Spanish

*This particular Anglo-Spanish War was one of many between the 16th and 19th centuries. The most recent ran from 1796-1808 as part of the Napoleonic Wars*



■ The English assault on Santa Cruz in Tenerife was another bid by Cromwell to capture the Spanish bullion fleet



■ Sir William Penn led the Western Design in the Caribbean. He was the father of William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania

■ King Philip IV of Spain dramatically increased the size of the country's naval fleet to provide protection against the navies of England and France



The battle of the Dunes saw the Spanish fail in their bid to lift the siege of Dunkirk



launched a number of bids to retake Jamaica, but lost both major encounters on the island: the battle of Ocho Rios in 1657 and the battle of Rio Nuevo in 1658.

Back in the European theatre, General-at-Sea Robert Blake, who had made his nautical reputation in the Anglo-Dutch conflict, spent the summer of 1655 blockading the port of Cadiz. The blockade was lifted in August 1655, and was then resumed in the spring of the following year, though the Spanish fleet showed no desire to come out and fight. Unlike the Anglo-Dutch War, the conflict with the Spanish featured very few full-scale sea battles.

The Spaniards, instead, concentrated on privateering and from their base in Flanders captured somewhere between 1,500 and 2,000 English merchant ships, while much of the Spaniards' trade was carried in Dutch ships.

The English navy did score a major success in September 1656, however, when Captain

Richard Stayner intercepted eight ships from the Spanish Plate Fleet, which in their desperation to deliver their much-needed cargo of precious metals had elected to sail with no military escort. Stayner is thought to have captured booty totalling £200,000, although only £45,000 was said to have reached England. Still, the success, and the cash, gave the government a morale-raising boost.

In addition, the sons of the governor of Peru, who were rescued from their father's burning ship, told the English that the remainder of the Plate Fleet, carrying millions in bullion, would travel back from the West Indies in December, voyaging via the Canary Islands. Cromwell knew that capturing this fleet would prove a real coup.

His chance came in April 1657 when Blake set sail for the Canaries and launched an attack on Santa Cruz de Tenerife. Militarily, the move was a great success, the English

penetrating one of Spain's most formidably defended ports and burning 12 ships while capturing a further five. The much-desired bullion, however, eluded Cromwell, as the fleet had landed their riches before the attack commenced.

With Cromwell failing to enjoy as many commercial benefits from the Spanish War as he had hoped, he forged an alliance with France and set about preparing for a joint campaign against the Spanish in Flanders, from where their privateers had caused so much damage. The campaign achieved its objectives, taking Mardyke in September 1657 and winning the decisive battle of the Dunes in June the following year.

Once restored to the throne, Charles II brought the Anglo-Spanish War to an end in September 1660. Although it was a costly conflict for both sides, it did much to entrench the reputation of the English navy, which was renamed the Royal Navy in May 1660.

## DEFINING MOMENTS

How England joined the French war against Spain and held Jamaica

### 4 April 1655

#### Porto Farina pirates

The build-up to the Anglo-Spanish War saw General-at-Sea Robert Blake dispatched to the Mediterranean, partly to take action against the Barbary pirates. He attacked the Turkish corsairs at Porto Farina in April, enjoying a stunning success against the shore defences with only 25 men dead. The action is seen as a sign of Blake's ever-growing ability as a marine commander.

### March 1657

#### Treaty of Paris

The Treaty of Paris allied the Protectorate with King Louis XIV of France against King Philip IV of Spain, merging the Anglo-Spanish War with the larger Franco-Spanish War (1635-1659). The centrepiece of the treaty saw France contribute an army of 20,000 troops, England 6,000 troops and her fleet, to a campaign against the Flemish coastal fortresses of Gravelines, Dunkirk and Mardyke.

### 25 June 1658

#### Battle of Rio Nuevo

The largest battle ever fought on Jamaica saw Spanish forces under Cristóbal Arnaldo Isasi launch a bid to retake the island from English forces under governor Edward D'Oyley. The battle raged for two days and the Spanish were routed with more than 300 men dead. The island was officially ceded to England in 1670 as part of the Treaty of Madrid.

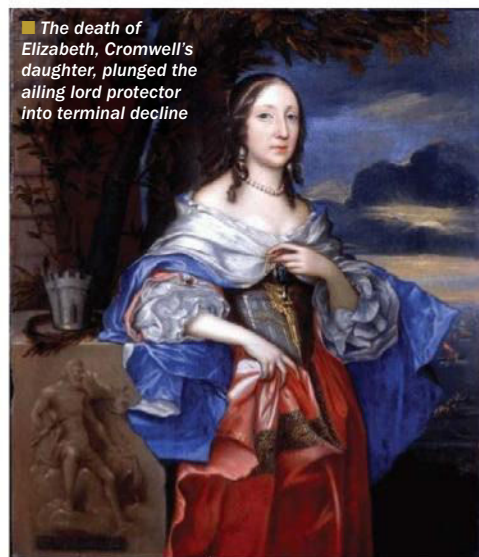
# THE QUESTION OF SUCCESSION

Almost a decade after the execution of Charles I, Oliver Cromwell's health was failing. The fate of the Commonwealth was about to change once more

**I**n September 1658, after almost five years as lord protector of England, Oliver Cromwell's remarkable life was nearing its end. For all the controversy, the hard-fought battles and hard-won victories, this final challenge was one that he would not be able to overcome. Soon, the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland would be under the stewardship of another lord protector.

Oliver Cromwell's death was not drawn out and operatic, but so quick, so sudden that some found its rapidity almost suspicious. At the age of 59, the fighting spark had gone out of the weary old soldier, chased away by a lifetime of battles, some of his own making, and struggle. More than anything, though, the last few months of Cromwell's life were occupied with the fate of his beloved daughter, Elizabeth Claypole.

Aged just 29, Elizabeth fell ill in June 1658 and by the first week of August, she was dead, most likely a victim of cancer. She was always her father's favourite and her death shattered Cromwell, plunging him into a dark introspection from which he never emerged. At the same time, the malarial fever that had been his constant companion for over two decades returned with a fury, striking him down. Sick, miserable and utterly drained, Cromwell's health declined at a startling rate and the final



blow was struck when he contracted a serious kidney infection and pneumonia as the summer of 1658 came to an end.

Oliver Cromwell died on 3 September 1658 and was buried amid great ceremony at Westminster Abbey. What, though, of the land he had left behind?

It was Cromwell's right and responsibility to name his successor as lord protector, yet no written order of succession could be found. Without it, the government of England was thrown into crisis and Cromwell's powerful secretary of state, Sir John Thurloe, searched in vain for the document. In the years to come, his fruitless search would find Thurloe accused of conspiracy and meddling, as some believed that he had destroyed Cromwell's written nomination when he didn't like the name it proposed.

trod carefully as he attempted to identify friend and foe. At every turn he found that military issues dominated matters, with ongoing power struggles and the battle for influence over the new lord protector being fought by many.

As he prepared for the opening of his first and only Parliament in 1659, Richard found that he'd also inherited a substantial debt of almost £2 million. The majority of this sum was owed to the military and he was constantly aware of Charles Fleetwood, Cromwell's son-in-law, hovering on the sidelines. Fleetwood had been commander-in-chief in Ireland and remained a favourite of the New Model Army, as well as being one of the men who some believed Cromwell had really favoured as his successor.

In the end, it was Richard's inability to marry army interests and civil parliament that really caused his downfall. Underprepared for

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*“IT WAS CROMWELL'S RIGHT AND RESPONSIBILITY TO NAME HIS SUCCESSOR AS LORD PROTECTOR”*

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In the absence of written instructions to the contrary and, acting on the word of those who had been with Cromwell immediately before his death, it was agreed that the late lord protector had verbally named his son, Richard, as his successor. On the evening of his father's death, Richard was informed that he was to be the new lord protector. Tellingly, in the speech he gave accepting the role, he also made mention of his own inexperience. These were to be fateful words.

In fact, Richard Cromwell's role as lord protector was over in the blink of an eye. Despite public celebration at news of his appointment, Richard had no established support either in the military or Parliament and without that, he couldn't hope to govern. Cromwell had been a dyed-in-the-wool soldier, but his son was no such thing and when Richard was made the commander-in-chief, the New Model Army looked on him with outright suspicion. Did he share his father's fervour and righteous zeal, or was he merely doing his duty and filling the gap left by a greater man?

Left to navigate a confusing, self-serving landscape of ambition and power plays, Richard

and unsupported in the role of lord protector, Richard found his efforts to enforce his rule constantly undermined. Though apparently supportive, those advisors loyal to the military were subtly undermining him at every turn while the army regarded him with suspicion. Seeing budgetary cuts on the horizon, the army turned this suspicion on Parliament, fearing a reduction in its size in order to cut the enormous cost to the nation.

When the army petitioned Parliament directly and requested a dissolution, Richard's resistance was short and he soon acquiesced. When the Rump Parliament was recalled, Richard was finally excluded from the business of government permanently; if he was going to strike back, now was the time to do it. Instead, Richard did nothing, kept as he was under virtual house arrest in Whitehall Palace. He didn't go out with a bang, but faded away, submitting his formal resignation on 25 May 1659 and pledging to accept the new regime.

Less than a year after he assumed the role, the short reign of the second lord protector had staggered to its unremarkable end. Richard Cromwell would never hold office again.

■ When Oliver Cromwell died in 1658, the Commonwealth was plunged into unrest that saw the country change once more



## DEFINING MOMENTS

The key events that led to Richard Cromwell's succession and swift resignation

**1652**

### Fleetwood's influence grows

As husband to Oliver Cromwell's daughter Bridget, experienced soldier Charles Fleetwood was appointed lord deputy of Ireland. Fleetwood was a major figure in the ongoing struggle between Richard Cromwell and the army, and was eventually one of those who demanded the dissolution of Parliament that ended Richard's career as lord protector.

**1657**

### The Humble Petition and Advice

The Humble Petition and Advice gave Oliver Cromwell the right to name his own successor. However, when he died his close advisor, Thurloe, claimed Cromwell had left no written instructions but had verbally named Richard. His opponents cried foul, believing that Thurloe had destroyed the written instruction to ensure the succession of the malleable Richard.

**1658**

### Thurloe creates controversy

The powerful and influential secretary of state John Thurloe had thwarted a plot to assassinate Oliver Cromwell in 1657 and uncovered numerous other plots against the Protectorate. His inability to find Cromwell's written succession orders gave rise to conspiracy theories among his enemies and his immense influence over Richard was viewed with suspicion by the army.



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# RESTORATION & BEYOND

Cromwell's death opened the door to the return of the monarchy, but the revolutionary legacy of the Civil Wars would live on



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**148** The legacy of the Civil Wars

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# THE RETURN OF THE KING

After the chaos and bloodshed of civil war, the Protectorate at last brought stability and peace to the country. But then Oliver Cromwell, the man who had held it all together, died. What would follow?

**T**o the people who watched it happen, it seemed nothing less than a miracle. After the agony and bloodshed of civil war, and the bitterness and division born of that war, that the king should be restored without conflict seemed indeed miraculous.

Even to the historian, looking dispassionately back at events, there's something extraordinary about the Restoration. Yes, we can trace how it happened, but for it to occur as it did required such a fortuitous confluence of events and personalities that it still seems incredible. A modern-day parallel would be the end of the Cold War: nobody foresaw the almost bloodless end to the long drawn-out nuclear confrontation between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and yet we, the astonished viewers, turned on our TVs to see the Berlin Wall being torn down by pick and axe and hand. So it was for the astonished spectators and actors in the events of 1659 and 1660; no wonder they saw providence at play. No other explanation seemed adequate.

But when, in May 1659, the army forced Richard Cromwell to resign the Protectorate he had assumed on the death of his father, such an outcome was not even a dream on the horizon. The New Model Army had brought down the king and buttressed the Protectorate: in return, it expected due respect and sufficient funding from the government – senior officers knew all too well that an unpaid army might easily become disaffected. When Cromwell and Parliament moved to restrict its power by cutting expenditure on the army, the radicals within the army who had been waiting for their chance acted. So, the army primed its muskets and stationed its troops: Parliament was dissolved in April 1659 and, by the end of May, the new lord protector had gone as well. It is to Richard Cromwell's great credit that he went peacefully. For a war-weary nation to be spared another bout of internecine conflict was a great mercy. As to why Cromwell resigned, let his own reported words suffice: "for the preservation of my greatness (which is a burthen to me), I will not have one drop of blood spilt."

The removal of Cromwell showed clearly where power lay: in the gift of the men with guns. But what would follow?

Before the senior army officers engineered Richard Cromwell's downfall, they had recalled the Rump Parliament in place of the one called by Richard Cromwell. By 1659, it really was a rump, down to 50 members from an original 200. But if they had hoped to cow the recalled Rump into acceding to the army's wishes, they were swiftly disabused of the notion when the Parliament reserved the right to commission officers to itself rather than the army itself. The New Model Army that had fought for the right of Parliament against king was now locked into a struggle with that self-same Parliament.

It was a recipe for instability. In the year that followed the recall of the Rump, new governments rose and fell with bewildering speed: seven in 12 months. After the calamity of the civil wars, such chaos bred fear: the summer of 1659 was known as the 'great fear'.

With both Cromwells out of the way, Royalists attempted to seize their chance. The secret society dedicated to restoring Charles II as king, the Sealed Knot, resumed its schemes and in August an intended general uprising was called. But so many failures bred caution: only in Cheshire did the uprising raise many followers and for a short while the county was held. But when they marched on York under their leader, George Booth, the rebels were defeated by General John Lambert. Booth escaped the defeat disguised as a woman, but was discovered when he asked for a razor while staying at an inn.

For General Lambert, military success meant the chance at power. A long-time associate of Oliver Cromwell, he had thought himself a potential successor to the lord protector until he realised that the succession was to be settled upon Cromwell's family. But now, again, power seemed to lie with those who could command it.

Or maybe not. Two months later, on 12 October 1659, the Rump Parliament cashiered Lambert for sedition. Lambert responded by

locking the members out of Parliament. The army was now, nakedly, in charge. Britain had become a military dictatorship. In response to the climate of chaos, the army created a 'committee of safety', of which Lambert and 22 other officers were members. This committee was supposed to rule collectively and there was to be no House of Lords.

The situation was spinning out of control. From north of the border, a cold and wary eye looked south and, silent, made slow plans. Under the Protectorate, there were three armies: in England, Ireland and Scotland. The army in England, the power base of the 'committee of safety', was divided; the one in Ireland was overseas. That left the army in Scotland. Its commander was General George Monck. When news reached Monck of what

was, in effect, a military coup, he declared against the committee of safety. But, ever the professional soldier, Monck first took steps to secure his position. His army was quartered across Scotland. To ensure its loyalty, Monck spent a month riding to its various bases, removing any officers recently arrived from the south and replacing them with men he knew and trusted. Making use of the slowness of communication, Monck had already, on 20 October 1659, notified the committee of safety of his opposition to its rule. Monck then spun out negotiations with the generals in London

so that he had the necessary time to purge his army of any agents of the other generals jostling for power. That done, on 8 December, Monck moved his purged and loyal army to the border, to Coldstream, and waited: a menacing, potent presence.

In response, the committee of safety sent General Lambert north. But his men, while ready to defeat a rag-tag group of rebels, were not at all keen on meeting another division of the New Model Army. Some declared that, rather than deciding the matter by the lives

*The Coldstream Guards, direct descendants of the New Model Army, take their name from the stream General Monck led them across into England*



■ Returning to England, Charles II was restored to the throne on 29 May 1660



## THE THREADBARE KING

When the Parliamentary commissioners arrived in The Hague to offer the crown to Charles, they found their king living a threadbare and meagre existence. Through his years of exile, Charles and his courtiers had frequently been in great want. His only regular source of income was the small state pension of his mother Henrietta Maria, as daughter of King Henry IV of France, and that had to serve for her upkeep as well. Indeed, so desperate were his finances at times that even the agents Cromwell sent to keep an eye on the doings of Charles and his circle ended up feeling sorry for them.

One wrote, "How they will all live God knows! I am sure I do not!" Seeing the king's straitened circumstances, the commissioners handed over £50,000 in sovereigns, which was soon followed by a gift of £10,000 by the citizens of London. The capital had been the power base for the revolution, so its burghers saw fit to make plain, in cold hard cash, where their sympathies now lay. In response, and as a signal prelude to his reign, Charles sent at once for tailors. The Dutch too started throwing money and honours at Charles. Charles had gone overnight from being an embarrassment to a valued guest.

of their men, the contending senior officers should settle matters in the ring, with the prize the rule of the country. Others simply deserted; for Lambert's army, unlike Monck's, had not been paid. Meanwhile, the navy declared its support for the Rump Parliament over the committee of safety on 13 December 1659, as did the soldiers guarding London (24 December). When the Yorkshire gentry declared for Parliament on 1 January 1660, Lambert's army dissolved.

General Monck had won victory by waiting. On 2 January 1660, he crossed the River Tweed and advanced into England. With all other powers dissolving, Monck advanced, replacing officers of the retreating forces with his own men. Then, in York, he waited.

The Rump summoned Monck to London to protect it. With 5,800 men he began the march south on 16 January but, as he went, he learned, if he had not known it before, that the country held the Rump Parliament in as much contempt as military dictatorship; the cities and counties he passed through presented him with petitions asking for a new, newly elected Parliament, or the recall of those MPs who had been purged from Parliament in 1648.

But the general kept his counsel to himself – indeed, so close-mouthed was Monck that

it was said that his own shirt was not privy to his thoughts. The eyes of the nation were on Monck and his army when he arrived in Westminster on 2 February 1660. Monck attended Parliament on the 6th, standing respectfully behind the Speaker. It seemed the general was for the Rump. Seeing its chance, Parliament ordered the general down river, to the City of London, which had called for free elections, to subdue the unruly Londoners. Monck obliged, removing the city's portcullises and other defences, but leaving the gates. Parliament ordered him to remove the gates as well. Monck did as ordered, but then called his officers to meet with him. He had something to discuss with them.

That something was revealed the next day, when Parliament received a letter, signed by General Monck and his officers, ordering its dissolution and fresh elections. The effect was immediate: throughout London, people celebrated, publicly roasting rumps of beef. According to the diarist, Samuel Pepys, boys “do now cry ‘kiss my Parliament’ instead of ‘kiss my arse’, so great and general a contempt is the Rump come to.”

To speed matters up, Monck recalled the MPs who had been purged from the Long Parliament. The members made Monck lord general, set the date for new elections, and dissolved Parliament. The Long Parliament was finally over.

The Convention Parliament met on 25 April 1660. Its first act was to recognise a House of Lords. The next day, it allowed peers to

■ *The unlikely architect of the Restoration, General George Monck*

*General Monck had his reward from Charles, going from commoner to duke in a single bound, as well as money and other honours*





■ This painting shows Charles in more informal clothing, being presented with a pineapple – a rare and exotic delicacy at the time

take their places in the House of Lords who had reached maturity since the end of the Civil War. Although Royalists were supposedly barred from this Parliament, over one hundred were admitted, and the new Lords were almost all supporters of the king over the water. On 1 May 1660, the houses of Commons and Lords declared “according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this kingdom, the government is, and ought to be, by King, Lords and Commons”. The revolution was over.

On the Continent, Charles Stuart and his court in exile had been watching matters through 1659 and 1660 with increasing interest. But, amid the chaos of changing governments and dissolving armies, it was all but impossible to know who to make contact with and where the levers of power lay. Only by March, when General Monck had been revealed clearly as the power in the land, did Charles know for sure in whose hands his future, and the country’s, lay. To find out what the general’s intentions were, Sir John Grenville, a Royalist, was smuggled into Monck’s quarters at St James’s Palace. Monck, ever cautious,

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## *“THE DECLARATION OF BREDA PROMISED A PARDON TO EVERYONE WHO SWORE ALLEGIANCE TO THE CROWN”*

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refused to write anything down, but suggested that, if Charles were to make his intentions clear in writing, then he, Monck, would see those intentions were relayed to Parliament at a propitious moment. Charles, for his part, ensured that Grenville conveyed to Monck the rewards that would come his way should he ease the path towards Restoration.

Monck, ever mindful of his position, also made sure that Charles knew a condition for his support was that his men should be looked after, specifically by ensuring their payment and that any land they had bought during the Commonwealth that had been sequestered from Royalists should not be taken away. The general also gave Charles one final piece

of advice: move. Charles had been living in Brussels, then under Spanish rule and intensely Catholic. To free himself from the perceived taint of papism, Charles moved to Breda, which was Dutch and Protestant. There, he composed the Declaration of Breda, which promised a pardon to everyone who swore allegiance to the crown, with only the regicides excepted, as well as granting religious toleration to all peaceful Christians. Thus, Charles sought to heal the divisions of the Civil War and to bring onside as much of the population as could be accommodated.

Having voted for the Restoration of the monarchy, the houses of Lords and Commons dispatched six Lords and 12 Commons to

■ Barbara Villiers had already married George Palmer when she met Charles in The Hague, but this didn't stop her becoming the king's mistress



*It was not all politics for Charles in The Hague. It was there he met Barbara Villiers. She became the most notorious of the king's many mistresses, producing five children by Charles*



The Hague (where Charles had moved), and invited him to return as king and sovereign. Among those who bore the invitation was Sir John Grenville, whose negotiations with General Monck had prepared the way for the return of the king.

On 23 May, Charles boarded a ship of what was now his navy. The ship itself, The Naseby, was tactfully rechristened The Royal Charles. Samuel Pepys, who, as secretary of the navy, was also on the ship, noted in his diary Charles's nervous energy during the two-day crossing, and how he could barely keep still but constantly paced the quarterdeck. Finally, on 25 May, the coast of England

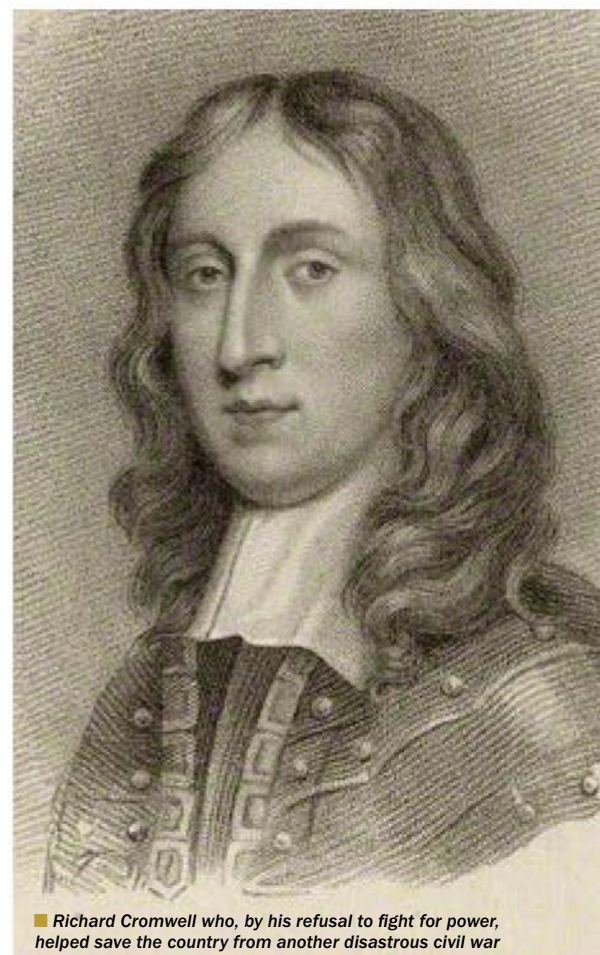
came into view. Charles, dressed in a dark suit but with a scarlet feather in his hat, climbed down into the landing barge and looked at the waiting, expectant crowds.

On reaching the shore, Charles fell to his knees. Though the king's reputation for irony was well deserved, this prayer was genuine. He had regained his throne, past all hope and expectation, with not a drop of blood spilled. It could only have happened through a miracle... and a Monck. The general was on his knees too. When Charles finished his prayer, he rose and went to the man who had made his restoration possible. Raising him, Charles kissed General Monck on both cheeks. As the crowd yelled "God save the King!", Charles said one word to General Monck: "Father."

Together, king and general travelled through Kent. Through the long procession to London, extraordinary crowds greeted Charles, filling the air with joy. Charles wrote to his sister that "my head is so dreadfully stunned with the acclamations of the people that I know not whether I am writing sense or nonsense".

Approaching London, Charles reviewed General Monck's assembled troops, riding up and down the ranks and giving no hint of any disquiet at seeing the New Model Army that had brought down his father thus arrayed. On Tuesday 29 May 1660, his birthday, Charles finally entered London. Fountains ran with wine, parties lasted through day and night, people stared in wide-eyed delight at the return of their monarch. The diarist, John Evelyn, in his entry for this day, summed up the feelings of the city and the nation after so many years of war and chaos.

"I stood in the Strand and beheld it, and blessed God. And all this was done without one drop of blood shed, and by that very army which rebelled against him; but it was the Lord's doing, for such a restoration was never mentioned in any history, ancient or modern, since the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity; nor so joyful a day and so bright ever seen in this nation, this happening when to expect or effect it was past all human policy."



■ Richard Cromwell who, by his refusal to fight for power, helped save the country from another disastrous civil war

## KING OF THREE COUNTRIES

The Restoration restored Charles II as the king of Scotland and Ireland as well. Cromwell's imperial aim to unite all the countries of the British Isles under his rule was rejected. Under the Restoration, England, Scotland and Ireland went back to being separate nations, united only in the person of Charles II as king of each country. Indeed, such was the revulsion in Scotland at the events of the previous decades that the Parliament there returned everything to the legal position of 1633, rescinding all the legislation passed between 1633 and 1660.

In England, the Cavalier Parliament that convened on 8 May 1661 (and lasted until 24 January 1679, making it even longer than the Long Parliament) returned the legislative position to 1641. The Cavalier Parliament, in contrast to the Convention Parliament of 25 April 1660 – 29 December 1660, was determined to reward those who had suffered under the Commonwealth and punish those who had profited from it. The king's wish to close the book of the past was ignored and toleration was pushed aside: there would be no freedom of conscience for dissenters. All religious services other than those of the Church of England were banned.

# RESTORATION AND REVENGE

With the king back on his throne, the men who had killed Charles's father waited to learn their fates

**T**here would be blood. The men who had killed a king knew this well. The question was, how much blood? The answer lay in the gift of the king. As Charles made his way back to London in

May 1660, welcomed by adoring crowds, this question of mercy may have been pushed into the background. But that the problem exercised him is shown by his ironic remark that if he'd known so many people wanted his return he would have come back sooner, for not a single person he had met failed to claim that they had always worked for his restoration. Charles, a man whom experience had taught to expect the worst of people, knew that many of those who had supported the Commonwealth would soon be calling on him, hoping for pardon and mercy.

In the final days before his father's execution on 30 January 1649, the prince of Wales had tried everything to save him from the axe, even sending Parliament a *carte blanche* – a sheet of paper blank save for his signature. This meant that Parliament might write any terms it wished, and Charles would agree to them, that his father be spared. But, after seven years of Civil War, the Parliamentarians were in no mood to be merciful. After nine years of exile, would the returning king be any more merciful than the men

who had executed his father?



However, the answer did not lie with Charles alone. For while he had, in the Declaration of Breda, promised a 'free and general pardon' to everyone prepared to swear allegiance to him as king, there was a caveat: '(excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament)' – the brackets are in the original document. So who would pay for the killing of the king would be a matter not just for Charles but for his Parliament too.

For his part, Charles had always implicitly excepted the regicides from those to be pardoned. While he saw the necessity for a line to be drawn on the traumas of the Civil War, he would have vengeance on the men who had ignored his *carte blanche*. And, indeed, when the Convention Parliament met, the Indemnity

Church of England. There would be no freedom for the sects and beliefs, largely puritan, that had driven the revolution (needless to say, no one proposed freedom of worship for Catholics; allowing the papists to hear mass was simply beyond the pale). Finally, the Conventicle Act of 1664 banned all religious services other than those of the Church of England. Anyone who attended a prayer meeting, whether it be Presbyterian, Baptist, Quaker or some other denomination, was subject to fine, imprisonment and transportation.

As for the regicides, by 1664 those who had survived were already abroad, living generally under false names and identities, in terror of the spies, informers and assassins sent to find them by Charles's spy master, Sir George

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*“FOR HIS PART, CHARLES HAD ALWAYS IMPLICITLY EXCEPTED THE REGICIDES FROM THOSE TO BE PARDONED”*

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and Oblivion Act pardoned everyone from the previous regime, save only the regicides and those directly connected with the execution of Charles I, including the 'two persons who were upon the scaffold in disguise'. One of these latter two wielded the axe that removed the king's head; the other held the king's severed head up for the view of the people assembled on that bright cold day in January.

It was clear that the new king wanted a generous settlement to usher in his reign and the Convention Parliament, swept along in a wave of enthusiasm, was inclined to grant his wishes. But the Parliament that succeeded it, the Cavalier Parliament that convened on 8 May 1661, was not so inclined to generosity. Many of the members sitting in the Cavalier Parliament had lost land, money and family members to the Commonwealth; they would have restitution. Most notably, the freedom of conscience that Charles had proposed to all peaceful Christians was rescinded. Loyalty, to king and church, was the watchword of the Cavalier Parliament. It passed acts making it treasonable to derogate royal authority and requiring all clerics to conform to the established practices of the

Downing. But at least they were alive. However, the three men whom the Royalists most hated had already escaped, by dying: Oliver Cromwell himself, John Bradshaw (the presiding judge at the trial of Charles I) and Henry Ireton (Cromwell's son-in-law and the 'butcher of Ireland'). On 30 January 1661, the anniversary of Charles I's execution, the bodies of all three men were exhumed. The men taking Cromwell from his tomb in Westminster Abbey were likely nervous as to what they might find for after the lord protector's death his body "swelled and bursted, from whence came such filth, that raised such a deadly and noisome stink, that it was found prudent to bury him immediately." As it turned out, it was Bradshaw's body that stank, its smell all but overpowering the men who disinterred it. The three dead men were taken to Tyburn where they were strung up on the gallows until sunset. Then they were taken down, the heads chopped off and the headless bodies thrown into a pit, while the heads were stuck on poles on top of Westminster Hall.

In the months following the Restoration, 32 men were charged with treason and ten executed in the most brutal fashion that judicial process could procure: hanging, drawing and





■ Charles II in all his finery following his restoration to the throne

■ A near contemporary illustration, showing King Charles I and the regicides meeting their respective ends

*A lively Representation of the manner how his late Majesty was beheaded upon the Scaffold Jan 30: 1648:*

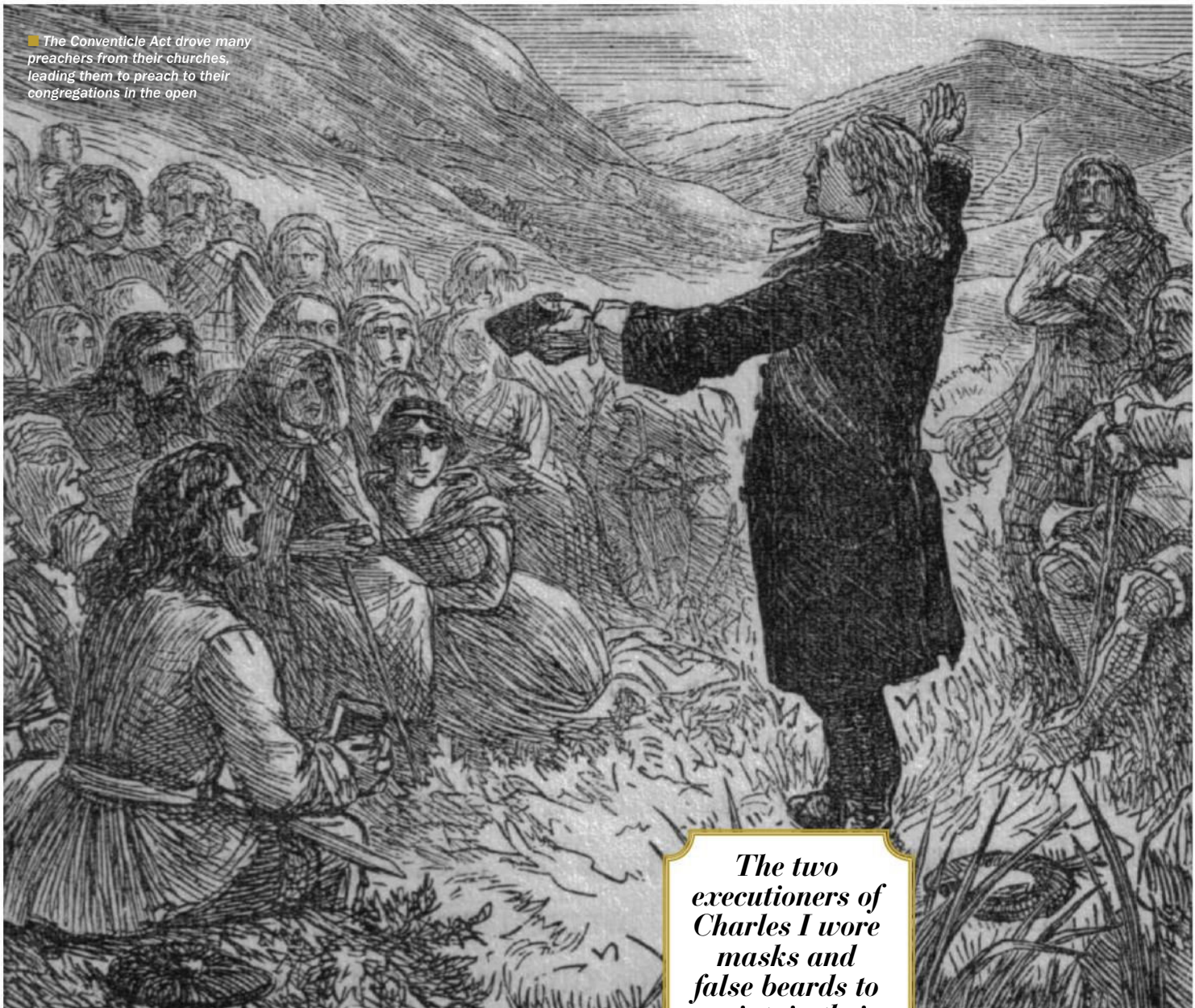
## THE TURNCOAT AND THE GENERAL

One regicide who early in 1660 clearly saw what lay ahead and was determined to avoid it was Richard Ingoldsby. The last military threat to the return of the king lay in the escape of General Lambert, the man who had attempted to stop General Monck's march south from Scotland. Lambert had been put in the Tower of London but had climbed down a rope from his window while a maid, putting on his nightcap and lying in his bed, had managed a 'Good night' sufficiently gruff to convince Lambert's jailers that he was asleep in bed. With a night's start, Lambert fled London, sending messengers out to rally soldiers to the 'Good Old Cause' and bid them rendezvous with him at Edgehill, Warwickshire, where the Civil War had begun. Monck dispatched Ingoldsby after him.

When Ingoldsby caught up with Lambert, the two forces faced off against each other for four hours. Unwilling to fight comrades, soldiers on both sides tried to get men to defect, while Ingoldsby himself went across in disguise and persuaded 25 cavalymen to come over to his side. Finally, Ingoldsby ordered his men to fire and advance. Lambert moved his men to meet them, but when they got within range, they lowered their guns. Lambert attempted to negotiate and escape but Ingoldsby, desperate to prove his loyalty to the incoming regime, set off in personal pursuit and captured Lambert. The last significant military threat to the Restoration had been removed and a grateful Charles pardoned Ingoldsby and knighted him.

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*Representation of the execution of the Kings Judges.*



■ The Conventicle Act drove many preachers from their churches, leading them to preach to their congregations in the open

*The two executioners of Charles I wore masks and false beards to maintain their anonymity: scholars are still unsure who wielded the axe*



quartering. The Commonwealth had employed this punishment on men who had opposed it; now it would be visited upon some of its leading members. The ten regicides, stripped of all clothing save a shirt, were tied to a hurdle and dragged through the street to the place of execution. The hanging strangled but, before death, they were cut down. Then the reason for their lack of attire was revealed. The shirt was lifted and their genitals cut off, before the executioner, with a red-hot gouge, set about disembowelling them before their eyes, the removed entrails being fed to the brazier. Only when this theatre of cruelty was exhausted would the executioner bring death, removing the heart or head and displaying it to the crowd. The head was put on display afterwards, held in a metal brace to stop scavenging birds absconding with the remains, although the Tower of London ravens were known for plucking the eyes from lopped-off heads.

Major-General Thomas Harrison was the first of the regicides to suffer this fate. He had escorted Charles I to London to stand trial and was committed to the king's

execution. His commitment to the Parliamentary cause was rooted in the apocalyptic beliefs of the Fifth Monarchist sect to which he belonged: in the days and weeks leading up to his execution, Harrison became convinced that his death would be part of the great works of God that would usher in the Second Coming of Christ. And his descendants would not have to wait long. The Messiah would return, to banish the godless and raise up his martyrs, in six years' time: 1666. Such beliefs sustained Harrison throughout his trial and in the lead-up to his execution. Come the day itself, Harrison faced the theatre of cruelty with the resolve of a man who believed his actions were justified. Offered the chance to repent and recant, Harrison reiterated the justice of his cause.

He was hanged with the short drop. Then the executioner got to work, wreaking his bloody work on Harrison. But while his

intestines were being burnt in front of him, Harrison gathered his failing strength and punched the executioner. His reward was a swift end to his sufferings. When Charles I had gone to his death, he was determined that he would die in such a manner that he would give witness to the justice of his cause. The

regicides were no whit less determined to die in such a way themselves and, incredibly, almost all of them matched Harrison for courage and endurance. Sick of the bloodletting, Charles called a halt to the public executions of the regicides, commuting the sentences on the others in custody to imprisonment. But those who had escaped into exile, where they might plot new revolutions, were relentlessly pursued by Charles's spies. Three more regicides – John Barkstead, John Okey and Miles Corbet – were hunted down in the Netherlands, extradited and executed, in 1662, while Sir John Lisle was assassinated in Switzerland in 1664, the last man to die for killing the king.



# THE LEGACY OF THE CIVIL WARS

How the outcome of the British Civil Wars created aftershocks that would be felt all around the world

**T**he British Civil Wars had far-reaching consequences that are still being felt around the world today. For one, the 'divine right of kings', by which monarchs were allowed to rule by the grace of God and be treated like deities by their subjects, was exposed as a falsehood. When Charles I was dethroned and executed by his people, no doubt there were several among them were awaiting some divine retribution – none was forthcoming.

However, the Civil Wars did leave several questions in urgent need of answers, like who would govern, and with what legitimacy? And

also what sort of religious settlement would bring peace to the land? The decades following the conflict would be spent trying to find the answers to these questions.

On the plus side, the British Civil Wars laid the blueprint for ending royal tyranny in many countries and also prevented religion from being thrust upon people as opposed to being adopted willingly. This allowed free-thinking people to form intelligent questions and theories as to the natural phenomena that go on around us, and become more accepting of individual beliefs and the human rights surrounding them. It allowed the common man to speak out against indoctrination, and demonstrated that countries could be governed

by a democracy in which everyone's principles could be heard and accepted.

On the other hand, the Civil Wars led to the strengthening of global military forces, with Cromwell's New Model Army being used as the blueprint. Overcoming the Royalists required professional soldiers that were highly drilled in the art of warfare and their might was all-conquering. And if armies could be seen to overthrow someone as powerful as a king, then surely they could be used to conquer anything? Here we take a look at how the legacy of the British Civil Wars affected how countries are governed, how monarchies are allowed to rule and even how people are allowed to think.

## TEMPERING FUTURE ROYAL POWER

Whoever was on the throne was no longer responsible for calling the shots in terms of running the country

**W**hen King Charles I ruled over England, Scotland and Ireland, in a period known as 'personal rule', he did so without being answerable to Parliament. The Civil Wars, however, made it clear that the monarchy would have to negotiate with Parliament in order to tax the country and that Parliament, due to the fact that it held the greater power in this relationship, could ultimately force the monarchy from carrying out acts such as a war, simply by refusing to pay for it. It was this dissolving of a personal rule monarchy that led to Parliament removing James II from the throne in the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and inviting William

of Orange to come and rule Great Britain jointly with his wife, and daughter of James II, Queen Mary II.

King James's policies of religious tolerance had met with increasing opposition by members of leading political circles, concerned by the king's Catholicism and his worryingly close ties with France. When the king's son was born on 10 June 1688, Mary, a Protestant, was displaced as the heir apparent. Fearing the imminent return of a Roman Catholic dynasty, some Tory members of Parliament worked together with members of the opposition Whigs to resolve the crisis by initiating dialogue with William of Orange to come to England.



■ James II, then the duke of York, with his first wife Anne Hyde; he later converted to Roman Catholicism and married Mary of Modena, who bore him a son



## THE EMERGENCE OF MASS ENLIGHTENMENT

In rejecting the religious beliefs imposed on them by their king, the British were able to adopt a more free-thinking approach to society



■ The English Bill of Rights 1689 granted more power to Parliament and established the rights of the common man

**P**erhaps the most widespread legacy of the British Civil Wars was that they put a stop to religious beliefs being imposed on the people without question, paving the way for the Enlightenment – a cultural and intellectual movement of free thinkers that dared to question and seek reasons instead of blindly accepting ideas and principles imposed on them.

The scientific revolution that had begun in the 16th century and continued through to the late 18th century allowed European people to re-evaluate the flawed set of scientific beliefs that were established by the ancient civilisations (and maintained by the church) and discover and convey the true theories regarding the phenomena that they observed in nature. One of the prime movers in the scientific revolution was Isaac Newton, who digested and built upon the work of his predecessors, such as Galileo, Kepler and Descartes, in the field of science and mathematics to come up with a number of natural laws that had previously been credited to divine forces. Newton's approach to the world encouraged observation and realisation not just of causes but of effects, and he showed that scientific thoughts and methods could be applied to nonscientific topics, which fuelled The Enlightenment further.

Although the questioning of religion itself can be traced back to the tensions created by the Protestant Reformation, a 17th century Dutch philosopher called Baruch Spinoza claimed that ethics determined by rational thought were more important in terms of how we conduct ourselves than religion. At that time, the Catholic church was famously corrupt and often ruled using intimidation, fear and false knowledge and was violently intolerant towards dissenters. So when other 17th century thinkers began to similarly question the authority of organised religion, they found plenty of people willing to listen.

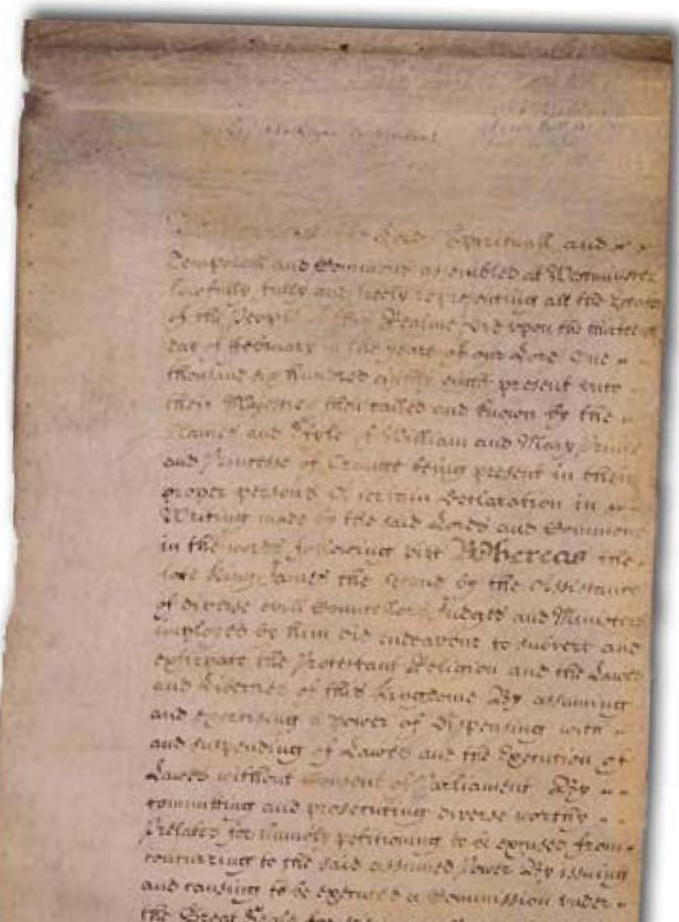
In challenging a monarchy that threatened to impose one set of beliefs on its people, the British Civil Wars allowed a slew of scientific, cultural, social and political developments to extend throughout Europe from which three fundamental ideas emerged. The first was individualism, which emphasised the importance of the individual and his inborn rights; the second was relativism, which was the concept of different cultures and beliefs to have equal merit; and the third was rationalism, the conviction that the power of reason could help improve the world. Had the British Civil Wars not occurred, then the British people might never have been allowed to adopt and express these views.

## MORE POWER TO THE PEOPLE

The Civil Wars highlighted the need for clarity in terms of our civil and human rights, leading to much legislation

**T**he British Civil Wars had a profound effect in regard to certain laws and the limits of royal power. During the reign of Charles II, Parliament passed an important guarantee of freedom known as Habeas Corpus (meaning 'you may have the body') in 1679. This law gave every prisoner the right to obtain a writ or document ordering that they be brought before a judge to specify the charges against them. The judge would then decide whether the prisoner should be tried on the charges or set free. As a result of the Habeas Corpus Act, a monarch could not put someone in jail simply for opposing them, and prisoners could not be held indefinitely without trials.

In 1689, Parliament drafted the Bill of Rights in the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution, to clearly define the limits of royal power. This document listed many things the monarch was prohibited to do, and included the non-suspending of Parliament's laws, the non-levying of taxes without specific permissions from Parliament, not interfering with any freedom of speech within Parliament, and the abolishment of any sort of penalty for citizens who air their grievances to the king. Any changes to the Bill of Rights would require either a supermajority or a referendum, putting more power into the hands of the electorate to help ensure that the principles outlined in the Bill of Rights are upheld.



## THE BIRTH OF DEMOCRACY

The principles established by the Civil Wars were followed by the American patriots

**T**he way in which the British Civil Wars altered the relationship between the king and Parliament had far-reaching consequences across the world, most notably in the Americas. The Civil Wars impacted on the English colonies in the Americas and saw an increase in the number of Puritan migrants, whose beliefs that the church and state should be separated and that people should be allowed to enjoy religious freedom would ultimately shape the future of the USA. As in Britain, there were advocates of different types of churches in the American Colonies. Some championed episcopalianism, some presbyterianism and others congregationalism. In terms of the latter, hundreds of men from Massachusetts and Connecticut sailed back to England during the war to fight on the Puritan side against Charles I, whereas in the episcopalian-minded Royalist state of Virginia, Puritans were expelled, leading to fighting within the colonies.

The principles established by the British Civil Wars helped to underline the structure of the US government, as the founders who wrote and approved the Constitution were inspired by the notions of John Locke and Thomas Hobbes – English Enlightenment thinkers who derived their ideas from the results of the British Civil Wars. This essentially laid the foundation of modern society, where democracy is seen as the most moral and effective way to govern a country.

■ Influential Enlightenment thinkers like John Locke drew their principles from the British Civil Wars and inspired other nations

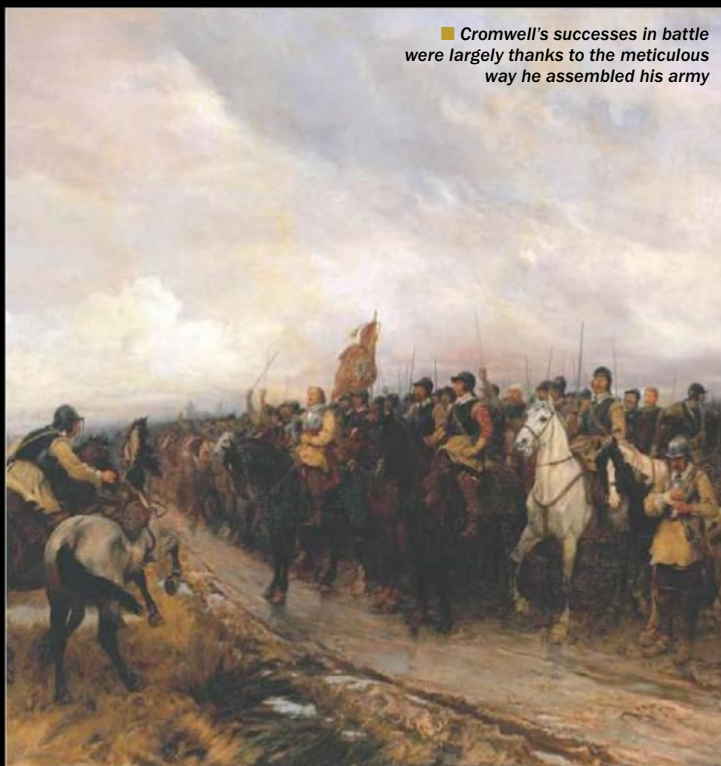
## PROFESSIONAL KILLING MACHINES

How a more professional approach to assembling an army has helped shape modern warfare

**B**esides the political consequences of the British Civil Wars, it also had a great effect on the development of the military. During the wars, Parliament established the New Model Army, a national standing army made up of professional soldiers who were paid to fight. The officers in command of this army were to be independent of Parliament and be promoted on merit rather than social standing. Since the officers were appointed and not elected, the principle of authority was strongly maintained and everyone wore similar uniforms because, as Cromwell once observed, a difference in military attire often led to infighting amongst the troops. The professionalism

extended to military discipline and was used to form firmly cohesive tactical bodies of horsemen through drills and practice. At the start of the Civil Wars, the count of Essex believed that only an understanding of the most rudimentary aspects of military manoeuvres was sufficient. Cromwell, on the other hand, required that not only highly efficient men be made captains, but also that they be given time to drill their troops and hone them into highly accomplished soldiers. Could it be true that the success of Cromwell's individual campaigns and battles did not lie in his personal skills as a leader, but in the meticulous formation and training of his army? Modern warfare certainly bears testament to the latter.

■ Cromwell's successes in battle were largely thanks to the meticulous way he assembled his army



# THE CIVIL WARS AS HISTORY

Over 350 years on, Britain's bloodiest period of history continues to cause dispute in a country reluctant to acknowledge its past



When Oliver Cromwell passed away aged just 59 years old, he died with the adoration of many of his peers and public. Indeed, he died on the anniversary of two of his greatest victories,

Dunbar and Worcester, which seemed to typify a life of a man who had for many become one of England's greatest heroes. Although the unpretentious man was unlikely to have appreciated it, he was buried in a lavish ceremony at Westminster Abbey, ironically similar to the kings he himself had dethroned. As the figurehead of the rebellion that had ended the reign of kings, the idolisation of Cromwell in his

death pressed the public support of the British Civil Wars and all they had achieved.

However, just three years after his death, Cromwell's body was exhumed and posthumously executed, along with three other significant figures from the Civil Wars, Robert Blake, John Bradshaw and Henry Ireton. The body of the man who had been the hero of the common man was hanged in chains at Tyburn, akin to the most treacherous of criminals. His head was then displayed on a pike outside of Westminster for 24 more years, a grisly warning for anyone who would dare think about rebelling against England or its kings ever again. In just three years, Cromwell had gone from celebrated hero to the most heinous criminal to ever grace British soil,

and his legacy, and the other central figures of the conflict, continue to fuel disputes to this day.

It made sense that Cromwell would be villainised following his death. After all, Charles II, the son of the man he had dethroned and killed, had been restored to the throne, so praising Cromwell would have been a very ill move indeed. The man who had been hailed as a valiant crusader of justice was quickly repainted as a ruthless usurper. Displaying his head as a warning turned him into a bogeyman among children and ensured public support for the monarchy for centuries to come. This disdain for the figure of revolution continued centuries later, when George V refused to endorse 'Cromwell' as the name of a battleship. Even as late as 1960,



■ This famous image depicts Charles I calmly reading a book as Cromwell's men taunt him and blow pipe smoke in his face



■ The massacre at Drogheda is a stain on Cromwell's reputation



Wallingford Council refused to name a street after Cromwell, claiming that it had “more than enough benefactors... without entertaining a malefactor of his class”. Some of the country’s most beloved legends have criticised Cromwell, including Winston Churchill who claimed he was a military dictator. In Ireland especially his record is one of mass genocide, cruelty and brutality.

One of the most prevalent images of Cromwell that has persisted to this day is of strict Puritanism. While Cromwell’s stringent religious beliefs were tolerated in his lifetime in a richly religious England, in liberal modern-day Britain this paints him as a miserable, harshly authoritative and cruel figure. Schoolchildren are taught the horrors of life under Cromwell with colourful and shocking facts. Cromwell’s England was one where women could not wear makeup, walking on a Sunday was forbidden, colour was stripped from clothes, theatres were closed and Christmas was banned. By focusing and emphasising these elements of his rule, the honest, passionate and heroic man Cromwell has been hidden behind a larger-than-life caricature – a serious man with a large nose, warts and a tall hat wagging his finger and saying no. It would be an easy narrative to paint the Parliamentarians as heinous usurpers and the royalty as innocent victims; however, this is also not the case.

*The poets John Milton, Andrew Marvell and John Dryden all attended Oliver Cromwell's funeral*



far more in the days following his death than today. He was canonised by the Church of England as a saint and churches were founded in his honour. Even as late as 1836 he was the focus of an oil painting by Delaroche, ‘Charles I insulted by Cromwell’s Soldiers’. The painting displays Charles akin to a Christ-like figure of sacrifice, being harshly mocked by his cruel and oafish enemies before going to his execution.

Recent historians, however, do not share this view of the innocent, victim king, but rather a man who brought about his own ruin by greed and incompetence. Charles’s belief in his own divinity has helped to turn modern opinion



against him, as he wrote: “Princes are not bound to give account of their actions but to God alone.” Few educated people today accept the view that Charles was a cruel tyrant, but opinions are far from the glowing accounts of the king that followed his death. Indeed, Charles’s legacy is so mired in controversy that the current Prince Charles is very unlikely to take the title of King Charles III upon his accession to the throne. Although this is influenced by the association with Charles I himself, it is this name connection to one of the bloodiest periods of British history that is most damaging.

It is no wonder that Cromwell is reviled by so many; revolutions, which Cromwell did indeed lead, are seen as so distinctly un-British that even today we refuse to call the British Civil Wars what they were – a rebellion, a revolution. For a country that has such a rich history and indeed fondness for its monarchs, to acknowledge the dark past of rebellion and regicide would conflict with our very idea of Britishness. It is also likely

■ Cromwell and his fellow revolutionaries' bodies were exhumed and 'executed' on the 12th anniversary of Charles I's execution



*The British Civil Wars are also frequently referred to as the Wars of Three Kingdoms, referencing Ireland, Scotland and England*



for this reason that Charles's memory has been tarred by the same brush. The Civil Wars are an unfortunate and awkward truth that can be difficult to confront fully, unlike the French Revolution and American Civil War, which are both upheld as important and monumental moments in the history of their respective countries. The civil war in Britain, equally as far-reaching and consequential, is akin to a dirty secret. The most beloved period of British history is undoubtedly the Victorian era, a virtually bloodless era of class, refinement and glorious empire, but the Civil Wars were brutal, bloody and for which no blame can be placed overseas or beyond our door. It makes sense then that the two figures most associated with this abhorrent period of British history are fated to be forever tarred with its gruesome

reputation. It is only in recent times that the benefits of the Civil Wars have begun to be discussed popularly, and up until very recently the entire event has been boiled down to one central act – the execution of a king.

Although the Civil Wars continue to remain one of the most controversial episodes of British history, a more liberal view of the events has begun to take hold in Britain. Cromwell himself has been praised as a hero of liberty, and in 2002 was voted as one of the top ten greatest Britons of all time. As much as he continues to divide opinion, Britain has begun to embrace

Cromwell, and what he stands for, as a key part of our history. If one travels to the heart of modern government, Parliament Square, there is a towering bronze statue of Cromwell, dressed in full cavalry attire gripping his sword in one hand and his bible in the other. A short walk away, in Banqueting House, in a small recess sits a bust of Charles I. These two key

players of the Civil Wars sit in the heart of British politics today and then so do the Civil Wars themselves.

For as much as the Civil Wars broke the rules of British history, brutally ending a long

legacy of institutional monarchy, they also play a key role in today's conception of Britishness. The clash between the Roundheads and Cavaliers, and what each respective group represents, has never truly ended, for it is a battle still raging throughout the nation today. This then is perhaps why the Civil Wars and their central figures continue to be a source of controversy and dispute; the philosophical battles have continued long since Charles placed his head upon the chopping block. The idea of the 'other Britain' being given a

voice, the balance of power and the will to topple centuries-old establishments are as enduring, relevant and poignant today as they were in the 17th century.

In this way, the Civil Wars are perhaps one of the most British parts of our past, whether we wish to acknowledge them or not. We do not know for certain the final resting place of Cromwell's body – some say it was thrown into a ditch, others that it lies beneath the gallows at Tyburn – but his heart, undoubtedly, beats at the centre of British history to this day.



***“AS HE CONTINUES  
TO DIVIDE OPINION,  
BRITAIN HAS BEGUN  
TO EMBRACE  
CROMWELL”***



## ***IRELAND'S MOST HATED***

**Cromwell remains one of the most despised figures in Irish history**

Cromwell's legacy is much disputed all over the British Isles, but in Ireland at least there is consensus. During Cromwell's invasion of the country he laid siege to the town of Drogheda, resulting in many innocent civilians being slaughtered. The sack of Wexford was another atrocity. Both events have been used to fuel anti-Cromwell views in Ireland ever since, serving as an example of his extreme cruelty. Despite the

fact that Cromwell's personal responsibility for the massacres is in some dispute, and they were not unusually brutal for the 17th century, Cromwell to this day remains a despised figure in Ireland. This enduring hate of the English invader has also been used to fuel anti-English sentiment in Ireland, as well as motivation for Irish nationalism. As late as the year 2000, when Cromwell's death mask was brought to Drogheda, it was compared to

'asking a Jew to meet Adolf Hitler'. Despite the arguments of many historians that no civilians were deliberately targeted, Cromwell for many in Ireland remains an enduring figurehead of the cruel, ruthless English conqueror, and no matter how much new information or opinions of his actions come to light, Cromwell's detested position is so cemented in Irish thought, it is unlikely to change any time soon.



■ Paintings such as this, created in 1878, have done little to paint the Parliamentarians in a positive light since the Civil Wars

# WHAT IF CHARLES I HAD WON THE CIVIL WARS?

Experts weigh in on how an alternate history might have played out

## What would have happened if Charles I had won the Civil Wars?

**Christopher Langley:** A serious policy of purging national and local councils of those who were clearly disaffected with the Royalist cause. Those who had changed sides would be tolerated in exchange for an oath declaring their allegiance – similar to the oaths administered by his son [Charles II] after 1660. Charles would have had to change his religious policy. A broad-based system would continue with bishops at its head, but perhaps local disciplinary structures may have been tweaked to allow local management. Extremists on either side (Presbyterian, Catholic or radical) would have been excluded.

**John Morrill:** It depends on whether it was won by a knock-out blow, such as complete victory at Edgehill or Turnham Green and a royal occupation of London, or as a result of a 'winning draw' – in which case, a negotiated settlement in which Charles agreed to honour the concessions he had made in 1640 and 1641 but not the new demands made in 1642 and beyond.

## Which battles would Charles have had to win to regain control in the war?

**Langley:** This is a difficult question as much depended upon political machinations after battles. I am inclined to mention that a decisive victory at Edgehill may have allowed for a more dramatic march toward the capital – the loss of any real Royalist presence in the southeast severely hindered the war effort. A real Royalist victory at the first Battle of Edgehill may have inclined some in Parliament to soften their stance and provide Charles with an important bargaining chip. Alternatively, Marston Moor in 1644 was critical as it had serious consequences for any Royalist desire to connect supporters in Scotland, Ireland and the north of England.

## What would have happened to Oliver Cromwell, the Roundhead Army and the Parliamentary supporters?

**Langley:** With the possibility of routing the New Model Army [the force raised by the Parliamentarians], the Royalist negotiating position would have been much stronger. While Charles may have wanted the New Model disbanding, he would have had to deal with the arrears in pay accrued since its formation. If Charles would have carried the day early on in the conflict, Cromwell may have been imprisoned, but his position would not have been so prominent. After Marston Moor in 1644, Cromwell's star really rose. Cromwell's destiny would have been dependent on his own response. However, if he continued to oppose Charles and refused to accept his authority, he would have been executed for treason.

## Would Charles now have complete power over the English Parliament?

**Morrill:** In the unlikely event of Charles winning an all-out victory, he would have attempted to resume Personal Rule [the period from 1629 to 1640 when he didn't call Parliament]. With no foreign threat and the economy bouncing back from the wartime recession, he could probably have managed on the funds available but being Charles there would likely have been provocations. The genie of Puritanism was out of the bottle and it is almost impossible to see him behaving as sensibly as his son did in managing that problem.

## Would England have regressed as a country without having a parliament?

**Langley:** Following the 1641 Triennial Act [requiring that Parliament meet for at least a 50-day session once every three years], Parliament would certainly have been recalled. The question of 'when' is more tricky. I am inclined toward thinking that Charles would

have recalled a purged Parliament and pressured it to pass acts against treasonable figures. Of course, Charles would have had to deal with the 'ordinances' (rather than full-blown 'acts') that Parliament had passed in his absence. As many of these were associated with cash generation, one is inclined to feel that Charles would have kept some of them and rubber-stamped them as full acts. Following the fears of social unrest, the return to stability may have been greeted happily in some quarters. Parliament had already obtained concessions from Charles, so England would not have emerged from a Royalist victory as an absolutist state. Despite the 11 years when Charles ruled without a parliament, he had no designs on serious reform along the lines we see by 'absolutist' French kings later in the century.

## What would have been the religious response?

**Langley:** Charles was committed to a broad Church of England with himself at the head, buttressed by a series of archbishops. In the event of any victory, Charles could not simply turn the clock back. If a decisive victory occurred before 1646 (when the Westminster Assembly abolished key parts of the Anglican Church) then less work would have had to be done. Pressure to reform the Church would have continued to exist and some Presbyterians at the Westminster Assembly were already pushing for a middle way.

**Morrill:** Charles believed he would answer to God for his actions as head of the Church. He also believed the Church of England was both Catholic and Reformed – that it was in direct descent from the apostolic church but had thrown off the corruptions introduced in worship and practice by bishops and patriarchs of Rome who had also claimed authority over all other patriarchs.

## How would Ireland and Scotland have fared under Charles' continued kingship?

**Langley:** Charles governed Scotland like his father: in absentia. I cannot see Charles becoming any more 'hands on' with Scotland if he had been victorious in England. The idea of one religious policy for England, Scotland and Ireland may have slowed down, but it was something to which Charles was

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*“A REAL ROYALIST VICTORY AT EDGEHILL MAY HAVE INCLINED SOME IN PARLIAMENT TO SOFTEN THEIR STANCE”*

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**DR  
CHRISTOPHER  
LANGLEY**

An historian of the social and religious aspects of Early Modern Britain and Ireland, Dr Christopher Langley is a lecturer at the University of York and Newman University.

He is in the process of publishing the book *Worship, Civil War And Community, 1638-1660*, which will focus on warfare and religion in the Civil War era.



**PROFESSOR  
JOHN MORRILL**

John Morrill FBA is Life Fellow of Selwyn College Cambridge and Emeritus Professor of British and Irish History. He is a prolific author of more than 120 books and essays, mainly about the Civil Wars of the 17th century and about the aftermath of the Reformation.



■ Oliver Cromwell, the leader of the Parliamentary forces, would have been executed if he hadn't accepted the king's rule



■ Oliver Cromwell and Roundhead troops at the Battle of Marston Moor, which was a decisive victory for the New Model Army



## HOW WOULD IT BE DIFFERENT?

● **Personal rule**  
After further disagreements in government sessions, Charles dissolves Parliament and rules personally for 11 years without calling Parliament even once.  
**1629**



● **The Civil Wars begin**  
Civil war now seems inevitable and Charles flees to Nottingham from London. Both forces prepare for war and cities declare which side they are supporting.  
**August 1642**

## REAL TIMELINE

● **Petition of Right**  
After numerous disagreements over tax, Parliament forces Charles I to sign a petition reducing non-parliamentary taxation and imprisonments without trial.  
**1628**



● **War with France ends**  
Following a series of defeats, England ends its involvement with the Thirty Years' War and makes peace with France and Spain. The end of English involvement means Charles has less need to raise taxes, and thus less need of Parliament.  
**1629**

● **Grand Remonstrance**  
As rebellions are quashed in Ireland, Parliament presents to Charles the Grand Remonstrance, a list of grievances. Parliament looks to take full control over the English Army.  
**October 1641**

● **Attempted arrests**  
Charles, accompanied by 400 soldiers, attempts to arrest five members of the House of Commons on charges of treason. This attempt fails, as they are not present and the speaker of the house pledges his loyalty to Parliament.  
**October 1641**

## REAL TIMELINE

## ALTERNATE TIMELINE

committed. An English invasion of Scotland would have been avoided as it would have opened divisions in the English – many English Puritans still saw Scotland's Presbyterians as a beacon of hope and may have actually sided with them.

As for Ireland, the situation was different. Charles had significant pockets of support but more decisive action would have been needed. Victory in England would have allowed Charles to either change tactic or break off negotiations with the Catholic Confederation altogether. While Dublin and the Pale remained largely loyal, it is difficult to envisage Charles quelling Irish resistance without a land invasion.

**Morrill:** Charles could have left Scotland well alone. He had cut a deal with them in 1641 which we would nowadays call devolution max – self-determination and self-governance with him as puppet king. He could have tried to divide and rule, but it would have been low on his list of priorities as he tried to rebuild in England. Ireland as early as late-1642 was 85 per cent under Irish-Catholic control and he might well have cut a deal with the Irish Confederation – a kind of devolution max – so as not to have to pour money into reconquering Ireland. We might even have got the 1921 partition into Catholic South and Protestant North 300 years earlier!

**What would have England been like in 1651 after a Royalist victory?**

**Langley:** Some historians have described the Cromwellian 1650s as a 'police state.' Charles may have feared similar dissent

# THE BALANCE OF POWER

How was England split between support for Charles I and Cromwell's forces when the Civil War broke out in 1642?

**Key to the map**

- Royalist territory
- Parliament territory
- Towns controlled by Parliament
- Towns controlled by Royalists
- Key battles



from disaffected individuals and chosen to do something about the unregulated printed presses in London and tried to control their output. The presence of many troops created problems for the Cromwellian regime – I see no reason why an army would not have caused Charles a headache, too. In Scotland, demobilised troops would probably have gone back to fight in the final stages of the Thirty Years' War.

The religious experiments that took place in the 1650s under Cromwell would have been

totally different under Charles. Charles would have attempted to settle England back to an Anglican middle-way – and there is plenty of evidence to suggest that moderate Anglicans dotted throughout 1650s England would have welcomed it. Religious dissent would have gone underground – like before the war – but would have perhaps led to problems in subsequent decades for Stuart rule.

**How would Cromwell's defeat have affected the likelihood of future revolutions in other nations?**

**Morrill:** The inspiration of the English Revolution for later revolutions is precisely that; the revolution of 1649 and the extraordinary outpouring of radical writing in the years 1646-59 – Milton, Harrington, Algernon Sidney, Cromwell. If there was no 1649 revolution, then none of those might have happened.

*“WE MIGHT HAVE GOT THE 1921 CATHOLIC SOUTH AND PROTESTANT NORTH 300 YEARS EARLIER”*

**Unsuccessful siege of Hull**

Royalist forces unsuccessfully besiege Kingston Upon Hull and fail to gain access to the city's armouries. **July 1642**

**The New Model Army**

A speech by Cromwell to Parliament overrides the military high command and gives all power to this new military force. **February 1645**



**Battle of Naseby**

A decisive victory for the Parliamentarians sees Charles flee to Scotland. He is eventually sent back to London to face his enemy and the charges they bring against him. **June 1645**



**Battle of Marston Moor**

The Royalists gain several small victories until Parliamentarian cavalry rout Charles' men at the Battle of Marston Moor in North Yorkshire. **July 1644**



**Parliament disbanded**

With no organised force to oppose him, Charles strips Parliament of its power and purges any of his political rivals. Oliver Cromwell refuses to accept his king's victory and is executed. **January 1643**

**Church control**

Charles tightens his grip on religious affairs by becoming the self-proclaimed head of the Church of England, with personally hand-picked bishops in support. **1645**

**Charles executed**

Despite many Parliamentarians not wanting to put the king on trial, he is and is found guilty of a "traitorously and maliciously levied war against the present Parliament and the people therein represented." Charles does not recognise the legality of the trial and refuses to defend himself. The king is beheaded. **30 January 1649**

**Successful siege of Hull**

By bribing the city's governor, Kingston-Upon-Hull opens its gates to Royalist forces and they fully equip their arsenal for the march south. **July 1642**

**The march south**

After victory at Edgehill, London is besieged by Charles. Cromwell's forces fall and the capital and Parliament come back under Caroline rule. **October 1642**

**Loyal to the king**

Cromwell's New Model Army is dismantled and a new royal army is created, loyal and answering only to a victorious King Charles. **1644**

**War in Europe**

Shying away from an invasion of Scotland or Ireland, Charles' head turns to Europe where he attempts to restart the Thirty Years' War. **1647**

**Revolts**

Uprisings are common throughout the country but with no organised revolution on the horizon, England remains firmly under monarchical rule once more. **1649**



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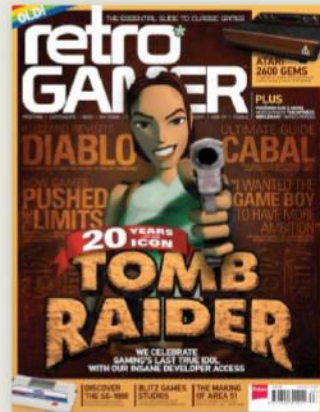
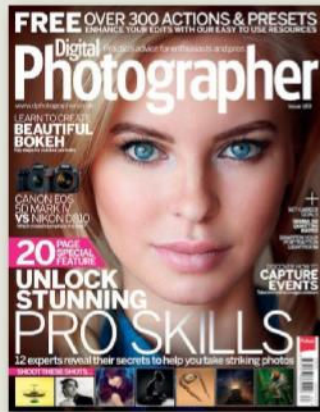


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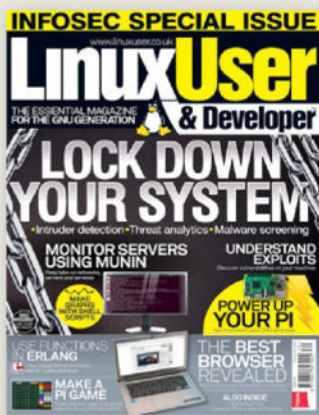
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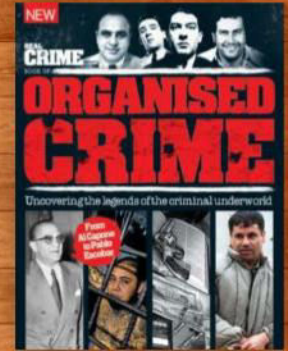
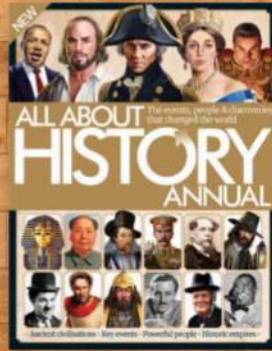
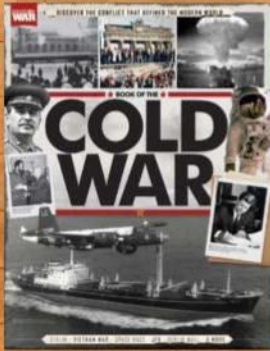


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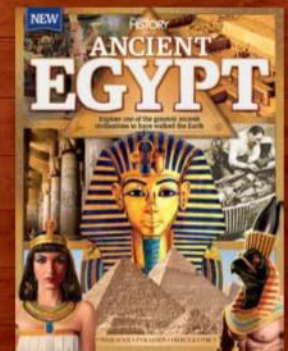
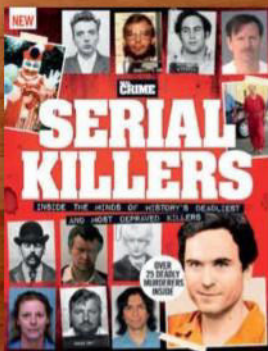
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