The Big Ideas

SECTION 1: The Glorious Revolution
Throughout history people have struggled for rights. During the English civil wars and the Glorious Revolution, nobles and wealthy commoners established the principle of representative government.

SECTION 2: The Enlightenment
Moral and ethical principles influence the development of political thought. Enlightenment thinkers believed that human nature was rational and good, and wanted government and society to be based on reason.

SECTION 3: The American Revolution
Throughout history people have struggled for rights. Inspired by a belief in natural rights theory, American colonists rebelled against Britain to found a new nation.

1751 Diderot becomes editor of the Encyclopedia
1788 The Constitution of the United States is ratified by nine states
1748 Montesquieu publishes The Spirit of the Laws
1776 American colonies declare independence from Britain
1792 Mary Wollstonecraft publishes A Vindication of the Rights of Women

Chapter Overview
Visit the Glencoe World History—Modern Times Web site at wh.mt.glencoe.com and click on Chapter 2—Chapter Overview to preview chapter information.
Careful readers piece together information as they read, remembering information from different places in the text. They spot ideas as they go—sometimes these are found in different sentences, pages, or even sections. When the reader makes sense of these related ideas, he or she is synthesizing.

By the end of a section, the reader can usually understand how the different ideas are related to one another. Sometimes authors include a paragraph at the end of a section that will trigger the connections that you, the reader, have already made. The ending paragraph might also forecast topics covered in upcoming sections to help you prepare for additional connections.

Look at this concluding paragraph for Section 1 of Chapter 2. See which two historical groups are referred to in connection with the Glorious Revolution.

... the Glorious Revolution of 1688 had a huge impact. It inspired French thinkers to speak out against absolutism. British colonists ... applauded Parliament’s fight, and saw their own parliaments in the colonies as having the same rights. Fully aware of events in England, the colonists expanded their concept of rights and liberties.

As you read this chapter, keep track of the factors that led to the Glorious Revolution as well as the results. Do the same thing when you read about the Enlightenment and the American Revolution. When you are finished, look at your notes for all three developments. Consider the kind of factors that operated in each and think about how they are related to one another. Can you draw any overall conclusions? If so, you are synthesizing.
How do you think that Locke’s ideas have influenced people’s perceptions of themselves and society over time? Make a list of the natural rights that you have just by being human. How would you modify the list that Locke originally proposed?
The Birth of a Son

In early June of 1688, as the late-spring sun warmed the English countryside, the royal family prepared for a birth. Queen Mary, the mother-to-be, was the second wife of King James II. The king, who had come to the throne in 1685, already had two grown daughters, Mary and Anne, by his first wife. Both were Protestant. Mary would succeed her father, but a male heir would take precedence. The problem was that any male heir would be Catholic, for the new queen was Catholic. So too was James II.

As king, James II was head of the Protestant, or Anglican, Church of England. Most of the English people were Protestant, but James wanted to return England to the Catholic fold. His attitude was, as he said, “Know I am your King, I will be obeyed.” He even appointed Catholics as generals of the army. Would James then ignore the wishes of his Protestant Parliament? Would he take England back into the Catholic camp?

On June 10, the queen gave birth to a son. Some of the king’s enemies argued—wrongly—that the child was not really the king’s son but someone else’s infant who had been smuggled into the queen’s bedroom. Outraged at the thought of a Catholic king, seven leaders of Parliament signed a letter inviting William of Orange, the Dutch leader and husband of James’s older daughter, Mary, to come and rule as a Protestant king. William came with an army, James II fled, and England experienced its Glorious Revolution.

Why It Matters

The Glorious Revolution was an important turning point in English history. When William and Mary accepted the throne from Parliament, they agreed to a declaration of rights. This declaration, soon enacted into law as a Bill of Rights, affirmed Parliament’s right to make laws and raise taxes. Parliament was now recognized as a vital part of government, thus laying the foundations for a constitutional monarchy. Years later, with the expansion of the right to vote to all males, England would become a democracy.

History and You In the United States, the legislature, or Congress, had power from the very beginning, but not everyone was represented in Congress. Make a chart showing when each of these groups attained representation: all adult males, women, African Americans, and 18-year-olds.
The Glorious Revolution

Section Preview
During the English civil war and the Glorious Revolution, nobles and wealthy commoners established the principle of representative government.

Main Idea
- In the 1600s, absolutist rulers in Europe were asserting that their power came directly from God, but in England Parliament was expanding its political power. (p. 176)
- Civil war broke out in England in 1642 between supporters of the king and the Parliament, and in 1649 Parliament proved victorious. (p. 179)
- England’s Glorious Revolution created a constitutional, or limited, monarchy in which the monarch shared power with Parliament. (p. 181)

Content Vocabulary
divine right of kings, commonwealth, natural rights

Academic Vocabulary
attribute, restraint, consensus, hypothetical, mutual

People to Identify
Elizabeth I, Puritans, Charles I, Oliver Cromwell, Charles II, James II, William of Orange, John Locke

Reading Objectives
1. Identify problems that troubled Europe between 1560 and 1650.
2. Explain how the Glorious Revolution undermined the divine right of kings.

Reading Strategy
Summarizing Information
As you read this section, use a chart like the one below to summarize the rulers’ positions on religion and power.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ruler</th>
<th>Position on issues of religion and power</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Henry VIII</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Stuarts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oliver Cromwell</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William &amp; Mary</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
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California Standards in This Section

Reading this section will help you master these California History–Social Science standards.

10.2: Students compare and contrast the Glorious Revolution of England, the American Revolution, and the French Revolution and their enduring effects worldwide on the political expectations for self-government and individual liberty.

10.2.1: Compare the major ideas of philosophers and their effects on the democratic revolutions in England, the United States, France, and Latin America (e.g., John Locke, Charles-Louis Montesquieu, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Simón Bolívar, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison).

10.2.2: List the principles of the Magna Carta, the English Bill of Rights (1689), the American Declaration of Independence (1776), the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen (1789), and the U.S. Bill of Rights (1791).
Background to Revolution

Main idea In the 1600s, absolutist rulers in Europe were asserting that their power came directly from God, but in England Parliament was expanding its political power.

Reading Connection Have you ever heard it said that someone acted as if he or she were “above the law”? Read to learn how the English Parliament challenged kings who claimed to be accountable only to God.

At the end of the seventeenth century, English nobles and landowners carried out an important political revolution called the Glorious Revolution. It forced the king to recognize that he must rule in accordance with the laws they approved.

This revolution was one of three great political events in the Western world in this period—the other two were the American Revolution and the French Revolution. Each made a different contribution to the ideas that have shaped the modern world.

Jacques Bossuet, a seventeenth-century French bishop, explained a popular viewpoint:

“It is God who establishes kings. They thus act as ministers of God and His lieutenants on earth. It is through them that he rules. This is why we have seen that the royal throne is not the throne of a man, but the throne of God himself. It appears from this that the person of kings is sacred, and to move against them is a crime. Since their power comes from on high, kings . . . should exercise it with fear and restraint as a thing which has come to them from God, and for which God will demand an account.”

Bossuet’s ideas about kings became reality during the reign of King Louis XIV.

The Glorious Revolution introduced the principle that the king must bow to the representative body in a nation. The American Revolution clearly spelled out the roles of government institutions and the rights of citizens in a republic. The French Revolution experimented with several forms of government, and went furthest in asserting the principles of liberty and equality for all people, regardless of their economic status.

The Glorious Revolution was the first of these three great revolutions. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, most European countries were governed by absolute rulers who asserted that their power came directly from God. Monarchs who believed in the divine right of kings did not consider themselves accountable to their citizens, but only to God. Individuals who dared to question a monarch’s actions could be put to death. They might be considered sinners against an established religion because they had flaunted a king who was so close to God.

The most famous absolutist ruler was Louis XIV, who ruled France from 1643 to 1715. Louis had an unshakeable belief in divine right and saw no need to consult his subjects, not even his great nobles. Louis’s reign can best be summed up by a famous saying attributed to him: “I am the state.”

In England, the political system had developed in the opposite direction. During the Tudor dynasty of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, the English monarchs discovered that having the support of Parliament—the body of nobles and wealthy commoners who claimed to represent the nation—was an advantage.

By 1700, however, English monarchs not only ruled with Parliament, but had to recognize that Parliament was the ultimate authority if there were disagreements. The idea that a parliament could limit the monarch’s power is simple, but it took centuries and violent conflict before it was accepted. In England, the conflict began in the 1640s and was not settled until 1688.
How the Tudors Ruled  From 1485 until 1603, England was governed by the Tudors, including King Henry VIII, who reigned from 1509 to 1547, and his daughter Elizabeth I, who reigned from 1558 to 1603. Both were strong and shrewd rulers who regularly consulted Parliament to get support for their policies. Their practices helped create an expectation that Parliament would be listened to.

Henry and Elizabeth needed Parliament’s help in one area especially: religious policies. Conflicts over religion were dividing powerful interests in the kingdom. Henry really created the problem when he demanded that the pope approve a divorce from his first wife, Catherine. Catherine gave birth to several daughters, but Henry wanted a son to succeed him. He wanted the pope to declare his marriage invalid so he could remarry.

The pope refused, not only because declaring a marriage invalid was a rare event, but because Catherine’s royal family in Spain were strong papal supporters. Henry finally decided to declare himself the head of the church in England. English archbishops and bishops were appalled, but Henry ignored them all—the pope, English church courts, and the advice of great nobles. He had Parliament pass the Act of Supremacy in 1534. The king was declared “the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England.” Why did Parliament agree? First, the king was still the most powerful authority in the kingdom. Second, the king gave many members in Parliament a good reason to support him. Church lands that were seized were sold to them. No family that had been enriched with land would ever want the Catholic Church reestablished in England.

Henry’s church, the Anglican Church, was the product of a political struggle. By Elizabeth’s reign, conflict over religious doctrine was more intense because the Reformation had spread to England. The established Anglican religion made England a Protestant power. England’s rivals for world power, Spain and France, were Catholic. Thus England became firmly committed to Protestantism.

At home, Elizabeth moved to solve religious conflicts made worse by her half sister, Mary, a devout woman. Mary had passed laws to favor Catholicism during her five-year reign. Mary wanted to make England Catholic again and persecuted many people.

Elizabeth repealed these laws when she took the throne. Elizabeth wanted a national Anglican church because it gave the monarch more power. She did not want to upset Catholics too much, however—that might bring on bloody religious wars like those in France and the German states.
Her solution was to support a moderate Protestantism. In many ways, the Anglican Church still was very Catholic: The prayers were not much different, the services looked almost the same, and priests wore similar vestments.

As the Reformation intensified, Elizabeth’s moderation was unacceptable to fervent Protestants. Puritans, especially, were horrified by Anglican services that looked so Catholic. Puritans were Calvinists who wanted to purify the Anglican Church. They thought that individual worshippers should focus on spiritual things at church, not indulge their senses with organ music, stained glass, and incense.

Equally important, the Puritans wanted a congregation to be independent of the government and of bishops who might be corrupted by their lust for power. If congregations elected their own ministers, they would be more godly. These ideas challenged the queen’s power since the queen as head of the church appointed the bishops.

As the conflict heated up, Puritans in Parliament drafted legislation to change religious policies. In 1576, when one Puritan proposed to change the Anglican prayer book, Elizabeth imprisoned him. Government persecution increased, and many Puritans emigrated to found colonies in New England. There Puritanism made a significant contribution to how future generations of Americans felt about the relation between state and church.

The Stuarts and Divine Right The Tudor dynasty ended in 1603 because Elizabeth had no heir. Elizabeth’s cousin, the Stuart king of Scotland, then became James I of England.

The problems between Parliament and the monarch began when the Stuarts came to the English throne. The Stuarts did not understand how the Tudors had ruled. The Stuarts believed in the divine right of kings and wanted to be absolutist rulers like the glorious kings of France. The English Parliament knew a very different tradition.

Conflicts began under James I and intensified during the reign of his son, Charles I. Both kings looked to Louis XIV as their example. They believed they should be able to operate without any restraint from Parliament—to spend money as they wanted, to build fine buildings, or make alliances abroad if they felt like it.

Parliament was outraged. In 1628, Parliament passed a petition that said the king could not impose taxes without its consent. At first, Charles I accepted this petition, but later he realized that it restricted his freedom far too much. He retaliated the next year by not allowing Parliament to meet at all. Some members of Parliament were imprisoned. Others arrived at Parliament only to find that the doors had been bolted shut. They remained locked from 1629 until 1640. During this period—known as the Eleven Years’ Tyranny—Charles ruled without Parliament.

Reading Check
Contrasting How did the Stuarts’ view of Parliament differ from that of the Tudors?
**Civil War and Aftermath**

**Main Idea** Civil war broke out in England in 1642 between supporters of the king and the Parliament, and in 1649 Parliament proved victorious.

**Reading Connection** If you felt a political leader was acting against the law, what would you do to show your opposition? Read to learn how English leaders expressed their opposition to Charles I.

The English Parliament was very important to governing the nation. From every county, the lords and wealthy landowners and townspeople traveled to London to sit in the House of Lords and the House of Commons. These men were not simply wealthy, but actively involved in serving as a network of officials, sheriffs, and judges in their counties. If a king wanted to govern without Parliament’s support, he would have had to do it by military force.

In 1642 a civil war, known as the English Revolution, broke out between supporters of the king and supporters of Parliament. The king’s supporters were called Cavaliers or Royalists. Parliament’s supporters were called Roundheads because they disapproved of long fashionable curls and cut their hair short.

Parliament won largely because of the New Model Army of Oliver Cromwell, a military genius who knew how to use new tactics and discipline. Like their leader, the soldiers were zealous Puritans who were fighting for their religion. In Cromwell’s words, “This is none other but the hand of God, and to Him alone belongs the glory.”

The victorious forces lost no time in taking control. Cromwell concluded that Charles I could not be trusted and must be put to death. When Parliament hesitated, Cromwell purged Parliament of anyone who disagreed with him.

What was left—the 50 to 60 members of the “Rump Parliament”—had Charles I executed on January 30, 1649. The beheading of the king divided families and horrified much of Europe, especially members of the ruling classes. One writer recounted that “a man in a [mask] . . . held up to the spectators the head, streaming with blood, and cried aloud, ‘This is the head of a traitor.’” Others saw Charles as a martyr. To this day, the British commemorate the anniversary of his death by carrying wreaths to his statue in London.
Cromwell’s Puritan Commonwealth  Following Charles’s execution, Parliament abolished the monarchy and the House of Lords and declared England a republic, or commonwealth.

Cromwell found it difficult to work with the Rump Parliament and finally dispersed it by force in 1653. As the members of Parliament departed, he shouted, “It is you that have forced me to do this, for I have sought the Lord night and day that He would slay me rather than put upon me the doing of this work.” After eliminating both Parliament and the king, Cromwell set up a military dictatorship.

Under Cromwell’s puritanical rule, the English had to give up going to the theater and most Sunday entertainment. The Puritans wanted a godly society. Used to a freer society, the English people became dissatisfied. When Cromwell died, his son was unable to maintain Cromwell’s system.

The Restoration  Soon after Cromwell’s death, Parliament restored the Stuart heir to the English throne—Charles II. Most people were relieved to be done with Puritanism and dictatorship. Parliament had not forgotten, however, that the Stuarts had a tendency toward absolutism and got certain agreements that Charles II would respect its power.

England’s time of troubles seemed at an end for a while, but Charles II was sympathetic to Catholicism. Fears of Catholicism surfaced again. If Catholicism were restored, prominent Protestants would lose land and influence. The heir to the throne, Charles’s brother James, did not hide the fact that he was Catholic.

To counter any danger, Parliament introduced the Exclusion Bill to bar James from the throne if he professed his Catholicism. This bill is famous because it created two political groups, later called parties: the Whigs, who did not want a Catholic on the throne; and the Tories, who wanted to follow the lawful succession to the throne.

To foil the Exclusion Bill, Charles dismissed Parliament in 1681. He died in 1685 and James II, a devout Catholic, succeeded him. Once again, religion was a cause of conflict with Parliament. James began favoring Catholics for high positions in the government, army, navy, and universities.

Parliament was unhappy, but they did not yet rebel. James was old, and they hoped that things would improve when one of his daughters, Mary or Anne, succeeded. Both girls had been born to his first wife and had been raised Protestant. In 1688, however, James had a son by his second wife, a Catholic. The possibility of a Catholic monarchy and a restored Catholic Church loomed large.

**Reading Check**  What was the basis for the English civil war that broke out in 1642?
Glorious Revolution and Limited Monarchy

**Main Idea** England’s Glorious Revolution created a constitutional, or limited, monarchy in which the monarch shared power with Parliament.

**Reading Connection** Think of a recent conflict dividing your country and how it was settled. Read how English lords brought about a “bloodless revolution” in 1688.

By 1688, England had seen decades of struggle over what institution should have the final authority in the kingdom. It had also seen decades of struggle over religion. England’s lords and landowners reached a quiet consensus. They did not want a king to dictate to them, and they did not want a Catholic king.

A coup was under way. A group of English noblemen invited the Dutch leader, William of Orange, who was married to James’s Protestant daughter Mary, to come to England. William and Mary raised an army and in 1688 arrived without much opposition in England. James and his wife and infant son fled to France. With almost no bloodshed, England had undergone a “Glorious Revolution.”

Now the issue was who would be monarch. In January 1689, Parliament offered the throne to William and Mary if they would accept the Bill of Rights. It set forth Parliament’s right to make laws and levy taxes. It also stated that standing armies could be raised only with Parliament’s consent. The Bill of Rights also confirmed citizens’ right to keep arms and have a jury trial.

The Bill of Rights helped create a system of government based on law and a freely elected Parliament. Many of its provisions were used a century later as a foundation for the American Bill of Rights.

The same year, Parliament also passed the Toleration Act of 1689. It granted Puritans, but not Catholics, the right to free public worship. Very few English citizens were ever again persecuted because of religion. England was one of the most tolerant nations in Europe, and many people persecuted elsewhere sought refuge there.

By deposing one king and establishing another, Parliament had destroyed the divine-right theory of kingship. William, after all, was king by the grace of Parliament, not the grace of God. Parliament also asserted its right to be part of the government.

**John Locke** The English struggles of the 1600s inspired John Locke to write *Two Treatises of Government*, published in 1690. This work criticized absolutism and defended the Glorious Revolution. Locke described how governments are formed, and what justifies them. He believed that before society was organized, human beings lived in a state of equality and freedom. In this state of nature, humans had certain natural rights—rights they were born with.

In the real world, Locke felt there were problems in this hypothetical idea of nature. People could not protect their rights very well. That is why they agreed to contract with a government to protect their rights.

Under this contract, the people and the government had mutual obligations. Government would protect the rights of the people, and the people would act reasonably toward government. If a government broke the contract by not protecting an individual’s natural rights, then people were justified in rebelling and forming a new government.
To Locke, “people” meant the landholding elites, not common people who did not own land. Even though Locke did not advocate democracy, his ideas promoted democracy. In the American and French Revolutions, Locke’s arguments were used to demand the rule of law and individual rights. (See page 771 to read an excerpt from Locke’s Two Treatises of Government in the Primary Sources Library.)

The Glorious Revolution, the American Revolution, and the French Revolution all utilized natural rights theory. The Glorious Revolution was different in two ways from the two later revolutions, however. First, it was not violent—later historians have termed it the “bloodless revolution,” although there had been much violence in the 1640s. Second, the Glorious Revolution was different because it was not the middle class and lower class who were demanding rights, but nobles and wealthy members of Parliament.

Still, the Glorious Revolution of 1688 had a huge impact. It inspired French thinkers to speak out against absolutism. British colonists also took an important lesson from the Glorious Revolution. They applauded Parliament’s fight and saw their own parliaments in the colonies as having the same rights. Fully aware of events in England, the colonists expanded their concept of rights and liberties.

Describing Trace the events of the late 1680s that led to the English Bill of Rights. 