

2 Clashes Between King and Parliament

Unlike other European monarchs, English kings and queens had limits on their power. They were obliged to respect the tradition that the ruler must obey the law, and they had to deal with Parliament.

A Balance With Parliament

By the 1500s, the English Parliament had won several important rights. Parliament approved new taxes, passed laws proposed by the monarch, and advised monarchs. However, monarchs had more power than Parliament. They named officials and judges, summoned and dismissed Parliament, and conducted foreign policy. After 1534, monarchs also headed the *Church of England*.

The Tudor rulers, Henry VIII and his daughter Elizabeth I, were forceful personalities, but they both recognized the value of good relations with Parliament. Henry, for ex-

Elizabeth I was queen of England for 45 years, between 1558 and 1603.



ample, sought and obtained Parliament's approval to establish the Church of England.

Elizabeth followed a cautious policy in her dealings with Parliament. She lived simply so she would not have to ask for money too often. But she also clearly established her rights as monarch. She sometimes scolded Parliament for interfering in matters that she felt did not concern it. However, she also knew when to keep quiet and not to offend Parliament. During most of her reign, Elizabeth was a popular queen, and she managed to maintain a balance between exercising her power and deferring to Parliament. In this way, she preserved unity and stability.

In 1603, Elizabeth died without any direct heir. The English throne passed to the Stuarts, the ruling family of Scotland. When James VI of Scotland traveled south to London to be crowned James I of England, he knew little about English politics.

James I and the Divine Right of Kings

James I was a well-meaning ruler and a scholar. He supervised a new translation of the Bible, known as the King James version. He also wrote a book called *The True Law of Free Monarchies*. In it, he presented his belief that monarchs ruled by divine right. "Kings are called gods," he declared "because they sit upon God's throne on earth." Furthermore, he argued that the monarch should have no restraints on his or her power but should be able to rule for the good of all the people. James's belief in his divine right to rule soon led to conflict with Parliament.

Parliament was made up of two houses: the House of Lords, in which nobles served for life, and the House of Commons, whose members were elected.* Most representatives in the House of Commons were wealthy landowners, called gentry. Many of the gentry had bought *monastery* lands that Henry VIII had seized from the church and sold. The gentry raised sheep for wool,

* Only a small number of property owners had the right to vote for members of the House of Commons.



James I was a well-educated monarch. He published articles on such subjects as witchcraft, the dangers of smoking tobacco, and rules for writing Scottish poetry. Unfortunately, he had little skill as a statesman. A contemporary described James as "the most learned fool in Christendom."

which helped build a prosperous textile industry. The growing merchant class in England also had some representatives in the House of Commons.

James I and Parliament quarreled over three main issues: religion, money, and foreign policy. A major religious issue involved the demands of the Puritans. Puritans wanted to see the Anglican Church "purified" of Catholic rituals and ceremonies. They also demanded that local congregations be allowed to rule themselves rather than be ruled by bishops and archbishops appointed by the king. Among the Puritans were many powerful merchants, some of whom served as members of Parliament.

The House of Commons sympathized with the Puritans' demands. However, the king refused to make any changes in the church organization. Whereas Elizabeth had tolerated most Puritans, James vowed to "harry them out of the land." His per-

secution of Puritans forced some of them to leave England.

James was constantly in need of money. He spent lavishly on his court and gave generous gifts to his friends. In addition, England owed many debts to bankers for its wars against Catholic Spain. When the king summoned Parliament to approve new taxes, Parliament often refused unless he would accept its wishes on religious matters. James would angrily lecture Parliament on the divine right of kings and send the representatives home.

James would then have to bolster his income in other ways. He revived feudal fines and raised customs duties, which went directly to the crown. Although such moves were technically legal, James's actions angered Parliament.

Parliament criticized the king's foreign policy, especially when he made peace with Spain and tried to arrange a marriage between his son and a Spanish princess. Furthermore, many people in England felt that James did not give enough help to Protestants in Europe during the wars of religion there.

Charles I and Parliament

James's son Charles I inherited the throne in 1625. Like his father, Charles believed in the divine right of kings. When Parliament refused to give him enough money, Charles dismissed it and demanded loans from individual people. He imprisoned anyone who refused to pay the forced loans.

By 1628, Charles had to summon Parliament because he needed funds desperately. Parliament refused his financial demands until he signed the Petition of Right. In the petition, Charles promised not to collect forced loans or levy taxes without the consent of Parliament. He also agreed not to imprison a person without cause or house soldiers in private homes without the owner's consent. Through the Petition of Right, Parliament hoped to end the king's arbitrary actions.

However, once Parliament approved the funds he needed, Charles dissolved it. For the next 11 years, he ruled without calling another Parliament. He ignored the Petition

of Right and returned to the policies of James I.

During the 1630s, Charles made many enemies because of his arbitrary rule. He appointed unpopular officials, such as William Laud to be Archbishop of Canterbury. Laud persecuted Puritans and other dissenters, Protestants who would not accept Anglican practices. Charles and his advisors also used special courts such as the Court of High Commission and the Court of Star Chamber to suppress opposition. These courts did not have to follow *common law* or use juries.

The gulf between the king and the country grew wider. A revolt in Scotland finally brought matters to a head. In 1638, Charles tried to impose the Anglican Church on Scotland, where the official religion was Presbyterian. The Scots resisted and invaded England. Because Charles needed money to equip and pay an army, he summoned Parliament in 1640.

The Long Parliament

The Parliament that was called in 1640 would meet in one form or another until 1660. Known as the Long Parliament, it would eventually lead a revolution against the monarchy. But in 1640, Parliament was chiefly concerned with limiting the king's power and removing unpopular officials.

Before granting Charles's request for money, Parliament demanded the trial of Charles's chief ministers, Archbishop Laud and the Earl of Strafford, for abusing their power. Both men were found guilty and executed.

Parliament abolished the Court of High Commission and the Court of Star Chamber. It also passed the Triennial Act, which stated that the king must call a parliament at least once every three years. As the Long Parliament continued to meet, critics of the king grew more outspoken. Eventually they pushed through a bill condemning Charles as a tyrant.

Charles struck back by leading a band of armed supporters into Parliament and arresting five outspoken members. The king's use of force made compromise impossible. In 1642, the king and Parliament raised their own armies, and civil war began.

The English Civil War

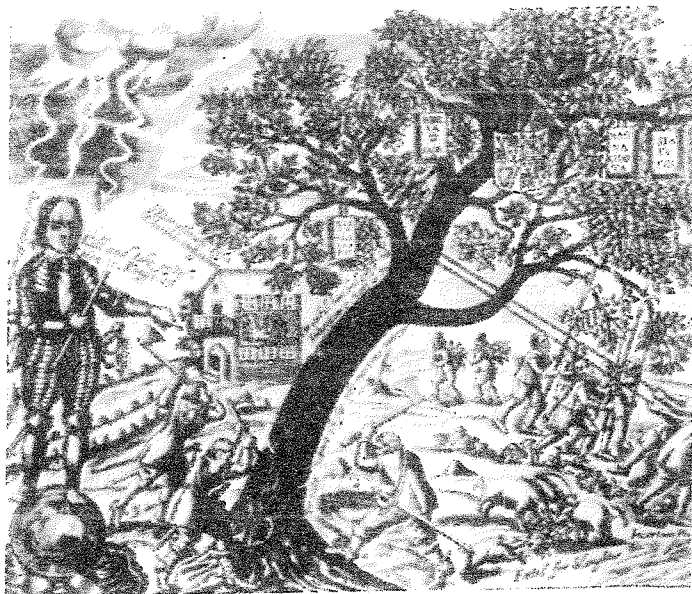
The civil war lasted from 1642 to 1649. People of all classes fought on both sides. In general, the king rallied to his side nobles and people in rural areas, especially in northwestern England. The king's supporters were called Cavaliers because the aristocratic leaders were mounted horsemen, or cavalry.

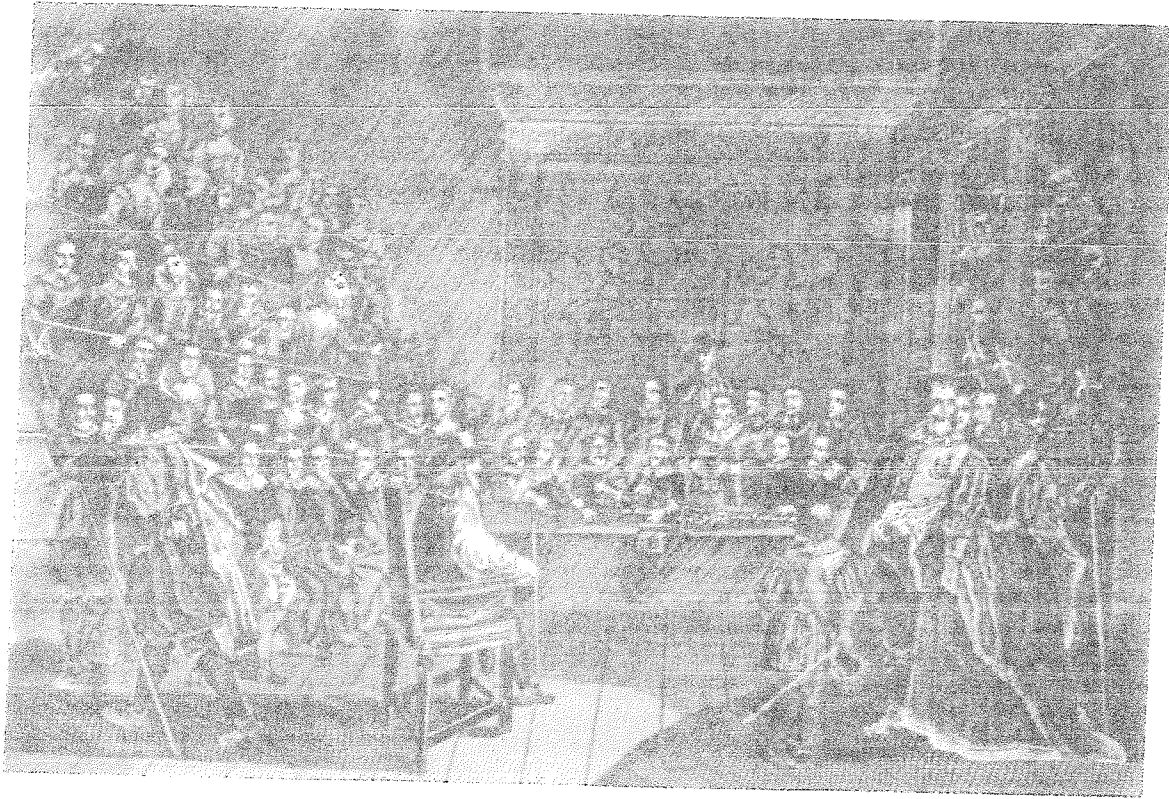
Parliament recruited its troops mostly from the middle class, especially from towns in southeastern England. Many Puritans fought for Parliament. Supporters of Parliament were called Roundheads because the men cut their hair close to their heads to show that they rejected the aristocratic style of long hair.

In 1645, Oliver Cromwell, a strong-minded Puritan officer, reorganized Parliament's army as the New Model Army. Under his energetic leadership, the New Model Army became a well-disciplined force, and it defeated the Cavaliers and captured Charles I.

The Long Parliament, which had continued to meet during the civil war, decided the

This contemporary political cartoon reflects the views of royalists, who supported the monarchy and despised Cromwell, shown at left. Cromwell's supporters are cutting down the "Royall Oake," the source of English law and institutions.





During the English civil war, Cromwell purged the House of Commons of the king's supporters. After Charles I was captured by Cromwell, the remaining members of the House of Commons met as a court to try the king. At the trial, shown here, Charles, seated in the center, refused to recognize the authority of the court. He claimed "a king cannot be tried by any superior jurisdiction on earth." Nevertheless, he was condemned to die.

king should be put on trial. In January 1649, a court ordered the execution of Charles I. The House of Commons then voted to abolish the monarchy and the House of Lords and proclaimed England a *republic*. Thus, the civil war resulted in a revolution in English government.

The Commonwealth under Cromwell

Oliver Cromwell was chosen to head the English republic, which became known as the Commonwealth. Cromwell was a man with high moral principles. He supported a policy of religious toleration for all Protestants but not for Catholics. He hoped that he could restore peace with the help of Parliament.

Yet the civil war had left England bitterly divided. Presbyterians, Anglicans, and

Puritans had differing views about the kind of government England should have. In addition, some extreme reformers wanted to push the revolution further. One group, the Levellers, led by John Lilburne, demanded an end to all titles of nobility. They also thought all English men should have the right to vote, a startling idea at a time when only a small number of property owners could vote.

Parliament itself was so seriously divided that Cromwell dissolved it in 1653. He then took the title Lord Protector and ruled England as a dictator until his death in 1658. As Lord Protector, Cromwell depended on the army to govern the country. Army officials imposed strict Puritan rule. They closed theaters, banned newspapers and dancing, and enforced laws against other forms of popular entertainment.

Cromwell tried to bring Scotland and Ireland under tighter English control, but he met strong resistance. Therefore, he crushed the Scots and brutally suppressed Catholic rebels in Ireland. He then encouraged Protestants to settle in Ireland. The new settlers replaced Catholic landlords, especially in the north.*

Cromwell's rule became increasingly unpopular, and people began to long for the restoration of the monarchy. After Cromwell's death, the Long Parliament reconvened. It asked the son of Charles I, who was living in France, to return to England and be crowned Charles II.

Although the monarchy was thus restored, the civil war and the Commonwealth had lasting effects. The new king would rule

* Both Henry VIII and Elizabeth I had given Protestants lands taken from Catholics in Ireland. Cromwell and later English rulers continued this policy.

with the memory of what had happened to his father and would be careful in his dealings with Parliament. Moreover, Parliament took steps to prevent Charles II and future rulers from exercising power arbitrarily.

SECTION REVIEW

1. Identify: William Laud, Long Parliament, Cavalier, Roundhead, Oliver Cromwell, Commonwealth.
2. How did Elizabeth I deal with Parliament?
3. Describe one of the issues that created conflict between James I and Parliament.
4. What limits did the Petition of Right put on the monarch's power?
5. Describe two actions taken by the Long Parliament.
6. What problems did Cromwell face in trying to rule England?

3 Establishing a Limited Monarchy

Charles II received a warm welcome upon his return to England in 1660. In contrast to Cromwell's stern Puritan policies, Charles, a charming and lively man, held lavish court banquets. He reopened theaters and encouraged other entertainments, such as horse-racing, which the Puritans had forbidden.

The Restoration Under Charles II

Charles II had spent his years in exile at the French court. Although he admired the absolute power enjoyed by Louis XIV, he knew he must accept limits on his own power. Before taking the throne, Charles agreed to respect the Magna Carta and the Petition of Right. He dealt cautiously with Parliament and generally had its support.

Meanwhile, members of Parliament protected their own interests. Most were landowners, and they passed laws abolishing the feudal dues that landowners paid to the monarch. In place of the feudal dues, Parlia-

ment granted the monarch a yearly income to be paid from taxes.[†]

Charles II secretly preferred the Catholic Church to the Anglican Church, but he knew Parliament would not accept a return to Catholicism. Thus, he urged toleration of all religions. However, the English were not ready to accept religious toleration. In 1673, Parliament passed the Test Act, which required any person holding public office to belong to the Anglican Church. The Test Act also excluded Protestant dissenters and Catholics from the army, the navy, and universities.

In foreign policy, Charles cooperated with France. He entered into a secret treaty with Louis XIV, in part because he needed money. In return for Louis's financial support, Charles pledged to restore Catholicism in England as soon as it was practical. He

[†] In England, unlike other parts of Europe, nobles as well as commoners paid taxes.

also agreed to join France in a war against the Dutch. Under Charles, the English seized the Dutch colony of New Netherland.

Emergence of Political Parties

During Charles's reign, two political parties emerged in England: the Tories and the Whigs. The Tories generally supported the king and the Anglican Church, while the Whigs wanted to strengthen Parliament.

The Whigs tended to favor toleration of all Protestants, but they were fiercely anti-Catholic. As a result, they worried that when Charles died, his brother James would inherit the throne. Unlike Charles, who hid his religious opinions, James openly admitted to being Catholic. To prevent James from inheriting the throne, the Whigs tried to pass the Exclusion Act.

In 1679, the Tories were able to defeat the Exclusion Act, but only by accepting another piece of legislation, the Habeas Corpus Act. The Habeas Corpus Act is still considered one of the most basic guarantees of individual rights because it protects a citizen from arbitrary arrest. The act provided that if a person were arrested, a judge would issue a "writ of habeas corpus." The "writ" was an order to bring the prisoner before a judge and state the charges against the person. The judge would then decide whether or not the person should be held for trial.

The Habeas Corpus Act thus made it illegal for an individual to be held in prison without a trial. It also decreed that a person could not be imprisoned twice for the same crime. Today, the Constitution of Canada includes the right of habeas corpus.

James II and the Glorious Revolution

In 1685 James II became king. He was determined to make Parliament grant tolerance for Catholics. Ignoring the Test Act, James placed Catholics in high government posts and in the army. Parliament protested but took no action. The king's opponents believed James

would be succeeded by his daughter Mary, a Protestant. In 1688, James's second wife, a Catholic, gave birth to a son. The boy became heir to the throne and was to be raised a Catholic.

Mary's husband, Prince William of Orange, encouraged by promises of support from powerful men in England, promptly organized an invasion. In November 1688, William landed in England with an army of 15,000. James and his family fled to France.

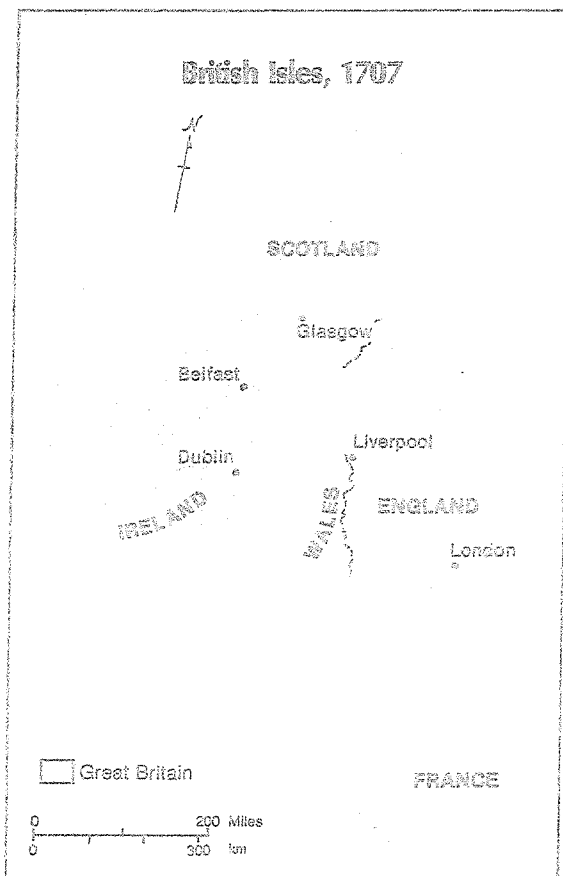
When parliament agreed to William's demand that he be declared King in his own right, he and Mary became rulers of England. In 1689, the new monarchs signed the Bill of Rights which ensured the powers of Parliament and protected English liberties. The signing of the Bill of Rights marked the end of what is known as the Glorious Revolution.

The English Bill of Rights

The Bill of Rights included several provisions making Parliament stronger than the monarchs. It stated that the monarchs could not suspend any laws without the consent of Parliament. The king and queen also needed the approval of Parliament to raise taxes and maintain an army. Furthermore, they had to summon Parliament frequently and could not interfere in its elections.

In addition to making Parliament supreme, the Bill of Rights protected the rights of individuals. It guaranteed the right of trial by jury for anyone accused of a crime. It also outlawed cruel and unusual punishments and limited the amount of bail that could be imposed on a person being held for trial.

Despite the limits Parliament placed on the power of the monarchs, English government and society were not democratic. Few people had the right to vote. Members of Parliament were not paid, so only the wealthy could afford to run for office. Religious toleration also remained limited. In 1689, Parliament passed the Act of Toleration. It assured all Protestants freedom of worship, but it did not give the same right to Catholics.



■ The Act of Union joined Scotland and England in 1707. Ireland remained a separate nation, but it was ruled by England. Wales had been united with England in the early 1500s.

Ireland and Scotland

Even after the Glorious Revolution, Parliament worried that James II or his heirs might reclaim the throne. This concern influenced relations between England and Ireland.

In 1689, James II led a rebellion in Ireland, hoping to regain the English throne. But he was defeated at the battle of the Boyne. In an effort to prevent James or any other Catholic from claiming the throne, Parliament passed the Act of Settlement in 1701. It stated that only an Anglican could inherit the English throne.

To prevent any future rebellion, the English Parliament imposed harsh penalties

on Catholics in Ireland. English policies in Ireland bred a deep-seated resentment among the Catholic Irish. Even though the Catholics were a majority in Ireland, they could not buy or inherit land from Protestants. Furthermore, Catholics could not be elected to the Irish Parliament, making it easy for the Protestant minority to rule.

Since James II had also been king of Scotland, Parliament also worried that he or his heirs might reclaim the Scottish throne. To prevent this from happening, Parliament negotiated the Act of Union, which the Scots reluctantly accepted in 1707. The Act of Union joined the kingdoms of England and Scotland into the United Kingdom of Great Britain.

Although James and his heirs hatched plots to seize the throne, their efforts failed. After the deaths of William and Mary, Anne, James's other Protestant daughter, ruled Britain. The Act of Settlement provided that on Queen Anne's death the throne should pass to the nearest Protestant relative. Thus, in 1714, George, the German Elector of Hanover, became King George I of Britain. The peaceful transition from the Stuart to the Hanover dynasty was evidence that the Glorious Revolution had created stable government in Britain.

Growth of Constitutional Government

The English civil war and the Glorious Revolution established Britain as a limited constitutional monarchy—that is, the power of the monarchy was limited by laws and traditions. The British did not have a formal written constitution. Instead, the British constitution was composed of all acts of Parliament and documents such as the Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, and the Bill of Rights. It also included traditions and customs. The relationship between the monarch and Parliament, for example, was based largely on tradition.

In the late 1600s and throughout the 1700s, three developments affected constitutional government in England. First,

Major Events in England 1603-1701

1603	James I inherits the throne
1628	Charles I signs the Petition of Right
1642	English civil war begins
1649	Parliament declares England a republic; Charles I executed
1660	Restoration of the monarchy; Charles II agrees to respect the Magna Carta and Petition of Right
1679	Habeas Corpus Act passed
1688-1689	Glorious Revolution; William and Mary sign the Bill of Rights
1701	Act of Settlement passed

political parties acquired a more well-defined role in Parliament. Second, a cabinet system evolved. Third, the office of prime minister came into existence.

Political parties. As you read earlier in this section, the Whigs and Tories had begun to emerge as political parties after the restoration of Charles II. By the late 1600s, the differences between the two parties had become more distinct.

During the Glorious Revolution, the Whigs supported laws that limited royal power. Most Whigs were wealthy landowners who thought their power would increase as the monarch's power declined. Some Whigs were successful merchants. They favored policies, such as a strong navy, that would help promote British trade.

The Tories usually defended royal power against challenges by Parliament. Although most Tories were landowners, they usually owned less land than Whigs.

The cabinet. During the late 1600s, King William I chose his chief ministers, or advisors, from both political parties in Parliament.

But he soon realized that Whig and Tory ministers did not get along. As a result, he began to appoint ministers from the party that held the majority of seats in Parliament. The practice of appointing ministers from the majority party eventually led to the cabinet system of government.

The cabinet was made up of the ministers appointed by the monarch. Each cabinet member was responsible for a department of government, such as the navy or finance. Cabinet members remained members of Parliament. Therefore, they could vote for their own policies and try to convince others to do the same.

Eventually, a cabinet would stay in power as long as Parliament approved its policies. If Parliament rejected government policies, the monarch would call for new elections to Parliament. The new majority party would then form the next cabinet.

The prime minister. The cabinet acquired much of its power during the reign of George I in the early 1700s. Born and raised in Hanover, the king spoke only German and did not understand English politics. Therefore, he relied heavily on his English advisors. Sir Robert Walpole, an able and powerful Whig member of Parliament, became the king's chief advisor. Although Walpole did not use the title, he is usually considered the first *prime minister*, or head of the cabinet.

Between 1721 and 1742, Walpole skillfully steered legislation through Parliament. He gradually took over from the king the job of appointing many government officials, including other cabinet members. He managed government finances well, avoided costly wars, and supported laws that encouraged trade and industry. He allowed the English colonies in North America to develop on their own and avoided taking a stand on controversial issues. In fact, Walpole's motto was "Let sleeping dogs lie."

Personal Rule of George III

When George III came to the throne in 1760, he felt that the cabinet and Parliament under the Whigs had taken too much power from

the monarch. Many small landowners agreed with the king, and they supported his efforts to regain control of the government.

For 12 years from 1770 to 1782, George III personally supervised the government and appointed his own ministers. Lord North, George's prime minister, rallied a group in Parliament known as "the king's friends" to support George's policies. As you will read in the next section, some of the king's policies angered the American colonists, who declared their independence from England in 1776.

During the American Revolution, George lost support at home, and Parliament reasserted its power. It eventually forced the king to accept a new cabinet that would make peace with the United States. Parlia-

ment also passed a reform bill that limited the monarch's right to appoint officials.

SECTION REVIEW

1. Identify: Tories, Whigs, Habeas Corpus Act, Glorious Revolution.
2. Define: prime minister.
3. Describe the major provision of each of the following acts of Parliament: (a) Test Act; (b) Act of Toleration; (c) Act of Settlement; (d) Act of Union.
4. What limits did the Bill of Rights place on royal power?
5. What policy did Parliament follow in Ireland?
6. What duties did Sir Robert Walpole take on as prime minister?

4 Revolution in Colonial America

Events in England and Enlightenment ideas greatly influenced people in the 13 American colonies. The colonists believed they should have the same rights that people in England won during the Glorious Revolution. When the British government appeared to violate these rights, the American colonists raised a storm of protest.

Governing the Colonies

Between 1700 and 1763, the American colonies expanded rapidly along the eastern seaboard. Busy with wars in Europe, Britain allowed the colonies to develop largely on their own. In most colonies, royal governors appointed by the king controlled trade and appointed judges and other officials. Each colony also had its own elected assembly.¹ Colonial assemblies had the right to approve laws related to local affairs. They also approved salaries for officials, including the

governor, and levied taxes to meet local government expenses.

Although colonists controlled local affairs, Britain regulated colonial trade. During the 1600s, Parliament had passed the Navigation Acts, which reflected mercantilist ideas. For example, one act required colonial merchants to ship goods only on colonial or English vessels.

Other Navigation Acts forbade the colonies to import goods from Europe unless these goods first went to England, where a customs duty was paid to the crown. In addition, certain colonial products, such as sugar, cotton, tobacco, and naval supplies, could be shipped only to England.

In general, the Navigation Acts benefited the colonies as well as England. The colonies developed their own shipbuilding industries to construct ships for carrying goods to England. In addition, freedom from foreign competition helped colonial merchants develop their businesses.

Some New England merchants, however, did not like the Navigation Acts. These merchants relied heavily on sugar and molasses imported from the West Indies.

¹As in European countries, voting in the colonies was usually limited to men who owned property or paid taxes. However, land was more plentiful in North America, so more people were landowners. Therefore, a much larger percentage of the male population in the colonies could vote than in any European nation.