

CHAPTER

11

1550–1789

# Enlightenment and Revolution in England and America

**1600**  
**Business and Finance**

The British East India Company is chartered.

**c. 1619**  
**Business and Finance**

Tobacco becomes Virginia's most valuable export.

**c. 1651**  
**Business and Finance**

The Navigation Act is passed in England.

**1667**  
**The Arts**

John Milton publishes *Paradise Lost*.

**1687**  
**Science and Technology**

Isaac Newton publishes *Principia*.

1600

1650

**1588**  
**Global Events**

The Spanish Armada is defeated by the English navy.

**1607**  
**Daily Life**

Jamestown, Virginia, is founded.

**1640**  
**Politics**

The Long Parliament convenes.

**1665**  
**Science and Technology**

Robert Hooke publishes the first significant work on microscopic observation.

**1688**  
**Politics**

The Glorious Revolution occurs in England.



*Battle of the Spanish Armada*

*Title page from Robert Hooke's Micrographia*



## Build on What You Know

**M**odern nation-states, most of which were governed by monarchs, developed first in Europe between 1500 and 1800. With the new governments came new ideas concerning the nature and the organization of the state. New relationships between the nations' people and their rulers also spread. The monarchs who led these new states increasingly sought absolute control over their governments and their subjects. A growing number of those subjects, however, had begun to dispute the ideas of absolutism. In this chapter, you will learn about revolutionary ideas that brought sweeping political and social change to England and America.



*Signing of the U.S. Constitution*



*Jean-Jacques Rousseau*

**1762**  
**The Arts**  
Jean-Jacques Rousseau publishes *The Social Contract*.

**1763**  
**Global Events**  
The Treaty of Paris leaves the British in control of North America.

**1789**  
**Politics**  
The U.S. Constitution is ratified.

**1707**  
**Politics**  
The Act of Union unites England and Scotland.

**1731**  
**Daily Life**  
The first colonial subscription library opens in Philadelphia.

**1700**

**1750**

**1800**

**c. 1742**  
**Science and Technology**  
Benjamin Franklin invents the Franklin stove.

**1776**  
**Politics**  
The United States declares independence from Great Britain.



*John Milton*



*American teapot with anti-Stamp Act slogan*

### What's Your Opinion?



Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Support your point of view in your journal.

**Citizenship** People have a right to determine their own form of government and to insist that their leaders conform to the popular will.

**Constitutional Heritage** Stable governments are based on clear principles that define the relationship between rulers and ruled.

**Global Relations** The people of both a colonial power and its colonies can benefit from their economic and political relations.

## SECTION

# 1

### READ TO DISCOVER

- 1 What led to the conflicts between Charles I and Parliament?
- 2 How did the rebellion in Ireland help start the English Civil War?
- 3 Who would have supported the two sides in the English Revolution?
- 4 What led to the downfall of the republican government in England?

### DEFINE

commonwealth  
constitution

### IDENTIFY

Charles I  
Petition of Right  
Long Parliament  
Cavaliers  
Roundheads  
Oliver Cromwell  
New Model Army  
Rump Parliament  
Navigation Act of 1651

### WHY IT MATTERS TODAY

Constitutionalism is an important form of government in today's world. Use **ONLINE** or other **current event** sources to identify countries that have a formal constitution. Record your findings in your journal.

CNN Student News.com

# Civil War and Revolution

### The Main Idea

Parliament's opposition to the concept of royal supremacy led to conflict and rebellion in England.

**The Story Continues** *Increasingly, the English monarchs of the early 1600s claimed absolute power over Parliament and the law. Their claim echoed the ideas of French philosopher Jean Bodin, who argued that "A prince is bound by no law of his predecessor, and much less by his own laws. . . . He may repeal, modify, or replace a law made by himself and without the consent of his subjects." King Charles I of England certainly held this belief. Throughout the early 1600s tensions grew between Charles and Parliament.*

## Charles I and Parliament

Like his father, James I, King **Charles I** believed in the divine right of kings. This belief put Charles out of touch with the people and politics of England. His marriage to a French Catholic princess isolated him even further.

Charles I could not get funds from Parliament. He tried forcing people to loan him money and imprisoned some who refused. Parliament objected to his actions and presented Charles with a document called the **Petition of Right**. This petition stated four ancient liberties: (1) the king could not tax the people without the agreement of Parliament; (2) he could not declare martial law; (3) he could not board soldiers in private homes during peacetime; and (4) he could not imprison a person without a specific charge. Charles signed the Petition of Right, but continued to impose taxes anyway. When members of the House of Commons protested, Charles dismissed Parliament.

For 11 years Charles refused to call Parliament into session. During this time he used drastic means to collect money. The economy improved, but discontent grew over issues like religion. Charles liked the formal religious ceremonies of the Anglican Church. These ceremonies seemed too Catholic to Puritans, however. As a result of this conflict, many Puritans became determined opponents of the king. They increasingly dominated the House of Commons. These Puritans—and many others in Parliament—felt that Charles was becoming a tyrant. Charles began to use royal courts against his enemies. These courts did not guarantee civil liberties. Judges, not juries, made decisions in secret. One of these courts, called the Star Chamber, harshly punished Puritans and critics of the government. People worried that Charles was imposing absolute rule on England.



*This portrait of Charles I and his queen, Henrietta, was painted by Anthony Van Dyck in about 1632.*

The state religion of Scotland was a form of Protestantism called Presbyterianism. When Charles tried to force Scottish churches to follow Anglican practices, rebellion broke out. The Scots felt that the changes Charles wanted were too Catholic. In 1638 many Scots signed a statement called the National Covenant. In this solemn agreement, Scots swore that any changes to the Scottish church would violate their religion as well as their political freedom. To Scottish Presbyterians, loyalty to their church came before loyalty to the king.

Charles took troops to Scotland but could not put down the rebellion. Seeking more funds for his army, he called Parliament into session. However, the members of Parliament insisted on discussing their complaints before anything else, so Charles dismissed them again. Then the Scots handed Charles's troops a second defeat, this time within England itself. Realizing that he could not defend England without new taxes, Charles called Parliament into session once more in 1640.

✓ **READING CHECK: Summarizing** Why did Charles I close down Parliament?

## The Long Parliament

Because the Parliament that Charles convened in 1640 met on and off for 20 years, it came to be known as the **Long Parliament**. Charles wanted Parliament to let him raise money to put down the rebellion in Scotland. Instead, the Puritan-controlled House of Commons ended the king's power to dissolve Parliament. It passed a law that Parliament must meet at least once every three years. It kept the king from raising taxes on his own and even forced the execution of two of his advisors for treason. When Parliament also tried to make changes in the Anglican Church, however, public support began shifting to the king.

While Charles I struggled with the Long Parliament, a rebellion broke out in Ireland. When England had conquered parts of Ireland in the late 1100s, Irish land was given to English settlers. Under James I, the mostly Anglican settlers controlled most of Ireland's wealth. Scottish Presbyterian farmers and merchants later settled in the northern region of Ulster. The native Irish Catholics worked as tenant farmers and laborers. The British treated them brutally, as a conquered people. The Irish had few rights or freedoms and lived in constant fear of being dispossessed by their English landlords. Resistance to British policies grew and, in 1641, a bloody rebellion led by Irish Catholics began against English rule.

Parliament needed a big army to put down the Irish rebellion. Not trusting the king, they proposed that Parliament be in command of the army, but Charles refused. He led troops to the House of Commons to arrest some of his opponents. With neither side compromising, a civil war began in 1642.

✓ **READING CHECK: Identifying Cause and Effect** What factors contributed to the conflict between native Irish people and British settlers in Ireland?



*Charles I opens a session of Parliament.*

## English Civil War

The citizens of England were sharply divided. Those who supported the king included Anglicans, Roman Catholics, nobles, and other opponents of Parliament's reforms. They were called royalists or **Cavaliers**. Those who supported Parliament included Puritans and other non-Anglican Protestants. They were called **Roundheads**, after the close haircuts of the Puritan soldiers.

**Oliver Cromwell**, a rising Puritan leader, organized his troops into a powerful army. Cromwell's **New Model Army** defeated Charles in 1645. Oxford, the royalist headquarters, surrendered the next year. The king fled to Scotland, but the Scots turned Charles over to Parliament.

In November 1647 Charles escaped and rallied his Scottish supporters to fight again. Cromwell's army crushed them, however, and moved on Parliament, keeping the king's supporters out. The Cromwell-controlled Parliament, known as the **Rump Parliament**, abolished the monarchy and the House of Lords. It proclaimed England a **commonwealth**, or republic. A special court tried Charles for treason. This was its verdict:

### Analyzing Primary Sources

**Drawing Conclusions** Why might Parliament have chosen to execute King Charles I "in the open street before Whitehall," an important and centrally located government building?

**What If?** Neither Charles I nor Parliament expected their differences to end in war. **What if Charles and Parliament had been able to compromise on control of the army in 1640? Do you think the civil war and revolution would have happened anyway? Why?**

Primary Source

“Whereas Charles Stuart, King of England, is, and standeth convicted, attained, and condemned of high treason, and other high crimes; and sentence upon Saturday last was pronounced against him by this Court, to be put to death by the severing of his head from his body; of which sentence, execution yet remaineth to be done; there are therefore to will and require you to see the said sentence executed in the open street before Whitehall, upon the morrow, being the thirtieth day of this instant month of January, between the hours of ten in the morning and five in the afternoon of the same day, with full effect.”

John Bradshaw, Thomas Grey, Oliver Cromwell, et al., *The Death Warrant of Charles I*

Charles was beheaded in front of the palace at Whitehall in 1649. His son fled to France, and Oliver Cromwell took control of England.

✓ **READING CHECK: Analyzing Information** What were the most significant actions of the Rump Parliament?



The death warrant of Charles I was signed and sealed by members of Parliament.

## Cromwell's Commonwealth

Oliver Cromwell was an honest and devout Puritan, a powerful speaker, and a skilled leader. He was also unbending in his belief that divine providence had brought him to power. Thus, Cromwell often acted harshly to suppress resistance to his rule. Despite his dictatorial approach to leadership, however, Cromwell was fairly tolerant of others' religious views. Nevertheless, rigid Puritan followers sometimes forced Cromwell to respond to dissent with extreme force.

Cromwell ruled England as lord protector from 1653 until his death in 1658. This five-year period of English history is often known as the Protectorate. During this time, Cromwell was virtually a military dictator, since he based his rule on the support of the army. Despite his great power, however, Cromwell aimed to bring about a parliamentary republic in England. He wanted to create a representative form of government, but continuing unrest and disorder in the English commonwealth prevented this. Nevertheless, Cromwell tried twice to establish a **constitution**—a document outlining the basic laws and principles that govern a nation. The Instrument of Government of 1653 was the first written constitution of any major European nation. It provided that landowners would elect members of Parliament.

The government of the Protectorate was unpopular in England, and discontent became increasingly widespread. Cromwell's government might have been overthrown except for three factors: (1) It raised enough money from taxes and royalist land sales to support itself and its army. (2) The army was disciplined and powerful. It discouraged other groups from acting against the government. (3) Its enemies had no organized army and could never take effective action to resist the lord protector. Cromwell's control over the Irish, for example, was brutally effective, and the royalists never posed a serious threat to his rule.

Cromwell's policies toward other countries supported his aim of encouraging trade and manufacturing at home. Dutch merchants and shipowners had taken advantage of England's civil turmoil to establish a profitable oceangoing trade. Cromwell challenged the Dutch by having Parliament pass the Navigation Act of 1651, requiring that all goods shipped to England from other countries be carried by English ships or by ships of the producing country. This law led to war with the Dutch between 1652 and 1654. Although the war ended with no clear victor, the English navy gained prestige, and Cromwell showed that England could support its commerce with naval power.

## CONNECTING TO Civics

### Constitutionalism

Constitutionalism is a form of government in which a nation follows a written constitution. No one person or group has all the power in a constitutional government. Instead, power is shared by different parts of the government. For example, the United States has a president, a two-house congress, and courts. Each of these branches has independent powers, but each is also limited by the others. Many countries today have a constitutional form of government.

### Understanding Civics

What is constitutionalism and what are its advantages?

### INTERPRETING THE VISUAL RECORD

**Preamble** This document shows the beginning of the Preamble to the U.S. Constitution. *How do the first three words of the Preamble reflect the ideas of constitutionalism?*

**We the People** of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common Defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

#### Article I

Section 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors in that State.

Section 3. The Senate shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Electors in that State, for six Years, and each Senator shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors in that State.

Section 4. The Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors in that State.

Section 5. The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments, when the House shall have impeached them; and Judgment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold any Office under the United States, but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable to Civil and Criminal Proceedings.

Section 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, which shall be ascertained from Time to Time by the Law.

Section 7. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and the Meeting of them shall be in City which may by Law be determined.

Section 8. The Congress shall have Power to lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Taxes and Duties shall be Uniform throughout the United States.

Section 9. The Congress shall have Power to borrow Money on the Credit of the United States, to emit and put out Securities on the Credit of the United States, to fix the Standard of Weights and Measures, to coin Money, to regulate the Value thereof, and to make such other Laws as may be necessary and proper to execute the Powers above enumerated.

Section 10. No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; or enter into any War, unless authorized by the Congress, except in Case of Imminent Danger, when it may be necessary for the self-Defence of the State; nor shall they engage in any War without Declaration of Congress, unless first authorized by the Legislature thereof.

Section 11. The Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they may think proper, in the President of the United States; but the Appointments shall be in Conformity to the Rules and Regulations therein established.

Section 12. The Congress may, by Law, determine the Time and Places of holding the Elections of Senators and Representatives.

Section 13. The Congress may, by Law, regulate the Election of Electors in each State.

Section 14. The Congress may, by Law, remove all Disabilities, which the States may impose on the Electors in each State.

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#### Article II

Section 1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States, who shall hold the Office during the Term of four Years, and until his Successor be chosen; and he shall be elected by the Electors in each State, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors in that State.

Section 2. The President shall hold the Office during the Term of four Years, and until his Successor be chosen; and he shall be elected by the Electors in each State, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors in that State.

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### INTERPRETING THE VISUAL RECORD

**Oliver Cromwell** Cromwell ruled England as Lord Protector from 1653 to 1658. *Why might the painter of this portrait have decided to show Cromwell in military armor?*

## End of the Revolution

The experiment with republican government in England eventually failed. Cromwell quarreled with Parliament, which resented his power. He eventually dissolved Parliament and ruled alone. After Cromwell died in 1658, his son Richard became lord protector. Richard was a weak leader, however, and lost the army's support.

By 1660 the English people had begun to turn against Cromwell's republican government. Many had favored Charles I's execution 11 years earlier, but they recognized that the commonwealth had failed to settle the nation or to solve its problems. In 1660, after much debate and with the army's support, Parliament invited Charles II, the Stuart son of Charles I, to return to England. Cheering crowds greeted Charles II when he reached London. People throughout the country hoped that the restoration of the monarchy would bring peace and progress to England once again. As one observer noted,

Primary Source

“This day came in his Majesty Charles the Second to London after a sad and long exile. . . . This was also his birthday, and with a Triumph of above 20,000 horse and foot, brandishing their swords and shouting with unexpressable joy. The ways strewed with flowers, the bells ringing, the streets hung with tapestry, fountains running with wine.”

John Evelyn, *Diary entry*, May 29, 1660

Some historians call the period from 1642 to 1660 the English Revolution. It includes the civil war years from 1642 to 1649, as well as the changes that continued until the monarchy was restored in 1660. Peace returned to England, but 30 years would pass before king and Parliament could work closely together.

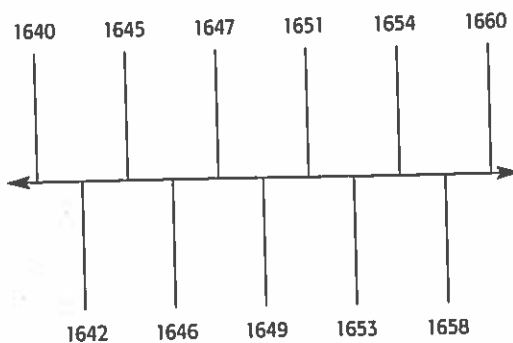
✓ **READING CHECK: Problem Solving** What could Oliver Cromwell have done differently to have helped the republican government succeed in England?

## SECTION 1 REVIEW

**1. Define** and explain the significance:  
commonwealth  
constitution

**2. Identify** and explain the significance:  
Charles I  
Petition of Right  
Long Parliament  
Cavaliers  
Roundheads  
Oliver Cromwell  
New Model Army  
Rump Parliament  
Navigation Act of 1651

**3. Sequencing** Copy the time line below. Use it to identify and place into sequence the major events in the English Revolution.



**4. Finding the Main Idea**

- Why did Parliament present Charles I with the Petition of Right?
- How did rebellion in Ireland help trigger the English Civil War?
- Why did England's experiment with republican government under Cromwell fail?

**5. Writing and Critical Thinking**

**Identifying Points of View** Who was likely to support Charles I in the English Revolution? Who was likely to support Oliver Cromwell?

**Consider:**

- what Charles I had done to lose the support of the English people
- the strengths of Cromwell, his army, and his political supporters
- how Cromwell gained control of the English government



Homework Practice Online

keyword: SH3 HP11

## SECTION

## 2

## READ TO DISCOVER

- 1 How did religious attitudes affect the rule of Charles II and James II?
- 2 How did Parliament reduce the power of the monarchy after the Restoration?
- 3 What were the principal features of Britain's limited constitutional monarchy?

## DEFINE

habeas corpus  
cabinet  
prime minister  
limited constitutional monarchy

## IDENTIFY

Restoration  
Tories  
Whigs  
James II  
William III  
Mary II  
Glorious Revolution  
Thomas Hobbes  
John Locke  
English Bill of Rights  
Toleration Act

## WHY IT MATTERS TODAY

Constitutional government has developed in many nations since the English Revolution. Use **ONLINE** or other **current event** sources to identify a country where reformers have forced leaders to accept democratic institutions. Record your findings in your journal.

CNN Student News.com

# Constitutional Monarchy in England

**The Main Idea**  
Parliament gradually replaced the monarchy as the major source of political power in England.

**The Story Continues** *A more stable government emerged in England toward the end of the 1600s. It was fueled by new ideas about the relationship between ruler and ruled. These ideas were based, in part, upon the ideas of political thinkers such as John Locke, who wrote that "reason . . . teaches all mankind, who will but consult it, that being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty, or possessions."*

## The Restoration and the Glorious Revolution

The reign of Charles II, when the English monarchy was restored, is called the **Restoration**. This name reflected not only the return to monarchy, but also a rebirth of English culture. Charles II loved entertainment and pleasure. Removing Puritan restrictions on the theater, he made entertainment and the arts more available to the people of England. His subjects named him the "Merry Monarch."

Despite his nickname, however, Charles II had learned much from his father's execution and from his own long years in exile. In reality, Charles was personally cynical and cautious. He avoided fights with Parliament when his policies met with opposition, but he was quite willing to use secrecy and roundabout methods to gain his ends.

Charles continued Cromwell's bold commercial policies, which eventually led to another series of conflicts with the Dutch. During these wars, England won control of the Dutch settlement of New Amsterdam in North America, renaming it New York. Charles tried, as well, to form a new alliance between England and France. Widespread protest in Parliament and throughout England, however, forced him to end his efforts. As a result, England and France began 150 years of rivalry to win control of the seas and to gain overseas colonies and resources.

Charles sought to increase toleration for Catholicism and worked to lift some of the legal restrictions that Parliament had imposed against the faith. His attempts to do so, however, met with such strong parliamentary opposition that he was forced to abandon the effort.



*Charles II (shown here as a boy) became king following the fall of Cromwell's commonwealth in 1660.*



**Political parties develop.** Charles II and his Portuguese queen, Catherine of Braganza, had no children. It appeared that Charles's younger brother James, a Roman Catholic, would succeed him. The two political parties developing in Parliament at this time had opposing ideas about this royal succession.

The two parties, the **Tories** and the **Whigs**, were about equal in strength. Their names were first used as insults. In Catholic Ireland the word *tory* meant an outlaw. In England, the name was given to one who believed James had a hereditary right to rule. Tories usually supported the Anglican Church. As believers in a hereditary monarchy, however, they would be willing to accept a Roman Catholic king.

The term *Whig* originally meant horse thief. Later applied to Scottish Presbyterians, the name suggested a group that was rebellious. The Whigs claimed the right to deny the throne to James. They wanted a strong Parliament and opposed having a Catholic ruler.

**The Glorious Revolution.** When Charles II died in 1685, his Catholic brother came to the throne as **James II**. He was humorless and less flexible than Charles was. James's belief in absolute royal rule antagonized both Whigs and Tories. His attempts to help Catholics frightened Protestants and spurred them to resist his rule.

Succession to the throne remained an important issue during James II's reign. His daughters, Mary and Anne, had both been raised as Protestants and had married Protestant princes. When their mother died, James married Mary of Modena, who was Catholic. In 1688 she had a son, who by law would succeed his father as monarch before his older half sisters would. Protestants feared the boy would begin a whole line of Catholic rulers on the English throne.

Both the Whigs and Tories in Parliament called on James II to step down. Leaders in Parliament then invited James's daughter, Mary, and her Dutch husband, William of Orange, to replace James on the throne. In their letter of invitation to William, the English leaders described the reasons for their opposition to James's rule.



This plate made in 1691 celebrates the coronation of William III and Mary II.

### Analyzing Primary Sources

#### Identifying Cause and Effect

What causes did the English leaders cite for their opposition to King James II?



“... the people are so generally dissatisfied with the present conduct of the Government in relation to their religion, liberties and properties . . . and they are in such expectation of their prospects being daily worse, that your Highness may be assured there are nineteen parts of twenty of the people throughout the kingdom who are desirous of a change and who, we believe, would willingly contribute to it.”

“The Letter of Invitation from the Immortal Seven,” quoted in *The Glorious Revolution of 1688* by Maurice Ashley

William of Orange was a famous soldier who had defeated the powerful French. When he landed in England at the head of a Dutch army in 1688, James fled to exile in France. Parliament gave the crown of England to William and Mary as joint rulers, known from that point on as **William III** and **Mary II**. The opponents of James II had combined to bring about what is known as the **Glorious Revolution**, a bloodless transfer of power in the English monarchy.

✓ **READING CHECK: Drawing Conclusions** How did religious attitudes affect the rule of Charles II and James II?

## Changes in English Government

The English Civil War and the events that followed led to important changes in the government. These events also changed the ways people thought about government. English philosopher **Thomas Hobbes**, who lived through the civil war, was disturbed by the chaos it created. He outlined his political philosophy in 1651 in a book called *Leviathan*.

Hobbes explained that the first people on Earth lived in anarchy, which he believed to be a state of nature. To avoid the resulting violence and danger, Hobbes said, people chose a leader to rule them. They made an unwritten social contract, giving the leader absolute power. The people kept only the right to protect their own lives.

Hobbes was strongly influenced by the chaos and destruction of the English Civil War. The ideas that he expressed in *Leviathan* reflected his belief that people acted from self-interest and without regard for the rights or welfare of others. In Hobbes's view, the natural world was a place in which only the strong would survive unless order was imposed by the greater power of a ruler. The social contract described by Hobbes was based on the exchange of individual liberty for group safety and social order.

**John Locke**, another English philosopher, disagreed. He accepted the idea of the social contract but believed that people had given up only some of their individual rights. Those they kept included the right to live, to enjoy liberty, and to own property. He said they could expect their rulers to preserve these rights. A ruler who violated these rights thus violated natural law and broke the social contract.

Locke, in contrast to Hobbes, believed that the contract between ruler and ruled could not limit the individual's natural right to enjoy life, political equality, and the ownership of property. In his *Two Treatises of Government*, Locke argued that these individual rights were superior to laws and governments. Governments existed for the sole purpose of protecting those rights. Thus, a ruler's claim to absolute power contradicted the natural order because people would not—and could not—willingly surrender their fundamental natural rights. A ruler who denied people their basic rights was a tyrant and could justly be overthrown.

**Habeas Corpus Act and Declaration of Rights.** Following the ideas of Locke, Parliament passed laws attempting to safeguard against arbitrary rule. In 1679 Parliament passed the Habeas Corpus Act to protect people who had been arrested. They could obtain a writ, or order, demanding to be brought before a judge. The judge would decide whether the prisoner should be released or charged and tried for a crime. The writ itself was called **habeas corpus**, Latin for “you shall have the body.” The Habeas Corpus Act protected individuals against unfair arrest and imprisonment.

A document called the Declaration of Rights was read to William and Mary before they were given the throne in 1689. That year, Parliament formalized the document, calling it the **English Bill of Rights**. It declared that Parliament would choose who ruled the country. The ruler would be subject to parliamentary laws and could not proclaim or suspend any law. The ruler could not impose taxes or maintain an army in peacetime without Parliament's consent. Parliament would meet frequently and the ruler could not interfere with the election of its members. The Bill of Rights guaranteed free speech for members of Parliament.

The Bill of Rights also protected private citizens. Any citizen could petition the government for relief of injustice. No citizen could be forced to pay unfairly high bail or face cruel or unusual punishment.

### HISTORY MAKER



**John Locke**  
(1632–1704)

John Locke was an important English philosopher. He believed in private property and was against taxation without representation. Locke's writings influenced the Americans who framed our Declaration of Independence and Constitution.

Locke thought that a contract existed between monarch and subjects. He said the people had the right to change their government if it became oppressive. **How did John Locke's writings affect the United States?**

**Holt  
Researcher**



[go.hrw.com](http://go.hrw.com)

**KEYWORD:** Holt Researcher

**FreeFind:** John Locke

After reading more about John Locke on the Holt Researcher, write a summary identifying the impact of the legal and political ideas contained in his *Two Treatises of Government*.

## Contrasting Views of Individual Liberty: Hobbes and Locke

The era following the English Revolution saw a continuing debate concerning the ideal form of government. Many thinkers favored centralized rule by a monarch who held absolute power over people, land, and property alike. Others, in contrast, believed that natural law gave the individual the right to govern himself or herself. Thomas Hobbes and John Locke came to symbolize opposing sides of this argument. By identifying the different points of view between Hobbes and Locke, one can better understand the political debates that led to many different experiments with government in England.



### John Locke

*The natural condition of humans is*  
 "... a state of perfect freedom to order  
 their actions, and dispose of their pos-  
 sessions and persons as they think fit, ...  
 without asking leave or depending upon the  
 will of any other man

... A state also of equality, wherein all the power  
 and jurisdiction is reciprocal [shared equally], no one having  
 more than another. ..."



### Thomas Hobbes

*The natural condition of humans is one of continuous conflict and competition:* "In such condition, there is no place for industry, because the fruit thereof is uncertain; and consequently no culture of the earth, ... no knowledge of the face of the earth, no account of time, no arts, no letters, no society; and which is worst of all, continual fear and danger of violent death; and the life of people, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short."

*Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), above, and John Locke (1632–1704), left, were leading English political philosophers. Their strongly contrasting views concerning the nature of government and its proper limits have influenced political thought from the 1600s to the present.*

### Skills Reminder

To identify a writer's point of view, you should first define the topic—the central idea—on which the writer is focusing. Then, read carefully to determine the writer's position—his or her point of view—toward that idea. Think about what you have learned from the writer before accepting or rejecting the point of view. When studying sources by different authors writing about the same topic, decide if their points of view are similar or opposing. Then decide which source makes the strongest case.

### Skills Practice

- 1 Summarize the points of view that Hobbes and Locke held about the natural condition of human beings.
- 2 Which view do you find the most convincing? Why?
- 3 Search recent media sources to find two editorials that express differing views on a common political subject. Choose which view you find the most convincing and explain why. Be sure to cite specific evidence from the editorials to justify your conclusion.

**Toleration Act and Act of Settlement.** In 1689 Parliament passed the Toleration Act. It granted some religious freedoms to Dissenters, Protestants who were not members of the Anglican Church. The Toleration Act did not protect Roman Catholics or Jews, however. It also barred Dissenters from holding public office.

In 1701 Parliament passed the Act of Settlement to keep Catholics from the English throne. The act stated that should William III die with no heir, Mary's sister Anne would inherit the throne. Should Anne have no children, the throne would go to another Protestant granddaughter of James I.

✓ **READING CHECK: Analyzing Information** How did Parliament reduce the power of the monarchy after the Restoration?

## Parliamentary Rule

The Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement marked a turning point in the history of England. The long struggle between the monarch and Parliament over who would rule the country had finally come to an end. Parliament had emerged as clearly supreme to the monarchy. The rights of individuals, moreover, and the limits on government powers had also become better defined. The long process of political development in Britain, however, was far from complete. Views of personal liberty and of the individual's right to participate in a government that was truly representative continued to grow and change.

**Growing power of Parliament.** By 1700 England was still a monarchy, but Parliament held most of the power. Parliament did not represent most of the people of England, however. The House of Lords consisted only of hereditary nobles and higher clergy. Even the House of Commons, which was gradually becoming the more powerful of the two houses, represented a small minority of the population. Only the landowning male gentry and wealthy merchants and professionals could vote for representatives to the Commons.

In the 50 years following the Glorious Revolution, Parliament continued to gain importance as the real power in Britain's government. During this time, the organization and institutions characteristic of today's British government gradually emerged. Two of the most important government institutions to develop between about 1690 and about 1740 were the cabinet and the office of prime minister.



### INTERPRETING THE VISUAL RECORD

**William and Mary** The Glorious Revolution led to Protestant rule by William III and Mary II. *Why might the artist have included so many of the trappings of monarchy in this portrait of William and Mary?*

English monarchs always had met with advisers to discuss problems of government. After the Restoration and the Glorious Revolution, parliamentary leaders had the power to get things done for the monarchs. William III chose his officers of state from among these leaders, who were often heads of government departments. They became known as the **cabinet**.

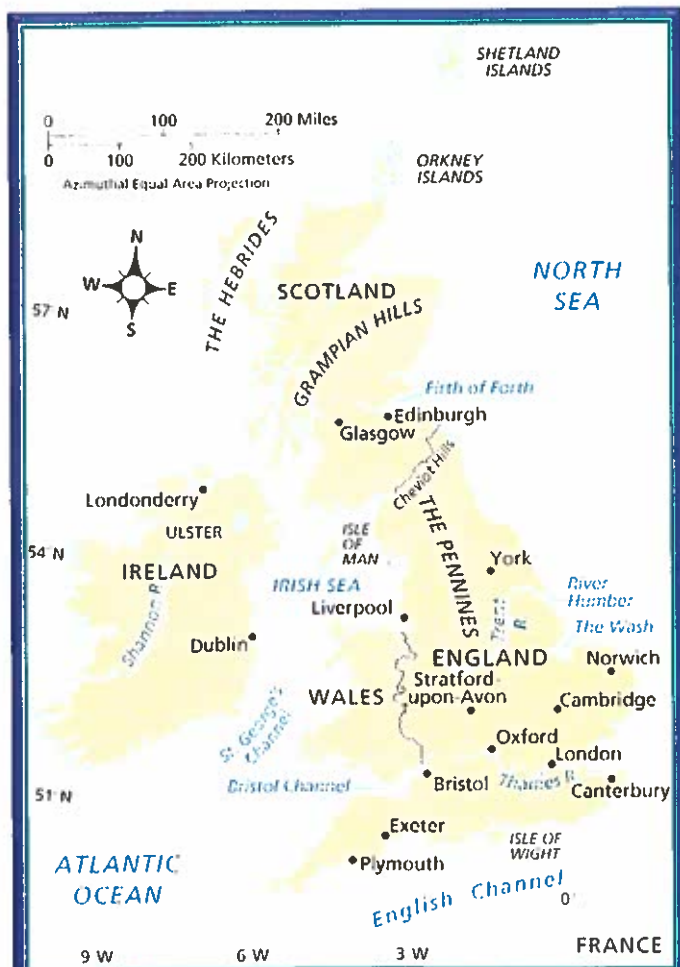
At first cabinets included both Whigs and Tories. This changed during William III's reign. It was decided that the government would run more smoothly if cabinet ministers belonged to the majority party in Parliament. Sometimes, to make working with Parliament possible, monarchs had to accept a cabinet they did not like. During and after William's reign, Parliament continued to win more authority, including the power to declare war. The king also no longer tried to veto acts of Parliament.

**Act of Union.** In 1707 the parliaments of England and Scotland passed the Act of Union. This law united England and Scotland into one kingdom, known as Great Britain. It was intended as a measure to strengthen England in its growing conflict with France. Many in Scotland opposed the union. This was partly because it abolished Scotland's parliament, even though Scots now took seats in the English House of Lords and House of Commons.

The union proved beneficial, however. By removing trade barriers, it encouraged commerce and brought wealth to both England and Scotland. The Scottish town of Glasgow grew from a fishing village into a great port city. The Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow became major centers of learning during the 1700s.

Queen Anne, who ruled from 1702 to 1714, had seventeen children. None survived her. Sophia of Hanover, granddaughter of James I, would have been next in line to the throne. She also was dead. That is how Sophia's son George, the first of the Hanoverian dynasty, became King George I of Great Britain.

Both George I and his son George II were born in Germany. Neither was familiar with British government or customs. George I, who ruled until 1727, did not even speak English. George II, who ruled until 1760, spoke fluent English, but depended heavily on cabinet ministers such as Sir Robert Walpole to manage the government's administration. Walpole served as the king's chief minister until 1742. During these years, he used his knowledge of the House of Commons to work for peace at home and overseas. Walpole also strengthened the British economy, although several of his tax measures were unpopular in Great Britain and in the kingdom's American colonies. Under Walpole's leadership, the British cabinet became increasingly important and necessary, and he is generally viewed as Great Britain's first effective **prime minister**, or first minister. His strong hand helped to stabilize the British political scene.



### The British Isles, 1707

**Interpreting Maps** The Act of Union of 1707 united England and Scotland into one kingdom—the Kingdom of Great Britain.

**Skills Assessment: 1. Locate** What small mountain range separates England from Scotland? **2. Analyzing Information** What were the advantages and disadvantages of uniting England and Scotland into Great Britain?

**Constitutional monarchy.** From 1721 to 1742 the Whigs controlled the House of Commons, led by Walpole, the government's prime minister. Under the rule of the Hanoverian monarchs, the prime minister, who usually held the title of first lord of the treasury during these years, was the real head of government. By this point in its history, the nation had become a **limited constitutional monarchy**. The monarch remained as Britain's head of state. Royal powers, however, were clearly limited by the British constitution, which required the king or queen to consult with Parliament and which reserved certain important powers for Parliament alone. The British system of limited constitutional monarchy has changed very little since the 1700s.

Great Britain has one of the world's oldest constitutional governments. It has been a model for other nations that have wanted to end absolute monarchies. The British constitution is not a single document. Instead, it consists partly of several great documents. Among them are the Magna Carta, the Petition of Rights, the Habeas Corpus Act, the Bill of Rights, and the Act of Settlement. It also includes acts of Parliament, which can be changed by later Parliaments. Some features of the British government have never been written down. The powers of the prime minister and the cabinet are based largely on tradition. The prime minister rather than the monarch selects the other ministers. Together the prime minister and the cabinet plan and carry out government policies.



*This image portrays Sir Robert Walpole, Britain's first prime minister, discussing policy with his cabinet.*

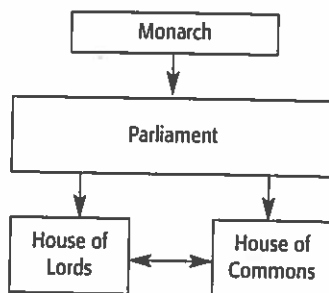
✓ **READING CHECK: Summarizing** What are the principal features of Britain's limited constitutional monarchy?

## SECTION 2 REVIEW

**1. Define** and explain the significance:  
 habeas corpus  
 cabinet  
 prime minister  
 limited constitutional monarchy

**2. Identify** and explain the significance:  
 Restoration  
 Tories  
 Whigs  
 James II  
 William III  
 Mary II  
 Glorious Revolution  
 Thomas Hobbes  
 John Locke  
 English Bill of Rights  
 Toleration Act

**3. Categorizing** Copy the organizational chart below. Use it to identify the relationships between the various elements of the British government.



**4. Finding the Main Idea**

- In what major ways did Parliament's Tories and Whigs differ in their view of the English monarchy?
- What role did religion play in the reigns of Charles II and James II?
- What was the "social contract" of Hobbes and Locke, and how did the two thinkers disagree in their view of it?
- Why was the Parliament of the early 1700s not truly a "representative legislature"?

**5. Writing and Critical Thinking**

**Analyzing Information** Imagine that you are a member of Parliament during the early 1700s. Write a speech for delivery to your fellow members in which you describe the progress of representative government in England after the English Revolution. **Consider:**

- what measures Parliament took to reduce the power of the monarchy after the Restoration
- to what degree the British constitutional system protected the rights of citizens



**Homework Practice Online**

keyword: SH3 HP11

## SECTION

# 3

### READ TO DISCOVER

- 1 Who were the sea dogs and what did they accomplish?
- 2 What were the results of British mercantilist policy?

### DEFINE

sea dogs

### IDENTIFY

John Cabot  
Sir Francis Drake  
Henry Hudson

### WHY IT MATTERS TODAY

Great Britain still follows the mercantilist policy of importing raw materials and exporting manufactured goods. Use [CNN.com](#) or other **current event** sources to identify which four or five countries are Great Britain's main trading partners today. Record your findings in your journal.

[CNN.com](#)

# English Colonial Expansion

**The Main Idea**  
After defeating the Spanish Armada, the British began to establish a colonial empire based on trade.

**The Story Continues** The defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 encouraged the English to compete with other European powers for control of overseas raw materials and markets. England's growing imperialism after 1588 brought criticism from other nations. "... I must not omit to say that the English through their rapacity [greed] and cruelty have become odious [hated] to all nations," complained a Venetian diplomat in London in 1603.

## The Beginnings of the British Empire

While Spain and Portugal were creating overseas empires during the 1500s, England was busy with problems at home. During the 1600s, however, English explorers began claiming and conquering land overseas. English merchants, who had been trading in Russia and the Baltic, now moved into the Americas and Asia. At the same time, the English navy had become a major force. English merchant shipping replaced the Dutch as a leader in foreign trade. By the 1760s Great Britain's colonial empire was the greatest in the world.

**Explorers and sea dogs.** Soon after Christopher Columbus sailed from Spain in 1492, King Henry VII of England entered the contest for American colonies. He hired Venetian captain **John Cabot**, who explored the coasts of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and possibly New England. Cabot's voyages in 1497 and 1498 gave England its first claim in North America.

During Queen Elizabeth I's reign in the second half of the 1500s, an adventurous group of English sea captains called the **sea dogs** appeared. These traders and pirates included Sir John Hawkins, **Sir Francis Drake**, and Sir Walter Raleigh. With the backing of the crown, they challenged the Portuguese and Spanish monopolies of sea trade.



*Francis Drake was knighted by Queen Elizabeth I when he returned from his three-year voyage around the world.*

The sea dogs also made important voyages of exploration. Drake, for example, sailed west from England across the Atlantic Ocean. He continued around South America to the west coast of North America. He then crossed the Pacific and Indian Oceans, rounded southern Africa, and returned to England in 1580. Drake was the first English sea captain to sail around the globe.

The sea dogs were best known for plundering foreign ships. Their repeated raids of Spanish slave ships from Africa greatly angered King Philip II of Spain. However, these attacks were part of a larger effort to undermine Spain's empire in the Americas. As Richard Hakluyt, an English historian of the day, observed:



“If you touch him [King Philip II of Spain] in the [West] Indies, you touch the apple of his eye; for take away his treasure . . . [and] his old bands of soldiers will soon be dissolved, his purpose defeated, his power and strength diminished, his pride abated, and his tyranny utterly suppressed . . .”

Richard Hakluyt, *A Discourse on Western Planting*

Philip protested to Queen Elizabeth, who claimed she was helpless to stop the raids. Secretly, Elizabeth supported the sea dogs and shared the profits from selling the slaves. Both pirates and patriots, the sea dogs helped England defeat the Spanish Armada in 1588. They strengthened the nation's seafaring tradition.

**The British in India.** The defeat of the Spanish Armada encouraged the British to establish colonies overseas. In 1600 Queen Elizabeth I granted a charter to a trading group that came to be known as the British East India Company. Over the course of its long life—it continued for nearly 260 years—the company played a major role in the development of Great Britain's overseas power. During its early years, the company worked to build and expand overseas trade, making no attempt to gain territory. It set up trading posts at Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras in India. These posts gradually became centers of power from which the British were able both to defend their trade interests and to expand their influence. Over time, in fact, the British East India Company became an unofficial extension of the British government. Throughout its history, the company did much to shape and apply Britain's colonial and commercial policies.

Given the decline of the once-mighty Mughal Empire by the 1600s, the British East India Company dealt mainly with local rulers during its early years. The company worked to win the support and loyalty of these rulers in several ways. It helped those who were weak, used force without hesitation against those who opposed the company's aims, and bribed those who were willing to accept its generous “gifts.”

By the mid-1700s the British East India Company had established trading posts in Malaya and the East Indies, as well as in India. As it grew, the company came into increasing contact—and conflict—with French traders who had built a similar company. Increasing competition between the two trading companies, and between the British and the French in general, eventually led to open conflict. The British emerged supreme from this struggle. By the late 1750s the company had become the dominant

### Analyzing Primary Sources

**Finding the Main Idea** What did Hakluyt think the British could accomplish by attacking Philip's ships in the West Indies?



### INTERPRETING THE VISUAL RECORD

**The British in India** This is a painted wooden model from the early 1800s. It depicts an Indian court called the Cutcherry. *What evidence is there that officers of the British East India Company were in charge?*



European trade interest in India. At the same time, it had become extremely powerful and wealthy and enjoyed strong support in Parliament.

✓ **READING CHECK: Evaluating** What role did the English sea dogs play in England's larger quests for power?

## The British in America

England was slow to establish colonies in North America. At first, the British explored the continent in hope of finding the Northwest Passage. This would have been a northern water route to Asia through or around North America. Spain controlled the southern route around Cape Horn in South America. Unfortunately, the Northwest Passage could not be found.

**Henry Hudson** was one of the first to search for the Northwest Passage. In 1609 he sailed on behalf of the Dutch. He charted much of the coast of eastern North America and explored the river that now bears his name. The next year he sailed on behalf of the English. He explored the bay in northern Canada also named for him.

**British settlements.** As they searched for the Northwest Passage, the British began settling along the eastern coast of North America. Private companies or individuals founded the first of these colonial settlements. In 1607 they established Jamestown, in what is now Virginia. Jamestown was the first permanent English settlement in North America. In 1620 settlers founded Plymouth, in what is now Massachusetts.

The founders hoped that these settlements would make money for the home country. Few investors, however, made any profit from the colonies. The colonists themselves settled in North America for other reasons. Some came to find greater political or religious freedom. Others simply wanted better lives for their families.

Many settlers did not come voluntarily. As in other colonial empires, the English brought slaves to their colonies. Slavery was most common in the southern colonies and in the West Indies. Barbados, in the Caribbean, was a huge commercial success largely because slaves did most of the work.

*The model pictured below is of Henry Hudson's ship, the Half Moon. Although they appear tiny and fragile by today's standards, ships like this carried European explorers to new lands around the world.*



### INTERPRETING THE VISUAL RECORD

**Henry Hudson** This image shows Henry Hudson landing on Manhattan Island. *How does this image reflect a European perspective?*



Most European colonies were ruled from the home country. Self-government set England's empire apart. Most English colonies had some form of representative assembly. Official control, however, remained firmly with England.

**Mercantilism and the British colonies.** The British government tried to make the colonies more profitable. Its policy of mercantilism held that the colonies existed for the economic benefit of the home country. Mercantilists believed that for a nation to become wealthy, it must export more goods than it imported. They saw colonies as sources of raw materials for the factories of the home country and as markets for the products of those factories.

Parliament passed laws to enforce this policy beginning in the 1650s. One law required colonists to sell certain products only to Britain—even if better prices were available in another country. Other laws discouraged colonists from manufacturing their own goods. For example, the British government forbade colonists to ship woolen cloth that they had manufactured to places outside their own colony.

Colonists resented the British trade regulations, and they found many ways to evade the laws. For example, they avoided paying taxes whenever and however they could. Smuggling became a respectable occupation in the colonies. This practice was hard to prevent because the long, indented coastline of North America had many harbors and inlets where ships could hide. Until the mid-1700s, moreover, the British government did not try very hard to enforce its colonial trade restrictions.

✓ **READING CHECK: Analyzing Information**  
What were the results of British mercantilist policy?

*Britain's mercantilist policies attempted to assure a flow of gold into the nation's treasury.*



## CONNECTING TO Economics

### Mercantilism

Mercantilism was a theory that favored the extension of a nation's economic power beyond its borders. Mercantilists realized that a strong colonial power would benefit from having a large population to provide the workers, consumers, and soldiers needed by a growing economy. They also believed that gold and silver were important measures of national wealth.

### Understanding Economics

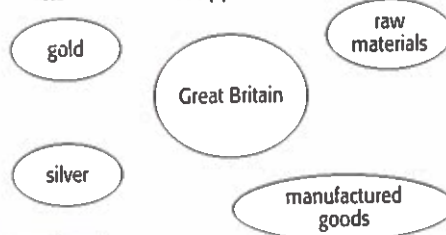
**Why might merchants in the colonies object to mercantilism?**

## SECTION 3 REVIEW

1. **Define** and explain the significance: sea dogs

2. **Identify** and explain the significance: John Cabot  
Sir Francis Drake  
Henry Hudson

3. **Sequencing** Copy the diagram below. Indicate with an arrow for each item the direction—to or from the home country—in which British mercantilist policy would have this item shipped.



4. **Finding the Main Idea**

- What was the importance of the sea dogs to British hopes for empire?
- What were the results of British mercantilist policy?

5. **Writing and Critical Thinking**

**Drawing Conclusions** Why did Elizabeth I support the activities of the English sea dogs?

**Consider:**

- how the sea dogs attacked Spanish shipping
- the results of the sea dogs' attacks
- how the sea dogs supported English policies against the Spanish



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## SECTION

## 4

## The Enlightenment

## READ TO DISCOVER

- 1 What were the principal characteristics of Enlightenment thinking?
- 2 What were the similarities and differences in the ideas of important Enlightenment philosophers?

## DEFINE

rationalism  
philosophes  
popular sovereignty  
enlightened despotism

## IDENTIFY

Enlightenment  
*The Encyclopedia*  
Denis Diderot  
Baron de Montesquieu  
Voltaire  
Jean-Jacques Rousseau  
Mary Wollstonecraft

## WHY IT MATTERS TODAY

The idea that science can help explain human behavior has persisted. Use **current** or other **current event** sources to find an example of how the scientific method is used to give information about group behavior. Record your findings in your journal.

CNN  
News.com

**The Main Idea**  
Enlightenment thinkers examined and challenged traditional views of government.

**The Story Continues** Increasingly during the 1600s and the 1700s, the ancient European social and political order, in which a small but privileged minority controlled the majority, came under attack. Critics of the old order complained that the privileged few took much and gave back little. Noted one French thinker, "If [a great lord] . . . can conceal the fact that he has nothing to do by looking busy, . . . he thinks himself the most fortunate of men."

## Crusaders of the Enlightenment

The 1700s have been called the Age of **Enlightenment**. Some people believed that reason and the scientific method could logically explain human nature. This belief that truth can be determined solely by logical thinking was called **rationalism**.

Thinkers of the Enlightenment believed in natural law. Objects in nature were expected to act in ways that were predictable. During the 1700s many people came to believe that laws of nature governed the universe and all its creatures. These beliefs formed the foundation of the modern natural sciences.

These advanced thinkers also believed that God had created the world and all living things. Just as the law of gravity governed the movement of planets, other laws governed human behavior. To live in harmony, people must live according to natural law. However, many believed that God did not act directly in human affairs and that individual human actions mattered most in determining the future. Some thinkers downplayed the importance of religion, a view that became known as secularism. Enlightenment ideas about secularism and individualism would later influence some ideas about the separation of church and state in government.

Thinkers of the Enlightenment were called **philosophes** (fee-luh-zawis), after the French word for philosopher. They were not only philosophers but also critics of society. They wrote to one another and published their ideas in books, plays, pamphlets, and newspapers. Their most famous and ambitious project was *The Encyclopedia*, a sort of handbook describing the ideas of the Enlightenment that became the most famous publication of the period.

Shown here are a few pages from a rare first edition of *The Encyclopedia* published by the French philosophes.





The *Encyclopedia* was edited by philosopher Denis Diderot (dee-DROH). He and co-editor Jean d'Alembert (dah-lem-BER) published the first edition in 28 volumes between 1751 and 1772. Leading philosophes contributed articles covering nearly every possible subject. Many of the articles were very technical. Others criticized many things in society. They attacked the church, the government, the slave trade, torture, taxes, and war. The French authorities frowned on critical writings, however. They imprisoned Diderot and several other philosophes. Nevertheless, people throughout Europe read *The Encyclopedia* and adopted its ideas.

✓ **READING CHECK: Finding the Main Idea** What were the main characteristics of Enlightenment thinking?

## Political Criticism

Based on the democratic-republican governments that had evolved in classical Greece and Rome, the philosophes examined the governments of their time. They criticized the power of kings and the privileges of clergy and nobles.

A number of the philosophes adopted the ideas of John Locke. One of them was Baron de Montesquieu (MOHN-tes-kyoo). In 1748 Montesquieu published *The Spirit of the Laws*. In this book he tried to describe the perfect government. He concluded that Great Britain had the best. He wrote that the British system's greatest strength was the division of government into three branches. He believed that the balance between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches provided checks to political power.

Although Montesquieu was wrong about how government was divided in Britain, his ideas carried great weight. His idea of checks and balances would influence the framing of the U.S. Constitution in 1787.

French writer Francois-Marie Arouet, best known as **Voltaire**, exemplified the spirit of the Enlightenment. Voltaire wrote clever and stinging satires on the French monarchy, the nobility, and the religious controls of the church. Twice imprisoned in the Bastille for his attacks on the old order, Voltaire fled for a time to Britain. He was especially critical of intolerance and of attempts to suppress personal freedoms. In defense of the freedom of speech, Voltaire wrote, "I [may] disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it." In his book *Philosophical Letters*, Voltaire wrote that he, too, was impressed by the British political system.

### INTERPRETING THE VISUAL RECORD

**Enlightenment salons** Marie-Thérèse Geoffrin's salon in the Hotel Rambouillet provided a weekly opportunity for artists and writers to meet with one another and to discuss the ideas of the Enlightenment. *How might the salon pictured to the left encourage the free exchange of ideas?*

**Holt  
Researcher**



go.hrw.com

**KEYWORD: Holt Researcher**

**FreeFind:**

**Marie-Therese Geoffrin**

After reading more about Marie-Thérèse Geoffrin on the Holt Researcher, write an imaginary dialogue that she might have had in her salon about political issues of the time.

## HISTORY MAKER



**Mary Wollstonecraft**  
(1759–1797)

During the Enlightenment, British author Mary Wollstonecraft argued for the equality of women with men. Wollstonecraft sought personal freedom and economic independence, working as a schoolteacher and a governess before turning to writing. In her most well-known work, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), Wollstonecraft argued that women should enjoy the same educational opportunities and political rights as men, including the right to vote. **What did Mary Wollstonecraft want for women?**

Back in France, Voltaire continued his criticism. He attacked everything he considered a sham or superstition. His novel *Candide* ridiculed prejudice, bigotry, and oppressive government. Voltaire became famous as a champion of religious freedom and freedom of thought.

In 1762 Jean-Jacques Rousseau (roo-SOH) published *The Social Contract*. He wrote that people are naturally good, but that environment, education, and laws corrupt them. He believed that people could preserve their natural state only if they could choose their own government. He wrote that good government must be based on **popular sovereignty**. By this he meant that government must be created by and controlled by the people.



“Man is born free; and everywhere he is in chains. One thinks himself the master of others, and still remains a greater slave than they.”

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*

Unlike other philosophes, Rousseau did not trust reason. He believed that it brought corruption and misery. Rousseau's opposition to a strong government also set him apart. Although philosophes disliked absolute monarchy, most of them favored the idea of **enlightened despotism**. This was a system of government in which an absolute monarch would rule, but according to the principles of the Enlightenment.

By the 1780s many people had come to accept Rousseau's philosophy and his distrust of reason. His ideas on government and individual freedom became most influential during the later years of the Enlightenment.

Although most of the philosophes were men, women also participated in the Enlightenment. English author **Mary Wollstonecraft** became an early spokesperson for women's rights. Wollstonecraft argued that Enlightenment ideals of equality should be extended to women as well as men.

✓ **READING CHECK: Comparing and Contrasting** Compare and contrast the ideas of the following philosophes: Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau.

## SECTION 4 REVIEW

1. **Define** and explain the significance:

rationalism  
philosophes  
popular sovereignty  
enlightened despotism

2. **Identify** and explain the significance:

Enlightenment  
*The Encyclopedia*  
Denis Diderot  
Baron de Montesquieu  
Voltaire  
Jean-Jacques Rousseau  
Mary Wollstonecraft

3. **Categorizing** Copy the diagram below. Draw lines to match the principles on the right with the names on the left.

Montesquieu	popular sovereignty
Voltaire	women's rights
Rousseau	checks and balances
Wollstonecraft	freedom of speech

4. **Finding the Main Idea**

- What were the main characteristics of Enlightenment thinking?
- How did the ideas of secularism and individualism that arose during the Enlightenment affect later governments?

5. **Writing and Critical Thinking**

**Evaluating** Select one of the philosophes. Explain why you believe his or her views on government are correct or incorrect.

**Consider:**

- the type of government championed by the philosophe you have selected
- whether or not his or her ideas and approaches were realistic



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## SECTION

# 5

### READ TO DISCOVER

- 1 How did Americans respond to British policies after the French and Indian War?
- 2 What type of government did Americans set up after the American Revolution?


### DEFINE

federal system of government  
 executive branch  
 legislative branch  
 judicial branch

### IDENTIFY

Stamp Act  
 King George III  
 Lord North  
 Patriots  
 Loyalists  
 Thomas Jefferson  
 George Washington  
 Benjamin Franklin  
 Articles of Confederation  
 Bill of Rights

### WHY IT MATTERS TODAY

In modern times people have often rebelled against tyrannical governments. Use  or other **current event** sources to find several examples of recent political revolutions. Record your findings in your journal.

 [www.cnn.com](http://www.cnn.com)

# The American Revolution

**The Main Idea**  
 In the late 1700s the United States of America broke from Britain to form a new kind of government.

**The Story Continues** *In the American colonies, Enlightenment thinking inspired new beliefs based upon the ideals of popular sovereignty. A growing number of people in Britain's North American colonies held that they should be governed by the same standards of law and liberty that governed people in Great Britain. They insisted that "... his majesty's subjects in these [American] colonies are entitled to all the inherent rights and privileges of his natural born subjects within the kingdom of Great Britain."*

## Empire and Conflict

New ideas about government were not confined to Europe in the 1700s. In far-off North America, British colonists had developed a new way of life. They were creating a new relationship with the home country. Their first concern was with British trade laws, but they also disliked the French along their borders.

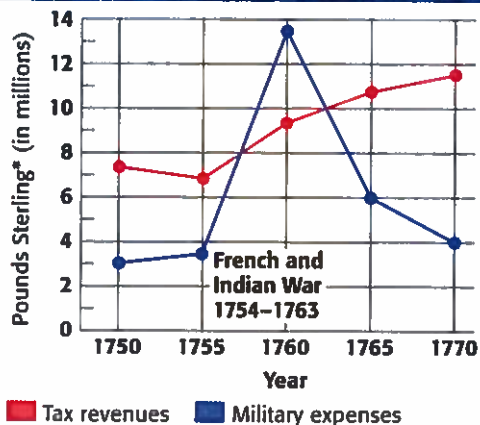
**British-French rivalry.** The British colonies sat along the Atlantic coast of North America. French settlements were to the north and the west, in what was called New France. In the 1700s British-American settlers moved westward across the Appalachian Mountains. Conflict with the French seemed inescapable.

France and Britain had fought in Europe for decades. The conflict spilled over into North America and in 1754 resulted in the French and Indian War. In Europe this sparked the Seven Years' War, which raged from 1756 to 1763. British victory in these conflicts was confirmed by the Treaty of Paris of 1763. The British had won control of much of North America. They ruled from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River and from the Gulf of Mexico to the Arctic Ocean. British power had reached a new height.

### Increased imperial control.

The war with France left Britain with a huge debt. British politicians had defended the colonists. They now expected the colonists to repay this effort.

### British Revenues and Expenses



### Interpreting the Graph

The French and Indian War proved very costly for Great Britain. *In 1760, approximately how much higher was the cost of military expenses than tax revenues?*



Stamps such as this were required by the Stamp Act to be put on all commercial and legal papers.

#### INTERPRETING THE VISUAL RECORD

**The Stamp Act** This British cartoon celebrates the repeal of the Stamp Act by showing members of Parliament carrying the “dead” act in a coffin. **What other imagery in the cartoon reflects the “death” of the act?**



British policy toward the colonies in the 1760s was uneven. In 1763 after an American Indian uprising, the British barred colonists from settling west of the Appalachians. The government also began enforcing its mercantilist trade laws. The Sugar Act of 1764, for example, imposed taxes on sugar and other imports from non-British colonies. The colonists saw this as a threat to their liberties.

In 1765 Parliament passed the **Stamp Act**. This law imposed a tax, in the form of a special stamp, on all sorts of documents, including wills, contracts, mortgages, newspapers, and pamphlets. The colonists opposed the tax. When they boycotted British goods, Parliament backed down and repealed the Stamp Act.

With each new tax law, colonial resistance increased. Some laws were repealed, but others were not. With no representatives in the British Parliament, the colonists argued against this “taxation without representation.” They called it tyranny. Relations between Britain and the colonies grew steadily worse.

**Intensified conflict.** Reigning from 1760 to 1820, **King George III** was the first Hanoverian monarch to be born in England. He believed that Parliament had too much power. He wanted to select his own ministers. Six prime ministers came to power in just eight years. It was during this unsettled time that the final break with the American colonies occurred.

As the colonists hardened their resistance to British policies, George III was determined to force their obedience. In 1770 he found a new prime minister, **Lord North**, who was willing to carry out his policies.

Many American colonists were coming to believe that breaking away from British rule was necessary to guarantee their rights. The colonists were far from united for independence, however. About one third, called **Patriots**, wanted independence. Another third, called **Loyalists**, or Tories, opposed independence. The rest of the colonists did not take sides.

In 1773 Lord North’s government gave the British East India Company a monopoly to ship tea directly to the colonies. Angry colonists threw a shipment of tea into Boston Harbor, an event that became known as the Boston Tea Party. Parliament responded by closing the port of Boston. Colonists called this and several other laws passed in 1774 the Intolerable Acts.

The Patriots took action. In the fall of 1774, delegates from 12 of the 13 colonies met in Philadelphia in the First Continental Congress. They demanded that the colonists be granted the full rights of British citizens. They agreed to meet again the following year if the British Parliament did not repeal the Intolerable Acts.

By April 1775 British troops in Boston had begun to feel threatened by the colonists’ growing resistance. In response the British tried to seize colonial guns and gunpowder stored nearby. At the towns of Lexington and Concord, the British fought with groups of armed colonists. The American Revolution had begun.

✓ **READING CHECK: Evaluating** How did colonists in America respond to changing British policy in the years between 1763 and 1775?

## American Independence

Delegates to the Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia in May 1775. Many still hoped to avoid conflict. When they received news of the fighting at Lexington and Concord, their attitudes quickly changed. They prepared for war.

**The Declaration of Independence.** Delegates met again the following year. They voted to declare their freedom from Great Britain. On July 4, 1776, they adopted the Declaration of Independence. This established the United States of America as an independent nation.

**Thomas Jefferson** was the Declaration's principal author. The Declaration of Independence showed the influence of Enlightenment philosophers such as John Locke. It declared that all men are created equal and have the right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

In his first draft of the Declaration, Jefferson had denounced slavery. But other delegates—primarily slaveholders from the southern American colonies—objected strongly to Jefferson's attack on their rights as "property owners." In order to secure the support of slaveholders in the southern colonies, therefore, delegates to the Congress removed the passage from the Declaration. Thus the ideal of individual liberty was only applied in a limited manner. Neither women nor slaves were included in the provisions of the Declaration of Independence. Nevertheless, the Declaration represented a milestone in the struggle for broader equality and justice.

The Declaration stated that all powers of government come from the people. It said that no government can exist without the consent of its citizens and that government is created to protect individual rights. If a government fails to protect these rights, the Declaration said, the people may alter or abolish it and set up a new government. These were extreme ideas. It was one thing to reject absolute monarchy. It was quite another to say people have the right of revolution.

Primary Source

**"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new Government . . ."**

*The Declaration of Independence*

The American Declaration of Independence was a remarkable and powerful political statement. It was also an elegant summary of many of the ideals and values that influenced Europe and America during the Enlightenment.

✓ **READING CHECK Summarizing** What new political and legal ideas were contained in the Declaration of Independence?



## YOUNG PEOPLE IN HISTORY

### Young Patriots

Patriots of all ages fought in the American Revolution. Many young boys between the ages of 14 and 16 enlisted in the American army. Other boys, some as young as six, served as drummers for the troops, like the one pictured here. Their job was to signal commands, which sometimes put them in the midst of battle.

The American navy had its share of young sailors as well. Small boys served as deckhands or "powder monkeys." They carried ammunition to the gunners during battle. **How did young boys serve during the American Revolution?**

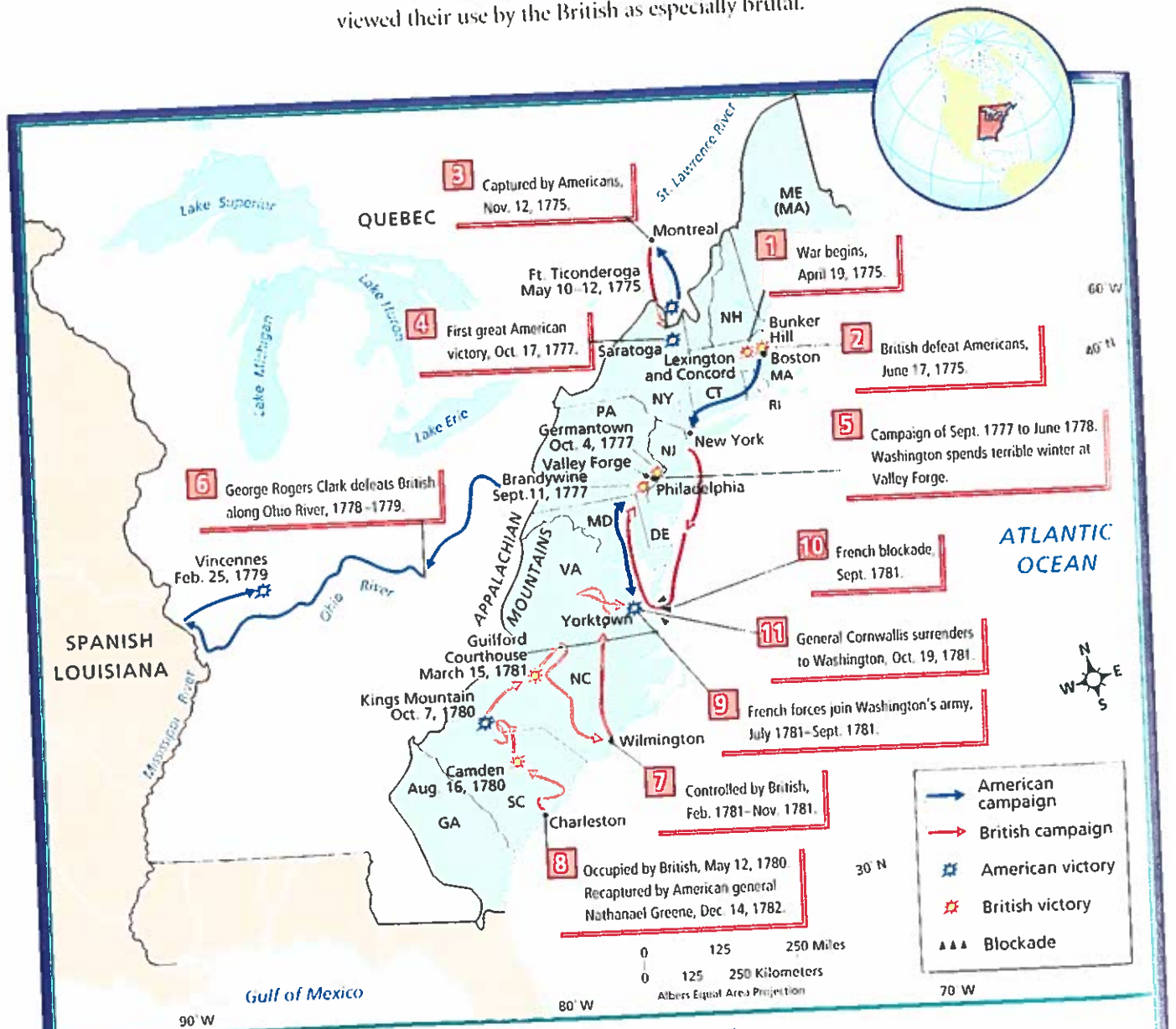
### Analyzing Primary Sources

**Drawing Conclusions** According to the Declaration of Independence, why are governments established, and what rights do people have when their government becomes oppressive and unjust?



**The war for independence.** It was not clear who would win the Revolutionary War. Each side had strengths and weaknesses. The Americans were defending their own homes in well known territory. The British, however, had a superior military force. Their army and navy were well trained. The British fleet was the strongest in the world. The British had to cross an ocean, however, and bring in most of their military supplies and equipment.

The war against the colonists was not popular in Great Britain. Some British even sympathized with the Americans. Britain had no allies to help it in the war. As a result, King George III had to hire some of his soldiers. Many of these mercenaries were Germans from Hesse, a state in the southwestern region of Germany. These mercenaries, known as Hessians, aroused a great deal of anger among the American colonists, who viewed their use by the British as especially brutal.



### Military Campaigns of the American Revolution, 1775-1783

**Interpreting Maps** The Battle of Saratoga in October 1777 marked the first great American victory of the Revolutionary War.

**Skills Assessment: Physical Systems** What geographic feature marked the western boundary of the middle colonies?

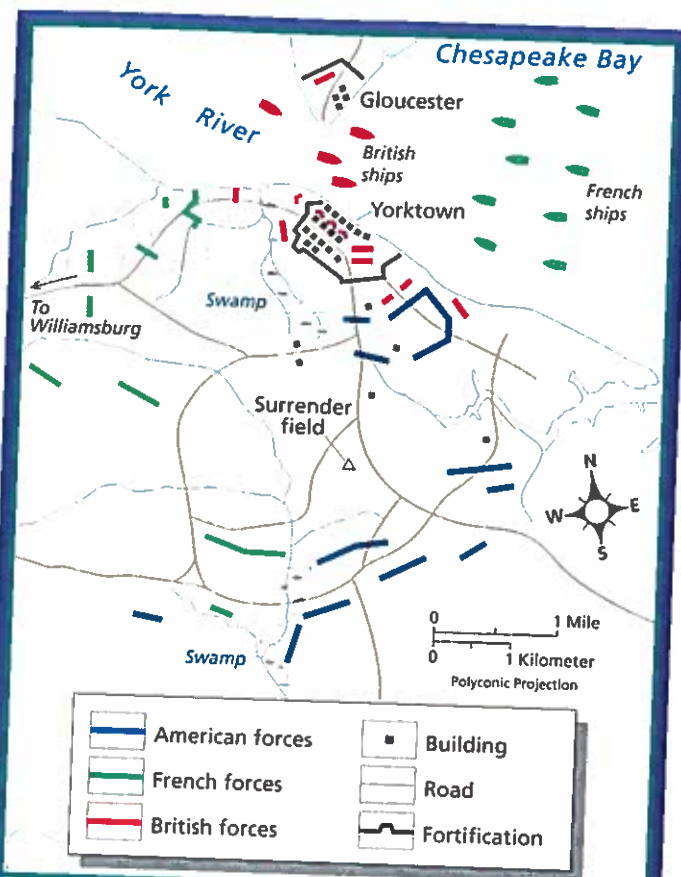
At first, a lack of unity among the colonies helped the British. The weakness of the American government was a serious problem. The colonies sent representatives to the Continental Congress voluntarily. Proposals governing the conduct of the war had to be passed unanimously. These proposals involved critical issues such as the purchase of weapons and equipment, food supplies for the army, the appointment of officers, and campaign plans. At a time when speedy decisions were necessary, a single opposing voice within the Congress could halt action. Under these conditions delegates might be forced to spend much time in negotiation with one another to reach agreement and unanimity. The Congress also had to borrow money and print paper currency to finance the war. This need created many problems, however, because the Congress's credit was poor and lenders were difficult to find. In many cases troops and suppliers grumbled that they were being paid with money that was basically worthless.

Under these circumstances it was difficult to build a strong army. At first the American forces were poorly trained volunteers who did not do well in battle against the British soldiers. Fortunately they had good leaders, such as **George Washington**, commander of the American forces. Some help came from other nations, such as France, that opposed British interests on an international scale. These countries helped to provide military officers, troops, weapons, ships, and money for the colonists. Meaningful support from European powers, however, was not seen by the Americans until relatively late in the war.

**War and peace.** Most of the fighting took place between 1776 and 1781. A major turning point came in October 1777, when the Americans defeated a British force under General John Burgoyne at Saratoga, New York. Now that the colonists seemed to have a chance of winning, the French jumped into the fray. Eager to weaken the British Empire, France agreed to an alliance with the United States. Spain and the Netherlands also joined the colonists' efforts. In 1781 the Americans and their French allies trapped and defeated the main British army at Yorktown, Virginia. The Americans had won the Revolutionary War.

Peace negotiations between the Americans and their former British rulers lasted two years. **Benjamin Franklin** was the chief American negotiator. In 1783 the British and the Americans and their allies signed the Treaty of Paris. The Americans had won their independence. They had also won a territory much larger than the original thirteen colonies.

**READING CHECK: Contrasting** What advantages and disadvantages did each side have in the American Revolutionary War?



### The Siege of Yorktown, 1781

**Interpreting Maps** At Yorktown, the British were trapped against the York River by American and French forces.

**Skills Assessment: 1. Human Systems** From what countries did the naval ships that engaged in battle at Yorktown sail? **2. Drawing Inferences** Why might the British forces have found it impossible to escape to their home country?

**Holt  
Researcher**



go.hrw.com

**KEYWORD: Holt Researcher**

**FreeFind: Benjamin Franklin**

**Thomas Jefferson**

After reading more about Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson on the Holt Researcher, write a script for a debate they might have had over the legalization of slavery in the United States.

## Governing a New Nation

The new American government had a daunting task. It had to get the various states to work together. It also had to meet the goals of each group that had joined in winning the Revolutionary War.

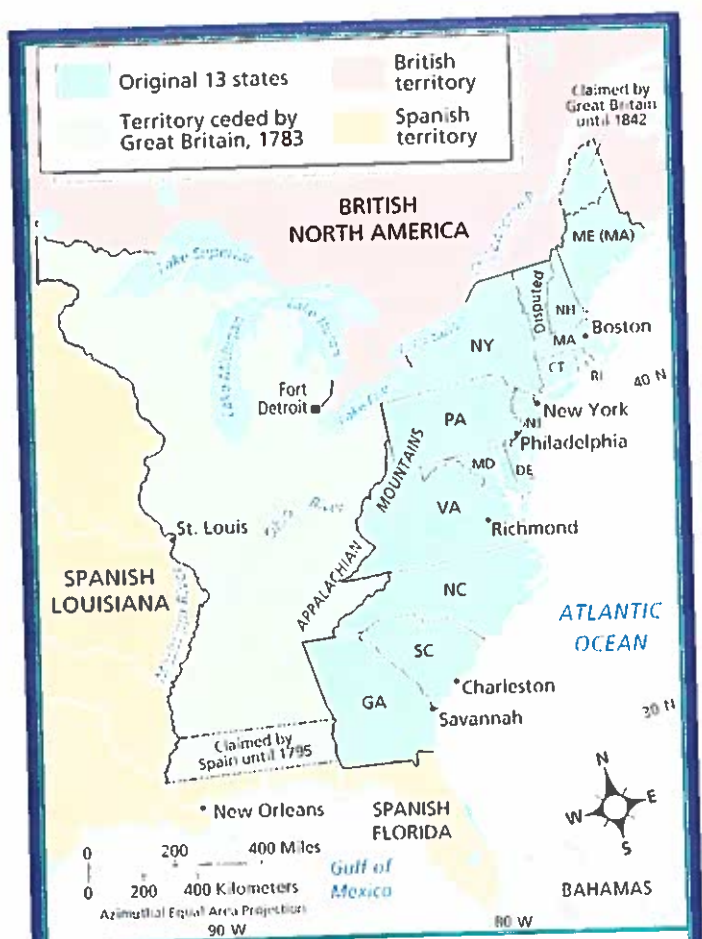
**The Articles of Confederation.** The Second Continental Congress adopted the **Articles of Confederation** in 1777. This plan of government was ratified by the American states in 1781. The Articles set up a central government, with a one-house Congress in which each state had a single vote. Congress had the authority to declare war and make peace. It could also deal with other nations and settle disputes between the states. However, under the Articles of Confederation the central government was weak. The weakness of the new nation's government under the Articles was deliberate. Americans feared a strong central government that could quickly become repressive. They wanted to ensure that the individual rights and liberties for which they had fought were safeguarded. Thus Congress had no power to enforce its laws, which had to be approved by at least nine of the states.

Congress could not levy taxes or coin money. It could not regulate trade with foreign nations or among the states. Moreover, the Articles provided for no chief executive, and the only courts were state courts. Clearly, the Articles of Confederation were designed to place power in the hands of the individual states. State governments were seen as closer to the people and the popular will than the central government. Americans believed, too, that state governments were less likely to become repressive than the central government. Almost immediately, however, Americans began to realize that the Articles made it difficult to build an effective and stable government.

**The Constitution.** Many Americans were unhappy with the weakness of the new government. In May 1787 delegates from the states met again in Philadelphia to revise the Articles. The delegates soon realized, however, that a mere revision would not be enough. They decided instead to write a constitution.

After unanimously choosing George Washington as presiding officer, the delegates went to work. They wanted a strong central government. They also wanted some powers kept for the states. As a result, the Constitution they adopted provided for a **federal system of government**. The central, or federal, government was given many important powers. It could declare war, raise armies, and make treaties. It could coin money and regulate trade with foreign countries. The states and the people retained all other powers.

The federal government had three branches. The **executive branch**, headed by the president, enforced the laws. The **legislative branch**, consisting of the Congress, made the laws. The **judicial branch**, consisting of the federal courts, interpreted the laws. Each branch acted as a check on the power of the others.



### The United States in 1783

**Interpreting Maps** The Treaty of Paris of 1783 gave the United States a large area of land beyond the boundaries of the original 13 colonies.

**Skills Assessment: Places and Regions** What nation controlled the region to the south of the United States? To the north? To the west?

Delegates to the Constitutional Convention signed the new document in September 1787. After the Constitution was ratified by the necessary nine states, it went into force in 1789.

Some Americans did not like the Constitution. They feared that it did not protect the rights of individuals. As a result, ten amendments were added in 1791. Together these amendments are known as the **Bill of Rights**. They guarantee freedom of religion, speech, the press, assembly, and petition. They also guarantee freedom from illegal search and seizure and the right to a jury trial.

**Effects of American independence.** The American Revolution was a major event in world history. It put into practice the ideas of John Locke and other political philosophers of the Enlightenment. The American example of democratic government was a landmark in world history and an important influence. People in other countries still suffered under absolute monarchs and privileged classes. The American Revolution gave them hope.

The American democracy of 1789 was hardly perfect. The states restricted voting to adult males. Most required that voters own property. Women could not vote. African Americans held in slavery had no political rights at all. Clearly many liberties still had to be won. Nonetheless, the American Revolution created a government with a new, democratic relationship among citizens. Not all Patriots agreed on the final form of government created by the Constitution. Still, their common beliefs and the economic and political needs of the new nation held them together. They had created a country that inspired loyalty.

✓ **READING CHECK: Summarizing** Describe the government created by the U.S. Constitution in 1789.

## HISTORY MAKER



**George Washington**  
(1732–1799)

After the U.S. Constitution was ratified, George Washington was elected as the first president of the United States. Washington had led the American troops to victory in the Revolution. **Why might the American people have wanted Washington as their first president?**

## SECTION 5 REVIEW

1. **Define** and explain the significance:  
federal system of government  
executive branch  
legislative branch  
judicial branch

2. **Identify** and explain the significance:  
Stamp Act  
King George III  
Lord North  
Patriots  
Loyalists  
Thomas Jefferson  
George Washington  
Benjamin Franklin  
Articles of Confederation  
Bill of Rights

3. **Comparing and Contrasting** Copy the chart below. Use it to compare and contrast the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution.

FEATURE	ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION	CONSTITUTION
Strong executive branch	no	yes
Power to tax		
One legislative vote each state		
Bill of Rights		
Federal courts		

4. **Finding the Main Idea**

- How did the ideas of the Enlightenment influence the leaders of the American Revolution?
- How did Americans respond to changes in British colonial policy after 1763?
- What were the central features of the government created by the U.S. Constitution?

5. **Writing and Critical Thinking**

**Identifying Cause and Effect** Imagine you are one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. After the Revolutionary War, write a summary of the effects of the Declaration.

**Consider:**

- the legal and political ideas in the document
- how they differed from previous systems
- how they affected the creation of the U.S. government

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# Review

## Creating a Time Line

Copy the time line below onto a sheet of paper. Complete the time line by filling in the events, individuals, and dates from the chapter that you think were significant. Pick three events and explain why you think they were significant.



## Writing a Summary

Using standard grammar, spelling, sentence structure, and punctuation, write an overview of the events in the chapter.

## Identifying People and Ideas

Identify the following terms or individuals and explain their significance:

- |                        |                               |
|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Oliver Cromwell     | 7. sea dogs                   |
| 2. Glorious Revolution | 8. Enlightenment              |
| 3. John Locke          | 9. Jean-Jacques Rousseau      |
| 4. habeas corpus       | 10. Stamp Act                 |
| 5. Sir Francis Drake   | 11. George Washington         |
| 6. Act of Union        | 12. Articles of Confederation |

## Understanding Main Ideas

### SECTION 1 (pp. 286–290)

#### Civil War and Revolution

1. What were the immediate causes of the English Revolution?
2. Who in England was likely to oppose the execution of Charles I?

### SECTION 2 (pp. 291–297)

#### Constitutional Monarchy in England

3. What were the differences between the Tories and the Whigs?
4. What role did religion play in English politics after the Restoration?

### SECTION 3 (pp. 298–301)

#### English Colonial Expansion

5. How did England become the dominant naval power in the 1500s?
6. What was the British policy of mercantilism?

### SECTION 4 (pp. 302–304)

#### The Enlightenment

7. What ideas did Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau contribute to political philosophy?
8. How did Enlightenment thinking affect some people's views of church and state?

### SECTION 5 (pp. 305–311)

#### The American Revolution

9. What issues led to the American Revolution?
10. What were the differences between the Articles of Confederation and the United States Constitution?

## Reviewing Themes

1. **Citizenship** How did many political writers and philosophers of the 1700s see the relationship between people and their government?
2. **Constitutional Heritage** What were the sources of the political ideas that led to the American Revolution and the United States Constitution?
3. **Global Relations** Why did British policy anger many Americans in the years following 1763?

## Thinking Critically

1. **Identifying Cause and Effect** What features of British policy probably led Americans to design the government created by the Constitution?
2. **Supporting a Point of View** Although the United States was created with the Declaration of Independence, how could it be argued that the country was really launched in 1789?

## Writing About History

**Comparing and Contrasting** Compare and contrast the British and American governments. Use the chart below to organize your thoughts before writing.

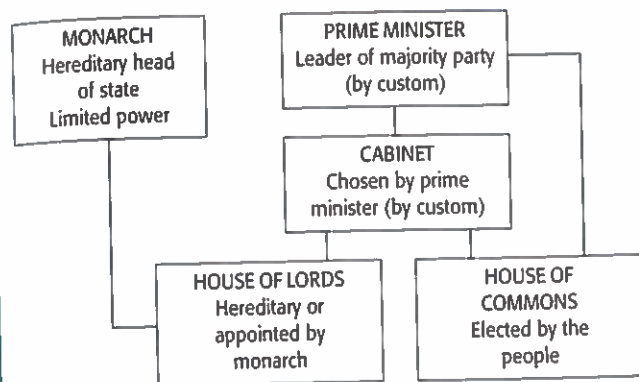
Elements	British Government	American Government
Constitution		
Legislature		
Executive		
Protection of individual liberties		

## Building Social Studies Skills

### Reading a Chart

Study the chart below. Then answer the questions that follow.

#### Great Britain's Constitutional Monarchy



- Which general statement correctly describes a relationship shown on the chart?
  - The members of the cabinet choose the prime minister.
  - The monarch has direct power over the prime minister.
  - Members of the House of Lords are direct representatives of the people.
  - The prime minister is a member of the majority party in the House of Commons.
- Which branch of government has the most power in Great Britain? Give specific reasons for your choice.
- The statement that best summarizes this reading is:
  - Voltaire was more popular than was Rousseau.
  - The *Encyclopedia* collected all the knowledge that was available during the 1700s.
  - Rousseau and Montesquieu held opposing ideas regarding the best form of government.
  - Some Enlightenment writers were concerned with issues of government and society.
- What effect did the ideas of these thinkers have on the people of their time? Give specific examples.

### Summarizing

Read the paragraph below. Then answer the questions that follow.

During the Enlightenment, the ideas of philosophers were widely read. Montesquieu published *The Spirit of the Laws* in 1748, describing what he thought was a perfect government. From 1751 to 1772 the *Encyclopedia* was published in France. Edited by Diderot and d'Alembert, it examined government, war, taxes, human rights, and the church. In 1759, Voltaire published *Candide*, which satirized oppressive government and prejudice. *The Social Contract*, published in 1762 by Rousseau, argued that government should be created by and subject to the will of the people.

### Alternative Assessment

#### Building Your Portfolio

##### Constitutional Heritage

The ideas about democratic-republican government that inspired the Enlightenment and the revolutions in England and its colonies had many of their roots in ancient Greece and Rome. Using your textbook and other sources, create a flowchart that traces the process by which democratic-republican government evolved from its beginnings in classical Greece and Rome.

Link to TODAY

#### Internet connect

**Internet Activity:** [go.hrw.com](http://go.hrw.com)  
KEYWORD: SH3 WH11

Choose a topic on Enlightenment and Revolution in England and America to:

- understand how the ideas of the Enlightenment have influenced institutions and societies.
- create a recruitment poster for the New Model Army.
- identify political ideas in John Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* and its influence on the Declaration of Independence.

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