**Civilisation Britannique CM (S1)**

An introduction to the history of the British Isles

History of the British system of government

Monarchy and parliament, from origin Anglo Saxon times until the advent of democracy

The current system words:

One of the oldest parliaments in the world. the English parliament was one of the earliest ones. People are proud cause they said they took part of one of the earliest government in the world. Sometimes called the mother of old parliament.

The first bicameral parliament, 2 houses. still exist today.First constitutional monarchy in Europe. First monarchy where the power of the was controlled by the parliament. also the first monarchy where parliament was considered sovereign. Constitution of UK, also very old = The product of centuries of political evolutions.

Not as French ou American constitution, UK is not a codified document, written at one time of the history. It's an unwritten and a not codified document since the middle age. combination : Customs, political .

Today system of government is seen as the heritage of many centuries. seems to give legitimacy and a strong symbolic value. It's the result of centuries of history. Many people wants to keep the house of laws. Tony Blair tried to remove the house of laws. Introduce a white paper. but continue to exist for a long time.

important change: evolution of power to assemblies in Scotland, northern Ireland and Wales. Link to the fact that Britain become member of EU. Britain have had to accept European legislation but they keep the sense of continuity with the past. They wish to preserve a system which symbolizes Britain's history and values.

One of reason that Britannic people are very attached of political system is because of its ancient tradition of rights and liberties which were gradually became a central piece of Britain policies.

1215: Magna Carta was a great charter of liberties, granted by the King to his subject, king john.Another factor: The early development of parliament. Parliament was a fairly representative assemble, which meant that the community had a voice and could avoid their rights more easily.The role played by the protestants reformation: freedom of thought and expression which also led to the assertion of sovereignty of parliament. And it contributed to the establishment of the parliamentary system.

Political union in the British Isles

England + Wales: 1536England + Wales + Scotland: 1707 = new state: United Kingdom of Great Britain

England + Wales + Scotland + Ireland: 1801 : UK of GB and Ireland

England + Wales + scot + 6 countries: 1922 = UK of GB and northern Ireland

Part I. Pre-modern England: The roots of the modern state

A. Anglo-Saxon rule

There are considered as the origin of this British political system, or the British system of government. AS were the tribes(tribute) who invaded south and east of GB from the 5th century A.D.  Then, they have been conquered by the Romains.

They (AS) pushed the Celts away from the south east. Gradually, they became AS Kingdoms, and these Kingdoms finally united to become England at the end of the 9th century (reign of King Alfred the Great 871-899).

From 410 to 1066, the Romans leave, the Anglo Saxons arrive, the Normans conquer.

By the 10th century, England had become a political unified state, and the proof is the fact that they already existed some institution which work to have an influence.

AS: Creation of a rational system of administrative divisions. Much more efficient to run, to rule the country. England was divided into 39 shires. Each shires was divided into hundreds, and each hundreds divided into hides. Hides: individual family. England was made of an hundreds hides. This unit had administrative, economic and judicial functions. These divisions into shires has survived until today. Now called counties : name given by the Normans. See as a control unit.

Still have some judicial and education function.

The institution of witenagemot or witan is seen as a precursor of parliament. Meeting of wise man. Assembly composed of religious men and nobles men which advise the King.

Until the time of the Norman's invasion in the 11th century.

It suggested that the institutions of GB were very old indeed. It also implied that British parliamentarian tradition pre-dated the Norman Conquest. => Political myth tradition of AS liberties, according to witch: opposed to the continental model of despotic rule. England for a long time was a country of liberty... At the end of the 17th century when UK became a constitutional monarchy, very important at that time.

(17/09/2012)

B. Norman and Angevin rule. (1266 to 1399)

2 dynasties which reigned in England at that time.

I. An increasingly centralized state

In 1066, William the Conqueror duc of Normandie, invaded England and established the Norman control over England. People were removed into a Norman clergy and government. The subjects were AS. French speaking 25000 Norms controlled English pop of about 1 million (commonalty). AS conquered Wales (from 1060s) and then in 1169 started the conquest of Ireland.

The process of colonization: The Normans dispossessed the native pop, they repressed rebellions. Example: The repression of rebellion around York (1069). The crops, the houses, the properties were Durham. => Famine for about 10 years. The Normans imposed language: French, Latin. Official languages in England until the 14th century. Then gradually, starting speaking English. Today still find many Latin terms in English = Markers of educated speech. Latge-scale architecture; spectacular building

The Normans control over the British isles mostly through the feudal system, based on a well defined power. from vassal to lords and to king. It based on the extended of land against military service. Serve lords in the war and he gave you lands.

After his victory above the English army, W the Conq rewarded his men by giving them the lands that had belonged to the English nobility. Mostly lands that belong to AS and nobles who has died during the conquest. Then, the Normans settled in England. They started confiscating more lands. Number of false marriage between Normans conqueror and the daughter of the conquered. Also, subjugated the local pop: fortified castles: protect the lords. Also very impressive, built on a scale: called spectacular building. Impressed the pop.

As the Normans imposed the feudal system in English, somthg happen: the shires were given over to Norman lords, called the counce, became known as counties. The Normans kept the AS administrative division and combined them with the feudal system. In these combination, increased the King had a efficient control over the local pop. Another way the Normans had to impose they role.

Other advantage: feudal relation at highest level between kings, were very personal relation and when they worked, sometimes king were able to control the whole of the British isles. Through this feudal system, some monarch manages to control all of the Brit Isles.

Henry II (king of Englandn1154-1189) : first king of the .. dynasty. Came from Anjou. Established one of the largest medieval empire, because of the Latin.. Control Aquitaine because of his wife. Control Normandy, England, Ireland, Wales.

Edward I (1272-1307): was a truly imperialist king, increase his territory. King who mostly subdued Wales and also control Ireland. Tried to control Scotland because of the succession crises in Scotland and Edward claimed over lords ship of Scott. Wanted to be recognize as the over lord of Scott. wanted scott to pay allegiance to him. The Scotts refused to pay allegiance. which laid to a long fight for Scottish independence (1296-1328). Many battles.. robin woods.

Resultated in Scottish indpdnce in 1328. Scott remained fully indpnt for centuries. Edward had tried to control too much and give Scott a long indpdnce.

Form of political system which gave a lot of power to the .. in principal it favored a decentralized form of government. England gov, after now, became more centralized than elsewhere in Europe, for several reasons: because the AS administrative division were kept so that gave central control to the king. Also, there was a marked involvement of some kings in the affairs of the state. This new tendency started with W the Conq, it's the best evidence of this involvement is known as the Doomsday Book (1086): was a large scale survey of the Kingdom, ordered by the king W th conq. This survey was made to access the wealth of the kingdom.

The survey listed all the hides in the kingdom and all the resources (number of ships, charrues, ...) everything that contributed to the wealth of the kingdom. W had conquered England and wanted to collect the benefits. Henry I (1100-1135): developed the Exchequer (ministère des finances). The Ex centralized the finances of the kingdom.. taxation of wealth in the kingdom Henry II Plantagenet (1154-1189): savant king. Had a remarkable knowledge of the law and he developed a centralized legal system, judicial system. Created a network of judicial courts. And these were very advanced courts. Based on a Jury system replaced trial by ordeal (jugement par l'épreuve) or a combat (fight). Replaced these more primitive form of trial.

Created the first legal textbook known as the common law. Called the common law because meant to be the same for all subject of the kingdom. Very efficient judicial system, deals with everyday matters (propriété disputes), all aspect of life. The common law is still use today in courts of justice, and used now in combination with other form of law like .. law, which is voted by the parliament. The time of Norman is marked by a clear tendency to centralized the king's power and to dominate a local pop.

Developed at the same time an early parliamentary tradition and an early tradition of liberties which prevented despotic rules.

2. Against despotism: Magna Carta and the first parliaments

After Henry II's death, succeeded by the King John (1196-1216) knows as John Lackland : was a despot. rule the country as a despot, taking lands and properties. Taxing his subject without reasons.

=> rebellion of his barons (or tenants-in-chief) by which is meant those who helped the king. following king john was forced to accept charter of liberties known as Magna Carta, signed in 1215. MC: stated that the law was an independent law, the law was sovereign and the king himself was accountable to the law. The king could be punish by the law of men, until then was considered that a king could only be punish by the law of men. MC also stated the rights of individual subjects of the kingdom: right to justice, and to a fair trial.

MC was a  major check of despotism: established the rule of law in England: the principal that everyone's rights are dependant upon the law not te king's decision. Its symbolic definition for many century after. Still considered to be a land mark (étape décisive) in Britain's tradition of liberties and individual right. English monarchs tried to overrule MC : monarchs were subjected to the laws of men, subject of dispute between the king and the other political forces of the country. Many medieval monarchs went against MC. Each of them who went to far, MC was reconfirmed. Reconfirmed more than 20 times in the 13th & 14th centuries. In order to control the powa of the king. Another major check came to gradual emergence of the parliament.

Gradual emergence of the parliament

Most significant control was link to the emergence and development of parliament. With the Normans, the witan was replaced by Curia Regis (tenants-in-chief (composed of major land holders) and ecclesiastics).King still have power and ecclesiastics advised king. MC : stating that the king would not raise taxes without the consentement of his consultants. The king's council became known has a parliament. Each meeting was known as "parliaments". The power of parliament increased rapidly during 13th and 14th and this is how the first significant date:

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1258: a new rebellion of .. took place. The provisions of Oxford, were a test to limit royal powa and they also reconfirmed MC.

1261: Henry repudiated the provisions of oxford, refused these provisions.

1264: a barons war broke out. Henry was defeated by his baron, lead by a man: Simon De Monfort. He became the active ruler.

1265: Simon called the first parliament to consist of lords and bishops, knights and burgesses, known as the Commoners. First time that they were included in parliament.

1295: Edward I, confirmed this composition of parliament, including the commoners. Was considered that a parliament rpz the entire community of the realm. It rpz the body of the kingdom, realm. The English parliament was the largest representative assembly in Europe and for these reasons it became the most authoritative institution in England apart from the monarchy. It was above the authority of common law, and above authority of the Course of Justice. The reason why it had so much authority: it was not separated from the king, was actually refer to as the King-in-parliament. It rpz the whole community: rpz the king, lords and commons.

Significant evolution took place during Edward III (1312/1377):

First one: the parliament became bicameral. 2 chambers. The commoners sitting in the House of Commons. The nobles man and the high clergy sit in the House of Lords. Seen as the first example of bicameralism in the world. another significant evolution during Ed III: the powa of the common rapidly grew for a very practical reason: their name function was to "levy" taxes. It was the time of war, (hundred years' war (1337/1453) and that the commons raised taxes. Ed had constantly to call the parliament. The commons used the powa by asking the king to justified these taxes and to prove that they were for the good of the community.

Because of these situation, English parliament became necessarily features of political life, and they had to be summoned, often summoned. Difference with European Countries.

In England, taxations was only lawful if with consent of the realm in parliament. Call more often that the French equivalent (état généraux).

Parliament became necessary, developed other functions: they often advised the King, on foreign, local policies. Parliament became the highest court in the realm.

Finally, in the 14th century, the parliament were able to deposed 2 kings: Edward II (1327)and Richard II (1399).

CCL: Political, during Norman period, some major steps were completed:

- a centralized organized judicial system

- control over the kings powa were established

- mc introduced the rule of law, the principal that even the king had to obey the law. mc also introduced the idea, the practice, that rebellion and popular resistance were acceptable as a remedy to tyranny, if the king broke the law.

- The parliament and in particular, the house of common, emerged as a political force. The insertion of parliament corresponding more less with the decline of feudalism in England.

The rise of the Commons showed 2 things: - They were changes in the social hierarchy and in the feudal pyramid. Commoners could depad and influence the king policies. - There was a stronger sense of the English nation and of Englishness which replaced the medieval system of international allegiances. The house of commons, rpz the political nation. The right of the common took place at the time of the Hundred years war, which was due to the breaking of the feudal ties with France. Call by the fact that the king of England no longer wanted to be the vassal of the French. Time of nationalism, and national propaganda : monarch of England, the king of England asserted their Englishness => stop speaking French, stop using French in official document and starting to speak English. First monarch using English at court: Henry V (1413/22). Famous because won the famous battle of Agincourt, which became symbolic of English. Henry V national heroes, he is also the one who introduced English in the government.

Another war started : civil war, lasted from 1455 to 1485. The war of the Roses was a succession war between 2 families: House of York and House of Lancaster who both claimed the right to the throne of England. Peace was restored in Britain by a rival of the new dynasty of monarch, the Tudor monarch. In 1485: Henry VII became the first Tudor monarch in England.

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Part II: The monarchy and Parliament in the Tudor and Stuart dynasties

A. A stronger monarchy

Tudors Kings and Queen played a major role in the emergence of England as a major state.

During the Tudor dynasty, England emergence from the middle age, and then a period of an economic .. food production, manufacturing and trade. The end of the feudal system.

The economic changes went together with the end of the feudal system. The reasons was that many workers had become independent from the feudal laws : black death. Stuck England. Black death : made the pop declined, meant that employment became easier to find and better paid. consequence: labors could become free, choose their employers and competition increased. Workers idpdnt from their lords and communities. It was the beginning of a "capitalist" economy in England.

From a political point of view, the decline of the feudal system meant that the nobility was weakened and the monarch had more direct control over his subjects.

In the new system, the individual had directly with the monarch himself and with the state, which was called the Commonwealth. The state and the monarch replaced the feudal lord in many respect, now it was they who gave military protection to the inhabitants of the Kingdom. The responsibilities of the monarch towards his subjects increased. The monarch rule was more direct than before, the importance of the monarch grew and a new form of monarch was established.

1. The monarch and his/her realm

At the Beginning of Tudor area, and especially during the reign of Henry VI (1485-1509), the monarch still govern very much like a medieval lord with total powers. His rule was personal, his main advises came from his family, and from his friend. He also was more less independent, he owned many of Lands which were called the Crown estates. Making independence.

Henry VIII: function of monarch: protect and defend his subjects. Was the protector of the realm, of the Church, and the fountain of justice. His powa was entire: Executive, legislative and judicial. The kng sovereignty was total: emperor in his realm: absolute powa in his realm. The conception of the monarch was someone with absolute and direct powa over all of his subject. New conception justified by a theory which prevailed in the 16th and 17th centuries: the theory of the divine rights of the king. It stated that the kings powa was given to him by God and that he was accountable to God only, and not to men. This theory had special significant in the reign of Henry VIII: The protestant reformation

Evolution of monarchy in parliament in the 16th century.

Times of the Tudors dynasty.

As the Tudors dynasty became established, the feudal system disappear. The nobility was weakened and the monarchy became stronger. In England the powa of the monarch was greatly increase by one major event : Henry VIII break with Rome, with the Pope.

2. The protestant reformation: the monarch as Supreme Head of the Church

Story of Henry break with Rome well known. Henry was married with an European women, Katherine of Aragon. Together they had a daughter: Marie, but no son. That was a pb for Henry who wanted a son to succeeded him.

In 1525, smthng happen: Henry fell in love with Ane Bolewn .. She wanted to keep her honesty. She wanted him to marry her. He try to have his marriage allowed by the pope. And started many years of negotiation with the pope in order to have the right to marry her. Pope refused because Catherine of Aragon had powerful connections: she was the aunt of the emperor of the holy roman empire, Charles Vth. Seems to be no possible solution. This was the time want contestant ideas were spreading through Europe. The protestant movement started in 1517, martin Luther presented his 95 theses to reform the Church. Henry became influenced by people who supported the protestant reformation, and Ann was one of them. And there were 2 other key figures:

- Religious man called : Thomas Cranmer. Became archbishop of Canterbury

- Thomas Cromwell: became the King's chief minister in 1532.

Both of them believed that a king should not be subjected to the Pope and both believe that the king should sovereign over the Church in his own Kingdom. This was the principal of royal supremacy. It went together with the protestant rejection of the authority of the pope.  Henry decided to adopt this principle. He claimed supremacy over religious matters in England. Meant that he could decide of his own divorced: married Anne without the permission of the pope. Excommunicated by the pope, but doesn't matter. One year later in 1534, the act of supremacy was passed by the English parliament and it officially confirmed Henry supremacy over the Church of England. Henry VIII officially became supreme Head of the Church of England. Meant that in England, no one between him and God, not even the Pope. This events had several religious and political consequences:

- religious point of view: As Henry broke the .., Protestantism refused some legitimacies in England, but Henry's conception of protestant.. was not radical. He did not introduced major theological changes. He only change the publication of a Bible in English version in 1539. In spite of that, Henry was opposed to the idea that private individuals could read the bible on their own, and he made private readings of Bible. In most respect, the new church was very similar to the ancient church. The main difference was the question of the supremacy du pope. In England, people were not allowed to support the pope against the king, and that was considered political treason. The break with Rome was mostly a significant political change. It increased the King's powa in many respects:

- The act of supremacy increased the King's authority over his subjects, because he became the secular and spiritual ruler of the country. No authority above him. Then, the reformation also increased the King wealth: In the name of reformation, Henry dissolved the monasteries, took all the proprieties of the Church and that meant vast amounts of lands

- Protestantism was used as an instrument of domination in particular over Ireland and Wales. In Ireland, Wales and .. . English book of priers were imposed which was a way to impose the English language.

In 1536, Henry managed to be proclaimed Head of the Church of Ireland by the Irish parliament. More generally, the English reformation went hand in hand with increased imperialism in the British isles. The same year, Wales was politically united with England through with act of Union of 1536. With the union, English became the official language in Wales, and the English administrative system was imposed through the country.

The next important date:

1541: Henry was proclaimed King of Ireland. The reason why Henry so much established his control over Ireland was that he felt that he could be attacked by the pope. this move was follow by a new policy of active Anglicization in Ireland, which continue after the death of Henry for 2 century. Second part of reign of Henry, a new mean to control Ireland was introduced: the policy of plantations started in Ireland. They consisted in sending English people to Ireland in order to settle in Irish lands. The purpose was to bring the English language, religion, culture into Ireland. They were mostly a way to imposed Protestantism in Ireland. This became especially the case of Henry's daughter, Elisabeth the First. The protestant reformation in England, strangle the powa of the pope in England but also in Wales and Ireland. Just as the powa of the monarch was increasing, the powa of the parliament also increasing.

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3. The Tudors and Parliaments

The parliament were used regularly in the Middle Age and they were n efficient way to control arbitrary .. They had become necessarily because of the taxation. Become a well established institution and that allowed them to resist the pressure of absolutism, often better than other assembly in Europe. The Tudor monarch understood that they could removed the parliament and they understood that they could use the parliament as a political allies (alliés).

They listened to the advices given by parliament usually in order to find support for their policies, especially when these policies were controversial. They understood that the parliament could give legitimacies to some of their decision.

The first Tudor king, Henry VII, used parliament to established his regime at the beginning when it was not yet established. He called 10 parliament in the first 12 years of his reign. The reason was that he wanted to obtain the support of the English people. These parliament gave legitimacy to the Tudor dynasty.

Henry VIII also understood that parliament were very useful. He had a humanist education which made him agree to rule in parliament. The laws voted by the parliament were the ones decides by the monarch. Henry could be considered as a despotic monarch. But, he always try to have the support of the law to achieve his ends. Even if he was a despot, he was a despot who pretended to abide by, follow the rule of law (principle that the monarch is not above the law, established in MC). Because of this, some historious called him the despot under the forms of law. Henry especially understood that the parliament give legitimacy to his policies. This protestant reformation was introduced by a series of act of parliament. ex:

- 1533: act of succession which allowed Anne to become Henry's wife was voted by parliament

- 1534: act of supremacy voted by parliament: Henry supreme head of the Church of England.

Protestant reformation had positive consequences for the English parliament.

Main reason was that the reformation was officially introduced in England by acts of parliament (1533: Act of Succession; 1534: Act of Supremacy...) This fact greatly increased by the legislative status of parliament. Also increased by the fact that English reformation remove authority of the Pope, of the Church. So that from that time in England, there was no authority above the King in Parliament. The Supreme legislature was the King in parliament. Henry VIII was fully aware that his highest powa, sovereign one, was exerted when he legislated in parliament.

In 1542 Henry VIII explained the relationship of the king in parliament through an interesting image (The 'Body Politic'). ... Means that when the king meet the parliament during the time of parliament, king lords and commons are united in one single body. King -> head, lords and commons -> body. It reflected the political situation very well. The monarch is the main decision maker. But was also understood that the monarch could not act alone without parliament. In theory Henry VIII recognized the sovereignty of the King in parliament. But in practice, for him, the emphasize was on the King. After, the emphasize changed, became less on the king and more in parliament. Henry VIII died in 1547. Succeeded by Edward VI (1547-1553) who was a protestant monarch, introduced strict protestant politicizes.

Mary I (1553-1558): daughter of his first wife. She was a catholic and reintroduced Catholicism. Elizabeth I (1558-1603) was a protestant monarch, daughter of Henry and Anne. Her reign was long and prospère, was a period of cultural and economic achievements. For these reasons, it was central to the establishment of important political practices. One of them concerned the parliament. Elizabeth was a monarch who badly needed the support of parliament, especially at the beginning of her reign, in order to consolidated her position. The reason was that many considered her illegitimate and in particular foreign rulers. She had been declared illegitimate by her own father at the time when her mother Anne was executed. One way to gave legitimacy, was to obtain the approval of parliament, which meant the approval of English people. To achieved this, Elizabeth did smth, she granted a certain degree of freedom of speech to Parliament. Parliament delighted: the house of commons became a forum for political debates where all public matters and policies are discuss. The Queen tried to prevent parliament to not debated important questions: The religious questions.. Nevertheless, the commons tried to determined their own political agenda and to decided what they would legislate on. The parliament used this freedom of speech in a unthinkable manner:

- it petitioned the Queen to marry, asking her to have a husband. The parliament felt that it mattered (national importance). The reason was that Elizabeth was the last child of Henry VIII, and the other person to succeeded her: Mary I her cousin, who was a catholic person.

The parliament wanted the royal family to remain protestant and to avoid the conflict over succession. This meant that the Queen had to defend her choice to remain unmarried to her parliament. She had to justified her choice. Interesting example: shows how much the monarch had become incomptable to parliament. Elizabeth I, during her reign, called only 13 parliaments in 45 years. The parliament sat for less than 3 years during her reign. It was not yet a permanent institution.

4. The Privy council.

Was the private council of the King and it had existed since the Middle Ages. Originally, it had been composed of nobles men and ecclesiastics but during the time of the Tudors it became increasingly open to competent administrators and sometimes they came from the commonalty (were not nobles) : Thomas Cromwell was a commoner).

The privy council became an executive bureau, a cabinet of ministers, consisting of 10 to 20 counselors. During the reign of Eli, it became the center of Parliament meeting almost every day. It had become a parliament institution. It advised the monarch, managed the defense of the Kingdom and it defended the law. Became so powerful during Eli, and in some things it limited the Queen's sovereignty: ex:

-In 1559, reintroduced the Protestantism. The religious settlement was too much protestant in spirit that Eli would like.

- In 1586: ... Founded that mary had been involved in a plot to assassinated Eli and take her crown. Mary was found guilty and sentenced to death. But the Queen Eli was reluctant to do that. She was so distressed by the situation that she had called a parliament to discuss the question mary's death. She had signed the death warrant, but she could not stop it. It was members of the council who signed the death warrant. Mary executed without the will of ELi. It shows how powerful the privy council had become. shows how .. was prepared to act against the will of the monarch for the good of the state. In this case, the privy council was active because it believed that the return of Catholicism was bad for the state.

PC + parliament = challenged the sovereignty of the monarch.

In Tudors time, a balance of powa emerged. Because of that, new conceptions of monarchy and government emerged.

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B. Challenges to the monarch's sovereignty

1. The changing status of the monarchy Political point of view:

Tudors: time of paradox. Tension between absolutist tendencies and the growing power of parliament. What allowed this paradox was the notion of 'King in parliament' which was the sovereign legislature. This was an ambiguous phrase: was it the emphasize on the king ? or was it the king together with parliament ? What did this phrase means ?

This was very ambiguous: it led to 2 theories of kingships:

Divine right of kings: theory used by absolute monarch in Europe. According to this theory, monarch received his power from God, not from men. He/she has absolute authority over his subjects. is accountable to God only not to the laws of men. All the Tudors monarchs considered themselves sovereign in their realm. Eli I believed they were appointed by God and that they had unlimited royal prerogative. This conception found its clear expression in the cult of monarchy:

- Created the cult of monarch: was through the image of the monarch himself. Eli I and Henry VII were successful in creating images of themselves creating admiration and respect. -> fearful admiration. Through ceremonies in which the monarch shows himself.

- The Tudors were very sophisticated and spectacular displays of authority: organized pageants (processions with strict order of precedence).

Parliamentarian theories also developed: defended the idea of a 'mixed monarchy'. Defended the idea that the King in parliament truly rpz the whole community, not just the will of the king. The whole community was sovereign. More importantly, these theories claimed that the highest authority was not the monarch's one but the state's one. The monarch was perceived as the servant of the state. This ideas became very influential during reign of Eli. Became clear that England was not just the realm of the Queen, but something beyond the monarch, a new world appeared: 'The Commonwealth': a state, especially viewed as a body in which the whole people have a voice or an interest'. The Com.. was an impersonal form of authority. All the rulers, monarch, parliament, privy council were seen as its servant. They had to act for the good of the Comm rather than their own personal interests. All these new ideas : conception of a mixed or constitutional monarch especially defended by the protestant elite. According to them, a balance of power was desirable.

2. Anglicanism and Puritanism

another challenge of the sovereignty of the monarch, raise of a religious group, the puritain. Henry 8 broke with Rome in early 1530's but did not significantly reform the Church. Since the 1530s, protestant theology had been spreading among the educated population in particular. Last years of Henry VIII: "Catholicism without the Pope"

Edward (1547-1553): truly protestant policies were reglemented. La mass and celibacy of the clergy was abolished

Iconoclasm: destruction of figurative of religious images (crucifix ...).

He was succeeded by his sister Mary I: was a catholic and restored catholism but there was more and more opposition to it among the population. The majority was becoming protestant and this restoration was rather brutal. A few hundred protestant leaders were executed -> 'Bloody Mary' When she became Queen (1553), the religious question was still not settled. One of her first decision was to settle the religious question : Elizabethan religious settlement:

Consist of :

-1559: Act of Supremacy reinserted the independence of the Church of England for Rome and it proclaimed Elizabeth supreme governor of the Church of England.

- Act of Uniformity (1559) which created a unify Church of England. This act made people allowed to attempt the same service in a church, the same for everyone, during which everyone would read the Book of Common Prayer. This unified Church was a protestant one, but it was in fact a middle path between Catholicism and Protestantism. It was meant to please as many people as possible. Elizabeth who was a pragmatic knew that there were still many Catholics in rural England, and she tried to please them too. The promoted a moderate form of Protestantism (hierarchical; organization; it allowed ceremonies and ornaments in Church = It still addressed the intellect and the senses of the Church pratiquants. This form became known as Anglicanism : official form of Protestantism in England. It was a compromise, made to avoid religious conflict, and which did it for the time being. Became criticized by stricter protestants like Calvinism who wanted further reforms and who wanted a stricter form of religion: wanted service without ceremonies or ornaments. The Calvinism stated that man had no free will and believe in predestination. they became known as Puritans. They denounced the ritual of thee Church, criticized the hierarchical of the church (thought that was a way to struggle the King power). Refused the authority of the Church, of bishops because They went together with a refusal of the authority of the monarch. They were becoming not just a religious opposition but also a strong political one, they refused the authority of the monarch.

Towards the end of the reign of Eli, the division between puritans and Anglican started having important political consequences: Calvinist ideas spread among the rural gentry and the urban bourgeoisie. As a consequence, there were many puritans in parliament in the House of commons and they started try to influence the policies of the Queen. They became a real political opposition, and against this raising opp, eli did 2 things:

- She increasingly asserted her divine right

- She also sent many puritans opponents into prison or exile.

This opp between A and P was beginning to leave to a crisis, which was both political and religious. it was acted out during the reign of the Stuart.

Stuart monarchs:

- James I (1603-1625)

- Charles I (1625-1649)

- Charles II (1660-1685)

- James II (1685-1688)

C. The Stuart' crisis with parliament In 1603:

Elizabeth I died and was succeeded by James VI of Scotland, was the son of Mary Queen of Scot (She had been a threat to the Crown of England). James's succession was accepted and became James I of England. was the first King to combine the 2 thrones (King England, Scotland and Wales at the same time). It was the first time that there was one sovereign for the whole of the British Isles. There was a union of crown but it was not yet a political union. Scotland remained an independent Kingdom with his own parliament, independent from the England's one.

When James became King of England, the political situation was very tense. There was a growing conflict between 2 theories of kingship: Absolutists and parliamentarian. The political influence of the puritans was growing. These 2 factors were abbreviated by the absolutist position of the Stuart which led to a very serious crisis between the Stuart monarch and the parliament and eventually led to a civil war.

1. Absolutist ambitions.

The Stuarts King based their power on the theory of the divine rights of King, even more than the Tudors. James I gave the strongest expression of this theory in a speech he gave to parliament (p.7) in which he says a number of interesting things:

- King are justly called Gods dor that ...

- Kings "make and unmake their subjects, they have power ... of life and of death, judges over all their subjects and in all causes and yet accountable to none but God only..." : such a conception justify absolute power, and absolute judicial power. This is the case then the King was not only above the law but the source of all justice. This was a conception which went against the tradition unheritated from MC in which the King was bound the Lord of men. Here, the King has full power.

During James' reign, change in the monarch's relationship with parliament:

He thought that his decision

1614: "It is sedition in subjects to dispute what a king may do in the height of his power": parliament had no right to questioned the King's policies.

Because of this, the Reign marked by conflict with parliament:

James was an extravagant monarch, spent so much that in the beginning of his reign: national debt from 350.000 livres to 1.000.000. Because of this debt, he had to call parliament. To solve the pb, he summoned parliament in 1610 and then in 1614. Each time was called, parliament tried to reassured its power by trying to negotiate with the King. James each time lost his patience and dissolved the parliament. Did not called parliament between 1614 and 1621. He found other sources for having money.

Another power opposed the King: The judicial system:

In 1611, in the case of Proclamations, the royal judges declared that the King could not changed the law without the consent of parliament. There was a position to the King both from the judiciary and from the legislature which shows that the idea of a mix monarchy was still quite strong among the elite.

The King's absolutism made this opposition even stronger. -> struggle for power beginning to take place. It was finally acted out during the reign of Charles I.

(07-11)

2. Growing criticism

In 1625, James I died, succeeded by Charles I (1625-1649): was even more of an absolute ruler than James. He took the theory of divine right of king quite. Like his father, believe that king were like gods on earth. Thought that he was the father of his people but in his opinion, that meant that he had to obeyed by his subjects. But even more than his father, Charles I governed without negotiations or compromise. He was a very distant king who liked to create admiration to his subjects. Created a mystique of the monarchy.

He organized expensive ceremonies and rituals to create this mystique but was criticized by the puritans. The ceremony of entertainment were seen as ...

The main reason was that the Queen Henrietta Maria was a catholic and she supported Catholics. Charles was an Anglican and agreed with the protestant reformation and opposed Calvinism doctrines (opposed the strictness of puritan liturgy).

In 1633: Charles I appointed a controversial figure: William land archbishop of Canterbury. Wanted to impose total uniformity of the Church, in an authoritarian manner.

-> Puritans became the strongest opposition to the Stuart monarchy. This opp was not only religious but also cultural and political:

- Puritans rejected the culture of the court. It was extravagant. The puritans culture was based on thrift, sobriety, useful education, work and the rejection of futile forms of entertainment. The P disliked painting and the theatre, loved by the court and the monarch. Puritans opposed :

- The royal prerogative (king's excusive powers)

- wanted more power for the Parliament

- the King's interference in the economy. -> there were many puritans in the merchant class. Developed 2 worlds: world of the court, lead to the monarchy and the world of puritans, led by the House of Commons. -> led to an over conflict

3. Conflict with Parliament and the Civil War

1626: king Charles I. From the started, he disputed with parliament. Charles was at war with Spain and Charles needed a lot of money and also needed parliament to levy taxes for him. Parliament tried to limit the control the war expenditure. Charles decided to do something: tried to collect taxes directly without the consent of parliament through a 'forced loan' on his subjects. Those who refused to pay could be imprisoned without trial. This policy was seen as a violation of the law. It went against the Habeas Corpus principle and went against the principle of no taxation without the consent of Parliament => bad start between Charles and Parliament

When he called Parliament again in 1628: Parliament presenting the petition of right (written by a jurist Edward Coke). This petition stated what the law was, reinserted the principles of MC and it defended the rights and liberties of subjects against the royal prerogative. The King accepted the Petition but decided that it was an affront to his powa, and decided from that point to rule without parliament. For 11 years, (1629-1640), he ruled without call any single parliament.

In 1640, had to call a parliament because of the war with Scotland (both religious and political war)

In Scot, the protestant reformation had been very successful, most Scot had become protestant. Unlike the Church of England, the church of Scot was predominantly Calvinist. Its beliefs were puritan, the church of Scot was a Presbyterian one.

Things became problematic in 1637 when Charles I and William Laud wanted to imposed religious conformity. To do that, they tried to imposed in Scot a Prayer Book without the consent of the Scottish Parliament and the Church of Scot => The Scots felt insulted both from a religious point of view and a national one. This decision was followed by a riots and by petitions send to the King. but Charles remained unmoved, he told his Scottish subjects that the Prayer book was his will, and consequently simply had to be accepted  => The conflict lead to war : The Bishops' Wars (1639, 1640).

In August 1640, an English army invaded England and was joined by English men because they shared their religious view. The Scot army much more powaful than Charles Army because Charles had no money left. He was forced to sign truce and he was also forced to call a Parliament for the first time in 11 years simply because he needed money. Immediately, the P took advantage of the situation and they expressed their grievances against the King. They claimed that the King had not respected the 3 great liberties of the Kingdom (religion, justice and the privileges of parliament). Almost immediately Charles dissolved the Parliament, and in 3 weeks => Short Parliament. Charles was forced to summon another P soon after in 1640 and this new P, as soon as the P started, voted principles: voted the principle of no taxation without consent of P, and no parliament could be dissolved without its own consent. As a consequence, this P became the long Parliament (1640-1653).

1641: presented the Grand Remonstrance to the King which contained 204 points of objection against king's policies). This remonstrance was strongly anti-catholic.

In 1642: The long parliament presenting the king with 19 propositions to control the authority => king refused and declared war on parliament : Beginning of the civil war between King and Parliament (1642-49). These civil wars opposed the royalists, known as Cavaliers, and the Roundheads. This was a struggle to decide the sovereign powa because for the first time, it was claimed that the parliament could be sovereign without the King.

At the same time, first religious war in England. The Puritans sided with Parliament and the Catholics and Anglicans sided with the King.

In 1644: Oliver Cromwell became the leader of parliament army. He transformed the P army into a powerful one driven by religious beliefs which was based on principle between soldier and based on a strict religious discipline: this was called the New Model Army. It truly was the most powerful army in Europe at the time. Also became a third political force.

In 1645: The King army was defeated at Naseby and it finally surrendered in 1646 at Oxford. For the next 2 years, they were negotiations between the King and the P:

The P gave Charles the possibility to continue ruling but as a constitutional monarch with limited powers. Charles believed that he was rpz° of God and refused to accepted any limitation to his powa. Was so determined that in 1648 he started a 2nd Civil War => The army lost patience. To them, this 2nd war shows that Charles was resisting the judgment of God. The Army became tired of the P negotiations and decided it was time to get rid of the King. Another reason: there was a growing religious disagreement betw the army and P: the P was negotiating with Charles I in order to imposed a Presbyterian Church. The A wanted a religious tolerance for all Puritans.

=> in December 1648 the A decided to purged the P in about 250 MPs

=> known as Rump Parliament. => In January 1649: The King was called to Trial by Parliament and executed. A new period in England started known as the Commonwealth and the Protectorate.

(13-11)

4. The Commonwealth and the Protectorate

The Parliament declared England a Commonwealth: it was the first and only republic in English history.

The monarch and House of Lords was abolished because it was considered to be unrepresentative: England was ruled by the House of Commons because more rpz of the people than the King. John Milton said 'The king and the peers represent but themselves, the commons are the whole Kingdom'. The H. of C. (not legitimate) was controlled by the army and O. Cromwell. The Commonwealth lasted for 4 years, but after that Cromwell felt that the P was not achieving anything and in 1653: Cromwell dissolved the P, the Commonwealth ended and he became Lord Protector (1653-1660): End of republic and parliamentary government.

Rules as Lord protector:

- Austere military and Puritan rule during which the theatre places were forbidden, people had to attain church on Sunday and Christmas were banned. Purpose: Purify minds and souls. The people were resented the constant surveillance.

- The political situation during the protectorate was not very different from the time of monarch. Once Cromwell became Lord Protector, the P was no longer sovereign and C. had powers which were very similar to the Stuart King (Summoned and dismissed Parliament). He used the same symbolism as Stuarts (lived at Whitehall palace. The motto 'Lords save the King' became 'Lord same the Lord Protector' : Monarchy in all aspect expect the name.

In 1657: title of Lord Protector became hereditary. After his death, his son was the Lord Protector.

5. The re conquest of Ireland

One aspect of Cromwell rule which contribute to his authoritarian regime is his policies in Ireland. During the time of Tudors, English started a policy of plantation (most during reign of Eli), and this policy had continue and had increased during the reign of James I. He has sent many protestant settlers to Ireland and Ulster. This situation lead to enormous tension in Ireland betw Irish and the settlers.

In 1641: The Irish population, the native, rebelled against the colonists. This rebellion lead to the killing of thousands of protestant colonists, especially in Ulster. This event which was called by the English, The Irish Massacre, increased the bad feelings betw protestants and Catholics during the civil war. Because of this, as soon as the Commonwealth was proclaimed, O.C started a military campaign against Ireland and went there with a New Model Army (1649-50) (control Ireland after rebellion).

This campaign caused the death of thousands of Irish soldiers and civilians and was followed by very repressive measures against the Catholics including the confiscation of Catholics lands. Catholics practices were banned, ten thousands Irish people were sawn as slaves and more than thousands were deported in West Indies (Barbados, Bermuda).

The effect of this brutal campaign damaged English relation with Ireland forever. This campaign also increased the religious division which already existed. After OC conquest, Catholicism became more than ever the means for the Irish to affirmed their Irishness. Catholicism survived very strongly and it was seen as a threat in England, resulted the enforcement of Anti Catholics Laws known as : 'The Penal Laws'. They had existed since the reign of James I, but they were reinserted by Cromwell. Goal : Prevented Caths from owning lands, voting, holding offices in politics or law, teaching. All of these professions were denied to the Cath. The purpose to these laws was to make them protestant, but the effect was that they increased the tensions betw Irish pop and the English rulers.

6. The Legacy of the Civil War: Commonwealth and Protectorate.

Consequence on political thinking:

- Since the protectorate and Commonwealth, English pop have dislike political innovations and a long standing dislike of the republicans ideas. The idea of republic were not very popular in Britain. - The civil war and the Cromwell years, prepared the way of a modern form of government. One of the reason, was that those years caused much political and philosophical reflection about what government was, should be, about the nature of government. During those years, many think indeed about the origin and nature of government. They asked themselves whether the monarchy was the only possible form of gov and also whether the people could govern themselves and how. In this context, a number of theories of the social contract emerged: There were produced by thinkers like John Milton and Thomas Hobbes. The idea of the SC is the idea that society is bounded together through a rational agreement betw individuals which is in the interest of the individuals.

In such theories, the origin of gov, in the contract, through which men delegate their powa to a ruler (a monarch, a magistrate, an assembly of people). The purpose of doing this is to assured peace and order. This theories went against the theory of the divine right of king because they claimed that the ruler received their powa from men and not from god. They were pointing about a more modern conception of gov as something contractual accepted by all members of the society. Because of this evolution of idea, it was only a matter of time before a modern contract was reached betw the monarch and parliament.

What had this happen? Before this modern contract was reached, one final episode of absolutism, is known as the Restoration.

7. The Restoration of the Stuart Monarchy.

OC died in 1658 and was succeeded by his son, Richard Cromwell. But Richard was not a very efficient ruler and England was on the anarchy. The P realized that something has to be done: the protectorate was not an acceptable alternative to the monarchy and the P called the Stuart back from exile : The restoration of the Monarchy.

In 1660, Charles II (the son of Charles I), became king of England and he reestablished a monarchy based on the idea of divine right of King. Anglicanism was restored and the puritans were persecuted.

In 1662, a new act of uniformity was passed to make religious practices uniform (Act of Uniformity) : All had to conform to the Church of England. Anyone who did not conform, the Non-conformists, were punished or persecuted. The puritans in particular were persecuted because they were seen as guilty of the execution of Charles I. Also, they were said to be dangers to the King's authority because they did not accept the King as Supreme Head of the Church. Nevertheless, the puritan's culture survived, and even flourished at that time, perhaps of this repression. The puritans produced 2 others greatest literary work in the English literary: John Milton - Paradise Lost ; John Bunyan - The pilgrims progress. (Bunyan wrote it when he was in prison).

By then, the Protestant Parliament was replaced by a royalist parliament known as the Cavalier Parliament. The CP was the longest P in English history (18 years), but was not the most powerful Parliament, which supported the king policies (no balance of powa). There were still many voices asking for the powa of the king to be limited, and this is the time when the first political emerged, the Tories and the Whigs:

The Tories were supporters of the monarchy, they originally defended the divine rights of the King and the Church of England. The Whigs asked for a balance of powa betw monarch and parliament and for more religious liberties. A new political crisis occurred when Charles II in 1685 died, and was succeeded by his brother James II. There was a major pb with James II : He was catholic, who also rules as a despot. Worst of all, he tried to reintroduced Catholicism very actively. He promoted many cath to important government positions. He gave them government Officers, positions in Army and in Universities, and created a large sending Army and appointed many Catholics as officers in it => all of this was worrying for the Protestant and the P. But at the beginning there was still hope on the protestant succession because Mary and Anne (children of James II) were protestants. Marie was married to William of Orange, who was the Head of State of the Dutch Republic. The protestant elite was hoping she would succeeded his father.

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In 1688: James II wife, gave birth to a son and they were all Catholics. The protestant elite react: Parliament decided that they should end it and invited William of O to take power in England to protect Protestantism and the Liberties everywhere.

In November 1688: William of O arrived in England with his Army. In January 1689, James was deposed by his P and the Throne was giving to William and Marie as joined sovereign. This event is known as the Glorious Revolution

**D. The Glorious Revolution towards a constitutional monarchy**

**1. The Glorious Revolution**

This changed of regime is also called the boldness (?) revolution. The GR is a very important event in England history because it marks the victory of Parliament. The GR established the form of Gov which still exist in England today, and England became a constitutional monarchy, first one in Europe. With the GR, divine right monarchy was replaced by a contractual monarchy. The new sovereigns of England (William and Marie) agreed to be bounded by a contract, this contract is known as the Revolution Settlement.

**2. The Revolution Settlement**

It consisted of various texts and acts of parliament and the central piece of this Revolution Settlement was the Bill Of Rights of 1689. It was mostly a reaction against the arbitrary rule of James II, it largely consisted in saying what the King should not do, but also a manifesto of the principles of the Revolution.

It restricted monarch's powers : reasserted ancient liberties, in reaction to the rule of James II → defended rights of Protestants, increased parliament's powers, and Catholics were excluded to sit on the throne.

ñ**Monarch could not** : suspend laws, levy taxes, maintain an army during peacetime → means that the monarch was no longer sovereign in matter of defense (without consent of parliament)

ñ**Rights of Parliament** : *freedom of speech* → the freedom to chose the subject of its debates +*to be held frequently* (provision 13 of the bill) → the king could no longer exercise many powers without the consent of parliament.

ñ**Rights of the People** : right to petition the King (provision 5) + restated several judicial liberties which had been presented first of all in Magna Carta (provisions 10 to 12).

The main winner of theses constitutional changes was Parliament. From now on, Parliament was fully in charge of law-making, it controlled royal decisions in matter of defense, finance, and justice → the parliament supremacy over the monarchy was established.

Parliament became officially a permanent institution.

The king's revenues and taxes were now voted for one year only which meant that Parliament had to meet at least once a year and this has made annual meetings of Parliament necessary.

The main purpose to the Bill of Rights was not just to give more power to the Parliament but also to limit the king's power and to prevent absolutism → The Glorious revolution marked the end of absolute monarchy.

The revolution Settlement also included :

ñ**Toleration Act (1689)**: act of parliament which gave freedom of worship to all Protestants including Dissenters (protestant groups who did not recognize the authority of the Church of England).

ñ**Triennial Act (1694)** : it stated that the life to the parliament was limited for three years → there had to be parliament elections every three years to make sure that the members of Parliament well represent the people.

ñ**1695** : Licencing and Censorship laws were abolished : this meant that England could have a free press and freedom of expression. In practice, some forms of licencing and censorship continued until the 18th century.

**1701** : Act of Settlement : regulated the succession to the throne of Great-Britain

At the time, there was a succession crisis, William and Mary had no children and their successor was Ann, her sister. The act wanted to make sure that there will be no catholic on the throne of England, and the House of Hanover chose the successors of Ann.

It shows that now, the Parliament controlled the royal succession, it was no longer a divine hereditary right.

It also contained some constitutional points which put more limits on the king's power :

ñ**The religion of the monarch** : all monarchs of England must “join in communion with the Church of England”, no Catholic or no one married to a Catholic could become King or Queen of England and this prohibition still exists today.

ñ**Confirmed the independence of justice from the monarch** : it stated that judges could no longer be removed by the monarch. Only the Parliament had the power to dismiss a judge and this point confirmed the victory of the law over the King and that the King was not above the law.

All these reforms made England a constitutional monarchy, and were the basis of a modern constitution.

**3. The basis of a modern constitution**

Principles of modern constitutionalism :

ñHow the country is to be governed

ñLimited powers and accountability of the monarch to Parliament

ñSeparation of powers : the legislative power is in the hands of parliament.

The powers are unequal : the legislature became the supreme power. The judicial power is not above the legislature.

The law voted in parliament (the “statute law”) prevailed over any other law. → the sovereignty of Parliament is unchallenged, unlimited, and this makes the constitution of United Kingdom of Great-Britain very different from the United States (system of checks and balances → no group of people should ever gain too much power). The American system was a reaction to the British system because one of the main causes of the War of Independence was the unlimited authority of British Parliament → the American constitution make sure there will be no such unlimited authority in the USA.

Sovereignty of Parliament became the basis of a modern constitution.

**CCL** : It established many democratic principles :

ñ separation of powers

ñ equality before the law

ñ Individual liberties (religious tolerance, freedom of expression for example)

Nevertheless, the glorious revolution did not establish a democratic regime → the unlimited power of Parliament gave power to wealthy land owners, and the rest of the community was kept out of the Parliament and only a minority could vote (to vote, you had to own some lands).

There was no equality of political representation.

There were some new individual liberties, but still many injustices : England had accepted religious diversity (more than many European countries) but excluded the Catholics (a important minority). The Catholics did not have the right to own land, to work in Government, in the army, or the law. Also, the Church of England (Anglican Church) remained the official religion, they had many privileges and social advantages and their culture remained dominant for that reason. The other protestants (“Nonconformists”) were discriminated against.

For all these reasons, the country was still a long way from becoming a democracy in a modern sens.

**Part III : British Institutions after the Glorious Revolution : the path to democracy**

Queen Ann (1702 – 1714) reigned as defined by the terms of the Revolution Settlement and was the last Stuart Monarch. She still used her executive and legislative powers → so she still ruled. She was the last monarch to refuse the Royal Assent to a law voted by Parliament in 1708).

Her reign is marked by the the political union between Scotland and England.

**A. From England to Great-Britain**

This union was partly the result of the union of Crowns (James I has proclaimed himself King of Great-Britain and had promoted the idea of Britishness).

There were talks of the union between the two countries. It was seen as beneficial to both countries :

ñScotland needed economic security because it had had many years of bad harvests, and the Darien scheme (project of colonization which went wrong)

ñEngland needed military help against a possible attack from France (War of the Spanish Succession)

Both sides needed each other at that time. This made to a negotiation in which they agreed to unite in the Kingdom of Great-Britain.

1 may 1707 : Scotland and England united into one state, the Kingdom of Great-Britain. Parliaments fused into one at Westminster.

However, England kept an independent Church and law system.

**B. The evolution of British institutions in the 18th century**

Britain was a head of many others European state. after the GR, the British institution became a political model for many thinkers in Europe, became model for French philosophers. (Glorious Revolution: basis for a modern constitution. )

Montesquieu: developed a numbers theories of government based on British gov. He developed the concept of separation of powers based in British model.

Everywhere in Europe, English liberties became a model, freedom of thoughts and expression. The GR was not completely a victory of democratic principles. In fact, until the 19th, the British system Gov was mostly a democracy for the wealthy.

**1. A country ruled by land owners.**

The Parliament (now sovereign) was supposed to rpz the people of GB but in reality it rpz mostly lands owners. The reason -> through most of the country, the right to vote was based on a property qualification, so that most electors were land owners (members of aristocracy, gentry (petite noblesse), wealthy farmers...). In order to become a member of P, had to be a very wealthy land owner, to own property of + 300/year pounds. Members of P were mostly from the nobility or the landed gentry (until mid 19th century). The system of gov became a model then: because there were significant changes in the executive powa which allowed the development of a modern form of gov.

  **2. Emergence of cabinet government and Prime Minister**

Until the reign of Queen Ann, the executive powa remained more less in the hands of the monarch and his/her privy council. In the 17th century, this privy council has become so large that the monarch started making decisions with only a few members of the privy council became known as the cabinet of ministers. Beginning 18th century, this cabinet meet regularly (every week with the monarch). In 1714 Queen Ann died and succeeded by Georg Ludwig of Hanover. He was a German and was not able to speak English. He could not be part of the cabinet and stop meeting the cabinet. The Chief minister became the head of the gov (later called the Prime Minister). The powers of the monarch were given over to the Prime Minister -> establishment of the cabinet system of government.

Monarchs were no longer the most figure in GB. Their part in the decision making gradually decreased. The Royal prerogative powers were increasingly used by PM. In principle, kings still have the right of veto on law voted in Parliament but no monarch since Queen Anne (1708) has used it. The last monarch to take an active part in British policies and to control parliament was George III. Played an active part at the time of the American revolution and considered to have resolved the conflict with the American colonists by refusing a compromise with them.

The first PM of GB : Robert Walpole (1721-1742). He is famous for several reason: - He remained head for 21 years - his role is important because he established several principles of cabinet gov which are still valid today: - Collective responsibility: the cabinet and PM take decisions together and all cabinet members have to support those decisions. - Cabinet members and ministers had to come from parliament itself. They were chosen from the party which had a majority of seats in the House of Commons. => It is still true today: All members of gov are also members of Parliament. It makes the government accountable to parliament. Other consequences: - Create a link betw the legislative and executive powers -> it allowed the gov to work more efficiently. - The monarch could no longer choose his/her ministers because there are chosen at the result of an election. - Political parties became an important part of political life and started competing to obtain a majority of seats in P in order to have the control of P.

**3. Political parties**

In the 18th century, there were 2 political parties: The Whigs and the Tories. They rpz one social group: the land owners. The Tories were defenders of the established order, of the established church of England and of the traditional landed interests. The Whigs also had links with trade and finance They supported free trade, private enterprise, religious tolerance. Through most of the 18th, the most political party was the Whig, known as the Whig ascendancy. It refers to the Golden Age of Aristocracy.

**C. The Golden Age of the aristocracy**

The aristocracy became an incredibly powerful ruling order for several reasons: - They had political power and had rpz in Parliament: were able to protect their own interest in P - They were not a fixed/closed social group but they mixed with the merchant class in order to increased their wealth. - The aristocracy also engaged directly in trade. - Trade with colonies (slave trade, only abolished in the 19th century). The mercantilist system : The colonies had to send materials in Britain and was forced in exchange to buy British goods (especially manufactured goods). Trade with the colonies was bénéfique pour Britain. It increased the wealth of the aristocracy.

The aristocracy was powerful also because they were not particularly numerous. The British aristocracy owned very large estates. By he end of the 18th century, a few hundred great landlords owned a quarter of England and Wales (dominant economic and political group at the time). The gentry owned another 60% of the land, and the rest was owned by farmers. Cultural domination: "The Grand Tour": was the achievement of the ...  This aristocracy domination continue until beginning of 19th. Lead to the industrial revolution

**CONCLUSION:**

The Industrial Revolution and the completion of the democratic process. The IR was a major phenomenon and it transformed Britain into the first industrial in the world. Agriculture was no longer the main source of the realm. The social and demography consequence were significant: Britain became .... These social changes finished the democratic process which has started with the Glorious Revolution. Because of the IR, it became obvious that a political system based on land was obsolete and unrepresentative. The P rpz an old agriculture society -> no longer possible. New industrial tows: Manchester, Birmingham ; which were not rpz in Parliament, they had no seats. (new social class: Urban middle class and working class, could not vote). => Industrial Britain was not rpz in Parliament. The 19th century was marked by a continuous fight for the franchise which lead to democracy and universe suffrage. 1832: reform act: extended the right to vote to the middle class and gave seats to the new industrial class 1867: The Second Reform Act: extended the right to vote to the working class. 1884: Representation of the People act (3rd Reform act) The P only became finally fully rpz of the nation in 1928 when the female get the right to vote.