



California Connections

This material is designed to help you think about large historical topics in a manageable and meaningful way and to connect the content to the California standards.

Understanding Framing Questions

Framing questions are questions that highlight significant developments, trends, and events in history. These questions help organize or “frame” historical content. Some examples of framing questions include: How did ideas associated with the Enlightenment, the Scientific Revolution, the Age of Reason, and a variety of democratic revolutions develop and impact civil society? Why did imperial powers seek to expand their empires? How did colonies respond? What were the legacies of these conquests? Why was the modern period defined by global conflict and cooperation, economic growth and collapse, and global independence and connection?

Using framing questions allows students and teachers to prioritize ideas or events of historical significance and develop specific content areas in greater depth. They also make it possible for students to trace the development of even larger themes, such as the quest for liberty and justice, the influence and redefinition of national identity, and the rights and responsibilities of individual citizens.

The California Connections features, like the one you are reading, will use framing questions to help you connect specific material in the text to these larger historical questions. Each framing question is followed by commentary that directs you to related content in the text and provides additional material.

Why begin with the rise of democratic ideas?

One reason for beginning with a module on the rise of democratic ideas is that information in this module is included in the curriculum developed by the California Department of Education. Standard 10.1.1 of the *History—Social Science Content Standards for California Public Schools* reads as follows:

Students relate the moral and ethical principles in ancient Greek and Roman philosophy, in Judaism, and in Christianity to the development of Western political thought.

1. Analyze the similarities and differences in Judeo-Christian and Greco-Roman views of law, reason and faith, and duties of the individual.

Lessons 1 and 2 of this module (“The Legacy of Ancient Greece and Rome” and “Judeo-Christian Tradition”) contain information that addresses this standard.

In addition this module shows one way to take an idea—in this case “democratic ideas”—and explore how that idea developed over time. The module begins by discussing how democratic ideas developed in ancient Greece and Rome and traces the later development of democratic ideas in England, America, and France.

Finally, the focus on the rise of democratic ideas throughout this module helps us understand where we are and how we got here—an important task in the study of history. After exploring how democratic ideas developed throughout history, the module ends with a discussion of the struggle for democracy today.

PRIMARY SOURCE

Plato, *The Republic*

Plato was a Greek philosopher who lived from approximately 428–348 BCE. He was a student of another Greek philosopher, Socrates, and many of Plato’s works, including *The Republic*, were written as dialogues between Socrates and other people. In *The Republic* the narrator is Socrates, but it is generally believed that the ideas presented by “Socrates” were actually Plato’s own ideas. His thoughts about justice and tyranny influenced Western political ideas, particularly those concerning the rule of law and the illegitimacy of tyranny. In the passage that follows, Socrates discusses with Glaucon the nature and state of tyranny, which Socrates describes as the “wretchedest form of government.” He contrasts it with rule by a king—by which Plato meant his ideal of a “philosopher-king.”

“Then comparing our original city, which was under a king, and the city which is under a tyrant, how do they stand as to virtue?”

“They are the opposite extremes,” he [Glaucon] said, “for one is the very best and the other is the very worst.”

“There can be no mistake,” I [Socrates] said, “as to which is which, and therefore I will at once enquire whether you would arrive at a similar decision about their relative happiness and misery. . . .”

“A fair invitation,” he replied; “and I see, as everyone must, that a tyranny is the wretchedest form of government, and the rule of a king the happiest. . . .”

“Beginning with the State,” I replied, “would you say that a city which is governed by a tyrant is free or enslaved?”

“No city,” he said, “can be more completely enslaved.”

“And yet, as you see, there are freemen as well as masters in such a State?”

“Yes,” he said, “I see that there are—a few; but the people, speaking generally, and the best of them are miserably degraded and enslaved.”

“Then if the man is like the State,” I said, “must not the same rule prevail? His soul is full of meanness and vulgarity—the best elements in him are enslaved; and there is a small ruling part, which is also the worst and maddest.”

“Inevitably.”

“And would you say that the soul of such a one is the soul of a freeman, or of a slave?”

"He has the soul of a slave, in my opinion."

"And the State which is enslaved under a tyrant is utterly incapable of acting voluntarily?"

"Utterly incapable."

"And also the soul which is under a tyrant (I am speaking of the soul taken as a whole) is least capable of doing what she desires; there is a gadfly which goads her, and she is full of trouble and remorse?"

"Certainly."

"And is the city which is under a tyrant rich or poor?"

"Poor."

"And the tyrannical soul must be always poor and insatiable?"

"True."

"And must not such a State and such a man be always full of fear?"

"Yes, indeed."

"Is there any State in which you will find more of lamentation and sorrow and groaning and pain?"

"Certainly not."

—Plato, *The Republic*, Book IX

Later in *The Republic* Plato continues the discussion between Socrates and Glaucon on the importance of law (or "external authority") and compares it to the authority parents have over their children. Socrates says:

"... [E]veryone had better be ruled by divine wisdom dwelling within him; or, if this be impossible, then by an external authority, in order that we may be all, as far as possible, under the same government, friends and equals."

"True," he [Glaucon] said.

"And this is clearly seen to be the intention of the law, which is the ally of the whole city; and is seen also in the authority which we exercise over children, and the refusal to let them be free until we have established in them a principle analogous to the constitution of a state, and by cultivation of this higher element have set up in their hearts a guardian and ruler like our own, and when this is done they may go their ways."

—Plato, *The Republic*, Book IX

PRIMARY SOURCE

Aristotle, *Politics*

Aristotle was a Greek philosopher who lived from 384–322 BCE. He was one of Plato's pupils and is considered one of the greatest thinkers in Western history. In his famous work *Politics*, Aristotle sought to determine what makes a government good or bad. Like Plato, Aristotle condemned tyranny.

"This tyranny is just that arbitrary power of an individual which is responsible to no one, and governs all alike, whether equals or betters, with a view to its own advantage, not to that of its subjects, and therefore against their will. No freeman, if he can escape from it, will endure such a government."

—Aristotle, *Politics*, Book VI

Earlier he writes:

"Such are the notes of the tyrant and the arts by which he preserves his power; there is no wickedness too great for him. All that we have said may be summed up under three heads, which answer to the three aims of the tyrant. These are, (1) the humiliation of his subjects; he knows that a mean-spirited man will not conspire against anybody; (2) the creation of mistrust among them; for a tyrant is not overthrown until men begin to have confidence in one another; and this is the reason why tyrants are at war with the good; they are under the idea that their power is endangered by them, not only because they will not be ruled despotically, but also because they are loyal to one another, and to other men, and do not inform against one another or against other men: (3) the tyrant desires that his subjects shall be incapable of action, for no one attempts what is impossible, and they will not attempt to overthrow a tyranny, if they are powerless. Under these three heads the whole policy of a tyrant may be summed up, and to one or other of them all his ideas may be referred: (1) he sows distrust among his subjects; (2) he takes away their power; (3) he humbles them."

—Aristotle, *Politics*, Book V

Also like Plato, Aristotle discussed the importance of the rule of law.

"... And the rule of the law is preferable to that of any individual. On the same principle, even if it be better for certain individuals to govern, they should be made only guardians and ministers of the law. For magistrates there must be, — this is admitted; but then men say that to give authority to any one man when all are equal is unjust. There may indeed be cases which the law seems unable to determine, but in such cases can a man? Nay, it will be replied, the law trains officers for this express purpose, and appoints them to determine matters which are left undecided by it to the best of their judgment. Further it permits them to make any amendment of the existing laws which experience suggests. [But still they are only the ministers of the law.] He who bids the law rule, may be deemed to bid God and Reason alone rule, but he who bids man rule adds an element of the beast; for desire is a wild beast, and passion perverts the minds of rulers, even when they are the best of men. The law is reason unaffected by desire. ..."

—Aristotle, *Politics*, Book III



Module 1

PROLOGUE: The Rise of Democratic Ideas



Essential Question

How did the theory and practice of democracy develop and shape the world today?

About the Photo: This painting shows delegates signing the new U.S. Constitution in Philadelphia in 1787. Democratic ideas developed first in ancient Athens and later in Rome. Over many centuries, those ideas spread to England and England's American colonies. Eventually, democratic movements sprang up throughout the world, inspired by the U.S. Constitution.

In this module, you will follow the development of democratic thinking, from its beginnings in ancient Greece through the American and French revolutions.



10.1.1 Analyze the similarities and differences in Judeo-Christian and Greco-Roman views of law, reason and faith, and duties of the individual. **10.1.2** Trace the development of the Western political ideas of the rule of law and illegitimacy of tyranny, using selections from Plato's *Republic* and Aristotle's *Politics*. **10.2.1** Compare the major ideas of philosophers and their effects on the democratic revolutions in England, the United States, France, and Latin America (e.g., John Locke, Charles-Louis Montesquieu, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Simón Bolívar, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison). **10.2.2** List the principles of the Magna Carta, the English Bill of Rights (1689), the American Declaration of Independence (1776), the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen (1789), and the U.S. Bill of Rights (1791). **10.2.3** Understand the unique character of the American Revolution, its spread to other parts of the world, and its continuing significance to other nations. **CST.1** Students compare the present with the past, evaluating the consequences of past events and decisions and determining the lessons that were learned. **HREP.4** Students construct and test hypotheses; collect, evaluate, and employ information from multiple primary and secondary sources; and apply it in oral and written presentations.

Explore ONLINE!



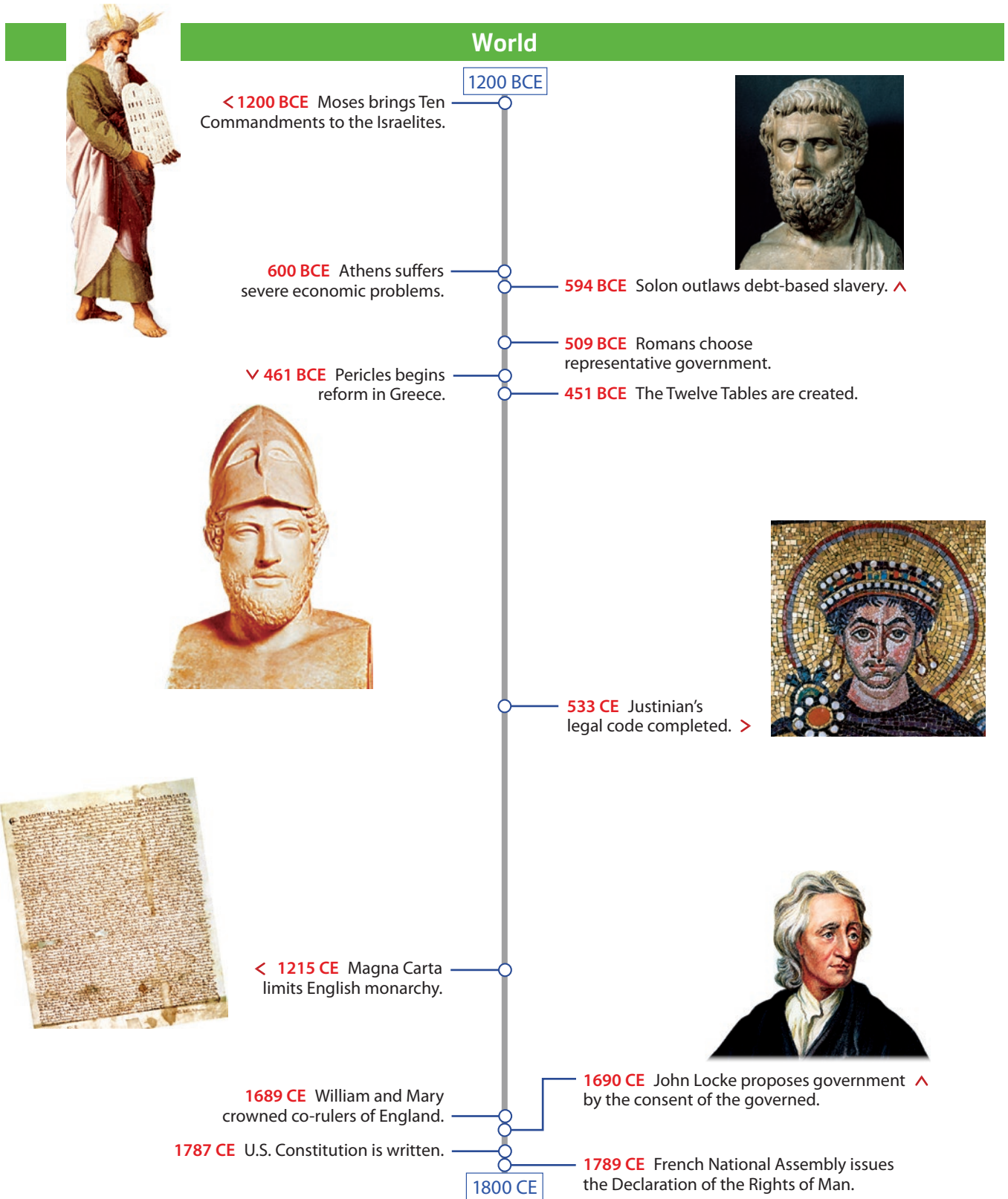
VIDEOS, including...

- Birth of Democracy
- The Printing Press
- American Revolution
- Global Impact of the American Revolution

- ✓ Document-Based Investigations
- ✓ Graphic Organizers
- ✓ Interactive Games
- ✓ Carousel: Juries in Athens
- ✓ Interactive Map: Spread of Christianity in the Roman World to 500 CE

Timeline of Events 1200 BCE–1800 CE

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The Legacy of Ancient Greece and Rome

The Big Idea

The Greeks developed democracy, and the Romans added representative government.

Why It Matters Now

Representation and citizen participation are important features of democratic governments around the world.

Key Terms and People

government
monarchy
aristocracy
oligarchy
democracy
direct democracy
republic
senate

Setting the Stage

Throughout history, people have recognized the need for a system for exercising authority and control in their society. Small bands of people often did not need a formal organization. Councils of elders, for example, worked together to control a group. However, most people in larger groups lived under rulers, such as chieftains, kings, or pharaohs, who often had total power. Over the course of thousands of years, people began to believe that even in large groups they could govern themselves without a powerful ruler.

Athens Builds a Limited Democracy

About 2000 BCE, the Greeks established cities in the small fertile valleys along Greece's rocky coast. Each city-state had its own **government**, a system for controlling the society.

The Greek city-states adopted many styles of government. In some, a single person called a king or monarch ruled in a government called a **monarchy**. Others adopted an **aristocracy** (AR•uh•STAHK•ruh•see), a government ruled by a small group of noble, landowning families. Later, as trade expanded, a new class of wealthy merchants emerged in some cities. Sometimes these groups took power or shared it with the nobility. They formed an **oligarchy**, a government ruled by a few powerful people.

Ancient Greek civilization claims the distinction of developing the first democracy in a country. In fact, the word **democracy**, meaning "rule of the people," comes from the Greek words *demos*, meaning "people," and *kratos*, meaning "power."

Building Democracy Athens was the largest and most powerful city-state to emerge in Greece. In Athens, citizens participated in governmental decision making. Citizens



10.1.1; 10.1.2; CST.1

were adult male residents who enjoyed certain rights and responsibilities. Each year, an assembly of citizens elected three nobles to rule the city-state. After a year of service, the nobles became part of a larger council of advisers.

Around 600 BCE Athens suffered severe economic problems. In order to pay their debts, poor farmers pledged part of their crops to wealthy landowners. They later pledged their land. Then, they sold themselves into slavery and were not able to leave the land. Eventually, a strong leader stepped in to deal with the political and economic crisis.

Reforms of Solon In 594 BCE, Solon (so•luhn), a respected statesman, passed a law outlawing slavery based on debt and canceled the farmers' debts. This simple act enabled Athens to avoid revolution or civil war.

Solon continued his policies of political reform. He established four classes of citizenship based on wealth rather than heredity. Only citizens of the three higher classes were able to hold public office. Yet, even the lowest class of citizens could vote in the assembly. All free adult males were citizens. Solon also created a new Council of Four Hundred. This body prepared business for the already existing council. Solon also introduced the legal concept that any citizen could bring charges against wrongdoers.

Although these acts increased participation in government, Athens was still limited as a democracy. Only citizens could participate in government, and only about one-tenth of the population were citizens at the time. Athenian law denied citizenship to women, slaves, and foreign residents. Slaves formed about one-third of the Athenian population.

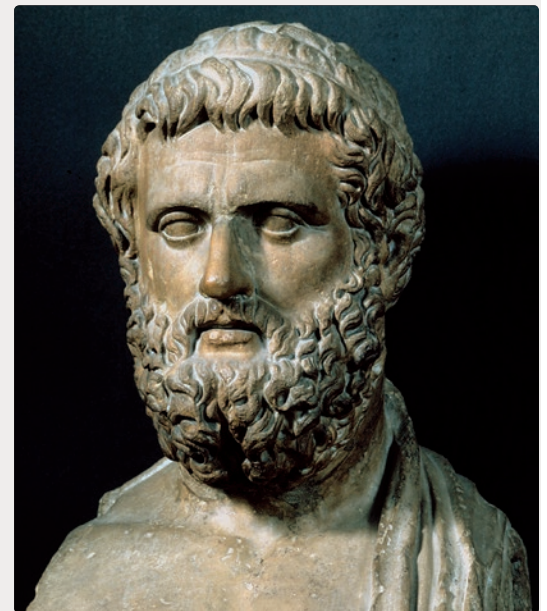
BIOGRAPHY

Solon

630?–560? BCE

Solon is known as one of the Seven Wise Men of Greece. Solon began a series of political reforms that greatly increased citizen participation in Athenian government. He said that he “stood with a strong shield before both parties [the common people and the powerful] and allowed neither to win an unfair victory.” His reforms, unfortunately, did not please either the wealthy or the poor.

Solon left Athens for ten years to travel. He spent that period warning people wherever he traveled against rulers who would not uphold his reforms.



Government

Every society must create ways to regulate the behaviors of its members. Government consists of the people and institutions with the authority to establish and enforce rules for society. The rules are designed to keep order within the society, to promote the behaviors that the society approves of, and to protect the society

from outside dangers. The government has the authority to administer punishments if the rules are broken. Different societies have forms of government that may feature different types of leaders, lawmakers, and enforcers, such as police or the military.

MAJOR FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

MONARCHY

- State ruled by a king
- Rule is hereditary
- Some rulers claim divine right

OLIGARCHY

- State ruled by a small group of citizens
- Rule is based on wealth or ability
- Ruling group controls military

ARISTOCRACY

- State ruled by nobility
- Rule is hereditary and based on family ties, social rank, wealth
- Social status and wealth support rulers' authority

DIRECT DEMOCRACY

- State ruled by its citizens
- Rule is based on citizenship
- Majority rule decides vote

EARLY DEMOCRACY



ONE EARLY DEMOCRACY: THE IGBO PEOPLE

The Igbo (IHG•boh) people—also called Ibo—of southern Nigeria in Africa practiced a form of democracy as early as the ninth century. Igbo village government was made up of a council of elders and a village assembly. In the council, any adult male could take part in discussion, although the elders made the final decisions. In the assembly, everyone—young or old, rich or poor—had the right to speak. This practice encouraged a spirit of equality among the Igbo.

Critical Thinking

1. Categorizing In which forms of government is rule hereditary?

2. Hypothesize How might the mass media in modern life help make democracy an achievable form of government?

Reading Check
Summarize Why is Cleisthenes generally considered the founder of Athenian democracy?

Cleisthenes Enacts More Reforms Beginning in 508 BCE, the Athenian leader Cleisthenes (KLYS•thuh•neez) introduced further reforms. Because of his reforms, Cleisthenes is generally regarded as the founder of democracy in Athens. He worked to make Athens a full democracy by reorganizing the assembly to balance the power of the rich and poor. He also increased the power of the assembly by allowing all citizens to submit laws for debate and passage. Cleisthenes then created the Council of Five Hundred.

The Council proposed laws and counseled the assembly. Council members were chosen at random from among the citizens. These reforms allowed Athenian citizens to participate in a limited democracy. However, still only one-fifth of Athenian residents were actual citizens.

Greek Democracy Changes

From 490 to 479 BCE, the Greeks fought Persian invaders who were attempting to conquer Greece. The Greek city-states fought side by side as allies and defeated the Persian forces.

The Athenians maintained democracy during the Persian Wars by holding public debates about how to defend their city. After Persia's defeat, Athens continued to develop democracy. A wise and able statesman named Pericles led Athens for 32 years, from 461 to 429 BCE.

Pericles Strengthens Democracy Pericles strengthened Greek democracy by increasing the number of paid public officials and by paying jurors. This enabled poorer citizens to participate in the government. Through greater citizen participation, Athens evolved into a **direct democracy**. This is a form of government in which citizens govern and make laws directly rather than through representatives. In Athens, more citizens were actively involved in government than in any other city-state. In a speech, Pericles expressed his great pride in Athenian democracy when he said, "Our constitution is called a democracy because power is in the hands not of a minority but of the whole people."

Democracy ended in Greece after a war between the two strongest city-states, Athens and Sparta. Macedonia, a nearby state, invaded Greece and defeated the weakened city-states.

Greek Philosophers Use Reason During the fourth century BCE in Athens, several great thinkers appeared. They used logic and reason to investigate the nature of the universe, human society, and morality. These Greek thinkers based their philosophy on the following assumptions: (1) The universe (land, sky, and sea) is put together in an orderly way and



Pericles was a firm believer in the superiority of Athens over other Greek city-states. He was instrumental in forming the Athenian Empire and ordered the building of the Parthenon.

is subject to absolute and unchanging laws; and (2) people can understand these laws through logic and reason. The Greeks' respect for human intelligence and the power of reason had allowed the ideas of democracy to flourish.

The first of these great philosophers was Socrates (SAHK•ruh•teez). He encouraged his students to examine their most closely held beliefs. He used a question-and-answer approach that became known as the Socratic method. Socrates' greatest pupil was Plato (PLAY•toh). In his famous work *The Republic*, Plato set forth his vision of a perfectly governed society. He wanted society governed not by the richest and most powerful but by the wisest, whom he called philosopher-kings.

“Until philosophers are kings, or the kings and princes of this world have the spirit and power of philosophy, and political greatness and wisdom meet in one, and those commoner natures who pursue either to the exclusion of the other are compelled to stand aside, cities will never have rest from their evils, no, nor the human race.”

—Plato, *The Republic*

Plato's student Aristotle (AR•ih•staht•uhl) examined the nature of the world and of human belief, thought, and knowledge. In *Politics*, he wrote, “Man is by nature a political animal; it is his nature to live in a state.”

Legacy of Greece Greece set lasting standards in government and philosophy. The Greeks used reason and intelligence to discover patterns and explanations of the world that they called natural laws. The Greeks did not wish to be subject to authoritarian rulers. So they developed direct democracy in order that citizens could actively participate in political decisions. They also were the first to develop three branches of government—a legislative branch to pass laws, an executive branch to carry out the laws, and a judicial branch to settle disputes about the laws.

Reading Check

Summarize What does Plato believe needs to happen to bring peace and harmony to cities and to the human race?



This stone relief panel of Democracy crowning Athens was placed in the marketplace, where citizens could see it daily.

History in Depth

Juries in Athens

Jury duty was one of the most important civic functions of a citizen of Athens. Juries ranged in size from at least 201 to as many as 2,500 men. (Athenian women were not allowed to serve as jurors.) The jurors would hear both sides of a legal case. Then they would render their verdict by casting bronze ballots in a large ballot box.



▲ Selecting a Jury

Each potential juror was given a bronze ticket inscribed with his name. After the tickets had been placed in a basket, jurors were randomly selected.



solid ballot



hollow ballot

◀ Making a Decision

These round disks are ballots. A hollow ballot was cast for a guilty vote, while a solid ballot indicated a vote in favor of the defendant. (The detail from a Greek drinking cup pictured here shows ballots being cast in a ballot box.)

► Deciding on a Punishment

Citizens could vote to ostracize, or banish, a leader from Athens for ten years to prevent a person from gaining too much power. The person's name was inscribed on a pottery fragment called an ostrakon. This one bears the name of Pericles.



Analyze Visuals

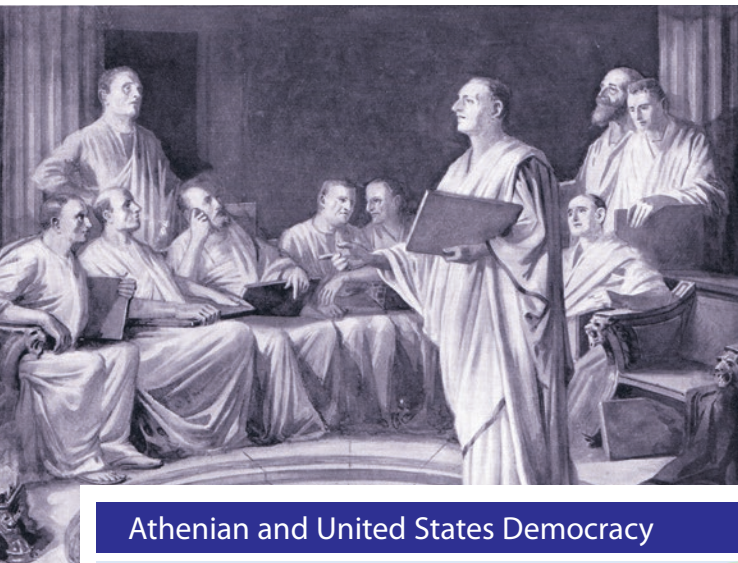
- 1. Comparing and Contrasting** In what ways are the jury practices of Athens similar to those of the United States? How are they different?
- 2. Form and Support Opinions** What advantages or disadvantages do you see in the number of jurors on an Athenian jury?

Rome Develops a Republic

While Greece was in decline, a new civilization to the west was developing. From about 1000 to 500 BCE, the earliest Romans—the Latins—battled with Greeks and Etruscans for control of the Italian peninsula. The Romans were the victors.

From Kingdom to Republic Beginning about 600 BCE, a series of kings ruled Rome. Then, in 509 BCE, a group of Roman aristocrats overthrew a harsh king. They set up a new government, calling it a **republic**. A republic is a form of government in which power rests with citizens who have the right to elect the leaders who make governmental decisions. It is an indirect democracy, in contrast to the direct democracy in which all citizens participate directly in the government. In Rome, as in Greece, citizenship with voting rights was granted only to free-born males.

In the early republic, two groups struggled for power. The patricians were aristocratic landowners who held most of the power. The plebeians were common farmers, artisans, and merchants. The patricians inherited their power and social status. They claimed that their ancestry gave them the authority to make laws for Rome and its people. The plebeians were citizens of Rome with the right to vote. But they were barred by law from holding most important government positions. In time, plebeian pressure on the patricians gained them political power.



Twelve Tables An important victory for the plebeians was forcing creation of a written law code. With laws unwritten, patrician officials often interpreted the law to suit themselves. In 451 BCE, a group of ten officials began writing down Rome's laws. They had the laws carved on 12 tables, or tablets, and publicly displayed. The Twelve Tables established the idea that all free citizens had the right to protection of the law and that laws would be fairly administered.

A later engraving showing Roman officials discussing the Twelve Tables.

Athenian and United States Democracy

ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY

- Citizens: male; at least 18 years old; with citizen parents
- Laws voted on and proposed directly by assembly of all citizens
- Leader chosen by lot
- Executive branch: a council of 500 men
- Juries varied in size
- No attorneys; no appeals; one-day trials

BOTH

- Political power exercised by citizens
- Three branches of government
- Legislative branch passes laws
- Executive branch carries out laws
- Judicial branch conducts trials with paid jurors

U.S. DEMOCRACY

- Citizens: born in United States or completed citizenship process
- Representatives elected to propose and vote on laws
- Elected president
- Executive branch made up of elected and appointed officials
- Juries composed of 12 jurors
- Defendants and plaintiffs have attorneys; long appeals process



Ruins of the Forum, the political center of the Roman Empire, still stand in present-day Rome.

Reading Check
Contrast How does an indirect democracy differ from a direct democracy?

Republican Government Like the Athenians, the Romans had established a government with separate branches. Two officials called consuls commanded the army and directed the government. Their term of office was only one year. The legislative branch was made up of a **senate** and two assemblies. Patricians made up the senate. It controlled foreign and financial policies and advised the consuls. The two assemblies included other classes of citizens. In times of crisis, the republic also provided for a dictator, a leader who had absolute power to make laws and command the army. The dictator was limited to a six-month term.

For hundreds of years after the founding of the republic, Rome expanded its territories through conquest and trade. But expansion created problems. For decades, Rome alternated between the chaos of civil war and the authoritarian rule of a series of dictators. Eventually, the republic collapsed. In 27 BCE, Rome came under the rule of an emperor.

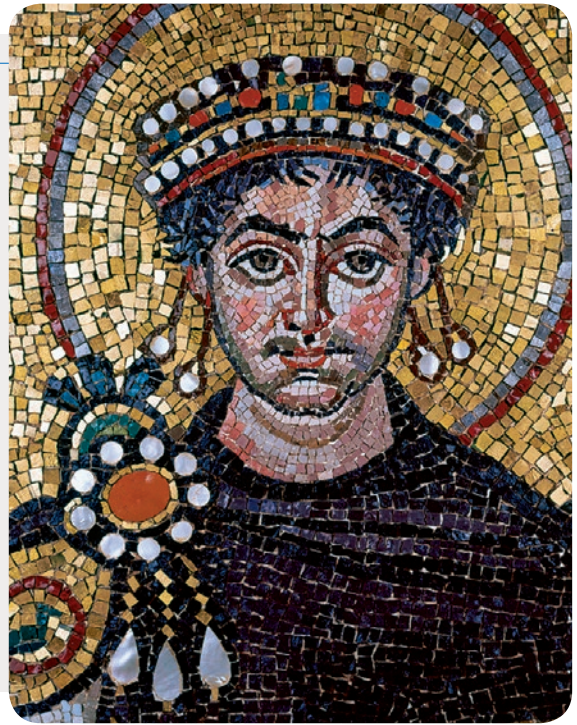
Justinian

482–565 CE

Justinian believed that “imperial majesty should not only be adorned with military might but also graced with laws, so that in times of peace and war alike the state may be governed aright.”

To regulate the Byzantine Empire, Justinian set up a panel of legal experts to comb through hundreds of years of Roman law and opinion. The panel’s task was to create a single, uniform legal code for Justinian’s “New Rome.”

The Justinian Code has had a profound impact on the law of most Western countries.



Roman Law

Rome had become a great power not only by conquering other lands but also by bringing the conquered peoples into its system. The Romans tried to create a system of laws that could be applied throughout the Roman Empire. Like the Greeks, they believed that laws should be based on principles of reason and justice and should protect citizens and their property. This idea applied to all people regardless of their nationality. It had a great influence on the development of democracy throughout the Western world.

Some important principles of Roman law were:

- All citizens had the right to equal treatment under the law.
- A person was considered innocent until proven guilty.
- The burden of proof rested with the accuser rather than the accused.
- Any law that seemed unreasonable or grossly unfair could be set aside.

A Written Legal Code Another major characteristic of Roman government was its regard for written law as exemplified by the creation of the Twelve Tables in 451 BCE. Nearly 1,000 years later, in 528 CE, Emperor Justinian ordered the compilation of all Roman laws since the earlier code. After its completion, this new code consisted of four works. *The Code* contained nearly 5,000 Roman laws. *The Digest* was a summary of legal opinions. *The Institutes* served as a textbook for law students. *The Novellae* contained laws passed after 534 CE. The Code of Justinian later became a guide on legal matters throughout Western Europe. Written laws helped establish the idea of “a government of laws, not of men,” in which even rulers and other powerful persons could be held accountable for their actions.



A coin from 137 BCE shows a Roman citizen taking part in the democratic process of voting.

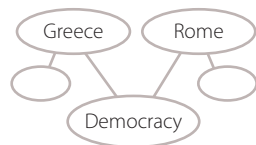
Reading Check

Analyze Effects
How did Rome influence the development of democracy in the Western world?

Legacy of Rome Rome gave the world the idea of a republic. Rome also adopted from the Greeks the notion that an individual is a citizen in a state rather than the subject of a ruler. Perhaps Rome's greatest and most lasting legacy was its written legal code and the idea that this code should be applied equally and impartially to all citizens. Rome preserved and added to Greece's idea of democracy and passed on the early democratic tradition to civilizations that followed.

Lesson 1 Assessment

- Organize Information** Create a web diagram displaying the impacts of ancient Greece and Rome on the modern world. Explain which contribution you think had the greatest impact on the modern world.



- Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.
- Draw Conclusions** How do the steps taken by leaders of Athens reflect a turn toward democracy?
- Form Opinions** Was Athenian democracy under Pericles truly a democracy? Explain.
- Synthesize** Which characteristic of the government under the Roman Republic had the greatest impact on the democratic tradition?



Judeo-Christian Tradition

The Big Idea

Judaism and Christianity taught individual worth, ethical values, and the need to fight injustice.

Why It Matters Now

These ideals continue to be important to democracy today.

Key Terms and People

Judaism
Ten Commandments
Christianity
Islam
Roman Catholic Church
Renaissance
Reformation

Setting the Stage

Ideas from three monotheistic religions helped shape democratic traditions. Judaism, Christianity, and Islam all began in a small corner of southwest Asia, and later spread across the world. Their ideas about the worth of individuals and the responsibility of individuals to the community had a strong impact on the development of democracy. More ideas about the value of the individual and the questioning of authority emerged during the periods of the Renaissance and the Reformation.

Judaism

Much of what we know about the early history of the Hebrews (also known as Israelites), later called the Jews, is contained in the first five books of the Hebrew Bible, the Torah. In the Torah, God chose Abraham to be the “father,” or ancestor, of the Hebrew people. God commanded Abraham to move his people to Canaan, an area in the eastern Mediterranean. This is believed to have occurred around 1800 BCE.

Created in God’s Image Other groups around the Israelites were polytheists, people who believed in more than one god. The Hebrews, however, were monotheists. They believed in one God. This God was perfect, all-knowing, all-powerful, and eternal. Earlier, people had generally thought that what the gods wanted from human beings was the performance of rituals and sacrifices in their honor. The Israelites believed that God commanded people to live moral lives. The religion of the Israelites and Jews became known as **Judaism**.

The Hebrew Bible (the Old Testament, to Christians) states that human beings are created in God’s image. Judaism interprets this to mean that each human being has a divine spark that gives him or her a dignity that can never be taken away. For the Greeks and Romans, the individual had dignity because of his or her ability to reason. In Judaism, each person had dignity by being a child of God.



10.1.1; CST.1

Judaism teaches that God gave human beings moral freedom—the capacity to choose between good and evil. Therefore, each person is responsible for the choices he or she makes. Jewish beliefs led to a new emphasis on the worth of the individual.

Jewish Law Teaches Morality Like the Greeks, the Romans, and other ancient peoples, the Jews had a written code of laws. The Bible states that God gave the code to the Israelite leader, Moses, in the form of the **Ten Commandments** and other laws. This event is believed to have occurred sometime between 1300 and 1200 BCE. Unlike the laws of other peoples, the Jewish code focused more on morality and ethics and less on politics. The code included rules of social and religious behavior to which even rulers were subject. While the Jewish code of justice was strict, it was softened by expressions of God’s mercy.

An expansion of the religious thought of the Jews occurred with the emergence of prophets in the eighth century BCE. The prophets were leaders and teachers who were believed by the Jews to be messengers from

DOCUMENT-BASED INVESTIGATION Historical Source

The Ten Commandments

The Ten Commandments are a code of moral laws believed to have been given by God to Moses, which serve as the basis for Jewish law.

1. I the Lord am your God who brought you out of the land of Egypt, the house of bondage.
2. You shall have no other gods before me. You shall not make for yourself a sculptured image. . . .
3. You shall not swear falsely by the name of the Lord your God.
4. Remember the sabbath day and keep it holy. . . .
5. Honor your father and your mother. . . .
6. You shalt not kill.
7. You shalt not commit adultery.
8. You shalt not steal.
9. You shalt not bear false witness against your neighbor.
10. You shalt not covet . . . anything that is your neighbor’s.

Exodus 20:2-14

Analyze Historical Sources

1. Do the first four commandments concern themselves more with the Hebrews’ relationship with God or with one another?
2. What do the last six commandments have in common that distinguish them from the first four?



An engraving from the 19th century shows Moses with the Ten Commandments.

God. The prophets attacked war, oppression, and greed in statements such as these from the Old Testament:

“He has told you, O man, what is good, and what the Lord requires of you: Only to do justice and to love goodness, and to walk modestly with your God.”

Micah 6:8

Reading Check

Summarize

What did the prophets teach about injustice and oppression?

The prophets strengthened the Jews’ social conscience, which has become part of the Western tradition. The Jews believed that it is the responsibility of every person to oppose injustice and oppression and that the community should assist the unfortunate. The prophets held out the hope that life on earth could be improved, that poverty and injustice need not exist, and that individuals are capable of living according to high moral standards.

Christianity

As Rome expanded, its power spread throughout the Mediterranean. It took control of Judea, homeland of the Jews, around 63 BCE. By 6 BCE, the Romans ruled Judea directly as a part of their empire.

According to the New Testament, Jesus of Nazareth was born around 6 to 4 BCE. He was both a Jew and a Roman subject. He began his public ministry at the age of 30. His preaching contained many ideas from Jewish tradition, such as monotheism and the principles of the Ten Commandments. Jesus emphasized God’s personal relationship to each human being.

The Teachings of Christianity Jesus’ ideas went beyond traditional morality. He stressed the importance of people’s love for God, their neighbors, their enemies, and themselves. In the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus told the people, “I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you.” He also taught that God would eventually end wickedness in the world and would establish an eternal kingdom in which he would reign. People who sincerely repented their sins would find life after death in this kingdom.

About 29 CE, Jesus visited Jerusalem. Because some referred to him as the “king of the Jews,” the Roman governor considered him a political threat. Jesus was put to death by crucifixion. According to Jesus’ followers, he rose from the dead three days later and ascended into heaven. His followers believed he was the Messiah, or savior. Jesus came to be referred to as Jesus Christ. *Christos* is a Greek word meaning “messiah” or “savior.” The word **Christianity**, the name of the religion founded by Jesus, was derived from the name Christ.

The Spread of Christianity In the first century after Jesus’ death, his followers began to teach this new religion based on his message. Christianity spread slowly but steadily across the Roman Empire. The apostle Paul had enormous influence on Christianity’s development.

Vocabulary

An **apostle** is one of the followers of Jesus who preached and spread his teaching.

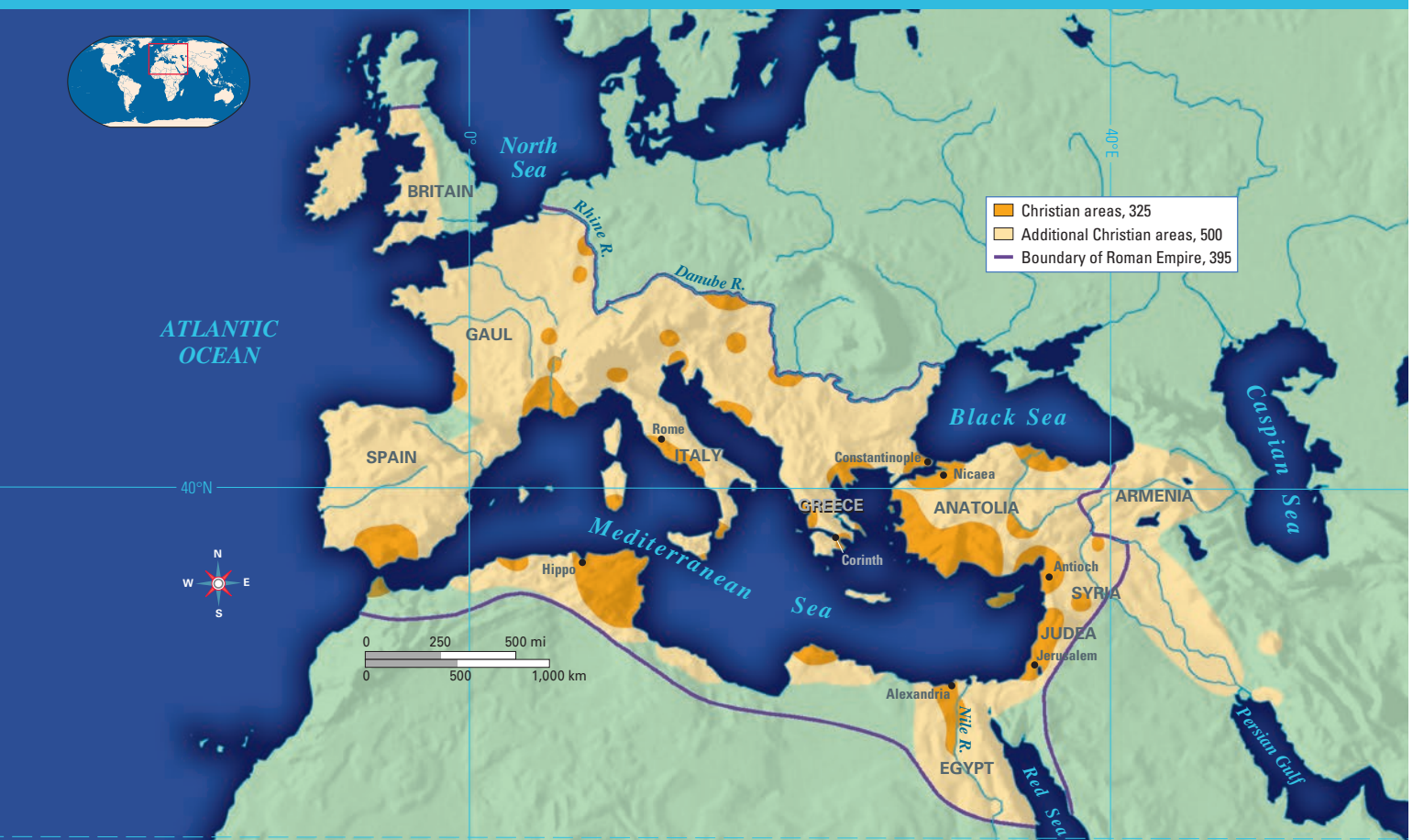
Paul preached in cities around the eastern Mediterranean. He stressed that Jesus was the son of God and that he had died for people's sins. Paul declared that Christianity was a universal religion. It should welcome all converts, Jew and non-Jew. He said, "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus." He stressed the essential equality of all human beings, a belief central to democracy.

Rome Spreads Judeo-Christian Ideas In the beginning, the Roman Empire was hostile to the beliefs of Judaism and Christianity. Yet it was the empire that helped spread the ideas of these religions in two ways. The first way was indirect. After the Jews began to rebel against the Romans in the first century, many were exiled from their homeland. This movement continued the dispersal of the Jews called the Diaspora. The Jews then fled to many parts of the world, where they shared their beliefs that all people had the right to be treated with justice and dignity.

The second way the empire spread Judeo-Christian ideas was more direct. Despite Roman persecution of Christians, Christianity became a powerful religion throughout the empire and beyond. By 380, it had become the official religion of the empire. Eventually it took root in Europe, the Near East, and northern Africa.

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Spread of Christianity in the Roman World to 500 CE



Reading Check

Summarize

How were Judeo-Christian ideas spread throughout the Roman Empire?

Rome's Christian Legacy Christianity spread quickly through the Roman Empire after the emperor Constantine I took a favorable view toward the religion. In 312 CE, he was fighting his rivals for the imperial throne and prayed for divine help before going into battle. Constantine reported that he then saw a cross of light in the heavens bearing the inscription, "In this sign, conquer." He ordered artisans to put the Christian symbol of the cross on his soldiers' shields.

His troops were victorious. Constantine gave credit for his success to the Christian God and put an end to the Roman persecution of Christians. In 330 CE, emperor Constantine I dedicated the new capitol city as Constantinople, and it was instrumental in the advancement of Christianity during Roman times.

Islam

Another monotheistic religion that taught equality of all persons and individual worth also developed in southwest Asia in the early 600s. **Islam** was based on the teachings of Muhammad. His teachings, which his followers believe are the revealed word of God (Allah in Arabic), are found in the

holy book called the Qur'an. He emphasized the dignity of all human beings and the brotherhood of all people. A belief in the bond of community and the unity of all people led to a tolerance of different groups within the community.

Followers of Islam are called Muslims. Muslims were required by their religion to offer charity and help to those in need. Under Muslim law, rulers had to obey the same laws as those they ruled. In lands controlled by Muslims, the Muslims were required to show tolerance for the religious practices of Jews and Christians.



An illustrated page of the Qur'an from the ninth century.

The Legacy of Monotheistic Religions Several ideals crucial to the shaping of a democratic outlook emerged from the early monotheistic religions of southwest Asia. They include

- the duty of the individual and the community to combat oppression
- the worth of the individual
- the equality of people before God

These ideas would form part of the basis of democratic thinking. More ideas about the value of the individual and about the questioning of authority would surface during the Renaissance and Reformation.

Reading Check

Summarize

What values did Muhammad emphasize in his teachings?



A mosaic of the emperor Constantine. He was the first Roman emperor to stop Christian persecutions.

Renaissance and Reformation

The **Roman Catholic Church** developed from Roman Christianity. By the Middle Ages, it had become the most powerful institution in Europe. It influenced all aspects of life—religious, social, and political. It was strongly authoritarian in structure—that is, it expected unquestioned obedience to its authority.

Renaissance Revives Classical Ideas In the 1300s, a brilliant cultural movement arose in Italy. Over the next 300 years, it spread to the rest of Europe, helped by the development of the printing press. This movement was called the **Renaissance**, from the French word for “rebirth.”

The collapse of the Roman Empire allowed smaller, independent kingdoms to grow. These kingdoms were more focused on their own growth and survival than the preservation of Greek and Roman learning. Much of Greek and Roman culture was lost, but much was also preserved by the Christian church. The Renaissance was marked by renewed interest in classical culture. This included the restoration of old monuments and works of art and the rediscovery of forgotten Greek and Latin manuscripts. Renaissance thinkers were interested in earthly life for its own sake. They rejected the medieval view that life was only a preparation for the afterlife.

Renaissance education was intended to prepare some men for public service rather than just for service to the Church. Scholars placed increasing value on subjects concerned with humankind and culture. The study of classical texts led to an intellectual movement that encouraged ideas about human potential and achievement. Some Christian writers were critical of the failure of the Church to encourage people to live a life that was moral and ethical. They also discussed ways in which the lives of all in society could improve.

Renaissance thinkers and writers began to explore ideas about political power and the role of government in the lives of ordinary people. The Greek and Roman ideas about democracy were quite different from the oligarchic governments they were experiencing.

During the Renaissance, individualism became deeply rooted in Western culture. Artists expressed it by seeking to capture individual character. Explorers and conquerors demonstrated it by venturing into uncharted seas and by carving out vast empires in the Americas. It also was shown by merchant-capitalists, who amassed huge fortunes by taking great economic risks.

The Reformation Challenges Church Power Although Christianity remained a strong force in Europe during the Renaissance, people began to be more critical of the Church. The spirit of questioning that started during the Renaissance came to full bloom in the **Reformation**. The Reformation was a religious reform movement that began in the 16th century. Those who wanted to reform the Catholic Church were called Protestants because they protested against the power and abuses of the Church. Reformers stressed the importance of a direct relationship with God.

Vocabulary

Individualism is the belief in the importance of the individual and in the virtues of self-reliance and personal independence.

Printing Spreads Ideas

The development of a movable type printing press around 1440 revolutionized the sharing of ideas. The press made it possible to print books quickly and cheaply. This fueled Renaissance learning because scholars could read each other's works soon after they were written. The ideas of the Renaissance and, later, of the Enlightenment were spread through the printed word.

The spread of reading matter made literacy for large numbers of people suddenly possible. And an informed citizenry contributed to the rise of democracy. These informed citizens began to question authority. This ultimately spurred democratic revolutions in America and France in the late 1700s.



Vocabulary

A **pardon** is a cancellation of punishment still due for a sin that has been forgiven.

The Reformation started in Germany. In 1517, a monk and teacher named Martin Luther criticized the Church's practice of selling pardons for sins. Soon, Luther went further. He contradicted the Church's position that salvation came through faith and good works. He said people could be saved only through faith in God. What began as a reform movement ended up as a new division of Christianity—Protestantism.

Because Protestantism encouraged people to make their own religious judgments, Protestants began to have differences of belief. They then established new churches in addition to the already-formed Lutheran Church. These included the Anglican, Presbyterian, and Calvinist churches.

Catholics and Protestants differed on many issues. The Catholic Church claimed the right to interpret the Bible for all Christians. Protestants called on believers to interpret the Bible for themselves. The Catholic Church said the only way to salvation was through the Church. Protestants said that the clergy had no special powers; people could find individual paths to God. The Protestant emphasis on private judgment in religious matters—on a sense of conviction rather than a reliance on authority—strengthened the importance of the individual even more. It also led to a questioning of political authority.

Legacy of the Renaissance and Reformation The Reformation and the other changes that swept Europe during and after the Middle Ages greatly influenced the shaping of the modern world. Indeed, some people believe all of Western civilization arose from a combination of classical Greco-Roman civilization, Judeo-Christian influence, and the cultures

History in Depth

The Peasants' Revolt

Luther questioned Church authority. But peasants in southern Germany took Luther's example further. In 1524, they questioned political and social authority. They wanted an end to serfdom, or being forced to serve a master. They stormed the castles of the nobles, forcing them, at least initially, to give in to their demands.

It was the largest mass uprising in the history of Germany. The peasants looked to Luther to support their rights, but Luther supported the nobles instead. As many as 100,000 peasants were killed during the rebellion.



Reading Check

Synthesize

How did the Renaissance and the Reformation shape ideas about democracy?

of northern European peoples, thus creating a cultural common ground in Europe. However, a common cultural heritage does not mean peaceful coexistence.

By challenging the authority of monarchs and popes, the Reformation indirectly contributed to the growth of democracy. Also, by calling on believers to read and interpret the Bible for themselves, it introduced individuals to reading and exposed them to more than just religious ideas.

Both the Renaissance and the Reformation placed emphasis on the importance of the individual. This was an important idea in the democratic revolutions that followed and in the growth of political liberty in modern times.

Lesson 2 Assessment

1. **Organize Information** List the major contributions for each category listed on the chart. How do the contributions listed on your chart support the ideals of democracy?

Category	Contribution
Christianity	
Judaism	
Islam	
Renaissance	
Reformation	

2. **Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.
3. **Compare** What ideas crucial to the shaping of democracy did Judaism and Christianity share?
4. **Draw Conclusions** How did the Reformation promote the idea of individualism?
5. **Synthesize** How did the printing press help promote the ideas of democracy?



Democracy Develops in England

The Big Idea

England began to develop democratic institutions that limited the power of the monarchy.

Why It Matters Now

Democratic traditions developed in England have influenced many countries, including the United States.

Key Terms and People

common law
Magna Carta
due process of law
Parliament
divine right
Glorious Revolution
constitutional monarchy
bill of rights

Setting the Stage

The idea of democracy developed gradually over the centuries. From its beginnings in the city-states of ancient Greece, democracy moved to Rome. There, the Romans adapted democratic ideas to establish a republican form of government. Judaism and Christianity spread the ideas of individual worth and responsibility to community. Democracy finally took root and found permanence in England in the late Middle Ages.

Reforms in Medieval England

In 1066, William, duke of Normandy in France, invaded England and defeated the Anglo-Saxons at the Battle of Hastings. William then claimed the English throne. This set in motion events that led to: (1) the end of feudalism—the political and economic system of the Middle Ages, (2) the beginnings of centralized government in England, and (3) the development of democracy there. One of William’s descendants was Henry II, who ruled from 1154 to 1189. He controlled most of the western half of France, as well as all of England. A man of great wisdom and vigor, Henry is considered one of the most gifted statesmen of the 12th century.



King Henry II

Juries and Common Law One of Henry’s greatest achievements was the development of the jury trial as a means of administering royal justice. Before then, people were tried in courts of feudal lords. In such courts, the accused would usually have to survive a duel or some physically painful or dangerous ordeal to be set free.

With Henry’s innovation, a royal judge would visit each shire, or county, at least once a year. First, the judge would review the crime that had been committed. Then he would ask 12 men, often neighbors of the accused, to answer questions about the facts of the case. These people were known as a jury. Unlike modern juries, they did not decide guilt or innocence. People came to prefer the jury trial to the feudal-court trial because they found it more just and civilized.



10.1.2; 10.2.2; 10.2.3; CST.1



King John of England.

Vocabulary

A **contract** is an agreement between two or more parties, especially one that is written and enforceable by law.

Legal decisions made by royal justices were used as precedents in new cases. Gradually, England was unified under a single legal system. This was called “common law” because it was common to the whole kingdom. Unlike Roman law, which expressed the will of a ruler or a lawmaker, **common law** reflected customs and principles established over time. Common law became the basis of the legal systems in many English-speaking countries, including the United States.

The Magna Carta When Henry II died, his son Richard the Lion-Hearted assumed the throne. Richard’s brother John, an unpopular king, followed him. King John fought a costly and unsuccessful war with France. Not only did England lose many of its land holdings in France, but John also tried to raise taxes to pay for the war. This led to conflict between the English nobles and the king. In 1215, the angry nobles rebelled and forced John to grant guarantees of certain traditional political rights. They presented their demands to him in written form as the **Magna Carta** (Great Charter).

The Magna Carta is the major source of traditional English respect for individual rights and liberties. Basically, it was a contract between the king and nobles of England. However, the Magna Carta contained certain important principles that limited the power of the English monarch over all his English subjects. It implied the idea that monarchs had no right to rule in any way they pleased. They had to govern according to law.

The Magna Carta had 63 clauses. Two established basic legal rights for individuals. Clause 12 declared that taxes “shall be levied in our kingdom only by the common consent of our kingdom.” This meant that the king had to ask for popular consent before he could tax. Clause 39 declared, “No man shall be arrested or imprisoned . . . except by the lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of the land.” This meant that a person had the right to a jury trial and to the protection of the law. This right—to have the law work in known, orderly ways—is called **due process of law**. In other words, the king could not willfully, or arbitrarily, punish his subjects.

Over the centuries, the principles of the Magna Carta were extended to protect the liberties of all the English people. Clause 12, for example, was later interpreted to mean that the king could not levy taxes without the consent of **Parliament**, England’s national legislature. The principle of “no taxation without representation” was a rallying cry, over five centuries later, of the American Revolution.

Model Parliament Even before the Norman Conquest, Anglo-Saxon kings had discussed important issues with members of the nobility who acted as a council of advisers. This practice continued through the centuries. In 1295, King John’s grandson, Edward I, needed money to pay for yet another war in France. To gain support for the war he called together lords, lesser knights and burgesses, or town leaders. Edward explained his action by saying, “What affects all, by all should be approved.” Historians refer to this famous gathering as the Model Parliament because it established a standard for later parliaments. The Model Parliament voted on taxes and helped Edward make reforms and consolidate laws.

Reading Check

Draw Conclusions

How did the principle of rule by law, as implied in the Magna Carta, limit the power of the king?

By the mid-1300s, the knights and burgesses had gained an official role in the government. They had formed an assembly of their own—the House of Commons, which was the lower house of Parliament. Nobles and bishops met separately in the upper house, the House of Lords. Because the great majority of English people had no part in Parliament, it was not truly a democratic body. Even so, its existence limited the power of the monarch and established the principle of representation.

Parliament Grows Stronger



The House of Commons meeting in its chamber.

Over the next few centuries, Parliament’s “power of the purse,” or its right to approve certain expenses, gave it strong influence in governing. The House of Commons, which controlled those purse strings, was gradually becoming the equal of the House of Lords. Parliament increasingly viewed itself as a partner with the monarch in governing. It voted on taxes, passed laws, and advised on royal policies.

Conflict with the Monarch The struggle to limit the power of the monarchy continued over the centuries. In the 1600s, monarchs on the European continent were asserting greater authority over lords than they had during the Middle Ages. These kings claimed not just the right to rule but the right to rule with absolute power. They claimed that a king’s power came from God. This assertion was known as the theory of the **divine right** of kings. Advocates of divine right said that monarchs were chosen by God and responsible only to God.

Elizabeth I, the last Tudor monarch of England, died in 1603, without a child. She was succeeded by a new line of monarchs, the Stuarts, who were relatives from Scotland. The Stuarts were strong believers in divine right. King James VI of Scotland became James I, the first Stuart king of England. Because he came from Scotland and knew little of English laws and institutions, he clashed with Parliament over the rights of the people.

Three issues caused conflict. First, religious reformers known as Puritans were trying to change the Church of England, or Anglican Church, through legislation. They wanted to simplify, or purify, Church doctrines and ceremonies. They felt the Church of England was still too much like the Roman Catholic Church, from which it had separated. The Puritans entered an ongoing battle with James, the official head of the Church.

Second, James used the Star Chamber, a royal court of law, to administer justice. He ignored parliamentary courts, which used common law. The people began to accuse the king of tyranny. Third, and most important, was the issue of money. Elizabeth had left James a large debt. In addition, he wanted more money in order to have an extravagant court and to wage war. Parliament declined to grant him any additional funds. James then ignored Parliament and tried to raise money by other means.

Vocabulary

Tyranny is absolute power, especially when exercised harshly or unjustly.

Reading Check

Analyze Issues

Explain the controversy between James I and Parliament.



Oliver Cromwell

Parliament Overthrows the King The troubles for James exploded under his son, Charles I, who became king in 1625. Like James, Charles needed funds. He asked Parliament for money in 1628. In return for granting revenue from taxes, Parliament tried to limit royal power further. It sought to force Charles to accept the Petition of Right.

The Petition of Right went against theories of absolute monarchy. It is viewed as a landmark in constitutional history. It demanded an end to

- taxing without Parliament's consent
- imprisoning citizens illegally
- housing troops in citizens' homes
- maintaining military government in peacetime

Charles agreed to sign the petition in order to get the funds he wanted. Later, he ignored the commitments secured in the document.

Charles dismissed Parliament in 1629 and refused to convene it again. When the Scots invaded England in 1640, Charles was forced to call Parliament to get funds to defend the country. In a show of independence, Parliament refused to discuss money until Charles considered how he had wronged Parliament. Parliament passed laws to reduce the power of the monarchy, angering the king. Grievances continued to grow. Eventually, in 1642, the English Civil War broke out. Royalists, who upheld the monarchy, were opposed by antiroyalists who supported Parliament.

After years of conflict, antiroyalist forces, commanded by Puritan leader Oliver Cromwell, won control of the government. Charles was condemned as a “tyrant, murderer, and public enemy” and, in 1649, was executed.

Establishment of Constitutional Monarchy

After Charles's execution, Cromwell established a republic called the Commonwealth of England. He spent several years crushing a series of uprisings against his rule. He was opposed both by supporters of monarchy and by more extreme Puritans. Cromwell became unhappy with Parliament's failure to enact his religious, social, and economic reforms. In 1653 he dissolved Parliament and created a government called the Protectorate. He named himself Lord Protector, in effect becoming a military dictator. Cromwell's rule was increasingly authoritarian, and he became extremely unpopular. Most of the English were not unhappy at his death in 1658.

The Restoration Cromwell's son Richard succeeded him as Lord Protector. He was not a strong ruler, and the military dictatorship continued to be unpopular. Cromwell resigned in 1659. In 1660, a new Parliament restored the monarchy and invited Charles Stuart, the son of Charles I, to take the throne. This period was called the Restoration, because the monarchy was restored to the throne. Yet Parliament retained the powers it had gained during the struggles of the previous two decades. For example, the monarch could not tax without Parliament's consent.

Parliament continued to try to limit the monarchy and to expand rights. In 1679 it passed the Habeas Corpus Amendment Act. *Habeas corpus* is a

Latin term meaning “you are ordered to have the body.” When someone is arrested, the police must produce the person in court. That person must be informed of what he or she is accused of having done. The court then decides if there is reason to hold the accused. Habeas corpus prevents authorities from detaining a person wrongfully or unjustly. This right is still important in democracies today. It is mentioned in the U.S. Constitution.

Glorious Revolution When Charles II died in 1685, his younger brother became King James II. James was a Roman Catholic and a believer in the divine right of kings. English Protestants were afraid that he wanted to make Catholicism the official religion. They hoped that when James died, his Protestant daughter, Mary, would become queen. But James’s wife gave birth to a son in 1688. Because a male heir to the throne took precedence, or came before a female, it appeared that rule by Catholic monarchs would continue. This was unacceptable to most of the English people.



Parliament withdrew its support from James and offered the English throne to his daughter, Mary, and her husband, William of Orange, ruler of the Netherlands, both Protestants. William invaded England, and James fled to France. In 1689, William and Mary were crowned co-rulers of England. The **Glorious Revolution**, as it came to be called, was a turning point in English constitutional history. Parliament had established its right to limit the English monarch’s power and to control succession to the throne. England was now a **constitutional monarchy**, in which the powers of the ruler are restricted by the constitution and the laws of the country.

William and Mary became rulers of England in 1689.

English Bill of Rights In 1689, William and Mary accepted from Parliament a **bill of rights**, or formal summary of the rights and liberties believed essential to the people. The English Bill of Rights limited the monarchy’s power and protected free speech in Parliament.

The Bill of Rights did not allow the monarch to suspend laws, to tax without Parliament’s consent, or to raise an army in peacetime without approval from Parliament. It assured the people the right to petition the king to seek remedies for grievances against government. Excessive bail and cruel and unusual punishment were forbidden. And foremost, the Bill of Rights declared:

“ . . . that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, parliament ought to be held frequently.”

—English Bill of Rights

Global Patterns



Prelude to the American Revolution

James II's unpopularity extended across the Atlantic Ocean to England's American colonies.

In 1684, a royal court took away the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. James had decided to create a union of all colonies from New Jersey to New Hampshire. He appointed Sir Edmund Andros as royal governor of the Dominion of New England. Andros abolished elective assemblies, declared town meetings illegal, and collected taxes the people had never voted on.

When word of the Glorious Revolution reached America, the colonists overthrew Andros in their own version of the revolt. This action may have contributed to the colonists' belief that it was their right to overthrow an unjust king.

Reading Check
Analyze Causes
What caused
Parliament to restore
the monarchy?

England's Legacy England's Glorious Revolution and the bill of rights that it produced had a great impact. English citizens were guaranteed the rule of law, parliamentary government, individual liberties, and a constitutional monarchy. This completed a process begun with the Magna Carta. The Bill of Rights also set an example for England's American colonists when they considered grievances against Britain nearly 100 years later. These legal and political developments, along with the ideas of the Enlightenment, would give rise to democratic revolutions in America and France in the late 18th century.

Lesson 3 Assessment

1. **Organize Information** Complete the timeline with events leading to democracy in England. Which of the events listed do you think was the most important? Explain.



2. **Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.
3. **Analyze Effects** What impact did English common law have on the United States?
4. **Compare and Contrast** In what ways was England's absolute monarchy similar to and different from constitutional monarchy?
5. **Summarize** What were the main achievements of the Glorious Revolution?



The Enlightenment and Democratic Revolutions

The Big Idea

Enlightenment ideas helped bring about the American and French revolutions.

Why It Matters Now

These revolutions and the documents they produced have inspired other democratic movements.

Key Terms and People

Enlightenment
social contract
natural rights
separation of powers
representative government
federal system
United Nations

Setting the Stage

The Renaissance continued to affect European thinking throughout the 17th century. The Renaissance emphasis on the individual and on expanding human potential were especially influential. At the same time, Europeans extended the boundaries of the known world in what came to be called the Age of Exploration. New ideas and discoveries had a great impact on Europeans' understanding of themselves and the world.

Enlightenment Thinkers and Ideas

During the 17th and 18th centuries, an intellectual movement called the **Enlightenment** developed. Enlightenment thinkers tried to apply the principles of reason and the methods of science to all aspects of society. They built upon the long history of Western thought.

The philosophers of ancient Greece had established the idea of natural laws that could be discovered by careful observation and reasoned inquiry. Christianity contributed the belief in the equality of all human beings. (This belief would later lead to the principle of equal rights in society.) During the Renaissance, thinkers had focused on worldly concerns. They criticized medieval philosophy for concentrating on questions that seemed unrelated to human conditions.

The Scientific Revolution of the 1500s and 1600s was an even more immediate source of Enlightenment thought. It stimulated new ideas about society and government. The Scientific Revolution caused thinkers to rely on rational thought rather than just accept traditional beliefs. Enlightenment thinkers praised both Isaac Newton's discovery of the mechanical laws that govern the universe and the scientific method that made such a discovery possible. These thinkers wanted to apply the scientific method, which relied on observation and testing of theories, to human affairs.



10.1.2; 10.2.1; 10.2.2; 10.2.3; 10.9.8; CST.1;

HREP.4

They hoped to use reason to discover natural laws that governed society just as scientists had used it to discover physical laws.

Hobbes and Locke The English philosophers Thomas Hobbes and John Locke were important Enlightenment thinkers. Both considered human nature and the role of government. In his masterpiece of political theory, *Leviathan* (1651), Hobbes stated that people were by nature selfish and ambitious. He thought the type of government needed to control selfish ambitions was absolute monarchy.

In a kind of **social contract**, or agreement among members of society, people submitted to an authoritarian ruler to prevent disorder. Although Hobbes was a monarchist, his idea of a social contract was important for the development of democracy.

Locke held a more positive view of human nature. His book *Two Treatises of Government* was published in 1690, the year after the Glorious Revolution. Locke argued that the English people had been justified in overthrowing James II. The government had failed under James to perform its most fundamental duty—protecting the rights of the people. Locke said that all human beings had, by nature, the right to life, liberty, and property. In order to protect these **natural rights**, they formed governments. The people had an absolute right, he said, to rebel against a government that violated or failed to protect their rights.

Locke believed that a government's power comes from the people, not from God. Thus, Locke provided a strong argument against the divine right of kings. Locke's ideas about self-government inspired people and became cornerstones of modern democratic thought.

Voltaire and Rousseau Other thinkers of the Enlightenment admired the democratic nature of English institutions. They themselves, however, lived under absolute monarchs. Voltaire was a brilliant 18th-century French historian. He argued in favor of tolerance, freedom of religion, and free speech. The French government and Christianity were often targets of his criticism.

Perhaps the most freethinking of all Enlightenment philosophers was Jean-Jacques Rousseau. His most famous work was *The Social Contract* (1762). In it, Rousseau advocated democracy. Unlike Hobbes, he viewed the social contract as an agreement among free individuals to create a government that would respond to the people's will:



“The problem is to find a form of association which will defend and protect with the whole common force the person and goods of each associate, and in which each, while uniting himself with all, may still obey himself alone, and remain as free as before.”

—Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*

Vocabulary

A **freethinker** is one who rejects dogma and authority.

For Rousseau, the only legitimate, or authentic, government came from the consent of the governed. The people, he hoped, would follow their consciences to vote for, or choose, what was best for the community as a whole.

Montesquieu Another French philosopher, the Baron de Montesquieu, also recognized liberty as a natural right. In *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748), Montesquieu pointed out that any person or group in power will try to increase its power. Like Aristotle, Montesquieu searched for a way to control government. He concluded that liberty could best be safeguarded by a **separation of powers**, that is, by dividing government into three separate branches. These branches were (1) a legislature to make laws, (2) an executive to enforce them, and (3) courts to interpret them. The United States and many other democratic countries use this basic plan.

Reading Check

Summarize

What was John Locke's argument against the divine right of kings?

The Beginnings of Democracy in America

The ideas of the Enlightenment had a strong impact on Britain's North American colonies. By the mid-1700s, 13 British colonies had been established in North America. They were administered by the British government. To the north and west of Britain's colonies was New France, a French colony. In 1754, Britain and France went to war for control of North America. The war was called the French and Indian War. France and England also fought in Europe. There the conflict was known as the Seven Years' War.

Americans Protest British Policies The American colonists helped Britain defeat France in the French and Indian War, which ended in 1763. The war had been very costly, however, and further expenses lay ahead. Britain believed its colonies should pay some of the cost because they shared some of the benefits. To protect the newly acquired territory, the British needed to keep even more soldiers in America. To raise money, Britain sought to tax the colonists. The British Parliament passed the Stamp Act in 1765. It was the first in a series of such tax measures.

The colonists, who were not represented in Parliament, protested what they viewed as a violation of their rights as British citizens—there should be no taxation without representation. The colonists also resented the British for preventing them from settling on land west of the Appalachian Mountains. They felt that the French and Indian War had been fought to allow westward expansion.

Americans Win Independence The colonists opposed each tax measure Parliament imposed. Eventually, to protect their economic and political rights, the colonists united and began to arm themselves against what they called British oppression. The colonists' fight for independence from Great Britain, the American Revolution, began with the Battle of Lexington and Concord on April 19, 1775. The Americans issued a Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776. In it, they declared to King George III of England and to the world why they should be free of British rule. The ideas of the Enlightenment—especially Locke's ideas that governments



Delegates sign the new U.S. Constitution in Philadelphia in 1787.

are created by the people to protect their rights—strongly influenced the writers of the Declaration. After five more years of war, the British army surrendered in 1781. The Americans had won their independence.

For several years, the new nation existed as a loose federation, or union, of states under a plan of government called the Articles of Confederation. Americans had wanted a weak central government. They feared that a strong government would lead to the kind of tyranny they had rebelled against. The Articles established one body, the Congress. But it was too weak. It did not have the power to collect taxes to pay war debt or to finance the government.

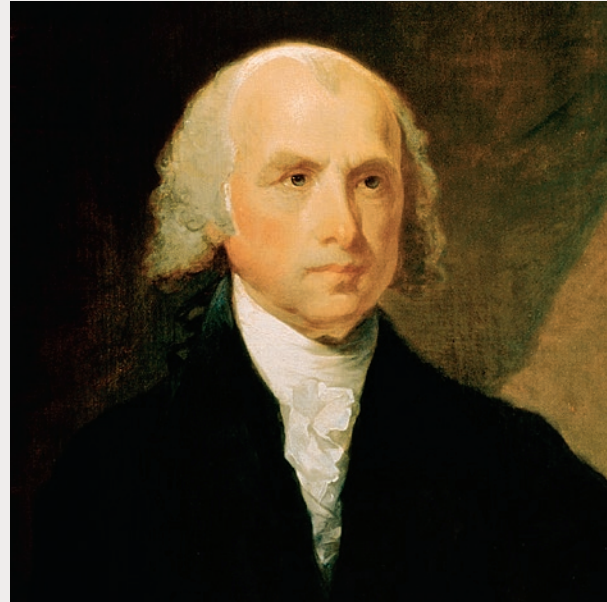
Enlightenment Ideas Shape the Constitution In the summer of 1787, a group of American leaders met in Philadelphia. They had been chosen by their state legislatures to frame, or work out, a better plan of government. The result of their efforts was the Constitution of the United States. This document has served as an inspiration and a model for new democracies around the world for more than 200 years. Creating the Constitution was not an easy task, however. There was great debate over a very basic question: Is it possible to establish a government that is strong and stable but not tyrannical? The answer that the framers reached was yes—such a government was possible if they created a system in which power and responsibility were shared in a balanced way.

James Madison

(1751–1836)

As a young man, James Madison was strongly influenced by the Enlightenment. When the Constitutional Convention was called, he spent a year preparing by reading the works of Locke, Montesquieu, Voltaire, and other Enlightenment philosophers.

Madison is known as the Father of the Constitution. He designed the plan that included the three branches of government. He also helped to create the federal system. Madison kept careful records of the debates at the convention so that future Americans could know how the delegates made their decisions. Later, he served as the fourth president of the United States.



First, the framers agreed to set up a **representative government**, one in which citizens elect representatives to make laws and policies for them. This was to ensure that the power to govern ultimately rested with the people, as advocated by Rousseau. Yet, unlike Rousseau, they selected an indirect form of government over direct democracy. The Romans, too, had chosen an indirect democracy when they established a republic.

Second, the framers created a **federal system**. The powers of government were to be divided between the federal, or central, government and the states, or local, governments.

Third, within the federal government, the framers set up a separation of powers based on the writings of Montesquieu. Power was divided among the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. This provided a system of checks and balances to prevent any branch from having too much power.

The French Revolution

During the 1700s, the impulse toward democracy had also been stirring in France. Under Louis XIV, who ruled from 1643 to 1715, France experienced the excesses of absolute monarchy. He left unresolved problems, massive debts, and growing unrest for his heirs—Louis XV and Louis XVI.

Causes of the Revolution Louis XVI came to the throne at the age of 19 in 1774. He was a well-intentioned but weak leader often dominated by his wife, Marie Antoinette. She was Austrian by birth and unpopular with the French people. France's problems, however, went deeper than the monarchy. The clergy and the nobility enjoyed many privileges. Even though the monarchy was deeply in debt, only commoners paid taxes. Many historians

Reading Check

Analyze Effects
What Enlightenment
ideas influenced the
U.S. Constitution?

say that the French Revolution was fought to balance the inequalities in French society.

During the 18th century, Enlightenment ideas caused people to rethink the structure of society. The French middle class and some nobles were strongly impressed with ideas such as the social contract and freedom of speech. They were also inspired by the example of the American people throwing off an oppressive government in the 1770s. French peasants, too, were dissatisfied and restless. There had been poor harvests in the late 1780s. The people were hungry and felt that neither the king nor the nobility cared about their plight.

Early Reforms of the Revolution In 1789, Louis XVI's government was about to go bankrupt. In desperation, Louis sought to raise taxes. He called the Estates-General into session. This representative assembly had not been called to meet since 1614. The commoners in the Estates-General, however, felt their class was not fairly represented. They left in protest and formed the National Assembly.

Eventually, members of other classes joined them. In the meantime, on July 14, 1789, the people of Paris stormed the Bastille, a much-hated prison in Paris that symbolized autocratic rule. Peasant uprisings then spread from Paris throughout the country. The fight to win democratic freedoms for the people, the French Revolution, had begun.

During the Reign of Terror, thousands of people suspected of not supporting the French Revolution were beheaded.



The National Assembly made many reforms. It adopted the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. This document was influenced by Enlightenment ideas and the American Declaration of Independence. It guaranteed the rights of “liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression” to all people. The National Assembly drafted a constitution that made France a limited monarchy. It reorganized the Catholic Church in France and redistributed its land. It reformed the court system. Believing its work done, it disbanded in 1791 so that a newly elected Legislative Assembly could take over.

Democratic Reforms Undone The new French assembly was not accepted by the king, the aristocracy, or many Catholics. Also, European countries that had absolute monarchs feared the spread of democratic ideas. They went to war with France, hoping to undo the new French republic. The country was in a state of crisis. In 1792, the royal family was imprisoned and a new, radical legislature took charge. A period called the Reign of Terror followed. People thought to be opponents of the revolution were killed for their beliefs. Included among them were the king and queen. Finally, in 1799, a military leader, Napoleon Bonaparte, took control of France and created a dictatorship.

Reading Check

Analyze Effects

What factors brought an end to the French Republic?

Not until the mid-1800s did democracy develop in France. The French Revolution illustrates why democracy is hard to achieve. It is not enough to promise equality and freedom or to have representative government. For democracy to work, a society must have rule by law, protections for both civil rights and civil liberties, tolerance of dissent, and acceptance of majority decisions by the minority.

The Struggle for Democracy Continues

It took centuries for the ideas of democracy to develop and take hold in the world. Today, most people view democracy as the preferred form of government. Even some authoritarian governments voice agreement with the idea of democracy. Generally, however, they do not follow through with democratic actions.



United Nations headquarters in New York City

The United Nations Promotes Democracy Before the end of World War II in 1945, a new international organization called the **United Nations (UN)** was established. Its goal was to work for world peace and the betterment of humanity. One branch of the UN, the General Assembly, is a kind of democracy. There, nations discuss problems, hoping to settle conflicts peacefully. Each nation has equal representation. The UN's charter is based on the traditions of democracy. The UN's authority comes from the nations of the world. The charter reaffirms basic human rights, the need for justice and the rule of law, and the desire for social progress.

One of the UN's most important contributions is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The General Assembly adopted the Declaration in 1948. This document draws on democratic ideas. It sets a worldwide standard for basic social, political, and economic rights. Included are the right to life, liberty, and security. Also stated are the rights to equal protection under the law, free movement, and free association and assembly with other people. To these rights were added social and economic rights: the rights to work, to rest and leisure, and to education. The declaration's purpose is to serve as an international code of conduct.

New Movements Toward Democracy In many places in the world, the ideals of the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights have yet to be wholly achieved. Nations are struggling to move toward more democratic government. But it is not easy to establish democratic policies where, for example, dictatorship has been the rule. Still, beginnings have been made in a number of countries.

In the early 1990s, the breakup of the Soviet Union enabled 15 new republics to assert their people's national identity and interests. In South Africa, after many years of apartheid, or racial segregation, a democratic, all-race government was established. In 2002, East Timor regained its

Global Patterns



Revolutions of 1989

Democratic revolutions swept Eastern Europe in 1989. Reforms in the Soviet Union opened the door for more freedoms throughout Communist-controlled Eastern Europe. In April 1989, Poland held its first free election since the Communists seized control during World War II.

Hungary also launched a sweeping reform program. It then began to admit East Germans who claimed to be tourists but actually planned to escape to freedom. Soon, demonstrations began in East Germany, leading to the tearing down of the Berlin Wall. Eventually, the Communists fell from power, and East and West Germany voted to reunite.

Reading Check

Form Opinions

Why do you think people and nations continue to struggle toward more democratic government? Explain.

independence following a UN-sponsored referendum. It had been seized nearly 30 years earlier by Indonesia.

There is no guarantee democracy can be achieved in any particular time and place. Nor is it guaranteed that, once achieved, democracy will not be lost if people are not constantly watchful. Yet, as you study history, you will see that the idea of democracy has survived wars and oppression. It is an idea whose strength comes from the people.

Lesson 4 Assessment

- 1. Organize Information** List the important Enlightenment thinkers and their ideas. Explain which Enlightenment idea contributed most to the democratic revolutions in America and France.

I. Enlightenment Thinkers and Ideas

A.
B.

II. The Beginnings of Democracy in America

A.
B.

III. The French Revolution

- 2. Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.
- 3. Analyze Effects** How did the writers of the U.S. Constitution adapt the political theories of the Enlightenment?
- 4. Compare and Contrast** In what ways was the French Revolution similar to and different from the American Revolution?
- 5. Develop Historical Perspective** Why has the idea of democracy survived wars and oppression?

Module 1 Assessment

Key Terms and People

For each term or name below, write a sentence explaining its significance in the rise of democratic ideas.

- | | |
|---------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. aristocracy | 5. due process of law |
| 2. monarchy | 6. divine right |
| 3. direct democracy | 7. social contract |
| 4. republic | 8. representative government |
-

Main Ideas

Use your notes and the information in the module to answer the following questions.

The Legacy of Ancient Greece and Rome

1. What changes did Pericles introduce into Greek government to make it more democratic?
2. How does an aristocracy differ from an oligarchy?
3. What are the four basic principles of Roman law?
4. How is a republic different from direct democracy?
5. What does the phrase “government of laws, not of men” mean?

Judeo-Christian Tradition

6. What did the tradition teach about the responsibilities of the individual and community to combat injustice?
7. How are the Ten Commandments different from the laws of other groups?
8. Which of the Christian teachings supports the central idea of democracy?
9. How did the Reformation contribute to the growth of democracy?

Democracy Develops in England

10. How does common law differ from Roman law?
11. Name two basic individual rights guaranteed in the Magna Carta.
12. What important legal practice dates back to Henry II?
13. Why did Parliament invite William and Mary to rule England in 1689?
14. In what three ways was the power of the English monarch limited by the English Bill of Rights?

The Enlightenment and Democratic Revolutions

15. What question did the framers of the American Constitution have to deal with, and what was the answer?
16. What is required in a society for democracy to work?
17. What were natural rights?
18. What was Rousseau’s idea of government?

Module 1 Assessment, continued

Critical Thinking

1. **Summarize** In a chart, show the Enlightenment ideas about government with which each philosopher is connected.
2. **Evaluate** For what reasons would a nation in today's world choose representative democracy rather than direct democracy?
3. **Synthesize** What do the basic ideals of monotheistic religions and the ideals of democracy have in common?
4. **Draw Conclusions** How did the Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, and the English Bill of Rights advance the ideals of democracy?
5. **Analyze Effects** What impact did Enlightenment ideas have on the spread of democracy in the 18th century?
6. **Summarize** What contributions did Voltaire make to Enlightenment thought?
7. **Draw Conclusions** How did the printing press contribute to Renaissance learning?

Engage with History

In countries around the world today, people would risk arrest, jail, or even death to have or preserve democracy. Imagine yourself as a television news reporter. Write at least five questions that you would ask a young supporter of a pro-democracy movement in our world today. Compare your questions with those of at least one other person in your class.

Focus on Writing

Write an editorial supporting or rejecting the idea that the only way to achieve democracy in a country that does not have a democratic government is to wage a revolution. Consider the following:

- No established government willingly gives up power.
- Complete change of government will only occur with the support of the people.
- Rule of law is basic to any democratic government.

Multimedia Activity

Democratic ideas continue to have enormous appeal throughout the world. During recent decades, democratic institutions were adopted in Brazil, Mexico, South Africa, and some countries of the former Soviet Union. Working with a team, use the Internet or your library to research changes that have taken place in the countries listed above. Then create a database comparing steps toward democracy in each country. The database might include the following:

- adoption of democratic election practices
- enforcement of laws regarding freedom of speech and the press
- peaceful transfer of power to democratically elected leaders
- the military's retreat from politics

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