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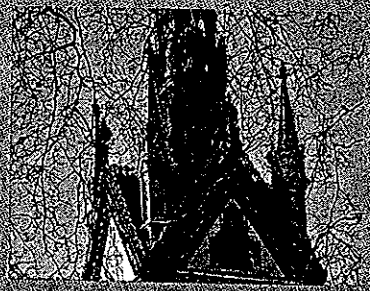
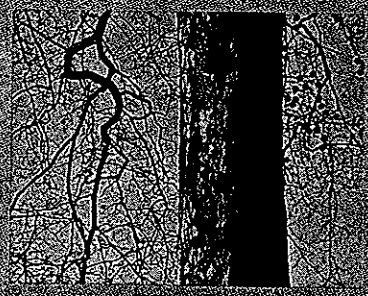
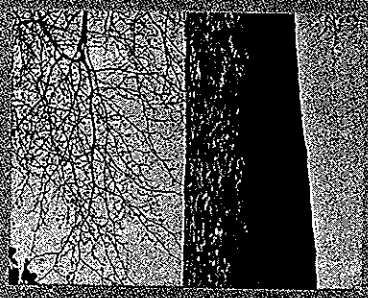
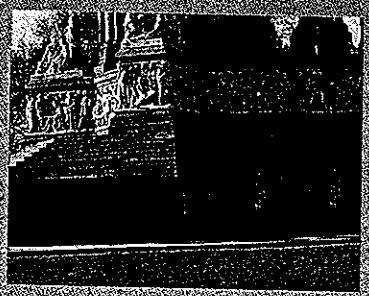
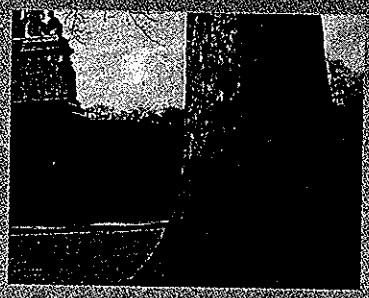
Chapter 2

Britain: The Impact of the Past

A Polish student I once knew at UCLA had to write a paper for her English class on what she most wished for her native land. She took the question as a geographical one and wrote: "I wish Poland be island like England." She would like to fix Poland's problem, its location on a plain between large, hostile neighbors (Germany and Russia) that has given it a sad history of invasion and partition.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

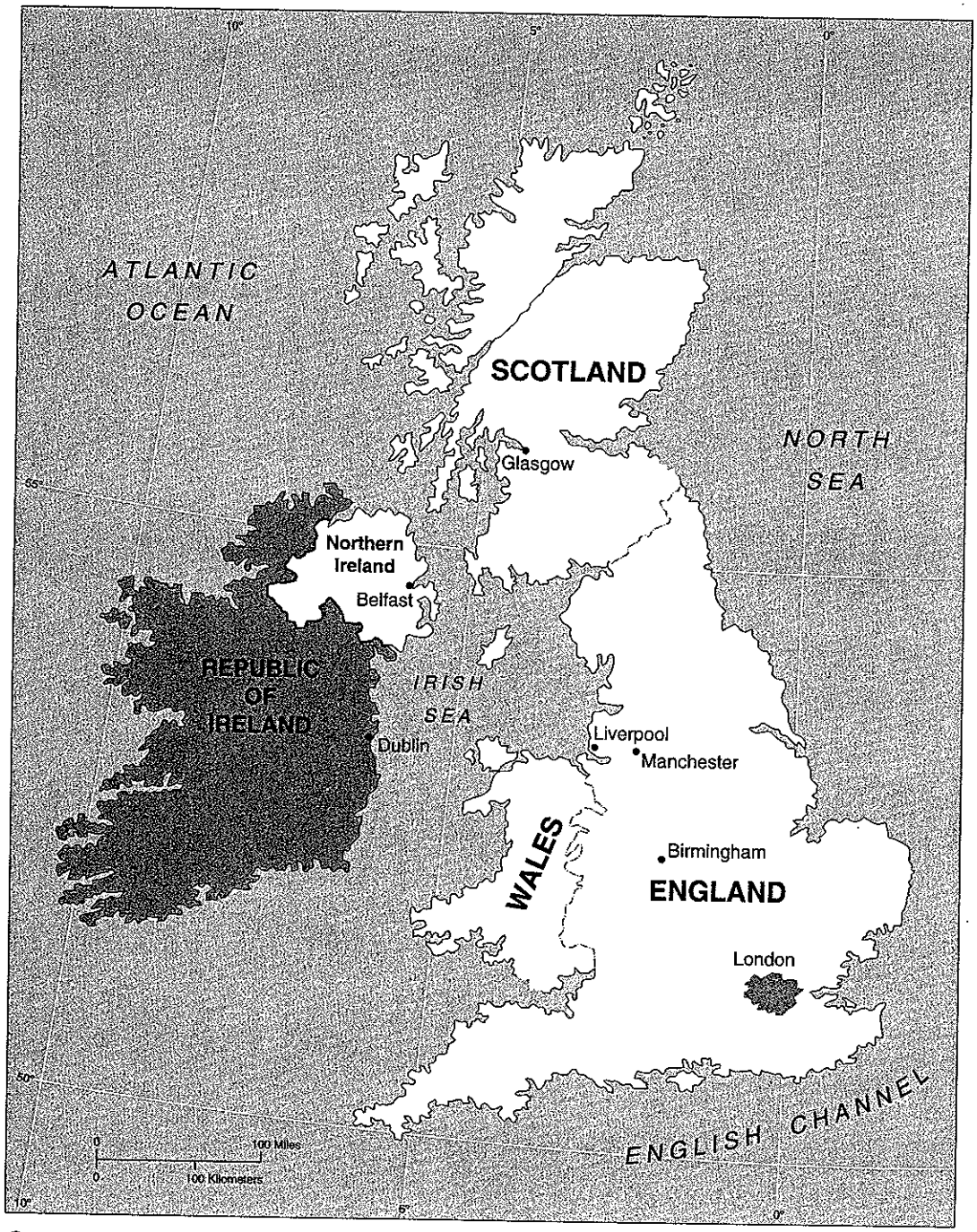
1. How has geography influenced British development?
2. What does the Union Jack stand for?
3. What did the Magna Carta preserve?
4. What is the Common Law?
5. When did Parliament eclipse the monarch?
6. How did Puritanism influence democracy?
7. How did democracy come to Britain?
8. What was the difference between Hobbes and Locke?
9. How are Britain and Sweden so comparable?

England long ago was invaded many times. For a millennium and a half, waves of **Celts**, Romans, Angles and Saxons, Danes, and finally **Normans** washed upon Britain. One tribe of Celts, the Britons, gave their name to the entire island. Britishers, like most peoples, are not of one stock but of many.

The fierce Germanic tribesmen who rowed across the North Sea during the third to fifth centuries A.D. brought over Anglisch, what we call Old English, the language of the Angles, close to the Frisian of the Netherlands and German coast. "England" was simply the land of the Angles. The Angles and Saxons slowly moved across England, destroying towns and massacring inhabitants. The Celts were pushed back to present-day Wales and Scotland, which became a "Celtic fringe" to England. Some Celts fled to France and gave their name to Brittany. Preserving their distinct identity and languages (Cymric in Wales, Gaelic in Scotland), Britain's Celts never quite forgot what the newer arrivals did to them.

Other invaders followed. In the ninth century, Danish Vikings held much of eastern England (the Danelaw), but they were eventually absorbed. Another group of Vikings had meanwhile settled in France; these Norsemen (Normans) gave their name to Normandy. In 1066, with the English throne in dispute, William of Normandy put forward his own dubious claim and invaded with a force gathered from all over France. He defeated the English King Harold at the famous battle of Hastings, and England changed dramatically.

William the Conqueror replaced the entire Saxon ruling class with Norman nobles, who earned their **fiefdoms** by military service. At first the Norman conquerors spoke only French, so vast numbers of French words soon enriched the English language. Backed by military power, administration was better and tighter. William ordered a complete inventory of all lands and population in his new domain; the resulting Domesday Book provided a detailed tool for governance. The **Exchequer**—the name derived from the French word for a checkered counting table—became the king's powerful treasury minister, a title and office that still exists. Furthermore, since William and his descendants ruled both England and parts of France, England was tied for centuries to the affairs of the Continent.



GREAT BRITAIN

MAGNA CARTA

The Normans brought to England a political system that had first emerged on the Continent—*feudalism*. The feudal system was a contractual agreement in which lords would grant vassals land and protection while the vassal would support the lord with military service. Feudalism appears when central authority breaks down and a money economy disappears, for then land and fighting ability take on tremendous importance. The collapse of the Roman Empire meant kings could survive and thrive only if they had enough lords and knights to fight for them. The lords and knights in turn got land. Power here was a two-way street: The king needed the nobles and vice versa.

The **mixed monarchy** of the Middle Ages was a balance between king and nobles. The nobles of Aragon expressed it bluntly in their oath to a new monarch: "We who are as good as you swear to you, who are no better than we, to accept you as our king and sovereign lord provided you observe all our statutes and laws; and if not, no."

Centuries of English history were dominated by the struggle to make sure the king did not exceed his feudal bounds and become an absolute monarch, which happened in most of Europe. This English struggle laid the foundation for limited, representative government, democracy, and civil rights, even though the participants at the time had no such intent.

The Great Charter the barons forced on King John at Runnymede in 1215 is not so far-reaching or idealistic; it never mentions liberty or democracy. The barons and top churchmen simply wanted to stop the king from encroaching on feudal customs, rights, and laws by which they held sway in their localities. In this sense the **Magna Carta**, one of the great documents of democracy, was feudal and reactionary. It did, however, limit the monarch's powers and make sure he stayed within the law.

The Magna Carta meant the king stayed in balance with the nobles, thus preventing either despotism or anarchy, the twin ills of the Continent, where countries either went to *absolutism*, as in France, or broke up into small principalities, as in Germany. British, and by extension, American democracy owes a lot to the stubborn English barons who stood up for their feudal rights.

Celts Pre-Roman inhabitants of Europe. (See page 19.)

Normans Vikings who settled in and gave their name to Normandy, France. (See page 19.)

fiefdom Land granted by a king to a noble in exchange for support. (See page 19.)

Exchequer Britain's treasury ministry. (See page 19.)

the Continent British term for mainland Europe, implying they are not part of it.

mixed monarchy King balanced by nobles.

Magna Carta 1215 agreement to preserve rights of English nobles.

GEOGRAPHY

INVADABILITY

Britain is very hard to invade. The last successful invasion of England (by the Normans) was in 1066. The barrier that is posed by the English Channel has kept Spaniards, French, and Germans from invading and conquering Britain. Politically, this has meant that England has been able to develop its own institutions without foreign interference, a luxury not enjoyed by most Continental lands.

Militarily, it has meant that England rarely has needed or had a large army, of great import in the seventeenth century when British kings were unable to tame Parliament because the monarch had few soldiers.

THE RISE OF PARLIAMENT

During the same century as the Magna Carta, English kings started calling to London, by now the capital, two to four knights from each shire (roughly a county) and a similar number of **burghers** from the towns to consult with the king on matters of the realm. These kings were not latent democrats but needed to raise taxes and get the support of those who had local power. The French holdings of English kings meant that they had to fight wars in France. These were expensive, and the only way to raise revenues to pay for them was by inviting local notables to participate, at least symbolically, in the affairs of state. Little did the kings know they were founding an institution in the thirteenth century that would overshadow the monarchy by the seventeenth century.

burghers Originally, town dwellers; by extension, the middle class; French *bourgeoisie.*

Parliament When capitalized, Britain's legislature, now usually meaning the House of Commons.

Commons Lower house of Parliament; the elected, important chamber.

Lords Upper house of Parliament; less important than *Commons.*

Parliament began as an extension of the king's court, but over the centuries took on a life of its own. Knights and burghers formed what we call a lower house, the House of **Commons**. Those of noble rank, along with the top churchmen, formed what we call an upper house, the House of **Lords**. In time, a leading member of the Commons, its Speaker, became its representative to the king. In order to conduct business unhampered, parliamentary privileges developed to prevent the arrest of members.

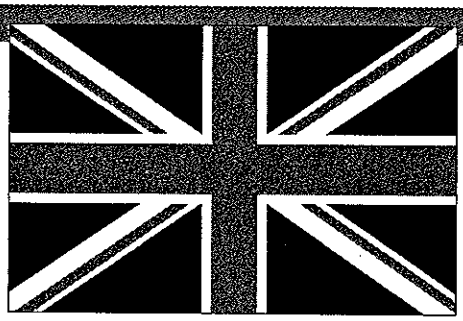
The House of Commons at this stage was not "representative," at least not in our sense. It represented only a few males who were locally wealthy or powerful. But more important than fair representation (which came in the nineteenth century), Parliament continued the blocking mechanism of the Magna Carta: It diffused power and prevented the king from getting too much.

GEOGRAPHY

THE UNITED KINGDOM

The full and official name of Britain is the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. "Great Britain" refers to the whole island, which includes Wales and Scotland as well as England.

The British flag, the "Union Jack," stands for three saints representing different parts of the United Kingdom. The larger red cross is the Cross of St. George of England, the diagonal white cross is that of St. Andrew of Scotland, and the thinner, diagonal red cross is that of St. Patrick of Ireland. (Note this cross is off-center.) Now some English nationalists display just the English flag (red cross on a white field). In Edinburgh, capital of Scotland, most of the flags are now Scottish



(diagonal white cross on a blue field), an indication that the United Kingdom has grown less united. Symbols matter.

HENRY VIII

Parliament got a major boost during the reign of Henry VIII (1509–1547), when Henry declared a partnership with Parliament in his struggle against Rome. In addition to having to deal with growing tensions between the **Vatican** and London—the universal Church on the one hand and new religious ideas on the other—Henry needed the pope to grant him a divorce. His marriage to Catherine of Aragon had failed to produce the male heir Henry thought he needed to ensure stability after him. (Ironically, it was his daughter Elizabeth who went down in history as one of England's greatest monarchs.)

Vatican Headquarters of the Roman Catholic church.

Anglican Church of England; Episcopalian in America.

anticlerical Favoring getting the Roman Catholic church out of politics.

Common Law System of judge-made law developed in England.

precedent Legal reasoning based on previous cases.

The pope refused to grant the divorce—Catherine's Spanish relatives controlled the papacy at that time—so Henry summoned a parliament in 1529 and kept it busy for seven years, passing law after law to get England out of the Catholic church and the Catholic church out of England. At the head of the new **Anglican** church was an Englishman, who granted Henry his divorce in 1533. Henry married a total of six wives (and had two of them beheaded) but was not lusting for young brides; he was desperate for a male heir.

The impact of Henry VIII's break with Rome was major. England was cut loose from Catholic guidance and direction. Countries that stayed Catholic—such as France, Spain, and Italy—experienced wrenching splits for centuries between pro-church and **anticlerical** forces. England (and Sweden) avoided this problematic division because from early on the state was stronger than the church and therefore controlled it. This meant that in England it was far easier to *secularize* society and politics than in Roman Catholic countries, where the church was still powerful.

COMPARISON

COMMON LAW

One of England's contributions to civilization is the **Common Law**, the legal system now also practiced in the United States (but not Louisiana), Canada, Australia, and many other countries once administered by Britain. Common Law grew out of the customary usage of the Germanic tribal laws of the Angles and Saxons, which stressed the rights of free men. It developed on the basis of **precedent** set by earlier decisions and thus has been called "judge-made law." After the Normans conquered England, they found the purely local nature of this law was too fragmented, so they set up central courts to systematize the local laws and produce a "common" law for all parts of England—hence the name.

Common Law is heavily case law and differs from code law, which is used by most of the Continent (and Scotland) and of the world, that emphasizes fixed legal codes rather than precedent and case-study. Code law is essentially Roman Law that was kept alive in the Canon Law of the Catholic Church, revived by modernizing Continental monarchs, and updated in 1804 into the *Code Napoléon*. Compared to code law, Common Law is flexible and adapts gradually with new cases.

landlocked Country with no seacoast.

Parliament became more important, as Henry needed it for his break with Rome. In 1543 Henry praised Parliament as an indispensable part of his government: "We be informed by our judges that we at no time stand so highly in our estate royal as in the time of parliament, wherein we as head and you as members are conjoined and knit together into one body politic." Henry unknowingly started an institutional shift from monarch to parliament. A century later Parliament beheaded an English king.

PARLIAMENT VERSUS KING

In the late fifteenth century several European monarchs expanded their powers and undermined the old feudal *mixed monarchy*. The weakened power of Rome in the sixteenth century gave kings more independence and introduced the notion that kings ruled by divine right, that is, that they received their authority directly from God without the pope as intermediary. Political theorists searched for the seat of *sovereignty* and concluded it must lie in one person, the monarch. This gave rise to absolutism. By 1660 absolute monarchs governed most lands of Europe—but not England.

The seventeenth century brought uninterrupted turmoil to England: religious splits, civil war, a royal beheading, and a military dictatorship. The net winner, when all of the dust had settled, was Parliament.

Trouble started when James I brought the Stuart dynasty from Scotland to take over the English throne after the death of Elizabeth I—the last Tudor—in 1603. James united the crowns of Scotland and England, but they remained separate countries until the 1707 Act of Union. James I held the absolutist notions then common throughout Europe; he did not like to share power and he thought that existing institutions should simply support the king. This brought him into conflict with Puritanism, an extreme Protestant movement that aimed to reform the "popish" elements out of the Anglican church. James preferred the church to stay just the way it was, for it was one of the pillars of his regime. Because of James's harassment, some Puritans ran away to Massachusetts.

GEOGRAPHY

SEACOAST

A country with outlet to the sea has a major economic advantage over **landlocked** countries. Sea transport is cheap and does not require crossing neighboring countries. Usable natural harbors also help. Peter the Great battled for years to obtain Russian outlets on the Baltic and Black Seas. Atlantic Europe had an incredible advantage from the start. England's Atlantic orientation contributed to its empire, early industrialization, and prosperity.

By now Parliament had started to feel equal with the king and even, in the area of raising revenues, superior. Hard up for cash, James tried to impose taxes without the consent of Parliament, which grew angry over the move. James's son, Charles I, took over in 1625 and fared even worse. He took England into wars with Spain and France; both wars were unsuccessful and increased the king's desperation for money. Charles tried to play the role of a Continental absolute monarch, but the English people and Parliament would not let him.

When the **Royalists** fought the **Parliamentarians** in the English Civil War (1642–1648), the latter proved stronger, for the Parliamentarian cause was aided by Puritans and by the growing merchant class. The Parliamentarians created a "New Model Army," which trounced the Royalists. (As previously mentioned, the king had no standing army at his disposal.) Charles was captured, tried by Parliament, and beheaded in 1649.

Royalists Supporters of the king in English Civil War.

Parliamentarians Supporters of Parliament.

republic Country not headed by a monarch.

Commonwealth A republic.

republican In its original sense, favoring getting rid of monarchy.

Levellers Radicals during English Civil War who argued for equality and "one man, one vote."

Cromwell's Commonwealth

From 1649 to 1660 England had no king. Who, then, was to rule? The only organized force left was the army, led by Oliver Cromwell. Briefly, England became a **republic** called the **Commonwealth**, led by Cromwell. Discord grew. To restore order, Cromwell in 1653 was designated Lord Protector, a sort of uncrowned king, and imposed a military dictatorship on England. When Cromwell died in 1658, most Englishmen had had enough of turbulent republicanism and longed for stability and order. In 1660, Parliament invited Charles II, son of the beheaded king, to return from Dutch exile and reclaim the throne. The English monarchy was restored, but now Parliament was much stronger and demanded respect.

Democracy

"One Man, One Vote"

Among the antiroyalists were **republicans**, called **Levellers**, who sought political equality. Soldiers in the New Model Army argued that people like themselves—tradesmen, artisans, and farmers—should have the vote. They were influenced by Puritanism, which taught that all men were equal before God and needed no spiritual or temporal superiors to guide them. (This Puritan influence also powerfully impacted American democracy.)

One group of Levellers, meeting in Putney in 1647, even went so far as to advocate "one man, one vote." This radical idea was a good two centuries ahead of its time, and the more conservative forces of England, including Cromwell, rejected it out of hand. Still, the Putney meeting had introduced the idea of the universal franchise—that is, giving everybody the right to vote.

THE "GLORIOUS REVOLUTION"

Charles II knew he could not be an absolute monarch; instead, he tried to manipulate Parliament discreetly, but religion tripped him up. Charles was pro-Catholic and secretly ready to proclaim allegiance to Rome. In 1673 he issued the Declaration of Indulgence, lifting laws against Catholics and non-Anglican Protestants. Parliament saw this act of tolerance toward minority religions as an illegal return to Catholicism and blocked it. Anti-Catholic hysteria swept England with fabricated stories of popish plots to take over the country.

prime minister Chief of government in parliamentary systems.

minister Head of a major department (ministry) of government.

When Charles II died in 1685, his openly Catholic brother James took the throne as James II. Again a Declaration of Indulgence was issued, and again Parliament took it as a return to both Catholicism and absolutism. Parliament dumped James II (but let him escape) and invited his Protestant daughter Mary and her Dutch husband William to be England's queen and king. This was the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688: A major shift of regime took place with scarcely a shot fired. (In 1690 William beat James in Ireland, but that was after the Revolution.) In 1689 a "Bill of Rights" (unlike its U.S. namesake) spelled out Parliament's relationship to the Crown: no laws or taxes without Parliament's assent.

The majority of Englishmen approved. If it was not clear before, it was now: Parliament was supreme and could invite and dismiss monarchs. In 1714 Parliament invited George I from Hanover in Germany to become king; the present royal family is descended from him. Since that time, the British monarch has been increasingly a figurehead, one who reigns but does not rule.

THE RISE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

One of the consequences of bringing George I to England was that he could not govern even if he wanted to. He spoke no English and preferred Hanover to London. So he turned to an institutional device that had been slowly developing and gave it executive power—the cabinet, composed of ministers and presided over by a first or prime minister. Headed by Sir Robert Walpole from 1721 to 1742, the cabinet developed nearly into its present form, but lacked two important present-day features: The **prime minister** could not pick his **ministers** (that was reserved for the

DEMOCRACY

"POWER CORRUPTS"

Nineteenth-century British historian and philosopher Lord Acton distilled the lessons of centuries of English political development in his famous remark: "Power tends to corrupt; absolute power corrupts absolutely." Acton feared the human tendency to abuse power. His insight is absolutely accurate—check today's news—and underlies democratic thinking.

king), and the cabinet was not responsible—meaning, in its original sense, "answerable"—to Parliament.

Absolutism had one last gasp. George III packed Commons with his supporters and governed with the obedient Lord North as his prime minister. One unforeseen result was the U.S. Declaration of Independence, which sought to regain the traditional rights of Englishmen and spurred a revolution against the too-powerful king. Following this British defeat, William Pitt the Younger restored the

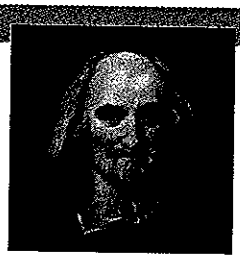
state of nature Humans before civilization.

civil society Humans after becoming civilized; modern usage: associations between family and government.

conservatism Ideology of preserving existing institutions and usages.

PERSONALITIES

HOBBES, LOCKE, BURKE



Thomas Hobbes

John Locke

Edmund Burke

Thomas Hobbes lived through the upheavals of the English Civil War in the seventeenth century and opposed them for making people insecure and frightened. Hobbes imagined that life in "the **state of nature**," before "**civil society**" was founded, must have been terrible. Every man would have been the enemy of every other man, a "war of each against all." Humans would live in savage squalor with "no arts; no letters; no society; and which is worst of all, continual fear, and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short." To escape this horror, people would—out of self-interest—rationally join together to form civil society. Society thus arises naturally out of fear. People would also gladly submit to a king, even a bad one, in order to prevent anarchy.

John Locke saw the same upheavals but came to less harsh conclusions. Locke theorized that the original state of nature was not so bad; people lived in equality and tolerance with one another. But they could not secure their property: There was no money, title deeds, or courts of law, so their property was uncertain. To remedy this, they contractually formed civil society and thus secured "life, liberty, and property." Locke is to property rights as Hobbes is to fear of violent death. Americans are the children of Locke; notice the American emphasis on "the natural right to property."

Edmund Burke, a Whig member of Parliament, was horrified at the French Revolution, warning it would end up a military dictatorship (it did). The French revolutionists had broken the historical continuity, institutions, and symbols that restrain people from bestial behavior, argued Burke. Old institutions, such as the monarchy and church, must be pretty good because they have evolved over centuries. If you scrap them, society breaks down and leads to tyranny. Burke understood that **conservatism** means constant, but never radical, change. Wrote Burke: "A state without the means of some change is without the means of its conservation." Progress comes not from chucking out the old but from gradually modifying the parts that need changing while preserving the overall structure, keeping the form but reforming the contents.

Whigs Faction of Parliament that became Liberal party.

Tories Faction of Parliament that became Conservative party.

cabinet and prime minister to power and made them responsible only to Commons, not to the king. This began the tradition—which has never been written into law—that the "government" consists of the leader of the largest party in the House of Commons along with other people he or she picks. As party chief, top member of Parliament, and head of government combined, the prime minister became the focus of political power in Britain.

THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF PARLIAMENT

Parliament was supreme by the late eighteenth century, but it was not democratic or representative. In the eighteenth century, parties began to form. The labels Whig and Tory first appeared under Charles II, connoting his opposition and his supporters, respectively. Both were derisive names: The original Whigs were Scottish bandits, and the original Tories were Irish bandits. At first these proto-parties were simply parliamentary caucuses, Tories representing the landed aristocracy, Whigs the merchants and manufacturers. Only in the next century did they take root in the electorate.

COMPARISON

THE ORIGINS OF TWO WELFARE STATES

Both Britain and Sweden are welfare states, Sweden more so than Britain. How did this come to be? In comparing their histories, we get some clues.

- Swedish King Gustav Vasa broke with Rome in the 1520s, a few years earlier than Henry VIII. In setting up churches that were dependent on their respective states—Lutheran in Sweden, Anglican in England—the two countries eliminated religion as a source of opposition to government.
- Because of this, politics in both lands avoided getting stuck in a clerical-anticlerical dispute over the role of the Church, as happened in France, Italy, and Spain. In Britain and Sweden, the main political split was along class lines, working class versus middle class.
- Britain and Sweden both developed efficient and uncorrupt civil services, which are an absolute essential for effective welfare programs.
- Workers in both countries organized strong, but not Marxist, labor unions, the TUC in Britain and LO in Sweden.
- These two labor movements gave rise to moderate, worker-oriented parties, Labour in Britain and the Social Democrats in Sweden, which over time got numerous welfare measures passed. One big difference between the labor movements is that the Social Democrats have been in power in Sweden for all but a few years since 1932 and have implemented a more thorough—and more expensive—welfare state.

During the nineteenth century, a two-party system emerged. The Whigs grew into the Liberal party and the Tories into the Conservative party (still nicknamed Tories). Parliamentarians were not ordinary people. The House of Lords was limited to hereditary peers. The House of Commons, despite its name, was the home of gentry, landowners, and better-off people, who often won by bribing the few voters. This has been termed **Whig democracy**, and it is standard in the opening decades of democratic development, as in the pre-Jackson United States. Mass participation usually comes later.

Whig democracy Democracy with limited participation, typical of democracy's initial phases.

Reform Acts Series of laws expanding the British electoral franchise.

welfare state Political system that redistributes wealth from rich to poor, standard in West Europe.

By the time of the American and French revolutions in the late eighteenth century, however, Parliament noticed demands to expand the electorate. People talked about democracy and the right to vote. Under the impact of the industrial revolution and economic growth, two powerful new social classes arose—the middle class and the working class. Whigs and Tories, both elite in their makeup, at first fought demands for the mass vote.

Gradually, though, the Whigs saw that political stability required bringing some ordinary Britons into politics to give them a stake in the system. Furthermore, they realized that the party that supported broadening the franchise would most likely win the new voters. After much resistance by Tories in Commons and by the entire House of Lords, Parliament passed the **Reform Act** of 1832, which allowed more of the middle class to vote but still only expanded the electorate by about half, to about 7 percent of adults. The Reform Act established the principle, though, that Commons ought to be representative of, and responsive to, the broad mass of citizens, not just the notables. In 1867, it was the Conservatives' turn. Under Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli, the Second Reform Act doubled the size of the electorate, giving about 16 percent of adult Britons the vote. In 1884, the Third Reform Act added farm workers to the electorate and thus achieved nearly complete male suffrage. Women finally got the vote in 1918.

The interesting point about the British electorate is that its growth was slow. New elements were added to the voting rolls only gradually, giving Parliament time to assimilate the forces of mass politics without going through an upheaval. The gradual tempo also meant citizens got the vote when they were ready for it. In some countries where the universal franchise—one person, one vote—was instituted early, the result was fake democracy, as crafty officials rigged the voting of people who did not understand electoral politics. Spain, for example, got universal suffrage in the 1870s, but election results were set in advance. By the time the British working class got the vote, they were ready to use it intelligently.

With the expansion of the voting franchise, political parties turned from parliamentary clubs into modern parties. They had to win elections involving thousands of voters. This meant organization, programs, promises, and continuity. The growth of the electorate forced parties to become vehicles for democracy.

The Rise of the Welfare State

By the beginning of the twentieth century, with working men having the right to vote, British parties had to pay attention to demands for welfare measures—public education, housing, jobs, and medical care—that the gentlemen of the Liberal and Conservative parties had ignored. Expansion of the electoral franchise led to the growth of the **welfare state**.

One force pushing for welfare measures was the new Labour party, founded in 1900. At first, Labour worked with the Liberals—the "Lib-Lab" coalition—but by the end of World War I, Labour pushed the Liberals into the weak third-party status they have languished in to this day. Unlike most Continental socialists, few British Labourites were Marxists. Instead, they combined militant trade unionism with intellectual social democracy to produce a pragmatic, gradualist ideology that sought to level class differences in Britain. As one observer put it, the British Labour party "owed more to Methodism than to Marx."

The British labor movement of the late nineteenth century was tough, a quality it long retained. Resentful of being treated like dirt, many working men went into politics with a militancy that still characterizes some of their heirs. In the 1926 General Strike, the trade unions attempted to bring the entire British economy to a halt to gain their wage demands. They failed.

Labour was briefly and weakly in power under Ramsay MacDonald in the 1920s, and then won resoundingly in 1945 and implemented an ambitious welfare program plus state takeover of utilities, railroads, coal mines, and much heavy manufacturing. Since then, the chief quarrel in British politics has been between people who like the welfare state and state ownership and people who do not.

KEY TERMS

Anglican (p. 23)
anticlerical (p. 23)
burghers (p. 22)
Celts (p. 21)
civil society (p. 27)
Common Law (p. 23)
Commons (p. 22)
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