**The Divine Right of Kings and the Glorious Revolution**

**The Divine Right of Kings**

There is some debate as to whether there is actually a ‘theory’ of the divine right of kings

Monarchy is divinely ordained and ‘natural’

Kings are accountable to God alone

Not older, but rather a reaction to resistance

Royal Authority natural like paternal authority

**King James VI / I (1566-1625)**

*Basilicon Doron* and *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies* (1598)

A free monarch has unlimited power over the people

Kings are ‘breathing images of God upon earth’

‘God made you a little God to rule over man’

‘Mystery’ of kingship

Kings are the oldest form of government

Rule must be hereditary to avoid anarchy at succession (own youth)

‘No Bishop, No King’

Need for King to have authority over the Church

**The British Civil Wars**

**The First Civil War (1642-1646)**

**The Second Civil War (1648-1649)**

**The Third Civil War (1649-1651)**

**The Commonwealth (1649–1653)**

**Protectorate (1653–1659) of Oliver Cromwell – a sort of Parliamentary dictatorship**

**The Restoration (1659-1661)**

**1680 The Exclusion Crisis**

**1688-1690 The Glorious Revolution**

**The Levellers**

**Who were the Levellers? What did they seek to level?**

**The Levellers had a relatively short active life between 1646 and 1649. They never attained political power.**

**Religion: The Levellers were non-conformist Protestants.**

**Leveller Leaders**

**Richard Overton William Walwyn John Wildman**

**John Lilburne**

**First Civil War 1642-1646**

**A Remonstrance of Many Thousand Citizens to their own House of Commons (July 1646)**

**An Arrow Against All Tyrants (October 1646)**

**The Large Petition of the Levellers (March 1647)**

**The Case of the Army Truly Stated (9th October 1647)**

**The Agreement of the People (28th October 1647)**

**The Putney Debates 28th October – 9th November 1647**

In the Putney Debates Thomas Rainborough famously states that:

‘For really I think that the poorest he that is in England hath a life to live, as the greatest he; and therefore truly, sir, I think it’s clear, that every man that is to live under a government ought first by his own consent to put himself under that government; and I do think that the poorest man in England is not at all bound in a strict sense to that government that he hath not had a voice to put himself under….’

**Second Civil War 1648-1649**

**England’s New Chains Pts. 1-2 (February/ March 1649)**

**A Manifestation (April 1649)**

**The Second Agreement of the People (May 1649)**

**The Diggers and Gerald Winstanley**

**Core Leveller Demands**

**Rump Parliament to be dissolved and replaced by annual fixed term parliaments**

**Term limits for MPs under a reformed system of representation**

**Removal of all privileges – law applies equally to all**

**Creation of a body of constitutional law beyond Parliament**

**Charge of treason on those who try to pervert the constitution**

**Removal of King and Lords prerogatives**

**Complete religious toleration (apart from Catholics) and total freedom of speech**

**Universal franchise for freemen**

**End of forced military service**

**Law preventing freemen being examined against themselves**

**Reform of the legal system to simplify and streamline court process**

**Defence of Jury trial against High Courts, and reform of sentencing**

**End debt imprisonment / Provision to prevent beggary**

**Reduction of taxation and abolition of religious taxes**

**Freedom to trade without interference**

**Latterly they included an assertion that Parliament bind itself against levelling property.**

**James Harrington (1611-1677)**

*Oceana* (1656) takes the form of a utopia.

The idea is similar in spirit if not in method to Hobbes: that science can be brought to bear to solve the problems of political life.

The underlying thought in Harrington’s work is that the civil war was caused by a shift in the ownership of property in land. Government must conform itself to the distribution of property.

The political institutions

1) The agrarian law

2) Rotation in office – frequent elections and term limits

3) Ballot or secret elections

4) Separation of powers

Harrington’s chief contribution was his belief that a proper organisation of political institutions would prevent disorder. ‘Good orders will make us good men’ (64)

**John Milton (1608-1674)**

*Readie and Easie Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth* (1660)

*The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* (1649)

*A Defence of the English People* (1651)

***Areopagitica* (1644)**

‘Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties.’

‘as good almost kill a Man as kill a good Book; who kills a Man kills a reasonable creature, Gods Image; but hee who destroyes a good Booke, kills reason it selfe, kills the Image of God as it were in the eye.’

‘Read any books what ever come to thy hands, for thou art sufficient both to judge aright and to examine each matter.’

‘Let her [truth] and Falshood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the wors in a free and open encounter? Her confuting is the best and surest suppressing.’

**The Glorious Revolution**

1680 - The Exclusion Crisis. A Parliamentary Bill to exclude Charles II’s brother James from the line on the grounds of his religion.

1681 - Locke’s patron, Shaftesbury, was charged with treason following ‘the Rye House Plot’, an alleged attempt to kill Charles and James. Locke flees to the Netherlands.

1685 - Charles II died and his brother James (II and VII) ascended the throne.

1687 – Conspiracy develops to remove James and replace him with his Sister Mary and her husband William of Orange.

1688 – William invades and James flees. William and Mary declared Monarchs as throne seen as ‘vacant’. Locke returns to England with other exiles and joins the new regime.

1690 – James finally defeated at Battle of the Boyne

**Sir Robert Filmer (1588-1653)**

*Patriarcha* (1648/1680)

Filmer argued that God had created the office of Kingly authority and so it was the source of all social order.

He then argued that God selects monarchs by ‘birth’ and traces an analogy with the authority of fathers. The argument is more conceptual than biblical, but he does claim that all legitimate Kings are descended from Adam. This leads to an argument for non-resistance to an established monarch.

**John Locke (1632-1704)** *Two Treatises of Government*

All of this sets the scene for the pre-occupations that mark Locke’s thinking. When, if ever, is it justified to get rid of a King? What are the implications of this for the wider political order?

Locke composed the Two Treatises on Civil Government in the early 1680s, and only published them after the successful revolution. Locke’s argument was meant to justify excluding a ruler who had ceased to act constitutionally – in line with the law.

**First Treatise**

Locke spends a great deal of the First Treatise mocking Filmer’s claims about descent from Adam and unpicking the analogy with patriarchy.

Locke’s response to this argument was to argue along similarly religious lines. Since God created all men we can regard them as his property. As a result anyone who harms or oppresses these individuals is damaging God’s property. Paternal powers not the same as political power. However, Locke dodges some of Filmer’s stronger arguments about identifying ‘the people’ and tracing the ‘contract’.