



# HISTORY OF ENGLAND, Week 30 1688

Institute for the Study of Western Civilization



# OUR FIRST REVOLUTION

The Remarkable British  
Upheaval That Inspired America's  
Founding Fathers



MICHAEL BARONE

NEW YORK TIMES BESTSELLER



# Four Stuart Kings: James I, Charles I, Charles II, James II







King James II  
(1633-1701)  
King of England  
Ireland,  
Scotland,  
1685-1688  
portrait by  
Peter  
Lely  
Bolton Museum  
and Art Gallery,  
Lancashire, UK



Mother  
Henrietta  
Maria  
1606-1669






1630-1640 happy family  
1640-1649





James with  
his  
father  
Charles I



The King's disputes with the English Parliament grew into the English Civil War. James accompanied his father at the Battle of Edgehill, where he narrowly escaped capture by the Parliamentary army. He subsequently stayed in Oxford, the chief Royalist stronghold,<sup>[</sup>



# EXECUTION OF KING CHARLES I

JAN 30, 1649

Whitehall Palace Banqueting Hall







Oliver Cromwell  
(1599-1658)  
(1649)  
by  
Robert Walker  
1607-1658  
National  
Portrait  
Gallery  
London



Henrietta's French family loans her a palace near Paris for her exile.  
It became a kind of court in waiting to which Charles now  
retreated. St-Germain-en-Laye,



Life with Mother





1650-1660

Like his brother, James sought refuge in France. In the French army James had his first true experience of battle where, according to one observer, he "ventures himself and chargeth gallantly where anything is to be done". Turenne's favour led to James being given command of a captured Irish regiment in December 1652, and being appointed Lieutenant-General in 1654.



# CHARLES: EXILE IN FRANCE & Netherlands

## Three Important People



Mother



Mistress



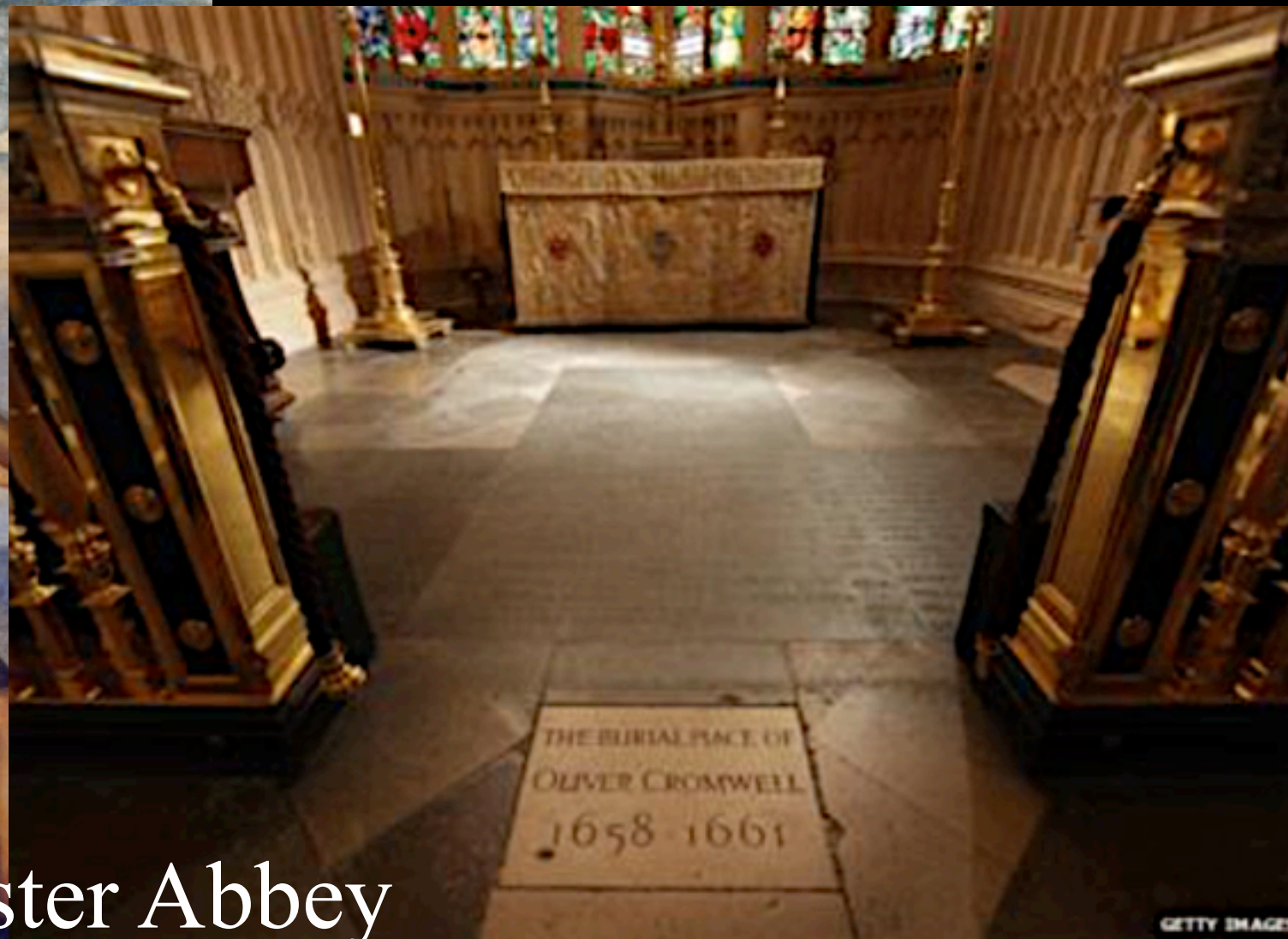
Political  
Advisor



# Death of Oliver Cromwell 1658



Westminster Abbey  
1658



GETTY IMAGES





General George  
Monck  
He had a big army  
in Scotland. So he  
brought it to  
England, to  
London  
and forces new  
elections with a  
new Parliament  
the first in 20  
years. He  
becomes the  
kingmaker and  
Charles II is  
eternally grateful  
to him.





George Monck

The **Long Parliament** dissolved itself and there was a general election for the first time in almost 20 years. The outgoing Parliament defined the electoral qualifications intending to bring about the return of a Presbyterian majority. The restrictions against royalist candidates and voters were widely ignored, and the elections resulted in a **House of Commons** that was fairly **evenly divided** on political grounds between Royalists and Parliamentarians and on religious grounds between Anglicans and Presbyterians



# The Convention Parliament, April 25, 1660



On 4 April 1660, Charles II issued the **Declaration of Breda**, in which he made several promises in relation to the reclamation of the crown of England. Monck organised the **Convention Parliament**, which met for the first time on 25 April. On 8 May it proclaimed that King Charles II had been the lawful monarch since the execution of Charles I on 30 January 1649. Historian Tim Harris describes it: "Constitutionally, it was as if the last nineteen years had never happened." Charles returned from exile, leaving the Hague on 23 May and landing at Dover on 25 May. He entered London on 29 May 1660, his 30th birthday. To celebrate His Majesty's Return to his Parliament, 29 May was made a public holiday, popularly known as Oak Apple Day.





May 29, 1660, Charles II Returns to London  
England Closes the Republic, Returns to Monarchy



A portrait of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, a 17th-century English statesman. He is depicted from the waist up, seated, wearing a dark blue robe with elaborate gold embroidery on the sleeves and collar. He has long, wavy, light-colored hair and a small mustache. His right hand is resting on his lap, and his left hand is partially visible. To his left is a large, ornate, golden object, possibly a ceremonial hat or a piece of armor, with intricate designs and tassels. The background is dark and indistinct.

Anne's  
father

Edward Hyde  
Earl of Clarendon  
1609-1674  
Charles'  
political  
advisor 1660-70  
engineers  
the  
return.  
Author of  
the first  
great history  
of the Civil  
War writes  
in exile.



Anne Hyde  
Protestant  
falls in love  
with James  
they have  
affair he gets  
her pregnant  
insists they marry  
No one wants it.  
She continues  
to be crazy  
about him  
to the end.





James with his  
first wife Anne  
Hyde.

She is the  
mother  
of James'  
two  
Protestant  
daughters  
Mary  
and  
Anne  
both of  
whom  
will reign  
as Queens  
of Eng



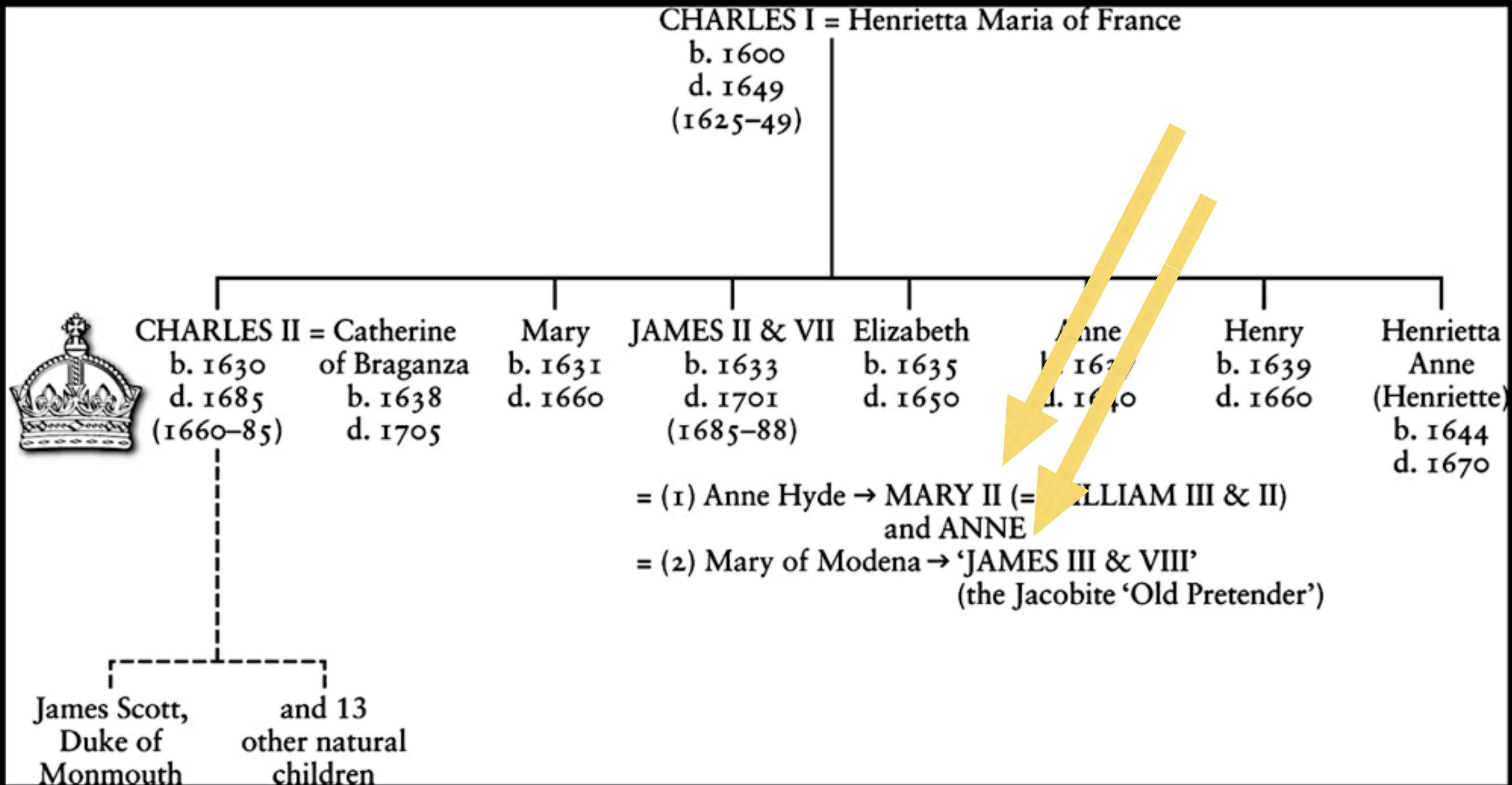


James with  
his first  
wife  
Anne Hyde  
when she  
died  
(1671)he  
remarried  
the Catholic  
Maria  
of  
Modena





# King Charles' nieces: Queen Mary II & Queen Anne



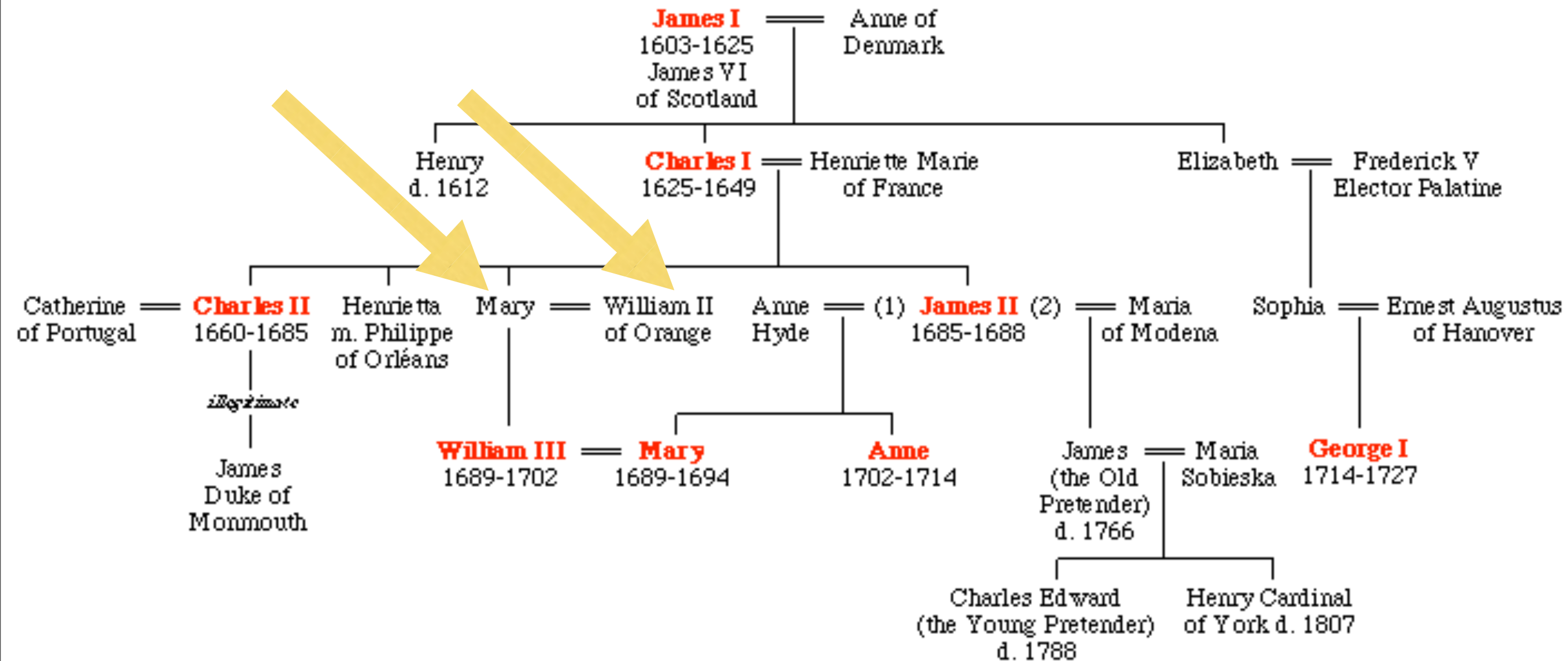
Two Marys and two Williams

Mary-sister  
Mary-niece



# The House of Stuart

by Ed Stephan





# The brothers; 1660-1685 and religion



Charles II 1665 Nat Portrait Gallery



King James II (1633-1701)  
portrait by Peter Lely



1669

## Roman Catholicism

James's time in France had exposed him to the beliefs and ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church; he and his wife, Anne, became drawn to that faith. And he converted.





# First ten years married to Anne Hyde

James with  
his first  
wife  
Anne Hyde  
when she  
died  
(1671) he  
remarried  
the Catholic  
Mary  
of  
Modena





# 1671 Death of Anne Hyde; James remarries





# 1671 Death of Anne Hyde; James remarries

James  
remarried  
the Catholic  
Maria  
of  
Modena





# 1673 Marriage to a Roman Catholic girl Maria of Modena



King Charles II opposed James's conversion, ordering that James's daughters, Mary and Anne, be raised in the Church of England.

Nevertheless, he allowed James to remarry a Roman Catholic (he didn't have to) after the death of his first wife, to Maria of Modena, a fifteen-year-old Italian princess. James and Maria were married by proxy in a **Roman Catholic ceremony** on 20 September 1673.

This marriage and its inevitable offspring (she was a fertile teenager) doomed James.



# Marriage to a Roman Catholic girl Maria of Modena



On 21 November, Maria arrived in England and Nathaniel Crew, Bishop of Oxford, performed a brief Anglican service that did little more than recognise the marriage by proxy. Many British people, distrustful of Catholicism, regarded the new Duchess of York as an agent of the Papacy. James was noted for his devotion. He once said, "If occasion were, I hope God would give me his grace to suffer death for the true Catholic religion as well as banishment."



# Mary Stuart (Queen Mary) and William of Orange



This William (III)  
and Mary (II)  
will be King and  
Queen  
of England (1688)

## 1677 ANOTHER MARRIAGE

Charles gives his niece Mary in  
marriage to

William of Orange, 27 year old  
leader of the Netherlands

Mary cries for 3 days  
doesn't want to marry her cousin

James furious that his daughter  
has to marry Protestant William

Reasons of state  
alliance with Netherlands



# 1677 A THIRD IMPORTANT MARRIAGE



1677: Sarah Jennings marries John Churchill



# 1677 A THIRD IMPORTANT MARRIAGE



1677: Sarah Jennings marries John Churchill



# 1677 King Charles sends John Churchill to Netherlands to negotiate treaty between Eng & Neth



Two young men both 27 meet for first time and form a friendship that will change England forever; Churchill and William leader of the Neth & future King of Eng



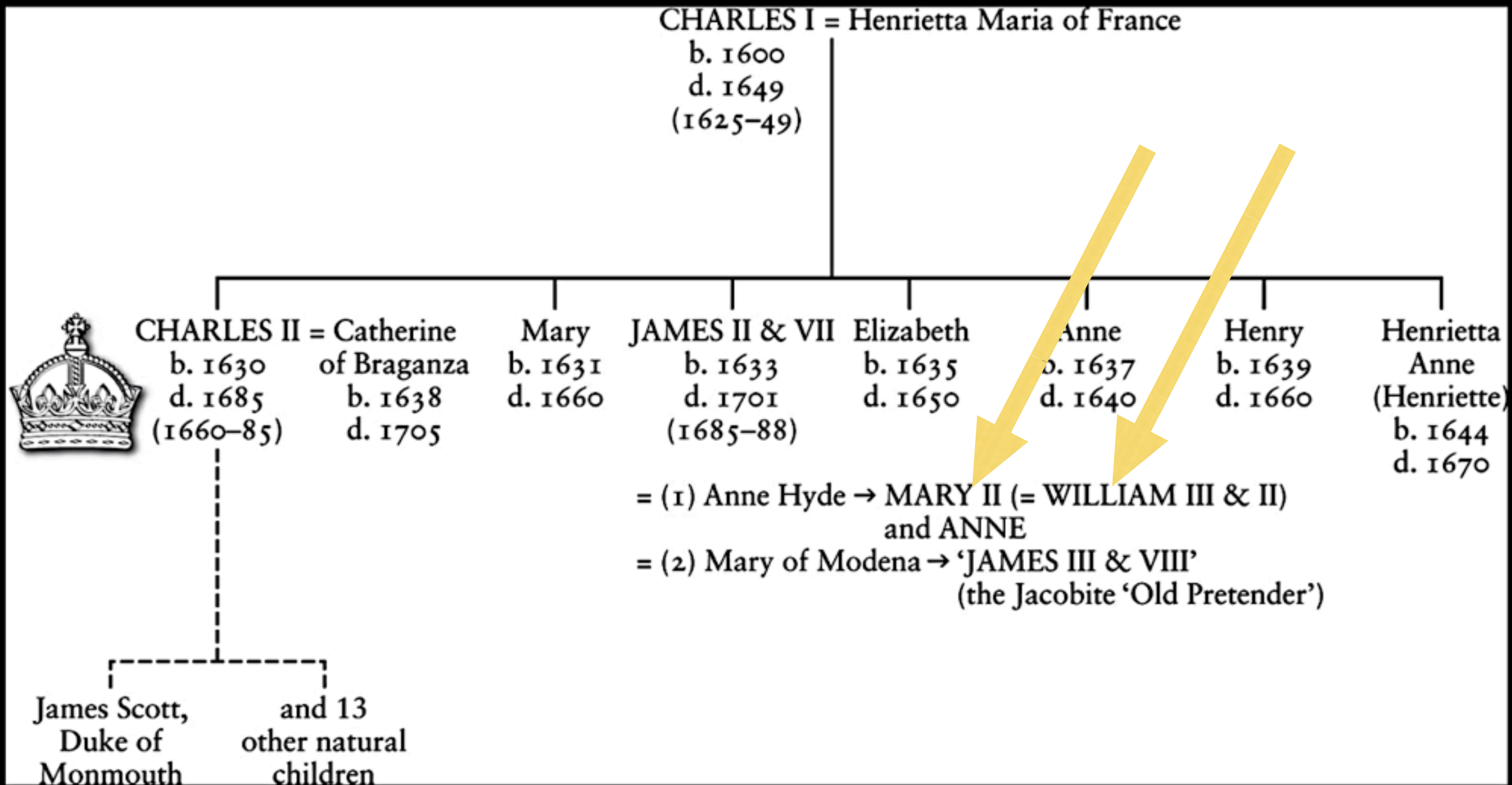
1685 John Churchill will be King James' most important military advisor & closest friend.



Churchill will be the key person to move from camp of James II to camp of William. They are good friends by now.



# James' daughters: Queen Mary II & Queen Anne



Two Marys and two Williams

Mary-sister  
Mary-niece



1685-1688 Wm will be the most important person for GB after King James II

William of  
Orange  
(Wm III  
King of Eng)  
leader of the  
Netherlands  
James'  
nephew  
and  
married  
to his  
daughter  
Mary  
(cousins)





# 1688 These three men will decide the future of England



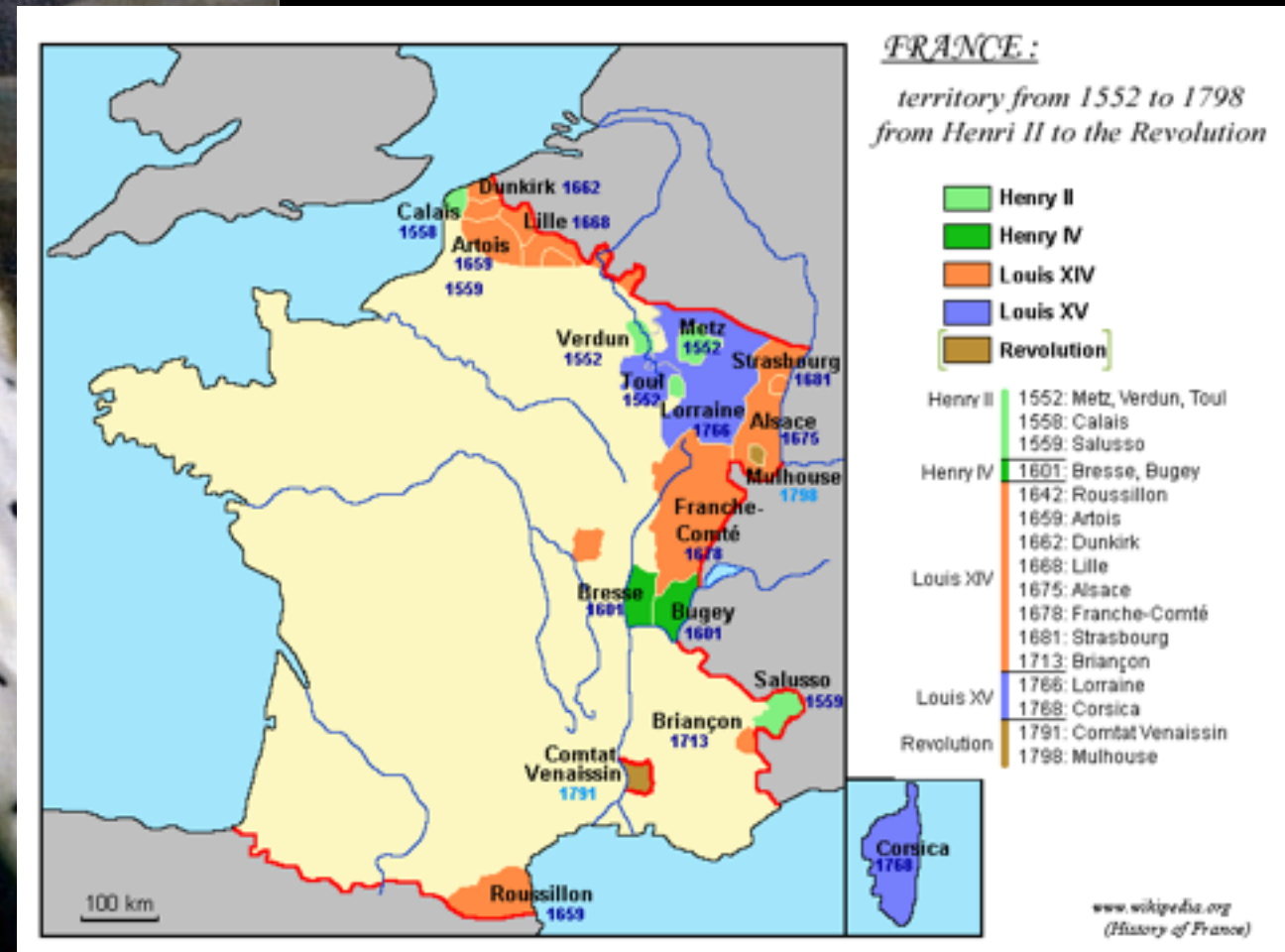
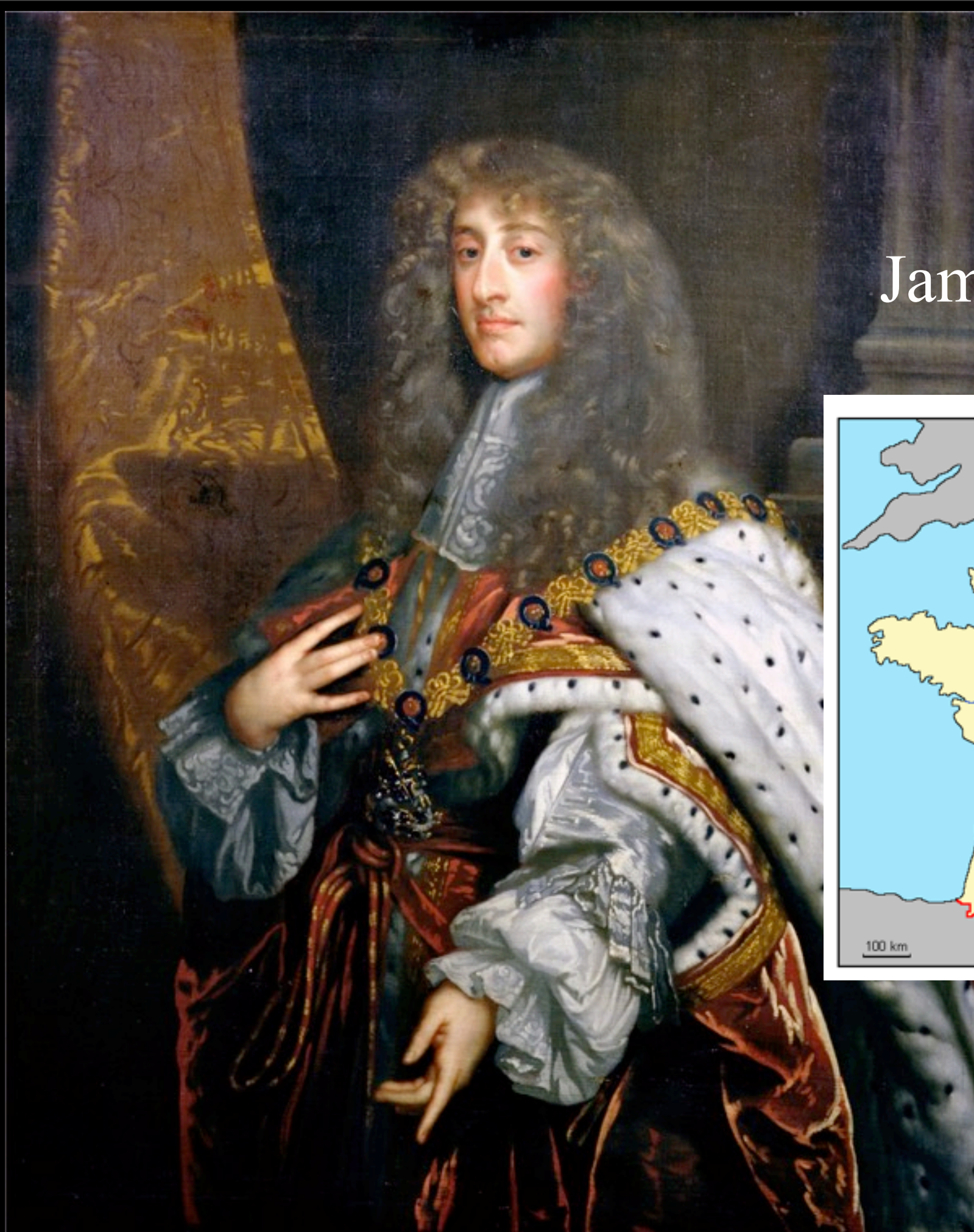


# Death of King Charles II from a stroke Feb 6, 1685 James is at his side.(And a priest presides over conversion)





# James and Europe 1685





# James and his cousin Louis XIV (1638-1715)









# William of Orange and his point of view 1685

## DANGER Above all: FRENCH AGGRESSION against his state







William brilliantly and prophetically saw a world wide war coming by 1700 and he knew he needed England on his side for sure if he were to protect his precious Netherlands. They could not hold back France alone. He knew that. The only way to guarantee this was to be King of England himself.





From 1685-1688  
William was visited  
daily by English  
Protestants begging  
him to come to  
England to claim  
the crown.



# Religion in England 1685-1688



What did James promise? NO changes of any kind.  
Then what did he do? He began a wholesale  
demolition of the English Church.



# 1685 The Church of England



So in these hot times with so many issues, what did James do? He began to pack all appointments he could with RC or pro RC and Dissidents (to camouflage his real intent: RC expansion.) Bishops are removed all over the country. He now **proposed that Parliament repeal the Test Act** (which excluded RC from offices)



# 1685 The Church of England & Parliament



But how could he get a Pro Church of England to co- operate with harming their own allies in the Church?

He began a systematic purge of all MPs who would not support his legislation. Hundreds of sheriffs etc were replaced with any new local officers he could appoint who would vote his way.

No previous king had ever tried such a total purge of enemies from Parliament and favoring of new pro King MPs.



# 1685 Church Parliament Army



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In addition to the Church and Parliament, James now went after the **army** and began appointing RC men to high level appmnt one after another even though they were exluded according to Test Act.



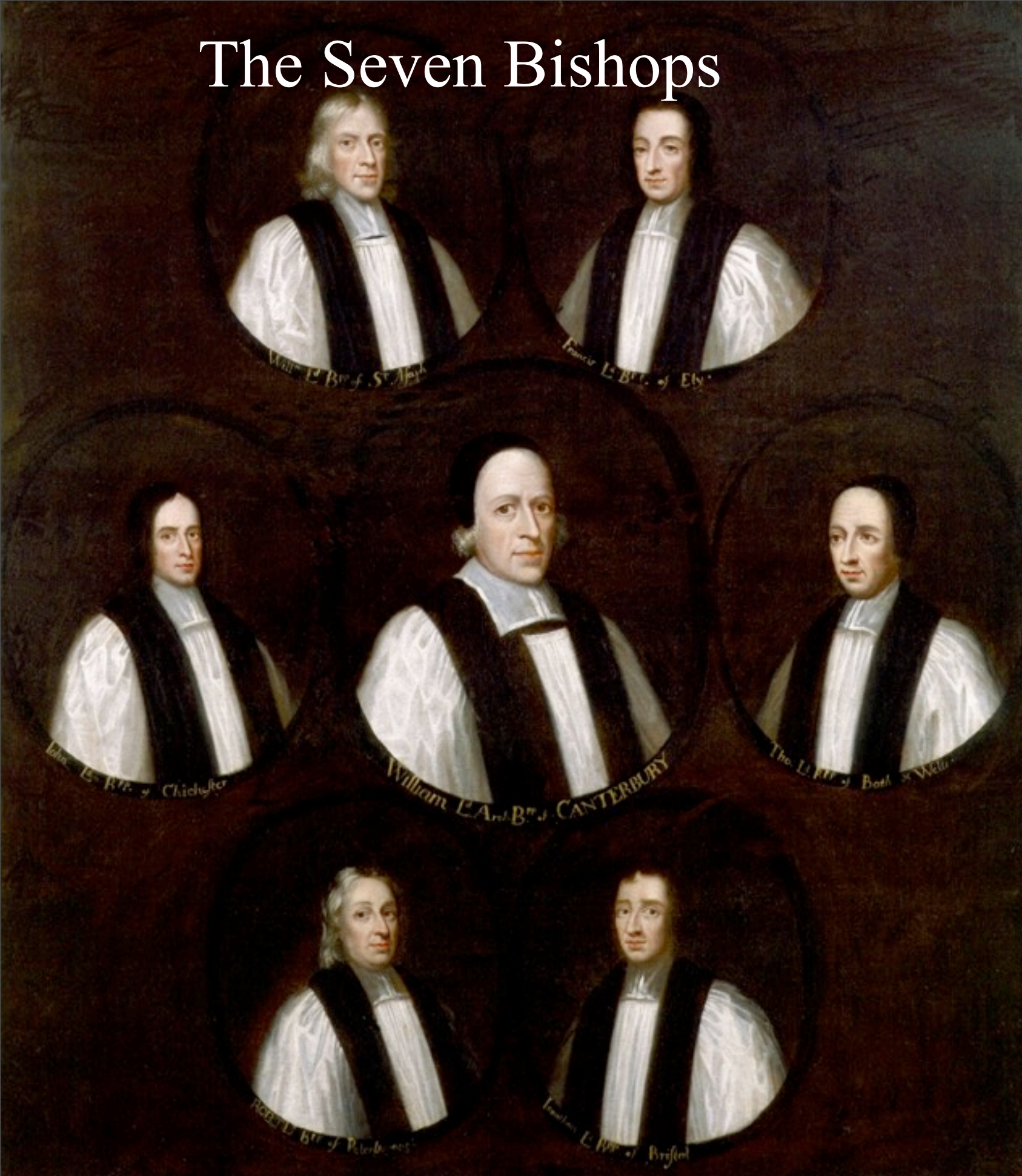
# What did James do when he had the power? Banned preaching, banned pamphlets.



James was not bothered by the anomaly that, though a Catholic, he was head of the Church of England. He ordered the Anglican bishops to **ban anti-Catholic sermons** and, when they continued anyway, in February 1686 required them to reissue a 1662 Directions to Preachers, which banned controversial sermons and “abstruse and speculative notions.” The Bishops did not follow his instructions so soon he arrested seven and put them in the Tower.



# The Seven Bishops



In April 1688, the Declaration of Indulgences (toleration for Roman Catholics) was reissued and James **ordered the bishops** to have it read in every church in England. The seven 'petitioned' to be excused, arguing it relied on an interpretation of Royal authority declared illegal by Parliament. After the petition was printed and publicly distributed, **the bishops were charged with seditious libel and held in the Tower of London.** They were tried and found not guilty on 30 June, a result that destroyed James' political authority in both England and Scotland.





## BISHOPS TO THE TOWER

June 1 he brought a legal action for “scandalous libel” against the seven bishops. When asked to give bail June 7, they refused and the next day were marched off to the Tower, and received cheers from the London crowds.

“Wonderfull was the concern of the people for them,” John Evelyn wrote, “infinite crowds of people on their knees, begging their blessing & praying for them as they passed out of the Barge; along the Tower wharfe &c.” The garrison at the Tower drank to the bishops’ health and refused to drink to their colonel’s or the king’s.



June 30, 1688

## The Seven Bishops Not Guilty

They were tried and found **not guilty on 30 June**. When the verdict was announced, such a cry of celebration went up in London that it could be heard for miles around. James II heard it. Church bells rang. After dark there were bonfires all over London. Soldiers in his army celebrated. His Navy celebrated. It announced the end of his rule. The whole country erupted in celebration to the victory and courage of the Bishops. They were released. James II was finished. The whole country knew it.



June 10, 1688

## Birth of James Francis Edward



📷 A 1690s portrait of Queen Mary (Mary of Modena) wife of King James II of England with her first surviving son, James Francis Edward, by Benedetto Gennari the Younger.



# What doomed James II?



1. packing the **Parliament.**  
everyone saw that this could change GB forever.
2. trying to pack the **Army-Navy** with RCs.
3. throwing out local assemblies in the **Colonies.**
4. The **Bishops Trial**
5. Birth of his **son.**



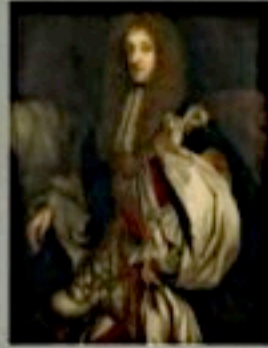
The historian J. R. Jones argues that “the campaign to pack Parliament was easily the most important [factor] in provoking the Revolution,” because it “threatened to produce a subservient Parliament that would make the crown financially independent, with the result that Parliament itself might follow many European Estates into misuse.”



June 30, 1688

# THE IMMORTAL SEVEN

The Earl of Danby:  
Thomas Osborne,  
1st Duke of Leeds



Charles Talbot, 1st  
Duke of Shrewsbury



Cavendish, 1st Duke  
of Devonshire



Edward Russell: 1st Earl  
of Orford



Henry Sydney: 1st  
Earl of Romney



Henry  
Compton, Bishop of  
London



The viscount Lumley Richard  
Lumley, 1st Earl of Scarbrough



Immortal seven. was a disparate group of English notables comprising William Cavendish, fourth earl of Devonshire, Henry Compton, bishop of London, Richard Lumley, Baron Lumley, Thomas Osborne, first earl of Danby, Edward Russell, Henry Sidney, and Charles Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, who on 30 June 1688—probably at Shrewsbury's London residence—attached their ciphers to an invitation to William of Orange, stadholder of the Netherlands, to invade England. This extraordinary event was motivated by the bitter resentment the seven identified concerning the extent to which the reigning monarch, James II, had 'greatly invaded' his subjects' 'religion, liberties and properties' (Browning, 120). The invitation was a direct response to William's demand for such a document before he would undertake an invasion.



# July 10, 1688



**WILLIAM IN SUMMER OF 1688**  
William of Orange spent the summer of 1688 preparing for an invasion, while keeping his options open. The letter sent by the Immortal Seven was written on June 30, which was July 10 in the Netherlands, and William evidently acted quickly when he received it. Prayers at Princess Mary's chapel for the newborn Prince of Wales were canceled, and William and Mary and Dutch officials failed to attend a celebration of his birth given by the English ambassador.



July 1688

## States General of the Netherlands meeting in the Hague



**The States General unanimously agreed to support William's invasion; the States of Holland even authorized the burgomasters to requisition ships by force if necessary. As historian Jonathan Israel summarizes the agreement, "The essential purpose of the Dutch invasion of Britain was quite specific and was spelt out clearly: it was to make the English Crown and nation 'useful to their friends and allies, and especially to this state,'**





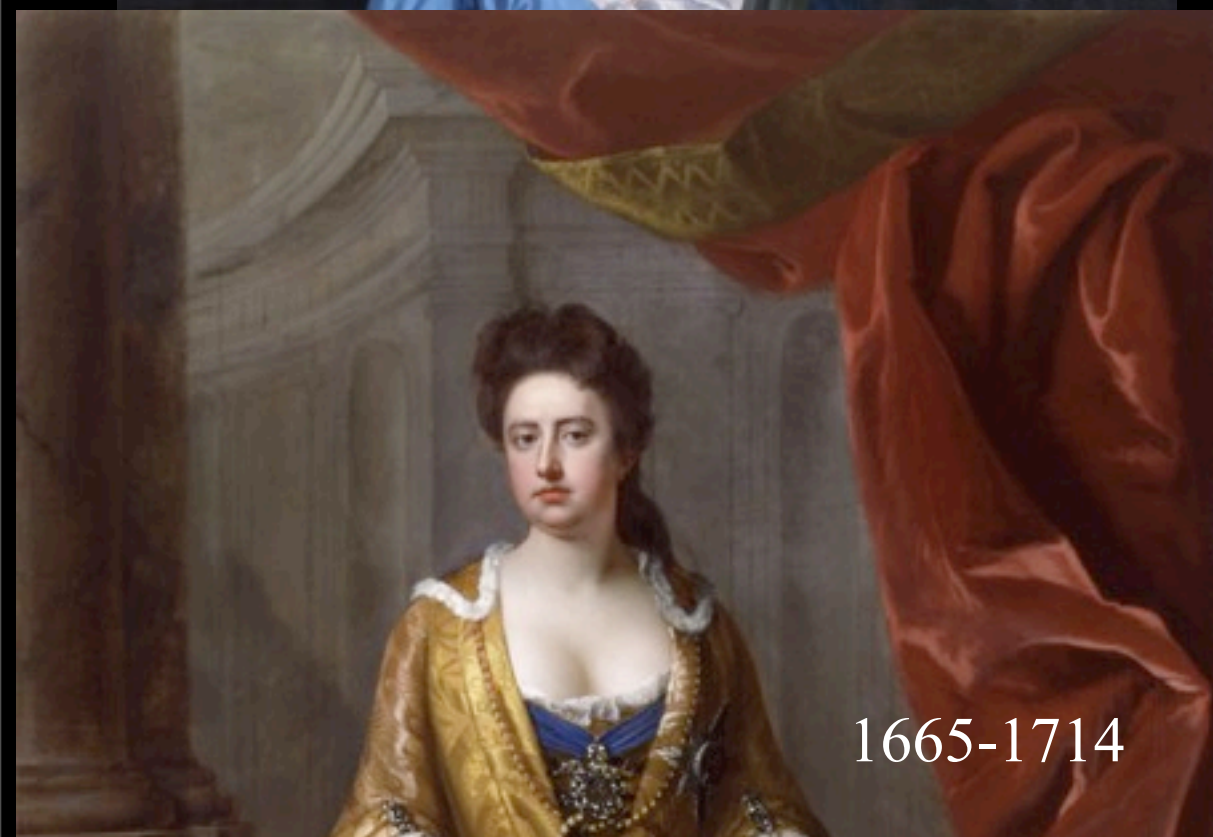
Summer 1688      JAMES AND CHURCHILL

Churchill was watching events and working behind the scenes. He remained a member of James's court. "Meanwhile master and servant dwelt in all their old familiarity, and Churchill was constantly at the King's side in his bedroom, at his toilet, behind his chair at meals, and on horseback beside his carriage." But what was he thinking?





**Churchill proved to be the most important and influential person in the underground network of army officers who pledged their aid in bringing about a *change* of royal policy and the elimination of evil ministers. This change he termed a “*change of government*,” a phrase which did not by any means imply James’s deposition. Churchill was uniquely placed to link the various conspiratorial military groups. Anne’s household served as the center during the preparatory phase, before the crisis developed.... (Churchill's wife Sarah was constantly at the side of the future Queen Anne.)**



1665-1714



# Sept 30, 1688

## The Declaration

**THE DECLARATION OF HIS HIGHNES WILLIAM HENRY, By the Grace of God PRINCE OF ORANGE, &c. Of the reasons inducing him, To Appear in Armes for Preserving of the Protestant Religion, and for Restoring the Lawes and Liberties of the ancient Kingdome of Scotland.**

IT is both certain and evident to all men, that the publike Peace and Happines of any State or Kingdome, can not be preserved, where the Lawes, Liberties and Customes established by the lawfull authority in it, are openly transgressed and annulled: more especially where the alteration of *Religion* is endeavoured, and that a *Religion* which is contrary to Law is endeavoured to be introduced: upon which those who are most immediatly concerned in it, are indispensably bound to endeavour to preserve and maintain the established Lawes, Liberties and Customes: and above all the *Religion* and worship of God, that is established among them; and to take such an effectuall care, that the Inhabitants of the said State or Kingdome, may neither be deprived of their *Religion* nor of their Civill Rights.

VVhich is so much the more necessary because the Greatnes and Security both of Kings Royall families, and of all such as are in Authority, as well as the happines of their Subjects and People, depend in a most especiall manner upon the exact observation and maintenance of these their Lawes, Liberties and Culstomes.

Upon these grounds it is, that Wee cannot any longer forbear to Declare that to our great regret Wee see that those Councillours, who have now the chiefe credit with the King, have overturned the *Religion*, Lawes and Liberties of those Realmes, and subjected them in all things relating to their Consciences, Liberties and Properties, to Arbitrary Government: and that not only by secret and indirect waies, but in an open and undisguised manner.

And indeed the lamentable effects of an Arbitrary Power and of Evill Counsells are so Manifest in the deplorable State of the Kingdome of Scotland, that



# Sept 30, 1688

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**Some 60,000 copies were printed in  
English in secrecy in The Hague,**



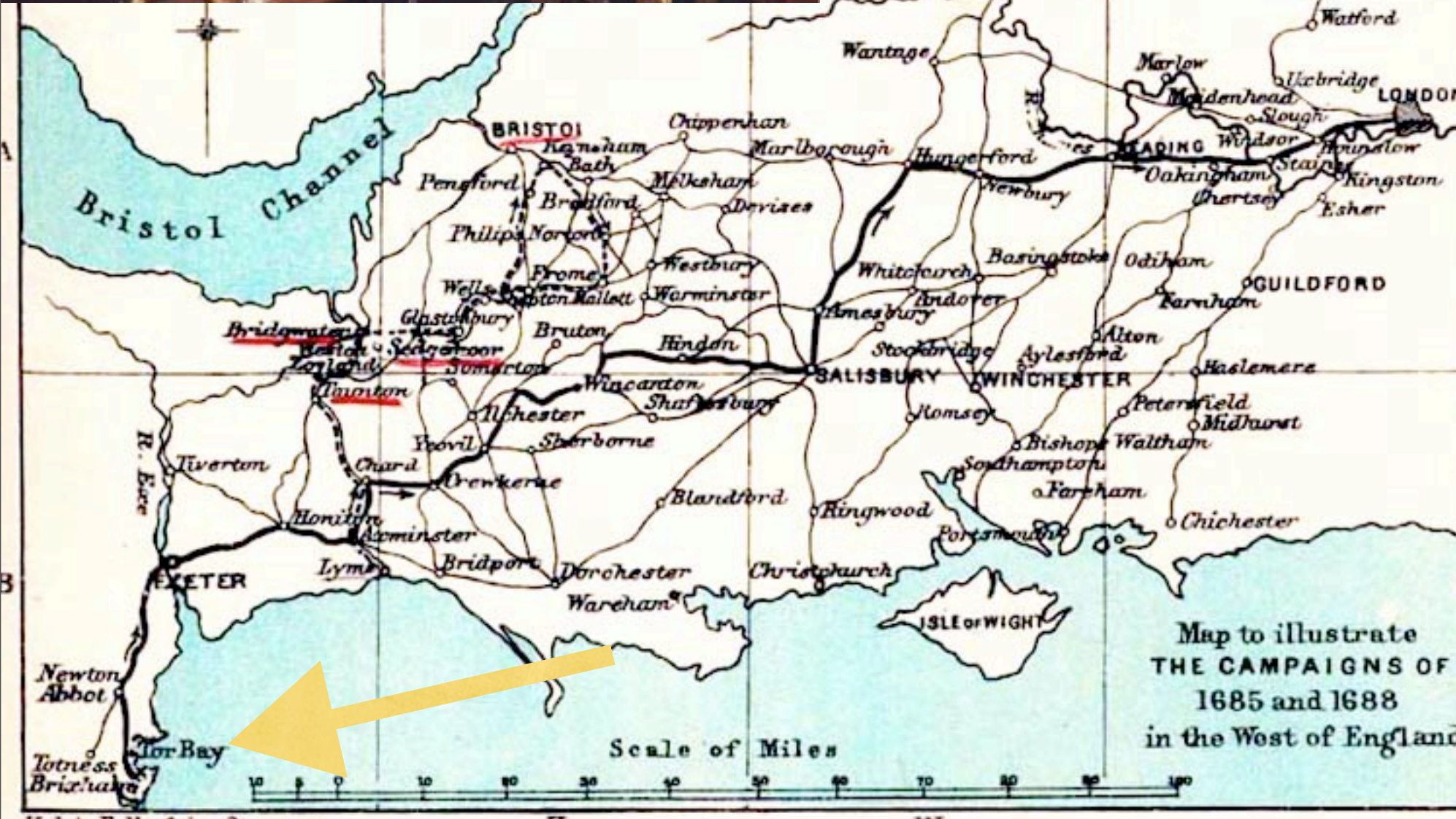
## The genius of William III in 1688

**As Jonathan Israel writes, “When all dimensions are considered—military, naval, financial, logistical, diplomatic, domestic—together with the clever propaganda campaign masterminded by William's agent Bentinck, which had an important effect in England, it was arguably one of the most impressive feats of organization any early modern regime ever achieved.”**





# 1688 Battle for England





# William, Prince of Orange Arrives at Torbay Nov 5, 1688





# William, Prince of Orange Arrives at Torbay Nov 5, 1688



He brought with him a force of at least 15,000 men and 500 ships, **the largest fleet ever assembled in the English Channel—four times the size of the Spanish Armada of 100 years before.** “By every measure,” writes the historian Dale Hoak, “this was the largest military maneuver of its kind since the end of the Roman Empire and, before the advent of the battleship, certainly the greatest such operation ever launched in northern European waters.”







He was welcomed with great public celebration





Nov 17, 1688  
Confusion in London;  
James II leaves London for Windsor



James faced threats behind and ahead of him, while William faced opportunities. On November 12, James's troops had fired on rioters in London and killed several.





## **JAMES FALLING APART**

**Exhausted, torn by conflicting advice, the normally aggressive and healthy James was plagued by nosebleeds: an eyewitness wrote that he was “very ill in his health and bleeds upon every occasion at the nose and mouth and much purulent matter comes out.”**



## JAMES FALLING APART



The atmosphere is suggested by an eyewitness quoted by John Miller. "I can never forget the **confusion the court was in....**

The King knew not whom to trust and the fight was so great that they were apt to believe an impossible report just then brought in that the Prince of Orange was come with twelve thousand troops."



## Nov. 22, 1688. Churchill Deserts



On the night of November 22, Baron Churchill, the Duke of Grafton, and Colonel Berkeley dined with the king until midnight. After dinner the three men had a long conference with Prince George of Denmark, Princess Anne's husband,<sup>28</sup> and then they rode off from James's camp with some 400 officers and troopers and headed west to join William's forces. William had arrived in Axminster on November 22. Churchill and his company galloped nearly 40 miles in the early hours of the 23rd over hilly land and the valley of the River Stour, and sometime on Nov 23 met up with the party of William.



# Churchill's Letter to King James

"My dutiful behavior to Your Majesty in the worst of times... may not be sufficient to incline you to a charitable interpretation of my actions, yet I hope the great advantage I enjoy under Your Majesty, which I own I can never expect in any other change of government, may reasonably convince Your Majesty and the world that I am activated by a higher principle, when I offer that violence to my inclinations and interest as to desert Your Majesty at a time when your affairs seem to challenge the strictest obedience from all your subjects, much more from one who lies under the greatest personal obligation to Your Majesty. This, sir, could proceed from nothing but the inviolable dictates of my conscience, and a necessary concern for my religion ... I will alway with the hazard of my life and fortune (so much Your Majesty's due) endeavour to preserve your royal person and lawful rights, with all the tender concerns and dutiful respect that becomes, sir, Your Majesty's most dutiful and most obliged subject and servant, Churchill."







Nov 25-26, 1688

## The Desertion of his daughter Anne

On the evening of November 25, Anne retired to bed and ordered her bedchamber locked. Then she, Lady Churchill, and Mrs. Berkeley dressed again and went down a secret wooden staircase from Anne's apartments, which Sarah had constructed six months before for this purpose. At one o'clock in the morning on November 26 they were met by **Bishop Compton**, the former soldier, in jackboots and armor and wielding pistols, and the Earl of Dorset.





November 26, 1688



"God help me!" lamented James, on discovering the desertion of his daughter on 26 November, "Even my children have forsaken me."

Now both his daughters had deserted him. His older daughter, still back in The Hague, was obviously supporting her husband's invasion, while his younger daughter had now slipped through his agents' fingers and joined his enemies, as had her husband.



Nov 28, 1688



## PREPARING TO JUMP SHIP

From the time of his meeting with his Privy Council on November 28, James took steps to send the queen and their baby to France. He surely remembered that during the 1640s his father had sent his mother and then his brother to safety, lest they be captured by his enemies. On November 29 he ordered the Earl of Dover to arrange for the prince to be sent out via Portsmouth.



# Dec, 1688 James II Flees England Goes to France



**Forty years and eight months before, in April 1648, the 14-year-old James had crawled out of a window at St. James's Palace, rendezvoused with a royal officer in St. James's Park, and been transported, disguised as a girl, to a Thames River boat and then to a ship that took him to safety in the Netherlands. Now the 55-year-old king, disguised as an ordinary soldier, once again found himself fleeing London, to safety this time in France. What thoughts must have gone through his head about this first escape, and all the things that had happened in the years since.**



# Dec 18, 1688



**William Enters London**  
On December 17, William spent the night at Sion House, across the Thames from Kew. On December 18 he rode in a carriage to London, “to the loud acclamations of a vast number of people of all sorts and ranks, the bells everywhere ringing.” Many in the cheering crowds were wearing orange ribbons or waving sticks with oranges stuck on the ends. He entered London through Knightsbridge, along a two-mile route lined with Dutch Blue Guards, but with the English and Scotch regiments of the Dutch army, led by General Hugh Mackay, conspicuously in the lead.



Dec 18, 1688



ST. JAMES'S PALACE, London, December 18, 1688. William of Orange installed himself in St. James's Palace, across St. James's Park from Whitehall Palace. William disliked pomp and ceremony, and his asthma was aggravated by London's filthy air; St. James's Palace was then at the edge of the city. On the evening of December 18 he held court. "All the world," wrote John Evelyn in his diary entry for that day, "go to see the Prince at St. James where there is a greate Court, there I saw him & severall of my Acquaintance that come over with him: He is very stately, serious & reserved: the Eng: souldiers &c. sent out of Towne to distant quarters: not well pleased: Divers reports & opinions, what all this will end in; Ambition & faction feared "



# FIRST STEPS CALL AN ELECTION FOR PARLIAMENT



On December 26 there was a meeting of members of the English House of Commons who had served during Charles II's reign—a category that excluded the large number of mostly Tory MPs elected only in 1685—and the mayor and the Court of Aldermen of the City of London. This meeting **endorsed elections for a Convention**, and the circular letters were sent out, at the Commons' prompting not to the sheriffs James had appointed, but to the coroners, on December 27 and 28. Through this period William made a point of being conciliatory and not vengeful. He paid a call on Charles II's widow, Queen Catherine of Braganza, at her quarters in Somerset House and, at her request, released from prison the Earl of Feversham, who had been her chamberlain. He also provided a diplomatic passport to the papal nuncio, that is, ambassador, d'Adda, who had been caught trying to flee in disguise.





## William meets with the Scots; agreement of peace

During the period before the elections, William took care to pacify another threat to his power. On Christmas Day he met with Scottish lords who were in London—the Duke of Hamilton, his sons-in-law the Earl of Dundonald and Lord Murray, and the Earl of Crawford and Lord Drumlanrig—and they offered their “great acknowledgements for his glorious enterprize” and asked him to “take upon him the administration of that kingdome in matters civill and military.” This removed the threat of a war between England and Scotland, and on January 7 some 30 Scottish peers and 80 gentry tendered provisional power in their kingdom to William. He was a Protestant so they had no quarrel.



# The Convention Parliament

**Elections took place in January**, and the Convention Parliament met on January 22. There were relatively few contested seats—60 as compared with 79 in 1685 and 106 in 1690—and many boroughs returned one Whig and one Tory without opposition. Ironically, James's campaign encouraging Dissenters to vote resulted in the election of candidates sympathetic to William, who after all was a Dissenter himself. Seats that had seen furious competition in 1679 and 1681 were quiet in 1689. In the City of London, James had restored the old charter, and four Whigs were elected without opposition.

**William was careful not to be seen influencing the elections.** He made no public pronouncements on policy between his Declaration and his message to the Convention when it assembled on January 22.



## Resolution of the Parliament about the state of the Government:

“That King James the Second, having endeavored to subvert the constitution of the Kingdom, by breaking the original contract between the King and the people, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons having violated the fundamental laws and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, hath abdicated the government and that the throne is thereby become vacant.”

Here was a sort of compromise between Tories and Whigs: “breaking the original contract” was a Whig idea; “abdicated the government” was a Tory idea; “the throne is vacant” was a Whig idea. The committee of the whole voted without much dissent to report the measure to the full house and convey it to the Lords that day.



# Parliament Decides on the Terms of the Reign

The house agreed without a division that “no Papist may succeed” to the throne “nor any person that hath made or shall make profession of being a Papist”—a reassertion of the resolution adopted January 29. On February 8 they agreed to join the statement of rights and limitations to the offer of the crown and set out the succession—that William and Mary should rule jointly and that William should have “administration of government,” that William should be king for life, to be succeeded by Mary, Anne, and her offspring, and only then any offspring of William by a second marriage.



Die Martis, 12<sup>o</sup> Februarii, 1688<sup>9</sup>.

THE  
DECLARATION  
OF THE  
Lords Spiritual and Temporal,  
AND  
COMMONS Assembled at *Westminster*.



HEREAS the late King *James* the Second, by the Assistance of divers Evil Counsellors, Judges, and Ministers Employ'd by Him, did endeavour to Subvert and Extirpate the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom ;  
By Assuming and Exercising a Power of Dispensing with, and Suspending of Laws, and the Execution of Laws, without Consent of Parliament.

By Committing and Prosecuting divers Worthy Prelates, for humbly Petitioning to be Excused from concurring to the said assumed Power.

By issuing, and causing to be Executed, a Commission under the Great Seal, for erecting a Court called, *The Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes*.

By Levying Money for and to the Use of the Crown, by pretence of Prerogative, for other time, and in other manner, than the same was granted by Parliament.

By raising and keeping a standing Army within this Kingdom in time of Peace, without Consent of Parliament ; and Quartering Soldiers contrary to Law.

By causing several Good Subjects, being Protestants, to be Disarmed at the same time, when Papists were both Armed and Employed contrary to Law.

By violating the Freedom of Election of Members to serve in Parliament.  
By Prosecutions in the Court of *Kings-Bench* for Matters and Causes cognizable only in *Parliament* ; and by divers other Arbitrary and Illegal Courses.

And whereas of late years, Partial, Corrupt, and Unqualified Persons, have been returned and served on Juries in Trials, and particularly divers Jurors in Trials for High-Treason, which were not Freeholders;

And Excessive Bail hath been required of persons committed in Criminal Cases, to elude the benefit of the Laws made for the Liberty of the Subjects.

And Excessive Fines have been imposed.

And Illegal and Cruel Punishments inflicted.

And several Grants and Promises made of Fines and Forfeitures before any Conviction or Judgment against the persons upon whom the same were to be levied.

All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known Laws and Statutes, and Freedom of this Realm.

And whereas the said late King *James* the Second, having Abdicated the Government, and the Throne being thereby vacant,

His Highness the Prince of *Orange* (whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the Glorious Instrument of Delivering this Kingdom from Popery and Arbitrary Power) did (by the Advice of the Lords Spiritual and Tem-



- That the pretended power of suspending the laws or the execution of laws by regal authority without consent of Parliament is illegal;
- That the pretended power of dispensing with laws or the execution of laws by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal;
- That the commission for erecting the late Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, and all other commissions and courts of like nature, are illegal and pernicious;
- That levying money for or to the use of the Crown by pretence of prerogative, without grant of Parliament, for longer time, or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal;
- That it is the right of the subjects to petition the king, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal;
- That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of Parliament, is against law;
- That the subjects which are Protestants may have arms for their defence suitable to their conditions and as allowed by law;
- That election of members of Parliament ought to be free;
- That the freedom of speech and debates or proceedings in Parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament;
- That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted;
- That jurors ought to be duly impanelled and returned, and jurors which pass upon men in trials for high treason ought to be freeholders;
- That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction are illegal and void;
- And that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening and preserving of the laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently.



# English Bill of Rights

- 1688:
  - Prohibited a standing army in peacetime
  - Parliamentary elections be free
  - Monarchs could not suspend laws or their execution without consent of parliament
  - Abolished cruel & unusual punishment
  - Only Parliament can levy money
  - The individual subjects can petition

**freedom of press**  
**freedom of speech**



# Magna Carta 1215

## Magna Carta of King John, AD 1215

# THE DECLARATION OF THE Lords Spiritual and Temporal, AND COMMONS Assembled at Westminster.



HEREAS the late King James the Second, by the Assistance of divers Evil Counsellors, Judges, and Ministers Employ'd by Him, did endeavour to Subvert and Extirpate the Protestant Religion; and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom;

By Assuming and Exercising a Power of Dispensing with, and Suspending of Laws, and the Execution of Laws, without Consent of Parliament.

By Committing and Prosecuting divers Wealthy Prelates, for humbly Petitioning to be Excused from concurring to the said assumed Power.

By issuing, and causing to be Executed, a Commission under the Great Seal, for erecting a Court called, *The Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes*.

By Levying Money for and to the Use of the Crown, by pretence of Prerogative, for other time, and in other manner, than the same was granted by Parliament.

By raising, and keeping a standing Army within this Kingdom in time of Peace, without Consent of Parliament; and Quartering Soldiers contrary to Law.

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# US Bill of Rights 1776

## Bill of Rights Congress of the United States, begun and held at the City of New York, on Wednesday, the fourth of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty nine.

That the Congress of the United States, at the time of their adopting the Constitution, expressed a desire, in order to prevent encroachments on their powers, that further declaration and restriction clauses should be added: And in extending the ground of public confidence in the Government, will best secure the beneficent ends of its institution.

Resolved, by the SENATE and HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA in Congress assembled, two thirds of both Houses concurring, That the following Articles be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States, as Amendments to the Constitution of the United States; all or any of which Articles, when ratified by three fourths of the said Legislatures, to be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of the said Constitution, unto such time as they shall be so ratified by three fourths of the whole Number of the said States, ratifying the said Amendments.

Article the first After the first enumeration required by the first Article of the Constitution, there shall be one Representative for every thirty thousand, until the number shall amount to one hundred, after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that there shall be not less than one hundred Representatives, nor less than one Representative for every forty thousand persons, until the number of Representatives shall amount to two hundred, after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that there shall not be less than two hundred Representatives, nor more than one Representative for every fifty thousand persons. [See Ratified]

Article the second The term, varying the compensation for the services of the Senators and Representatives, shall never effect, until an election of Representatives shall have intervened. [See Ratified]

Article the third Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Article the fourth A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

Article the fifth No Soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but he a manner to be prescribed by Law.

Article the sixth The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Article the seventh No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall he be compelled in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of Law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

Article the eighth In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by Law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

Article the ninth In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact, tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

Article the tenth Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Article the eleventh The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Article the twelfth The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Attest, John Adams, President of the Senate, and President of the Senate.

James Madison, Vice President of the United States, and President of the Senate.

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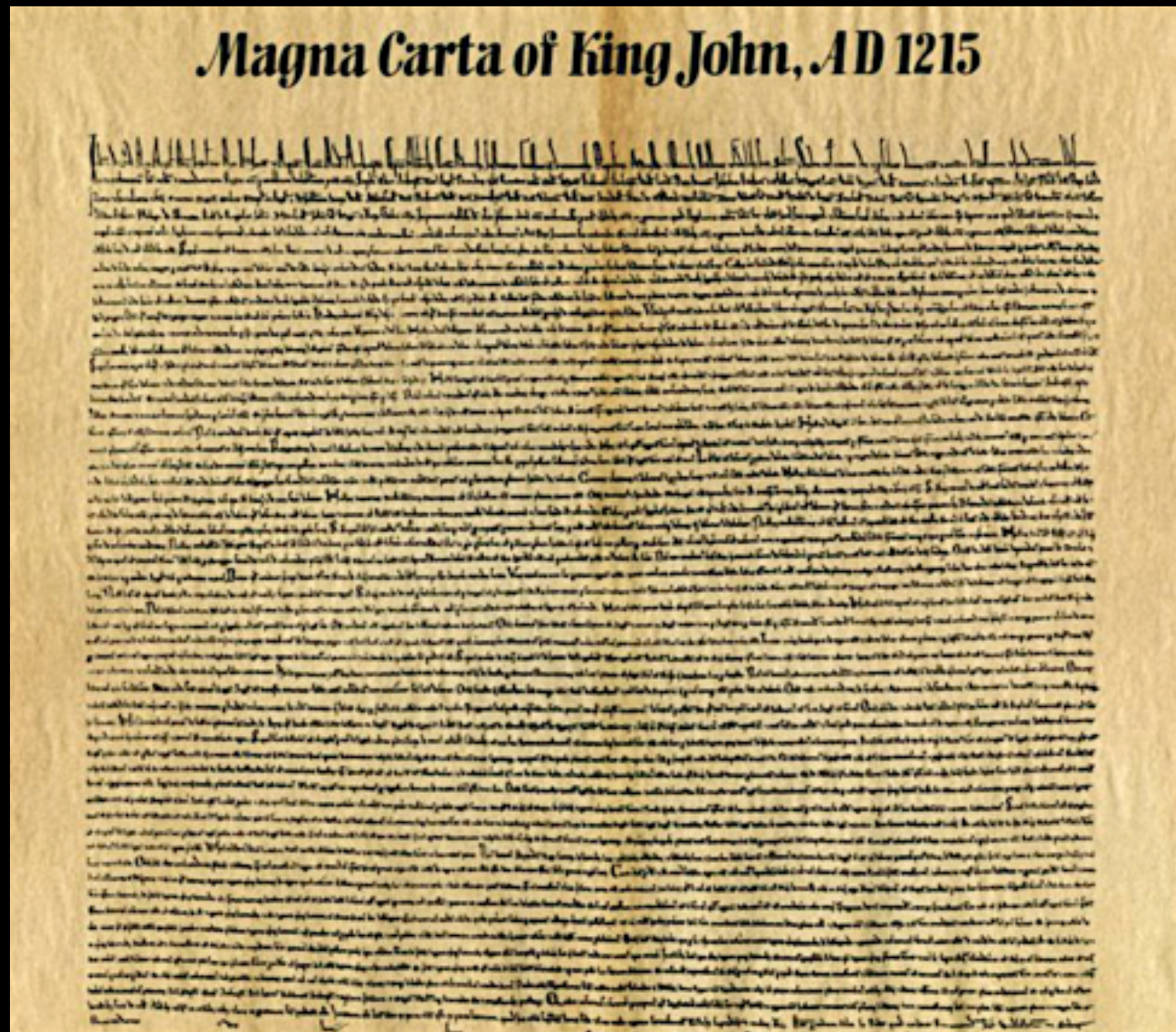
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# English Bill of Rights 1688



The Magna Carta, meaning “Great Charter,” is one of the most influential political documents ever written: it is seen by many modern political scientists as the fundamental document for many of the governing laws of the west, including the United States. Originally issued in 1215 by King John of England as a way of dealing with his own political crisis, the Magna Carta was the first governmental decree establishing the principle that all people—including the king—were equally subject to the law.





# Bill of Rights

Congress of the United States,  
*began and held at the City of New York, on*  
*Wednesday the fourth of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty nine.*

WE, the Senators and Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, do hereby certify that the following Declaration of Rights, which was proposed by the Committee on the Bill of Rights, and which was agreed to by the Senate and House of Representatives, on the 17th of September, 1789, and which was then transmitted to the States for their ratification, is the same as the original, and that the same is now published for the use of the People.

*Article the first* ..... After the first enumeration required by the first article of the Constitution, there shall be one Representative for every thirty thousand, until the number shall amount to one hundred; after which, the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that there shall be not less than one hundred Representatives, nor less than one Representative for every forty thousand persons, until the number of Representatives shall amount to two hundred, after which, the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that there shall not be less than two hundred Representatives, nor more than one Representative for every fifty thousand persons. [Not Ratified]

*Article the second* ..... The Congress, whenever they shall assemble, shall choose one Speaker of the House of Representatives, and elect two other Members, who shall hold their offices until the next Meeting of the Congress; and they shall choose their respective Clerks.

*Article the third* ..... Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

*Article the fourth* ..... The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

*Article the fifth* ..... No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

*Article the sixth* ..... In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

*Article the seventh* ..... In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

*Article the eighth* ..... Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

*Article the ninth* ..... The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

*Article the tenth* ..... The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ATTEST.

*John Hancock, President of the Senate*  
*James O. Smith, Secretary of the Senate*

*Thomas Mifflin, Speaker of the House of Representatives*  
*John Adams, Vice President of the United States, and President of the Senate*

The American Bill of Rights  
Several of the natural rights and legal protections enumerated in the United States Bill of Rights descend from rights protected by Magna Carta. A few of these include: Freedom from unlawful searches and seizures; The right to a speedy trial; A right to a jury trial in both criminal and civil cases; Protection from loss of life, liberty, or property without due process of law

The United States Bill of Rights comprises the first ten amendments to the United States Constitution. Proposed following the often bitter 1787–88 debate over the ratification of the Constitution, and written to address the objections raised by Anti-Federalists, the Bill of Rights amendments add to the Constitution specific guarantees of personal freedoms and rights, clear limitations on the government's power in judicial and other proceedings, and explicit declarations that all powers not specifically granted to the U.S. Congress by the Constitution are reserved for the states or the people. The concepts codified in these amendments are built upon those found in earlier documents, especially the Virginia Declaration of Rights (1776), as well as the English Bill of Rights (1689) and the Magna Carta (1215).



# Magna Carta 1215

## Magna Carta of King John, AD 1215

# THE DECLARATION OF THE LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL, AND COMMONS ASSEMBLED AT WESTMINSTER.



HEREAS the late King James the Second, by the Assistance of divers Evil Counsellors, Judges, and Ministers Employ'd by Him, did endeavour to Subvert and Extirpate the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom ; By Assuming and Exercising a Power of Dispensing with, and Suspending of Laws, and the Execution of Laws, without Consent of Parliament.

By Committing and Prosecuting divers Wealthy Prelates, for humbly Petitioning to be Excused from concurring to the said assumed Power,

By issuing, and causing to be Executed, a Commission under the Great Seal, for erecting a Court called, *The Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes.*

By Levying Money for and to the Use of the Crown, by pretence of Prerogative, for other time, and in other manner, than the same was granted by Parliament.

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That the Congress of the United States, at the time of their adopting the Constitution, expressed a desire, to secure in permanent and effect, the rights and liberties of the people, that further declaration and restriction should be added: And in attending the ground of public confidence in the Government, will bear down the burdens of the people.

Resolved, by the SENATE and HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA in Congress assembled, two thirds of both Houses concurring, That the following Articles be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States, as Amendments to the Constitution of the United States; all or any of which Articles, when ratified by three fourths of the said Legislatures, to be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of the said Constitution, unto such time as they shall be so ratified by three fourths of the said Legislatures, in the fifth Article of the Original Constitution.

Article the first After the first enumeration required by the first Article of the Constitution, there shall be one Representative for every thirty thousand, until the number shall amount to one hundred, after which, the proportion shall be as regulated by Congress, that there shall be not less than one hundred Representatives, nor less than one Representative for every thirty thousand persons, until the number of Representatives shall amount to two hundred, after which, the proportion shall be as regulated by Congress, that there shall not be less than two hundred Representatives, nor more than one Representative for every fifty thousand persons. [See Ratified]

Article the second No Tax, varying the compensation for the services of the Senators and Representatives, shall take effect, until an election of Representatives shall have intervened. [See Ratified]

Article the third Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government, for a redress of grievances.

Article the fourth A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

Article the fifth No Soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but he a manner to be prescribed by Law.

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Article the eighth In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by Law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

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Article the twelfth The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Attest,

John Jay, Secretary of Congress

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John Jay, Secretary of Congress

# English Bill of Rights 1688



# Banqueting Hall designed by Inigo Jones, paintings by Rubens









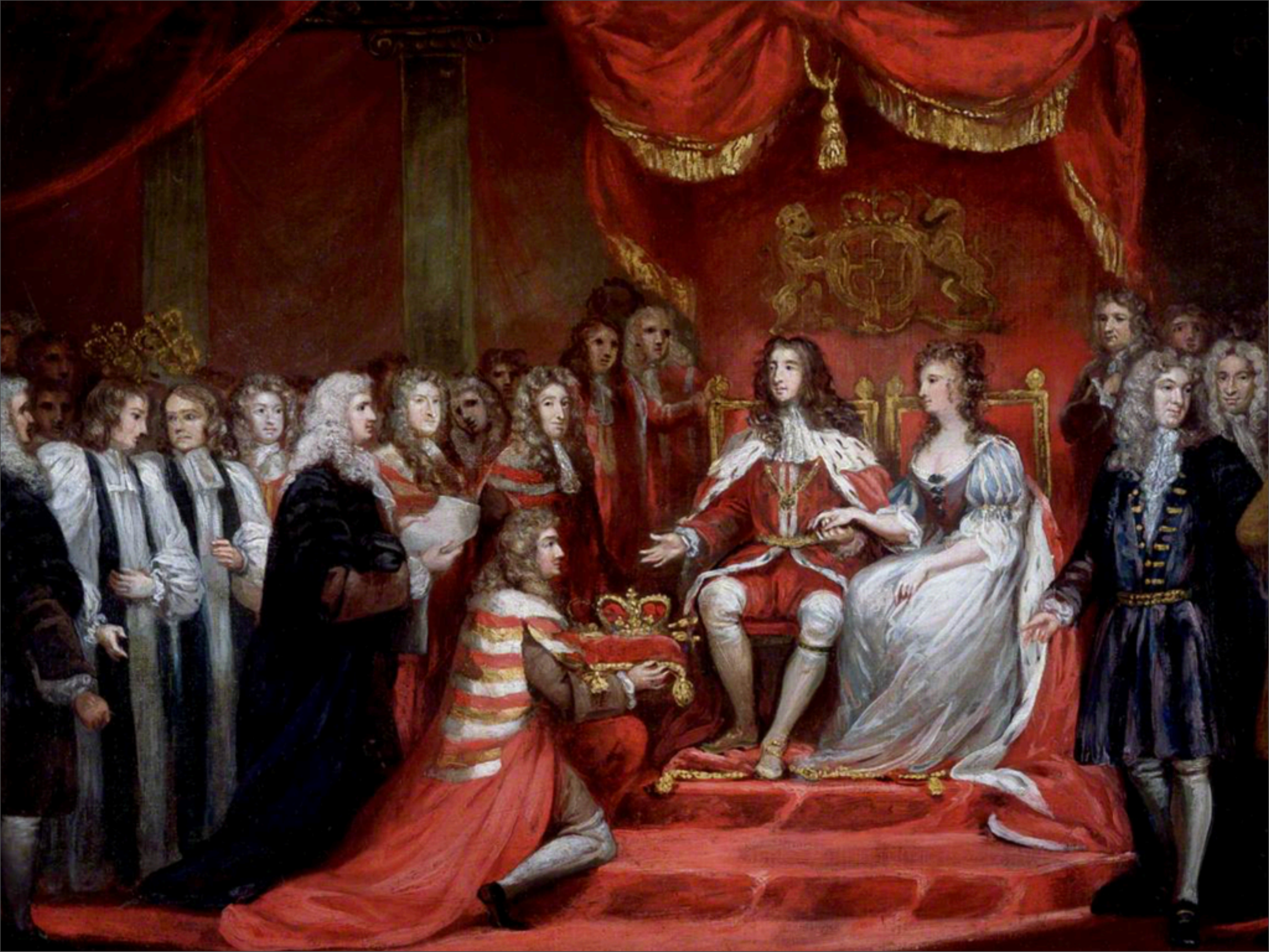




ON FEBRUARY 13, a rainy Ash Wednesday, at 10:30 in the morning, William and Mary entered Inigo Jones's Banqueting Hall, from which Charles I had stepped out to the scaffold on which he was beheaded in January 1649 and at which Charles II was received when he returned to London in the Restoration of May 1660. Before them were members of the Convention and close friends of the prince. The Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod led the Speakers of both houses, Halifax and Powle, and other peers across the great hall, under the ceiling paintings of James I that Peter Paul Rubens had painted for Charles I. There they bowed before William and Mary as they sat hand in hand under a canopy of state. The Deputy Clerk of Parliament read the Declaration of Rights that both houses had passed the day before. Then Halifax and Powle advanced with the crown and offered it to the seated William and Mary in the name of both houses as "the representative of the nation." William made a brief speech, first accepting the crown and then acknowledging the Declaration; Mary said nothing. The crowd inside responded with a great shout, echoed by those outside. Trumpeters and heralds went out into the streets in grand procession to proclaim William and Mary king and









# April 11, 1689, Coronation: King William III & Mary II





## What William Did

And as the result of the actions of one highly unlikely and not well remembered individual, William, Prince of Orange. “What William of Orange and John Churchill severally did is still enough to take your breath away if you think about it,” writes J. G. A. Pocock. And while the decisiveness of Churchill’s role in the Revolution can be debated—he did not bring large numbers of troops over to William, and the extent of the conspiracy to desert the king, which he seems to have headed, is not entirely known—there can be no question that the indispensable actor, the man who made the Revolution turn, was William of Orange. **Pocock calls him “a revolutionary actor in the history of the British monarchy” and compares him to Machiavelli’s Prince: a principe nuovo in the Netherlands, in England, in Scotland, in Ireland.**

**J.G.A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment***



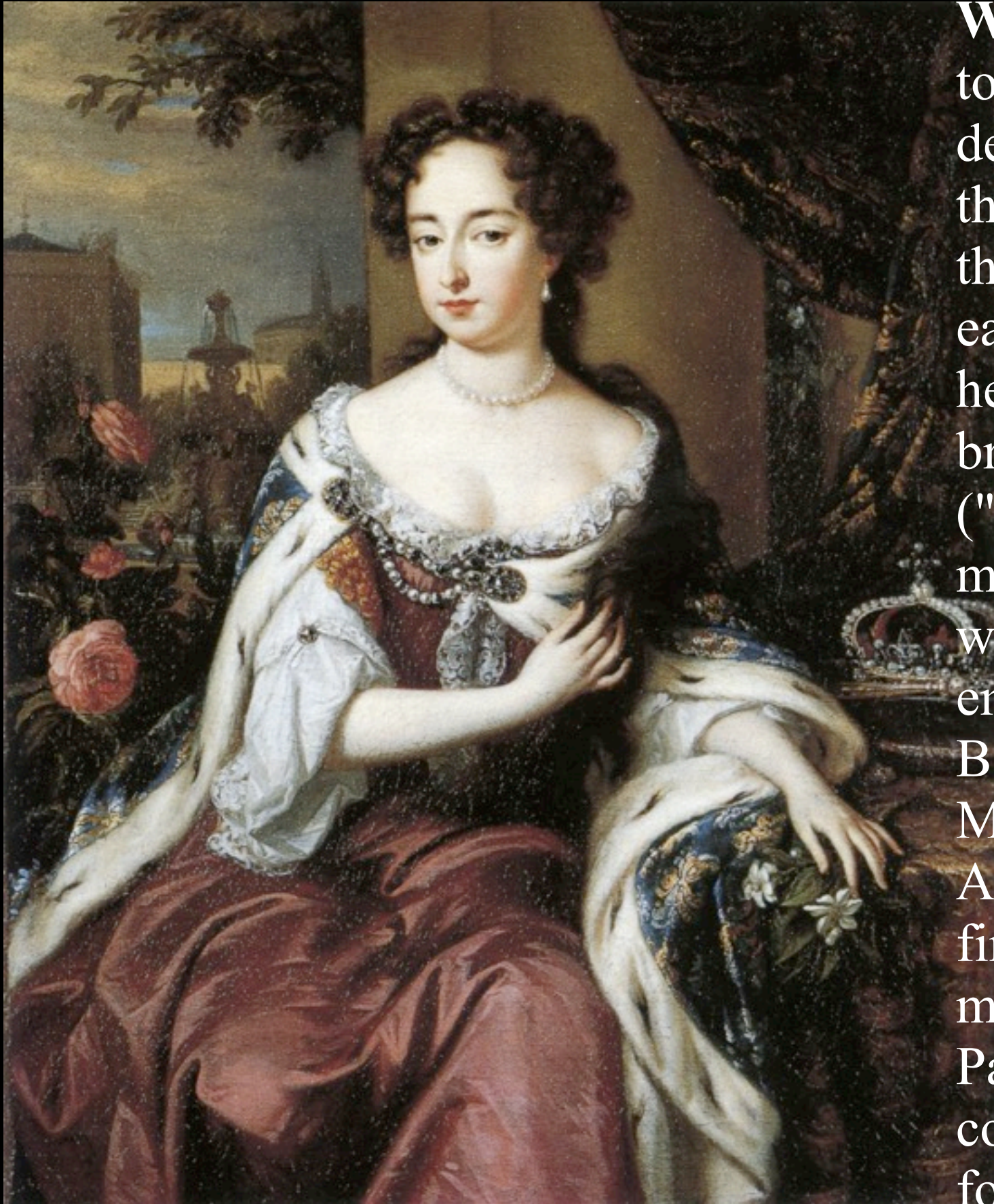


Artist  
Godfrey Kneller (1646–1723)

Death of Queen Mary 1694  
**William**, who had grown increasingly to rely on Mary, was devastated by her death, and told Burnet that "from being the happiest" he was "now going to be the miserablest creature on earth". While the Jacobites considered her death divine retribution for breaking the fifth commandment ("honor thy father"), she was widely mourned in Britain. During a cold winter, in which the Thames froze, her embalmed body lay in state in Banqueting House, Whitehall. On 5 March, she was buried at Westminster Abbey. Her funeral service was the first of any royal attended by all the members of both Houses of Parliament. For the ceremony, composer Henry Purcell wrote Music for the Funeral of Queen Mary.



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# HISTORY OF ENGLAND, Week 30 1688

Institute for the Study of Western Civilization











