

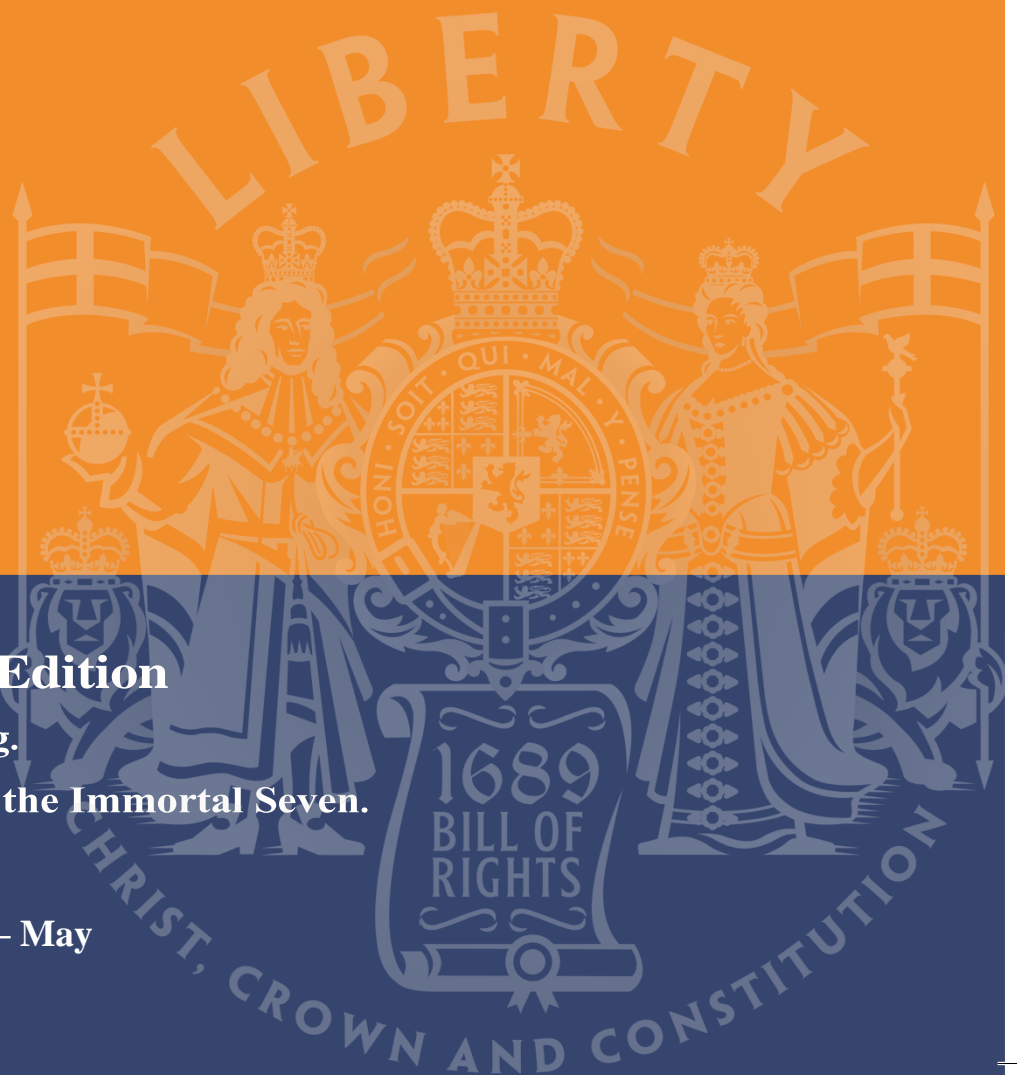
Volume 9 : Winter/Spring 2023-2024

Journal of Orange History

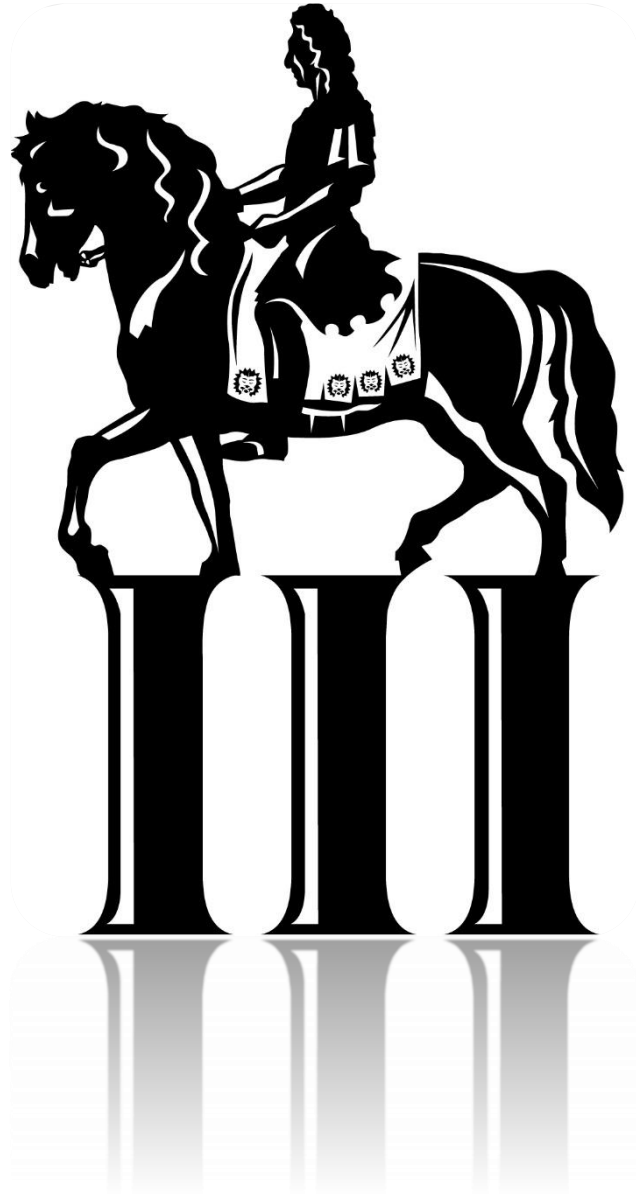


Special Liberty Edition

- Marshal Schomberg.
- A Throne Offered – the Immortal Seven.
- Liberty.
- Historical Footnotes – May Crommelin



Journal of Orange History



**Volume 9: Winter/Spring 2023-2024
Edition**

Editorial Notes

Welcome to the ninth edition of the Journal of Orange History. This is a very special edition of the Journal as it provides a platform for the subject of *Liberty*, complimenting the current theme of the temporary exhibition at Schomberg House.

The signature article in this edition of the Journal has been researched and compiled by Mark Thompson, no stranger to Ulster Scots heritage. The editorial team were so struck by the relevance, and indeed importance, of this article that the decision was taken to create this special edition of the Journal.

In 2023 the Museum of Orange Heritage launched a major temporary exhibition exploring the key principles and ideas at the heart of the Glorious Revolution – the concept of Freedom being at its core. *Liberty* – is more than just an in depth examination of the events of the Glorious Revolution, it is an attempt to highlight the origins of principles and themes that would find form during the Constitutional crisis that ranged across the British Isles between 1688 and 1691, resulting in the beginnings of our modern democratic system.

This Glorious Revolution would have a profound impact on the development of politics and society over the next three hundred years; the principles of which would inspire the American Colonists, during the war of Independence, the idealists of the French Revolution and the arguments of the United Irishmen. This exhibition draws all these threads together and demonstrates how the concepts and reforms of the Glorious Revolution continue to inspire the drive for civil and religious freedom in this modern era. This edition of our Journal reflects some of the key themes, especially the legacy of the Glorious Revolution on the development of American society.

The theme of Liberty, is one which the Museum of Orange Heritage will be focusing on for the next 12 months. We want to encourage visitors, and online communities of interest, to engage with the subject matter and explore how this period in our history has left a positive and profound inheritance, a bequest that has enriched the birthright of every one of us.

Once again, a big thank you to the Friends of Schomberg House for their generous support.

Dr. Jonathan Mattison

Curator, Museum of Orange Heritage

Journal Editing Team: Sarah Cameron, Carly Wallace and Jonathan Mattison

The Journal of Orange History is indebted to the Friends of Schomberg House museum support group for sponsoring this third edition of the Journal. Their support is greatly appreciated.

Your support of the Friends of Schomberg House would also be appreciated. To become a member or learn more about their activities and events please email us at info@goli.org.uk or keep in touch through the Museum of Orange Heritage website: www.orangeheritage.com.

Chairman's Remarks

Welcome to the 2024 edition of the Journal of Orange Heritage. As Chairman of the Friends of Schomberg House it is a privilege to launch this latest edition of the Orange Journal.

The theme of this edition is that of 'Liberty' and all the benefits it brought to the British Isles, secured by King William III during the Glorious Revolution. The Journal coincides with the Exhibition on 'Liberty', which I encourage you to visit at Schomberg House, Cregagh Road, Belfast.

This edition looks at liberty and the Glorious Revolution from an American view (by Mark Thompson), an article looking at the 'Immortal Seven' signatories to the letter which invited William of Orange to take the Throne and a piece on the Duke of Schomberg (by Dr Clifford Smyth).

Without the Glorious Revolution the divine right of Kings would have prevailed, as James II was seeking to copy his cousin, Louis XIV of France. We have so much to be thankful for what was achieved in the Glorious Revolution.

If we had remained under the rein of James II our freedoms would have been seriously curtailed. We therefore owe a debt of gratitude to the seven signatories of the infamous letter and for those who fought for our freedom, including the brave Thirteen during the Siege of Londonderry.

To put it simply, if the Glorious Revolution had failed the achievements of the Reformation would have been very much reversed.

In a World where aspects of Liberty are slowly being eroded, we must do all we can to ensure that the principles of freedom and democracy win out.

This Journal and the Exhibition at Schomberg House is, therefore, a timely reminder of the importance of civil and religious liberty achieved through the Glorious Revolution and why we as Orangemen and Women, as well as Apprentice Boys, should celebrate the victories achieved over three-hundred years ago.

Yours sincerely,

Dr Andrew D Charles

Chairman
Friends of Schomberg House

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Dr Clifford Smyth

A former teacher, Clifford is a recognized historian, writer, commentator and quest speaker. He is an authority on the history of Orangeism and has written many articles, pamphlets and other publications covering subjects of interest to the Orange Family and wider Unionist community.

Clifford's two most successful books were on the subjects of Titanic Tartans and Ian Paisley, the latter being based on his doctoral thesis at Queen's University, Belfast.

Mark Thompson

Mark Thompson's career is in branding, design and advertising. A graduate of the University of Ulster, he was Chair of the Ulster-Scots Agency for one term from 2005-2009. He is a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and a Guild Member of the Ulster Historical Foundation. He has a life-long passion for recovering local heritage.

While completing this article he was visiting family in England and stayed at 'Parliament Cottage' near Brixham in Devon, where a monument in the garden commemorates that 'William, Prince of Orange is said to have held his first Parliament here in November 1688'. The cottage was recently restored by its owners and is available as holiday accommodation. Mark is presently working on a self-published project about 'The Break of Killyleagh' of April 1689 when the people of County Down tried to resist the brutal persecution of King James II's army.

Exhibition Extract

This article is taken from part of the Liberty exhibition, currently on display in the Museum of Orange Heritage, Schomberg House, Belfast.

If you would like to learn more, please visit this FREE exhibition, which will run until Easter 2025. For additional information please visit www.orangeheritage.co.uk.

Historical Footnotes

Carly Wallace

Carly Wallace is the digitisation officer at the Museum of Orange Heritage. A recent graduate of Newcastle University with a degree in Ancient History and Archaeology. As part of my role, I aim to help the museum increase the accessibility of their archives. This will allow us to share more information with the public and help facilitate their independent research. The new digitised material will help to build upon the pre-existing catalogue information and give users a more thorough insight into the manuscripts and artefacts held at the museum.

Marshal Schomberg

By Dr Clifford Smyth

The closing years of Duke Schomberg's very long and active life were marred by controversy. Who, though, was Duke Schomberg, widely and rightly regarded as a great Protestant hero by the Orangemen of Ireland and elsewhere? Born at Heidelberg in Germany in 1615, he was the son of Meinhart von Schaumburg and Anne Sutton, daughter of the 9th Lord Dudley. At the age of 17, he commenced his military career as a professional soldier. He sought employment where he could find it and between 1633 and 1650. He served in the Dutch, then Swedish, and finally the French Army. In the following decades, between 1652 and 1685, he served Louis XIV in the cause of the French king. He was generously rewarded by Louis.

A major change occurred in his fortunes with the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in October 1685. It is estimated that 400,000 French Huguenots fled their native land seeking refuge in Protestant countries that were sympathetic to their cause. These countries included England, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Ireland and South Africa. The Huguenots were the commercial and industrial backbone of Seventeenth Century French society. It is highly likely that there would not have been a French Revolution had the French king not revoked the Edict of Nantes. During the time that the Edict was enforced, the existence and prosperity of the Protestant community in France was widely tolerated.

Curiously, though born in Germany, Schomberg was not a Lutheran by religion. He was in fact a Calvinist, following the religious principles of the Huguenots. Having left France, he became Commander-in-Chief of the army of William of Brandenburg. In Schomberg's journeys across Europe, he first encountered William of Orange at The Hague, where their friendship began to blossom. Meanwhile, his French property was confiscated and his pension stopped. It has been said of Schomberg that 'he was a man of great calmness, application and conduct, and thought much better than he spoke, of true judgement, exacting probity, and of a humble and obliging temper. He had a thorough knowledge of the world, knew men and things better than any man of his profession ever did, and was as great in council as at the head of an army. In his declining years, his memory was much impaired, but his judgement remained clear and true till the last. He was courteous and affable, yet had an air of grandeur that commanded respect'.

In November 1688, Schomberg accompanied William of Orange to England, and so began the most controversial time in his military career. During the night of the 17 of December, the Dutch Guards who got possession of the posts at and around Whitehall replaced the Coldstream Guards. On the following morning, James left Whitehall for Rochester, never to return. On the evening of that day, William Prince of Orange, accompanied by Marshal Schomberg, arrived quietly at St James's Palace. There he was welcomed by all ranks and professions. This bloodless victory formed a striking contrast to what was going on in Ireland.

Eleven days before William of Orange entered London, the famous gates of Londonderry had been closed. The period of the Siege of Derry had begun. The Williamite Campaign in Ireland would last nearly three years, from the shutting of the gates of Derry to the surrender of the city of Limerick. Schomberg was now rewarded with £100,000 from Parliament, received a Dukedom and was appointed to the Order of the Garter. He was now to command an expedition to Ireland.

There was no difficulty in mustering the required number of horse and foot soldiers, but the providing of transports, artillery and provisions caused great delays that frustrated Schomberg. His solution was to march all his forces to Portpatrick in Scotland and from Portpatrick set sail for Ireland. Had this policy been adopted, three or four months would have been gained, Bonnie Dundee's rebellion in Scotland might not have occurred, and it is also very likely that Londonderry would have been relieved and its ghastly sufferings averted. James II's attempts to form a strong army in Ireland might not have succeeded, and in consequence the French would have hesitated about intervening in Ireland. Schomberg's proposal, however, was rejected.

Schomberg and his fleet, consisting of nearly one hundred vessels, reached Groomsport, because Carrickfergus Castle was in the hands of the Jacobites. Ten thousand soldiers in Schomberg's army were disembarked on the southern shores of Belfast Lough. The Jacobites fled and the shoreline was covered with vast crowds of Protestants, men, women and children, old and young, falling on their knees with tears in their eyes and thanking God for his great deliverance. Horses, cattle and sheep were brought for the use of the army and prices were so reasonable that a quarter of mutton could be bought for 6 pence.

On the 17 of August, the General marched his army towards Belfast. This involved transporting the heavy artillery over the Long Bridge at the Lagan. The bridge had been constructed in 1682, and the weight of the cannon caused some of the new unseasoned

stonework to sink and crack. The structural damage remained visible until the demolition of the bridge in 1840. After the army entered Belfast, scouting parties were sent out to check the Irish soldiery who were laying waste to the country.

We now turn our attention to the siege of Carrickfergus, which was strongly garrisoned by Jacobite forces. There were a number of attempts at parleying but the terms that the Jacobites demanded struck Schomberg as far too generous and so the Duke gave orders for the engineers and artillery to prosecute the siege vigorously. There was continuous firing of great and small shot, while six warships supported the military operations against the castle from Belfast Lough. The results upon Carrickfergus town were disastrous, and the town's Protestant inhabitants suffered the most.

Six am on the morning of Tuesday the 27 of August saw the white flag of surrender raised. The Jacobites were permitted to march out of the castle with colours flying, and were allowed to take with them their own baggage. Carrickfergus Castle was now in the hands of Schomberg's forces, after a siege lasting over six days. The Williamite flags were raised in the joint names of William and Mary.

The condition of the Protestant population in the larger portion of the island which lay in Jacobite hands was grim. James's army and its rabble had plundered the Protestants in the rural areas while James's parliament in Dublin had confiscated the estates of 2,600 landowners. Under a very cruel Act, many titled people of both sexes were charged with treason and were doomed to suffer the pains of death and forfeiture.

The most pressing issue for James was the absence of money. The war had wreaked havoc with Ireland's economy, and in consequence the royal revenues declined markedly. James's solution was to debase Ireland's currency and he issued the infamous 'brass money'. This was made out of metal that had been melted down from brass artillery pieces. The appearance of 'brass money' would give rise to the famous Orange Charter Toast, one version of which contains the following humorous lines:

'To the glorious, pious and immortal memory of the great and good King William, who saved us from popery, slavery, priestcraft and knavery, brass money, and wooden shoes, and who allowed a debtor to walk on Sunday, and he who will not drink this toast shall be rammed, crammed and jammed down the Big Gun of Athlone, and shot up against the Rock of Gibraltar, and his bones made into

sparables [boot nails] to make boots for decent Protestants, and a fig for the Bishop of Cork.’

The upshot of this debasement of the currency was inflation. Even threats could not induce the population to accept the new currency at face value. Ireland’s economy deteriorated even further, and it is little wonder that James II was losing heart and hoped that he would soon be leaving Ireland.

At the beginning of autumn, the Williamite army, led by Marshal Schomberg, reached Loughbrickland and encamped in two lines there. The district had been laid waste because the fearful inhabitants had fled, leaving their corn reaped but not bound up. Three miles beyond the camp were the Enniskillen Horse and Dragoons, because Schomberg, learning of their heroism, had appointed them to the position of advance guard.

Schomberg was informed that Newry was in ashes. The Jacobites had abandoned the town, but not before they had set it ablaze. The Williamites continued their march and when they reached Newry extinguished the fires, which were still burning.

On the 7 of September, the Williamites marched to Dundalk. The selection of the site of the Williamite camp near Dundalk was a matter of necessity rather than choice, and the ground was low and waterlogged. However, the Duke was anxious to keep as near to the sea as possible, for he had still to receive his artillery from Chester and provisions were much needed. The Jacobites knew what would happen as a result of keeping raw English recruits on damp ground. Before retreating, the Jacobites had boasted to the Protestants who remained in the locality that the Williamites would be driven into the sea or the invaders would perish through the rigours of the climate or by enduring hardships to which none of them were accustomed. Schomberg was fully aware of the hazard to which he was exposed and took care to have at his headquarters in the town two battalions of the Enniskilleners and Levison’s Dragoons with some horse. He fortified Dundalk and had strong entrenchments thrown up at the camp on the other side of the river.

While Schomberg was fortifying Dundalk and his camp, the Jacobites were in Drogheda. Reinforcements were sent to the small Jacobite army by Tyrconnell, bringing the total number of soldiers at James’s disposal to 38,000, of which over 30,000 were well armed. This was a moment of acute danger for Schomberg. The Jacobites could successfully have attacked Schomberg’s troops at Dundalk because the fortifications were incomplete, no provisions had arrived, and sickness was spreading in the camp. At that time, this sickness was called ‘the

flux', and it is widely believed to have been a form of dysentery. At last four ships arrived in Carlingford Bay, and on the 13th of September an abundant supply of bread was brought into the camp. For his part, Schomberg, feeling that the enemy had come quite near enough to him, hurried on with his defensive works. An alarm was sounded in the camp on Saturday the 21st of September, reacting to the appearance of the enemy in full force. Schomberg was compelled to act on the defensive. That afternoon the Jacobites gave every appearance of being ready to fight. They advanced within cannon shot of the Williamite trenches, but Schomberg resolved not to make any movement until they came much nearer. The foot soldiers and the cavalry were all to wait until they heard the signal gun go off; but miraculously the signal gun was not heard and there was no battle. Both armies stood looking at each other for some time, and then the Jacobites retired. The Duke did not order any pursuit. The fact that no battle took place raised more issues about Schomberg's controversial handling of the Williamite campaign thus far. However, this takes no account of the fact that many in Schomberg's army were either ill or dying.

Unexpectedly, two French soldiers in the Williamite army were arrested in the act of deserting to the enemy. Information came to light of a plot amongst the French soldiers and it was discovered that a number of French Roman Catholics had joined the Williamite army in disguise. As there were numerous French Huguenots in the army, it was not difficult for French Roman Catholics to infiltrate Schomberg's forces. The French soldiers engaged in the plot were banished from the army in disgrace.

Schomberg decided to retreat northwards and make his winter camp at Lisburn. In May 1690, Schomberg seized the last Jacobite stronghold in Ulster at Charlemont. This fortification was commanded by Teague O'Regan. It was well known that the garrison lacked food and ammunition and was rumoured to be thoroughly demoralised. Charlemont was a formidable castle and its capture might have involved a protracted siege; therefore Schomberg was disposed to deal as mercifully as possible with the garrison. O'Regan, however, spared the Williamites any further trouble, because seeing no hope of relief, the fort being completely surrounded, he sent a lieutenant-colonel and a captain to the Duke with terms of surrender, which were accepted. Schomberg himself arrived at Charlemont to oversee the surrender. After the Jacobites had gone about half a mile, they halted so that Schomberg could view them. There were two battalions made up of about 400 soldiers in each, and between them, in a body by themselves, were 200 women and children. Then Teague O'Regan himself appeared, mounted on an old horse, very lame with spavin and ringbone (both types of arthritis) and other

deformities; but despite that, the horse was so vicious that he kicked and squealed if anyone came near him. O'Regan was hump-backed, wearing a plain red coat and an old weather-beaten wig hanging down at full length. His uniform further consisted of a little narrow white beaver hat cocked up, a yellow cravat slovenly thrown around his neck, boots with innumerable wrinkles in them and, although the day was hot, a huge muffler. To crown it all, the ex-governor of Charlemont was much the worse for brandy. Thus mounted and equipped, Teague rode up to the Duke to pay him his respects; but the horse began to lunge and the conversation was very brief. The Duke smiled afterwards and said, 'Teague's horse was very mad, and the man himself very drunk', and so they parted.

On taking possession of the fort at Charlemont, Schomberg found its position to be capable of a strong defence, which confirmed his wisdom in accepting the Jacobites' terms of surrender. This victory at Charlemont brought to a close the Duke Schomberg's campaign.

In June of that year William of Orange arrived to take command of all military operations. William is reported to have treated the elderly Schomberg with some disdain. In the Duke's communications to the King, he set out the many difficulties he had encountered in the campaign. His English soldiers knew nothing about soldiering, they were totally ignorant of manual and platoon exercise, and their shooting was more dangerous to friends than to enemies. Schomberg was in a strange land, the roads of which were cattle tracks and the people for the most part demoralised and on the verge of barbarism. Judging from the Duke's communications to William, the obstacles he had to encounter would have been insurmountable to an ordinary man. The reality, however, was that Schomberg had actually achieved a number of important military and strategic aims. He had secured a bridgehead, and this ensured that the route to Dublin had been opened up. He had driven the Jacobites out of Ulster. In refusing to do battle with the Jacobites in circumstances where his army was ill-provisioned and greatly weakened by sickness, he had avoided a defeat that could have proved disastrous to the Williamite cause.

As William III's international forces prepared to do battle at the Boyne River, late in the evening of the 30 of June, William held a council of war, and without asking the advice of his officers declared his determination to force the passage of the river next morning. At this point, Duke Schomberg made an alternative proposal, suggesting to William that his forces engage in a flanking movement by crossing over Slane's Bridge and attacking the Jacobite forces three miles upriver. William rejected this advice because he had already made his mind up and was

determined on a frontal assault across the Boyne, which offered only three or four safe crossing points. William's decision to reject Schomberg's advice may have been influenced by powerful family considerations. Had the Williamite forces crossed at Slane's Bridge they would have cut off the Jacobite retreat to Dublin and therefore there was the likelihood that James II, William's father-in-law, might become a prisoner of war and a captive in his son-in-law's hands.

The battle was now joined and Schomberg, trying to urge on his Huguenot cavalry, found himself cut off from his own forces. Surrounded by enemy cavalry, he received severe sword wounds to the head and a pistol shot to the neck, which left the ancient German Marshal mortally wounded. Almost at the same time, Rev. George Walker of Derry also received a fatal wound. Schomberg was buried under the altar in St Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin, where his mortal remains were largely ignored. Then, in 1731, Dean Swift, the world-famous satirist and author of *Gulliver's Travels*, advocated for recognition of the general and the cathedral chapter placed a memorial plaque close to the spot where he had been buried.

In 1736, a monument or obelisk was erected at the place where the Williamite forces had forced a passage across the river at the Battle of the Boyne. The monument itself bore the following inscriptions in Latin and English:

'In perpetuam rei tam foriter quam faeliciter gestae memoriam hic, publicae gratitudinis monumentum, fundaminibus ipse suis posuit Lionellus Dux Dorsetiae, 17 die Aprilis, Anno, 1736.

Meinhard, Duke Schomberg, in passing this River, died bravely fighting in defence of Liberty.

July 1, 1690.

This monument was erected by the grateful contributions of several Protestants of Great Britain and Ireland.

Sacred to the Glorious Memory of King William III.

Who on 1 July, 1690, passed the river near this place to attack James II, at the head of a Popish army, advantageously posted on the South side of it; and on that day by a successful battle secured to us and our posterity our Liberty, Laws, and Religion. In consequence of this action, James II left this Kingdom, and fled to

France. This Memorial of our Deliverance was erected in the 9th year of the reign of George II, the first stone being laid by Lionel Sackville, Duke of Dorset, Lord Lieutenant of the Kingdom of Ireland, 1736.'

The Boyne Obelisk became a target for cultural cleansing when it was blown up by members of the Free State Army on the 31 of May 1923, shortly after the conclusion of Ireland's bitter Civil War.

Today Schomberg is rightly viewed as an Orange hero and his memory is perpetuated in Orange balladry, including the whimsical 'Orange ABC' and another ballad simply entitled 'Schomberg'. His portrait also appears on Orange banners and of course in Schomberg House itself.

A Throne Offered – The Immortal Seven

Extract from the *LIBERTY* Exhibition

The extent to which tyranny appeared to be winning the political battle in British Isles during the 1680s, cannot be underestimated. To many, especially within the Establishment, James II was copying his cousin Louis XIV, and taking more and more power upon himself, as Monarch, at the expense of Parliament and therefore the people.

Whether by accident or design, James II, through his actions, managed to alienate politicians, church leaders, and military commanders . This created an atmosphere of conspiracy against the monarch, an atmosphere that would be capitalised on by seven key figures. They would become known as *the Immortal Seven*.

Widespread public disquiet over the trial of the Seven Bishops, encouraged leading opponents of James II to act. Any delay could be disastrous for their cause.

Tyranny

Even before James II had become king, there were those plotting his overthrow. The coffee houses of Amsterdam and The Hague bristled with discontented exiles, while many at home whispered in softer, but nonetheless sincere tones; “Who could replace James?” The tyranny of James II was felt by others across the British isles. In Scotland **James Graham of Claverhouse** had harried the Covenanters, while in Ireland **Richard Talbot** was dismissing Protestants from the Town Corporations and the judiciary.

On the same day that the Seven Bishops were acquitted, a group of seven politicians, landowners and soldiers met outside London. This group represented an odd mix of Whigs and Tories, Catholic converts, and clergy, united in one common cause – the deposing of James II. The result of their meeting was the drafting of an official invitation to William, Prince of Orange, to assume the throne and protect the law and liberties of the land.

Popular Support for the Immortal Seven

The invitation confirmed that popular feeling was against James II; “...there are nineteen parts of twenty of the people throughout the kingdom, who are desirous of a change...”

Privately, William had sought such an invitation. The last thing he wanted was to become embroiled in a bitter civil war for the throne, a war that would have proven a costly distraction from his conflict with Louis XIV in Europe. The letter was signed by **Henry Compton**, Bishop

of London, **Charles Talbot**, Twelfth Earl of Shrewsbury, **Henry Sidney**, **Admiral Edward Russell**, **Thomas Osborne**, First Earl of Danby, **Richard Lumley**, Baron Lumley and **William Cavendish**, Fourth Earl of Devonshire, 'the Immortal Seven'.

It allowed William to justifiably claim that he had been invited as a Liberator and not an invading conqueror. He did not bring a massive army to England, instead relying on local supporters to rally to his cause.

Charles Talbot, 1st Duke of Shrewsbury (1550 – 1718)

Born to Roman Catholic parents, he remained in the faith until 1679. Under, James II he became a Captain to defeat the Monmouth Rebellion. In 1687, he resigned from the post, as King James II was pressurising him to return to the Roman Catholic Faith.

Charles Talbot was one of the 'immortal seven' who, in 1688, invited Prince William of Orange to invade England. His home became the headquarters for the opposition to King James II. Charles Talbot was a strong support of the Revolution Settlement recognising William and Mary as Sovereigns. During the reign of William III and Mary II, Charles Talbot became the Secretary of State for the Southern Department (Home Office). This made him responsible for Ireland, France, and other European countries. He resigned from this post in 1690, whilst the Tories held the majority in Parliament. During this time, Charles Talbot brought forward the Triennial Bill.

In 1694, Talbot became Secretary of State again. It is stated at this time, Charles Talbot was in correspondence with exiled James II in France. This caused some suspicion in the Court about his loyalty. Despite William being presented with evidence about this contact, he refused to act.

On the 30 April 1694, Charles Talbot became the Marquess of Alton and the 1st Duke of Shrewsbury. He acted as one of the King's Regent, whilst he was away from the Court. After further accusations of treason, by Sir John Fenwick, Charles Talbot resigned from public office.

Charles Talbot spent several years exiled in Rome. He returned to British politics under the reign of Queen Anne. He died aged 57 at his London home on the 1 February 1718.

Edward Russell, 1st Earl of Oxford (1653 – 1727)

Born the youngest son of Edward, 4th Earl of Bedford, and his wife Penelope, daughter of Moyses Hill of Hillsborough, County Down, Edward briefly attended St. John's College, Cambridge, before entering the Royal Navy. It was as a Naval officer that he would carve out a successful career.

Edward's first real naval action took place in the Battle of Solebay, 1672, when the British and French Fleet were surprised by a Dutch attack. He would steadily rise through the ranks after his first appointment as Captain of *HMS Phoenix* in June 1672.

In 1683, Edward's naval career came to an abrupt halt. In fact, that year saw the whole Russell family fall out of favour as a consequence of a relative, Lord Russell, being implicated in a plot against Charles II and the smooth succession of his brother James, Duke of York.

Edward left England and sought refuge in Amsterdam becoming heavily involved in the political intrigue and planning that would eventually result in the Glorious Revolution. He continued to encourage opponents of James II, in England, and became one of the *Immortal Seven* who would invite William and Mary to take the throne. Moreover, he would serve as a secretary to William, Prince of Orange, during the planning of William's invasion in 1688.

In 1689 Edward was elected as a Whig Member of Parliament for Launceston and appointed as Treasurer of the Navy. In that same year he was made an Admiral and placed in charge of guarding the English Channel. A year later he took command of the Navy after the disastrous defeat at the Battle of Beachy Head, and went on to supply Naval support to the Williamite campaign in Ireland.

Henry Compton, Bishop of London (1632 – 1713)

Born the youngest son of the 2nd Earl of Northampton, young Henry would be attended Queen's College, Oxford, but left the university without achieving a degree in 1654. Initially he travelled across Europe before being appointed a Cornet in the Royal Regiment of Horse, after the restoration of the monarchy under Charles II.

Henry left the army, entered the church, and returned to his studies, graduating with a degree in Divinity, and being appointed as Rector of Cottenham. He held several positions before being made Bishop of Oxford in 1674, and then to the See of London in 1675. Henry was

appointed to the Privy Council and also entrusted with the education of James II's daughters, Princesses Mary and Anne.

Unlike many in the leadership of the Church of England, he favoured lenient treatment for Protestant dissenting denominations and encouraged debate on this issue, hoping to encourage a union of the same. Despite this view, he was strongly opposed to Roman Catholicism. As a result of this stance James II dismissed him as Dean of the Chapel Royal.

Henry was a strong supporter of William, Prince of Orange, and the Glorious Revolution, and was one of the *Immortal Seven* who signed the invitation to William and Mary to take the throne. He performed the ceremony at the Coronation of the newly enthroned William III and Mary II, as the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Sancroft, felt himself still bound to his oath to James II.

As Bishop of London, he would serve William and Mary, as well as Queen Anne, until his death in 1713.

Henry Sydney, 1st Earl of Romney (1641 – 1704)

Born the son of Robert Sydney, 2nd Earl of Leicester, he spent much of his early years travelling Europe with his nephew, the Earl of Sunderland. On his return to Court, he held various positions and in 1667 was commissioned as a Captain in the Holland Regiment, which was under the control of his brother Robert.

When England re-entered the Franco-Dutch War, as an ally to the Dutch, Sydney was given command of a new regiment. Although the war had ended before he saw active service, he had managed to cultivate a friendship between himself and William of Orange. With Sunderland's support, in June 1679 he was appointed Envoy to the United Provinces. The same year he was seen to support legislation to exclude James, Duke of York, from the line of succession after his brother Charles II.

However, in 1681 Charles triumphed over the exclusionists and Sydney fell into disfavour. During James II's ascent to the throne of England, Sydney lived on the continent for 3 years, secretly encouraging William to seize power. In December 1687 he returned to England at William's request and began to rally support amongst the nobility. After signing the invitation sent to William, he sailed with him from Holland in the expedition that landed at Torbay to depose James.

Sydney had a notable lack of success as the Secretary of State, and then as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1692/3. He was created Baron and Viscount in 1689 and later Earl of Romney in 1694. He continued to hold minor posts until the accession of Queen Anne in 1702.

Richard Lumley, 1st Earl of Scarborough (1650 – 1721)

From an ancient family in the North of England, Richard became 2nd Viscount Lumley on his grandfather's death in 1661/1662, his father having died earlier in 1658. He was raised a Roman Catholic but had converted to Protestantism by the time of his introduction into the House of Lords on 19 May 1685. He was created Baron Lumley by Charles II on 31 May 1681 and later played a prominent role in the rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth. He was personally responsible for Monmouth's arrest as the head of the Sussex Militia.

As one of the *Immortal Seven* he secured Newcastle for William in December 1688. Then after William became king, he appointed Lumley in rapid succession, in 1689/90, as a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, a member of the Privy Council, Colonel of the 1st Troop of the Horse Guards, Viscount Lumley of Lumley Castle, Lord Lieutenant of Northumberland and Lord Lieutenant of Durham. On 15 April 1690 he was then created the Earl of Scarborough.

He was present at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690, and afterwards in Flanders. In 1692 he was appointed Major-General and on 4 October 1694 lieutenant-general. He retired from active service in 1697, after the Treaty of Rhyswick. Between 1716 and 1717 he was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and, after his elevation, he significantly extended his family seat at Lumley Castle.

Thomas Osborne, Lord Danby (1632 – 1712)

Thomas Osborne was born the son of a Royalist Yorkshire Landowner, and therefore did not enter politics until the restoration of King Charles II in 1660. He used Crown patronage and bribery to build a parliament court based on royal supremacy, hostility to France, and strict Anglicanism. This was made evident through his support of the Test Act of 1673.

His anti-French and pro-Protestant policy led him to engineer a marriage between Princess Mary and William of Orange in 1677. During this time, however, Charles had him secretly obtain a yearly subsidy from King Louis XIV of France. In 1678 when this came to light, against a background of a nation alarmed by the Popish Plot, Danby was impeached by Parliament and committed to the Tower of London in 1679. He remained there for 5 years.

He returned to politics in 1688 where he joined six other conspirators in inviting William of Orange to invade England and seize the power from James II. Danby helped to raise northern England in support of William's cause. Despite initially supporting the theory that succession fell to Mary, he later helped to make William and Mary joint sovereigns, persuading the Convention Parliament of 1689 to endorse the same.

By 1690 he had established himself as chief minister in the new regime, and for the following 4 years he managed to maintain an uneasy balance among the feuding factions of William's Court. In 1694 he was created Duke of Leeds, but a year later he was impeached for a second time by Parliament for accepting a bribe from the East India Company. His influence began to decline, and in 1699 he was deprived of all of his offices.

William Cavendish, 1st Duke of Devonshire (1640 – 1707)

William Cavendish was the eldest son of the 3rd Earl of Devonshire. In 1661, he took his seat in parliament. In 1679, Charles II made him a Privy Councillor, however, William Cavendish and his friend Lord William Russell resigned, as they found Roman Catholic interest thrived. After Charles II refused to sign a resolution renouncing the succession of the Duke of York, William Cavendish moved a bill before the Protestant politicians in the House of Commons, in order to force an exclusion.

William Cavendish was in strong opposition of government during the reign of James II. He was fined and imprisoned for quarrelling at court. In 1688, he became one of the 'Immortal Seven' signing the document inviting Prince William of Orange to invade England. William III made him Lord High Stewart of his court.

In 1694, William III and Mary II created William Cavendish the Marquis of Hartington and the Duke of Devonshire.

Before his death in 1707, Cavendish assisted with the Union of England and Scotland. This was his final act of public service, and a very significant one for the future of the British Isles.

LIBERTY

By Mark Thompson

"And we, for our part, will concur in everything that may procure the peace and happiness of the nation, which a free and lawful Parliament shall determine, since we have nothing before our eyes, in this our undertaking, but the preservation of the Protestant religion, the covering of all men from persecution for their consciences, and the securing to the whole nation the free enjoyment of all their laws, rights, and liberties, under a just and legal government."

From *The Declaration of His Highness William Henry, by the Grace of God, Prince of Orange, etc.*, 10 October 1688.

INTRODUCING LIBERTY IN 1688 AND 1776

From our era, people often simplistically look back to 1688 and regard it as an expression of loyalty, and 1776 as an expression of disloyalty. This perspective is untrue. Both were expressions of liberty – with the very same liberties which were first established in the British Isles in 1688 being reclaimed in the British colonies in America in 1776.

Our ancestors have never been unthinkingly loyal¹. If so, they would have supported King James II against King William III. But our ancestors had within them a profound sense of justice and liberty.

On 4 July each year, the United States of America celebrates its birth, marking the famous date when the *Declaration of Independence* was published in Philadelphia in 1776. Of the three names that were printed on the first edition, two were Ulster-born – **Charles Thomson** from Upperlands, and **John Dunlap** from Strabane.

2026 will be the 250th anniversary, and major projects and events are being planned across the world. The official America250 project was launched last December, in Boston, with a huge re-enactment of the 250th anniversary of the Boston Tea Party of 16 December 1773. ‘Sons of Ulster’ had also been involved in it, most notably a **Dr Thomas Young** (born in Ulster County, New York, to Presbyterian parents who had emigrated from Belfast via Corboy in County Longford) and **Hugh Williamson** (his mother was from Londonderry, his father a Presbyterian who had emigrated via Dublin). Very soon, rural communities beyond Boston, across the 13 colonies in America, rose up – first in writing, and later in arms.

What very few people understand today is that, at the time, the inhabitants of the American colonies (the population of which was around 90% from the British Isles, and 90% various shades of Protestant) didn’t actually want to be independent from Britain. They wanted their full British rights, as had been written down in law by the joint, ‘gender-equal’, monarchy of King William III and Queen Mary II in their *Declaration* of 1688 and later formulated and passed into law in their *Bill of Rights* of 1689. Those rights had been steadily abandoned and eroded by subsequent monarchs in the years that followed. Even at home, an organisation called the *Society of Gentlemen Supporters of the Bill of Rights* was founded in London in 1769.

¹ D. W. Miller, *Queen's rebels: Ulster loyalism in historical perspective* (Chicago, 1978).

When, in the 1760s and 1770s, the London government and King George III consistently treated the American colonists and their 13 Colonial Assemblies as second class citizens, and refused to permit them their full British rights, multiple protests began. The colonists made an important distinction in that they protested the actions of the London Parliament, whilst at the same time expressing their ongoing loyalty to the Crown.

Eventually revolution became plausible, but only because it was legally justified. Men like **John Adams** (a Boston lawyer who had successfully defended Royal soldiers in court after the ‘Boston Massacre’ riot of 1770, and who would later become the second President of the United States) were well aware of the legislative relationship between the colonies and London. So the colonists took inspiration from the previous revolution which had founded British democracy, and from which the key documents and philosophies still existed – the Glorious Revolution of King William III and Queen Mary II of 1688. Any new revolution in America would be non-treasonous because American acts would be founded upon “the principles of the [Glorious] Revolution.”²

The Americans of 1776 were not anti-British, they wished to be fully British. The colonists of 1776, such as Boston Tea Party leader **Samuel Adams** who had been one of the founders of the *Sons of Liberty* movement, were the transatlantic grandchildren of 1688.

“... Adams hammered the issue of taxation over the mid-1760s into a matter which defined Americans as an oppressed and dictated-to people – brilliantly so, by constructing Americans as British subjects with rights deriving from 1649 and 1688. It was thus the Americans who were the true heirs of England’s Glorious Revolution, while the increasingly imperial Britain of George III represented the negation of that revolution...”³

Even in London the similarities were understood. The Whig politician **Charles James Fox** regarded King George III as “an aspiring tyrant” and wrote, “the Americans have done no more than the English did against James II.”⁴

² G. Wills, *Inventing America, Jefferson’s Declaration of Independence* (Boston, 2002), p. 52.

³ G. Rundle, *Sam Adams: the first professional revolutionary*, www.spiked-online.com (29 December 2008).

⁴ J. H. Hazleton, *The Declaration of Independence, its History* (New York, 1906), p. 237.

Many of our present day ‘western’ human rights spring from 1688 and 1776. *The Encyclopedia of Human Rights* gives this summary;

“The influence of the English Bill of Rights is evident in the Declaration of Independence; it set a precedent for the American colonists by declaring to their king that they had rights, the king had violated those rights, and they would not tolerate any such violations in the future... The American founders did not simply copy the ideas found in the English Bill of Rights; they modified and expanded upon those ideas in a way that reflects the political and philosophical environment of eighteenth-century colonial America.”⁵

This article is not yet another ‘greatest hits’ of generic Ulster-Scots-American history. Rather it will attempt to show the specific concepts of liberty which connect 1688 with 1776. It will give an overview of many of the key thinkers in the era of the American Revolution, their desire to remain British, their direct inspiration from the Glorious Revolution, a brief analysis of William’s *Declaration* of 1688 and *Bill of Rights* of 1689, and the opportunities that arise for our generation by recovering this transatlantic understanding of Liberty.

⁵ David P. Forsythe ed., *The Encyclopedia of Human Rights* (2009), p. 53.

CHARTERS OF LIBERTY

The Glorious Revolution of 1688 had restored liberty to the British Isles, and also to the young British colonies in America.

Generations earlier, the first of those colonies which had been established at Jamestown in Virginia in 1607, was granted a preparatory Royal charter by King James VI & I on 10 April 1606 which promised full British rights to the colonists there;

"that all and every the Persons being our Subjects, which shall dwell and inhabit within every or any of the said several Colonies and Plantations, and every of their children, which shall happen to be born within any of the Limits and Precincts of the said several Colonies and Plantations, shall have and enjoy all Liberties, Franchises, and Immunities, within any of our other Dominions, to all Intents and Purposes, as if they had been abiding and born within this our Realm of England or any other of our said Dominions."⁶

Diminishing Liberty

King James VI & I had also overseen and approved settlement schemes in Scotland and Ulster. However, the monarchs who followed – Charles I, Charles II, and James II, had diminished the people's rights. A song entitled *A Dose for the Tories* (based upon the song *A Begging I Will Go*) was printed in Ireland in 1775 and reprinted in America, which included the lines;

“With places and with pensions, like Charles and James of old
They rob us of our Liberty, and sell us all for gold.
Our brethren in America, with tyranny they grieve
And they make us praise their deeds, with lies they us deceive
Their ports and harbours they've block't up and all their trade they've stoppt
So all the poor are left to starve, and we must shut up shop.”⁷

This 1775 description of starvation caused by King George III's blockade of Boston port reads very much like King James II's Siege of Derry in 1689.

⁶ *The First Charter of Virginia*, www.avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/va01.asp.

⁷ Anon, *A Dose for the Tories*, Library of Congress, www.loc.gov.

18 April 1689: the Siege of Derry and the Boston Revolt

On the very day that the Siege had commenced, 18 April 1689, a revolt against King James II, and in support of King William III, began in Boston, Massachusetts – instigated by a sailor called John Winslow who had arrived in Boston with a copy of William’s *Declaration*.

“Scarcely any thing could be more gloomy than the state of public affairs in New England at the beginning of the year 1689 but in the midst of darkness light arose. On the 5th of November 1688 the prince of Orange landed at Torbay in England. He immediately published a declaration of his design in visiting the kingdom. A copy of this was received in April 1689 at Boston by Mr Winslow a gentleman from Virginia.”⁸

Around 2000 colonists took up arms, raised flags on Beacon Hill (some sources say one was orange) and the *Declaration* was reprinted in Boston for wider circulation. The Bostonians published their own, entitled *A public Declaration of the Gentlemen, Merchants, and Inhabitants of Boston, and the Countrey Adjacent* in the market square, including this reference;

“... the Almighty God hath been pleased to prosper the noble undertaking of the Prince of Orange, to preserve the three Kingdoms ...”⁹

Bostonian John Adams would later write;

“It ought to be remembered that there was a Revolution here, as well as in England, and that we, as well as the people of England, made an original express contract with King William.”¹⁰

1689: Maryland and Enniskillen

An Ulster-Scots emigrant community who had already settled on the coast of Maryland, and who were already describing themselves in court documents as ‘Scotch Irish’, also published their own expression of loyalty to King William III and Queen Mary II which was entitled *Address of the Inhabitants of the County of Somersett* on 28 November 1689. It was signed by 239 men including three Presbyterian ministers who were also originally from Ulster.

⁸ D. Ramsay M.D., *The History of the American Revolution*, Volume 1, (Philadelphia, 1789), p. 134

⁹ *The Declaration of the Gentlemen, Merchants, and Inhabitants of Boston, and the Country Adjacent. April 18, 1689.* www.colonialsociety.org.

¹⁰ G. Wills, *Inventing America, Jefferson’s Declaration of Independence* (Boston, 2002), p. 53.

To the King and Queen most Ext Majty.

Wee your Majesty's Subjects in the Somersett and Province of Maryland, being refreshed and Encouraged by your Majestys great and prosperous undertakings, and by your late gracious letter to these of this Province, do cast ourselves at your Majesty's feet humbly desiring and hopefully expecting the continuance of your Maj care of us, as our Case and Circumstances doe or may require, in the confidence whereof wee resolve to continue (by the grace of God) in the Profession and defence of the Protestant Religion and your Majesty's Title and interest against the French and other Papists that oppose and trouble us in soe just and good a cause not doubting but your Majestys wisdom and clemency will afford unto us all needful suitable Aid and Protection for securing our Religion, lives and liberty under Protestant Governors and Government, and for enabling us to defend ourselves against all Invaders. Thus praying for your Majestys long and happy Reigne over us, Wee know ourselves to bee (with due Reverence and sincerity),

Your Majestys Loyall Obedient and humble Subjects.¹¹

It is very similar to an *Address to King and Queen* which had been issued by the people of Enniskillen¹² that August. William's *Declaration* of 1688, and William and Mary's *Bill of Rights* of 1689 provided the basis for new legislation for the colonies, such as the *Charter of Massachusetts Bay* of 1691, which was also known as the *Charter of William and Mary*.

1702: William's Death and the Introduction of the Test Acts

The reign of William and Mary had brought an end to the brutal tyranny in England and Scotland, and also new liberties to Ulster. However, following William's death in 1702, the new Queen Anne began to introduce repressive Test Act laws – a plaque in First Derry Presbyterian Church commemorates those who resigned from the Londonderry Corporation in 1704 in protest.

1707: Francis Makemie's Victory for Religious Liberty

¹¹ *Address of the Inhabitants of the County of Somersett on 28 November 1689*, various online sources.

¹² W.C. Trimble, *The history of Enniskillen with reference to some manors in co. Fermanagh, and other local subjects*, (Enniskillen, 1920) p. 589.

In 1707 Queen Anne's cousin, Lord Cornbury, who was Governor of New York and New Jersey, had the Ulster Presbyterian Minister Francis Makemie arrested in New York for preaching without a licence. Makemie, born in Donegal, had been invited to join the Maryland community in 1683. In court Makemie argued that King William's Toleration Act of 1689 guaranteed religious liberties for all Protestants and not just Anglicans, and that it applied equally to the American colonies as well as Britain. Makemie "held that no private directions of the Queen to her agent had the force of law"¹³. Accused by Cornbury "How dare you take upon you to preach in my government without my licence?" Makemie responded;

"We have Liberty from an Act of Parliament, made the first year of the reign of King William and Queen Mary, which gave us Liberty, with which law we have complied."¹⁴

Makemie won his case, which is described on a plaque that was installed in New York City in 1982 as "the first great victory here for religious liberty."

By 1718 vast emigration from Ulster to America was underway, the first ships carrying battle-scarred survivors of the Siege of Derry into the ports around Boston.¹⁵

¹³ J. H. Smylie, 'Francis Makemie: Tradition and Challenge', *Journal of Presbyterian History*, Volume 61, No. 2 (Philadelphia 1983), p. 206.

¹⁴ B. S. Schlenther, *The Life and Writings of Francis Makemie* (Philadelphia 1971), p. 199.

¹⁵ For further details, see Dr. W. Roulston, *The Siege of Londonderry, the 1718 Migration and The Foyle Valley* (The Siege Museum, Londonderry, 2018).

VOICES OF LIBERTY

Throughout the 1700s, American colonists continually looked back to King William III. **James Otis Jr's** 1764 tract *The Rights of British Colonies Asserted and Proved* referred to the Glorious Revolution. He wrote that, had William of Orange not arrived in 1688, Britain would have been in "chains and darkness";

"... we should have heard nothing of the oppressions and misfortunes of the Charles's and James's; The revolution would never have taken place; the genius of William the third would have languished in the fens of Holland, or evaporated in the plains of Flanders ... Great-Britain to this day might have been in chains and darkness ..."¹⁶

Otis Jr's concept of Glorious Revolution liberties applied equally to all men in the colonies, whether black or white;

"The Colonists are by the law of nature free born, as indeed all men are, white or black ... It is a clear truth, that those who every day barter away other mens liberty will soon care little for their own..."

That the colonists, black and white, born here, are free born British subjects, and entitled to all the essential civil rights of such, is a truth not only manifest from the provincial charters, from the principles of the common law, and acts of parliament; but from the British constitution, which was reestablished at the revolution, with a professed design to lecture the liberties of all the subjects to all generations."¹⁷

In 1772, Otis Jr's close friend, **Samuel Adams** of Boston, published his *The Rights of the Colonists* in which he said;

"That the Colonists are well entitled to all the essential rights, liberties, and privileges of men and freemen born in Britain is manifest not only from the Colony charters in general, but acts of the British Parliament ... All persons born in the British American Colonies are, by the laws of God and nature and by the common law of England, exclusive of all charters from the Crown, well entitled, and by acts of the British Parliament are declared to be entitled, to all the natural, essential, inherent, and

¹⁶ *The Collected Political Writings of James Otis*, oll.libertyfund.org.

¹⁷ Ibid.

inseparable rights, liberties, and privileges of subjects born in Great Britain or within the realm."¹⁸

However, it didn't matter what the colonist citizens wanted, or hoped for, because the colonial government establishment flatly refused. In 1772 a package of letters from the 1760s was discovered which had been written by the Governor of Massachusetts, Thomas Hutchinson, to the London government in one of which he said "a colony distant from the parent state cannot possibly enjoy all the liberty of the parent state."¹⁹ The letter was leaked and published in the *Boston Gazette*. The Massachusetts Assembly was astonished and voted, 101 to 5, to establish a committee to resist Hutchinson's efforts "to overthrow the constitution of this government and to introduce arbitrary power."²⁰

However, after the Boston Tea Party, in 1774 the London Government revoked the 1691 *Charter of Massachusetts Bay* (also known as the *Charter of William and Mary*) and introduced a series of punitive new laws which were named by the colonists *The Intolerable Acts*. Boston port was closed in a blockade which for many residents of Massachusetts carried echoes of the Siege of Derry. Soon many local communities began to pen their objections to the government action – one of the first to do so was in rural Colrain in western Massachusetts, who issued the *Colrain Resolves* on 31 January 1774. The community, and their committee who published these Resolves, were descendants of survivors of the Siege of Derry.²¹ From Colrain in 1774 to the final Declaration of Independence in Philadelphia 1776 there was a series of community-written documents, expressing loyalty to the King, yet also a desire for liberty. In south west Virginia, the *Fincastle Resolutions* of 20 January 1775 referred to "the guardians of civil and religious rights and liberties of his subjects, as settled at the glorious Revolution ... shall ever glory in being the loyal subjects of a Protestant prince, descended from such illustrious progenitors." In later decades, the Governor of New Hampshire, John Hardy Steele, recalled traditions of older people of his community singing *The Battle of the Boyne*²². Indeed the melody *Boyne Water* was common in the 13 Colonies during the 1700s.

¹⁸ S. Adams, *The Rights of the Colonists* (Boston, 20 November 1772).

¹⁹ From *The Hutchinson-Whateley Letters*, www.encyclopedia.com.

²⁰ From *The Hutchinson-Whateley Letters*, www.encyclopedia.com.

²¹ C. H. McClellan, *The Early Settlers of Colrain, Mass* (Greenfield, Mass, 1885).

²² J. H. Morison, *An Address, Delivered at the Centennial Celebration in Peterborough, New Hampshire* (Boston, 1839), p. 92.

Sons of Liberty

Some years earlier the colonists had established a group called the Sons of Liberty. In 1766 the *New York Gazette* reported that on St Patrick's Day they celebrated "the prosperity of Ireland", "Success to the Sons Of Liberty in America" and "The glorious memory of King William of Orange."²³ In 1768 when the Sons of Liberty gathered at the Greyhound Tavern in Roxbury, Massachusetts, among their 45 toasts was one "To the Immortal Memory of that Hero of Heroes William the Third"²⁴. In summer 1774 the Sons of Liberty published a non-importation pledge called the *Solemn League and Covenant* for individual towns in Massachusetts, committing them to a boycott of goods imported from Britain²⁵. In the autumn, on 21 October, the Sons of Liberty of Taunton in Massachusetts unfurled a new flag – a red ensign bearing the motto 'Liberty & Union' – expressing their desire to remain British and to possess all of the liberties their Britishness entitled them to. That same year, in the Province of New York, a blue ensign flag was used with the motto 'George III Rex and the Liberties of America, No Popery', to oppose the potential military threat posed by French (Catholic) Quebec.

Following the revocation of the *Charter*, Samuel Adams' cousin, **John Adams** wrote that;

"Our charter was granted by king William and queen Mary, three years after the revolution; and the oaths of allegiance are established by a law of the province. So that our allegiance to his majesty is not due by virtue of any act of a British parliament, but by our own charter and province laws... It is upon this, or a similar clause in the charter of William and Mary that our patriots have built up the stupendous fabric of American independence."²⁶

The **Massachusetts Historical Society** website says this of John Adams' awareness of the Glorious Revolution;

²³ *New York Gazette*, March 1766 www.newspapers.com.

²⁴ *Hartford Courant*, 5 September 1768 www.newspapers.com.

²⁵ R. A. Gross, *The Minutemen and Their World* (New York, 1976).

²⁶ J. Adams, *Novanglus, and Massachusetts; or Political Essays published in the years 1774 and 1775* (Boston, 1819).

"Adams does not go the whole way to independence, to complete and permanent separation from Great Britain, but he advances and supports a revolutionary interpretation of the British system. The idea of a commonwealth of states under the king that Adams espoused was not solely his own, but he was one of its earliest proponents. His argument, moreover, was unique in the massive support he gave it from legal sources.

Adams would not have considered his interpretation of the British system revolutionary in any modern sense; he saw it as a return to the right view of things in terms of legal precedents. For him it was revolutionary in eighteenth-century terms, when "revolution" meant restoring ancient liberties. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 had been glorious because it successfully re-established liberties threatened by the tyranny of James II.

Corruption and even conspiracy in Great Britain threatened American liberties in the 1760's; a penetrating analysis of history and of learned commentaries on judicial decisions revealed that Parliament, a sink of corruption, was playing a role in the affairs of the American colonies for which there was no precedent. Denial of power to Parliament overseas would restore liberty."²⁷

1774 Petition to the King

In October 1774, the First Continental Congress, made up of members from 12 of the 13 Colonies, published their *Petition to the King*, calling for the repeal of Parliament's *Intolerable Acts*, which included this statement;

"we were born the heirs of freedom, and ever enjoyed our right under the auspices of your Royal ancestors, whose family was seated on the British Throne to rescue and secure a pious and gallant Nation from the Popery and despotism of a superstitious and inexorable tyrant. Your Majesty, we are confident, justly rejoices that your title to the Crown is thus founded on the title of your people to liberty."²⁸

²⁷ Papers of John Adams, Volume I, www.masshist.org.

²⁸ First Continental Congress, *Petition to the King* (Philadelphia 1774).

John Dickinson was another influential writer of the time, he had been born in Pennsylvania and educated by Ulstermen Francis Alison and William Killen. Dickinson's famous political commentaries *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania* explained how various London laws were unconstitutional and advised American colonists on how to resist them. The first of these letters was published on;

"the date of the fifth of November, 1767, the seventy-ninth anniversary of the day on which the landing of William the Third at Torbay gave constitutional liberty to all Englishmen."²⁹

and in the sixth of the letters, Dickinson said;

"It is sufficient to remind the reader of the day on which King William landed at Torbay".³⁰

Author Garry Wills, in his landmark analysis *Inventing America: Jefferson's Declaration of Independence* said of Dickinson;

"The question of basic rights, obscure to their descendants, seemed clear to men like John Dickinson, who felt themselves the heirs of the Revolution, of the glory derived from 1688."³¹

The 'son of Ulster' mentioned earlier, **Hugh Williamson**, was on the fringes of the planning meetings for the Boston Tea Party and witnessed the whole event take place. Like Dickinson, he had also been born in Pennsylvania and had also been educated by Francis Alison. Soon after the Tea Party, Williamson boarded a ship for London and was the first person to bring a report of what had happened to the Privy Council. In London in 1775 he wrote *The Plea of the Colonies* which was an open letter to Lord Chief Justice, Lord Mansfield. Mansfield had alleged that "the Americans do not wish for peace, they have long been aiming at absolute independence and will be satisfied with nothing less". Williamson refuted his claim and reiterated that independence was not what the colonists desired;

²⁹ J. Dickinson, *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies* (Philadelphia, 1767-8).

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ G. Wills, *Inventing America, Jefferson's Declaration of Independence* (Boston, 2002), p. 64.

“...the charter of Massachusetts was changed without necessity, without provocation ... by that single stroke every other province was informed that nothing was sacred or secure

... the Americans have constantly been some of his Majesty’s most affectionate and most loyal subjects. They have loved Great Britain with utmost sincerity; they have wished, and to this hour they continue to wish, that their union with her may be perpetual ... their prayers were not heard; in vain did they appeal to former proofs of liberality and zeal; in vain did they pray that they might not be degraded below the rank of his Majesty’s other subjects in Britain or Ireland...

... whoever was best acquainted with the colonists had the least reason to believe that they were looking toward a state of independence. As members of the British empire, they have enjoyed, till the beginning of the present controversy ... as much liberty as was consistent with civil government, or as much as they could possibly expect ... they were conscious of the blessing, they prayed for its continuance. They esteemed Great Britain as a parent, they loved her with more than filial affection; they loved everything that was British; they were to a man zealously attached to his Majesty, if we except a few individuals who migrated to that country in the year forty-five³². What could tempt such people to become independent?...

... It is very certain that the Americans, if they have the prudence or the spirit, must soon be driven by these measures to a state of independence that they may be the better able to defend their liberties and lives...”³³

Thomas Jefferson, who had studied at William and Mary College in Williamsburg in Virginia from 1760-62 and read law there for a further five years, and who would become the most prominent of the authors the *Declaration of Independence*, wrote a tract entitled *A Summary View of the Rights of British America* in 1774. It concludes with a plea for;

“the preservation of that harmony which alone can continue both to Great Britain and America the reciprocal advantages of their connection. It is neither our wish, nor our interest, to separate from her... The God who gave us life gave us liberty at the same time; the hand of force may destroy, but cannot disjoin them. This, sire, is our last,

³² A reference to the Jacobite Rising in the Highlands of Scotland in 1745.

³³ H. Williamson, *The Plea of the Colonies* (London, 1775).

our determined resolution; and that you will be pleased to interpose with that efficacy which your earnest endeavours may ensure to procure redress of these our great grievances, to quiet the minds of your subjects in British America, against any apprehensions of future encroachment, to establish fraternal love and harmony through the whole empire, and that these may continue to the latest ages of time, is the fervent prayer of all British America!”³⁴

He cleverly expressed his position on independence in a letter in 1775:

“... I am sincerely one of those, and would rather be in dependance on Great Britain, properly limited, than on any nation upon earth, or than on no nation...”³⁵

The key expression in Jefferson’s statement is “properly limited” – a limited monarchy is what had been established by the Glorious Revolution of 1688. People in the mother country agreed. In 1775, in the third in a series of letters entitled ‘To the People of Great Britain’ which were published in *The Public Advertiser* newspaper in London, and written anonymously by ‘One of the Public’, was an attack on the Prime Minister George Grenville. It described Grenville and his administration as “open and avowed enemies to the [Glorious] Revolution and civil liberty” and affirmed that;

“Every late Act against our Brethren in America has been a wanton, cruel, iniquitous Exertion of unjustifiable Measures, contrary to every Thing granted by the Constitution and the glorious Revolution.”³⁶

³⁴ T. Jefferson, *A Summary View of the Rights of British America* (Williamsburg, 1774).

³⁵ G. Wills, *Inventing America, Jefferson’s Declaration of Independence* (Boston, 2002), p. 56.

³⁶ *The Public Advertiser*, 24 January 1775 (London). Quoted in J. D. Bessler, ‘A Century in the Making: the Glorious Revolution, the American Revolution, and the Origins of the U.S. Constitution’s Eighth Amendment’, in *William & Mary Bill of Rights Journal*, Volume 27, Issue 4 (Williamsburg, 2019).

WAR FOR LIBERTY

Soon what had largely been a war of words, and tea, would become a deadly war of musket, cannon and sword. The first shots in what became known as the American War of Independence were fired at Lexington and Concord near Boston, Massachusetts, on 19 April 1775. In October *The Virginia Gazette* newspaper published a report from London which connected the developing American Revolution back to the previous Glorious Revolution of 1688;

“If the Americans who lately fought in their own defence, in the defence of their chartered liberties, in defence of their undoubted properties, in defence of their wives and their little ones, nay more, in defence of the constitutions; if those men were rebels, then every man who joined in the Glorious Revolution, every man who drew his sword in this kingdom to oppose an arbitrary Stuart, was an arrant rebel.”³⁷

North Carolina, Londonderry and Enniskillen

However, 800 miles south in the rural ‘backcountry’ of North Carolina, a prior battle is sometimes said to have been the actual beginning. The Battle of Alamance on 16 May 1771 was fought between the local equivalent of the Sons of Liberty, known as the ‘Regulators’, and troops who had been despatched by the state Governor William Tryon. Among the Regulators was Presbyterian minister **Rev David Caldwell**, who invoked community memory of the Glorious Revolution in Ulster to inspire his congregation in a sermon;

“... The sin and danger of sloth, in relation to our civil liberty, or of yielding to the unjust demands of arbitrary power, is further evident from the fact that those in high life, or who administer the government, have all the allurements ...

When James II abdicated the throne of England and raised an army of papists and confederate French, to establish popery and slavery, the British nation did not betray their religion or their liberty by an inglorious submission, nor did they desert the mighty cause of truth and freedom through sloth or cowardice ...

They valiantly repelled the force and fury of his attacks and fearlessly proclaimed the Prince and Princess of Orange the King and Queen of Britain. They our forefathers, or many of them, sacrificed at Londonderry and Enniskillen their lives, that they might hand down to us the fair inheritance of liberty and the Protestant religion; and

³⁷ *The Virginia Gazette*, Alexander Purdie, 6 October 1775.

in the whole course of their conduct in the support and defence of their rights they have set us an example which ought not to be disregarded ... ”³⁸

The blockade of Boston port in 1774 was their Siege of Derry. The Battle of Saratoga in 1777 effectively won the war, and so can be regarded as their Boyne. The Battle of King’s Mountain in 1780 was their Enniskillen. Their Treaty of Paris in 1783 was their Treaty of Limerick.

These and many other battles of the Revolutionary period are marked at a local level in the United States every year with monuments, re-enactments, exhibitions, films and publications. But the major national commemoration is not any of the local battles – the United States of America comes together on 4th July to mark the liberties which were declared in 1776 and which were won in those battles.

The three stages of the Williamite Revolution of the British Isles were consciously echoed by the British colonists in America – a *Declaration*, a *Bill of Rights*, and a Revolutionary War – all to secure their original Glorious Revolution liberties which had been removed from them by successive London governments. Let’s explore further what those liberties had been.

³⁸ E. W. Caruthers, *A Sketch of the Life and Character of the Rev. David Caldwell* (1842), p. 280.

WILLIAM'S LIBERTY OF 1688

On 21 October 1688 as William Prince of Orange's vast armada prepared to sail from Holland, William's ally the Prince of Waldeck said 'We are about to embark on a great and glorious enterprise.'³⁹

Very few people today are even aware that William published a *Declaration* in preparation for his arrival in England. Yet it has recently been described as 'the most successful propaganda campaign to that point in European history.'⁴⁰

William's *Declaration*, Coat of Arms, and slogan

Well over 100,000 copies were printed and at least 60,000 of those were smuggled into England ahead of William's landing at the Devon port of Brixham on 5 November 1688, primed for immediate circulation.

At the top of it was printed a dual coat of arms representing William and his wife Mary. It was a combination of the Standard of the Prince of Orange, and the Royal Standard, with the slogan '**Prot. Religion and Liberty**' above and William's family motto 'Je Maintiendray' as a separate statement underneath. Surviving originals, and also detailed contemporary Romeyn de Hooghe engravings of the arrival, clearly show these. The *Declaration* was first read aloud at Newton Abbot on 7 November by Rev John Reynel, where a monument in the town centre commemorates it.

However, the slogan has elsewhere been passed down to us differently, as 'The Protestant Religion and the Liberties of England I will Maintain' as had been written in the eyewitness account of Bishop Gilbert Burnet⁴¹ which was printed in December 1688. Burnet died in 1715 - but when his multi-volume memoirs entitled *History of His Own Time* were published posthumously in 1725, there was no mention of the slogan at all.

William's ship also had a flag bearing the same coat of arms design, but in Nesca Robb's award-winning biography of William she describes the slogan as being slightly different again:

³⁹ R. Dekker ed., *The Diary of Constantijn Huygens Jr.* (Amsterdam, 2020), p. 49.

⁴⁰ B. Bowdler, *The Declaration*, www.kingsearlymodern.co.uk (November 2023).

⁴¹ "William Burnet was at the same time governor of New Jersey and afterwards of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. A sketch of his life will throw light on the history of these provinces. He was the eldest son of the celebrated bishop Burnet and was born at the Hague in 1688 and named after king William who when prince of Orange stood his godfather. He was governor of New York and New Jersey from 1720 to 1728" – from D. Ramsay M.D., *The History of the United States from their First Settlement as English Colonies*, Volume 1, (Philadelphia, 1816), fn. p. 179.

“From the mast-head of *Den Briel* the Prince’s banner streamed out defiantly bearing the legend ‘Pro Religione et Libertate – Je Mainteindrai’.”⁴²

The Monmouth Rebellion, and *Declaration*, of 1685

William was accompanied by his diarist, Constantijn Huygens Jr, who recorded that the people of Devon told them;

‘If this should fail, we are all undone’ They told me about the invasion of Monmouth, when many people were hanged in Plymouth and elsewhere’.

William’s arrival at Brixham in 1688 had a direct precedent just three years previously, when the similarly Dutch-born Duke of Monmouth tried to overthrow his uncle, King James II. Monmouth sailed from Holland in June 1685 with just three (some sources say four) ships and a few hundred men, and landed at Lyme Regis, 50 miles north of where William would land and where today there is a Monmouth Beach. Each of Monmouth’s ships bore a blue flag, with a motto very similar to William’s - ‘**Pro Religione et Libertate**’.⁴³

Monmouth also published a *Declaration* outlining his intent, which had probably been written by enigmatic and somewhat eccentric Scottish Presbyterian minister **Robert Ferguson**, known to history as ‘Ferguson the Plotter’. Its full title was *The Declaration Of James Duke of Monmouth, & The Noblemen, Gentlemen & others, now in Arms, for Defence & vindication of the Protestant Religion, & the Laws, Rights, & Privileges of England, from the Invasion made upon them: & for Delivering the Kingdom from the Usurpation & Tyranny of James Duke of York*⁴⁴. The title refused to recognise James II’s claim to be King, describing him with his prior title of Duke of York. At eight pages and over 3000 words, it was declared in Taunton on 20 June 1685 and Monmouth was proclaimed the rightful King. His *Declaration* asserted many of the themes which William’s 1688 *Declaration* would also cover.

Monmouth’s rebellion lasted only six weeks and was overwhelmed by the superior force of King James II’s armies. Monmouth was arrested and beheaded in London, but a far worse fate was experienced by those believed to have been his supporters, or for merely having used ‘seditious words’. In the six months that followed, King James II unleashed barbaric reprisals

⁴² N. Robb, *William of Orange: A Personal Portrait*, Vol II (London, 1962), p. 267.

⁴³ L. Melville, *Mr Crofts The King’s Bastard: A Biography of James, Duke of Monmouth* (London, 1929), p. 144

⁴⁴ Available on GoogleBooks.

upon the civilian population of south west England, with an intensity even worse than the 27 years that he and his late older brother, King Charles II, had waged against the Presbyterian Covenanters in Scotland, a period known as the ‘Killing Times’ .⁴⁵ In England, Charles II had also ejected 2000 Puritan clergy from their pulpits and, via legislation called the Clarendon Code, had imprisoned 15,000 Non Conformists.⁴⁶

1300 people were rounded up in Devon, Dorset and Somerset and fast-track mass trials known as the ‘Bloody Assizes’ were held. Hundreds were publicly hanged, drawn and quartered, butchered in the streets, and their remains put on gruesome display in towns and villages as an horrific warning to anyone who might attempt a rebellion in future.

Darkest Before Dawn

The light of William III’s liberty can only be fully appreciated by understanding the darkness of the prior tyranny. The failure of Monmouth showed that William would have to arrive in England with a navy and army of unprecedented scale and unstoppable force. As William’s troops made their way inland from Brixham harbour, they found some body parts still on display, such as at St Peter’s Church at Tiverton, north of Exeter. These were taken down and buried outside the south door of the church.⁴⁷

“the spirits of the troops were high. The Western peasants saw in them the avengers of the Bloody Assizes, and cheered them on their way, plying them with drinks, apples and tobacco ... William was tumultuously welcomed by the citizens of Exeter, though the cathedral clergy scurried nervously out of the choir when his *Declaration* was read.”⁴⁸

WILLIAM’S DECLARATION OF 1688

Macaulay’s *The History of England* makes numerous references to the Declaration, stating that “it was passed secretly from man to man, and was slipped into one of the boxes of the post office. One of the agents was arrested, and the packets of which he was in charge were carried

⁴⁵ A memorial inscription in Greyfriars Kirkyard in Edinburgh states “From May 27th 1661, that the most noble Marquis of Argyle was beheaded, to the 17th of Februry 1688 that Mr James Renwick suffered, were one way or other Murdered and Destroyed for the same Cause, about Eighteen thousand of whom were execute in Edinburgh about a Hundred.”

⁴⁶ J. Coffey, *Exodus and Liberation* (Oxford, 2014), p. 60.

⁴⁷ R. Dunning, *The Monmouth Rebellion* (Dorset, 1984), p. 55.

⁴⁸ N. Robb, *William of Orange: A Personal Portrait*, Vol II (London, 1962), p. 268.

to Whitehall.”⁴⁹ King James II “read, and was greatly troubled. His first impulse was to hide the paper from all human eyes. He threw into the fire every copy which had been brought to him, except one; and that one he would scarcely trust out of his own hands ... (he) issued a proclamation threatening with the severest punishment all who should circulate, or who should even dare to read, William’s manifesto.”⁵⁰

Over 5300 words long, William’s *Declaration* had been prepared in Holland, probably written by Gaspar Fagel, then abridged and translated into English by Scottish emigrant **Bishop Gilbert Burnet**, possibly assisted by the author of Monmouth’s *Declaration*, **Robert Ferguson**, and very likely **John Locke** who would later accompany William’s wife, Queen Mary II, on her return to England from Holland. Locke is often credited as being a major influence on the American *Declaration of Independence*, mainly through the ideas expressed in his 1689 book *Two Treatises of Government*.

William’s *Declaration* was dated 10 October 1688. Its full title is *The Declaration of His Highness William Henry, by the Grace of God, Prince of Orange, etc., of the reasons inducing him to appear in arms in the Kingdom of England, and for preserving the Protestant religion, and for restoring the laws and liberties of England, Scotland, and Ireland*. On 24 October an ‘Additional Declaration’ was added as an appendix.

Its format is very much like newspaper journalism, in that there are two introductory paragraphs which summarise the entire *Declaration*, so if the anticipated 100,000 readers read only those, they would get a sufficient snapshot of the overall content.

After those, William gave an account of what had happened in the recent past, as 25 specific grievances against King James II and his “evil counsellors”.

William then asserted the crown rights of his wife, Queen Mary II, and of the previous alliance between the United Provinces of Holland and England when Holland had been invaded by Louis XIV of France in 1672. William then affirmed the purpose of his arrival in England –

“... Therefore it is, that we have thought fit to go over into England, and to carry over with us a force sufficient, by the blessing of God, to defend us from the violence of these evil counsellors. And we, being desirous that our intentions in this matter be

⁴⁹ T. B. Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James the Second*, Volume 3 (London, 1913) p1118.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p1120.

rightly understood, have for this end prepared this Declaration, in which as we have hitherto given a true account of the reasons inducing us to it, so we now think fit to declare, that this our expedition is intended for no other design, but to have a free and lawful Parliament assembled, as soon as possible...”⁵¹

Next, William set out what he proposed to do in the present and future. The *Declaration* outlined a list of reforms and restorations of ‘ancient custom’, the establishment of ‘good assurance between the Church of England and the Protestant dissenters ... even papists themselves not excepted’.

“... And we, for our part, will concur in everything that may procure the peace and happiness of the nation, which a free and lawful Parliament shall determine, since we have nothing before our eyes, in this our undertaking, but the preservation of the Protestant religion, the covering of all men from persecution for the[ir] consciences, and the securing to the whole nation the free enjoyment of all their laws, rights, and liberties, under a just and legal government...”⁵²

The *Declaration* concluded with five statements: a reassurance as to the conduct of William’s army, a plea to the people and to God, an invitation for people ‘of all ranks to come and assist us’, a specific message for Scotland, and finally a message for Ireland.

It spread like wildfire.

“... As William’s forces slowly advanced, the *Declaration* was distributed, displayed and read aloud by William’s supporters to mass gatherings in villages and towns. Readings of the *Declaration* also precipitated mass desertions of soldiers from James’ army. After the garrison at Plymouth had the *Declaration* read to them, for instance, the troops unanimously declared their willingness to serve William in securing the religion and liberties of England. Haemorrhaging supporters from his army, nobles and even within the royal family, James II fled England for exile in France...”⁵³

⁵¹ *The Declaration of His Highness William Henry, by the Grace of God, Prince of Orange* (1688).

⁵² *The Declaration of His Highness William Henry, by the Grace of God, Prince of Orange* (1688).

⁵³ B. Bowdler, *The Declaration*, www.kingsearlymodern.co.uk (November 2023).

THE AMERICAN DECLARATION OF 1776

Garry Wills states that independence, as the American colonists' last resort in pursuit of their British liberties, was only agreed at the last moment on 2 July 1776.⁵⁴ The *Declaration of Independence* was composed by a 'Committee of Five' and published two days later on 4 July 1776.

Similar Introductions

The introductions of the two *Declarations* of 1688 and 1776 are very similar. William's introduction to his is as follows:

"It is both certain and evident to all men, that the public peace and happiness of any state or kingdom cannot be preserved where the law, liberties, and customs, established by the lawful authority in it, are openly transgressed and annulled..."⁵⁵

Note these specific words – 'evident', followed by five attributes: 'peace', 'happiness', 'law', 'liberties' and 'customs'. The famous introduction to the 1776 *American Declaration of Independence* uses the same vocabulary:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."⁵⁶

Once again the words 'Evident', 'Liberty' and 'Happiness'. Is it possible that the five authors of the *Declaration of Independence* purposely used these words as a reference to William's 1688 *Declaration*? Garry Wills acknowledges the influence

"... It was even more appropriate to issue a Declaration in the matter of independence than in that of taking up arms. There were two reasons for this. The Glorious Revolution had been negotiated through some famous Declarations. There was, for instance, William of Orange's Declaration of 1688. There he said that he had decided to intervene in the affairs of Englishmen "for the securing to them the continual enjoyments of all their just rights," including their "lives and liberties." That decision was already made; and William's Declaration was issued to give "a true account of the reasons inducing us to it." The Parliament answered with its Declaration of Rights in February 1689 - the

⁵⁴ G. Wills, *Inventing America, Jefferson's Declaration of Independence* (Boston, 2002), p. 50.

⁵⁵ *Declaration of Independence* (Philadelphia, 1776).

⁵⁶ *Declaration of Independence* (Philadelphia, 1776).

model for the Bill of Rights drawn up by the First Continental Congress. This spelled out the rights of petition and redress, found James wanting in the protection of those rights, and declared the Parliament "particularly encouraged by the Declaration of His Highness the Prince of Orange, as being the only means for obtaining a full redress and remedy therein."⁵⁷

Similar Structures

The structures of the two *Declarations* are very similar too. They both have two introductory paragraphs, followed by a list of grievances. William's had 25 grievances against 'the King and Parliament'. The American one had 27 grievances against 'the present King of Great Britain', but with no reference to Parliament.

Perhaps, the 'Committee of Five' who wrote the *Declaration of Independence* knew that when King George III saw it, at a glance it would immediately remind him of the 1688 *Declaration* and Revolution of his illustrious ancestor King William III which had instituted the present monarchy. Back in 1772 the renowned writer 'Junius' had already reminded, and warned, King George III by invoking the 1688 Revolution in a letter in the *Public Advertiser* newspaper in London:

"...The people of England are loyal to the house of Hanover, not from a vain preference of one family to another, but from a conviction that the establishment of that family was necessary to the support of their civil and religious liberties ... The name of Stuart by itself is only contemptible; armed with the sovereign authority their principles are formidable. The prince who imitates their conduct should be warned by their example; and while he plumes himself upon the security of his title to the crown, should remember that, as it was acquired by one revolution it may be lost by another."⁵⁸

⁵⁷ G. Wills, *Inventing America, Jefferson's Declaration of Independence* (Boston, 2002), p. 335.

⁵⁸ T. MacNevin, *The Lives and Trials of Archibald Hamilton Rowan, the Rev. William Jackson, the Defenders, William Orr, Peter Finnerty, and Other Eminent Irishmen* (Dublin, 1864), p. 519.

WILLIAM AND MARY'S BILL OF RIGHTS, 1689

William Prince of Orange invited the new Parliament to sit for the first time on 22 January 1689 specifically “for the vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties”. Mary Princess of Orange sailed from Holland to join her husband in London – her ship docked in Greenwich on 13 February 1689. That same day Parliament presented them with a draft of the proposed *Bill of Rights*.

At their joint coronation as King William III and Queen Mary II on 11 April, the *Bill of Rights* was passed into law as their first Act. The coronation ceremony has been described as

“the only double coronation in English history, and the only time two monarchs were jointly consecrated. In addition, it was the first time the monarch took an oath to uphold the law according to ‘the Statutes in Parliament agreed on and the Laws and Customs of the Same’.”⁵⁹

Content

The *Bill of Rights* overturned the previous monarchs’ decades of oppression of the people.

The first section was ‘An Act Declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject’, in which there were 13 charges against the previous reigns and 13 subsequent redresses.

The *Bill of Rights* reiterated that “King James the Second having abdicated the government and the throne being thereby vacant” and that William had invited a new Parliament to sit on 22 January 1689 specifically “in order to such an establishment as that their religion, laws and liberties might not again be in danger of being subverted.”

The second section concerned ‘Settling the Succession of the Crown’. The third section was a series of new Oaths of Allegiance.

The *Bill of Rights* gained full Royal assent on 16 December 1689.

⁵⁹ *The 1689 Coronation of William and Mary*, web.stanford.edu.

THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION OF 1788 AND THE AMERICAN BILL OF RIGHTS, 1791

Almost a century later, and an ocean away, the War of American Independence ended in 1783 and the Treaty of Paris was signed on 3 September of that year. Among those present were Benjamin Franklin and John Adams. King George III sent two representatives.

The *Constitution* of the United States was written in 1787 and ratified by 9 states in 1788, exactly one century after the Glorious Revolution, with its famous opening lines – “We the People of the United States”. Like the *Declaration of Independence*, the first edition of the *Constitution* was also printed by the Ulsterman John Dunlap. An earlier version, called the *Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union*, had been printed by another Ulsterman, Francis Bailey.

The Bill of Rights, 1791

In the years that followed, various amendments to the *Constitution* were proposed, some by County Antrim born William Findley, which were then captured in an additional document, the name of which was a direct reference back to King William III’s and Queen Mary II’s first act of Parliament at their coronation. The new, American, *Bill of Rights* was ratified in December 1791.

The Eighth Amendment of the *Bill of Rights* “has long been treated as an enigma.”⁶⁰ It states:

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

It is directly lifted from King William III and Queen Mary II’s original 1689 *Bill of Rights*

That excessive Baile ought not to be required nor excessive Fines imposed nor cruell and unusual Punishments inflicted.

Michael Barone gives a fuller account of the similarities, listing the Third Amendment, the Fourth Amendment, the Fifth Amendment, the Sixth Amendment, as well as the Eighth

⁶⁰ J. D. Bessler, ‘A Century in the Making: the Glorious Revolution, the American Revolution, and the Origins of the U.S. Constitution’s Eighth Amendment’, in *William & Mary Bill of Rights Journal*, Volume 27, Issue 4 (Williamsburg, 2019).

Amendment, saying “as an affirmative statement of individual rights, however limited, the Bill of Rights broke new ground, ground that would be extended in the New World.”⁶¹

⁶¹ M. Barone, *Our First Revolution: The Remarkable British Upheaval That Inspired America's Founding Fathers* (New York, 2008) p. 233.

WRITING LIBERTY

The new nation needed to create its story. David Ramsay wrote *The History of the American Revolution* in 1789. It was the first 'official' narrative to be written after Independence and so Ramsay has been called 'The Father of American History'. He was born in Drumore Township, Pennsylvania; his parents were James Ramsay and Jane Montgomery who were Presbyterians from Ireland. Ramsay wasn't only an historian, he was at the very 'top table' of American revolutionary thinking and even stood in for John Hancock as the President of the Congress of Confederation for a while. In his *History*, Ramsay repeatedly connected the American Revolution on 1776 with the Glorious Revolution of 1688. This is his summary –

"... The first emigrants from England for colonising America, left the Mother Country at a time when the dread of arbitrary power was the predominant passion of the nation. Except the very modern charter of Georgia, in the year 1732, all the English Colonies obtained their charters and their greatest number of European settlers, **between the years 1603 and 1688. In this period a remarkable struggle between prerogative and privilege commenced, and was carried on till it terminated in a revolution highly favourable to the liberties of the people...**

In the year 1621 when the English House of Commons claimed freedom of speech “as their ancient and undoubted right, and an inheritance transmitted to them from their ancestors”; King James replied “that he could not allow of their style in mentioning their ancient and undoubted rights but would rather have wished they had said that their privileges were derived from the grace and permission of their sovereign”. This was the opening of a dispute which occupied the tongues, pens and swords, of the most active men in the nation, for a period of seventy years. It is remarkable that the same period is exactly co incident with the settlement of the English colonies. James, educated in the arbitrary sentiments of the divine right of kings, conceived his subjects to be his property, and that their privileges were matters of grace and favour, flowing from his generosity. This high claim of prerogative excited opposition in support of the rights of the people. In the progress of the dispute, Charles, son of King James, in attempting to levy ship money and other revenues without consent of parliament, involved himself in a war with his subjects; in which, after various conflicts, he was brought to the block, and suffered death as an enemy to the constitution of his country. Though the monarchy was restored under Charles the second, and transmitted to James the second, yet, the same arbitrary maxims being pursued, **the** nation, tenacious of its

rights, invited the Prince of Orange to the sovereignty of the island, and expelled the reigning family from the throne. While these spirited exertions were made, in support of the liberties of the parent isle, the English colonies were settled, and chiefly with inhabitants of that class of people, which was most hostile to the claims of prerogative.

Every transaction in that period of English history, supported the position that **the people have a right to resist their sovereign, when he invades their liberties, and to transfer the crown from one to another, when the good of the community requires it.**

The English colonists were, from their first settlement in America, devoted to liberty on English ideas and English principles. They not only conceived themselves to inherit the privileges of Englishmen, but, though in a colonial situation, actually possessed them.”⁶²

He clearly defined the American Revolution of 1776 as the ultimate fulfilment of the Glorious Revolution of 1688:

“That great event fixed the liberties of the colonies as well as of the nation on a more solid foundation. From that period they enjoyed as much political happiness and with as little interruption as is the ordinary lot of the most favoured colonies. After they had enjoyed English revolutionary liberty for eighty years and in that time grown to the size and strength of a nation the measures of the James's and Charles's in the seventeenth century for curbing them by mutilating their charters and other arbitrary acts were revived under George the third in an advanced period of the eighteenth. In defeating both the people of New England acted a distinguished part.”⁶³

Rev William Martin, a Reformed Presbyterian minister from The Vow near Ballymoney, emigrated with his congregation to South Carolina in 1772. During the War of Independence Martin's congregation was caught up in 'Buford's Massacre' near Hillsborough, North Carolina, on 29 May 1780. In his next sermon he said “our countrymen” had been “forced to

⁶² D. Ramsay M.D., *The History of the American Revolution*, Volume 1, (Philadelphia, 1789), p. 26.

⁶³ D. Ramsay M.D., *The History of the United States from their First Settlement as English Colonies*, Volume 1, (Philadelphia, 1816), p. 66.

the declaration of our independence” which he connected with the Covenanters and *Scotland’s National Covenant* of 1638:

“Sorely have our countrymen been dealt with, till forced to the declaration of their independence - and the pledge of their lives and sacred honour to support it. Our forefathers in Scotland made a similar one, and maintained that declaration with their lives; it is now our turn, brethren, to maintain this at all hazards.”

“Go see,” he cried - “the tender mercies of Great Britain! In that church you may find men, though still alive, hacked out of the very semblance of humanity: some deprived of their arms - mutilated trunks: some with one arm or leg, and some with both legs cut off. Is not this cruelty a parallel to the history of our Scottish fathers, driven from their conventicles, hunted like wild beasts? Behold the godly youth, James Nesbit - chased for days by the British for the crime of being seen on his knees upon the Sabbath morning!” etc.⁶⁴

Martin was arrested and imprisoned for six months. In December 1780 he was brought to trial. He said to Lord Cornwallis

“I have been held in chains for preaching what I believe to be the truth ... I rather love King George, and owe him nothing but goodwill ... King George was bound to protect his subjects; he has failed to do this; protection and allegiance go together and your Lordship will remember our doctrine is that the subject ought not to obey those who do not protect their civil and religious liberties ... The Declaration of Independence is but a reiteration of what our covenanting fathers have always maintained’.”⁶⁵

Covenanter scenes feature on Orange banners to this day.

⁶⁴ E. F. L. Ellet, *Domestic History of the American Revolution* (New York, 1850), pp 179 -180.

⁶⁵ *Yorkville Enquirer*, York, South Carolina, 7 May 1857.

LIBERTY TODAY

History is told in the present, but we look back down the telescope of time through a retrospective lens. We look at 1776 through the lens of independence. We assume America always wanted to be independent, whereas as this article has shown, what the American colonists wanted were their 1688 and 1689 Glorious Revolution liberties, in full.

When the Orange Institution and community commemorate the Battle of the Boyne in all of the jurisdictions around the world annually on the 12th July, the focus of that commemoration is on just one short battle within William's war.

The media, and consequently wider public opinion, has reduced it further to "Protestant King defeated Catholic King and so began Ireland's history of religious oppression". Of course there was a clear religious dimension to the Glorious Revolution, however

"Though it was driven by anti-Catholic fervour, the Glorious Revolution produced a list of rights, many of which (including the rights to be free from excessive bail, excessive fines, and cruel and unusual punishments) had, at least on their face, nothing at all to do with religion."⁶⁶

The American Revolution has similarly been diminished in the popular mind, on both sides of the Atlantic, reduced to something like "Britain got kicked out of America". In Northern Ireland this too gets forced into our usual political binary, and so the story of the revolution of 1776 is embraced by Irish nationalists, but confuses some Unionists given the Ulster-Scots contribution to the story. This is the usual, unthinking, two-dimensional response when someone here gets a hint of a "rebel".

The liberties of the Glorious Revolution are those of Western 'Anglosphere' democracy, and are bigger than any monarchy or nationality. 1776 was the ultimate outworking of 1688. Our ancestors, and we ourselves, have never been blindly loyal. To be 'British' was not just a geographical accident of birth, or even a flag, but an expression of civil and religious liberties which were once the model for the free world.

⁶⁶ J. D. Bessler, 'A Century in the Making: the Glorious Revolution, the American Revolution, and the Origins of the U.S. Constitution's Eighth Amendment', in *William & Mary Bill of Rights Journal*, Volume 27, Issue 4 (Williamsburg, 2019).

Perhaps a rediscovery of these authentic, transatlantic, historical truths and liberties, can provide an opportunity for a radical rethink of our past, of who we are today and what we can be in the future.

CONCLUSION

In his 2008 book *Our First Revolution: The Remarkable British Upheaval That Inspired America's Founding Fathers*, author Michael Barone summarised the connections between 1688 and 1776:

“Americans were thus not rebelling against the Revolutionary settlement. They were seeking to preserve in their own states what they believed the Revolution of 1688-89 had established.”⁶⁷

The full extent of the Glorious Revolution means that we – the United Kingdom and the United States - should celebrate liberty and not just loyalty.

Our community has done so over the years, but at a low level. In the collection of Cavan County Museum there are old banners from Clonegonnel LOL No. 177 and Ardmone LOL No. 282 which depict the 1689 Bill of Rights with Bible and Crown, as does a banner from Summerhill LOL No. 137. The current Liberty exhibition in the Museum of Orange Heritage is an important step in recovering this fuller story.

It is essential to honour those who have served in uniform, who have risked and given their lives for our liberty throughout the centuries, even before 1688 right up to the present day. The Great War is of course a major event in our community story; the Allied Victory Medals which were issued after the Great War understood both commemoration, and also the power of communication. The medal inscription did not say ‘The Great War, 1914-1919’, it said ‘The Great War **for Civilisation**, 1914-1919’. Not war for the sake of martial glory, but war for the sake of our civilisation.

What if, like King Josiah in the Old Testament⁶⁸, we were to return to the original texts of the Glorious Revolution to find a truer, bigger, story than the one we have been telling ourselves almost on annual auto-pilot? Josiah’s society had not referred back to the original Books of

⁶⁷ M. Barone, *Our First Revolution: The Remarkable British Upheaval That Inspired America's Founding Fathers* (New York, 2008) p. 232.

⁶⁸ 2nd Kings chapter 22 and also 2nd Chronicles chapter 34.

Moses for around 600 years. Perhaps America 250, and 2026, provide a generational opportunity to recover and reform the full scale of our community story of the Glorious Revolution. A liberty reformation. 1688 liberties for the 21st century.

The informed minds who read this *Journal* do not need a history lesson from an amateur like me. However, our general public do not read journals of this kind. Their understanding of history and of who they are is shaped by the classroom, the broadcast media and the internet – and for our next generation, seemingly nonsensical digital platforms like *TikTok* are sowing ideological seeds for an unknown future harvest. We will all be long gone by the ‘Quatercentenary’ of the Glorious Revolution in 2088, but we can plant seeds for the future.

As an old proverb says, “A society grows great when old men plant trees in whose shade they know they shall never sit.”

“The three last kings of the Stuart line laboured hard to annihilate the charters of the English colonies in America and nothing but the revolution of 1688 in England prevented the accomplishment of their designs.

The four first sub revolutionary sovereigns of England discontinued the attempt but it was revived in the reign of the fifth. This abrogation of the charter of Massachusetts was the entering wedge and if successful would doubtless have been followed by a prostration of the charters of the other provinces to make room for a more courtly system less dependent on the people.

The American revolution saved the colonies in the last case as the English revolution had in the first. So necessary are occasional revolutions to bring governments back to first principles and to teach rulers that the people are the fountain of all legitimate power and their happiness the object of all its delegations.”⁶⁹

⁶⁹ D. Ramsay M.D., *The History of the United States*, Volume 1, (Philadelphia, 1816), p. 352.

Historical Footnotes

May Crommelin (1849-1930)

By Carly Wallace BA (Hons)

Maria Henrietta de la Cherois Crommelin, known more commonly as May, was born 30 August 1849, at Carrowdore Castle, County Down, Ireland. She was a well-known author and traveller, publishing a total of 51 books in her lifetime.

From her early years May showed an interest in writing, and at the age of 16 she began to contribute her work to a local paper which gave beginner novelists a platform. May 's earliest work was inspired by her surroundings, growing up in Irish County Society in Ulster, her first novel "Queenie", written in 1874, being an example of this. Her father was identified as somewhat of a disciplinarian with strict views on Women's independence. Despite not having encouraged May, he did not restrict her from continuing to pursue her interest in writing.

Although she was from gentrified beginnings, May displayed an interesting understanding of the working-class Protestant family and its values, which we see in her novel "Orange Lily", written in 1879. Its eponymous heroine, Lily Keag, is a farmer's daughter whose love for her childhood sweetheart, Tom Coulter, is thwarted by a class divide that few would have dared cross in nineteenth-century Ulster. She was dubbed 'Orange Lily' partly because of her reddish hair, but also because of her father's position as Master of the 'Ballyboly' Orange Lodge. Much of the novel is written in the dialect of Ulster Scots, with many chapters also beginning with an extract from the famous poet Robert Burns. It was recorded in an early interview with Ms Crommelin that she was proud to have men that worked as farmers on her father's estates in Down and Antrim praise her work, even having copies of the novel sent home from America, where it could be bought cheap.

There is little surprise in May's connection to the Orange community in Ulster as the Crommelin's were of Huguenot descent. The family, alongside those like the de la Cherois, fled France after the Edict of Nantes. They settled in Holland, until Louis Crommelin was given the patronage of King William III to come to Ulster. Louis played a role in the linen trade which became one of the greatest sources of Ulster's prosperity and founded anew fortunes for his family.

In her late 20s May reached out to her familial connections in Holland, striking up a long-term friendship, she visited several times throughout her life. Her visits translated into her work as

she went on to produce several pieces with Dutch subject-matter, such as 'A Jewel of a Girl' (1877), 'Brown Eyes,' (1882) and 'A Visit to a Dutch Country House,' (1887).

After the death of her father in 1884, May decided to move her life to London where she was known to circulate as part of the Victorian Literati. She began to think that her childhood had been unfulfilled, and she desired to travel the world. As a talented linguist she fulfilled her wishes, visiting places such as North and South America, the West Indies, Syria, Palestine, and Japan. This next chapter was one of her happiest and began to heavily influence her work.

May was one of the earliest female members of the Royal Geographic Society. One of her most famous travel novels is called 'Over the Andes to Chili and Peru,' (1896). She was one of eleven making the journey over the famous mountain range, and the only female of the group.

In later years May offered her help in 3 of the hospitals in London during the First World War and assisted Belgian refugees. In 1927 she donated the only surviving portrait of her ancestor Louis Crommelin to the Ulster Museum as part of the commemorations marking the 200th anniversary of his death. She always maintained her connections to Ireland through periodic visits she made to family in Donaghadee, Co. Down. On 10 August 1930 she died unmarried in her home in London.

May Crommelin was a member of WLOL No.12.