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# Propaganda in the Revolution of 1688–89

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LOIS G. SCHWOERER

DURING THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION OF 1688–89 PRINCE WILLIAM OF ORANGE AND his adherents in England and Holland carried on an intensive propaganda campaign. They shaped the public image of the prince, interpreted his purposes and policies, and presented events in ways favorable to his interests, while at the same time they blackened the character and policies of King James II. Printed tracts, broadsides, prints, and commemorative medals were the principal devices used to mold the opinion of a broad spectrum of society. Never before in England or on the Continent had these instruments been utilized together in such large number for a single purpose or employed, perhaps, with greater effect. Although propaganda has been studied for other years of the Tudor-Stuart period, the nature and use of propaganda in the Revolution of 1688–89 have not been systematically treated.<sup>1</sup> Such a study invites adjustments of traditional interpretations at a time of renewed interest in the Glorious Revolution.<sup>2</sup>

An earlier version of this paper was presented under a different title on February 23, 1976 as part of the Folger Shakespeare Library lecture series for 1975–76. The paper grew out of a larger study of the Bill of Rights, 1689, for which I held a Senior Fellowship from the National Endowment for the Humanities in 1975. Isabel W. Kenrick, a personal friend in London, ably assisted in some aspects of research, while Jop Spiekerman of the University of Leiden and Margaretha Arlman aided in translating from the Dutch. The staffs of many libraries were unfailingly helpful: the Folger Shakespeare Library, the Print Room and the Numismatic Room of the British Museum, the Henry E. Huntington Library, the British Library, Nottingham University Library, the Bodleian Library, the Guildhall Library, and the Carl H. Pforzheimer Library. Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands kindly gave me permission to use the collection at the Koninklijk Huisarchief. Richard DeMolen, Henry Horwitz, Joseph W. Martin, and Barbara B. Taft read a version of this article and offered useful suggestions. For all of this assistance and encouragement, I wish to express my thanks. And I wish to express my gratitude to the Trustees of the British Museum, by whose courtesy the illustrative material has been reproduced.

<sup>1</sup>J. H. Plumb has remarked that an investigation of the development of political propaganda over the seventeenth century is needed; see "The Growth of the Electorate in England, 1660–1715," *Past & Present*, #45 (1969): 104, n. 37. Two recent books touch upon the issue: John Carswell, *The Descent on England: A Study of the English Revolution of 1688 and Its European Background* (London, 1969), 128, 165, 179 and n., 183, 191, 197, 234; and J. R. Jones, *The Revolution of 1688 in England* (London, 1972), 231–34, 246–49.

<sup>2</sup>The latest general studies are Jones, *Revolution of 1688*, and Stuart Prall, *The Bloodless Revolution: England, 1688* (New York, 1972). The most recent monograph is David Hosford, *Nottingham, Nobles, and the North: Aspects of the Revolution of 1688* (Hamden, Conn., 1976). Among recent articles are Robert Frankle, "The Formulation of the Declaration of Rights," *Historical Journal*, 17 (1974): 265–79; Henry Horwitz, "Parliament and the Glorious Revolution," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* (hereafter *BIHR*), 47 (1974): 36–52; J. P. Kenyon, "The Revolution of 1689: Resistance and Contract," *Historical Perspectives: Studies in English Thought and Society in Honour of J. H. Plumb*, ed. Neil McKendrick (London, 1974), 43–70; and Lois G. Schwoerer, "A Journall of the Convention at Westminster begun the 22 of January 1688/9," *BIHR*, 49 (1976): 242–63.

Although it has a pejorative connotation, the word “propaganda” actually means “any systematic scheme or concerted effort for the propagation of a particular doctrine or point of view.” The effort in 1688–89 included time-honored methods of spreading news and views—sermons,<sup>3</sup> poems and odes,<sup>4</sup> firework displays, and ceremonies.<sup>5</sup> They too deserve further study, but this essay will focus on the more innovative and important devices—printed tracts, pictures, and medals. The tracts and pamphlets have been dismissed as “not very interesting” on the grounds that they are “theoretically . . . defective.”<sup>6</sup> But they do provide insight into the political ideas circulated at the time. Some of the prints and medals, many of which are to be found in the British Museum Print Room and Numismatic Room, were reproduced with appreciative comment by early historians, but modern writers have used them as decorations for their texts rather than as sources. Students of other eras and other disciplines have demonstrated how these unconventional and ephemeral materials may enliven one’s understanding of the past.<sup>7</sup> These same materials can enlarge and vivify our comprehension of the Revolution of 1688–89.

<sup>3</sup> A study of preachers and their sermons in London and elsewhere during the Revolution of 1688–89 would be worth doing. The number of sermons preached must be enormous. See a useful collection of thirty-one sermons bound together by a contemporary and inscribed “A Collection of Sermons in the Revolution time, and the first year of King William and Queen Mary, 1688, 1689,” at the Folger Shakespeare Library (hereafter FSL), S 3348. The kind of study suggested for 1688–89 has been done for the Civil War, when sermons were preached before members of the House of Commons. See, for example, Godfrey Davies, “English Political Sermons,” *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 3 (1939): 1–22; E. W. Kirby, “Sermons before the Commons, 1640–42,” *AHR*, 44 (1939): 528–48; and H. R. Trevor-Roper, “The Fast Sermons to the Long Parliament,” *Essays in British History Presented to Sir Keith Feiling*, ed. H. R. Trevor-Roper (London, 1964), 85–138. The Fast sermons are available in thirty-four volumes, reprinted in 1970–71. Also see William Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism: or, The Way to the New Jerusalem as Set Forth in Pulpit and Press from Thomas Cartwright to John Lilburne and John Milton, 1570–1643* (New York, 1938), and Christopher Hill, *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England* (London, 1964), esp. 30–78.

<sup>4</sup> Poems and odes in abundance memorialized almost every event of the Revolution. Some of these verses are reprinted in George deF. Lord, ed., *Poems on Affairs of State: Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660–1714*, 7 vols. (London, 1963–75). There is a large collection of manuscript poems and odes at the Henry E. Huntington Library and the Nottingham University Library. C. V. Wedgwood, *Poetry and Politics under the Stuarts* (Cambridge, 1960), 186–90, mentions the poems written in 1688–89, but neither they nor the street songs have been systematically treated. Thomas Wharton, the author of “Lilliburlero,” claimed that he had sung King James II out of three kingdoms; for “Lilliburlero,” see C. M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1966), 449–55. Further, it is worth noting that the attribution of the “Rock-a-Bye Baby” nursery rhyme to the events of 1688–89 (put forward by Katherine E. Thomas, *The Real Personages of Mother Goose* [New York, 1930], 288–90) is regarded as “purely speculative” by Peter Opie, editor of *The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes* (Oxford, 1951); letter of August 13, 1974 to author. It is of interest, however, that the “Rock-a-Bye Baby” tune is a variation of the one to which “Lilliburlero” is sung.

<sup>5</sup> For example, William of Orange’s arrival at Exeter, his arrival in London, the procession to and the ceremony in the Banqueting Hall in mid-February, and the coronation in April—their preparation, actual execution, and representation—would be worth studying.

<sup>6</sup> Jones, *Revolution of 1688*, 317. Jones deals with pamphlets published earlier in 1688 and briefly with William’s manifesto.

<sup>7</sup> Nicholas Chevalier, in his *Histoire de Guillaume III. Roy d’Angleterre, d’Ecosse de France, et d’Irlande, Prince d’Orange, etc. Contenant ses Actions les plu memorables, depuis sa Naissance jusques à son elevation sur le Trone, & ce qui s’est passe depuis jusques à l’entree Reduction du Royaume d’Irlande. Par medailles, inscriptions, arcs de triomphe, & autres monumens publics* (Amsterdam, 1692), published “with privilege,” based his account largely on such memorabilia. Nicholas Tindal reproduced about 400 medals in *The Mettlick History of the Reigns of King William III and Queen Mary, Queen Anne, and King George I* (London, 1747), volume 3 of his edition, which he translated from the French, of Paul Rapin de Thoyras, *The History of England*; Tindal commented on the medals in the preface (iii, iv). Walter Harris, *History of the Life and Reign of William-Henry, Prince of Nassau and Orange, Stadtholder of the United Provinces, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, etc.* (Dublin, 1749), reproduced 49 medals; and C. M. Firth illustrated his 1913 edition of Lord Macaulay’s *History of England* with medals and commented upon the value of the iconographic material in the preface. Twentieth-century historians,

IF WILLIAM'S PURPOSES WERE TO BE FULFILLED WITHOUT SIGNIFICANT BLOODSHED, he needed a major effort to influence public opinion. Prince William of Orange, who invaded England in November 1688, had no direct claim to the English throne, but he did have a place in the line of succession. Born in 1650 to Mary Stuart, the sister of King James II, and posthumously to William II of Orange, this present William was married to another Mary Stuart—the Protestant daughter of James II and his first wife Anne Hyde—and was thus both James's nephew and his son-in-law. A Dutch prince, the stadholder of the Dutch republic since 1672, and a Calvinist, William became the principal opponent on the Continent of the Sun King, Louis XIV of France. Long before the Revolution of 1688–89 he had been a careful observer of England's internal and foreign policies. While maintaining friendly relations with his royal relatives, he formed close ties with their opposition to bring England into an alliance against France and protect the dynastic interests of his wife and himself. Over the years his personal popularity with the English public grew, as did his political options. During the Exclusion Crisis of 1678–83, when the "first Whigs" tried to bar James (then Duke of York and an avowed Catholic) from the succession to the throne, William shrewdly resisted the efforts of some politicians to draw him deeply into the controversy and use him to their own advantage.<sup>8</sup>

In 1685 James became king of England and almost immediately alienated a substantial portion of the politically conscious nation, Whigs and Tories alike. Whatever James's ultimate intentions, the steps he took suggested to many people that he aimed to Catholicize the nation, destroy Parliament, weaken local government, and create a centralized government backed by a standing army and allied to Catholic France. Disaffected Englishmen, many of whom had opposed James earlier, looked again to William to assist them in redressing grievances against James. Although the nature and timing of William's role in the preliminaries to the Revolution have been disputed, it is clear that in the spring of 1688 William and these English conspirators agreed that the prince must come with a force within the year. In June a baby boy was born to James and his second wife, Mary of Modena. Thus James's son, James Francis, displaced William's wife Mary in the line of succession to the English throne and made William's own claim remoter still. Three weeks after the birth seven major English conspirators sent a letter, written at William's insistence, to the Dutch prince. The letter invited William to come to England

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however, have largely ignored these materials, leaving it to popular writers—John Miller, in his *The Life and Times of William and Mary* (London, 1974), and Henri and Barbara van der Zee, in their *William and Mary* (London, 1973)—to use such graphic materials as illustrations. Yet several recent studies demonstrate what can be done: Herbert Atherton, *Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth* (Oxford, 1974); and M. Dorothy George, *English Political Caricature to 1792: A Study of Opinion and Propaganda* (Oxford, 1959), and *Hogarth to Cruickshank: Social Change in Graphic Satire* (New York, 1967). Also see John Brewer, "The Faces of Lord Bute: A Visual Contribution to Anglo-American Political Ideology," *Perspectives in American History*, ed. Donald Fleming and Bernard Bailyn, 6 (1972): 95–116; and Jean H. Hagstrum, "Verbal and Visual Caricature in the Age of Dryden, Swift, and Pope," *England in the Restoration and Early Eighteenth Century* (Los Angeles, 1972), 173–95.

<sup>8</sup> See Stephen Baxter, *William III* (London, 1966), 160–77, and J. R. Jones, *The First Whigs: The Politics of the Exclusion Crisis, 1678–1683* (London, 1961), 83, 85, 90, 128–30, 136, 140, 151, 194–96, for William's role.

with a force and promised him support but, significantly, said nothing about the final solution to the crisis nor about William's or James's future role in England's government. That was left quite open.<sup>9</sup>

On November 5, 1688, his arrival anticipated by widespread enthusiasm, William landed with an army at Torbay.<sup>10</sup> Subsequent events, however, were neither inevitable nor smooth. Three and a half months of mounting tension, division, some fighting, and much political maneuvering ensued. Around the country scattered violence occurred almost immediately, while in London the mob rioted in mid-December.<sup>11</sup> James, his nerves shattered (as persistent nosebleeds testified), but with the calculation that his flight would throw England into such confusion that he would be recalled, took refuge in late December with his wife and baby son at the court of Louis XIV. After their departure, in conformity with the expressed desires of Englishmen, a Convention Parliament was elected to resolve the crisis.<sup>12</sup> In the weeks prior to its meeting, no unanimity of opinion about settling the government emerged. On the contrary, men aired alternative proposals in "frequent consults and caballs," and predictions about the outcome multiplied.<sup>13</sup> The possibility of recalling James was not ignored; the "common letters" noted in mid-January that "at or before the Convention the King will be addressed so to return."<sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup> See Baxter, *William III*, 223–34, for the most coherent and persuasive analysis. Also see Jones, *Revolution of 1688*, chap. 8 and 250–53, 280–81, 285–86; and Lucile Pinkham, *William III and the Respectable Revolution: The Part Played by William of Orange in the Revolution of 1688* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), *passim*. Baxter identifies the conspirators involved; *William III*, 230.

<sup>10</sup> A contemporary noted on October 20 that the invasion "may be called the Merry Invasion," so widespread was the approval of it; see William Westby, "A Continuation of my Memoires or Memoranda Book Jan. 1687/8–Jan. 1689," FSL, V, a 350, 40. Other notices of public approval at this time include Russell J. Kerr and Ida Coffin Duncan, eds., *The Portledge Papers, Being Extracts from the Letters of Richard Laphorne, Gent. of Hatton Garden, London, to Richard Coffin, esq., of Portledge, Bideford, Devon* (London, 1928), 47, 48; John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E. S. deBeer, 4 (London, 1955): 600; and Sir John Reresby, *Memoirs of Sir John Reresby*, ed. Andrew Browning (London, 1936), 522.

<sup>11</sup> Bodleian Library (hereafter Bodl.), Carte MSS, 130, f. 303; British Library (hereafter BL), Add. MSS, 29,594, f. 131, Add. MSS, 34,487, f. 35, and Add. MSS, 34,510, 4:241–42; Westby, "A Continuation of my Memoires or Memoranda Book," 45, 47; "The Newdigate Newsletters, Addressed to Sir Richard Newdigate, 1st Bart., and to 2nd Bart., 1673/74–1715," FSL, LC, 1934, 1944; G. I. W. Agar-Ellis, Lord Dover, ed., *The Ellis Correspondence: Letters Written during the Years 1686, 1687, 1688 and Addressed to John Ellis*, 2 (London, 1831): 290–93; and Kerr and Duncan, *The Portledge Papers*, 50. For a study of the uprising of the mob, see W. L. Sachse, "The Mob and the Revolution of 1688," *Journal of British Studies* (hereafter *JBS*), 4 (1964): 23–40.

<sup>12</sup> James's first and unsuccessful flight was December 11, and the second, December 23; his wife and son had gone on December 10. Englishmen of "all ranks and conditions" wanted a parliament called to settle the crisis, and from October through December this proposal dominated discussions with James and William; for a brief account, see Horwitz, "Parliament and the Glorious Revolutions," 36–39. For the election, see J. H. Plumb, "The Elections to the Convention Parliament of 1689," *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 5 (1937): 235–55; Horwitz, "Parliament and the Glorious Revolution," 40–42; and Alan Simpson, "The Convention Parliament of 1688–89" (D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1939), 14–36.

<sup>13</sup> Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714*, 1 (Oxford, 1857): 497; BL, Add. MSS, 40,621, f. 5; Roger Morrice, "Entr'ing Book, Being an Historical Register of Occurrences from April, Anno 1677 to April 1691," FSL (photocopy), Q, 422, 424 (the original is in Dr. Williams's Library in London); and National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Otley Papers, 469(1) (Dr. Clyve Jones called my attention to this manuscript).

<sup>14</sup> Morrice, "Entr'ing Book," 427. Also see "The Newdigate Newsletters," LC 1964; Historical Manuscripts Commission (hereafter HMC), *The Manuscripts of His Grace, the Duke of Portland*, 3: 421; S. W. Singer, ed., *Correspondence of Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, and of His Brother, Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester*, 2 (London, 1828): 238, 244, 246; "Journaal van Constantyn Huygens, den zoon, van 21 October 1688 tot 2 September 1696," *Werken Uitgegeven door het Historisch Genootschap* (Utrecht, 1876–78), n.s., 23: 60, 67. For one

Among James's former soldiers, grumblings, desertions, and near mutiny expressed dissatisfaction with the turn of events. William's life was threatened, one of his Dutch guards was found murdered, and private duels provoked by political disagreement were fought.<sup>15</sup> "Some persons," it was reported, "make it their endeavour to sow jealousies and foment divisions among us."<sup>16</sup> So tense became the situation after the Convention opened on January 22 that bloodshed was feared.<sup>17</sup> William was fully aware of the differences of opinion in the Convention and sensitive enough to ask a Dutch emissary in London not to report them in his letters to Holland.<sup>18</sup>

If the prince and his friends were to achieve the end of making him king of England, which—whatever his earlier intention—was indisputably his aim after James's flight, and were to accomplish this goal without violence, a broad consensus in his favor was essential. To achieve this consensus an intensive campaign of propaganda was carried on throughout the months of the Revolution. Partly because of the success of his propaganda effort, a solution to the crisis of 1688–89 satisfactory to William was agreed upon. On February 13 in a unique ceremony, William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, were proclaimed king and queen of England with the sole administrative authority vested in William alone. This ceremony brought one phase of the Revolution of 1688–89 to a close. It also brought a new set of problems for King William III, some of which were created by the very effort used to persuade the public to accept the solution which had finally been negotiated.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1688–89 WAS NOT THE FIRST TIME THAT PRINTED TRACTS, prints, and medals had been used to influence politics.<sup>19</sup> Since the Reformation the English crown and its counselors had used printed tracts to shape public

aspect of the work of the loyalists, see Robert Beddard, "The Guildhall Declaration of 11 December 1688 and the Counter-Revolution of the Loyalists," *Historical Journal*, 11 (1968): 403–20; also see Horwitz, "Parliament and the Glorious Revolution," 36–38.

<sup>15</sup> Evelyn, *Diary*, 612; Singer, *Correspondence of . . . Clarendon*, 231, 234; Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, 496, 505; Morrice, "Entr'ing Book," 366, 397, 399, 407, 432, 433, 435, 449, 455; Dover, *Ellis Correspondence: Letters Written during the Years 1686, 1687, 1688*, 374; the *London Courant*, December 18–22, 1688, #4; and the *London Mercury*, December 13–18, 1688, #2.

<sup>16</sup> Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, 496.

<sup>17</sup> Morrice, "Entr'ing Book," 452, 454; and BL, Add. MSS, 40,621, f. 12. Also see "the truly great discontents" reported by Resesby, *Memoirs*, 553; and Singer, *Correspondence of . . . Clarendon*, 257; Gilbert Burnet, *Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time, with Notes by the Earls of Dartmouth and Hardwicke, Speaker Onslow, and Dean Swift* (Oxford, 1833), 3: 398n., 405n. William's life was again threatened; see Bodl., Rawlinson MSS, D, 1079, f. 5.

<sup>18</sup> J. G. van Terveen, ed., "Uittreksels uit het Bijzonder Verbaal Nopens de Deputatie en Ambassade Daarop Gevolgd in Engeland, 1689, Gehouden Door Mr. Nicolass Witsen, Burgemeester te Amsterdam," *Geschied-en Letterkundig Mengelwerk van Mr. Jacobus Scheltema* (Utrecht, 1823), Derde Deel, pt. 2, 139.

<sup>19</sup> The impact of printing in early modern Europe, largely on elite groups, has been explored by Elizabeth L. Eisenstein in "Some Conjectures about the Impact of Printing on Western Society and Thought: A Preliminary Report," *Journal of Modern History*, 40 (1968): 1–56, and "The Advent of Printing and the Problem of the Renaissance," *Past & Present*, #45 (1969): 19–89. For the connections between printing and popular culture in sixteenth-century France, see Natalie Z. Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, Calif., 1975), esp. 189–226. Also see Joseph Klaitz, *Printed Propaganda under Louis XIV: Absolute Monarchy and Public Opinion* (Princeton, 1976); and Joseph Jacquiot, *Médailles et jetons de Louis XIV, d'après le manuscrit de Londres* (Kensieck, 1970).

opinion, and people outside the government had done likewise. During the seventeenth century, pamphlet warfare was part of every major political crisis.<sup>20</sup> Nor was this the first time that William had used tracts to promote his political interests. In the early 1670s, for example, William employed Peter Du Moulin, who wrote a pamphlet largely credited with turning the Commons against the French alliance; and, as the historian of that episode has commented, the prince used the same technique then that he would apply in the fall of 1688.<sup>21</sup> Even in 1687 and early 1688 William relied upon the press; Gaspel Fagel's printed letter presenting William's views on the repeal of the Test Acts was designed to undermine James. Before William landed, his agents advised him on the content and distribution of tracts and established connections with printers and publishers in England. One agent wrote William in April 1688 that if he wanted to keep England "in humor [he] . . . must entertain it by papers."<sup>22</sup> Prints and medals, moreover, had also been used before 1688 by Englishmen and, more especially, by Dutchmen to convey a polemical message.<sup>23</sup> Ever since their revolt from Spain in the sixteenth century, the Dutch had been the "chief source of pictorial propaganda."<sup>24</sup> In the late 1660s and early 1670s they employed vicious iconographic material to satirize English individuals and policies. With less apparent enthusiasm Englishmen had also used prints and medals to comment on politics. Those who attempted to exclude James, Duke of York, for one example, did so by pictures as well as by printed tracts.<sup>25</sup> In 1688, then, not only was William an experienced publicist, but the English themselves had also become accustomed to the public airing of political views in written and visual form.

<sup>20</sup> See G. R. Elton, *Policy and Police: The Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell* (Cambridge, 1972), chap. 4; Cromwell's campaign was the first time any government had employed printed propaganda (206–07). Also see William Haller, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation* (London, 1963); and Jennifer Loach, "Pamphlets and Politics, 1553–8," *BIHR*, 48 (1975): 31–44. For some later examples, see Carolyn A. Edie, "The Popular Idea of Monarchy on the Eve of the Stuart Restoration," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 29 (1976): 343–73; O. W. Furley, "The Whig Exclusionists: Pamphlet Literature in the Exclusion Campaign, 1679–81," *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 13 (1957): 19–36; K. H. D. Haley, *William of Orange and the English Opposition, 1672–74* (Oxford, 1953); H. Rusche, "Merlini Anglici: Astrology and Propaganda from 1644 to 1651," *English Historical Review* (hereafter *EHR*), 80 (1965): 322–33, and "Prophecies and Propaganda, 1641 to 1651," *EHR*, 84 (1969): 752–70; Lois G. Schwoerer, "The Fittest Subject for a King's Quarrel: An Essay on the Militia Bill Controversy, 1641–1642," *JBS*, 11 (1971): 45–76, and "No Standing Armies!" *The Antiarmy Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England* (Baltimore, 1974), chap. 8; and W. A. Speck, "Political Propaganda in Augustan England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 22 (1972): 17–32.

<sup>21</sup> Haley, *William of Orange and the English Opposition, 1672–1674*, 52–53, 97–98, 105–07, 111, 222. The pamphlet was *England's Appeal from the Private Cabal at Whitehall to the Great Council of the nation, the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled* (1673). It was reprinted in 1689 in *State Tracts: Being a Collection of several Treatises Relating to the Government. Privately Printed in the reign of King Charles II*.

<sup>22</sup> Nottingham University Library (hereafter NUL), Portland MSS, PwA, 2159; and see PwA. 2099, 2110, 2112, 2118, 2120, 2124, 2126, 2139, 2143. Also see Jones, *Revolution of 1688*, 211, 215, 226–27, and chap. 8: "William's English Connection."

<sup>23</sup> See the *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Political and Personal Satires*, prepared under the supervision of F. G. Stephens (London, 1870), vol. 1: 1320 to April 11, 1689. Its title notwithstanding, the volume contains references to medals.

<sup>24</sup> George, *English Political Caricature to 1792*, 4 and *passim*.

<sup>25</sup> A contemporary said the Dutch prints insulted England so grievously that war against Holland was justified; see George, *English Political Caricature to 1792*, 48–50. Also see B. J. Rahn, "A Ra-Ree Show—A Rare Cartoon: Revolutionary Propaganda in the Treason Trial of Stephen Colledge," *Studies in Change and Revolution: Aspects of English Intellectual History, 1640–1800* (London, 1972), 77–98.

Tracts, prints, and commemorative medals appeared at every important step in the Revolution of 1688–89. As their timing indicates, almost all had the specific purpose of molding public opinion in the prince's favor. A broadside, entitled simply *Character*, was printed at The Hague on October 12, a month before William sailed.<sup>26</sup> The date and place of its publication and its flattering terms suggest that someone close to William had a hand in it and perhaps coordinated its appearance with the other tracts known to have been written by William and his close associates. Another pamphlet—*The Character of His Royal Highness William Henry Prince of Orange*—appeared during the meeting of the Convention, when an adulatory account of the prince's personal qualities could do him the most good. Significantly, it bore the imprimatur "With Allowance," indicating his knowledge and approval. And yet another tract touching on William's character was licensed four days before the Convention opened.<sup>27</sup> One author candidly declared that his pamphlet was intended to reach a much larger number of people than could have known William personally or learned about him from earlier printed accounts.<sup>28</sup> Propaganda specifically aimed at a cosmetic treatment of the stadholder appeared very early in the sequence of events in 1688 and 1689. The major purposes were to magnify William's strengths, to deny or explain away his weaknesses and faults, and to present his proposals in their most favorable light.

First of all, William had to appear kingly to the English public. Yet the prince was not at all attractive physically. Standing just over five and a half feet tall, he had spindly legs and little feet like those of a child. His thin, slight body with its slightly deformed back supported a head marred by a huge, beak-like, and crooked nose that destroyed the symmetry of his face. Black, poorly aligned teeth further detracted from his appearance. One contemporary privately declared that there was nothing beautiful about William but his eyes, an assessment which failed to praise his only other physical asset—his long, thick, and naturally wavy hair.<sup>29</sup> The pamphlets, however, referred to the prince's "wonderful proportions and features." His health was as frail as his body, the result of chronic asthma which led to frequent colds and a persistent cough. But the pamphleteers attributed to him a "robust and healthy" constitution. The stadholder, they stated, practiced "exemplary temperance and sobriety" out of principle rather than physical necessity. Other admirers

<sup>26</sup> The date was October 12, New Style (N. S.), used on the Continent, or October 2, Old Style, used in England.

<sup>27</sup> For evidence of the former's appearance during the Convention, see *Character of His Royal Highness* (London, 1689), 7; the latter—*A Dialogue Between Dick and Tom concerning the present posture of Affairs in England*—was licensed on January 18, 1689.

<sup>28</sup> *Character of His Royal Highness*, 4. One such earlier account was that of Sir William Temple: *Observations Upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands*, ed. Sir George Clark (Oxford, 1972), 135. Six editions in English appeared between 1673 and 1693. The passage about William was used verbatim in *The History of the most Illustrious William, Prince of Orange; Duc'd from the First Founder of the Antient House of Nassau, Together with the most Considerable Actions of this Present Prince* (London, 1688), 189–90, and was referred to in *Popish Treaties Not to be Rely'd Upon: In a Letter from a Gentleman at York, to his Friend in the Prince of Orange's Camp. Addressed to all Members of the next Parliament* (London, 1688), 3.

<sup>29</sup> F. J. L. Krämer, ed., "Mémoires de Monsieur de B . . . ou Anecdotes, Tant de la cour du Prince d'Orange Guillaume III, que des principaux seigneurs de république de ce temps," *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*, 19 (Utrecht, 1898): 79.

acclaimed William's personal morality and integrity. "Women and Wine, the two great seducers of mankind, never could entice him to the least frailty." So fine an example did he set that his courtiers were like "Professors of ethics" and his court appeared to be "another Athens of Philosophers, the only Seat of Justice and Vertue now left in the World."<sup>30</sup>

To be kingly, William also had to seem kind and courageous, just and wise. Thus, though the stadholder was known by his intimates to be irritable and short-tempered, tracts called him "benign," even "affable" and "of . . . sweet temper." He conquered his enemies by the "charming dispositions of his Mind," and his nature combined the "meekness of Moses" with the "Courage and Valiancy of Joshua."<sup>31</sup> Although taciturnity and reserve had long characterized his personality, a pamphleteer explained that the prince "talks not much, but very well," and was able to discern the best advice.<sup>32</sup> To complement the image which appeared on medals and in poems, the prince was described as a "young Belgick Lion" (the traditional symbol of Holland).<sup>33</sup> Words failed him, one author averred, when he tried to depict the military prowess and valor displayed by the stadholder on the battlefield. So strong was his character that William was able to maintain "exact discipline" in an army composed only of "well-bred Gentlemen" and "honest Citizens." These accomplishments notwithstanding, the prince, it was said, shunned personal glory and was without ambition.<sup>34</sup>

In the circumstances of 1688 personal charisma and military prowess were less important, however, than the prince's civil accomplishments. Though some thought William arbitrary and claimed that he had "undone" the Dutch burghers' "liberties,"<sup>35</sup> the pamphleteers asserted that the stadholder had never violated the personal rights or abridged the municipal privileges of the Dutch citizenry. "Justice remarkable, prudence inimitable, [and] temperance extraordinary" had characterized William's rule in Holland. That William had revived the office and powers of the stadholder in 1672 should cause no alarm; for the prince had taken that step out of necessity—for the safety, even the continued existence, of the United Provinces. And, although he was said to tolerate Roman Catholics only with difficulty, he was moderate in his

<sup>30</sup> *Character of His Royal Highness*, 7; *Popish Treaties Not to be Rely'd Upon*, 3; and *Character*. That William did not drink was noticed by an anonymous observer in June 1688, as quoted in Nesca Robb, *William of Orange: A Personal Portrait*, 2 (London, 1962): 262.

<sup>31</sup> "Journaal van Constantyn Hugens," 60, 64; van Terveen, "Verbaal . . . Witsen," 140; Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, 4: 2, 561n., 565–66; *Character of His Royal Highness*, 3, 7; and *Character*. Moses was described as a man "very meek above all" in Numbers 12:3.

<sup>32</sup> *Character of His Royal Highness*, 7.

<sup>33</sup> The lion as the symbol of the Netherlands was well established. See George, *English Political Caricature to 1792*, 44 and n. 2. For an example of a medal, see page 866 below. *A Congratulatory Poem to His Highness, the Prince of Orange upon His Arrival in London* (London, 1688) contained the couplet, "Methinks I heard the Belgick Lyon roar/Landed in Triumph on the British shoar."

<sup>34</sup> *Character of His Royal Highness*, 5, 7; *A Dialogue Between Dick and Tom*, 9; and *Character*.

<sup>35</sup> *Some Reflections upon His Highness the Prince of Orange's Declaration*, in *A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts . . . Selected from . . . Public as well as Private Libraries, Particularly That of the Late Lord Somers* (London, 1748–51), 9: 294. It is worth noting that Nicolass Witsen, the mayor of Amsterdam, no admirer of the prince, understood that he had been brought to England to show by his presence unanimity between William and the city of Amsterdam. See van Terveen, "Verbaal . . . Witsen," 137.

own religious views and regarded no man as “factious” unless he disturbed the public peace.<sup>36</sup> The implication was clear: compared with the arbitrary James, William was a benevolent ruler, and, in many respects, the epitome of an ideal prince.

The effort to touch up William’s appearance, personality, and past achievements, however, was secondary to the effort to cast the prince’s current purposes and future policies in the most favorable light. Among the many tracts devoted to this latter end, two stand out: the *Declaration of His Highness William Henry, Prince of Orange, of the Reasons Inducing Him to Appear in Armes in the Kingdom of England for Preserving of the Protestant Religion and for Restoring the Lawes and Liberties of England, Scotland, and Ireland* and its postscript, the *Second Declaration of Reasons*. The first, dated October 10, outlined William’s policies and the second, dated two weeks later, provided further explanation of the prince’s intentions; together they were the most important instruments of William’s propaganda effort. The manner of composing the first declaration shows what importance William and his close associates attached to the shaping of public opinion. A first draft of a public statement justifying the invasion was prepared by several of William’s English conspirators and brought to the prince in Holland in August 1688. William, his English and Dutch advisers, and some members of the English colony at The Hague, whose opinion William solicited, all reviewed the draft. As reported by Gilbert Burnet—an important adviser to William at this time and later a bishop—their disputes over certain clauses in the draft reveal that the final text of the *Declaration of Reasons* was dictated by considerations of propaganda and political partisanship.<sup>37</sup> For example, some counselors argued that in the manifesto the dispensing power—that is, the discretionary power to set aside laws traditionally exercised by the king—should be made the “main ground” for the expedition, because “the body of the whole nation” had been disturbed by James’s use of it, and, therefore, it “would seem very strange” if it were not the main reason for William’s invasion. Others maintained that the dispensing power was a legal power of the crown which had been exercised for ages and that James’s stretching of that legal power was not a just basis for an invasion. They charged that political calculation and not sincere abhorrence of the use of the dispensing power was the real reason for giving it first priority. The aim, they said, was to win over the bishops and high Tories who had suffered the most as a consequence of the king’s employing the dispensing power.

William’s advisers also disputed the role that the trial of the Seven Bishops should play in justifying William’s decision “to appear in armes in the Kingdom of England.” In an effort to appeal to Anglicans and Tories, some advisers, it was said, insisted that the trial figure prominently in the manifesto. Pointing to the widespread support of the bishops, these unidentified

<sup>36</sup> *A Dialogue Between Dick and Tom*, 9; *Popish Treaties Not to be Rely’d Upon*, 4; *Character of His Royal Highness*, 7; and *Character*.

<sup>37</sup> See Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, 3: 283–84, 300, 308–10, for the disputes.

advisers maintained that a lack of emphasis on the trial “would be made use of” to persuade people of the prince’s “ill will” toward the nation. Further, inclusion of the clause that people from all walks of life, and not just seven leaders, had invited the prince was credited to an adviser who afterwards confessed to great uneasiness about it.<sup>38</sup> Again, although at least one man objected on the grounds that the evidence was inconclusive, others “absolutely insisted” upon including the charge that James’s son was a fraud and the promise that a newly elected Parliament would investigate the baby’s birth. This point reflected the advice of one of William’s agents, James Johnstone, who declared in a memorandum on the subject that it would “doe much good in England” to publish suspicions about the baby and to supply the reasons for them. He wrote, “Whoever knows the present dispositions of mens spirit in England must know” that such a thesis should be published to confirm believers and persuade doubters.<sup>39</sup> Finally, William himself objected to the first draft: “There is much that needs to be changed,” he wrote to his chief confidant, William Bentinck. “You will see that by the conclusion I am placed entirely at the mercy of Parliament.” He continued, “Handing one’s fate over to them is not without hazard.” As much as he disliked that prospect, William indicated that he did “not think” that it could “be otherwise.”<sup>40</sup> The remark underscored the prince’s political sensitivities and his willingness to subordinate his private views and to hazard his fate to the demands of propaganda to achieve a more palatable public image. William’s concern that there was danger to him in giving such a large role to Parliament was not misplaced. In some respects the prince was hoisted on the petard of his own propaganda.

The style as well as the content of the *Declaration* was the object of careful attention. Gilbert Burnet shortened and enlivened a draft prepared by one of William’s Dutch advisers. Burnet’s paper, itself interlined and corrected, survives in the Dutch archives.<sup>41</sup> These efforts resulted in one of the most effectively written tracts that appeared in the entire campaign. Readable, and for the most part moderate in tone, it argued William’s case in a clear and detailed manner, but not at such length that it bored the reader. Even the English ambassador at The Hague, who abhorred the contents of the *Declaration*, described its style as “civil and smooth” and predicted that it would “gain the people’s Affections.”<sup>42</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Morrice, “Entr’ing Book,” 383.

<sup>39</sup> N. Japikse, ed., *Correspondentie van Willem III en van Hans Willem Bentinck, Ersten Graaf van Portland* (‘s-Gravenhage, 1928), RGP, Kleine Serie, 24: 603; and “Journaal van Constantyn Huygens,” 67. Doubts about the birth surfaced almost immediately, as did vicious satirical verse. Lord., *Poems on Affairs of State*, vol. 4: 1685–1688, ed. Galbraith N. Grump (New Haven, Conn., 1968), 235–72.

<sup>40</sup> Japikse, *Correspondentie van Willem III en van Hans Willem Bentinck*, 23: 49. William’s misgivings apparently continued in September; see NUL, Portland MSS, PwA, 1659.

<sup>41</sup> Manifest van den Koning Willem III aan de Engelsche Natie, 1688, Oct. 10 (N.S.), Minuut van Gilbert Burnet, Koninklijk Huisarchief, IX, a.15 (old number 2638). Burnet also edited the draft of the *Second Declaration* prepared by Gaspar Fagel. See Japikse, *Correspondentie van Willem III en van Hans Willem Bentinck*, 24: 620–21 and n. 3.

<sup>42</sup> BL, Add. MSS, 41,816, f. 249; this was a perceptive observation by the ambassador, Ignatius White, Marquis d’Albeville, whose political acuity and personal integrity have been controverted. See E. S. deBeer, “The Marquis of Albeville and His Brothers,” *EHR*, 45 (1930), 397–408. Cf. Jones, *Revolution of 1688*, 217, 257–58, 261; and J. P. Kenyon, *Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, 1641–1702* (London, 1958), 136n.

What was persuasive about the final text of the *Declaration of Reasons*? What was promised that would “gain the people’s affections?” William was depicted as the “Dutch Deliverer,” whose aim was to rescue the Protestant religion and the Anglican church and to restore the laws and liberties of the English nation, all so grievously assaulted. Avoiding a direct attack on James himself, the manifesto blamed his “evil counsellors” for these assaults. The violations of these counselors were enumerated, with first priority given to the use of the dispensing power, that “strange and execrable maxim,” said (quite erroneously) to have been “invent[ed] and set on foot” by James’s advisers. The persecution of the Seven Bishops appeared prominently in the list of other grievances, which included the suspension of the Test Act, the *quo warranto* proceedings (by which James aimed to control municipal affairs), and the elevation of Papists to high posts in all areas of the government. Using an example certain to appeal to Englishmen, the *Declaration* asserted that “the dismal effects of this subversion of the Established Religion, Laws and Liberties in England appear more evidently to us by what we see done in Ireland.”

As for himself, William could not sit idly by. The legitimate position of his dear wife Mary and of himself in the succession, the affection shown him and Mary by Englishmen over the years, and the fact that he had been invited by a “great many Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal, and by many Gentlemen, and other Subjects of all Ranks” compelled him to come. But he came not as a conqueror. His army was not directed against the English people. Rather, it was a force large enough only to protect William from the “violence” of James’s evil advisers.<sup>48</sup> It would be kept under strict control and returned to Holland as soon as possible. William promised, moreover, that he would “concur in everything” that a “free and lawful Parliament shall determine.” In neither the first nor the second *Declaration of Reasons* did William specify a future role for himself or James II in the government. But in the *Second Declaration* he disparaged the “malicious insinuations” of persons who suggested that he had any other design than to procure a lasting settlement on a sure foundation which would avoid the danger of the nation’s relapsing into misery again. Also in this second manifesto he dismissed the reforms belatedly instituted by James and declared—in words that were to become highly significant—that the only meaningful remedy was by a “Parliament in a Declaration of the Rights of the subject that have been invaded, and not by any pretended Acts of Grace.”

Finally, using the “dirty trick” recommended by his advisers, William cast doubts on the legitimacy of James’s son. “To crown all,” the *Declaration* read, “those evil consellers . . . published that the Queen hath brought forth a

<sup>48</sup> The point on the succession was reinforced by a print depicting William and Mary beneath whom is a text in Dutch listing the rulers of England and Scotland. The text shows that the House of Nassau dates from the year 682 A.D., and indicates that William and Mary are in a line of succession that goes back to William the Conqueror, in the case of England, and to David, in the case of Scotland. BL, A Volume of prints, 504. 1. 10 (18v–19). In keeping with the idea that he was not a conqueror, William issued an order on January 2, 1689 that any of his soldiers who suggested that he had conquered England be punished; see the *Orange Gazette*, January 7–10, 1688/9, #4. In fact, William brought about 15,000 men; see Baxter, *William III*, 237.

son.” But, the manifesto continued, the new Parliament should investigate the matter, for “not only we ourselves but all the good subjects of the Kingdom do vehemently suspect that the Pretended Prince of Wales was not borne by the Queen.” It was a daring and outrageous charge. “This is worse,” fumed the indignant English ambassador at The Hague, “than the public invasion, and more unpardonable.” It could not have been written, he declared, but by “incarnat Divells.”<sup>44</sup> As events proved, the promise that the new Parliament would examine the birth of the baby was disingenuous. In this and other respects the *Declaration* shaped past events and present policies to serve the stadholder’s interests.

The *Declaration of Reasons* was everywhere in the fall of 1688. The manifesto appeared in four languages: English, Dutch, German, and French. It was printed at Amsterdam, Edinburgh, The Hague, Hamburg, London, and Magdeburg. Copies printed at The Hague bore the official imprimatur of the prince: “Printed at The Hague by Arnold Leers by special order of His Highness.” Altogether, twenty-one editions in the four languages appeared in 1688, eight of them in English. Intended, clearly, for an international as well as an English audience, the *Declaration* was widely dispersed on the Continent. Copies were handed directly to all ambassadors and ministers at The Hague, except the English and French representatives.<sup>45</sup> Through copies in the Dutch language William justified his undertaking to his Dutch subjects on the same grounds he had employed in asking Their High Mightinesses—the members of the Estates-General of the seven provinces, the governing body of the Netherlands—for support. In like manner through the German version he informed the German people of his project in the same general terms he had used in soliciting help from the German princes. And the French translation of the manifesto appealed to Huguenots on the Continent as well as to those who had emigrated to England after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.<sup>46</sup>

The *Declaration* was distributed from one end of the British Isles to the other, from the southeastern downs to the northwestern highlands (for which a version aimed at the Scots without antagonizing the English was prepared by Burnet with William’s active involvement), and “many thousand copies” were sent across the Channel.<sup>47</sup> A pass word—“I come from Exeter”—was devised for the prince’s agents and their contacts in England to protect them from “speaking to any wrong person who brings the papers.” Specific instructions about the timing of distributing the manifesto were issued, emphasis

<sup>44</sup> BL, Add. MSS, 41,816, ff. 249–49v.

<sup>45</sup> BL, Add. MSS, 34,487, f. 35. Continental archives (Dutch repositories excepting) still need to be searched for material on the Revolution.

<sup>46</sup> A paper to be used by foreign ministers in justifying Holland’s support of the expedition largely reiterated the *Declaration of Reasons*; see BL, Add. MSS, 41,821, ff. 271–72. The role of the Huguenots in the Revolution would be worth studying. Articles scattered through the *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London* deal with Huguenots during the period from different points of view. Also see the useful article by Roy A. Sundstrom, “Some Original Sources Relating to Huguenot Refugees in England, 1680–1727,” *Albion*, 6 (1976): 3–9.

<sup>47</sup> Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, 3: 301, 302; and BL, Add. MSS, 41,816, ff. 209v, 237, 261.

being placed upon releasing the document after the prince had landed and not before.<sup>48</sup> Friends of the prince were given as many as three thousand copies and asked to distribute them in their counties and among their friends. Bundles of free copies were sent to booksellers who were invited to sell them at their own profit. Copies were posted through the penny post. Additional copies were turned out by at least one English printer, a John White of Yorkshire. The first, and for a time the only, English printer of the *Declaration*, White was richly rewarded by William after the prince became king with a monopoly in the city of York and the five northern counties for printing all notices concerning revenue and justice which the government might issue.<sup>49</sup>

Other steps taken to put the tract before the public also reveal its importance to William and his friends. Burnet, for example, read the *Declaration* from the pulpit of Exeter Cathedral on the Sunday after the prince's entourage entered the city, and then sent it "in the Prince's name" to all the clergy "commanding them . . . to read it." Some people in Exeter circulated the *Declaration* and were arrested by the mayor for their trouble. All around England William's partisans read and posted the *Declaration*. In Cheshire, Henry Booth, Lord Delamere, "himself read . . . the *Declaration* at the Market Cross." At the garrison at Plymouth the *Declaration* was read to the officers and soldiers, who declared for the prince by "throwing up their hats and huzzas," and then it was posted on the gates of the citadel. It was also read in Falmouth where it met with "universal acclamations of joy."<sup>50</sup> In one way or another, then, England was saturated with the *Declaration*. As one contemporary wrote, it "passed into the hands of the generality of the nation."<sup>51</sup>

The first and second *Declaration of Reasons* were not the only pamphlets written under the direct supervision of William and his friends. *Letters*, in the form of printed broadsides, were addressed to the English army and fleet. These broadsides urged the men to join the prince in the defense of the nation's religion, laws, and liberties, promised them reward if they came in "seasonably," and counseled them not to allow a misplaced sense of loyalty to James to deter them. The letters were signed by William as "Your truly well wishing and affectionate Friend." Three tracts bearing the imprimatur "By Authority" were released. Written by Burnet, they dealt, in ways favorable to William, with specific questions that were troubling thoughtful Eng-

<sup>48</sup> Japikse, *Correspondentie van Willem III en van Hans Willem Bentinck*, 24: 618–19.

<sup>49</sup> BL, Add. MSS, 41,816, ff. 263–63v; John Carswell, *From Revolution to Revolution: England, 1688–1776* (London, 1973), 29; Singer, *Correspondence of . . . Clarendon*, 494; and *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic* (hereafter *C.PSD*), 1689–90, 122. Also see C. H. Temperley, *A Dictionary of Printers and Printing* (London, 1899), 572.

<sup>50</sup> Dover, *Ellis Correspondence: Letters Written during the Years 1686, 1687, 1688*, 296, 308; the Carl H. Pforzheimer Library, Bulstrode MSS, vol. 12, Newsletters, Nov. 9, 1688, 2d letter; the *English Currant*, December 14–19, 1688, #3; and the Huntington Library, Hastings MSS, HA, 6074, 6075 (almost all of this material has been printed in HMC, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Late Reginald Rawdon Hastings*, 2: 197, 199). For other examples, see *CSPD, James II*, 3: #s 2005, 2044, and Morrice, "Entr'ing Book," 369. In addition, a print of William's landing at Torbay by the Dutchman Carolus Allard depicted the reading of the *Declaration of Reasons* to an assembled crowd, a fact which is not mentioned in any other source and may, therefore, be doubted.

<sup>51</sup> *Quadiennium Jacobi: or, The History of the reign of James II from his first coming to the crown to his desertion* (London, 1689), 223. The tract was licensed and entered according to order.

lish people: the limits of obedience to civil authority, the right of resistance, the potential problems associated with recalling James, and the flight of the king.<sup>52</sup> Further, Burnet undertook to answer a tract from James II's court which disparaged William's manifesto. His *A Review of the Reflections on the Prince of Orange's Declaration* was printed "By the Prince of Orange's special command."<sup>53</sup> And, although William repudiated it, a third *Declaration of Reasons*, dated November 28, 1688 at Sherburn Castle, was believed to have come from the prince's camp. This tract was a hysterical attack on the papists: it insinuated that they intended to set fire to London and Westminster and, with the help of French and Irish troops, massacre all the people there; and it called upon all good Protestants to seize, disarm, and imprison their Catholic neighbors. Some thought that this tract was partly responsible for inflaming the London mob in December.<sup>54</sup>

William was really prepared to keep the presses rolling for his cause after he landed in England. What better proof is there of this intention and his interest in propaganda than the fact that he brought a printing press with him—along with soldiers and horses—as part of his invasion equipment? Within three weeks of his arrival, during the time he was at Exeter, it was reported that he was printing "two gazettes a week."<sup>55</sup> Still further, great quantities of tracts, among the hundreds of anonymous pieces that poured from the press, argued the case for William. Similarly, the eight new newspapers that appeared between December and March reported the news in ways biased toward the prince.<sup>56</sup> It has not been possible to discover precisely the number of tracts that were printed during these months, nor to say exactly how many copies of a particular pamphlet were printed. But contemporaries noted the profusion of pamphlets, enterprising publishers almost immediately reprinted the "most considerate" of them so that they might not "lie buried in a crowd of

<sup>52</sup> An eighteenth-century historian wrote that the letter to the army was "spread underhand over the whole kingdom" and had a "wonderful effect" on the soldiers, in that it persuaded men who did not join Prince William when he landed not to fight for King James II until a free Parliament was called; John Banks, *The History of the Life and Reign of William III* (London, 1744), 207. The draft and the fair copy of the Letter to Seamen, signed by the prince on September 29, illustrate the care necessary to achieve correct English syntax and spelling; NUL, Portland MSS, PwA, 1663, 1664. The titles of the three tracts "By Authority" are (1) *An Enquiry into the Measures of Submission to the Supreme Authority and of the Grounds upon which it may be lawful or necessary for Subjects to defend their Religion, Lives, and Liberties*, (2) *An Enquiry into the Present State of Affairs: and in particular, Whether We Owe Allegiance to the King in these Circumstances? And whether we are bound to treat with him, and call him back, or Not?*, and (3) *Reflections on a Paper intituled His Majesty's Reasons for withdrawing himself from Rochester*. For attribution to Burnet, see H. C. Foxcroft and T. W. S. Clarke, *A Life of Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury* (London, 1907), 244 and app. 2, 539.

<sup>53</sup> Foxcroft and Clarke, in their *Life of Gilbert Burnet*, app. 2, 538, note that this tract was printed in England after November 5, 1688.

<sup>54</sup> "Newdigate Newsletters," LC 1938; and Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, 3: 338–39 and n. The *London Courant*, December 12–15, 1688, #2, carried an emphatic denial of William's responsibility for the tract. The authorship has been attributed to Hugh Speke and the Rev. Samuel Johnson, the political pamphleteer. For the former, the *Dictionary of National Biography* contains useful data; the latter is not noticed. Speke, who "controlled" or, perhaps, owned a press, claimed authorship, but the claim has been discounted on the ground that it was entered as a means of currying favor.

<sup>55</sup> "Newdigate Newsletter," LC 1938.

<sup>56</sup> George Watson, ed., *The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* (Cambridge, 1971), 2: 1318–19, lists the titles and dates of publication of these newspapers. In the United States, copies of almost every issue of all the papers, with the exception of the *Harillum Currant* (which lasted for only two issues), can be found at the Huntington Library.

pamphlets,” and contemporary collections testify to both interest and impact.<sup>57</sup> It seems beyond dispute that hundreds of printed pieces were in circulation and that a very large number of them favored William.<sup>58</sup>

The pamphlets were, of course, addressed to a literate public. Lawrence Stone has estimated literacy for these years at about forty per cent of the adult males nationally and at about sixty-seven per cent of adult males in the cities. Potentially, then, these tracts reached not only the politically and socially elite members of English society, but also the nonelite—surely the middling ranks, and, perhaps, the illiterate masses as well.<sup>59</sup> Since many of them sold for a penny, they were within the reach of many people.<sup>60</sup> But precisely how many people bought them is not known. Nor is it known how many people the pamphlets actually reached through being read aloud in coffee houses which, with the breakdown of government controls, had resumed their role as scenes of political discussion and the dissemination of views, or through being handed on from hand to hand, as one broadside specifically instructed its readers to do.<sup>61</sup> Various steps were taken to attract people of diverse levels of political sophistication. Apparently to simplify complex issues and win readers, authors crafted dialogues and devised inviting titles. For example, one anonymous pamphlet, *A Political Conference Between Aulicus, a Courtier, Demas, A Countryman, and Civicus, a Citizen: Clearing the Original of Civil Government, the Powers and the Duties of Sovereigns and Subjects, In a Familiar and Plain Way, which may be understood by every Ordinary Capacity*, clearly aimed through its title to appeal to readers of “every ordinary capacity.” Some humor was consciously used for political purposes, as in the *Roman Post Boy*, a kind of early comic book which freely indulged in bawdy jokes about Catholics, Jesuits, and Irish and

<sup>57</sup> *A Compleat Collection of Papers, In Twelve Parts: Relating to the Great Revolutions in England and Scotland, From the Time of the Seven Bishops Petitioning K. James II, against the Dispensing Power, June 8, 1688, to the Coronation of King William and Queen Mary, April 11, 1689* (London, 1689), “To the Reader”; the printer was Richard Janeway, and Richard Baldwin brought out a rival collection. There were several private collections: for example, the collection of Narcissus Luttrell (BL, C, 122, 1.5) and that of the then young barrister and member of the Convention Parliament, John Somers, later lord chancellor; see note 35 above. In the early eighteenth century, Humphrey Bartholomew (b. 1702), of University College, Oxford, collected 50,000 pamphlets, including many from 1688–89; the Bartholomew collection can be found at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Also see NUL, Portland MSS, PwA, 2120, 2141, 2143 for figures of the number of copies of some tracts. For contemporary comments about their profusion, see Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, 497; Anchitell Grey, *Debates of the House of Commons from the year 1667 to the year 1694*, 9 (London, 1763): 63; and E. Hickeringill, *A Speech Without-Doors; or, Some Modest Inquiries Humbly Proposed to the Right Honourable the Convention of Estates at Westminster, Jan. 22, 1688/9* (London, licensed Jan. 17, 1688/9), 32.

<sup>58</sup> Over a hundred tracts were reprinted in *A Complete Collection of Papers in Twelve Parts*. There are many other pamphlets and tracts in the British, the Bodleian, the Folger Shakespeare, and the Huntington Libraries. For a guide to the tracts in the Dutch archives, many of which were translated into Dutch and reprinted in Holland, see W. P. C. Knuttel, comp., *Catalogus van de Pamfletten-Versameling Berustende in de koninklijke bibliotheek* (’s-Gravenhage, 1895–1916), vol. 2, pt. 2 (1668–88), and vol. 3 (1689–1713).

<sup>59</sup> Stone, “Literacy and Education in England, 1640–1900,” *Past & Present*, #42 (1969), 109, 112, 125, 128. For comments about the diffusion of ideas from literate to illiterate or marginally literate groups, see R. S. Schofield, “The Measurement of Literacy in Pre-Industrial England,” *Literacy in Traditional Societies*, ed. Jack Goody (Cambridge, 1968), 312–13 and n. 1, and Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*, 72–73, 189–226, 241.

<sup>60</sup> The price is noted on tracts which Narcissus Luttrell preserved; see note 57 above.

<sup>61</sup> Bodl., Rawlinson MSS, D, 1079, f. 4v; no copy of this broadside seems to have survived. And see Peter Fraser, *The Intelligence of the Secretaries of State and Their Monopoly of Licensed News, 1660–1688* (Cambridge, 1956), 131–32.

served up malicious parodies of the Irish accent. To appeal to other tastes, printed accounts, all favoring William, of the activities of the Convention Parliament appeared, despite parliamentary orders forbidding them.<sup>62</sup>

Efforts were made to promote wide circulation of the tracts. Some pamphlets advertised others. The *London Gazette* and some of the new newspapers also carried advertisements. Some tracts were hawked about the streets of London and dropped, according to personal testimony, at the feet of the customer.<sup>63</sup> Many of the tracts circulated during the elections to and the sitting of the Convention—at a time when interest in public affairs must have been keen. A few broadsides were addressed directly to the electorate, which numbered between 200,000 and 250,000 voters, while others were addressed directly to members of the Convention.<sup>64</sup> An unsuccessful attempt was made to distribute copies of a tract in the antechamber of the House of Commons. One pamphlet, according to its author, was handed directly to members of the Convention, while still another “was delivered” to the House of Commons just before an important vote. Just the presence of this printed matter ensured more discussion of the issues during the elections to the Convention Parliament than has been credited.<sup>65</sup> Parallels between the tracts and the debates in the Convention suggest, furthermore, that the pamphlets had an influence on what was said in Westminster. But, clearly, the printed material reached not only the decision-makers but people outside elite categories as well.

That so much material in William’s favor circulated can be explained in part by the freedom the press enjoyed during the months of revolution. Although the Licensing Act of 1662 was theoretically in force (since James II’s Parliament revived it in 1685), the various agencies and procedures for controlling printed matter had broken down, a condition which underscores the political upheaval experienced throughout the nation. Printers and publishers, some of whom had been involved in opposition politics in earlier years and who favored William’s cause, exploited this situation.<sup>66</sup> It has not been possi-

<sup>62</sup> Other examples with inviting titles include *A Friendly Debate Between Dr. Kingsman, a Dissatisfied Clergyman and Gratianus Trimmer, a neighbor minister* (London, 1689); *A Plain and Familiar Discourse concerning Government. Wherein it is Debated, Whether Monarchy or a Commonwealth be best for the People* (n.d., n.p.); and *A Dialogue Between Dick and Tom. The Roman Post-Boy: or, Weekly Account from Rome* was printed by George Croom for John Mumford in March and April, 1689; in the United States all of these issues can be found at the Huntington Library. Also see Lois G. Schwoerer, “Press and Parliament in the Revolution of 1689,” *Historical Journal*, 20 (1977): 545–68.

<sup>63</sup> The *London Gazette*, February 4–7, 1688/9, #2425; the *London Intelligence*, January 19–22, 1688/9, #3; the *Orange Gazette*, February 5–8, 1688/9, #10; and *A Dialogue Between Dick and Tom*, 10.

<sup>64</sup> *Considerations Proposed to the Electors of the Ensuing Convention*. E. Bohum endorsed this broadside, “spread by a soldier who came over with the Prince of Orange who knew nothing of it,” and dated it January 9, 1688/9. A copy can be found in the Cambridge University Library, Selden MSS, 3, 235. Also see *A Seasonable Memento to all the Electors of Knights, Citizens, & Burgesses of England, for the approaching Convention to meet the 22 of this instant January 1689* (London, 1689). Cf. *A Brief Collection of some Memorandums: or, Things humbly offered to the consideration of the Great Convention and of the succeeding Parliament* (London, 1689), and *Proposals Humbly offered To the Lords and Commons in the present Convention, for Settling of the Government* (London, 1689).

<sup>65</sup> Morrice, “Entr’ing Book,” 449. The man was arrested; John Humfrey [?]. *Advice Before It Be Too Late* (London, 1689), unpaginated. Bodl., Rawlinson MSS, D, 1079, f. 4v. See Plumb, “The Elections to the Convention Parliament of 1689,” 251. Cf. Horwitz, “Parliament and the Glorious Revolution,” 40–41, which offers an adjustment to Plumb’s analysis based on the number of contested elections—a total of sixty.

<sup>66</sup> Richard Baldwin and Richard Janeway provide two examples. Further research on the printers and publishers during the Revolution of 1688–89 is needed. Of them only Baldwin has been studied system-

ble to determine which, if any, of this material William or his close advisers commissioned. It is entirely likely that much of it was printed independently and therefore should not, strictly speaking, be regarded as “propaganda” because it was not part of an organized effort. But, whatever their origins, these tracts and newspapers had the effect of reinforcing the interpretation of William and his purposes which he and his close advisers had developed.

Although William’s cause was well served by an uncensored press during this time of crisis, the prince attempted to control what was printed by trying to reinstitute the Stuart administrative procedures for censoring publications. Early in January he issued an order instructing the master of the Stationers Company and others to search out all “false, scandalous, and seditious books, papers of news, and pamphlets” and to bring the persons responsible for them to justice.<sup>67</sup> His effort had little apparent impact upon the flood of unlicensed tracts, but it does testify to his interest in shaping public opinion.

As a publicist, James II was no match for William III. James’s position was seriously weakened because so little printed material promoting his side was available. James was not entirely blind to the power of public opinion; earlier in his reign he had rigorously enforced the already established laws and procedures for censoring printed matter. And, in the spring of 1688, the court inspired rumors, commissioned tracts, and dispersed *gratis* quantities of the king’s “papers.” As the crisis deepened in October George Jeffreys (James’s lord chancellor) ordered coffee houses, upon pain of forfeiting their licenses, to keep no written news but the official *London Gazette*; and James issued a proclamation forbidding the discussion of political affairs by writing, printing, or speaking. In November, perceiving the strong attraction of William’s declarations and letters, the king banned them absolutely, declaring it treason for anyone to read, receive, conceal, publish, disperse, repeat, or hand about any of the prince’s printed pieces.<sup>68</sup> In addition, to counteract the first *Declaration of Reasons*, the Privy Council sat the afternoon of the day William landed, drawing up a rebuttal which was rushed to the press the next day. At least three answers to William’s *Declaration* appeared: *Animadversions*, *Reflections*, and *Remarks*. Further demonstrating his respect for public opinion, James did an about-face with respect to the *Declaration*. In early December, when it became evident that the proclamation against Prince William’s manifesto was ineffectual, James “to the astonishment of everyone,” ordered that the *Declaration* be printed accompanied by *Remarks* and *Animadversions*. At the

atically; see Leona Rostenberg, “Richard and Anne Baldwin, Whig Patriot Publishers,” *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 47 (New York, 1953): 1–42. Useful data are also in NUL, Portland MSS, 2159–2162, 2167.

<sup>67</sup> The order was printed in the *London Gazette*, January 7–10, 1688/9, #2417, and noticed by Morrice, “Entr’ing Book,” 427.

<sup>68</sup> Robert Steele, ed., *Bibliography of Royal Proclamations of the Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns and of Others Published under Authority, 1485–1714*, (Oxford, 1910): #3888; issued October 26, 1688, this proclamation was described as a “padlock” on the news in *A Dialogue Between Dick and Tom*, 4. And Steele, *Bibliography of Royal Proclamations*, #3891; issued November 2, 1688, it was reprinted in the *London Gazette*, November 1–5, 1688, #2396. Dover, *Ellis Correspondence: Letters Written during the years 1686, 1687, 1688*, 272–73. See Frederick S. Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England, 1476–1776: The Rise and Decline of Government Controls* (Urbana, Ill., 1952), pt. 4. For James’s activities in the spring, see NUL, Portland MSS, PwA, 2141, 2147, 2159, 2161, 2167.

same time James exploited the *London Gazette*, the official government newspaper; it printed items “in the most hateful manner” to discredit William.<sup>69</sup> The vicious attack by the mob in mid-December on the house of the king’s printer—during which the mob not only destroyed the house but also burned forms, letters, and upwards of 300 reams of paper, printed and unprinted—suggests that the king’s tactics had some effect. But as James’s government faltered it was unable to control the press, and the king’s flight meant the entire collapse of restrictions. While partisan material for William flooded the presses, only a few tracts sympathetic to James appeared.<sup>70</sup> To the detriment of James’s chances, there was no genuine debate in the pamphlets.

PAMPHLETS WERE NOT THE ONLY INSTRUMENT USED IN THE PROPAGANDA EFFORT. The themes announced in the tracts were reiterated and reinforced in printed pictures and commemorative medals. At least forty-nine prints, two sets of playing cards (a form of the print), and thirty-one medals were devised to support William’s cause.<sup>71</sup> With few exceptions, the designers were Dutch. This iconographic material is drenched in allegory and symbolism. Some of the symbols are complex and subtle, others quite straightforward. Some are readily recognizable as deeply indebted to the tradition of the Emblem Books which had enjoyed great popularity in the Renaissance. For example, the eye in the heavens with beams of light extending from it signified Providence in the prints, just as it had in the Emblem Books, while the decayed or cut down tree or, alternatively, the flourishing tree symbolized the condition of the commonweal.<sup>72</sup>

The prints and medals were invariably accompanied by an explanatory text, so that if the viewer were puzzled, he had only to refer to the text. As in

<sup>69</sup> BL, Add. MSS, 34,510, 4: 265–67. *Reflections* was in print as early as November 13; *ibid.*, 246. It was powerful enough to warrant a reply from Burnet at William’s special command; see page 856 above. For the effort of the Privy Council, see the Carl H. Pforzheimer Library, Bulstrode Newsletters, XII, November 5, 1688 (2d letter); and Dover, *Ellis Correspondence: Letters Written during the Years 1686, 1687, 1688, 279*.

<sup>70</sup> The *English Currant*, December 12–14, 1688, #2. For James’s partisan tracts, see, for example, *The Debates in Deposing Kings; and of the Royal Succession of Great Britain* (London, 1688); *England’s Crisis: or, The World well mended* (London, 1689); *An Honest Man’s Wish for the Prince of Orange* (London, 1689); and [Dr. William Sherlock] *A Letter to a Member of the Convention* (London, 1689).

<sup>71</sup> Two major modern catalogues which include the prints and medals connected with the Revolution are (1) *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings*, vol. 1, and (2) Edward Hawkins, comp., *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland to the Death of George III*, ed. Augustus W. Franks and Herbert A. Grueber (London, 1969). An earlier catalogue is Gerard van Loon, *Histoire métallique des XVII provinces des Pays-Bas . . .*, 5 vols. (La Haye, 1732–37), transcribed from the Dutch, to which the British Museum catalogue is indebted. Although the material referred to in these catalogues is representative, a project to identify and catalogue all of the prints and medals associated with the Revolution would be worth undertaking. See, for example, BL, shelf number 504.1.10, a volume of unbound prints, and the collection of prints at the Guildhall Library in London and of medals at The Hague. For examples of the few medals aimed against Prince William, see *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings*, 745.

<sup>72</sup> Other emblems which appeared in the prints and medals include the arm or the hand extending from the clouds and the wreath of laurel or oak. Emblem Books consisted of allegorical pictures, each accompanied by explanatory words, which together conveyed a moral, religious, or political idea. The first Emblem Book, the work of Andrea Alciati, appeared in Italy in 1531. Imported during the reign of Queen Elizabeth into England, this literary form flourished there until the end of the seventeenth century. For an introduction to the Emblem Books, see Rosemary Freeman, *English Emblem Books* (London, 1948). Also see George, *English Political Caricature to 1792*, 7–8.

the tracts, the language used on the prints was either English or Dutch, or English and Dutch, or sometimes English, Dutch, and French. Similarly, the medals were inscribed with words in Dutch, English, French, or Latin. The explanatory text made this material into what Dorothy George has called “graphic pamphlets.”<sup>73</sup> Many of the prints and medals are amusing. Their humor and exuberance must have delighted and, at the same time, instructed seventeenth-century viewers, even as clever political cartoons do today. As has long been recognized, nothing can be more politically damaging than ridicule. Furthermore, the presentation of ideas in these devices is much sharper and harsher than in most of the tracts. A picture on a print or medal can rarely qualify the point it is conveying.

No twentieth-century political figure has suffered more from the cartoonist’s pen than did James II. The iconographic material depicts James as a captive of the Jesuits, a confederate of Louis XIV, and a king who tried to destroy the Protestant religion and the Anglican Church and to overthrow England’s laws and government. A Dutch print, “Qualis vir Talis Oratio,” forcefully conveyed these points and, significantly, carried the date October 16, 1688 (fig. 1). The three columns of Dutch verse beneath a very busy and complicated picture (typical of Dutch prints) explain the meaning of the drawing. Although James is not, strictly speaking, caricatured<sup>74</sup> and there is no uglification of his features, he is made both ridiculous and malevolent. He is shown lying on a couch decorated with such figures as owls (signifying dark, nocturnal habits and underlying stupidity) and dragons (the symbol of Satan and evil power). On the king’s head is a four-cornered hat (the Jesuit hat) encircled by the royal crown of England. James is vomiting horrid-looking reptiles, some of which are also wearing Jesuit hats. The designer has put words into their mouths. They cry out, “Jesuit Colleges,” “French Alliance,” “No Free Parliament.” A masked Jesuit—suggesting sinister, underhanded intentions—hands the Anglican bishops a sealed envelope. In the center of the picture, the lord mayor and aldermen of London hold their noses against the noxious odors of both Catholicism and James himself and turn away in disgust. Off in the left-hand corner is James’s baby boy on the lap of a nurse with an amorous priest leaning over her. One rumor about the baby held that it had been fathered by a Jesuit, perhaps even by Father Edward Petre, James’s Jesuit adviser and confessor. The nurse is feeding the baby from a bowl inscribed “Extermination of the Protestants.” The windmill with which the baby is playing alludes to another rumor—that the boy was really the son of a miller. The windmill appears repeatedly in prints and medals. In the upper right-hand corner in the distance with the sun rising sits William’s fleet preparing to sail. The Dutch Deliverer to the rescue! The view of William is patent. The charges against James are unmistakable. Could any seventeenth-century viewer of this print fail to grasp its meaning?

<sup>73</sup> George, *English Political Caricature to 1792*, 3.

<sup>74</sup> George, in *English Political Caricature to 1792*, 62, writes that the word “caricature” is “now possibly permissible if incorrect”; also see pages 12–13. Because English artists were little involved, George devotes only two pages (62–64) to the prints associated with the Revolution of 1688–89.

These same themes appear in another print, *England's Memorial: Of its Wonderfull deliverance from French tyranny and Popish oppression, Performed through All mighty Gods infinite goodness and mercy. By His Highness William Henry of Nassau, the High and Mighty Prince of Orange, 1688* (fig. 2). This is one of the few surviving prints designed by Englishmen.<sup>75</sup> In contrast to the Dutch prints, its composition is less crowded and the symbolism less exotic. In the center stands a flourishing orange tree—the symbol since 1641 of the House of Orange—obviously signifying the goodness and strength of William.<sup>76</sup> All around is evidence of the dangers England faced and the success of William in repulsing them. In the upper right-hand corner appears the Church of England, plainly awry, about to topple over. Above it is the eye of Providence, one ray of which bathes the orange tree and promises, “My blessing shall attend thee every where.” A voice from the church says, “Under this blessed shade [of the tree] I breath againe.” Opposite the eye of Providence in the upper left hand corner sits a council of devils and Jesuits. One remarks, “This cursed plant [the orange tree] has Sau'd the Heretick Church.” Another regrets, “But one blast more and the work was don.” Beneath them Louis XIV cuts off the heads of his subjects, plainly illustrating what English subjects might expect from a Catholic king! Louis advises James, “Tread on my Stepps and be great.” Near the tree stands James II, looking startled. An orange has knocked off his crown! He is fleeing preceded by his queen carrying the baby boy who holds a windmill. Mary says, “How the smell of this tree offends mee and the Child.” Closer to the trunk of the tree cluster some figures, among them a commoner pleading, “Heale our breaches.” Nearby the lord chancellor (who as judge had been responsible for very brutal sentences in the west following the invasion of the Duke of Monmouth in 1685) has been knocked down by an orange. On the right papists and Jesuits run from the hand of justice. They cry, “Hye for France,” “How strong it [the tree] Smells of a free Parliament,” “And that's rank poison to a Jesuit's nose.”

James's baby son was as viciously maligned as James himself. No opportunity was lost to portray the baby as the offspring of a Jesuit priest or of a miller or sometimes as having been brought into his mother's bed concealed in a warming pan. At least fourteen prints and medals appeared that perpetrated the libel that the boy was a fraud.<sup>77</sup> One medal, like some of the prints, implied that the baby was the son of both a Jesuit and a miller! On one side

<sup>75</sup> Another English print depicted the capture of Jeffreys: “The Lord Chancellor taken disguised in Wapping,” dated December 12, 1688. See *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings*, 723, which lists the five surviving copies of this print and indicates the differences among them. Jeffreys is shown with his arms pinioned by two men, surrounded by a crowd of people. Members of the crowd cry out, “Remember ye West,” “Knock his brains out.” There are other scurrilous details. The hatred of Jeffreys surfaced during the Revolution. William recounted that when he landed more than fifty women kissed his feet and begged him to put Jeffreys in their hands because he had hanged their husbands; van Terveen, “Verbaal . . . Witsen,” 136. Further, a petition concerning the chancellor was presented to the Convention; and it was printed as a broadside: *The Humble Petition of the Widdows and Fatherless Children in the West of England [for the punishment of Lord Chancellor Jeffreys]. Presented to this present Convention* (London, 1689).

<sup>76</sup> George, *English Political Caricature to 1792*, 44.

<sup>77</sup> See, for example, *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings*, 713. Although the warming pan theme is not particularly prominent in the visual materials, it did circulate as early as June 13; see NUL, Portland MSS, PwA, 2167.



## Qualis vir Talis Oratio

**D**in Koning, had voor al door Jezuslike sonnen,  
 Zijn mening doeltreffend, ardiglijk doen verstaan,  
 Am Mass, de Eijer, en de deuren van Londen,  
 Tot ruft des Ryks de handel aan 't roey der Kerke te dien.  
 De te bevalen mit, en voor altyt valt te zetten,  
 Der telver voortzichten, en bouwen en zijn lage.  
 Te vellen overvloedig naa beidreux Weten,  
 Beheld naar taal gebruik by Bishopplicemacht,  
 Geen onbekend meer oec te haan bene floeyen,  
 De Weten in ten krachte te beuden ongethem.  
 En onbekend ges' leed, vry van vergif g'lypen.  
 Tot hemmet van den vry en weeg Parlement.  
 Den nieuwen Bisschop den Verrihaar ongethem,  
 Op Albas w'et oec in Nederland geveft.  
 Dierc vermosten, en ten Rijkje on gethem  
 Al een befestichte en haerlike peft.  
 Dit sprek by wy by zich wat had te ruft begeven,  
 Verklarend de te oep, zijn ongethem geend.  
 En door een radere inge, daer toe was aengegeven.  
 En hoer bas haerlike ten hart was al op men te.  
 Zie, die, had na, hoe wal gewoon zijn streng te flyen  
 Een Pater toe gethij, en hen de waer ge.  
 Van onderen een hem door de Se' geping ar te d'even.  
 Maar ach! 't werlt sterre, ho, o w'etlike geval  
 Het d'ing nae hoer, en by raak nae 't ydijl haken  
 Meruik een porfing, en nae mil, een ongethem.  
 Of al van honen te beoet te f'loeyen en te kraaken  
 Eit d'at te beed, en te toe in de Z'ijl w'etlike.  
 He l'it na' l'ingon, en Scyphon, Scyphon,  
 Vergis Pader, en meer ander v'ul geboed.

Mit Marmix Kappen, Pape Marce, en Kaprean.  
 By hem van honen in zijn boucen ongethem.  
 Eitc verzet, en schijnt van vrees al ongethem.  
 Terwyl een v'ulde al geboegen fluit voor 't hoed;  
 't Gemoe die Konink nae manover en te haanen.  
 Men 't gem by hen v'ulde al te heug in 't beoede.  
 Z'ien na 't geog' nae door d'et v'oren in 't Breken.  
 Dan g'entien Staat der Kerke a'ndijg ongethem.  
 En hoe den Konink, en hem nae te beoet te Breken,  
 Een ongethem men en, al by ongethem l'ing.  
 Z'ien na 't ongethem nae ongethem ongethem.  
 De Weten ongethem, verroeten ongethem.  
 De ongethem geboegen nae den Afgid op te boucen.  
 En al in een w'ike en w'iche fluit geboed.  
 De ongethem l'ing de ongethem ongethem.  
 Naeh fluit verzet dat by de gel'iaen v'ulde ge.  
 Maar dae te v'ang te haer nae honen te ongethem.  
 't Geluom dae op pachlike van z'ipe kant verlae.  
 He v'etke de Melk ongethem door z'ijf ongethem v'onden.  
 De V'et ongethem l'ing l'ing beoegen en milde.  
 Ende v'ulde te fluit, al ongethem ongethem.  
 De 't k'ring en l'ing l'ing van 't v'et de Maetel.  
 De ongethem die 't ongethem w'ing l'ing te raaken.  
 Ze t'reon ongethem, ongethem voor alle ten raan.  
 Eit ongethem ongethem v'ul van v'ulde ongethem te blaaken.  
 En l'ing l'ing ongethem geveft d'et v'ulde P'om haer Zoon.  
 Z'it fluit het haer, een fluit nae al de ongethem l'ing.  
 En nae 't ongethem l'ing daer ongethem ongethem.  
 He ongethem l'ing l'ing al te v'etzen en bouceten.

1 Om als met forte meer door regere aan te gean.  
 2 't ongethem dat van beoegen l'ing l'ing beoeden.  
 Ensch in al haer dien, haer d'et te v'ulde hoed.  
 Eit 't spoor v'olde waer z'ig geat, met een v'ulde l'ing l'ing.  
 Daar te haer fluit 't h'ij, en mede beoet op haer.  
 Z'it ongethem daer nae de te beoegen P'apen.  
 Een ongethem nae al haer te v'oren 't beoegen woerd.  
 Te v'oren, en haer nae l'ing geboed te beoeden.  
 De v'et l'ing in P'om, door l'ing van z'ijf geboed.  
 B'it ongethem l'ing l'ing door z'eegeten en l'ing.  
 De ongethem l'ing, en v'ulde g'igemen.  
 B'it ongethem z'ijf ongethem l'ing van d'et R'ijken.  
 Nu van de w'et, en haer, ongethem l'ing v'etren.  
 9 10 De ongethem nae 't al te op d'et v'ulde l'ing geboed.  
 G'eft van acht ten door gew'ild, en Moed en Roof,  
 G'eft hem l'ing ongethem in z'ijf P'apen geboed.  
 't ongethem van de Kerke en 't v'ulde l'ing.  
 11 Een ongethem l'ing l'ing v'ulde l'ing ongethem.  
 De R' ongethem, ongethem l'ing, ongethem van al 't k'waed.  
 D'et, al het beoet van al z'ijf ongethem ongethem.  
 12 G'eft van ongethem l'ing van d'et v'ulde l'ing.  
 Eit ongethem l'ing ongethem, v'ulde l'ing.  
 Van ongethem ongethem, v'ulde l'ing ongethem.  
 13 't ongethem l'ing l'ing l'ing ongethem l'ing.  
 D'et ongethem l'ing l'ing l'ing ongethem l'ing.  
 D'et ongethem l'ing l'ing l'ing ongethem l'ing.  
 Eit ongethem l'ing l'ing l'ing ongethem l'ing.  
 Eit ongethem l'ing l'ing l'ing ongethem l'ing.



sits the baby with a windmill on his head, held in the arms of Father Petre, who is himself seated on a lobster, symbolizing the order of the Society of Jesus (this from the tale that Ignatius Loyola accidentally dropped his Bible into the sea and it was recovered for him by a lobster). Near them is a French ship, signifying the connection of the Stuarts with the Sun King. The legend reads, “ALLON MON PRINCE NOUS SOMMES EN BON CHEMIN” (Let us go, my Prince, we are on the right road). The medal conveyed a false impression, for Father Petre had not taken the baby to France; the child had gone with his mother. On the other side of the coin is a heraldic shield.\*But, instead of showing the lion and the unicorn, the major symbols of the English monarchy, the shield bore a windmill. On the top of the windmill is no crown, but a Jesuit hat. A lobster serves as a badge, and a rosary—inscribed, “HONY. SOIT. QVI. BON. Y. PENSE.” (Shame to him who thinks well of this)—is draped over all. The legend reads, “LES ARMES ET L’ORDRE DU PRETENDU PRINCE DE GALLES” (The arms and order of the pretended Prince of Wales).

Another theme reiterated in the iconographic material was that William had come to restore England’s laws, liberties, and religion. One medal (fig. 3), for example, shows on one side an orange tree sheltering the figure of a woman, which since the Restoration medals of the 1660s had signified Britannia.<sup>78</sup> She is leaning upon a Bible to show that England rests upon the Protestant religion, and on her lance is a cap of liberty. A well-established device, the cap of liberty is of special interest. It had long been a Dutch symbol signifying their fight for liberty from their Spanish overlords in the sixteenth century. But its origins were much more ancient than that. The cap or bonnet was worn by all Roman citizens. At the time of the Roman Republic it was the symbol of the free man. Slaves put it on the moment they were freed.<sup>79</sup> The implications for England’s plight are plain, but the words inscribed on a scroll near Britannia make the point explicitly: “BRITAN: ON-TROERT . WET. GEVELT. PRINC D’ORANGIE ONS HERSTELT.” (Britain is troubled by the violated law; the Prince of Orange restores the law to us).

The reverse of this medal is equally explicit. On it appears the Belgic Lion, the symbol of Holland and the term applied to William in at least one tract and a commemorative poem. Holding in one paw seven arrows representing the seven United Provinces of the Netherlands, in his other paw the lion brandishes a sword entwined with the branches of an orange tree. One foot

<sup>78</sup> George, *English Political Caricature to 1792*, 9, 44–45. She states that the figure of Britannia, although of ancient lineage (deriving from Roman coins), was not used in graphic satire until after its appearance on Restoration medals. It may be noted that Britannia seated on her rock appears on the title page of the 1600 and 1607 editions of William Camden’s *Britannia*, not first on the 1609 edition, as in George (page 9). Frances Stuart, Duchess of Richmond and Lennox was the model for the Restoration medals; see Cyril Hughes Hartmann, *La Belle Stuart: Memoirs of Court and Society in the Times of Frances Teresa Stuart, Duchess of Richmond and Lennox* (London, 1924), 142–44.

<sup>79</sup> George, *English Political Caricature to 1792*, 44; and C. Daremberg, E. Saglio, and E. Potter, comps., *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d’après les textes et les monuments* (Paris, 1905), 4, pt. 1: 479–81. This cap of liberty appeared on many other medals. For example, on the medal cast to commemorate the ceremony on February 13, William hands the cap of liberty to three female figures, who symbolize England, Scotland, and Ireland. The liberty cap reappeared as a symbol of the revolutionaries in both the American and French Revolutions.

rests on the Bible and the other crushes a serpent which seems to be attacking the Bible. On the ground is a column marked "MAG. CART." (Magna Carta), which has toppled over to signify that the laws of England are prostrate. In the distance is William's fleet approaching land where a church and houses stand. Once again, the message is clear: the Prince of Orange will restore England's religion and laws, both of which have been undermined.



Figure 3

In the course of maligning James and eulogizing William, the iconographic material supplied a visual record of episodes in the history of the Revolution. A print of the prince's reception in London, designed by Carolus Allard and issued "with privilege from the Great and Mighty States of Holland West-friseland," provides a striking example. Like some early Renaissance paintings, the print tells a story. In the center is a picture of William's reception in London, showing him being welcomed with great pageantry. This scene is a gloss on the truth. Contemporary observers did report that William was received with enthusiasm, but a devoted partisan of William's lamented the prince's failure to make a magnificent entry; and a friend of James commented that, upon the king's return to the city from his first flight, James had been received with much greater expressions of affection than William.<sup>80</sup> Around the central picture are little cartoons depicting episodes that led up to the reception, including the birth of the "pretended" baby. Beneath the central picture is the order of William's fleet as it sailed to Torbay, with a list of the names of those Englishmen who attended the prince. Thus, a seventeenth-century viewer had before him in one print a visual record of major incidents of the preceding few months. And once again, that record was slanted in William's favor.

Polemical playing cards also very effectively presented incidents in the Revolution. The use of playing cards for political purposes was rather new; such cards first appeared only in 1659. That pack satirized the Rump Parlia-

<sup>80</sup> "The Newdigate Newsletters," LC 1950; the *London Courant*, December 18–22, 1688, #4; the *English Curreant*, December 14–19, 1688, #3; Morrice, "Entr'ing Book," 404; Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, 3: 358; and remarks as quoted in Robert Beddard, "The Loyalist Opposition in the Interregnum: A Letter of Dr. Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely, on the Revolution of 1688," *BIHR*, 40 (1967): 107. Romeyn de Hooghe also designed a print of the prince's reception in London. An appended text in both French and Dutch describes this elaborate picture. Guildhall Library, Print Room, Pageants L 22.2.

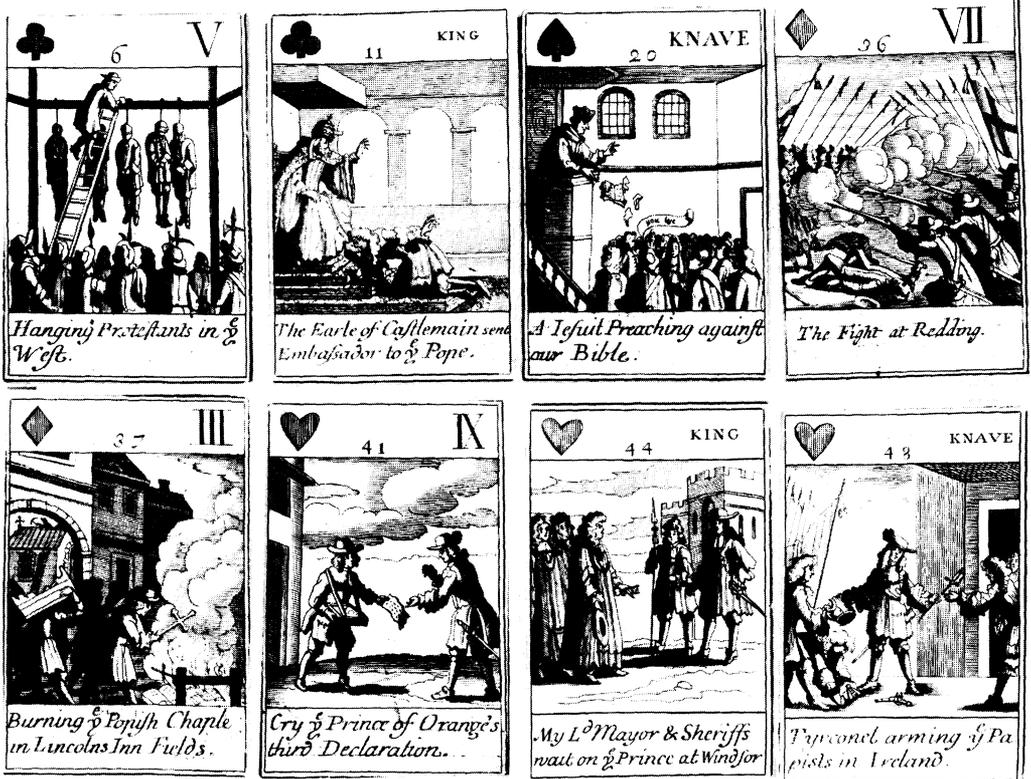


Figure 4

ment and was probably designed for the royalist colony in Holland. Cards also depicted the events of the Popish Plot, the Rye House Plot, and Monmouth's Rebellion. Two sets, both now incomplete, were printed early in 1689. One pack, advertised for twelve pennies in a February issue of the *Orange Gazette*, was said to represent in "lively cuts" the history of the late times.<sup>81</sup> When the cards are arranged in an appropriate sequence (and numbers on one set indicate that sequence), they provide a pictorial narrative record of events. The cards reproduced here (fig. 4) reveal how lively were the cuts. With their simple figures, short text, and in some cases atrocious spelling, the cards could appeal to a very broad spectrum of people. One does not have to be politically sophisticated or well-to-do to understand the story the cards tell. Apparently brisk sales were expected, for five booksellers were specifically identified as carrying the cards. One pack—perhaps a rival at a cheaper price?—has less carefully executed pictures than the other. Francis Barlow, a book illustrator credited with the designs of the playing cards for the Popish Plot, designed certainly one, and perhaps both, packs for the Revolution. In

<sup>81</sup> In one set, fifty out of fifty-two cards, and, in the other set, twenty-five out of fifty-two cards survive. Measuring three and one half inches by two inches, the cards are about the size of present day playing cards. The *Orange Gazette*, February 22-26, 1688/9, #15. For the earlier packs, see George, *English Political Caricature to 1792*, 52, 60, 62, 64.

his fascinating book *The Early Comic Strip*, David Kunzle comments upon these playing cards, seeing them as forerunners of the comic strip.<sup>82</sup>

The potential audience of the prints and medals was very broad. In a society whose literacy rate was low, the iconographic material must have had a very important role to play in mass communication. The prints were capable of reaching a politically unsophisticated, even illiterate, element in society. Mass-produced and cheap, selling probably for three pennies,<sup>83</sup> many prints were surely posted on the doors of coffee houses or passed around from hand to hand. Moreover, as Dorothy George has stressed, not only do prints seek to influence public opinion, they also reflect that opinion. Since the most effective propaganda takes into account themes that may be expected to elicit a positive response, not only the pamphlets but also the iconographic materials offer a way of discovering the views of the nonelite, even the illiterate, in society.<sup>84</sup> At the same time the prints and medals were aimed at a politically conscious public from the middling ranks on up in both Europe (as the several languages suggest) and England. That advertisements for prints and medals appeared in the newspapers indicates a literate, middling to well-to-do English audience. The medals, cast variously in gold, silver, copper, lead, or bronze, were accessible to the middling ranks, but would have been more costly than the prints, starting at around ten shillings and going on up in price. But there was a potential market for medals, for some contemporaries had already formed sizable collections of ancient and modern commemorative medals.<sup>85</sup>

Whether William or his close friends commissioned prints and medals is not absolutely certain, but circumstantial evidence suggests that they did. That most of the visual material about events occurring in England was done by Dutch designers is significant.<sup>86</sup> That the prints and medals provide a running

<sup>82</sup> Kunzle, *The Early Comic Strip: Narrative Strips and Picture Stories in the European Broadsheet from c. 1450 to 1825* (Berkeley, Calif., 1973), 137, 144, 145.

<sup>83</sup> The price of the 1688–89 prints is unknown, but see the price of similar prints in Leona Rostenberg, *English Publishers in the Graphic Arts, 1599–1700: A Study of Print Sellers & Publishers of Engravings, Art and Architectural Manuals, Maps and Copy-Books* (New York, 1963), 45, 46, 48, 53, 74, 92.

<sup>84</sup> George, *English Political Caricature to 1792*, 1. The point is made by Myriam Yardeni, *La conscience nationale en France pendant les guerres de religion, 1559–98* (Louvain, 1971), 9–10.

<sup>85</sup> The *London Gazette*, December 31–January 3, 1688/9, #2415; the *Universal Intelligence*, January 1–3, 1688/9, #8; and the *Orange Gazette*, January 17–21, 1688/9, #6, all carried advertisements for the medals. Like the prints, the price of the 1688–89 medals is unknown, but a list of twenty-five other medals designed by John Roettier gives the price of each, which ranged from 10s. to £4 10s. Of the twenty-five, eight medals cost under £1. See “A List of Monsieur Roettier’s Medals with Cases” (n.d.). Bodl., Rawlinson MSS, A, 179, f. 63. The gold coronation medal designed by John Roettier was worth £5 40s.; Evelyn, *Diary*, 633. And, as with the pamphlet literature, there is evidence of contemporary collections: see, for example, the letter from John Evelyn to Samuel Pepys, advising him on collecting medals and art; Henry B. Wheatley, ed., *Diary of John Evelyn to which are added a Selection from His Familiar Letters*, 3 (London, 1906): 435–56. Evelyn remarked that Elias Ashmole had collected “all” the ancient and modern English commemorative medals. Archbishop William Sancroft himself sketched the design for a medal to commemorate the acquittal of the Seven Bishops; Bodl., Tanner MSS, 28, f. 142.

<sup>86</sup> More work is needed on the Dutch designers including, in addition to the ones mentioned in this article, Jan Boskam, Jan Smeltzing, and John Roettier. Their backgrounds, their relationship with each other and with political leaders (William and others), their motives for engaging in polemical conflicts, and the degrees of success of their careers are among the questions that need to be asked. Some information may be found in Leonard Forrer, comp., *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists* (London, 1904; reprint ed., 1970). Also see C. van de Haar, “Romeyn de Hooghe en de Pamflettenstrijd van Jaren 1689 en 1690,” *Tijdschrift*

pictorial account of events soon after they had occurred, invariably in ways favorable to William, invites the hypothesis that the designers were getting their information from sources close to the prince's court. That such prints and medals supplied visual representations for themes set out in the tracts written under the supervision of William and his close advisers, reinforces the hypothesis. That some of the prints bore the imprimatur of the Estates-General indicates an intimate connection between the designers and the Dutch government. And that William had previously used medals to commemorate every important event in his personal life up to 1688 adds strength to the idea that he encouraged the appearance of medals in 1688–89. After becoming king, William rewarded Romeyn de Hooghe, perhaps the most renowned of the designers, for a satirical print he had produced during the Revolution. William continued to employ Dutch designers and to use iconographic material to sway public opinion. De Hooghe designed at least forty-four prints for the new king and R. Arondeaux—the most talented, perhaps, of the medallists—was “much employed.” Moreover, King William appointed not only a royal engraver, a usual step, but also a royal medallist, the first time such an appointment had been made. During his thirteen-year reign, 221 prints and medals were produced, many of them Dutch and almost all favorable to William, a fact which surely testifies to his appreciation of their value. By comparison 182 prints and medals appeared during Charles II's twenty-five-year reign. There is no evidence that James II used iconographic material to sway public opinion. For his coronation only four medals, apparently, were issued, whereas the coronation of William and Mary was commemorated by at least twenty-eight. Only in 1685 did a handful of prints and medals appear that might be said to support James II. The rest of the sixty items that were in circulation during his four-year rule were either politically neutral or from William's camp.<sup>87</sup>

DID ALL THESE TRACTS, PRINTS, AND MEDALS HAVE AN IMPACT UPON THE REVOLUTION of 1689? Did this polemical effort make any difference at all? The attempt to cosmetize William's appearance and personality apparently failed to convince the increasing numbers of people who came into contact with the prince. A woman who saw William for the first time did not find him handsome. She wrote that he was a “man of no presence” and “very homely at first sight,” but she admitted that if “one looks on him, he has something in his face both wise and good.” And at the coronation in April, it was commonly said that there had never been a more ugly king or a more beautiful queen.<sup>88</sup> Nor did

*voor Geschiedenis*, 64 (1956): 155–77. The rewards of such a study are suggested by a book on a similar topic: Rostenberg, *English Publishers in the Graphic Arts, 1599–1700*.

<sup>87</sup> Chevalier, *Histoire de Guillaume III, par médailles* (1692), demonstrates William's prior interest; also see *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings*, 716. The figures are based upon the entries in volume 2 of the *Catalogue*. Hawkins, *Medallic Illustrations*, 2: 720; and *CSPD, 1689–90*, 228, and *1690–91*, 185.

<sup>88</sup> The woman is quoted in Robb, *William of Orange*, 280. Another contemporary, said to be an admirer of both Charles II and James II, commented that William “hath more Ma[jes]tie in his appearance than both

William come across as affable, sweet-tempered, and charming. He could be ingratiating when it served his interests, but, in general, he remained taciturn and withdrawn. Some Englishmen, feeling that the prince was not forthcoming enough, asked a member of his Dutch entourage to “admonish” him. But the admonishment, if it were indeed delivered, did no apparent good. The diarist John Evelyn reported three different times how serious and reserved William was and commented at the end of January that English nobles and others were disappointed that they were not more graciously and cheerfully received. William, apparently, rebuffed familiarities. Reportedly, an English lord—a firm partisan of William’s—enthusiastically punctuated his conversation with the prince with several great oaths. William responded to the lord’s story by telling him he should not swear!<sup>89</sup> Things did not improve. Somewhat later it was said that the king was “shut up all the day long” while people waited impatiently to see him but that, when they were admitted to an audience, William’s “silence . . . distasted them as much as if they had been denied” an audience.<sup>90</sup>

On the other hand, great success attended the attempt to depict the prince as the selfless Dutch Deliverer whose only purpose in coming to England was to call a free and lawful Parliament so that the religion, laws, and liberties of the nation might be restored; and concomitant success attended the effort to paint James II as a tyrant, bound to Jesuits and Louis XIV, and bent on destroying England’s religion, liberties, and law, even to the point of foisting a supposititious baby on the nation. These themes, set out most explicitly in the *Declaration of Reasons* and iterated and reiterated in many other tracts and in prints and medals, provoked a significant response from all sides. The appearance of the prince’s manifesto caused a frantic reaction from James II. Not only did he escalate his policy of controlling the press, he also displayed personal behavior verging on hysteria. James banned the *Declaration* absolutely and also burned all but one of the copies he had received. Thus he himself so nearly fulfilled the terms of his ban that it was extremely difficult for anyone about the court to get his hands on a copy. The king held several meetings with some bishops and peers to solicit public, written denials from them that they had, as the *Declaration* claimed, invited William to England. At these meetings, selected portions of the manifesto were read, but the king refused to allow anyone present actually to peruse his copy. But one day, he took Clarendon into his “closet” and let him look at the prince’s manifesto. Finally, Clarendon persuaded the Princess Anne to lend him her copy. She agreed on the condition that he would return it promptly, for Anne had induced James to lend her his only copy and she had to return it to him the next day! James testified further to the impact of propaganda on him: he attributed the defections in his army and the nation to the tracts, prints, and

the late Kings”; Morrice, “Entr’ing Book,” 428. For the coronation, see Krämer, “Mémoires de Monsieur B,” 82; and “Journaal van Constantyn Huygens,” 112.

<sup>89</sup> Morrice, “Entr’ing Book,” 364, 438; “Newdigate Newsletters,” LC 1951; Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, 493; van Terveen, “Verbaal . . . Witsen,” 135; and Evelyn, *Diary*, 612, 620, 625. The lord was John Lovelace, 3d Baron Lovelace of Hurley (1638?–1693), who was known to be impetuous.

<sup>90</sup> As quoted in Miller, *Life and Times of William and Mary*, 120.

medals—“all artes”—which had made him “appear as black as Hell”; and James justified his second flight by the claim that his safety was endangered by the man who had taken “such pains.”<sup>91</sup>

Although William accepted the *Declaration of Reasons* with initial reluctance, the manifesto became a kind of position paper for his cause, and both the prince and his friends used it as a basis for discussing solutions to the crisis. That he would fulfill the terms of his manifesto William and his closest advisers, Bentinck and Willem Dykveltdt, repeatedly affirmed at every crucial point in the course of the Revolution: when they received emissaries from King James II early in December, in important private conversations with such men as the Earl of Clarendon, when William addressed meetings of the Lords held in mid-December, when the Prince opened a meeting of lords and all members of Parliament who had served in the Parliaments of Charles II in late December, and in the letter which he sent to be read at the opening ceremonies of the Convention Parliament. And, in response, William’s supporters repeatedly declared at these meetings, as Richard Hampden did on December 26 for example, that their actions were aimed at “attaining the end of your Highness’s *Declaration*.”<sup>92</sup>

Some Tories, however, who hoped to achieve a solution to the crisis quite different from the one finally agreed to, initially dealt with William on the basis of his manifesto and were bitterly disenchanted when they later perceived that, in their view at least, the prince was not living up to its terms. The Earl of Clarendon wrote, “The Prince’s *Declaration* gained him the hearts of the whole kingdom, but the conscience of many of the best men would not permit them to come into the measures taken since.” Sir Edward Seymour, the great west-country Tory leader, said early in January that “all the West went into the Prince of Orange upon his *Declaration*, thinking in a free Parliament to redress all that was amiss. . . .” But, he continued, people now feared that the prince “aims at something else.” Or again, a pamphleteer, styling himself the “State Prodigal” and unfriendly to William, bitterly criticized the prince for the “black methods” used in perpetuating publicly the rumors that the baby was fraudulent and that James was allied with France and for failing to investigate these charges, as promised. He charged William and his friends with “inventing . . . Stories, together with disguising and concealing Truth,” and complained that they “laugh at us that we did not understand them sooner.”<sup>93</sup> Disillusionment with the prince on the part of some Englishmen is directly traceable to the points—set out in the *Declaration* and reiterated in the visual material—that seemed not to have been fulfilled.

In other ways as well the *Declaration* had an impact upon the solution to the

<sup>91</sup> Singer, *Correspondence of . . . Clarendon*, 199, 200, 494, 503; and J. S. Clarke, *The Life of James the Second, King of England, etc., Collected out of Memoirs Writ of his own Hand, Published from the Original Stuart Manuscripts in Carlton-House*, 2 (London, 1816): 274.

<sup>92</sup> Singer, *Correspondence of . . . Clarendon*, 214, 215, H. C. Foxcroft, *Life and Letters of the First Marquis of Halifax*, 2 (London, 1898): 24; Morrice “Entr’ing Book,” 384, 393; “Newdigate Newsletters.” LC 1953; and *Journals of the House of Commons*, 10: 7, 9.

<sup>93</sup> F. J. Routledge, ed., *Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers in the Bodleian Library*, 5 (Oxford, 1970): 687; Singer, *Correspondence of . . . Clarendon*, 214, 218, 233–34, 238, 244, 246, 252; and *The State-Prodigal his Return: Containing a true State of the Nation. In a Letter to a Friend* (London, 1689), 1, 2.

crisis England confronted. To some extent, the manifesto limited William's political options, so that in a certain sense William really was hoisted on the petard of his own propaganda. For example, in December it was reported that "the lawyers" were "generally of the opinion" that the prince ought to declare himself king, as Henry VII had done. Then he could legally call a Parliament because he would be, in fact, king. But, as Burnet explained, William could not do that because it was contrary to his *Declaration* which referred the solution to the crisis to a Parliament. Burnet went on to say that, if William declared himself king, that "step would make all that the prince had hitherto done pass for aspiring ambition," would "disgust those who had hitherto been the best affected to his designs" and would make others who were "less concerned in the quarrel" assume he was a conquerer.<sup>94</sup> In other words, William really had no alternative—because of what he had promised in his *Declaration*—but to go forward with elections to a Convention Parliament. Such a course was politically astute, but as the prince had said in August, it was not without hazard. It cost William something. He wrote impatiently to a Dutch confidante during these weeks that, if he "were not by nature so scrupulous," he would have been "able to finish the affair soon," and, he added, "I have more trouble than you can imagine." The strain he was under manifested itself in a deepening of his asthmatic cough and a weight loss, both so marked that Mary was seriously concerned when she joined him.<sup>95</sup>

William's propaganda also restricted his response to the Declaration of Rights, that lengthy statement of the nation's grievances and rights which was read to William and Mary at the ceremony on February 13, just before the crown of England was offered to them. The insistence in the prince's propaganda that he came only to redress grievances and restore rights and the specific statement in the *Second Declaration* that the "only means for obtaining a full redress and remedy of those grievances" was by a "Parliament in a Declaration of Rights of the subject that have been invaded" made it extremely awkward for William to resist the Convention's determination to present a statement about grievances and rights. In the Convention debates, members made the situation even more delicate by justifying their activities as fulfilling the prince's manifesto. A sentence in the Declaration of Rights avers that members were "particularly encouraged" by the prince's declaration to draw up their own claim of rights, because, as his manifesto had said, "the only means for obtaining a full redress and remedy" of grievances was by a "Parliament in a Declaration of the Rights of the subject that have been invaded." The prince's disapprobation, however, was keen. Along with other considerations, it accounts for the degree to which the final text of the Declaration of Rights was a much watered-down version of the first draft. And his anger was partly responsible for a sharp, if short-lived, crisis on February 8 and 9 which could have had the effect of changing and delaying

<sup>94</sup> Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, 3: 361–62.

<sup>95</sup> F. L. Müller, ed., *Willem von Oranien und Georg Friederich von Waldeck* (The Hague, 1873–80), 2: 122; and R. Doebner, ed., *Memoirs of Mary, Queen of England (1689–93). Together with Her Letters* (Leipzig, 1886), 11.

the solution to the national dilemma.<sup>96</sup> The depth of William's disapprobation was also reflected later, when, in discussing the bill that would transform the Declaration into statutory form and make it the famous Bill of Rights, he confessed that "he had no mind to confirm [all the articles in the Declaration], but the condition of his affairs overruled his inclinations."<sup>97</sup> William accepted the Declaration of Rights in February because, given the manifesto he had reluctantly approved, it would have been extremely awkward to do otherwise. His reluctance to restrict—either substantively or symbolically—the powers of the monarchy was sacrificed to achieve a public image compatible with his propaganda.

Finally, it is not too much to say that the propaganda effort of William and his friends (along with other considerations, of course) won for the prince the crown of England. Writing shortly after the event, a staunch friend of William's, Henry Booth, Lord Delamere, asserted that the crown was offered to William "not so much because he was the chief instrument of our deliverance, although we owe him much for that, but rather in hopes of having the effect of his *Declaration*." Delamere explained that it was in William's interests to do what he had promised in the manifesto and that the nation, therefore, was "more likely" to get grievances redressed by the prince than by any other person. William, Delamere thought, "could not but be sensible of the reproach and hazard he ran . . . [if] having fault with King James's administration . . . , he did not amend whatever was amiss."<sup>98</sup>

ALL DURING THE MONTHS OF REVOLUTION WILLIAM WAS PORTRAYED AS A DELIVERER and James as a tyrant. An intensive propaganda campaign using every means at hand assured that most of what Englishmen were reading and seeing advanced this single point of view. That tracts, prints, and medals all repeated the same ideas reinforced their impact. These written and visual materials instructed, entertained, and enticed readers and viewers. By portraying William and his policies in the most favorable light and undergirding every step taken, they vindicated actions which, from another point of view, were treason. By asserting that the prince came only to assure the calling of a free Parliament which would settle the national crisis, these devices conveyed the impression that Englishmen held the fate of the nation in their own hands. As a result, in part, of this effort a broad consensus of approval for the Dutch prince and his policies, however short-lived that approbation proved to be, was achieved when it was most needed—when the crisis was being resolved. The campaign to shape public opinion, then, helps to explain William's success, which, whatever the view of Whig historians, was neither predestined nor inevitable. The campaign also had an effect, equally important in understanding the Revolution, on the nature of the settlement. Not only did the

<sup>96</sup> See Frankle, "The Formulation of the Declaration of Rights," and Horwitz, "Parliament and the Glorious Revolution," 48–49; Horwitz first revealed the crisis of mid-February.

<sup>97</sup> Foxcroft, *Life and Letters of . . . Halifax*, 217 (The Spencer House Journals).

<sup>98</sup> *The Works of Henry Booth, Lord Delamere, 1st Earl of Warrington* [1652–94] (London, 1694), 368–69.

propaganda restrict William's political options, it influenced also the terms of the Declaration of Rights and thus the Bill of Rights, the statutory form of the Declaration. The prince's effort, moreover, surely helped to avoid bloodshed in England during these critical months and thus contributed to the most distinguishing attribute of the Revolution, its nonviolent character. The success of the propaganda helps to explain how it happened that a solution to which, J. P. Kenyon has claimed, less than five percent of the governing class would have agreed if they had realized clearly what they were doing at the time was in fact accepted.<sup>99</sup>

That tracts, pictures, and medals were the principal devices in the campaign is significant for several reasons. Relatively new instruments in the development of political propaganda, they underscore the importance of the great technological invention of the early modern era—the printing press. Although printed tracts and iconographic material had been employed earlier, not before 1688–89 had they been combined in such numbers toward a single political purpose. William and his partisans exploited a unique situation. Because of the prince's Dutch connection, he dominated the graphic arts and the medals. Because of his connection with English and Dutch publicists and printers, he also dominated the press. This campaign was the first example of the close association between England and Holland that would characterize the reign of William III, and William himself was the first king in England to use both printed and iconographic propaganda in an intensive and consistent way. Later during the eighteenth century men in and out of government continued the practice. The heirs of a long line of development, printed tracts appeared at every political controversy, and the cartoons of Hogarth and others played a prominent part in English public life.

William and his adherents aimed their propaganda at, and were successful in reaching, a broad spectrum of society—including literate, marginally literate, and, perhaps, even illiterate Englishmen far outside socially and politically elite categories. Such an audience underscores the political significance of the growth of literacy. The implementation of such a comprehensive campaign to shape public opinion also testifies to a recognition of the potential power of the lower classes. Those scholars who regard the Revolution of 1688–89 as a *coup d'état*, carried out by a very small number of people, have not understood the nature of the campaign William mounted. Finally, William's propaganda conveyed an interpretation of persons, motives, policies, and events that has, by and large, been accepted and perpetuated. There is no more indisputable testimony to its effectiveness than that the interpretation it advanced has dominated the scholarship of the Revolution ever since. One reason, then, that the Revolution of 1688–89 has for three hundred years been perceived as "glorious" is that William and his friends successfully contrived—through propaganda dispersed largely by pamphlets, prints, and medals—to make it appear so.

<sup>99</sup> Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution, 1603–1689: Documents and Commentary* (Cambridge, 1966), 1.