"Most Excellent Majesties, Blest Guardians of Our Church and State"

A Comparison of Religious and Secular Discourse on England's Monarchs ruling after the Glorious Revolution, 1689, 1702 and 1714.

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Dedicated to my beloved sister

Veronique

Note to the reader:

Chicago Documenting style was used to annotate. For the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sources often no publisher can be identified, or a person rather than a publishing company published the source. To not create confusion no publisher was added to the titles of the seventeenth- or eighteenth century sources in both the annotation throughout the thesis or in the works cited lists. The page numbers of the sources annotated in the footnotes refer to the pages as registered in EEBO (which displays two pages at once) or ECCO. These page numbers may differ from the page numbers of the original documents.

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Introduction

A palace coup, a bloodless revolution, a sensible revolution, the first modern revolution, over the years the Glorious Revolution of 1688 has been assigned a wide range of labels.[1] How does the label 'religious war' fit the Glorious Revolution? Renowned seventeenth-century historian John Morrill confidently assures us that England in 1660 had seen the last of the wars of religion.

> *"After 1660 very few in the Anglican church or beyond sought to change man by creating a theocratic state. The attempt to externalize religion, to infuse human institutions with divine imperatives, was abandoned. […] Religious argument continued but England, like Europe, had seen the last of the wars of religion."*[2]

Yet, in 1688 a certain Dutch Protestant prince seems to have been prompted by fear for the Protestant faith when he set sail to England to displace his Catholic father-in-law James II. The Dutch prince and his supporters certainly portrayed William as the 'Great Defender of the true faith' with 'angels blowing prosperous winds in his sails'.[3] Also for the seven prominent English noblemen who extended an invitation to the Dutch Prince of Orange to come to England religion played a major role.[4] The English king James II from his accession in 1685 had been incessant about promoting the Catholic faith. Thus within three years of his reign he had alienated himself from his predominantly Protestant subjects.[5] Moreover, James II and his wife, being Catholics, were sure to raise their newborn son in the Catholic faith, a horror the English were not ready to face.[6]

William had his own reasons for invading England. Besides defending the right of succession of his wife, William had spent most of his life fending off the apparently insatiably land-hungry Louis XIV, the catholic ruler of France.[7] When the chance arose to win England

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[1] Tony Claydon, "The Recent English Historiography of the Glorious Revolution," *Odysseus* 1 (2009): 27. John Morrill, "The Sensible Revolution, 1688" in *The nature of the English Revolution: Essays,* ed. John Morrill (London: Longman, 1993), 419. Steve Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University, 2009), 5. Eveline Cruickshanks, *The Glorious Revolution* (London: Macmillan Press LTD, 2000), 1.
[2] John Morrill, "Sir William Brereton and England's Wars of Religion," in *The English Civil War: The Essential Readings* ed. Peter Gaunt (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2000), 205-206.
[3] Anon., *The Court of England, or, The Preparation for the happy coronation of King William and Queen Mary* (London: 1689), 1. Anon., *A Poem on the coronation of King William and Queen Mary* (London: 1689), 9.
[4] Tony Claydon, *William III* (London: Pearson Education Limited, 2002), 31.
[5] Barry Coward, *The Stuart Age, England 1603-1714*, 3rd ed. (Harlow: Pearson Educated Limited, 2003), 336.
[6] John Miller, *James II: a Study in Kingship* (London: Methuen, 1989), 167-188.
[7] Coward, *The Stuart Age*, 342-343.

for his cause William seized it. By November 1688 the Prince of Orange had amassed a large fleet of ships and set sail for England.[8] The Dutch invasion would result in the flight of James II to France and the king's daughter Mary and his son-in-law William taking over as King William III and Queen Mary II. The couple was crowned on 11 April 1689. Indeed, religion did play an important role in the Glorious Revolution. This is only underscored by the passing of the Bill of Rights in December 1689 by which the English parliament ensured that no catholic royal would ever be able to inherit the English throne.[9] At the same time, the Protestant Succession would remain an issue throughout the reign of William and Mary, especially when the son of James II survived childhood. At the times of the coronations of William's successors, Queen Anne in 1702 and King George after her in 1714, the discussion would reignite.

Was the Glorious Revolution a religious war? Historians agree that this was not the case. Yet, recently we see a renewed interest for the role of religion in the events of 1688. Indeed, we can study the role of religion in certain aspects of the event and even compare it to later points in time to discern possible changes over time. One of the ways to investigate the role of religion in seventeenth century England is to assess the image of the rulers. Authors, whether they are supporters of the regime or not, will use argumentation that they deem to be most appealing and acceptable to their contemporaries. Simply put, if the arguments are religious then that is an indication of the importance attributed to religion. On the contrary, if secular arguments dominate the discourse, then that is indicative of the level of importance attributed to secular matters. Having narrowed down the investigation to the image of the monarchs the central question in this thesis is: in how far, after the Glorious Revolution, did religion remain an important part of the English monarchs' image?

Various historians have investigated parts of this question. Historian Tony Claydon, in his book *William III and the Godly Revolution*, clearly shows that religion was a vital element of the English national identity and the images of William III and his wife Mary II. He relates how the image of King William III promoted by his supporters centred on publicizing a pious reformation of the royal court. Claydon: "*It was one of the core tools available to William to convince the English of the legitimacy of his regime*".[10] Williamite chiefs of propaganda

[8] Claydon, *William III*, 28.
[9] Coward, *The Stuart Age*, 361.
[10] Tony Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 3-4. Authors of sermons and pamphlets were constantly referring to the role of Providence in the Glorious Revolution. The victories of William and the defeats and failures of James were put down to God's favour on the

worked endlessly to promote an image of William as divinely appointed (by Providence), an anointed defender of the Protestant faith. Furthermore, Queen Mary played a crucial role in upholding and promoting this image.[11] The royals not only continuously displayed their personal piety but also undertook a 'court reformation' and encouraged sober manners and church attendance amongst the courtiers.[12] Finally, the monarchs promoted religious reform through the administrative offices of local authorities and Fast Days were given new momentum as a propaganda tool during the French war.[13]

Whilst historians such as Tony Claydon and Linda Colley stress that seventeenth century Englishmen and women felt a strong need to stand up for their religious beliefs as well as their ancient national laws and customs, scholar Steve Pincus takes a different point of view.[14] Pincus, author of the book *1688, The First Modern Revolution*, casts the Glorious Revolution as the first modern revolution and essentially not a religiously based conflict.[15] Although Pincus does not eliminate religion as an important force in the conflict, he does consider it to have been assigned too large a role. In his reply to the book of Claydon Pincus urges us to open our eyes to early modern English nationalism.[16] Pincus: "*The nationalist ideology* [driving the Glorious Revolution] *was not an undifferentiated antagonism to catholic Europe, but a subtle and sophisticated ideology based on economic, political and cultural engagement*".[17] Where Pincus urges us to see Protestantism as a constituent not as constitutive of English national identity, scholars like Claydon and Colley consider the national identity to be Protestant at heart.[18] It is an interesting juxtaposition. Now, if indeed 1688 was a clear break with the past, as most historians agree, then this should be apparent in the sources. We should be able to discern in the sources a shift in the attitude towards religion or, possibly, a decline of religious arguments in the contemporaries discourse. Let us turn to the methodology for the research.

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royal couple. God had placed the couple in the position they were in. These statements were backed up with quotes from Scripture.

[11] Hester Wolferstan Chapman, *Mary II Queen of England* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1976), 173-174.

[12] Claydon, *Godly Revolution*, 70-73.

[13] Ibid., 81-82, 101.

[14] Linda Colley, "Britishness and Otherness: An Argument," *Journal of British Studies*, 31, no. 4 (1992): 316.

[15] Pincus, *1688*, 7. Pincus claims that it were not James's unpopular policies or the monarch's Catholic beliefs but rather the English fears of James's aspirations for Universal Monarchy that was the incentive for them to ban him from the throne when they had the opportunity.

[16] Steve Pincus, "To protect English Liberties: the English Nationalist Revolution of 1688-9," in *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c. 1650-1850*, eds. Tony Claydon and Ian McBride (Cambridge, 1998), 80.

[17] Ibid., 79.

[18] Colley, "Britishness and Otherness," 316-317. Claydon, *Godly Revolution,* 17.

Methodology

An important point of departure for the research at hand is that it is based on the assumption that discourse is both a reflection of one's worldview and a tool for convincing others to adopt the same view. The choice for one particular line of argument is made on the basis of what the author assumes to be the most convincing and acceptable argument for their audience. Thus, an indication of the way religion remained, or did not remain, an important element to the seventeenth century Englishmen and women, is by assessing how frequently and urgently contemporaries felt compelled to use religious or secular argumentation in their writings. If the discourse of contemporaries is religious, then that is an indication of religion being important to the audience. However if secular arguments dominate the discourse, that signals secularization. For instance, if the author knows his readers to be xenophobic and disinclined to accept a Dutch King, he would lead the argument away from the King's Dutch roots and emphasise instead the shared Protestant identity of the ruler and his subjects. Possibly, the author would stress the need to unite against the common threat of the Catholic French. He would not use an argument that he knew his contemporaries would not accept.

Yet, a problematic issue that must be recognised here is that it is difficult to distinguish between secular and religious arguments since these are often intertwined. Also, some scholars question the significance of religious words and phrases. They argue that some religious words were used so ubiquitously that they became void of any real religious importance. Mark Goldy, for example, does not consider 'Providence', an argument used frequently by seventeenth century authors to explain events as expressions of the will of God, to have influenced the mindset of contemporaries.[19] In a similar way, some scholars believe that when contemporaries expressed themselves in religious terms they were actually speaking about social, political or economic matters.[20] Blair Worden fervently opposes this view. He stresses that denying the importance attached to Providence would be "missing an epic political force".[21] In concurrence with Worden, for the research at hand we accept religious words to be indicative of a religious line of argument. At the same time, we need to

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[19] Mark Goldie, "The Political Thought of the Anglican Revolution," in *The Revolutions of 1688*, ed. Robert Beddard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 102.
[20] Blair Worden, *God's Instruments: Political Conduct in the England of Oliver Cromwell* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 2.
[21] Ibid., 8.

heed the warning of scholar Sarah Mortimer of being in danger of reading seventeenth-century documents through a twenty-first century perspective.[22] This means that we should not either take the sources completely at face value and accept every religious word without weighing it, or read them in a too sceptical light and discount religion all together. Although in this thesis the aforesaid issues cannot be wholly circumvented, the research of the source material is conducted with a sensibility to the limitations of investigating seventeenth- and eighteenth century sources with a twenty-first century mindset. Moreover, with the way the research is broken down into quantitative and qualitative parts there is room for a nuanced representation of the sources. Also within the quantitative research a category has been added which contains (sets of) words with 'mixed religious and secular' keywords such as 'Religion, Laws and Liberties/Rights/Property' or 'slavery'. With these precautions in place, it is deemed that we can still draw some valid and valuable conclusions from (early-) modern sources.

With regards to keeping the research manageable and the size of this thesis within the limits of the determined word count the research has been limited to a comparison of sources produced within the timeframe of the coronations of three consecutive reigns: William III and Mary II in 1689, Queen Anne in 1702 and finally George I in 1714. The choice was made to focus on the sources produced within the timeframe of the Royals accession instead of after their deaths. At the beginning of the reigns the images of the Royals are taking shape and debate is likely to be more intense then after their deaths. Even though Tony Claydon has already thoroughly investigated the image of William and Mary the decision was made to include the royal couple into the research and not merely research the cases of Anne and George. Perchance a fresh look at the sources of that time will provide new insights and the outcomes of the research at hand can contribute to the historiographic debate.

A common element in the successions is that both King William and Queen Mary and Queen Anne after them ascended the throne during impending war or during wartime in the first year of their reign. Whilst King George did not face international warfare in the first year of his reign, he did have to suppress a Jacobite rebellion during that time. It is quite probable that the added pressure of armed conflict affected the imagery of the royals: it will be most interesting to see what type of qualities of the royals the contemporaries highlighted. Do the contemporaries write about the royals in religious terms or does the emphasis lie on the

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[22] Sarah Mortimer, "Natural Law and Holy War in the English Revolution," in *England's Wars of Religion, Revisited*, eds. Charles W.A. Prior and Glenn Burgess (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2011), 197-199.

royals' secular qualities? Are they hailed for their piousness, social skills, military prowess or political decisiveness? Are the monarchs portrayed as 'defenders of the nation' or of the 'true faith'?[23]

Several choices were made to limit the research. Firstly, the images of the monarchs which they set out to promote is discussed only briefly: the focus of the thesis lies on the image that the contemporaries held of their ruler(s). Therefore, sources written by the ruler(s) themselves were not included in the research. However, sources written by parliament were included. Other than that, only the time of publication was a requirement for the selection of the sources. The aim of this has been to get a sample survey of a wide range of sources. All the sources included in the research were publicised in the first year of the rule of the monarch(s) reign. An exception was made for chapter two. Remarkably few sources dating from 1702 covered the coronation of Queen Anne. It was deemed preferable to supplement this shortage by including the year 1703 in the search rather than including sources from 1702 which did not touch upon the queen in relation to her coronation.

As for the composition of the chapters: in the first three chapters we shall assess the imagery of the monarchs as put forth in the sources in the first year of their accession. Chapter four is devoted to a cross-analysis of the findings of the three chapters. Each of the first three chapters will start with an outline of the specific historic situation of the monarchs followed by an assessment of the image the monarchs promoted of themselves. In chapter one, since the debate between Claydon and Pincus has provided the incentive for the thesis, their discussion will be related in more detail. The main question guiding the research is whether religious, nationalist or 'other secular' language dominated the source material.

The set-up of the research is bipartite in order to provide a more solid representation of the seventeenth-century discourse. By combining a quantitative and qualitative approach it becomes possible to compare, verify and complement outcomes and conclusions. The quantitative part of the research entails a tallying of certain keywords in four different categories with religious keywords, nationalist keywords, 'other secular' keywords, and lastly, 'mixed religious and secular' keywords. Obviously, nationalist keywords are secular keywords. Why then categorise them as a separate category when it is really a subcategory of secular keywords? After the claims of Pincus about 1688 being the first modern revolution it is interesting to not only monitor any changes in religious and secular discourse, but also to

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[23] The term 'true faith' denotes the Anglican faith, it implies the exclusion English Catholics as well as Dissenters.

assess any changes in nationalist discourse. A separate category for nationalist keywords allows for such changes to be observed more clearly than if these keywords were included in the category of 'other secular' keywords. The qualitative part of the research is a general evaluation of the content of the sources. This allows one to compare patterns and trends, as well as one-off, atypical finds in one particular source that in a purely quantitative research would have gone unnoticed. With regard to the limitations of the size of the thesis there was no room for a truly extensive in-depth analysis of the individual sources. Even so, a qualitative assessment of the sources is deemed of great value as it complements the quantitative research.

For each chapter 60 sources were investigated. The reason for including a substantial number of sources in the research is twofold. On the one hand, basing the research on a larger number of sources naturally reduces the chance of erroneous conclusions. To incorporate a small number of sources for each case would greatly increase the chance of ending up with a lopsided representation of the different cases. On the other hand, the manner in which the tallying was conducted also requires a higher number of sources. For each source the keywords were tallied if they occurred one *or more* times. This means that the outcome of the tallying shows rather the overall trends and not per source how often the keywords were used. Would that have been the case then the tallying would have been indicative of low or high levels of either religion, or secularism in the individual sources. However, that is not the intention of this research. The aim is to discern general trends, not to determine how religious, secular or nationalist the individual authors were.

I hereby want to acknowledge that even with a wide selection of sources there is still a risk of missing essential sources and also a risk of missing important keywords. We cannot be unquestionably certain that the sources that were preserved over time, and thus could be incorporated in this research, are quite representative. Still, by including a relatively high number of sources this risk should be reduced to an acceptable level. For this thesis keywords deemed most central to the discourse were selected for the tallying. Yet, they are merely a fraction of all discourse of between 1689 and 1714. Also, since there were different numbers of keywords selected for each category (for example, 11 keywords for the religious category and 5 for the secular category) there can be no proper comparison between the results of the tallying of the four different categories within that chapter. Again, let us stress that the purpose of this thesis is to discern general trends over time. Only over time the categories can be compared from one chapter to the next and then only the religious category of 1689 to the

religious category of 1702, the secular category of 1689 to that of 1702, and so on. In chapter two the cases of 1689 and 1702 will be compared, in chapter three 1702 and 1714 and finally in chapter four the results of the categories of 1689, 1702 and 1714 will be compared with one another.

The approach used for the research consisted of a brief initial assessment of the content of every individual document. This entailed specifying the subject, purpose, and audience of the document and examining it for a religious or non-religious representation of the monarchs. Consequently the sources were checked for a selection of keywords. The keywords differ slightly in each chapter in accordance with their specific historical setting. For example, a biblical image used for William was 'David' but for Anne it was 'Deborah'. As part of the initial assessment the sources were grouped into three different categories: 1. *ceremonial documents* (detailed accounts of the coronation ceremonies, some of which included oaths sworn at the coronation). 2. *literary documents* (songs, plays and poems), 3. *opinion pieces* (letters, sermons, pamphlets, broadsheet, and treatises on matters of religion, law, war and politics). In every category the imagery of the monarch(s) is briefly discussed.

One final observation before turning to the research methods of the individual chapters is that the vast majority of the sources are authored by supporters of the royals. It is therefore important to keep in mind that the image of the rulers is per definition incomplete without the complaints of their critics. Nevertheless, since authors chose a particular line of argument that they knew would resonate with their audience (including the critics), these sources are still good indicators of the prevalent religious and secular, or a mix of both, mindsets of the authors and their audience. The choice for a religious or secular angle, regardless of the authors' political preferences, is significant and it allows for the discernment of any trends and patterns in the sources. Let us now turn to the methodology used in chapters one to three.

Research chapter 1 King William III and Mary II

The method used for gathering and researching the 60 sources for chapter one has been fairly straightforward. The database of Early English Books Online (EEBO) was consulted. This is a vast database accessible online which contains more than 125,000 titles of written sources dating from the year 1473 to 1700. The keyword used for the search was 'coronation'. The process of selecting the sources started at an initial search that was limited by date from '1688' to '1689'. This search resulted in 48 records in which the word 'coronation' occurred

193 times. One of these sources includes a twelve-chapter anthology with each chapter containing between 4 and 13 sources. This resulted in an extensive number of sources from which a vast number of sources was excluded for various reasons; sources that were identified as exact copies of one and the same pamphlet were excluded, as were sources that addressed the Scottish situation, the coronation of Charles II, or other non-related topics.

In the 60 documents selected for the research several (combinations of) religious, national, other secular, or a mix of religious and secular keywords were tallied. These keywords are either general concepts or terms, or referred directly to the personal image of the monarchs. The keywords in many cases cover a set of keywords that are used in the sources as a fixed set. An example of this is the fixed phrase 'Religion, Law and Liberties', these keywords were tallied as one keyword. However, there are also keywords that all refer to the same subject or theme. This is the case for instance in the category of 'other secular' keywords when the keywords '*Law/justice/rights/liberties*' were tallied as one keyword. This helps to gain a good overview of the general themes without getting bogged down in too many keywords. In the category of religious keywords the different names used by contemporaries to denote William III and Mary II entailed: '*Defender(s) of Faith*', '*Nursing Mother/Father*', '*Glorious Instrument/Instrument of God/God's vicegerent*', '*Deliverance/Deliverer*', '*David*', '*Pious/zeal*' and '*Sacred Majesty*'. The other keywords were more general religious terms or concepts like '*Christendom*', '*Protestant/Protestantism*', '*Providence*' and '*Catholics/Popery/ Rome*'. Evidently, these general keywords are subject to multiple interpretations (more so than the names for William and Mary). For instance, 'Christendom' but also 'Protestantism' can denote, besides the body of believers, the geographic area of Europe or even the world. Obviously, we need to be aware of these different connotations and recognise the risk of categorizing words with multiple connotations. Yet, besides any possible dual meanings the main connotation is religious and therefore these keywords can be tallied in the religious category.

In the category of 'other secular' keywords '*Law/justice/rights/liberties*', '*Tyranny/despo-tic/oppressor/arbitrary government/rule*', '*Constitution*', and '*Lawful succession*' were tallied. Again, some words like word 'tyranny' can be interpreted in various ways. In this research 'tyranny' is defined more as a violation of the subjects' civil rights than of their religious rights. Again, the tallying has been conducted with a sensibility to the context of the words within each document. The category of keywords that are both religious and secular hold the set of words '*Religion, Law & Liberty/Rights/Property*' and also the keywords

'*Slavery*' and '*Vertuous*', meaning powerful and morally righteous.[24] One could argue that 'slavery' in connotation is very similar to 'tyranny'. Yet, there is another, more religious, dimension to 'slavery' than to 'tyranny' since it is often used in combination with a reference to scripture comparing the English under the catholic rule of James to the enslaved people of Israel. Finally, the nationalist category includes the words: '*Albion*' (a nostalgic name to indicate the British Isles), '*Home and abroad/neighbours/allies*', '*Nation*', '*France/Spain*', '*(Balance/liberties of) Europe*', '*Turk*' (denoting the pope/Louis XIV), '*Just (and necessary) war*' and '*Pretender*'. Obviously, here 'neighbours' are only included when the author is referring to the international situation. The Turkish threat was not merely geographic; it also meant a threat to Protestantism and thus the nation. Still regardless of the aforementioned multiple connotations the tallying of these keywords still allows for a discernment of general changes in nationalist sentiments.

On a final note: almost half the sources in this chapter were taken from the anthology of Gilbert Burnet, the chief promoter of the royal couple. Is then this research still representative? Indeed it is because the book is a collected work that contains some works written by himself but also of sources written by other authors. Moreover, Burnet publicised Jacobite pamphlets and the responses to those. Thus there is an interesting dialogue between the different authors to be observed.

Research chapter 2 Queen Anne

For selecting sources for the reign of Queen Anne the Eighteenth Century Collections Online (ECCO) was used. This database includes over 136,000 titles (155,000 volumes) of works published in the UK during the 18th century plus thousands from elsewhere. For the chapter about Queen Anne it was more of a challenge to collect a sufficient number of sources. In total four searches with different (combinations of) keywords had to be conducted to gather the required 60 sources for the research. For the first search, with the search word 'coronation', the year 1703 was included (107 results, 14 relevant). The other three searches were limited to the year 1702: 'coronation + queen + Anne' (35 results, 12 relevant), 'Anne + queen' (90 results, 16 relevant), 'queen' (428 results, 17 relevant). The total number of sources admitted into the research was 60.

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[24] The spelling of 'Vertuous' has been copied from the seventeenth-century sources.

The keywords for the quantitative part of the thesis were again divided in the four categories of religious, nationalist, 'other secular', and 'mixed religious and secular' keywords. One new keyword was added and some keywords were replaced by a feminine counterpart to the list of the tallying of chapter two. In the religious category '*Deborah/Judith/Esther*' replace the masculine keyword '*David*'. Why tally one keyword in 1689 and three keywords in 1702 at the risk of compromising the results of the tallying? Since all three biblical figures tallied for Anne were representative of the same notion, representing Anne as a Christian heroine, it was deemed prudent to add these names to the tallying. Finally, '*Elizabeth*' to whom Queen Anne was frequently likened entered the nationalist category as a new keyword. There is no comparison possible since for neither the case of 1689 or of 1714 there was an equivalent at hand. Nevertheless, the keyword was included in order to offer a more complete view of the image of Anne. That was considered preferable to not including the word. Naturally it does affect the comparison between the nationalist categories over time with the cases of 1689 and 1714 being a one keyword short. Still, there is room to address this issue in the commentary of the tables.

Research chapter 3 King George I

For this chapter ECCO was also used to gather the 60 required sources. This time two searches were necessary: 'coronation', timeframe 1714-1714 (147 hits, 34 relevant) and 'king + George', timeframe 1714-1714 (417 hits, 26 relevant). No new keywords were added for this chapter; '*Nursing Mother*' was changed into '*Nursing Father*'.

Chapter 1. King William and Queen Mary

This chapter contains a short historical outline of the years preceding the Glorious Revolution and the accession and reign of William and Mary. Next we look into the historiography of the works of the two scholars Tony Claydon and Steven Pincus since their contrasting views have provided an important incentive for the writing of this thesis. Thereafter follows the analysis of the outcomes of the quantitative and qualitative research, which is compared to the previous work done by Claydon and Pincus.

Short historical overview

Throughout his life the primary aim of William of Orange, son of the Dutch William II and the English Mary Henriëtte, would be to fight against French expansion in Europe.[25] William at the age of 22 became captain-general and admiral of the Netherlands. In 1674, after he had successfully forced French troops to withdraw from Dutch soil, William was named Stadholder of Holland, Zeeland and Utrecht, which was made hereditary in his male line.[26] In 1686 he took the defence of the Netherlands to the next level by organizing the German states into the League of Augsburg, an anti-French coalition.[27] In May 1687 the army of emperor Leopold won a crucial victory over the Turks, which ended the immediate threat of a Turkish invasion, thus enabling the emperor to become a more effective member of the grand coalition. William now only needed England to further strengthen the coalition.[28]

In 1677 William had married his cousin Mary of Stuart (1662-1694), the Protestant daughter of James II of England.[29] She was to inherit the English throne after the death of her father. James II had come to power in England in 1685 but his reign would soon expire. Within three years James II had alienated himself from his political allies by ruthlessly pursuing pro-French and pro-Catholic policies.[30] However, the vast majority of Englishmen were still too fearful of a civil war and too constrained by considerations of obedience and

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[25] Coward, *The Stuart Age*, 342. Marie Henriëtte was the daughter of Charles II of England.
[26] Claydon, *William III*, xv.
[27] Coward, *The Stuart Age*, 343.
[28] Ibid., 343.
[29] Claydon, *William III*, xvi.
[30] Coward, *The Stuart Age*, 336.

non-resistance to become rebels.[31] Scholars Barry Coward and Jonathan Israel agree that there would not have been a Glorious Revolution without the intervention of William of Orange.[32] William, who had long been in touch with opposition leaders in England, in 1687 sent two emissaries who established an even closer relationship between himself and major political figures in England.[33] Then, in the summer of 1688, with the birth of King James II's son, the Duke of Wales, William's wife Mary of Stuart lost the right of succession of the English throne. At this time William was officially invited by seven leading figures of England to come over to England.[34]

William and his troops arrived at Torbay on 5 November 1688. They entered Exeter five days later and marched on to the city of London.[35] James II, instead of meeting William in battle with his own army, had retreated to London and was captured there. In December James attempted to flee to France but was captured and returned to London. A second attempt to escape was successful and James fled to France. Thus James II left those who had remained loyal to him without a cause to rally to.[36] James's collapse of nerve ensured that when William reached London he had the support of all leading Whigs and Tories.[37]

Gilbert Burnet, an English nobleman who had worked himself into the personal sphere of William and Mary, had already started an extensive propaganda campaign even before the Dutch troops landed on English shores. A letter from the Prince of Orange to the English people had been published and spread. It was a declaration explaining the intentions of William.[38] This document was the start of a vast and widespread public relations campaign that would be continued throughout the reign of William and Mary, and after the death of Mary until the end of William's reign in 1702.

With James fled to France, the English were left with William as the only guarantor of public order. On 24 December 1688 William was officially asked to make arrangements for parliamentary elections.[39] A number of Tories refused to recognise any other monarch than James II. During the convention of Parliament on 22 January 1689, a handful of bishops and

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[31] Ibid., 342.
[32] Ibid., 342. Jonathan I. Israel, "The Dutch Role in the Glorious Revolution," in *The Anglo-Dutch Moment: Essays on the Glorious Revolution and its World Impact* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 111-116.
[33] Coward, *The Stuart Age*, 343.
[34] Claydon, *William III*, xvii.
[35] Coward, *The Stuart Age*, 344.
[36] Ibid., 344.
[37] Ibid., 344.
[38] Claydon, *Godly Revolution*, 24.
[39] Coward, *The Stuart Age*, 357.

about 400 mainly clerical officials refused to swear loyalty to William and Mary.[40] These people became known as non-jurors. Despite this repudiation of William and Mary, in a meeting on 6 February 1689 Parliament offered William and Mary the throne jointly.[41]

There are several elements to the succession of William and Mary that we need to consider. Firstly, there is the most obvious fact that in contrast to the two successive monarchs, Queen Anne and King George, William and Mary did not inherit the throne in the usual manner. In England the nation is never without a ruling monarch. Immediately upon the death of the reigning king or queen, the heir apparent becomes the uncrowned king or queen. Obviously in 1688 England still had a living monarch in the person of James II. Moreover, he had a son who was officially the heir apparent. However, Parliament resolved to declare that with his flight to France James II had abdicated the throne.[42] As for the newborn son of James, the Duke of Wales, his parentage was called into questioned. A rumour was widely circulated that the baby had been smuggled into the birthing chamber in a bedpan.[43] Parliament therefore excluded the Duke of Wales in favour of Mary, who had been the legitimate heir apparent before the boy's birth.

Secondly, an unprecedented aspect of the coronation was that William the Prince of Orange, instead of ruling as a consort besides his wife; William was given full executive power and it was determined that this power would remain with him even if Mary were to pass away before him.[44] Finally, to the issue of their legitimacy another pressure was added; at the time of their coronation on 11 April 1689 William and Mary already found themselves at war. A month before the coronation James II had invaded Ireland where the majority of Catholics rose for him under Tyrconnell.[45] In addition to this armed conflict, in May 1689 King William III entered England into a war with the French on the mainland of Europe that would last until 1697.[46] The war in Ireland would finally come to an end with the defeat of the Jacobites in February 1692.[47] William and Mary ruled jointly until the death of Queen Mary in December 1694 when she died of smallpox. King William III thereafter ruled solely until his death in March 1702.

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[40] Ibid., 357.
[41] Ibid., 357.
[42] Goldie, "Political Thought of the Anglican Revolution," 102.
[43] Claydon, *William III*, 31.
[44] Coward, *The Stuart Age*, 357.
[45] Claydon, *William III*, xvii.
[46] Ibid., xviii.
[47] Ibid., xix.

With regard to the aforementioned irregularities and pressures in the process of the crowning of William and Mary, they were possibly more eager than Anne and George to present themselves as a devout Protestant couple that was brought to power by Providence rather than by their own doing. It will be interesting to investigate in what way contemporaries reacted to the events in comparison to the coronations of Anne and George after them.

William and Mary presenting themselves

As we have seen in the introduction of this thesis, the book by Tony Claydon *William III and the Godly Revolution* disclosed much about the image that King William III and Queen Mary promoted of themselves. Claydon's research covered the entirety of the Williamite reign. Although in this thesis we shall focus on sources published only in 1689 it is useful to recap the scholar's findings. Already in 1688 the royals had placed the management of the campaign in the skilful hands of Gilbert Burnet. Claydon shows how Burnet worked tirelessly to increase the popularity of King William III and Queen Mary II by portraying them as devout promoters of the Protestant faith. Claydon reviewed how a loyal group of Williamite propagandists used a variety of means to purvey a godly image of the royal couple.[48]

Firstly, the royal court was seen dispelling ungodly forms of entertainment.[49] Queen Mary played a crucial role in what Claydon calls the 'court reformation'. Instead of having the courtiers indulge in superficial entertainment and pleasures, Queen Mary encouraged the ladies attending to her to pray and attend church services.[50] She made a point of being seen attending church herself and sought to eradicate immoral behaviour when she encountered it within the court household.

William on the other hand, with Burnet's assistance, organised a rearrangement of the ecclesiastical headship of the Church of England. King William had a number of bishops replaced by churchmen who favoured the Williamite government.[51] This way King William III could influence church administration from the top down. The Williamite bishops impressed on church leaders of lower ranking how pious and devout the royal couple was. Meanwhile, with the help of Burnet, Queen Mary revived the tradition of publishing sermons

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[48] Claydon, *Godly Revolution*, see chapters 1-3.
[49] Ibid., 73.
[50] Hester Wolferstan Chapman, *Mary II Queen of England* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1976), 173-174.
[51] Claydon, *Godly Revolution*, 68.

that had been preached at the royal court. A steady stream of court sermons preached to the royals started to flow from the royal palace.[52] There even was a network of loyal printers enlisted for the job. Furthermore, the local administration was targeted by the royal propaganda campaign. Whilst it was not possible for William and Mary to exert direct control over the proceedings in the local administration, the charges (speeches containing advisory guidelines read out to the local courts and justices) could be dictated by the royal administration.[53] William and Mary were found urging city councils, constables and judges to promote good Protestant moral in their localities. Finally, the royal couple staged a remarkable series of national days of humility and prayer.[54] These so-called days of Thanksgiving and Fasts had been held in England since Tudor times.[55] Designed as instruments of godly renewal they were a powerful instrument for the court reformation programme of William and Mary.[56]

According to Claydon religion played a crucial role in rallying support for the Glorious Revolution and later the reign of William and Mary. Claydon asserts that William persuaded the English to back his war by presenting himself as the providential agent of Protestant renewal.[57] In turn, "the Queen, whose sexual temperance, frugality and piety were undoubted, was made the centrepiece of the regime's virtue," explains Claydon. Mary was observed purging the court of vice, urging action against immorality by public authorities, and supervising a drive for pastoral renewal in the Church.[58] However, Claydon acknowledges that secular reasons also prompted the English to rally to William and Mary. The English wanted to keep the disastrous James out of the kingdom and they certainly wished to defend a liberating constitutional settlement. We see that the royal propagandists presented the French monarch as the Antichrist who persecuted Protestants in France and treat those in conquered countries worse.[59] The campaign played on a combination of religious and nationalist anxieties regarding the threat to the Protestant faith and the English nation.

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[52] Ibid., 96.
[53] Ibid., 81-83.
[54] Ibid., 100.
[55] See the article by Roland Bartel, "The Story of Public Fast Days in England," *Anglican Theological Review*, 37 (1955): 190-220.
[56] Claydon, *Godly Revolution,* 101.
[57] Claydon, "Protestantism, Universal Monarchy and Christendom in William's War Propaganda, 1689-1697," in *Redefining William III: The Impact of King-Stadholder in International Context*, eds. Esther Mijers and David Onnekink (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007), 126.
[58] Ibid., 127.
[59] Ibid.,127.

Steve Pincus has challenged the conclusions of Tony Claydon in his essay "To Protect English Liberties: the English Nationalist Revolution of 1688-1689". The scholar considers historians to have given an insufficiently nuanced account of the role played by religion in the revolution because "they were so concerned to show that early modern England was a religious rather than a secular society".[60] Pincus stresses how by 1688 religion's place within seventeenth-century England had changed: England began to take a more sceptical view of religion's relationship to politics. Claydon stated that William's subjects were chiefly attached to his cause through his image as a divine deliverer, sharing William's belief that Protestantism needed to be rescued.[61] However, according to Pincus the crusading spirit was replaced by a notion that Christ's kingdom was not of this world. The scholar insists that most seventeenth-century Englishmen denied that the war against France was a war of religion.[62]

Quoting from numerous seventeenth-century documents Pincus makes a case for 1688 being seen as a war protecting national integrities against absolute rule by the aspiring universal monarch: Louis XIV.[63] The scholar argues that if faith was to be defended then only as part of the citizen's rights and property, and as a constitutional religion protected by law.[64] The war pitted the entire community of European nations against the supreme violator of national identity, Louis XIV.[65] Thus Pincus concludes that the 1688 revolution was a nationalist revolution: "Not in the sense of creating a new nation but in the sense that they appealed to the nation, rather than to scripture or to the monarch, as the source of political authority".[66]

Claydon answered Pincus's claims in his article "Protestantism, Universal Monarchy and Christendom in William's War Propaganda, 1689-1697". Based on the source material presented by Pincus, Claydon agrees that whilst the Williamite bishops may have seen the war in Protestant terms, most of the king's other supporters and even William himself used a language based on the secular threat of a universal monarch and on the English nation's right to join with other independent nations to defend their legitimate autonomy.[67] However, Claydon asserts that both his own and Pincus's positions are marred by over-simplification. He argues that in reality, notions of nationalism and universal monarchy were no more

[60] Pincus, "To Protect English Liberties", 78-79.
[61] Claydon, "Protestantism, Universal Monarchy and Christendom," 126.
[62] Pincus, "To Protect English Liberties," 79, 103.
[63] Ibid., 93.
[64] Ibid., 94.
[65] Ibid., 95.
[66] Ibid., 103.
[67] Claydon, "Protestantism, Universal Monarchy and Christendom," 129.

dominant than those of Protestant Providentialism. "Rather they existed amongst several understandings and justifications of William's war, in a multi-facetted rhetorical field, which included highly religious interpretations of the conflict, and which provided contemporaries with a rich range of discursive options to explain why they must fight," writes Claydon.[68]

Evidently, both scholars read the source material in different ways. It is therefore useful to take stock of the seventeenth-century sources available to us. In the remainder of this chapter we shall explore the discourse in 60 documents published in 1689. Was it a language of religion or secular and/or nationalist discourse that dominated sources in the timeframe of the coronation of King William and Queen Mary?

Results

The set-up of the research is quantitative and qualitative in order to be able to compare and verify the results of both aspects of the research. First, we will review the results of the tallying of the religious and secular keywords (quantitative research) with the help of an overview of the results. Then follow the results of the general assessment of the sources (qualitative research).

Quantitative research

In order to establish whether a religious, national, other secular or a mix of religious and secular language dominated the sources a number of (combinations of) keywords were tallied. They are either indicative of more general concepts, or they reflect directly on the personal image of the monarchs.

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[68] Ibid., 130.

Table 1689

a. Religious keywords: 11 keywords, 93 occurrences
(On average 8,4 religious keywords)

Word/set of words occurring one or more times	Tallied
GENERAL:	
Christendom	7
Protestantism/Protestant	16
Providence	5
Catholics/popery/Rome	31
IMAGE MONARCH(S):	
Defender of Faith/Church	4
(Nursing) Mother/Father	1
Glorious Instrument/Instrument of God/God's vicegerent	6
Deliverance/Deliverer	16
David	3
Pious/zeal	3
Sacred Majesty	1

b. 'Other secular' keywords: 5 keywords, 54 occurrences
(On average 10,8 secular keywords)

Word occurring one or more times	Tallied
GENERAL:	
Law/justice/rights/liberties	18
Tyranny/despotic/oppressor/arbitrary government or rule	15
Constitution	8
Lawful succession	1
IMAGE MONARCH(S):	
Heroic/warrior king or queen/victorious	12

c. 'Mixed religious and secular' keywords: 3 keywords, 29 occurrences
(On average 9,6 mixed keywords)

Word/set of words occurring one or more times	Tallied
GENERAL:	
Religion, Law & Liberties/Rights/Property	12
Slavery	11
IMAGE MONARCH(S):	
Vertuous [meaning powerful and morally righteous]	6

d. Nationalist keywords: 8 keywords, 34 occurrences
(On average 4,3 nationalist keywords)

Word/set of words occurring one or more times	Tallied
GENERAL:	
Albion	0
Home and abroad/neighbours/allies	2
France/Spain	8
Nation	13
(Balance/liberties of) Europe	4
Turk (denoting the pope or Louis XIV)	5
Just (and necessary) war	1
Pretender	1

In chapter four there will be an extensive comparison between the various categories of keywords. However, some general observations can be made on the basis of this table with regards to the different categories and we can compare in more detail the frequency of certain keywords within each category. These results hint that nationalist sentiments did not preoccupy the contemporary sources as much as religious and other secular matters did.

Upon closer inspection of the scores of specific keywords within each of the categories the most outstanding result is found in the category of religious keywords. Occurring in over half of the sources (31 out of 60 sources) by a long way the keyword 'Catholics/popery/Rome' exceeds in frequency any other specific (set of) keywords in any of the categories. In the category of religious keywords 'Protestant/Protestantism' and 'Deliverance/Deliverer' score relatively high too. In the 'other secular' category the references to 'Law/justice/rights/liberties' feature most prominently, followed closely by references to 'tyranny/despotic/oppressor/arbitrary government or rule'. In the nationalist category is the keyword 'nation' occurs most often. As for the overall view of the image of William and Mary we see that they are frequently called 'Deliverers' of Protestantism, but their secular heroic and military skills are also hailed. Obviously both religious and secular discourses are important in 1689 in the minds of the authors. Are these finding affirmed or countered by the findings of the qualitative part of the research? Let us turn to it now.

Qualitative research

As was explained in the introduction, the 60 selected sources included into the research consist of various types of documents. All sources date from the year 1689 and contain one or more times the keyword 'coronation'. The documents have been categorised in 3 different categories: 1. ceremonial accounts, 2. literary documents, and 3. opinions pieces. We will start the analysis of the qualitative element of the thesis with some general observations that came to the fore when exploring the sources categorically. Thereafter the religious and secular content of each category will be discussed.

General observations

Firstly, we can conclude that the source material is predominantly pro-William. Remarkably, out of all 60 sources only three documents contain complaints against King William III, some

in religious, others in secular wording. All other sources, one more outspokenly than the other, exalt King William III and Queen Mary II in one or more ways. In fact, the complaints against King William III by one of these authors were not even directed either at the Prince of Orange personally or against his rule. The author of this particular source took offense not with the Prince but with the behaviour of Dutch soldiers during the procession following the coronation ceremony. The gentleman fervently expresses his indignation at the use of muskets against the crowd: "*It is not the way to treat Christians, like slaves nay dogs even*".[69]

Another document complaining about William is a letter from King James II himself. Naturally James will rebuke King William III for having dethroned him. James argues his case in religious terminology. He accuses William of "*Christian villainy*" by claiming the crown for himself. In addition, he rebukes the English for having broken one of the Ten Commandments: "*We have rebelled against the fifth command 'Honour thy Father'*".[70] This seems to be in line with the findings of Steve Pincus who argued that the English polemicists avoided speaking of the conflict in confessional terms and that they instead accused the French propagandists of raising a religious crusading banner.[71]

However the last of the three documents that express a negative view of King William III is not argued in religious terminology. Instead, the author of this document, a supporter of James, emphasises how William violated the law by invading the nation. He stresses the illegitimacy of William's rule and condemns the disobedience of the Englishmen and women to their rightful king. A mere three sources do not allow for drawing a decent conclusion on whether or not the adversaries or supporters of William and Mary leaned towards religious or secular language. The few sources reviewed here contain both religious as well as secular argumentation and the image of William put forth is that of a Christian villain and law-breaker. We shall see that in the other sources this image is transposed: instead of William, James II is depicted as a Christian bandit and breaker of the law. Incidentally, Queen Mary was never spoken ill of, nor were her actions questioned.

A second observation is that, astonishingly, the characters and imagery of King William III and Queen Mary II in the various documents can hardly be called omnipresent. In fact, the attention paid to King James II vastly exceeds the attention paid to King William and

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[69] Gentleman in the country, *A letter from a gentleman in the country to his correspondent in the city, concerning the coronation medal, distributed April 11, 1689* (s.l.: 1689), 1.
[70] Anon., "A Lord's Speech without Doors to the Lords upon the present Condition of Government," in *A Compleat collection of papers* ed. Gilbert Burnet (s.l.: 1689), 164.
[71] Pincus, "To Protect English Liberties," 95.

especially to Queen Mary. It is the character and image of King James II that is extensively debated and expounded upon. His actions, policies, religious preference and character are minutely analysed and judged. Practically all sources draw attention away from William by focussing on and denouncing James's crooked ways. It seems that these documents, full of complaints and grievances against King James, are intended as a cover-up for the questionable succession of King William and Queen Mary. The authors of the documents fervently defend and legitimise the resistance to James by focussing both on his political and religious trespasses. The actions of parliament and William's invasion are wholly excused on both religious as well as secular grounds.

Category 1 – ceremonial accounts

The first category is made up of documents that are detailed accounts of the coronation ceremony. Most of these sources include a report of the (head)dress worn by the guests and the king and queen themselves.[72] Also the documents relate the dress and importance of the guests present and the exact order of the procession. Some sources also cover the sermon preached at the coronation ceremony by Gilbert Burnet, the new bishop of Salisbury. Upon reviewing these documents it immediately becomes clear that both religious and secular (law and liberties) elements are part of the coronation ceremony. The newly crowned King William III and Queen Mary II are presented with worldly regalia such as a sword but they also receive a bible during the ceremony. Other religious elements in the ceremony include the reading of the sermon, the anointing of the royals, oblations (offerings) and their taking communion.[73] However besides elevating the monarchs, these sources do not specifically attempt to promote a particular religious or secular image of either the king or queen.

The documents relating the coronation do highlight the oaths sworn by the royals. A relatively high number of quite detailed copies of the English and Scottish coronation oaths have been preserved. Although some of the oaths are exact copies of one and the same document, there are also oaths preserved that differ in layout and wording. Obviously the different prints were intended to reach different audiences. Some contain elegant typography;

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[72] See for example Anon., *The Earl Marshals order touching the habits of the peeresses at the coronation of Their Majesties King VVilliam and Queen Mary* (s.l.: 1689).
[73] See for example Anon., *A description of the ceremonial proceedings at the coronation of their most sacred majesties, King William III. and Queen Mary II. Who were crowned at Westminster-Abby, on Thursday the 11th. of April, 1689* (s.l.: 1689).

others also include a highly detailed drawing of the proceedings and were published as broadsheets. Clearly these documents were aimed for a wide circulation amongst both the literate and illiterate public. Also the sermon preached by Burnet during the coronation ceremony was widely distributed. Not only did 5 copies of the sermon survive, each one is slightly different in lay-out. Actually, two of these sermons were clearly aimed at reaching an international audience: they were written in French and Latin.

Like the ceremonial proceeding, the English coronation oath sworn by the royals contains religious as well as secular elements. The royals promise and swear "*to Govern [...] according to the Statutes in Parliament agreed on, and the Laws and Customs of the same*".[74] Directly following this promise they pledge to "*cause Law and Justice in Mercy to be Executed*".[75] Thereafter attention turns to swearing to defend and maintain the Protestant faith. What stands out is that law is consistently linked to religion: "*[will you] Maintain the Laws of God, the true Profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant Reformed Religion Established by Law? And will You preserve unto the Bishops and Clergy of this Realm and to the Churches committed to their Charge, all such Rights and Privileges as by Law doe, or shall, appertain unto them, or any of them?*".[76] Religion and law seem to be inseparably linked in the seventeenth-century minds of the authors. Yet, when it comes to the personal imagery of the royals in the accounts of the coronation ceremony, the image portrayed of Mary and especially of William is predominantly religious in nature. William III is referred to as 'Defender of the Faith', 'Rock of Israel'.[77] We see hardly any evidence of the authors putting much store in any secular qualities that would make William a good ruler.

Category 2 – literary documents

There are only six documents that fall into the category of literary documents. There is one play, two songs and four poems. The authors of this category of sources express themselves far less subtlety than the authors of the other sources. When examining these sources it is remarkable how the focus of the documents lies predominantly on the trespasses of James II. They do not hesitate to condemn James II and his suspected allies: much anti-Catholicism and nationalism come to the fore. The pope is called a Turk and France, Ireland, the pope, Louis

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[74] Anon., *The Form of the intended coronation oath agreed upon by the committee* (s.l.: 1689), 1.
[75] Ibid., 1.
[76] Ibid., 1.
[77] Anon., *A description of the ceremonial proceedings*, 1.

XIV and the devil get lumped together as enemies of the English people and of the Protestant faith.[78] In contrast, William and Mary are hailed as protectors of the faith: "*No pope shall destroy us, no monsieur shall annoy us, with William and Mary's blessed reign to 'o'erjoy us*".[79]

However, William and Mary are also attributed secular qualities. In fact, the image of the royals combines both religious and secular elements. The couple is hailed as virtuous, righteous, pious, but also as brave and just.[80] One author commends Mary for her "*virtue, grace, fame, sweet and fair – a gift from heaven*".[81] Moreover, what stands out in the poems, songs and plays is an international motif of the divine struggle surpassing the English borders. One poem on the coronation combines extremes from both ends. On the one hand, the author writes of Europe groaning under French dominance and describes William as something close to a perfect universal monarch.[82] On the other hand this poem contains unequivocally religious elements with William being presented as none other than the prophet Elijah being brought forth by 'angels blowing in his sails'.[83]

We may conclude that the authors of the literary sources could obviously afford themselves more literary freedom and creativity when it comes expressing their opinions on the coronation. Whilst they blatantly denounce James II and his absolutist style of rule, they hail William and Mary both as defenders of law as well as religion.

Categories 3 – opinion pieces

The sources in the last category cover contemporary discourse on matters such as war, law, politics and religion. They comment on the change of power with either grievances against, or defences of the persons of James II, William III, and Mary II. As seen in the previous categories the authors put King William III and King James II in stark contrast with one another. In fact, the pre-dominantly Williamite authors, wittingly or unwittingly, by making such a fuss of the trespasses of James, draw attention away from the illegitimate way William

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[78] Anon., *The Court of England*, 1.
[79] Ibid., 1.
[80] See for example Anon., *A Poem on the coronation*, 8.
[81] Robert Fleming, *Britain's jubilee a congratulatory poem on the descent of His Highness the Prince of Orange into England and Their Highnesses accession to the crown, and solemn coronation, April 11, 1689* (s.l.: 1689), 3.
[82] Anon., *A Pastoral on the success and coronation of William and Mary, King and Queen of England* (London: 1689), 11, 12.
[83] Anon., *A Poem on the coronation*, 5, 9.

and Mary 'inherited' the throne. On the one hand the dethroned King James II is denounced time and time again for being a tyrant, breaking laws, enslaving his people, and putting the Protestant religion and Church of England at risk.[84] On the other hand, King William III is hailed both as a hero of Protestantism and protector of English laws, customs and rights.[85] 'Defender of the Faith', 'Glorious Instrument', 'Instrument of Deliverance from popery and slavery' are some of the titles we see attributed to King William III.[86]

However, the authors do not go far beyond praising William's religious qualities. Indeed, the authors do praise William's bravery and courage for having set sail in the autumn of 1688 and one could argue that bravery and courage are secular qualities of the monarch.[87] Yet, we see that the authors also invoke Providence in the success of the expedition: "*Sense of His Highness's Hazardous and Heroical Expedition, which the favour of Heaven had made so surprisingly prosperous*".[88] In fact, Providence features as a key element in the seventeenth-century writings (a fact observed by Claydon as well). The authors referring to King William III invariably link his person, his successes and rule to Providence (God's intervention in the world). Thus, it seems that the imagery of king William III contains predominantly religious and, to a lesser degree, secular elements. We see this reflected also in three concepts that are almost always used together as a fixed set. 'Religion, Law and liberty' are something close to a mantra that we see chanted over and over again throughout the source material.[89] The fact that religion, law and liberty are lumped together in this way is a strong indication that contemporaries perceived secular and religious concepts to be closely intertwined. Religion and secular terminology is used as one argument when discussing the change of power and the coronation that followed.

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[84] For example: 'Tyranny' in T.R., *Lvx occidentalis, or, Providence display'd in the coronation of King William and Queen Mary, and their happy accession to the crown of England with other remarks* (London: 1689), 11. Or 'Violating the law' and 'endangering Protestantism' in Anon., "The Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons of England, concerning their Grievances; presented to King William and Queen Mary : With their Majesties Answer," in *A Compleat collection of papers,* ed. Gilbert Burnet (s.l.: 1689), 215. For 'Slavery' see Anon., "A Protestant Precedent offer'd for the Exclusion of King James the Second," in *A Compleat collection of papers,* ed. Gilbert Burnet (s.l.: 1689), 140.
[85] Anon., "A full Relation of what was done between the Time the Prince of Orange came to London, till the Proclaiming him King of England, &c," in *A Compleat collection of papers,* ed. Gilbert Burnet (s.l.: 1689), 213-214.
[86] See for example Anon., "The Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal," 215.
[87] Anon., "The Reasons of the Suddenness of the Change in England," in *A Compleat collection of papers,* ed. Gilbert Burnet (s.l.: 1689), 210.
[88] Anon., "An address of the Nonconformist Ministers (in and about the City of London) to his Highness the Prince of Orange," in *A Compleat collection of papers,* ed. Gilbert Burnet (s.l.: 1689), 107.
[89] Anon., "Reflections upon our late and present Proceedings," in *A Compleat collection of papers,* ed. Gilbert Burnet (s.l.: 1689), 170.

Steven Pincus has argued that the Glorious Revolution constituted England's first nationalist revolution.[90] One of his conclusions was that the vast majority of the revolutionaries justified their actions in nationalist terms, terms that held both civic and ethnic aspects.[91] According to Pincus "Protestantism was for the revolutionaries but one aspect of the national identity threatened by James II's French style of government.[92] Indeed, the source material holds many indications of an awareness of a national but also of a European identity that included all of Christendom. Authors use the term 'Turk' to denote the pope as well as Louis XIV. Both are considered earthly and divine enemies of the English and all Protestants. For example, one source urges "*Great injuries to our religion by the French, perfidious Leagues with the sworn Enemies of the Holy Cross tending to the destruction of both us and the whole Christian world*".[93]

Although the nationalistic feelings that Steve Pincus so ardently purports are indeed present in the sources researched here, we cannot fully support his argument that religion was only one aspect of the struggle for national freedom. Indeed, nationalism was present but we must conclude with Linda Colley and Tony Claydon that Protestantism was inextricably connected with the secular, nationalist identity of seventeenth century English people.[94] This protestant identity cannot be seen as separate from the English identity. The research shows that the Protestant faith of King William III was central in practically all sources. His image of 'Defender of the Protestant Faith' is inseparable from his identity as the English ruler. Every time William's name is mentioned it is coupled in some way either with Providence or with the Protestant faith. The same applies to Queen Mary II, although the authors bring her person up far less often. It is remarkable how little mention is made of the queen, yet, when she does get mentioned the commentary is always positive. Her qualities as a Protestant are exalted, as are her other virtues. The emphasis lies on her feminine qualities and religious virtues.[95] The issue of 'betraying' her father by accepting the crown is wholly circumvented. Instead the authors built up the image of the queen as pious and devout, an image that smoothed over the irregularities of the royal couple coming to power.

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[90] Pincus, *1688*, 5.
[91] Pincus, "To Protect English Liberties," 78.
[92] Ibid., 79.
[93] Leopold &c., "The Emperor of Germany his Account of the late King's Unhappiness in joining with the King of France," in *A Compleat collection of papers,* ed. Gilbert Burnet (s.l.: 1689), 213.
[94] Colley, "Britishness and Otherness," 316, 311. Claydon, "Protestantism, Universal Monarchy and Christendom," 142.
[95] Fleming, *Britain's jubilee*, 1, 2.

Conclusion

In conclusion, did in 1689 a language of religion and Protestantism or rather a secular and/or nationalist language dominate the sources published around the time of the coronation of King William and Queen Mary? The outcomes of the quantitative part of the research suggest that nationalism was perhaps less at the forefront of the contemporaries' mind than other secular or religious matters. From the qualitative research we can deduce that in the sources nationalist and other secular language was present. However, throughout the source material, it was not as prevalent as the language of religion and Protestantism. The second part of the research leads to a conclusion that religion is inseparably linked to the secular and nationalist discourse in general and especially when it comes to the personal images of the monarchs. Nearly all sources expressed themselves in religious terminology: both when hailing William and when denouncing James II. We can indeed conclude that religious and secular discourse are so inextricably connected that there is a constant overlap. The research suggests that religion was not a mere element of the image of William and Mary but that it was part of its foundation.

Chapter 2. Queen Anne

In this chapter we will commence with a short historical outline of the accession and reign of Queen Anne. Then follows a brief assessment of the image that the queen promoted of herself to her English subjects. Thereafter the quantitative and qualitative results of the research will be discussed. The quantitative part of the research consists of tallying religious, nationalist, 'other secular' and 'mixed religious and secular' keywords. In the qualitative part of the research there will be a discussion of the trends and patterns found in the source material. The source material is evaluated with the help of three categories: ceremonial accounts, literary documents, and opinion pieces. Only the research of the case of Anne will be discussed, for a more extensive comparison of the results of the different chapters please look to the cross-analysis of all three cases in chapter four.

Short historical overview

His horse stumbling on a molehill during a hunt in February 1702 King William III took a fall that broke his collar-bone.[96] The injured king was brought to Kensington Palace and at first his condition did not appear to be serious. However, on 7 March William's condition rapidly deteriorated and early in the morning of 8 March King William III died.[97] Thus, upon the death of her Dutch brother-in-law, Princess Anne of Stuart became Queen Anne of England, Scotland and Ireland.

To the throne came a queen who had suffered serious health issues and personal losses throughout her life. Born in 1665 as the daughter of James II and Anne Hyde, princess Anne and her elder sister princess Mary had been brought up as devout Protestants. The sisters had received their religious training from Bishop Compton and he had taught them to distrust the Roman Faith.[98] Compton provided the spiritual justification for a crude and basic bias against Catholicism. Her aversion would remain constant throughout her life.[99] In the wake of the Glorious Revolution Anne would even denounce her father for the sake of religion. At a

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[96] Edward Gregg, *Queen Anne* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), 128. For years afterwards, Jacobites toasted the mole as 'the little man in black velvet'.
[97] Gregg, *Queen Anne*, 129.
[98] Ibid., 15, 16.
[99] Ibid., 16, 22.

crucial time, when William was marching upon London, Anne chose to side with her protestant brother-in-law rather than support her father and his catholic policies.[100] In word and deed Anne was as staunch an Anglican as it was possible for her to be.[101]

After her sister Mary had married the Prince of Orange, Princess Anne married Prince George of Denmark when she was eighteen.[102] Although it was an arranged marriage the couple grew very attached to one another. Sadly, although Anne was pregnant every year since their marriage, out of the 17 pregnancies only 5 children were born alive and only their son Prince William Duke of Gloucester, survived infancy.[103] It was a great tragedy for the couple when in 1700, at the age of eleven, he too died from smallpox.[104] In the words of scholar Barry Coward: "By the time she became queen the psychological and physical effects of her illnesses and pregnancies had made Anne an ill and prematurely old woman".[105] In fact, because of her illnesses Anne had grown so obese that she could hardly walk. On her coronation day 23 April 1702 Queen Anne had to be carried to Westminister Abbey in a low open chair.[106]

Historian Edward Gregg notes how Queen Anne was long portrayed as a pasteboard character, a dull, weak irresolute woman dominated by her favourites and her policies determined by the outcome of bedchamber quarrels.[107] The bitter writings by the hand of Sarah Marlborough, Anne's courtier and once closest friend, greatly contributed to this image of Anne. However, modern scholars like Gregg and Coward hold a different view of the queen and her rule. Gregg found the new monarch pivotal to English politics.[108] Coward agrees: "Portraying the new queen as a weak, ill woman, reliant on friends and advisers, one is in danger of assuming that Anne was a pawn in a male political world".[109] He points out how, given her physical condition, her attention to details of administration and her attendance at major meetings of the cabinet council and important debates in the House of

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[100] Ibid., 66.
[101] Mark Kishlansky, *A Monarchy Transformed: Britain 1603-1714* (London: Allen Lane the Penguin Press, 1996), 313.
[102] Geoffrey Holmes, *The Making of a Great Power: Late Stuart and early Georgian Britain 1660-1722* (London: Longman Group UK Limited, 1993), 12.
[103] Kishlansky, *A Monarchy Transformed*, 311.
[104] Holmes, *The Making of a Great Power*, 200.
[105] Coward, *The Stuart Age,* 400.
[106] Gregg, *Queen Anne,* 154.
[107] Ibid., viii.
[108] Ibid., 138.
[109] Coward, *The Stuart Age,* 401.

Lords is remarkable. "Without a doubt the queen was the most important political character of the reign," maintains Coward.[110]

However, her limited ability and effectiveness as ruler of the country did make it necessary for Anne to rely on her advisors and friends more than she might otherwise have done.[111] The queen confided in a small social circle for council and support. For most of her adult life, the person closest to Anne was Sarah Churchill, Duchess of Marlborough. But when that friendship turned sour Abigail Hill, later Lady Masham, became one of the queen's closest confidants.[112] For managing her governmental affairs Queen Anne relied on the services of three men called the queen's 'managers'.[113] Godolphin (Lord Sidney Godolphin), Marlborough (John Churchill, First Duke of Marlborough) and Robert Harley (First Earl of Oxford) all had close personal ties with Queen Anne through either Sarah's or Abigail's friendship with the queen.[114] On the whole, bedchamber politics had a peripheral rather than a central place in the normal pattern of politics between 1702-1714.[115]

The reign of Queen Anne was marked by a war abroad and intense political conflict at home. Right on the eve of the queen's coronation England found itself on the verge of war with, yet again, the French king Louis XIV. It would become the greatest war the English nation had ever engaged in until that time.[116] During the Spanish War of Succession, which would last from May 1702 until April 1713, the Grand Alliance (the English, Dutch and Austrians) opposed Spanish and French forces. Amidst this international struggle against Louis XIV, the succession of Anne remained a point of contention in England.[117] After Anne the next Protestant heirs were the children of Sophia of Hanover, and this meant that Britain would eventually come under the rule of another foreign monarch.[118] Actually, Anne's war against Louis XIV was partly to prevent French domination of Spanish Mediterranean and American trade and partly to safeguard the Protestant succession in England.[119] Until the moment Anne's son had died the Protestant line of succession had been secure but in 1700

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[110] Ibid., 402.
[111] Ibid., 400.
[112] Robert Bucholz, *The Augustan Court: Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 159.
[113] Coward, *The Stuart Age,* 399.
[114] Ibid., 399.
[115] Geoffrey Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne* (London: Macmillan, 1967), 216.
[116] Holmes, *The Making of a Great Power*, 232.
[117] Gregg, *Queen Anne*, ix.
[118] Kishlansky, *A Monarchy Transformed*, 311.
[119] Coward, *The Stuart Age*, 408.

William had felt it needed buttressing.[120] Through the Act of Settlement of 1701 William aimed to consolidate both the Hanoverian succession and the exclusion of James's son to the throne. When, after the death of King James II in 1701 Louis XIV had recognised the Prince of Wales as James III, William III was prompted to call a new parliament and order an oath of abjuration against the Pretender.[121] After her succession in 1702 Queen Anne would find herself continually needing to (publicly) affirm her support for the Hanoverian succession especially when rumours of her secretly favouring the Jacobite succession of her half-brother over the Hanoverians would prove persistent throughout her reign.[122]

Finally, besides the war and the issue of succession, there was an intense 'rage of party' between the Tories and Whigs that divided the nation.[123] Anne intended not to become the captive of any party and to concentrate on the prosecution of the war.[124] However, as the war dragged on it became increasingly difficult for the queen to maintain an effective government without taking sides. The Tory majority in the House of Commons proved less and less workable. Although the whole idea of party was an anathema to the queen and she particularly disliked the Junto, a group of key Whig leaders, Anne did start cooperating with them during the second half of her reign.[125] In contrast to the Tories, the Whigs were totally united in supporting the Hanoverian succession.[126] Thus, security from French domination in Europe, the union with Scotland (which was achieved in 1707), the Protestant succession, and monarchical independence from party strife would preoccupy Queen Anne until her death in 1714.[127]

Anne presenting herself

Queen Anne enjoyed an immense popularity throughout her reign. A queen who would defend the nation and its religion, Elizabethan, Protestant and English, these were key elements of the image Anne constructed of herself. Her first actions as queen helped Anne to

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[120] Holmes, *The Making of a Great Power*, 339. The Bill of Rights of 1689 had pronounced the Protestant Line of Succession no further than Queen Anne and her children so when her only son died a new solution needed to be found.
[121] Kishlansky, *A Monarchy Transformed*, 311.
[122] Gregg, *Queen Anne*, 362-363.
[123] Coward, *The Stuart Age*, 396.
[124] Ibid., 403.
[125] Gregg, *Queen Anne*, 134. The Junto consisted of Lord John Somers, Charles Montagu (baron Halifax in 1700), Lord Thomas Warton, Edward Russel (Earl of Orford) and Lord Charles Spencer.
[126] Ibid., 134-135.
[127] Kishlansky, *A Monarchy Transformed*, 316.

establish the great enthusiasm for her person.[128] Immediately upon the death of William III Anne assured her Privy Council that she would maintain the Protestant succession and reduce the power of France.[129] She sent word to the Dutch Republic that Great Britain would remain faithful to the Treaty of Grand Alliance. Also, regardless of her poor state of health, she decided to journey to parliament to address the houses. Thus Anne demonstrated her recognition of Parliament's central role in the constitution and her own role as a parliamentary sovereign.[130] Then, in her first speech to the Houses, Queen Anne promised that she would be following the late sovereign's foreign policy. She stressed the immediate need for a union with Scotland which William had already started to prepare for.[131] However, in the same meeting she also dissociated herself from her predecessor by stressing her English birth: "I know my heart to be entirely English".[132] Thus she appealed to both Tory and nationalist sentiment.[133] The queen's statement was widely quoted and approved. It was popularly interpreted to be a slap at the wife of James II, Mary of Modena, and the French-educated Prince of Wales.[134]

Besides carefully chosen words, the queen had also taken great care in choosing what to wear to the meeting.[135] The new queen turned her status as a woman ruler to her advantage by associating herself to Elizabeth, who had also rallied a divided nation in the midst of a dangerous international situation. For the meeting at Parliament, Anne dressed in a robe of red velvet lined with ermine and edged in gold galloon. She wore the crown, heavy gold chains with the badge of St George and the ribbon of the Garter on her left arm. Her costume was modelled on a portrait of Queen Elizabeth whose motto, *Semper Eadem,* Anne was to adopt before the end of the year.[136] The connection was plain; Anne, the Protestant queen about to stand up to the most powerful Catholic king on earth, was facing the same dangers as

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[128] Gregg, *Queen Anne,* 153.
[129] George Macaulay Trevelyan, *England under Queen Anne* (London: Longmans, Green etc., 1930-1934), 163.
[130] Gregg, *Queen Anne*, 152.
[131] W.A. Speck, *The Birth of Britain: A New Nation 1700-1710* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994), 38.
[132] William Ayloffe, *A pocket companion for gentlemen and ladies. Being a true and faithful epitomy of the most exact and ample historians of England* […] (London: 1703), 185.
[133] Henry Horwitz, *Revolution Politics: the career of Daniel Finch, second Earl of Nottingham, 1647-1730* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 182.
[134] Gregg, *Queen Anne*, 153.
[135] Ibid., 152.
[136] Kishlansky, *A Monarchy Transformed,* 317.

Elizabeth had.[137] The speech in parliament was one of the first of many occasions where the queen would deliberately cultivate an Elizabethan image.[138]

Anne also took different measures, combining religious and nationalist elements, which would ensure her popularity with the English people. For example, on her own initiative, Anne surrendered 100,000 pounds to supplement government revenues for the duration of the war.[139] Also, to demonstrate publicly her support for Marlborough's campaign on the continent, the queen resurrected the Elizabethan practice of victory services at the new St Paul's Cathedral.[140] This celebration and the many Thanksgivings that followed were intended to promote national unity within a church setting that fitted Anne's image as a pious monarch. Again, by passing a bill to finance the building of 50 new churches in London and by reviving the Convocation, Anne built on her image as a devout Protestant queen who took the interests of her people to heart.[141]

Most High Churchmen saw Anne's accession as the cause for a great deal of rejoicing. In her speech at the end of the old parliament on 25 May 1702 Anne inserted a passage that was to reassure the Tories. Her 'own principles,' she said, 'must always keep her entirely firm to the interests of the Church of England and would incline her to countenance those who had the truest zeal to support it.[142] The Tories hoped that the Church of England under a devout English queen would receive the support and protection of the crown against the growing tide of dissent and irreligion.[143] They seized the new impetus for the High Church revival, which had been gathering pace in the last years of William III's reign, to crack down on Dissenters in office by making occasional conformity the major issue of the session in October 1702.[144] Throughout the reign of Anne the Tories would fail three times to pass the act. After the second failure of the Occasional Conformity Bill Anne moved to introduce the Queen's Bounty, a plan to offer financial relief to the poorer clergy. The crown would surrender its traditional income from first fruits and tenths to the Church to supplement the pitifully

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[137] Robert O. Bucholz, *The Augustan court*, 206.
[138] Speck, *The Birth of Britain*, 34.
[139] Onno Klopp, *Der Fall der Hauses Stuart*, X, 35-36.
[140] Gregg, *Queen Anne*, 165.
[141] Kishlansky, *A Monarchy Transformed*, 313.
[142] Quoted in Trevelyan, *Anne*, vol I, 210.
[143] Coward, *The Stuart Age*, 404.
[144] Ibid., 404. With the Act the Tories aimed to bar Dissenters from office: anyone who qualified for office by receiving the Anglican sacrament and then attending a dissenter meeting was to be fined 100,- pounds on conviction and 5,- for each subsequent day he continued in office.

inadequate clerical stipends in the poorest parishes.[145] Thus the queen hoped to ease the Tory disappointment and uphold her image as devout Protestant leader and defender of the church.

According to biographer Gregg Queen Anne indeed took the role as 'Defender of the Faith' seriously. For instance, the queen took up a task that William had placed into the hands of a commission: the royal prerogative of appointing twenty-six bishops and two arch-bishops to sit in the Upper House of Convocation and in the House of Lords.[146] Also, to the delight of the Anglicans, Anne revived the practice of touching to heal the skin disease, scrofula, 'the King's evil', which had lapsed under William III.[147] At first she only managed to touch groups of forty sufferers for she had gout in her hands but Anne would end up touching thousands of sick people.[148] This medieval practice, dating from 1058, was used by monarchs to demonstrate the divine origins of the kingly office.[149] The opponents of the Hanoverian succession later claimed that Anne had revived the practice of touching for the king's evil as a demonstration of her belief in the principle of hereditary right and – implicitly – of her support for a Jacobite restoration in the person of her half-brother, the Pretender. Non-Jurors and Jacobites cherished this thought and it was in the queen's interest to encourage the continuation of such false hopes, because of the potential seriousness of the Jacobite menace.[150]

Even though most of her subjects did not see her in the flesh, Anne's propagandists provided the English with an image of Anne as a triumphant figure.[151] In word and deed Anne strove to portray herself as another Elizabeth I, a devout Protestant queen, committed to the ecclesiastical and national causes of her English subjects. However, Anne was astute enough to realise that the monarchy after the Glorious Revolution could no longer claim to rule by divine right.[152] The Queen, despite her own High Anglicanism, and the revival of royalist sentiment and reactionary political theory which her accession inspired, was always

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[145] William Cobbett, *Parliamentary History of England from the earliest period to the year 1803 : from which last-mentioned epoch it is continued downwards in the work entitled "The parliamentary debates"*, VI (1803-1818), 330. For a complete discussion, see G.F.A. Best, *Temporal Pillars: Queen Anne's Bounty, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the Church of England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964).
[146] Gregg, *Queen Anne*, 145-6.
[147] Coward, *The Stuart Age*, 404. Scrofula is a term that denotes various skin diseases.
[148] Arthur Tindal Hart, *The life and times of John Sharp, archbishop of York* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1949), 222. Kishlansky, *A Monarchy Transformed*, 317.
[149] Edgar Sheppard, *Memorials of St James's Palace* (London: Longmans, Green, 1894), 204-208.
[150] Gregg, *Queen Anne*, 148.
[151] Ibid., 150.
[152] Coward, *The Stuart Age*, 407.

refreshingly free from any delusions about the source of her own authority.[153] Her first reaction to Sacheverell's notorious sermon of 5 November 1709, with its blatant assertion of the doctrines of divine right, passive obedience and non-resistance, was to admit quite frankly "that it was a bad sermon, and that he deserved well to be punished for it".[154]

A quick comparison of the image of Anne to that of William and Mary shows that all three rulers actively promoted an image of themselves as devout and divinely appointed monarchs: the element of religion is key. Anne actively supported the Anglican Church in various ways. At the same time, Anne seemed very aware that she could no longer draw on divine right. A difference between Anne and her predecessors was the queen's playing up of her Englishness. The national element so adamantly insisted on by Pincus in the Glorious Revolution of 1688 is intensely utilised by Anne during her reign through the constant use of the Elizabethan theme.

Now that we have seen what image Queen Anne promoted of herself during her reign. Let us now turn to the way her subjects viewed Anne. Did they too perceive the queen as a religious and English symbol of the nation? Compared to the use of religious and secular language in 1689, has there been a change in 1702 with the accession of Anne?

Results

First, we will review the results of the tallying of the religious and secular keywords (quantitative research) followed by the general assessment of the sources (qualitative research).

Quantitative research

A few changes were made in the tallying of keywords for the case of Anne. Firstly, a keyword that was added to the list of nationalist keywords is 'Elizabeth'. It will not be possible to compare this keyword to the other two cases since there is no equivalent that could be tallied in the sources of 1689 or 1714. Consequently, the times it was tallied will not be added to the

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[153] Holmes, *British Politics*, 187.
[154] Edward Gregg, *Queen Anne*, 297.

total sum of occurrences, nor will it be included in the mathematical comparison of the final cross-comparison in chapter four. The reason for still tallying this keyword is that the Elizabethan theme was quite central to the identity of Anne. It was deemed useful to see how many authors would refer to it.

Secondly, in the list of religious keywords the keyword 'David' was supplemented with names of female biblical figures 'Deborah', 'Judith' and 'Esther'. Since all three of these biblical women were representative of one and the same notion, that of Anne as a Christian heroine, it was deemed sensible to add these names to the tallying even though it might affect the comparability to the cases of 1689 and 1714. Since only the first occurrences in of the keywords were tallied this risk is considered minimal. Finally, please note that a keyword was only tallied when it refers directly to Queen Anne. This was necessary since words such as 'Tyranny/despotic/oppressor/arbitrary government or rule' and 'Defender of Faith/Church' were mentioned often in the sources but then in reference to William and Mary thus being not representative of the image of Anne.

Table 1689 and 1702

a. **Religious keywords:** 11 keywords, 110 occurrences
   (On average 10 religious keywords)

Word/set of words occurring one or more times (total number of occurrences)	1689 (93x)	1702 (110x)
GENERAL:		
Christendom	7	5
Protestantism/Protestant	16	16
Providence	5	10
Catholics/popery/Rome	31	13
IMAGE MONARCH(S):		
Defender of Faith/Church	4	11
(Nursing) Mother/Father	1	13
Glorious Instrument/Instrument of God/God's vicegerent	6	7
Deliverance/Deliverer	16	1
Deborah/Judith/Esther / David	3	10
Pious/zeal	3	20
Sacred Majesty	1	4

b. **'Other secular' keywords:** 5 keywords, 62 occurrences
   (On average 12,4 secular keywords)

Word occurring one or more times (total number of occurrences)	1689 (54x)	1702 (62x)
GENERAL:		
Law/justice/rights/liberties	18	17
Tyranny/despotic/oppressor/arbitrary government or rule	15	14
Constitution	8	4
Lawful succession	1	10
IMAGE MONARCH(S):		
Heroic/warrior queen/victorious	12	17

c. **'Mixed religious and secular' keywords:** 3 keywords, 28 occurrences
   (On average 9,3 mixed keywords)

Word/set of words occurring one or more times (total number of occurrences)	1689 (29x)	1702 (28x)
GENERAL:		
Religion, Law & Liberties/Rights/Property	12	13
Slavery	11	5
IMAGE MONARCH(S):		
Vertuous [meaning powerful and morally righteous]	6	10

d. **Nationalist keywords:** 8 keywords, 72 occurrences
   (On average 9 nationalist keywords)

Word/set of words occurring one or more times (total number of occurrences)	1689 (34x)	1702 (72x)
GENERAL:		
Albion	0	7
Home and abroad/neighbours/allies	2	11
France/Spain	8	16
Nation	13	6
(Balance/liberties of) Europe	4	21
Turk (denoting the pope or Louis XIV)	5	0
Just (and necessary) war	1	3
Pretender	1	1
IMAGE MONARCH(S):		
Elizabeth (not added to the total number of occurrences)	-	13

When focussing only on the results of the different keywords in the case of Queen Anne, one of the first things that can be observed is that religion is of great importance to the image of Anne. General religious words and concepts such as 'Protestantism/Protestant' are mentioned quite frequently, as are 'Providence' and 'Catholicism/popery/Rome'. In addition, especially when it comes to the personal image of Anne, we see religion being an important constituent of her image. Out of the religious category of keywords the words used with the highest frequency are keywords 'pious/zeal'. Moreover, there is a high frequency of different biblical women that Anne is likened to. Thus, Anne is cast as a 'defender of the church' and a godly 'nursing mother' and she is compared often to biblical women 'Deborah, Esther, and Judith'.

However, the table also shows that another important element of Anne's image is secular. 'Law/justice/rights/liberties' and keywords that emphasise the queen's military skills and victories score high in the category of 'other secular' keywords. The hailing of Anne's military qualities indicates that the minds of early eighteenth century subjects are still occupied with fears of 'tyranny and despotism. These keywords score only slightly lower than those to do with the dimension of law and Anne's qualities as a 'warrior queen'. Also there is a frequent use of the keyword 'lawful succession'. Thus the authors implicitly hammer home the point that the Pretender's claims are illegitimate and that he is unwelcome. These findings all give expression to a rise in 'other secular' discourse in this timeframe.

This trend continues in the subcategory of secular keywords: the nationalist category. (Balance/liberties of) Europe stands out as the most referenced. The focus on political developments across the national boundaries is underlined by the way keywords denoting 'Europe' and 'France/Spain' and 'Home and abroad/allies/neighbours' score relatively high in this category. Out of 60 sources the keyword 'Elizabeth' could be tallied in 13 out of 60 sources. That is a significant score; it is as often as the authors refer to Anne as a 'Nursing Mother'.

When comparing the results of 1689 to 1702 we see that nationalist keywords have increased greatly. Even with the exclusion of the keyword 'Elizabeth', the occurrence of nationalist keywords has more than doubled. The most notable increase seen in this category is the focus on the '(Balance/liberties of) Europe' but also 'Home and abroad/allies/neighbours' are used much more often than in 1689. This type of 'us versus them' language signifies nationalism being on the rise. France and Spain are mentioned significantly more often as well. This seems to contrast with the results of the religious category where there is a lot less focus on fears of Catholicism than in 1689. 'Providence' on

the other hand is invoked more often than in 1689. Anne is seen less as a 'Deliverer' than William and Mary. Yet, in the religious category 'Nursing Mother' and 'Defender of Faith/Church' are strong components of the queen's image. Furthermore, in a higher number of sources authors emphasise the lawful succession of Anne. Since there was little 'lawful' about the succession of William and Mary it makes sense not to stress that element in 1689. In 1702 a legal succession could be claimed and it was used as an argument to parry the claims of the Pretender. Finally, the levels for the category of 'mixed religious and secular' keywords have remained more or less the same.

Let us now turn to the qualitative part of the research to see whether these findings concur with the quantitative research above.

Qualitative research

General observations

Before reviewing the sources we must take note of a few things. Firstly, for this chapter remarkably few documents on the (proceedings of the) coronation ceremony were to be found. Thus, this category will be touched upon only briefly. Secondly, as in chapter one, the sources are predominantly positive about the queen. The source coming closest to criticism of the queen was written by Charles Leslie and he only admonishes her in fairly gentle wording: "*for Dissenters wanting "Covertly to Sap her Foundations, till they see her one Day [...] Tumble down at once, and themselves put in her Place*".[155] Anne is never directly attacked, although some authors, like Leslie, express their concern for her choices to elevate particular Whig politicians.

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[155] Charles Leslie, *The new association of those called, moderate-church-men, with the modern-whigs and fanaticks, to under-mine and blow-up the present church and government* (London: 1702), 8.

Category 1 – ceremonial accounts

The coronation ceremony of 1702 seems to have remained unaltered compared to the 1689 proceeding. Again both religious and secular symbolisms are combined.[156] It is clear that in advance of the ceremony the theme of the sermon preached at Westminster based on a verse from Isaiah 49:23 ("*Kings shall be thy Nursing Fathers, and Queens thy Nursing Mothers*") was communicated widely to clergy in the rest of the nation. Various sermons preached elsewhere on the day of the coronation were also centred around this theme.[157]

Category 2 – literary documents

Highly symbolic for the discourse in the literary documents is the depiction of the coronation of Anne at the top of one poem.[158] Anne, sitting on the throne, is flanked by two women who both hold up a sign. On the queen's right-hand side the sign reads 'Religion' and the sign on her left reads 'Justice'. On his knees in front of Anne, is 'Europe', a man who cries "*God save the Queen*". This combination of religious, nationalist and other secular discourse is typical of the language of the poems and songs published in 1702.

On the one hand, the poets exalt Anne for her religious virtues. A trait extolled over and over again is Anne's piousness. On the other hand, Anne's secular qualities are also highlighted. The queen is portrayed as militarily adept: a proper threat to her enemies across the Chanel. In the words of poet Richard Burridge "*Dauntless Ann shall give the word to Fight*".[159] Another secular element to the image of Queen Anne is the way the poets insist vehemently on her lawful and legal succession.[160] Finally, a nationalist theme runs through the poems and songs as, throughout the source material, Anne is equated to Elizabeth.[161]

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[156] See for example Earl Marshal, *The form of the proceeding to the royal coronation of Her most Excellent Majesty Queen Anne, The Twenty Third Day of this Instant April, 1702* (London: 1702).

[157] See for example Luke Beaulieu, *A sermon on the coronation-day, April 23. 1702. preach'd in the cathedral church of Glocester, before the Mayor and Corporation* (London: 1702).

[158] Anon., *England's triumph, or an occasional poem on the happy coronation of Anne Queen of England, &c.* (London: 1702), 1. See appendix 5 for the image in question.

[159] Richard Burridge, *A congratulatory poem, on the coronation of Queen Ann; as it was presented to Her Most Serene Majesty* (London: 1702), 10.

[160] Anon., *The english muse: or, a congratulatory poem. Upon Her Majesty's accession to the throne of England* (London: 1702), 3.

[161] Anon., *Anna in anno mirabili: or, the wonderful year of 1702. A rehearsal* (London: 1702), 3.

Categories 3 – opinion pieces

When researching the sources a few observations can be made. To start, there is a noticeable congruence between the category of literary documents and the category of opinions pieces. Whilst the literary documents do tend to embellish more, in essence, the arguments and imagery used is very similar for both of these categories. Firstly, virtually every source seems to contain a combination of religious, nationalist, and other secular discourse. Secondly, the choice of words for describing the queen, the war and the internal political climate is quite similar throughout the source material. The queen's image that arises from the source material is uniform. It can be summarised as that of a pious, English, legitimate ruler sporting both feminine (nurturing and caring) and military qualities. Below both the different types of languages and also the ways in which they were combined by the contemporaries will be discussed.

As for the religious aspect of the image of the queen: Anne's commitment to the Anglican church features prominently in the sources. Many authors hail the queen's piousness and some also explicitly remind their audience that Anne has given "*many proofs of her protestant zeal*".[162] Moreover, in the timeframe of Anne's accession, the 'will of God' and the role of Providence has sway over the discourse. Virtually every author starts with thanking Heaven for its assistance in placing Anne on the throne.[163] Also, the queen is presented as a religious example to her people.[164]

Besides her image as a religious queen, Anne's Englishness is highlighted by her contemporaries. The Elizabeth-theme is espoused, as it was in the literary documents. Preacher Matthew Hole characterises Anne "*A true lover of her Country*".[165] Furthermore, as we saw in the quantitative part of the research, the nationalist 'us versus them' language with words such as the old English word 'Albion', 'home and abroad' and 'Balance of Europe' is used more often. These changes suggest an increasingly nationalist (and thus secular) mindset. However, there is also an interesting overlap of religious, nationalist and other

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[162] For instance James John Ceasar, *The glorious memory of a faithful prince by a thankful posterity; in a sermon preach'd upon the most lamented death of King William III* (London: 1702), 26.

[163] Abel Boyer, *The history of the reign of Queen Anne, digested into annals. Year the first. Containing, Besides other Memorable Transactions, a Particular and Genuine Account of the late Expedition into Spain; and the Proceedings of both Houses in the last Session of Parliament* (London: 1703), 17.

[164] Ibid., 32.

[165] Matthew Hole, *A sermon preach'd on the day of Her Majesties Coronation: in the parish church of Stokegursy in Somersetshire* (London: 1702), 17.

secular imagery. For example in practically every sermon, when it would make much more sense for the authors to restrict their focus to divine matters, the sermons almost always side-reference the war and Europe. The authors link religious and secular arguments in a way to complement and reinforce their point. In many instances Anne is compared to 'Deborah', the biblical figure who, even though she was a woman, was able to defeat a powerful and dangerous enemy. "*That she may be the Deborah of our English Israel, and a nursing Mother to all the Reform'd Churches*".[166] Although, obviously, Deborah was not English, the allusion to a woman emerging victoriously from battle applied to the (inter)national situation of 1702. At the same time, the religious aspect of Deborah being a divine woman is apparently intended as a clinching argument. It successfully combines two elements of the image of Anne: a religious woman and a woman capable of defending her people.

Moreover, it is clear that the lawfulness, or the legitimacy, of the succession is an important theme throughout the sources. The tone of the authors is defensive when they vehemently underscore the legitimate right of Anne to the throne. On the contrary Anne's adversary the Prince of Wales is condescendingly called the 'Pretender'.[167] There is a significant change to be observed as secular arguments are taken to a new level in 1702. Authors are not only more keen to avoid religious labels for the war with the Spanish and French, they actually put extra emphasis on the secular grounds for fighting it. 'Just and necessary war' is the new prevalent phrase used to denote the war. Another change is that the authors widely acknowledge the importance of the constitution. 'Constitution' as a secular word is given preference over the 1689 mantra of 'Religion, Law and Liberties' that blends religious and secular meanings. In addition, some authors, like Daniel Defoe and John Humfrey, go one step beyond merely referencing the constitution. They even explicitly touch upon limitations of the crown in favour of parliamentary powers.[168] Defoe goes as far as stating that for someone to claim to be more obedient than the law requires, is "*abusing your Prince, and abusing your Selves*".[169] However, whilst these authors emphasise the power of parliament in relation to royal power, thus insinuating that a king or queen are subject to the law, at the same time, religious and constitutional arguments in 1702 remain very much intertwined. In short, the commonly accepted line of argument is that all power comes from

[166] Piggot, John, *The natural frailty of princes consider'd; in a sermon preach'd the 29th of March, 1702* (London: 1702), 29.
[167] Boyer, *The history of the reign of Queen Anne*, 220.
[168] See for example Daniel Defoe, *A new test of the Church of England's loyalty: or, Whiggish loyalty and church loyalty compar'd* (Edinburgh: 1702).
[169] Ibid., 21.

God and so the legislators and Queen are God appointed. Swear allegiance to the monarch and you swear allegiance to God "*as is your duty as a Christian and so preserve England, her Religion, Laws and Liberties all in one*", as one author puts it.[170]

Yet, when comparing the imagery of Queen Anne to that of her predecessors a few more marked differences can be observed. Firstly, the manner of describing the relation between monarch and subject has shifted in 1702. In all probability because Anne is a woman, the authors put great emphasis on feminine qualities such as the feelings of affection between the queen and her subjects. For example, the phrase of Anne being "*in the hearts of her subjects*" is repeated over and over again.[171] In turn, Anne is hailed for being quite affectionate towards her subjects. The contemporaries extol Anne's "*diligent Care of her Faithful and Loyal Subjects*".[172] "*Your Love and Concern for your People, the universal Tenderness, [...] your Majesty's auspicious Government,*" revels Edward Chamberlayne in his addresses to Anne.[173] Also, when relating the royal visit to Bath Anne is exalted for her generosity: "*Her Majesty was Graciously pleas'd to Order them the usual Bounty on that occasion; and bestowed large Gifts on Poor People*".[174]

Secondly, the queen's military qualities and readiness to make war for the sake of her people is praised even more so than in the case of William III. Again, the reason for emphasizing Anne's military qualities is in all likelihood an attempt to compensate for her being a woman and not being able to actually lead her troops in battle. Thus, on the one hand, her governing at home is described in 'soft' terms of her being caring and feminine, but on the other hand, Anne's bellicose qualities are hailed: "*Then the Lyon shall rise, the Flow'r-de-Luce go down*".[175]. The authors insist that even though Anne is a woman, "*too soft a Sex to handle rough Arms*", she is still capable of defeating a powerful opponent.[176] One author who calls himself a 'True-born Englishman' extols "*a Masculine Spirit beneath the softer Body of*

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[170] Anon., *Principles upon which the taking the oath of abjuration may be grounded. Viz I. That all lawful Power is derived from the Prerogative of Divine Providence* […] (London: 1702), 22.
[171] Anon., *The queen's famous progress, or; Her Majesty's royal journey to the Bath, and happy return* […] (London: 1702), 2.
[172] Joseph Gander, *The glory of Her Sacred Majesty Queen Anne, in the Royal Navy, and her absolute sovereignty as Empress of the sea, asserted and vindicated.*[…] (London: 1703), 42.
[173] Edward Chamberlayne, *Angliae notitia: or the present state of England: With Divers remarks upon The Ancient State thereof* (London: 1702), 3.
[174] Anon., *The queen's famous progress*, 6.
[175] Samuel Phillips, *England's happiness. A panegyrick, on the present Parliament* (London: 1702), 6.
[176] Thomas Goodwin, *A sermon preached on the sad occasion of the death of the best of kings, William the IIId. King of England; Scotland; France; and Ireland, &c. who died in his own palace at Kensington, March 8. 1701/2.* […] London: 1702), 26.

a Woman".[177] Many authors relish in the fact that the humbling of tyrant Louis XIV shall be all the greater "*at the hands of a woman*".[178]

Conclusion

In conclusion, there is not one type of language that dominates the discourse in the first year of the coronation of Queen Anne. The quantitative part of the research shows that all four categories of keywords (religious, a mix of 'religious and secular', nationalist and 'other secular' keywords) are more or less evenly represented. In the qualitative part of the research it was clear that nationalist discourse became more prominent under Anne. The contemporaries not only adamantly highlight the Englishness of Queen Anne, they also attest to an increased awareness of nations abroad. At the same time it is evident that religious discourse is also quite important in 1702. On the one hand the religious qualities of Anne form a key element to her image. The contemporaries view Anne's piousness as the cornerstone of her identity. On the other hand, religion also seems to have been integrated into the other types of arguments. We see a dually religious and nationalist meaning to Anne being called 'Deborah', the woman who defended her people. At the same time, 'law/justice/rights/liberties' and 'lawful succession' are also stressed over and over again. Still, the authors agree that, even though Anne was a rightful heir and derived her power from parliament, in the end, God had placed her on the throne. Thus, many authors wittingly link religious and secular (including nationalist) arguments together in a way that complements and reinforces their point. Overall we have to conclude that, perhaps even more so than in 1689, religious, secular (including nationalist) argumentations have become inextricably interwoven.

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[177] True-Born English Man, *The prerogative of the breeches, in a letter to the sons of men: being an answer to Petticoat-Government* (London: 1702), 29.
[178] Daniel Defoe, *Reformation of manners, a satyr* (London: 1702), 64. Anon. *A sermon preach'd on the occasion of the death of our late sovereign King William III. of glorious memory. By the author of the Essay for a comprehension* (London: 1702), 23.

Chapter 3. King George

As in the former chapters after a short historical outline of the accession, we shall explore the image of King George as promoted by himself and his supporters. The rest of the chapter reviews the outcomes of the quantitative and qualitative results of the research.

Short historical overview

With the death of Queen Anne on 1 August 1714 the era of the Stuart dynasty came to an end. Princess Sophia, the long-time Hanoverian heir presumptive, had died just weeks before Anne. So now the British throne passed to Sophia's son, George of Hanover, incidentally passing over as many as 58 people who could claim closer kinship with the dead queen.[179] Little known as he was, King George I was initially accepted by the English more as an idea and as a symbol than as a man or a monarch.[180] Moreover what he was *not* was almost as important: he was Protestant, not Catholic; an ally of Britain and Holland, not of France; apparently committed to parliamentary government and the Bill of Rights rather than an ideology of divine right.[181]

Although George was in Hanover when Anne died, he was immediately and loudly proclaimed and the plans of William III for the Protestant succession, so carefully laid down in the Act of Settlement of 1701, were implemented without hesitation or rancour.[182] Yet, George did not arrive in England until mid-September. Historian Julian Hoppit remarks how such a languid journey speaks volumes about the security of George's position in England and his personal priorities – George well knew that being king would be a burden as well as an opportunity and, incidentally, his tardiness allowed the enfeebled nature of the Jacobite opposition to become readily apparent.[183]

To the English their new king was a relatively unknown quantity, having only visited once in the winter of 1680-1681 when a marriage with the future Queen Anne was unsuccessfully

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[179] W.A. Speck, *Stability and Strife: England 1714-1760* (London: Edward Arnold Publishers Ltd, 1977), 169.
[180] Julian Hoppit, *Land of Liberty? England 1689-1727* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 384.
[181] Ibid., 384.
[182] Ibid., 384.
[183] Ibid., 389.

considered.[184] Religious tolerance, (international) politics and warfare had marked the life of George before he became king of England. Born in 1660 as the eldest son of Duke Ernst August and Sophia of the Palatinate, George had grown up in the Duchy of Brunswick-Lüneburg.[185] George was related to the Stuarts through his mother, the granddaughter of James I. George, like William III, was bred in a world which feared the might of France and the ambitions of Louis XIV.[186] In the words of historian Julian Hoppit: "*Hanover, like the Dutch Republic, was small and insecure, its Lutheranism like the Republic's Calvinism attracting the Sun King as a moth to a flame*".[187] George was raised to face this challenge: he learned French, German, Latin, and a little Dutch and Italian.[188] Yet, more than familiarizing himself with these different languages George owed much of his formative experiences to his participation as a young man in the Dutch War of 1672-8.[189] Hoppit remarks how George may have lacked William III's evangelical sense of purpose as the Protestant saviour of Europe but that George's interest in foreign affairs was just as central to his character as it had been for William.[190] In 1680 George had travelled to England and Holland and had gained some experience of diplomacy. By 1698, through clever political manoeuvring of his parents, George became Elector of Hanover. Thereafter, in 1707, George gained fame for his role during the War of the Spanish succession in helping drive back the French across the Rhine. He was committed to the cause of the Empire and allied to its head, the Emperor Charles VI (r. 1711-40).[191] Thus, the new king who came to England in 1714 not only had experience with governing and warfare; he also had fully formed views on European politics.[192]

Whilst in mid-September of his coronation year George had been enthusiastically welcomed onto the British shore, his coronation day on 20 October was accompanied by rioting in over twenty towns.[193] These disturbances were seldom overtly Jacobite; rather their inspiration was Sacheverellite and High Church.[194] In the time following his arrival in England George had turned the Tories out of government and showed favour to their enemies.

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[184] Jeremy Black, *Politics and foreign policy in the age of George I, 1714-1727* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2014), 8.
[185] Ragnhild Hatton, *George I: elector and king* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 16, 25.
[186] Hoppit, *Land of Liberty?*, 385.
[187] Ibid., 385.
[188] Ibid., 385.
[189] Black, *Politics and foreign policy*, 8.
[190] Hoppit, *Land of Liberty?*, 385-386.
[191] Black, *Politics and foreign policy*, 8.
[192] Ibid., 8.
[193] Paul Kléber Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 173.
[194] Ibid., 178.

By October, in the minds of High Churchmen George I was considered worse than his alternative, the self-proclaimed James III.[195] The violence continued during the general election of 1715 and in Scotland the government had to suppress a Jacobite rebellion.[196] Having overcome the Jacobite challenges in 1715-16, George's personal vulnerability turned out to flow from family disputes.[197] Fuel for gossip was the way George, back in Lüneburg in 1694, had divorced and locked away his adulterous wife Sophia Dorothea de Cede. Perhaps by accident, perhaps by design, Sophia's lover, the Swedish Count von Köningsmarck, was killed by courtiers of George and his body dumped in a river.[198] George then made Sophia Dorothea a virtual prisoner for the rest of her life at Ahlden.[199] The king having been cuckolded would remain a cause for satire and Jacobite rioters often featured horns on their heads, a symbol of being cuckolded.[200] Instead of a wife, George brought with him to England his long-time mistress Museline who George raised to peerage as Duchess of Kendal in 1719. The couple often lived as man and wife in England.[201] More family trouble arose from strife between George and his son and heir, the Prince of Wales. Although fond of his daughter-in-law Caroline of Ansbach, George I did not get along with his son. Their falling out would even be a source for political unrest in 1718.[202]

Troublesome too were George I's foreignness and personality. Even though he knew for that he would inherit the English throne he did not take the trouble to learn proper English.[203] Historians do not agree on how bad George's English was. Whilst historian Jeremy Black maintains that George could not speak English and all the relevant documents from his British ministers were translated into French for him, historian Ragnhild Hatton considers George's lack of language skills to be exaggerated.[204] She stresses that George's English was rudimentary but not as limited as once believed.[205] Rather Hatton considers the main complaint of the English to have been that the king kept to himself too much and was never as

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[195] Ibid., 194.
[196] Speck, *Stability and Strife*, 180-182.
[197] Black, *Politics and foreign policy*, 76.
[198] Hatton, *George I*, 58-59.
[199] Hoppit, *Land of Liberty?*, 385.
[200] Andy Wood, "The Queen is 'a goggyll eyed hoore': gender and seditious speech in early modern England," in *The English Revolution c. 1590-1720: Politics, Religion and Communities,* ed. Nicholas Tyacke (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 87.
[201] Hoppit, *Land of Liberty?*, 388.
[202] Black, *Politics and foreign policy*, 77. Hoppit, *Land of Liberty?*, 404.
[203] Speck, *Stability and Strife*, 172.
[204] Black, *Politics and foreign policy*, 27. Hatton, *George I*, 130.
[205] Hatton, *George I*, 130.

intimate with his English gentlemen-in-waiting as he was with his few German servants.[206] Also, the removal of various privileged positions from the innermost sanctum of his bedroom was unexpected and disturbing to the English.[207] Indeed, George tried to avoid unnecessary fuss and ostentation. W.A. Speck even typifies the king as "formal, stiff, cold and sometimes positively icy".[208] Moreover, George's lasting attachment to his homeland was apparent. During his reign George I returned to Hanover six times.[209] He visited regularly and for lengthy periods at a time; in total he spent a considerable part (33 months) of his reign abroad.[210]

Regardless of these drawbacks the reign of George I would prove to be a period in which the Protestant succession would be decisively established, religious controversy largely sidelined, party conflict tempered and parliamentary activity put upon a routine footing.[211] The Septennial Act of 1716, which determined that elections needed to happen only every seven years or after the accession of a new monarch, postponed the risk of electoral loss and contributed greatly to the political stability of the nation.[212] Meanwhile, foreign affairs were the main catalyst for changes in the distribution of places and power within England as various treaties were made to establish an effective balance of power after the end of the War of the Spanish Succession and the death of Louis XIV in 1715.[213] The most sensational development was the alliance of Britain and France signed in November 1716, which was expanded into a triple alliance with the Dutch in December; by any standard this was a diplomatic revolution.[214] Also, a new group of Whig politicians entered the political stage after the deaths of major Whig leaders in 1714-16.[215] The Whig Junto was replaced by men of a new generation; Stanhope, Sunderland, Townshend and Walpole.[216] From 1719, after the aging king became reconciled with his son, George I showed little interest in domestic affairs now that his European schemes were settled and his ministers therefore enjoyed considerable

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[206] Ibid., 132.
[207] Ibid., 132.
[208] Speck, *Stability and Strife*, 172.
[209] Hoppit, *Land of Liberty?*, 388.
[210] Black, *Politics and foreign policy*, 27. Hoppit, *Land of Liberty?*, 388.
[211] Hoppit, *Land of Liberty?*, 388.
[212] Black, *Politics and foreign policy*, 55.
[213] Hoppit, *Land of Liberty?*, 399. The Barrier Treaty with the Dutch, the Treaty of Westminster with Austria, and some commercial treaties with Spain.
[214] Ibid., 399.
[215] Black, *Politics and foreign*, 23.
[216] Hoppit, *Land of Liberty?*, 397.

freedom of action.[217] Walpole, the leading politician from 1722 until 1742, would steer the country through the last four years of George's reign; politically the most uneventful years since the Revolution.[218]

In June 1727 King George I set out for a journey to his beloved Hanover. He collapsed on the way and died at Osnabrück during the night of 20-21 June.[219] During his reign there had been profound changes – the creation of one-party rule, the heightening of Walpole's political conservatism, septennial elections, the passage of the Riot Act, the collapse of Jacobitism, a largely effective European balance of power, a cultural drawing together of the political elite, and a significant reduction in the political significance of religious questions.[220]

George presenting himself

Before we turn to the research results of the image of George I as perceived by his subjects we shall briefly explore what image of himself George set out to promote. Most historians have assumed there was little enthusiasm for George as a foreign king and, as for the image of the king, they found slight evidence of any cult of kingship or culture of monarchy.[221] Historian Hannah Smith however maintains that George I, and George II after him, enjoyed a hitherto unrealised degree of popularity and that there did exist a flourishing and dynamic culture of monarchy that endorsed and promoted the reigns of these two monarchs.[222] The fact that there was little evidence of official involvement in the creation of a pro-Georgian monarchical culture had much to do with the different type of monarchy that the early Georgians pursued; the Georgian monarchy embraced the ideas of the early Enlightenment.[223] So much so that, according to Smith, George I and his daughter-in-law Caroline of Ansbach can be viewed as key sponsors of early Enlightenment in England.[224] In pursuing this enlightened kingship, on the one hand, common methods for promoting the royals remained in use, on the other hand, there were various significant shifts in the way and the tools with which the monarchy presented itself.

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[217] Ibid., 408.
[218] Ibid., 413. Walpole is generally seen as the first ever prime minister of Great-Britain.
[219] Hatton, *George I*, 283.
[220] Hoppit, *Land of Liberty?*, 417.
[221] Hannah Smith, *Georgian monarchy: Politics and Culture, 1714-1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 2-3.
[222] Smith, *Georgian monarchy*, 2, 16.
[223] Ibid., 15-16.
[224] Ibid., 16.

One of the methods of old that was used to emphasise the legality and godliness of George's rule was the circulation of religious and legal pro-Georgian and anti-Catholic proclamations, declarations and speeches.[225] In these documents George presented himself as having the interest of the church at heart. In 1714 he declared to have a "*firm Purpose to Do all that is in My Power for the Supporting and Maintaining the Churches of England and Scotland*" and incidentally, he promised his subjects to tolerate Protestant dissent.[226] At the same time, as in previous reigns, the Catholic threat to Protestantism was stressed. Fuelling anti-catholic fears discredited the Jacobite cause and at the same time strengthened George's position.[227] Herein the clergy played an important part. During special church services commemorating the thwarting of the Gunpowder plot and William III's triumph in 1688-9 clergymen would draw parallels between past and current dangers from popery.[228] In addition, many people could witness and take part in pope-burning demonstrations. Large crowds would gather around a bonfire and the displays could be fun as well as instructive. Historian Colin Haydon underlines that such anti-catholic ceremonies were important tools to counter the anti-Hanoverian sentiment that was so marked in the years after George I's accession.[229]

There were differences with the Stuart rule too; some of the methods that had worked quite well for his predecessors went unused or were transformed in George's reign. Firstly, the court of George I was no longer integral to polite society.[230] George was a private person and he sought out the company of English notables only when relations with the Prince of Wales broke down in 1717 and 1720.[231] Historically, 'splendour' at court had played an important part in forming the king's fame and legitimizing his rule. Now however, the court became increasingly frugal. George believed that a royal reputation depended much upon having his finances in order and he chose not to promote this rule through either regal splendour or by promoting the arts.[232] In fact, Linda Colley suggests that popular Jacobitism may have been at base a far more neutral hunger for a sentimental, highly coloured royalism that was left unsatisfied by the early Hanoverians.[233] Secondly, a shift occurred in the

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[225] Ibid., 79.
[226] Ibid., 80.
[227] Black, *Politics and foreign policy*, 9.
[228] Colin Haydon, "'I love my King and my Country but a Roman Catholic I hate': anti-catholicism, xenophobia and national identity in eighteenth-century England," in *Protestantism and National Identity*, eds. Tony Claydon and Ian McBride (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 38.
[229] Ibid., 43.
[230] Hoppit, *Land of Liberty? England 1689-1727* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 388.
[231] Ibid., 388.
[232] Smith, *Georgian monarchy*, 76.
[233] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (London: Yale University Press, 1996), 217.

Georgian court press. Whereas under Anne the focus had been on promoting the Sovereign, the Georgian court press was designed more to rehabilitate the king's ministers and their policies than to foster directly a sense of Georgian kingship.[234] These things may explain why historians did not find much proof of a Georgian court culture.

However, the major difference between the image of George and that of his predecessor was that George I, from the moment of his accession, pressed for religious freedom and refused to be cast as a divine ruler. Yet, in an era where religion remained at the forefront of political and private life, the king and his supporters had to find the right balance between propounding hereditary right theory and divine right theory.[235] This is why George reassured his subjects of his intention to protect the church and he thanked God to "*call Me to the Throne of My ancestors*".[236] Also, shortly after Queen Anne's death the regime acted remarkably decisively when making the inclusion of the Georgian kings into the English Prayer Book a matter of urgency.[237]

Still, George I consistently and resolutely distanced himself from every form of divine rulership. He dropped the practice of the touching for scrofula – the king's evil.[238] Hatton argues that the reason for this was not, as has been suggested by other scholars, because George I felt himself a usurper who had no right to lay hands on people for healing but because the king was in tune with the ideas of the early enlightenment and regarded the custom as mere superstition.[239] George also abandoned another ceremony with sacral overtones: washing the feet of the recipients of the Royal Maundy.[240] Indeed, he did not even attend the service, instead he sent deputies.[241] Furthermore, the king shied away from religious services which gave central stage to the monarch. Approving of thanksgivings after foreign military success, George had *Te Deums* sung in the electoral chapel after Marlborough's victories and semi-privately in the English Chapel Royal for the safe arrival of himself and his

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[234] Smith, *Georgian monarchy*, 80.
[235] J.C.D. Clark, *English Society, 1660-1832: Religion, Ideology and Politics during the Ancien Regime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 94-95, 110-111.
[236] George II, *His Majesties Most Gracious Speech to Both Houses of Parliament on Munday the Twenty First Day of March 1714* (London, 1715).
[237] Smith., 170. This was one of the few occasions where the regime was seen actively promoting a religious aspect of the monarch and his family.
[238] Hatton, *George I,* 165.
[239] Ibid*.,* 165.
[240] Royal Maundy is a particular church service of the Anglican Church held the day before Good Friday, wherein, following the example of Jesus Christ at the Last Supper, monarchs would wash the feet of the poor and hand out silver coins.
[241] Matthew Kilburn, "Royalty and public in Britain: 1714-1789," unpublished D.Phil. thesis (University of Oxford, 1997), 31-32, 37, 55-56.

family. But George was disapproving of more public services which made the monarch the focus of worship.[242] George, instead of pursuing an image of a divine ruler, openly supported Enlightened initiatives such as inoculation against small-pox, arguably the most deadly disease of the period.[243] Some (mainly Tory) clerics argued that inoculation contravened the workings of Providence and undermined a divinely instituted check against sin.[244] Yet, George and his daughter-in-law Caroline had their own (grand-)children inoculated and the event received wide publicity.[245] Scholar Adrian Wilson argues that inoculation can be seen as a political message as well as medical intervention.[246] Smith agrees that by endorsing inoculation, the royal family could not have found a more striking way in which to demonstrate the dynasty's enlightened credentials and to assert that mankind had a right of resistance against the 'tyranny of disease' rather than passively await its onslaught.[247]

Another spearhead of George was freedom of worship for Dissenters.[248] As early as his first meeting with the Privy Council the king expressed the wish to have the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts repealed.[249] Later on in his reign George I had one particular sermon that was preached before him in 1717 widely reprinted which acted as a platform for radical ecclesiological reform.[250] The suspension of convocation and, in the following year, the repeal of the Occasional Conformity Act and the projected suspension of the Test Act were high-water marks in civil retrenchment of clerical authority.[251] With the support of George I, public religion was becoming a matter of political sovereignty and decent order, while conviction, faith and salvation became private issues between God and the individual.[252] George's personal lack of prejudice towards the Jacobites is noteworthy. The king refused to attend a thanksgiving service for the defeat of the Jacobite rebellion. George was reported as

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[242] Smith, *Georgian monarchy*, 96.

[243] Geneviève Miller, *The Adoption of Inoculation for Smallpox in England and France* (Philadelphia, University Pennsylvania Press, 1957), 195.

[244] Isobel Grundy, *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 216.

[245] Miller, *The Adoption of Inoculation*, 77-8, 88-9.

[246] Adrian Wilson, "The Politics of Medical Improvement in Early Hanoverian London," in *The Medical Enlightenment of the Eighteenth-Century*, eds. Andrew Cunningham and Roger French (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 33.

[247] Smith, *Georgian monarchy*, 94. See also Wilson, "The Politics of Medical Improvement", 33.

[248] Hatton, *George I*, 289.

[249] Black, *Politics and foreign policy*, 12.

[250] Justin Champion, "My Kingdom is not of this world," in *The English Revolution c. 1590-1720: Politics, Religion and Communities*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 197. The sermon referred to here: Benjamin Hoadly, *The nature of the Kingdom, or church, of Christ. A sermon preach'd before the King, at the Royal Chapel at St. James's, on Sunday March 31, 1717* (London: 1717).

[251] Ibid., 199.

[252] Ibid., 196.

saying that he did not think it fitting that he should render thanks to God for having vanquished his own subjects.[253]

On the one hand, the image of George I constituted important religious elements. He personally evoked an image of himself as protector of the interests of the Anglican Church. Complementary to this was the anti-Catholic propaganda that was widely used as a tool to increase acceptance for the foreign king and his household. On the other hand, George cast himself as an Enlightened ruler who resolutely rejected the image of divine rulership. He distanced himself from (church) rituals that implied such connections. Moreover, at the same time as securing the Anglican faith, George I pushed for an increase in religious freedom for Dissenters. What did the contemporaries make of this dual image of George I? Let us turn to the research part of this chapter to see what image the contemporaries held of George I.

Results

First, we will review the results of the tallying of the religious and secular keywords (quantitative research) followed by an assessment of the sources (qualitative research).

Quantitative research

Please note that a keyword was only tallied when it refers directly to King George I. This was necessary since words such as 'tyranny' and 'defending faith' were mentioned often in the sources but then in reference to his predecessors.

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[253] Hatton, *George I*, 291.

Table 1702 and 1714

a. **Religious keywords:** 11 keywords, 141 occurrences
(On average 12,8 religious keywords)

Word/set of words occurring one or more times (total number of occurrences)	1702 (110x)	1714 (141x)
GENERAL:		
Christendom	5	9
Protestantism/Protestant	16	29
Providence	10	15
Catholics/popery/Rome	13	34
IMAGE MONARCH(S):		
Defender of Faith/Church	11	17
(Nursing) Mother/Father	13	9
Glorious Instrument/Instrument of God/God's vicegerent	7	4
Deliverance/Deliverer	1	7
Deborah/Judith/Esther / David	10	6
Pious/zeal	20	11
Sacred Majesty	4	0

b. **'Other secular' keywords:** 5 keywords, 100 occurrences
(On average 20 secular keywords)

Word occurring one or more times (total number of occurrences)	1702 (62x)	1714 (100x)
GENERAL:		
Law/justice/rights/liberties	17	31
Tyranny/despotic/oppressor/arbitrary government or rule	14	15
Constitution	4	9
Lawful succession	10	20
IMAGE MONARCH(S):		
Heroic/warrior king/victorious	17	25

c. **'Mixed religious and secular' keywords:** 3 keywords, 33 occurrences
(On average 11 mixed keywords)

Word/set of words occurring one or more times (total number of occurrences)	1702 (28x)	1714 (33x)
GENERAL:		
Religion, Law & Liberties/Rights/Property	13	21
Slavery	5	10
IMAGE MONARCH(S):		
Vertuous [meaning powerful and morally righteous]	10	2

d. **Nationalist keywords:** 8 keywords, 106 occurrences
(On average 13,3 nationalist keywords)

Word/set of words occurring one or more times (total number of occurrences)	1702 (72x)	1714 (106x)
GENERAL:		
Albion	7	9
Home and abroad/neighbours/allies	11	21
France/Spain	16	13
Nation	6	21
(Balance/liberties of) Europe	21	21
Turk (denoting the pope or Louis XIV)	0	3
Just (and necessary) war	3	0
Pretender	1	18
IMAGE MONARCH(S):		
Elizabeth (not added to the total number of occurrences)	13	-

In the religious category particular keywords are used remarkably often. Firstly, the keywords scoring highest in the religious category are keywords to do with the Catholic threat. 'Catholics/popery/Rome' feature in no less than 34 sources. Also, 'Protestantism/Protestant' seems to be at the forefront of the contemporaries minds in 1714, being touched upon in 29 out of 60 sources. The high scores of on the one hand Protestant keywords and on the other hand Catholic keywords suggest that in 1714 authors are concerned about their religion and any possible threats to it. Secondly, regardless of George I being a Lutheran and foreigner, out of all the religious imagery at hand, he is referred to most often as 'Defender of the Faith/Church'. Perhaps this is a matter of the contemporaries overcompensating for the fact that George was not quite the typical 'Defender of the Church' in a similarly way as authors did in the case of Queen Anne. Anne was hardly a battle-hardened soldier, yet her military qualities were praised remarkably often.

The nationalist category clearly shows how in 1714 the contemporaries view their world in a discourse that is increasingly nationalist. The frequency of keywords 'Nation', 'Home and abroad/neighbours/allies' and '(Balance/Liberties of) Europe' point to an awareness of nations outside of the British Islands. Another indication of this awareness is that the Pretender is mentioned much more often. In the category of 'other secular' keywords an incredibly high degree of attention is paid to more general concepts of both the legality of the succession and to law and justice in general. As for the image of George I, as was to be expected, the authors widely hail George's qualities as a warrior (25 out of 60 sources). A similar high score is seen in the category of 'mixed religious and secular' keywords in which the old slogan 'Religion, Law and Liberties/Rights/Property' features often in the discourse (21 out of 60 sources).

From the comparison of the categories of 1702 to those in 1714 it is clear that the secular dimension of society is becoming more and more prominent. Both nationalist and 'other secular' keywords are used in many more sources than in 1702. Yet, religion also has its place in the discourse. There is a significant increase in this category as well. Both 'Protestantism/Protestant' and keywords to do with fears of Catholicism feature more prominently in the discourse. As for the personal image of George I we saw that this image consists of secular and religious elements as the authors praise his military skill as well as his role as the Defender of the Faith. Compared to Queen Anne there are significantly fewer references to him as a biblical figurehead. Although, interestingly, there is an increase in the references to George as pious and zealous. Possibly the authors tried to talk over the fact that

George was not raised in the Anglican faith by emphasizing George's great commitment to the Church now that he was King. In the 'other secular' category in comparison to Anne we see an increase in the attention paid to 'law/justice/rights/liberties' but also to George's 'Lawful succession' and the constitution. Possibly this can be explained by the authors anticipation of criticism as the Act of Settlement came into effect with the accession of George. Anne had inherited the throne in a more customary way. Also, 'Religion/law/liberties' and 'slavery' featured more prominently in the sources, as did the nationalist keywords to 'Home and abroad/neighbours/allies', 'Nation' and 'Pretender'. The keyword 'Turk' makes a comeback into the discourse. It is evident that nationalist and 'other secular' keywords became more prominent in the source material after 1702. In the analysis below we will further expound on the imagery of George I and some of the trends and patterns which transpired from the research.

Qualitative research

The qualitative part of the research will follow the same pattern as in the former two chapters. Before embarking on the three categories of sources (ceremonial accounts, literary documents and opinion pieces), we shall commence with a few remarks about the source material in general. In the case of George I, as in the case of Anne, there were remarkably few documents covering the (proceedings of the) coronation ceremony therefore we shall touch upon this category only briefly.

General observations

What was most striking about the sources, literary and opinion pieces alike, was the incredible congruency of the sources in the manner of their content, tone and imagery as they covered the king and the future of the nation. Again most of the sources included into the research regard King George I in a positive manner but, whether or not positive about George I, the authors all seem to occupy themselves with the same matters: law, religion, liberties, property, and (inter)national honour. There was not one specific type of religious, nationalist or other secular language that seems to dominate for this timeframe. Moreover, the tone and wording throughout the sources is quite similar. The letters, opinion pieces, sermons but also the

poetry and songs are alike in choosing the same religious, nationalist and warlike wording and tone. This remarkable congruency extends into some new themes as well.

Firstly, a completely new theme that is interwoven into the discourse of many sources is that of prosperity and trade. The authors express a hope to have the nation prosper under the rule of the new king. Whereas, William and Mary and Anne were pressed to 'merely' defend '*Religion, Law and Liberties*', in 1714 much more often than in 1689 or 1702 the authors replace in the fixed set of word 'Liberties' with the word 'Properties'. They call on George I to both protect their estates and renew trade in the nation. Moreover, the word 'credit' is introduced into the discourse. In one document credit is celebrated as: "*the best Indication of the People's Satisfactions* [...]. *Our Commerce and Property are, we hope, Recovering and Enlarging*".[254] From a hopeful "*How his* [George's] *coming to England will bring prosperity to trade*", to the word 'credit', a more materialistic theme of prosperity seems to crop up in the sources.[255]

Secondly, contiguous to the first new theme, there is another appeal to George I. Contemporaries ask the king to restore honour and bring glory to England.[256] The hunger for the nation to recover its former (inter)national glory is apparent, as is the boasting of how well-respected George I is by the rest of the world. John Dunton in his book proudly writes: "*George ev'n Europe saves, Albion's great and haughty Pow'rs are aw'd*".[257] Jonathan Owen expresses the hopeful wish that the king will "*recover ancient British Honour and Glory, that which of late hath been so much expos'd to Shame at Home and Contempt Abroad*".[258]

Category 1 – ceremonial accounts

Few documents could be included into the research that covered George I's coronation ceremony on 20 October 1714. However, one account reports an extraordinary feat to have taken place during the coronation. Apparently, as opposed to the two previous coronation

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[254] Commissioners of Lieutenancy for the City of London, *To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, the humble address of the Lord Mayor, and the rest of Your Majesty's Commissioners of Lieutenancy for your city of London* (London: 1714/15), 1.
[255] See for example Richard Synge, *The good man's refuge in distress; and, the right way to secure and perpetuate the blessings of our present establishment* […] (London: 1714), 9.
[256] William Talbot, *A sermon preach' at the coronation of King George, in the abbey-church of Westminster, October the 20th, 1714* (London: 1714), 20.
[257] John Dunton, *The golden age: exemplified in the glorious life and reign of his present Majesty King George, and his numerous issue: or a vision of the future happiness of Great Britain* [...] (London: 1714), 30.
[258] Jonathan Owen, *An occasional sermon upon the proclamation of King George, on the first of August, 1714* (London: 1714), 17.

ceremonies, King George I was lifted into the throne.[259] At first, the coronation follows the customary pattern of presenting the King with worldly and religious regalia. Thereafter George I takes communion and swears the coronation oath. This is then followed by his anointing and the hymn *Te Deum*. The author then reports: "*Te Deum being ended, the King is lifted into his Throne by the Arch-bishop, Bishops and other Peers of the Kingdom, and being inthroniz'd or plac'd therein, all the Great Officers, those that bear the Swords and Scepters, and the Nobles, stand round about the Throne, and the Arch-bishop standing before the King, faith, Stand firm and hold fast from henceforth the Seat and State of Royal and Imperial Dignity, &c*".[260] George was lifted into the throne on the one hand by the bishop, representative of the Church of England, on the other hand by the Peers, representative of the people. Practically speaking George I could never have been lifted into his seat by all of the Peers. That would have been quite complicated, if not impossible. Rather it points to a symbolic meaning behind this particular facet of the coronation ritual. Possibly a definite step away from divine right has been taken here.

Category 2 – literary documents

As mentioned above the remarkable element about the poems and songs of the case of 1714 is that there is no great difference in imagery, tone or wording used for George I. Poets do allow themselves more embellishment compared to the prosaic documents. We see this for example in the way Croxall fawns over George: "*His lofty Helm with crested Plumes was crown'd, His Right Hand brandish'd high a Sabre keen, In his fierce Look stern Resolution frown'd; with Terror aw'd*".[261] The nationalist discourse showed in the way the authors nostalgically denote the British Isles with the word 'Albion'.[262]

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[259] Anon., *An exact account of the form and ceremony of His Majesty's coronation, as it was solemnly perform'd in the Collegiate Church at Westminster, on Wednesday the 20th day of October, 1714* (London: s.n., 1714), 16.
[260] Ibid., 4-16.
[261] Samuel Croxall, *An ode humbly inscrib'd to the King, Occasion'd by His Majesty's Most Auspicious succession and arrival* (London: 1714), 20.
[262] Laurence Eusden, *A letter to Mr. Addison, on the King's accession to the throne* (London: 1714), 7.

Categories 3 – opinion pieces

King George I is portrayed in various guises throughout the source material. As we have seen above he is viewed as a warrior king who will make the nation prosper and (re)gain international standing. He is also seen as a healer of 'breaches', putting an end to political faction.[263] Besides his religious qualities as Protector of the Church, qualities that are consistently hailed are George I's 'Wisdom', 'Justice', and his being "*excellently skill'd in the Art of Government*".[264] A remarkable new element is a theory expounded by various authors. Whilst the king is portrayed as a king appointed by Providence he is also called a 'chosen king'.[265] This last element of George's image is one of the most interesting aspects of the case of George I. A theory that developed over time could in 1714 be openly expressed. Ferdinando Shaw is one of the authors who writes about the chosen king: "*For 'tis Enacted, that the Prince, Lords and Commons, have a Power to limit and settle the Crown as they see fit*".[266] Nathanael Harding from the pulpit explained his audience how "*He* [George I] *is King by Divine Appointment, being chosen by the People and set upon the Throne according to Law*".[267]

Besides this assertion of parliamentary rights authors who do not take to the new monarch may express their concerns regarding the king and his family with less restraint than in the case of William and Mary and Anne. These concerns entail for example; excessive spending of the royal family, a willingness of the new monarch to give in to pressure to alter the 'true religion' or to engage the nation in war.[268] Not surprisingly, the supporters of George I underscore their trust in King George I with regard to all these points. They often refer to George's promise to "*always maintain the Reform'd Religion, and the Establish'd Church,*

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[263] See for example Strickland Gough, *A sermon occasion'd by the happy accession of King George to the throne of Great Britain, &c. By Strickland Gough, Minister in Bristol* (London: 1714), 38.

[264] William Bradshaw, *A sermon preach'd before the Right Honourable Sir William Humfreys, knight and baronet, Lord-Mayor, the Aldermen, and Citizens of London, at the Cathedral-Church of St. Paul, on the Fifth of November, 1714* (London: 1714), 23.

[265] John Archer, *The kingdom turned about. A sermon Preached at Tunbridge-Wells August 8. 1714* […]. London: [1714], 29.

[266] Ferdinando Shaw, *Condolence and congratulation: a sermon on the death of Queen Anne: the happy accession of King George to the throne: And His Safe Arrival In The British Dominions* (London: 1714?), 18.

[267] Nathanael Harding, *A sermon preach'd at Plymouth to an assembly of protestant dissenters, on their lecture-day, the 20th of October, 1714. Being the Day of his Most Excellent Majesty King George's Coronation* (London: 1714), 23.

[268] Francis Atterbury, *English advice to the freeholders of England* (London: 1714), 19, 22, 27.

and afford the Bishops and Ministers of it his especial Favour and Protection".[269] William Hawtayne adduces: "*the King is a Protestant who has been long the great Protector of the Protestant Interest Abroad*".[270] Indeed, these religious aspects of the image of George are ubiquitous in the source material.[271] The prevalent biblical image of George I is that of a (Nursing) Father.[272] George I is also likened to King David. However, the difference with King William III is that the authors do not outright call George 'David' but instead they write that George is *like* king David.[273]

Secular elements are part of the imagery of King George as well. Authors determinedly stress the legal basis of the succession and call George a 'rightful and lawful' ruler.[274] Obviously, the foreignness of George I complicated his acceptance. Some authors take it upon themselves to eliminate any anti-Hanoverian sentiments arguing fervently that the real foe is the Pretender. Bernard Mandeville is exasperated with the reservations of his fellow Britons with George I: "*Had King George been bred and born in China and his Family never been related to any Christian Prince in Europe, they could lay no greater stress upon his being a Stranger than some of them do*".[275] He argues that actually the Pretender is more of an alien than George I since people are not shaped by where in the world they are born but rather by the way they are brought up. Even though the Pretender was born on English soil he now is a threat to the nation whilst George who was born in Hanover is England's best defender.[276] Some authors even go out of their way to argue that the Lutheran faith hardly differs from the Anglican faith.[277] There is a certain nationalist language seen throughout the source material which often intertwines with secular or religious discourse.

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[269] Ezekiel Bristed, *Religion and loyalty recommended: from the history of pious princes ministring to the church, as foretold by Isaiah. Chap.60. Vers.10. A sermon, preach'd at the Lecture in St. Michael's Church in Lewes, on Thursday, Nov. 25. A.D.1714*. (London: [1714?]), 12.

[270] William Hawtayne, *A sermon preach'd at Elstree in Hertfordshire, on the twentieth of January, 1714* (London: 1714), 16.

[271] Many sermons compare the Pretender to Adjinah to explain the historical circumstances. See for example Owen, *An occasional sermon*, 22.

[272] Joseph Acres, *The true method of propagating religion and loyalty. A sermon preach'd in the Parish church of St. Mary in White Chapel, on Sunday the 24th of October, 1714* (London: 1714?), 19.

[273] Ibid., 19.

[274] Dunton, *The golden age*, 10.

[275] Bernard Mandeville, *The mischiefs that ought justly to be apprehended from a Whig-Government* (London: 1714), 10.

[276] Ibid., 13-14.

[277] Gentleman-commoner of Magdalen College, Oxon, *The history of the Lutheran church: or, the religion of our present sovereign King George agreeable to the tenets of the Church of England. Being an essay to unite all good Christians, in opposition to the principles of the Church of Rome, John Calvin, and Theodore Beza* (London: J. Morphew, 1714), 28.

Conclusion

In the case of King George I we can conclude that nationalist sentiments are taking a more prominent place in the contemporaries discourse. More so than religious or secular languages. This said, the qualitative part of the research reveals a high level of interconnection between religious, nationalist and other secular languages. In fact in this part of the research there is not one specific type of religious, nationalist or other secular language that seems to dominate for this timeframe. The contemporary authors are quite unanimous in their tone, wording, and topics. George I is cast as a Protestant King, a Nursing Father, and a hero who will fight for his nation and beat back France and Spain in Europe. As a Christian war hero George I is expected to bring liberation not just at home but for Europe too.

There is a constant emphasis on how the succession was legal and how George I has promised to abide by the law. Although quite often in the same breath the authors stress that this includes the protection of the Church of England. Upholding the law, is upholding religion. Although George I remained a foreign king, the shared Protestant identity between subject and monarch is emphasised by the contemporary authors. Two new themes that came to the fore were that of bringing both prosperity and honour to the nation. The authors express the hope for a restoration of the nation's glory and that trade will flourish. These more secular themes are perhaps linked to George I's governing skills which are widely extolled by his subjects. All in all, we can conclude that in 1714 there is a shift towards a more nationalist discourse that, nevertheless, is interspersed with religious language.

Chapter 4. Cross-analysis chapters 1 to 3

The final chapter of this thesis is dedicated to a quantitative and qualitative cross-analysis of the research of the previous three chapters. In order to keep this chapter within the limits of the word count only the general and some of the more remarkable findings shall be reviewed. The quantitative part of the chapter contains two tables that allow a cross-examination of the results of chapters one to three. The purpose of the first table is to make visible some of the shifts that occurred over time within each of the four categories of keywords: religious, nationalist, 'other secular' and 'mixed religious and secular'. This allows for more general conclusions regarding the dominance of the different types of languages between 1689 and 1714. The second table provides insight into the frequency of every specific keyword of the four categories per coronation year. Each of these tables is followed by a short commentary. In the second part of the chapter some of the patterns disclosed in the qualitative parts of chapters one to three are considered.

A few cautionary remarks with regard to the quantitative research are that it is important to keep in mind that this part of the research is only intended to give a loose indication of possible shifts and changes over time. History is not a hard science. It is from outset an interpretative discipline. Especially when working with discourse and keywords, which have overlapping and fluid connotations, oversimplification and misrepresentation are always a risk. Moreover, the quantitative research of this thesis will never be quite representative since it is only a sample survey and also because only a relatively small selection of keywords could be measured here, inevitably excluding many possibly relevant keywords. For these very reasons the quantitative research was complemented with a more in-depth, qualitative investigation of the sources. Finally, we need to remember that the authors of these sources were predominantly Williamite, pro-Anne and pro-George. Therefore the impression of these sources will certainly be coloured.

Quantitative research

In order to compare the results of the tallying of the case of 1689, 1702, and 1714, please find below a table that holds an overview of the results of both cases arranged per category. The first two rows contain the total occurrences and the averages of the keywords. The third row

measures the difference between the averages from year to year and the fourth row between 1689 and 1714.

Table 1. Categories compared

Religious keywords	**William & Mary**	**Anne**	**George**
Total occurrences	(93x)	(110x)	(141x)
Average keywords	8,4	10	12,8
Difference 1689-1702 and 1702-1714	1,6		2,8
Difference 1689-1714	4,4		

'Other secular' keywords	**William & Mary**	**Anne**	**George**
Total occurrences	(54x)	(62x)	(100x)
Average keywords	10,8	12,4	20
Difference 1689-1702 and 1702-1714	1,6		7,6
Difference 1689-1714	9,2 (almost double)		

'Mixed rel.-sec.' keywords	**William & Mary**	**Anne**	**George**
Total occurrences	(29x)	(28x)	(33x)
Average keywords	9,6	9,3	11
Difference 1689-1702 and 1702-1714	-0,3		1,7
Difference 1689-1714	1,4		

Nationalist	**William & Mary**	**Anne**	**George**
Total occurrences	(34x)	(72x)	(106x)
Average keywords	4,3	9	13,3
Difference 1689-1702 and 1702-1714	4,7		4,3
Difference 1689-1714	9 (more than triple)		

We can discern several developments in the occurrences of the different keywords between 1689 and 1714. In general we can say that all categories show an increase in the number of keywords that that could be tallied in the sources. The minor exception is the category 'mixed religious and secular' keywords which shows a small decrease between 1689 and 1702. Two of the most remarkable findings are that between 1689 and 1714 the frequency of 'other secular' keywords almost doubled and that the category of nationalist keywords even tripled in that timeframe.[278]

The largest gap between the total time span of the three cases (from 1689 to 1714) is found in the category of 'other secular' keywords. From an average of 10,8 in 1689, by 1714, this level has risen to an average of 20.[279] Yet, the increase in the nationalist keywords is almost as steep: from 4,3 in 1689 to 13,3 nationalist keywords used on average in 1714. The fastest rise between two consecutive cases, (either between 1689 and 1702, or 1702 and 1714), also occurred in this category. Between the timeframes of the coronations of Anne and George a great increase was seen.[280] The category that relatively saw the least change is the category of 'mixed religious and secular' keywords.

In conclusion, this table suggests that both nationalist and 'other secular' discourse in gained a much more prominent position in the discourse of the contemporaries.

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[278] Highlighted in red.
[279] Highlighted in green.
[280] Highlighted in blue.

Table 2. Keywords compared

a. Religious keywords:

Words or set of words occurring one or more times	King William & Queen Mary (93x)	Queen Anne (110x)	King George (141x)
GENERAL:			
Christendom	7	5	9
Protestantism/Protestant	16	16	29
Providence	5	10	15
Catholics/popery/Rome	31	13	34
IMAGE MONARCH(S):			
Defender of Faith/Church	4	11	17
(Nursing) Mother/Father	1	13	9
Glorious Instrument/Instrument of God/God's vicegerent	6	7	4
Deliverance/Deliverer	16	1	7
Deborah/Judith/Esther / David	3	10	6
Pious/zeal	3	20	11
Sacred Majesty	1	4	0

b. 'Other secular' keywords:

Words or set of words occurring one or more times	King William & Queen Mary (54x)	Queen Anne (62x)	King George (100x)
GENERAL:			
Law/justice/rights/liberties	18	17	31
Tyranny/despotic/oppressor/ arbitrary government or rule	15	14	15
Constitution	1	4	9
Lawful succession	1	10	20
IMAGE MONARCH(S):			
Heroic/warrior king or queen/ victorious	12	17	25

c. 'Mixed religious and secular' keywords:

Words or set of words occurring one or more times	King William & Queen Mary (29x)	Queen Anne (28x)	King George (33x)
GENERAL:			
Religion, Law & Liberties/Rights/Property	12	13	21
Slavery	11	5	10
IMAGE MONARCH(S):			
Vertuous [meaning powerful and morally righteous]	6	10	2

d. Nationalist keywords:

Words or set of words occurring one or more times	King William & Queen Mary (34x)	Queen Anne (72x)	King George (106x)
GENERAL:			
Albion	0	7	9
Home and abroad/ neighbours/allies	2	11	21
France/Spain	8	16	13
Nation	13	6	21
(Balance/liberties of) Europe	4	21	21
Turk (denoting the pope or Louis XIV)	5	0	3
Just (and necessary) war	1	3	0
Pretender	1	8	18
IMAGE MONARCH(S):			
Elizabeth (not added to the total number of occurrences)	-	13	-

Upon closer inspection of the results of the table for the specific keywords it becomes clear in what way nationalism increased between 1689 and 1714. Firstly, there is a steady increase of certain keywords that have to do with general references to the dichotomy between England and the mainland such as; 'Albion', 'Home and Abroad/neighbours/allies', '(Balance/Liberties of) Europe', and 'Nation'. However, this steady increase does not apply to all the keywords in the nationalist category. One can deduce a pattern of keywords that score high in the timeframes of William and Mary and George, but drop in use or even disappear under Anne. Words such as 'Slavery', 'Catholics/popery/Rome', 'Turk' and 'Nation' all see a 'dip' in the timeframe of Queen Anne. The decline under Anne and rise under the other two reigns could be related to the urgency felt by the contemporaries to justify the accessions of 1689 and 1714. Queen Anne was quite acceptable to her subjects as a monarch, but to convince their audiences the authors writing about William and George had to put more effort into legitimising their rule. It seems to concur with the 'dip' seen in the religious category with the keyword 'Catholics/popery/Rome'. Through playing on anti-catholic fears authors may have tried to rally support for the monarchs whose succession was questionable. Authors thus increasingly approached their audiences with nationalist discourse, which suggests that this was a shared element in society.

Besides developments surrounding nationalism, in the categories of religious and 'mixed religious and secular' keywords there is also a great increase. The set of keywords 'Religion, Law and Liberties/Rights/Properties' occurred in almost twice as many sources in 1714 after having remained at more or less the same level in 1689 and 1702. A similar pattern is seen with the religious keywords 'Protestant/Protestantism' which stayed at the same level in 1689 and 1702 but almost doubled in 1714. The steady increase of religious words such as 'Providence' and 'Defender of the Faith/Church' are all the more remarkable since it seems to contrast with the increased move towards a more secularised, nationalist discourse. Examples of this secularisation are seen for instance in the increased references to 'Law/justice/rights/liberties', 'Constitution' and also 'Lawful succession'. It seems that especially in the case of George I the contemporaries were quite keen to underline the legality of the succession.

However, religion remained an important constituent of the personal image of the monarchs and of the timeframe in general. Out of the three cases Anne's image is the most overtly religious. In comparison to both her predecessors and successor Anne scores highest on the keywords 'nursing mother', 'pious/zeal', 'Sacred Majesty' and 'Deborah/Judith/

Esther'. Yet, the image of George and William also contained religious elements. More than Anne, both William and George were likened to 'Deliverers of Faith'. With George we find secular (military) qualities referenced more often than in the cases of William and Mary and Anne. Close to half of the authors referenced George as a victorious warrior. Interestingly, though Anne scored higher than William in having her warrior qualities exalted; it is likely that the contemporaries were overcompensating for Anne being a woman ruler in wartime. Thus the images of all monarchs contained both religious as well as secular elements. Yet, as in the simplified table of the comparison of the categories, in table two we can also discern a move towards secular and nationalist discourse.

Qualitative research

In this part of the chapter we shall discuss some of the patterns that have emerged upon comparison of the three types of documents from the three previous chapters. Firstly, the contemporaries' accounts of the coronation ceremony reveal that little to no variation occurred between 1689 and 1714. The ceremony remained very much the same; consisting of various religious and secular (including some nationalist) elements. This said, an important find was that in the case of 1714, George I was lifted into the throne by the bishop and peers.[281] As far as the sources included into this research, this was a ceremonial element new to the coronation. It is highly symbolic for the way George was seen as both divinely appointed and placed on the throne by parliament as a 'chosen king'. As Nathanael Harding wrote:*"He* [George I] *is King by Divine Appointment, being chosen by the People and set upon the Throne according to Law"*.[282]

Secondly, over the course of time, it seems contemporaries gained more freedom to express their displeasure with their monarchs. We must note that in 1689 and 1702 hardly any authors were negative about the Royals. In the case of William and Mary the authors focussed more on bashing James II than on anything else and Anne was still widely commended for her piousness as a religious monarch appointed by Providence. However, there is a trend discernible, especially in the case of George I, where authors are less revering of their monarch. The discourse of the 1714 authors clearly reflects a belief that George is just as

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[281] Anon., *An exact account of the form and ceremony*, 16.
[282] Harding, *A sermon preach'd at Plymouth*, 23.

much appointed by the people and thus could be commented upon. Undoubtedly, the king's own enlightened notions only stimulated this development.

These shifts in the discourse coincided with an increase in secular discourse. Although it was not tallied, it was striking how the authors seemed to focus on George I bringing prosperity to the nation – a hope that is wholly secular in its foundation. Steven Pincus has argued that the Glorious Revolution constituted England's first nationalist revolution.[283] The scholar stressed that the Protestant identity was not a constituent of the English identity.[284] The research has shown that in 1689 indeed there was evidence of nationalist discourse in the sources. However, after 1689 the qualitative research, like its quantitative counterpart above, showed a steep increase of nationalist language under Anne and by the reign of George I it had become virtually omnipresent.

There is a duality between religious and secular discourse that is noticeable throughout the source material. In the case of William for example, 'Providence' features as a key element in the seventeenth-century writings. The authors referring to King William III invariably link his person, his military successes and the very fact that he ascended the throne, to Providence. It is present in practically every source. The image of Anne also contains both religious and secular qualities. On the one hand, Anne was portrayed as the pinnacle of piousness and zeal; without a doubt the queen was perceived by the contemporaries as the most religious of the three monarchs. On the other hand, at the same time authors emphasise her prowess as a warrior queen. They delight in speculating how Louis XIV would be particularly humiliated when suffering defeat at the "*hands of a woman*".[285] Also in the case of George religious and secular elements of his image were linked, if less so than with Anne in 1702. The interplay between the different types of discourse is complicated and inextricably interconnected. All the sources seem to cover elements of law, religion, liberties, property, and (inter)national honour. This seems to be the overall theme throughout the sources. Even though there was an increase of secular and nationalist discourse it is still very much connected to religion, inseparably so even.

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[283] Steve Pincus, *1688*, 5.
[284] Pincus, "To protect English Liberties," 93.
[285] Anon. *A sermon preach'd on the occasion*, 23.

Conclusion

In conclusion, both the quantitative and the qualitative comparisons of chapters one to three show that secular and nationalist discourse have significantly increased. The quantitative comparison showed that secular keywords almost doubled between 1689 and 1714, and that the nationalist category more than tripled even. In comparison the increase of the religious and 'mixed religious and secular' discourse lags behind. However, religion is still very much part of the discourse. This is apparent in the quantitative research as well as in the qualitative research. Where nationalist and 'other secular' languages increased so did the religious and the 'mixed religious and secular' languages. The increase for these last two categories was clearly not of the same magnitude as that of the nationalist and 'other secular' languages, yet, in all three cases of the identities of the monarchs, religious discourse cannot be seen separate from secular discourse.

Did contemporaries view their monarchs in religious or secular terms? Whilst this research only touches upon one aspect of the discourse (the images of the monarchs), the results of the research suggest that religion was and remained central in the discourse of early modern Englishmen. Religion cannot be seen separate from secular discourse and the research thus opposes Pincus' claim that in late seventeenth century England religion was "a constituent, not a constitutive of English national identity".[286] However, the research of this thesis has also shown that nationalist and 'other secular' languages did increase significantly after the Glorious Revolution. According to the quantitative part of the research the coronation years of 1702 and 1714 saw an exponential increase of nationalist language. Pincus wrote in his book *1688, The First Modern Revolution* that "*1688 was not an undifferentiated antagonism to catholic Europe, but a subtle and sophisticated ideology based on economic, political and cultural engagement*".[287] Even though in the discourse regarding the images of the monarchs religious language remained inextricably interwoven with secular language, nationalist and 'other secular' languages were featuring more and more prominently in the discourse. This thesis suggests that if there was a fundamentally nationalist moment than that has probably taken place in 1714 rather than during the Glorious Revolution.

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[286] Pincus, "To protect English Liberties," 76, 93.
[287] Ibid., 79.

Final conclusion

An invasion, a king fled to France and a change of power; the year 1688 would prove to be pivotal in more than one way. Never again a Catholic monarch on the thrones of the British Isles, that was one of the aims of the new monarchs, their successors and their parliaments. Between 1689 and 1727 they all worked to make the Act of Succession a success. Actually, warding off the Catholic threat at 'Home and Abroad' would prove a continuous theme for William and Mary, Anne and then George. Did religion then remain an important part of the English identity? Various historians have investigated elements of this question.

Linda Colley takes religion to have been an essential element to the English national identity. Colley stresses that seventeenth century Englishmen and women felt a strong need to stand up for the defence of their beliefs as well as their ancient national laws and customs.[288] However, Steve Pincus, casts the Glorious Revolution as the first modern revolution and essentially not a religion based conflict.[289] Whilst Pincus does not eliminate religion as an important force in the conflict, he does consider it to have been assigned too large a role. He urges us to open our eyes to early modern English nationalism.[290] Pincus: "*1688 was not an undifferentiated antagonism to catholic Europe, but a subtle and sophisticated ideology based on economic, political and cultural engagement*".[291] He considers Protestantism to have been a constituent not a constitutive of English national identity.[292] Claydon however maintains that notions of nationalism and universal monarchy were no more dominant than those of Protestant Providentialism.[293]

The field of tension between these different scholars has been the incentive for the research of this thesis. However, in order to keep the research manageable it was limited to the first years of three consecutive coronations; that of William III and Mary II in 1689, of Queen Anne in 1702 and of George I in 1714. Moreover, the investigation focussed only on one aspect of the discourse: the imagery of the monarchs as conveyed by contemporary authors around the time of their coronations. In how far, after the Glorious Revolution, did religion remain an important part of the English monarchs' image? An indication of the way

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[288] Colley, "Britishness and Otherness," 311, 316.
[289] Pincus, *1688*, 7.
[290] Pincus, "To protect English Liberties," 103.
[291] Ibid., 79.
[292] Pincus, "To protect English Liberties," 76, 93.
[293] Claydon, "Protestantism, Universal Monarchy and Christendom," 130.

religion remained (or did not remain) an important element to seventeenth century Englishmen and women is the frequency with which contemporaries felt compelled to use religious or secular argumentation in their writings. Two methods were used in order to assess the source material. The qualitative part of the research entailed a tallying of religious, nationalist, 'other secular', and 'mixed religious and secular' keywords in 60 sources per case. In addition, the content and imagery of the royals were evaluated and any patterns and trends were discussed in the qualitative part of the thesis. In chapter four a cross-analysis was carried out. Through these complementary methods an impression of the image of the monarchs was attained.

In all three cases we have found the religious and secular dimensions to be exceedingly intertwined and interconnected. From William and Mary to Anne and to George, the monarchs' subjects called on their kings and queens to be 'Defenders of the true Faith' and a 'Terror to their Enemies', to protect beloved 'Albion' and its 'Religion, Law and Liberties' from 'Popery', and to humiliate both 'Turkish Rome' and the insatiably land-hungry Catholic Louis XIV. Even though the different types of discourse (religious, nationalist, 'other secular', and 'mixed religious and secular') all remained present over time, we did see a strong increase of secular discourse. Whilst religious discourse remained an essential constituent of the image of the monarchs, the use of nationalist and 'other secular' keywords increased greatly; these trends were observed in both the quantitative and qualitative parts of the research.

William and Anne

The personal image of William III and Mary II was predominantly religious and to a lesser extent secular. On the one hand, they are hailed as 'virtuous, righteous and pious', on the other hand, they are called 'brave and just'.[294] Yet, often these secular qualities were used in a religious context. A clergyman preached a "*Sense of His Highness's Hazardous and Heroical Expedition, which the favour of Heaven had made so surprisingly prosperous*".[295] The source material also contains many indications of an awareness of a national, but also of a European, identity that included all of Christendom. Authors use the term 'Turk' to denote the pope as well as Louis XIV. Both are considered earthly and divine enemies of the English and all

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[294] Anon., *A Poem on the coronation*, 8.
[295] Anon., "An address of the Nonconformist Ministers," 107.

Protestants. Although the nationalistic feelings that Steve Pincus so ardently purports are indeed present in the sources researched here, we cannot fully support his argument that religion was but one element in the struggle for national freedom. Finally, the dimension of law was consistently linked to religion. In the late seventeenth-century mind religious and secular arguments seem to have boiled down to the same thing: defending one meant defending the other. The research suggests that in 1689 religion was inseparably linked to secular and nationalist discourse in general and also specifically for the personal images of William and Mary.

Anne

Based on both the tallying of the different types of keywords and the general analysis of the sources it was found in 1702 that (a combination of) religious and nationalist elements marked the personal image of Anne. The queen was cast as the defender of both the nation and its religion. 'Elizabethan, Protestant and English', these were the key concepts of the image of Anne. Yet, there were also certain secular elements that the contemporaries ascribed to the Queen. Anne's lawful succession is stressed but so were her military qualities. Many authors relish in the fact that the humiliation of tyrant Louis XIV shall be all the greater when suffered "*at the hands of a woman*".[296] Another secular element to the image of Queen Anne is the poets insisting vehemently of her lawful and legal succession.[297]

In the reign of Anne we also see nationalist words like 'allies' and 'neighbours' and the phrase 'home and abroad' take a more prominent place in the discourse. This type of 'us versus them' language signifies nationalism being on the rise. In practically every sermon, when it would make much more sense for the authors to restrict their focus to divine matters, the sermons almost always (side-) reference the war and Europe. Many authors link together religious and secular arguments in a way to complement and reinforce their point. Overall we have to conclude that, perhaps even more so than in 1689, religious, nationalist, and 'other secular' argumentations have become inextricably interwoven.

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[296] Defoe, *Reformation of manners*, 23.
[297] Anon., *The english muse*, 3.

George

The image of George I, like that of his predecessors, consisted of a mix of different types of language. He was cast as a Protestant King, a Nursing Father, and a hero willing and capable to govern and fight for his nation. George I's image thus consisted of both religious and secular elements. The authors praise his military skills as well as his role as the Defender of the Faith, in spite of his Lutheranism. As a Christian war hero George I was called upon to defend the nation, its religion, and beat back France and Spain in Europe.

There was remarkable unison in the way the authors all seemed to occupy themselves with the same matters: law, religion, liberties, property, and (inter)national honour. In the quantitative research we observed 'Protestantism' and the Catholic threat to be more at the forefront of the contemporaries minds than in the case of 1689. Yet, the most remarkable find in this chapter was that the secular dimension of society was clearly becoming much more important.

Moreover, two new nationalist themes were introduced by the authors: the hope that George would make the nation prosper and help it regain its former glory. A novel element added to the coronation ceremony was the way George I was lifted into the throne by the bishop and Peers during the coronation ceremony. This points to a definite step away from divine right with regards to the succession. In addition, by some authors the king was unabashedly portrayed a chosen king as well as divinely appointed by Providence.[298] On the whole, we can conclude that in 1714 there is a shift towards a more nationalist discourse that, nevertheless, is interspersed with religious language.

1689, 1702, 1714 - monarchs compared

Two of the most remarkable findings found in chapter four, the cross-analysis of the three cases, are that between 1689 and 1714 the frequency of 'other secular' keywords almost doubled and that the nationalist keywords even tripled. Also in the qualitative part of the research we saw an increase in both nationalist and 'other secular' discourse. These types of languages gained a much more prominent position in the discourse of the contemporaries. However, even though there was an increase of secular and nationalist discourse it was still very much connected to religion, even inseparably so.

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[298] Harding, *A sermon preach'd at Plymouth*, 23.

Even with this research being a sample survey and limited in the sense that only relatively few keywords could be tallied, the comparison of the different keywords is indicative of certain trends that occurred over time. In the future, perhaps more work can be done by comparing the levels of nationalism of 1689, 1702 and 1714 to nationalist sentiments displayed during the accessions that took place before the Glorious Revolution, like the accession of James II in 1685 and perhaps even of Charles II in 1660. This comparison would help to further investigate the claims of Pincus about 1688 having been the first modern revolution.[299]

Conclusion

In conclusion, taking the results of both the quantitative research and the qualitative research into consideration we can only call for a more nuanced view of the arguments of the scholars Tony Claydon and Linda Colley on the one hand, and Steve Pincus on the other hand. Whilst Claydon and Colley consider Protestantism to be one of the essential elements of national identity of the English we must acknowledge that undeniably, over time, nationalist sentiments became an increasingly important component of the discourse in general.[300] The English minds, definitely wandered increasingly beyond the limits of their own national borders. Yet, religion remained one of the pillars of the image of the monarchs and also a fundamental element for their legitimacy. It was not reduced, as Pincus claimed, "*to a constituent instead of constitutive of English national identity*".[301]

The aim of this thesis was to investigate whether contemporaries viewed their monarchs in a religious, nationalist or 'other secular' way. Whilst this research covers only one aspect of all discourse of the period between 1689 and 1714, the outcomes of the research suggest that religion remained central to the image of the monarchs. Religious language remained inextricably interwoven with secular language but unquestionably, nationalist and 'other secular' languages were featuring much more prominently in the discourse in 1714. Thus, if we were to look for a truly pivotal moment in the nationalist discourse, more fitting than the Glorious Revolution would be 1714, the year of George I's accession.

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[299] Pincus, *1688*, 5.
[300] Colley, "Britishness and Otherness," 311, 316. Claydon, "Protestantism, Universal Monarchy and Christendom," 126.
[301] Pincus, "To protect English Liberties," 76, 93.

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Chicago Documenting style was used to annotate. Since for the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sources often no publisher can be identified, or a person rather than a publishing company published the source. To not create confusion no publisher was added to the titles of the seventeenth- or eighteenth century sources in both the annotation throughout the various chapters or in the works cited lists.

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Appendix 1: Table and sources chapter 1

Table King William and Queen Mary

a. **Religious keywords:** 11 keywords, 93 occurrences
   (On average 8,4 religious keywords)

Word/set of words occurring one or more times	Total number of sources	Corresponding sources
GENERAL:		
Christendom	7	13, 28, 33, 46, 48, 58, 60
Protestantism/Protestant	16	6, 8, 18, 19, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 34, 38, 45, 47, 48, 49, 58,
Providence	5	24, 29, 36, 47, 51
Catholics/popery/Rome	31	2, 8, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 34, 36, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 53, 55, 58, 59, 60
IMAGE MONARCH(S):		
Defender of Faith/Church	4	1, 2, 5, 23
(Nursing) Mother/Father	1	21
Glorious Instrument/Instrument of God/God's vicegerent	6	14, 15, 16, 18, 21, 43
Deliverance/Deliverer	16	8, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 25, 29, 36, 38, 43, 44, 47, 56, 60
David	3	21, 51, 55
Pious/zeal	3	18, 21, 59
Sacred Majesty	1	9

b. **'Other secular' keywords:** 5 keywords, 54 occurrences
   (On average 10,8 secular keywords)

Word occurring one or more times	Total number of sources	Corresponding sources
GENERAL:		
Law/justice/rights/liberties	18	6, 11, 15, 16, 17, 19, 24, 26, 30, 34, 36, 37, 45, 51, 53, 57, 59, 60
Tyranny/despotic/oppressor/ arbitrary government or rule	15	9, 10, 14, 16, 18, 24, 26, 34, 41, 44, 47, 48, 51, 58, 60
Constitution	8	27, 30, 36, 37, 46, 47, 48, 51
Lawful succession	1	50
IMAGE MONARCH(S):		
Heroic/warrior king or queen/victorious	12	7, 8, 12, 21, 23, 41, 48, 51, 55, 57, 59, 60

c. **'Mixed religious and secular' keywords:** 3 keywords, 29 occurrences
   (On average 9,6 mixed keywords)

Word/set of words occurring one or more times	Total number of sources	Corresponding sources
GENERAL:		
Religion, Law & Liberties/Rights/Property	12	12, 14, 15, 17, 21, 31, 41, 44, 47, 49, 55, 58
Slavery	11	10, 13, 22, 24, 25, 36, 41, 43, 44, 45, 60
IMAGE MONARCH(S):		
Vertuous [meaning powerful and morally righteous]	6	8, 18, 21, 33, 55, 59

d. Nationalist keywords: 8 keywords, 34 occurrences
(On average 4,3 nationalist keywords)

Word/set of words occurring one or more times	Total number of sources	Corresponding sources
GENERAL:		
Albion	0	-
Home and abroad/neighbours/allies	2	29, 51,
France/Spain	8	10, 12, 13, 28, 40, 45, 53, 60
Nation	13	16, 17, 18, 22, 25, 27, 29, 30, 36, 37, 46, 47, 59,
(Balance/liberties of) Europe	4	10, 12, 41, 51,
Turk (denoting the pope or Louis XIV)	5	2, 13, 53, 58, 59,
Just (and necessary) war	1	47
Pretender	1	41

Sources King William and Queen Mary

The numbers before the titles correspond to the tallying as recorded in the table for the quantitative research. The place or year placed in brackets signifies that this is the presumed location or year of publication. 'S.l.' inside brackets indicates that there is no known location of publication. Most titles have been written down in full. When the title is exceedingly long [...] indicates that the title has been shortened.

1. Anon. *An Account of the ceremonial at the coronation of Their Most Excellent Majesties King VVilliam and Queen Mary, the eleventh day of this instant April, 1689.* [London]: 1689.

2. Anon. *The Court of England, or, The Preparation for the happy coronation of King William and Queen Mary.* [London]: 1689.

3. Anon. *A description of the ceremonial proceedings at the coronation of their most sacred majesties, King William III. and Queen Mary II. Who were crowned at Westminster-Abby, on Thursday the 11th. of April, 1689.* [s.l.]: 1689.

4. Anon. *The Earl Marshals order touching the habits of the peeresses at the coronation of Their Majesties King VVilliam and Queen Mary.* [s.l.]: 1689.

5. Anon. *An Exact account of the ceremonial at the coronation of their Most Excellent Majesties King VVilliam and Queen Mary, the eleventh day of this instant April, 1689.* [London]: 1689.

6. Anon. *The Form of the intended coronation oath agreed upon by the committee.* [s.l.]: 1689.

7. Anon. *The glory of the English nation: being the manner of the crowning of King William the III. and Queen Mary the II. in Westminster-Abby, on Thursday the 11th of April* […]. London: 1689.

8. Anon. *The Loyalty and glory of the city of Bath being a true and perfect relation of the wonderful ceremony, and transactions, that were lately performed there.* London: 1689.

9. Anon. *News from Bath being a true and perfect relation of the great and splendid procession, and joyful transactions there, on the 11th day of April* […]. London: 1689.

10. Anon. *A Pastoral on the success and coronation of William and Mary, King and Queen of England.* London: 1689.

11. Anon. *A Poem on the coronation of King William and Queen Mary.* London: 1689.

12. Anon. "The Reasons why the late King James would not stand to a Free and Legal Parliament." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 207-209. [s.l.]: 1689.

13. Anon. "The Reasons of the Suddenness of the Change in England." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 210-211. [s.l.]: 1689.

14. Anon. "The Judgment of the Court of France concerning the Misgovernment of King James the Second." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 211-212. [s.l.]: 1689.

15. Leopold, &c. "The Emperor of Germany his Account of the late King's Unhappiness in joining with the King of France." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 212-213. [s.l.]: 1689.

16. Anon. "A full Relation of what was done between the Time the Prince of Orange came to London, till the Proclaiming him King of England, &c." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 213-214. [s.l.]: 1689.

17. Anon. "The Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons of England, concerning their Grievances; presented to King William and Queen Mary : With their Majesties Answer." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 215-217. [s.l.]: 1689.

18. Jo. Brown. "The Manner of proclaiming King William and Queen Mary at Whitehal, and in the City of London." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 221-223. [s.l.]: 1689.

19. Anon. "An Account of their Coronation at Westminister." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 223-224. [s.l.]: 1689.

20. Dalrymple, J.A. "The Coronation Oaths of England and Scotland." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 225-227. [s.l.]: 1689.

21. B.L. *England's happiness in a discourse occasionally written on the glorious solemnity of the coronation of King VVilliam and Queen Mary, the 11th of this instant April* […]. [London]: 1689.

22. Anon. "A Letter to a Friend, advising in this Extraordinary Juncture, how to Free the Nation from Slavery." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 104-106. [s.l.]: 1689.

23. Anon. "An address of the Nonconformist Ministers of London, to the Prince of Orange." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 107. [s.l.]: 1689.

24. Anon. "The Address of the City of Bristol to the Prince of Orange." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 108. [s.l.]: 1689.

25. Anon. "A Word to the Wise, for Setling the Government." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 108-110. [s.l.]: 1689.

26. Anon. "A Modest Proposal to the present Convention." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 110. [s.l.]: 1689.

27. Anon. "Proposals humbly offered in behalf of the Princess of Orange." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 116-117. [s.l.]: 1689.

28. Anon. "The Heads of an Expedient proposed by the Court-Party to the Parliament at Oxford, in lieu of the Bill for excluding the Duke of York." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 117-118. [s.l.]: 1689.

29. Anon. "An Account of the Irregular Actions of the Papists in the Raign of King James the Second, with a Method proposed to rid the nation of them." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 118-123. [s.l.]: 1689.

30. Anon. "The Present Convention a Parliament." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 123-125. [s.l.]: 1689.

31. Anon. "A Letter to a Member of the Convention." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 125-129. [s.l.]: 1689.

32. Anon. "An Answer to the Author of the Letter to a Member of the Convention." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 129-134. [s.l.]: 1689.

33. Anon. "Proposals to the present Convention for Settling the Government." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 137-139. [s.l.]: 1689. [s.l.]: 1689.

34. Anon. "A Protestant Precedent offer'd for the Exclusion of King James the Second." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 139-142. [s.l.]: 1689.

35. Anon. "Reasons offer'd for placing the Prince of Orange singly in the Throne during his Life." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 142-143. [s.l.]: 1689.

36. Anon. "A Breviate for the Convention, represented to the Lords and Commons of England." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 143-147. [s.l.]: 1689.

37. Anon. "Proposals to the present Convention, for perpetual Security of the Protestant Religion, and Liberty of the Subjects of England." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 150-151. [s.l.]: 1689.

38. Anon. "A Dialogue between two Friends, wherein the Church of England is vindicated in joining with the Prince of Orange in his Descent into England." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 152-157. [s.l.]: 1689.

39. Anon. "His late Majesty's Letter to the Lords and others of his Privy Council." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 157-158. [s.l.]: 1689.

40. Anon. "Some Remarks on the late King's pretended Letter to the Lords, and others of his Privy Council." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 159-160. [s.l.]: 1689.

41. Anon. "Reasons for Crowing the Prince and Princess of Orange King and Queen jointly; and for placing the Executive Power in the Prince alone." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 160-161. [s.l.]: 1689.

42. Anon. "A Lord's Speech without Doors to the Lords upon the present Condition of Government." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 162-165. [s.l.]: 1689.

43. Anon. "The Bishops Reasons to Queen Elizabeth for taking off the Queen of Scots: offer'd to the Confederation of the present Sect of Grumbletonians." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 170-176. [s.l.]: 1689.

44. Anon. "Reflections upon our late and present Proceedings." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 170-176. [s.l.]: 1689.

45. Anon. "Some short Notes on a Pamphlet, entitled, Reflections upon our late and present Proceedings," In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 177-178. [s.l.]: 1689.

46. Anon. "The Amicable Reconciliation of the Dissenters to the Church of England [...]." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 183-187. [s.l.]: 1689.

47. Anon. "An Answer to the Desertion Discuss'd, being a Defence of the late and present Proceedigns." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 188-196. [s.l.]: 1689.

48. R.B. "Satisfaction tendred to all that pretend Conscience for Non-submission to our present Govenours, and refusing of the New Oaths of Fealty and Allegiance." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 196-199. [s.l.]: 1689.

49. Oats, Titus. "Dr. Oates his Petition to the Parliament, declaring his barbarous Sufferings by the Papists." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 200-201. [s.l.]: 1689.

50. Burnet, Gilbert. *A sermon preached at the coronation of William III and Mary II, King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, defenders of the faith in the Abby-Church of Westminster, April 11, 1689. By Gilbert Lord Bishop of Salisbury.* [s.l.]: 1689.

51. Anon. "The Opinion of two eminent Parliament-Men, justifying the Lawfulness of taking the oath of Allegiance to King William and Queen Mary." In *A Compleat collection of papers,* edited by Gilbert Burnet, 204-205. [s.l.]: 1689.

52. Anon. *The form of prayers and services used in Westminster-Abby at the coronation of the kings and queens of England with an account of the procession from the palace to the abby.* London: 1689.

53. Crake, Francis. *A congratulatory poem upon the coronation of William and Mary, King and Queen of England &c.* London: 1689.

54. Anon. *Anno primo. Willielmi & Mariae An act for establishing the coronation oath.* [s.l.]: 1689.

55. Fleming, Robert. *Britain's jubilee a congratulatory poem on the descent of His Highness the Prince of Orange into England and Their Highnesses accession to the crown, and solemn coronation, April 11, 1689.* London: 1689.

56. Gentleman in the country. *A letter from a gentleman in the country to his correspondent in the city, concerning the coronation medal, distributed April 11, 1689.* [s.l.]: 1689.

57. Lee, Nathaniel. *On their Majesties coronation.* [London]: 1689.

58. Long, Thomas. *A resolution of certain queries concerning submission to the present government ... by a divine of the Church of England, as by law establisht.* London: 1689.

59. Anon. *A congratulatory poem to His Highness the Prince of Orange, on his happy arrival Date.* [s.l.]: 1689.

60. T.R. *Lvx occidentalis, or, Providence display'd in the coronation of King William and Queen Mary, and their happy accession to the crown of England with other remarks.* London: 1689.

Appendix 2: Table and sources chapter 2

Table Queen Anne

a. **Religious keywords:** 11 keywords, 110 occurrences
(On average 10 religious keywords)

Word/set of words occurring one or more times	Total number of sources	Corresponding sources
GENERAL:		
Christendom	5	10, 12, 15, 16, 25
Protestantism/Protestant	16	1, 2, 5, 6, 11, 19, 25, 27, 28, 30, 33, 34, 37, 45, 57, 60
Providence	10	1, 10, 12, 15, 25, 31, 43, 46, 54, 58
Catholics/popery/Rome	13	1, 2, 12, 16, 20, 21, 24, 27, 36, 38, 40, 51, 59
IMAGE MONARCH(S):		
Defender of Faith/Church	11	2, 6, 15, 16, 21, 25, 28, 31, 37, 51, 59
(Nursing) Mother	13	2, 11, 15, 19, 21, 28, 31, 34, 35, 46, 49, 50, 51
Glorious Instrument/Instrument of God/God's vicegerent	7	2, 7, 26, 30, 43, 46, 57
Deliverance/Deliverer	1	12
Deborah/Judith/Esther	10	11, 16, 20, 30, 31, 39, 41, 46, 56, 60
Pious/zeal	20	1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 28, 31, 34, 41, 45, 46, 48, 50, 54, 56
Sacred Majesty	4	1, 2, 10, 16

b. **'Other secular' keywords:** 5 keywords, 62 occurrences
(On average 12,4 secular keywords)

Word occurring one or more times	Total number of sources	Corresponding sources
GENERAL:		
Law/justice/rights/liberties	17	1, 2, 6, 10, 12, 15, 18, 23, 25, 27, 28, 30, 32, 33, 34, 54, 59
Tyranny/despotic/oppressor/ arbitrary government or rule	14	6, 7, 12, 16, 20, 25, 29, 36, 42, 43, 46, 51, 54, 59
Constitution	4	12, 25, 27, 36
Lawful succession	10	1, 2, 4, 21, 31, 32, 36, 47, 54, 57
IMAGE MONARCH(S):		
Heroic/warrior queen/victorious	17	1, 2, 5, 10, 16, 22, 30, 31, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 50, 51, 55, 60

c. **'Mixed religious and secular' keywords:** 3 keywords, 28 occurrences
(On average 9,3 mixed keywords)

Word/set of words occurring one or more times	Total number of sources	Corresponding sources
GENERAL:		
Religion, Law and Liberties/Rights	13	1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 12, 19, 36, 37, 42, 45, 46, 59
Slavery	5	2, 12, 27, 29, 54
IMAGE MONARCH(S):		
Vertuous [meaning powerful and morally righteous]	10	1, 2, 10, 20, 28, 42, 44, 52, 53, 54

d. Nationalist keywords: 8 keywords, 72 occurrences
(On average 9 nationalist keywords per source)

Word/set of words occurring one or more times	Total number of sources	Corresponding sources
GENERAL:		
Albion	7	6, 8, 10, 16, 42, 47, 59
Home and abroad/ neighbours/allies	11	1, 2, 25, 28, 33, 44, 47, 52, 54, 55, 56
France/Spain	16	1, 2, 6, 16, 20, 25, 29, 34, 36, 43, 46, 51, 52, 54, 59, 60
Nation	6	7, 25, 42, 46, 51, 54
(Balance/liberties of) Europe	21	2, 7, 8, 10, 12, 15, 13, 19, 20, 25, 29, 30, 33, 34, 43, 47, 51, 54, 57, 58, 60
Turk (denoting the pope or Louis XIV)	0	-
Just (and necessary) war	3	5, 25, 29
Pretender	8	5, 4, 12, 25, 32, 36, 47, 59
IMAGE MONARCH(S):		
Elizabeth (not added to the total number of occurrences)	13	20, 21, 25, 29, 31, 38, 40, 43, 45, 46, 49, 54, 55

Sources Queen Anne

The numbers before the titles correspond to the tallying as recorded in the table for the quantitative research. The place or year placed in brackets signifies that this is the presumed location or year of publication. 'S.l.' inside brackets indicates that there is no known location of publication. Most titles have been written down in full. When the title is exceedingly long [...] indicates that the title has been shortened.

1. Ayloffe, William. *A pocket companion for gentlemen and ladies. Being a true and faithful epitomy of the most exact and ample historians of England* […]. London: 1703.

2. Boyer, Abel. *The history of the reign of Queen Anne, digested into annals. Year the first. Containing, Besides other Memorable Transactions, a Particular and Genuine Account of the late Expedition into Spain; and the Proceedings of both Houses in the last Session of Parliament*. London: 1703.

3. Earl-Marshal of England. *By Charles Earl of Carlisle, Earl-Marshal of England. Announcement of the coronation.* London: 1702.

4. Anon. *The case of the abjuration oath endeavoured to be cleared, To the Satisfaction of those who are Required to take it.* London: 1702.

5. Anon. *The church of England's joy on the happy accession of Her Most Sacred Majesty Queen Anne, to the throne. Published on the glorious day of her coronation.* London: 1702.

6. Dunton, John. *The history of living men: or, characters of the royal family, the ministers of state, and the principal natives of the three kingdoms.* London: 1702.

7. Edzard, J.E. God save the Queen! The most hearty acclamations of the Lutherans in London, Expressed at the royal proclamation and coronation of Her most Sacred Majesty Queen Anne […]. London: 1702.

8. Anon. *England's triumph, or an occasional poem on the happy coronation of Anne Queen of England, &c.* London: 1702.

9. Earl Marshal. *The form of the proceeding to the royal coronation of Her most Excellent Majesty Queen Anne, The Twenty Third Day of this Instant April, 1702.* London: 1702.

10. Gander, Joseph. *The glory of Her Sacred Majesty Queen Anne, in the Royal Navy, and her absolute sovereignty as Empress of the sea, asserted and vindicated […].* London: 1703.

11. Piggot, John. *The natural frailty of princes consider'd; in a sermon preach'd the 29th of March, 1702 […].* London: 1702.

12. Anon. *Principles upon which the taking the oath of abjuration may be grounded. Viz I. That all lawful Power is derived from the Prerogative of Divine Providence […].* London: 1702.

13. Sharp, John. *The duty and advantages of frequently receiving the holy sacrament. A sermon Preach'd before the Queen at St. James's Chappel, On Good-Friday, March 26. 1703.* London: 1703.

14. Anon. *The true picture of an ill practiser of the law. In a dialogue between a sollicitor and his intended client.* London: 1703.

15. Luke, Beaulieu. *A sermon on the coronation-day, April 23. 1702. preach'd in the cathedral church of Glocester, before the Mayor and Corporation.* London: 1702.

16. Burridge, Richard. *A congratulatory poem, on the coronation of Queen Ann; as it was presented to Her Most Serene Majesty.* London: 1702.

17. Chamberlayne, Edward. *Angliae notitia: or the present state of England: With Divers remarks upon The Ancient State thereof.* London: 1702.

18. Defoe, Daniel. *A new test of the Church of England's loyalty: or, Whiggish loyalty and church loyalty compar'd.* Edinburgh: 1702.

19. Fleming, Robert. *The blessedness of those who die in the Lord: a practical discourse occasioned by the death of King William; wherein a character of him is given. To which is added, a poetical essay on his memory.* London: 1702.

20. Hext, Francis. *A funeral oration sacred to the immortal memory of our late most serene, most puissant Prince William III.* London: 1702.

21. Hole, Matthew. *A sermon preach'd on the day of Her Majesties Coronation: in the parish church of Stokegursy in Somersetshire.* London: [1702].

22. Hughes, John. *The house of Nassau. A pindarick ode.* London: 1702.

23. Humfrey, John. *The free state of the people of England maintained: in the renewed determination of three cases* [...].London: 1702.

24. Leslie, Charles. *The new association of those called, moderate-church-men, with the modern-whigs and fanaticks, to under-mine and blow-up the present church and government.* London: 1702.

25. Pliny the Younger. *Pliny's panegyrick upon the Emperor Trajan, faithfully rendred into English from the original.* London: 1702.

26. Taylor, James B.D. *The pious soul's divine breathings, pantings and thirstings after Christ, in holy and heart-searching meditations.* London: 1702.

27. Anon. *A true account of the constitution, principles and practice of the English flying squadron.* London: 1702.

28. Wroe, Richard. *A sermon preach'd in the collegiate church of Manchester, March the 8th. Being the Day of Her Majesty's Happy Accession to the Throne.* London: 1702.

29. Anon. *Anna in anno mirabili: or, the wonderful year of 1702. A rehearsal.* London: 1702.

30. Anon. *A sermon preach'd on the occasion of the death of our late sovereign King William III. of glorious memory. By the author of the Essay for a comprehension.* London: 1702.

31. Brady, Nicholas. *A sermon upon occasion of the death of our late sovereign King William; and Her present Majesty's happy accession to the crown. Preach'd at the parish-church of Richmond in Surry, On Sunday, Mar. 15. 1701/2.* London: 1702.

32. Anon. *A copy of the oaths required by the laws of England.* London: 1702.

33. Defoe, Daniel. *The mock mourners. A satyr, by way of elegy on King William, The second edition corrected. By the author of The true-born Englishman*. London: 1702.

34. Anon. *The humble address of the House of Commons to the Queen*. London: 1702.

35. Jenkins, Joseph. *A sermon preach'd the 22d of March, 1701/2. upon the mournful occasion of the death of the late glorious and mighty prince William the Third, King of England, &c.* London: 1702.

36. Knaggs, Thomas. *Divine providence. A sermon before the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, and The Right Worshipful the aldermen and sheriffs of the city of London; preach'd on November 5th. 1702, at St. Paul's church.* London: 1702.

37. Lake, Edward. *Officium eucharisticum. A preparatory service to a devout and worthy reception of the Lord's Supper. The eighteenth edition corrected and enlarged. To which is added, a meditation for every day in the week.* Dublin, 1702.

38. Anon. *A letter to a member of Parliament, in reference to His Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark*. London: 1702.

39. Anon. *The queen's famous progress, or; Her Majesty's royal journey to the Bath, and happy return.* London: 1702.

40. Renoult, Jean-Baptiste. *Le panegyrique de leurs majestez Britanniques, Guillaume le Grand troisieme du nom.* London: 1702.

41. Trelawny, Sir John. *A sermon preach'd before the Queen, and both Houses of Parliament: at the cathedral church of St. Pauls Nov. 12. 1702*. London: 1702.

42. True-Born English Man. *The prerogative of the breeches, in a letter to the sons of men: being an answer to Petticoat-Government*. London: 1702.

43. Tucker, William. *Sermon preached upon the much-lamented death of Our Late Gracious Sovereign, King William III. Of Glorious Memory; at Cobham in Surrey, on Sunday, the 15th day of March, 1701/2*. London: 1702.

44. Wise, Thomas. *A sermon preach'd at the church of Richmond in Surry, upon the death of William III. King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, &c. March the 22d, 1701/2*. London: 1702.

45. Anon. *An account of the proceedings of the Lords spiritual & temporal in Parliament assembled, in Relation to the Bill, Intituled, An Act for Preventing Occasional Conformity*. London: 1702.

46. Allen, Richard. *The death of a good king and a great and publick loss: exemplify'd, in a sermon preached March 29th 1702. Upon the much lamented death of our late sovereign William III*. London: 1702.

47. Author of the Generous Muse. *The loyalist: a funeral poem in memory of William III. late King of Great Britain. Most humbly dedicated to the Queens Most Excellent Majesty*. London: 1702.

48. Bentley, William. *A sermon, Occasionally Preached on the funeral Of our late Soveraign William the III. King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland* […]. London: 1702.

49. Burd, Richard. *Two sermons preached on the 3d. and 6th. Sundays after the opening of the new Chappel of St. James's Westminster* […]. London: 1702.

50. Ceasar, James John. *The glorious memory of a faithful prince by a thankful posterity; in a sermon preach'd upon the most lamented death of King William III*. London: 1702.

51. Chandler, Samuel. *England's great duty on the death of their Josiah. In a sermon preached on the death of K. William III. of Glorious Memory* […]. London: 1702.

52. Defoe, Daniel. *Reformation of manners, a satyr*. London: 1702.

53. Dennis, John. *The monument: a poem sacred to the immortal memory of the best and greatest of kings, William the Third. King of Great Britain, &c.* […]. London: 1702.

54. Anon. *The english muse: or, a congratulatory poem. Upon Her Majesty's accession to the throne of England*. London: 1702.

55. Goodwin, Thomas. *A sermon preached on the sad occasion of the death of the best of kings, William the IIId. King of England; Scotland; France; and Ireland, &c. who died in his own palace at Kensington, March 8. 1701/2* […]. London: 1702.

56. Needham, William. *A sermon preach'd at Westminster, Nov. 12. 1702. in K. Henry the Vii's Chapel, Before The Reverend Clergy Of The Lower House of Convocation* […]. London: 1702.

57. Norris, Richard. *A sermon preached on the death and funeral of the late King, William the IIId. Of Glorious Memory* […]. London: 1702.

58. Pead, Deuel. *Greatness and goodness reprieve not from death. A sermon occasion'd by the death of that Glorious Monarch William the Third, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, &c.* […]. London: 1702.

59. Phillips, Samuel. *England's happiness. A panegyrick, on the present Parliament.* London: 1702.

60. Williams, Daniel. *A thanksgiving sermon, for the success of Her Majesties forces. Preach'd at Hand-Alley, November 12, 1702*. London: 1702.

Appendix 3: Table and sources chapter 3

Table King George

a. **Religious keywords:** 11 keywords, 141 occurrences.
   (On average 12,8 religious keywords)

Word/set of words occurring one or more times	Total number of sources	Corresponding sources
GENERAL:		
Christendom	9	3, 7, 10, 11, 17, 22, 28, 40, 45
Protestantism/Protestant	29	2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 26, 29, 31, 37, 39, 43, 46, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 57, 59
Providence	15	2, 7, 10, 14, 16, 18, 19, 23, 39, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 59
Catholics/popery/Rome	34	2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 20, 22, 26, 27, 28, 30, 32, 34, 37, 39, 41, 46, 47, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60
IMAGE MONARCH(S):		
Defender of Faith/Church	17	2, 7, 10, 12, 13, 17, 23, 25, 26, 28, 35, 39, 45, 49, 50, 54, 60
(Nursing) Father	9	6, 28, 30, 35, 37, 39, 42, 57, 60
Glorious Instrument/Instrument of God/God's vicegerent	4	2, 35, 39,60
Deliverance/Deliverer	7	7, 11, 30, 31, 32, 46, 59
David	6	6, 7, 11, 30, 37, 57
Pious/zeal	11	2, 6, 7, 11, 21, 26, 39, 45, 47, 48, 60
Sacred Majesty	0	-

b. **'Other secular' keywords:** 5 keywords, 100 occurrences
   (On average 20 secular keywords)

Word occurring one or more times	Total number of sources	Corresponding sources
GENERAL:		
Law/justice/rights/liberties	31	1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 16, 18, 20, 21, 24, 26, 28, 30, 33, 34, 35, 42, 43, 45, 47, 48, 49, 53, 54, 56, 58, 60
Tyranny/despotic/oppressor/ arbitrary government or rule	15	1, 3, 16, 20, 24, 26, 27, 28, 30, 32, 39, 46, 48, 54, 58
Constitution	9	1, 6, 10, 11, 23, 26, 46, 49, 5
Lawful succession	20	3, 6, 8, 11, 13, 17, 19, 20, 25, 28, 29, 30, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 49, 51, 52
IMAGE MONARCH(S):		
Heroic/warrior king/victorious	25	2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 13, 20, 24, 26, 27, 28, 31, 33, 36, 38, 39, 40, 42, 44, 45, 48, 56, 57, 58, 59

c. **'Mixed religious and secular' keywords:** 3 keywords, 33 occurrences
   (On average 11 mixed keywords)

Word/set of words occurring one or more times	Total number of sources	Corresponding sources
GENERAL:		
Religion, Law & Liberties/Rights/Property	21	2, 3, 6, 8, 12, 14, 16, 20, 23, 28, 29, 30, 31, 36, 39, 43, 46, 47, 49, 53, 59
Slavery	10	16, 22, 27, 28, 30, 39, 45, 47, 54, 59
IMAGE MONARCH(S):		
Vertuous [meaning powerful and morally righteous]	2	3, 50

d. Nationalist keywords: 8 keywords, 106 occurrences
(On average 13,3 nationalist keywords)

Word/set of words occurring one or more times	Total number of sources	Corresponding sources
GENERAL:		
Albion	9	3, 24, 27, 30, 33, 40, 42, 45, 55
Home and abroad, neighbours, allies	21	2, 6, 7, 10, 11, 16, 20, 23, 34, 35, 39, 46, 47, 48, 49, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59
France/Spain	13	3, 7, 9, 10, 14, 32, 41, 44, 46, 47, 50, 53, 56
Nation	21	3, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 20, 21, 28, 33, 34, 35, 39, 42, 45, 48, 57, 58
(Balance/liberties of) Europe	21	1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 16, 23, 24, 26, 39, 42, 54, 46, 47, 49, 51, 53, 54, 56, 58
Turk (denoting the pope or Louis XIV)	3	22, 28, 33
Just (and necessary) war	0	-
Pretender	18	6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 17, 20, 32, 34, 39, 47, 49, 51, 53, 54, 58, 59

Sources King George

The numbers before the titles correspond to the tallying as recorded in the table for the quantitative research. The place or year placed in brackets signifies that this is the presumed location or year of publication. Most titles have been written down in full. When the title is exceedingly long [...] indicates that the title has been shortened.

1. Atterbury, Francis. *English advice to the freeholders of England*. [London]: 1714.

2. Chandler, Edward. *A sermon preach'd at the cathedral church of Worcester; on the 5th of November, 1714*. London: 1714.

3. Dunton, John. *The golden age: exemplified in the glorious life and reign of his present Majesty King George, and his numerous issue: or a vision of the future happiness of Great Britain [...]*. London: 1714.

4. Anon., *An exact account of the form and ceremony of His Majesty's coronation, as it was solemnly perform'd in the Collegiate Church at Westminster, on Wednesday the 20th day of October, 1714*. London: 1714.

5. Gentleman-commoner of Magdalen College, Oxon, *The history of the Lutheran church: or, the religion of our present sovereign King George agreeable to the tenets of the Church of England […]*. London: 1714.

6. Harding, Nathanael. *A sermon preach'd at Plymouth to an assembly of protestant dissenters, on their lecture-day, the 20th of October, 1714 [...]*. London: 1714.

7. Hawtayne, William. *A sermon preach'd at Elstree in Hertfordshire, on the twentieth of January, 1714*. London: [1714].

8. Anon. *An historical account of our present sovereign George-Lewis, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Elector of Brunswick-Lunenburg, &c.* London: 1714.

9. Anon. *An Historical account of the affairs of Great-Britain, and Ireland: with the most remarkable occurrences from abroad.* London: 1714.

10. Mandeville, Bernard. *The mischiefs that ought justly to be apprehended from a Whig-Government.* London: 1714.

11. Owen, Jonathan. *An occasional sermon upon the proclamation of King George, on the first of August, 1714.* London: 1714.

12. Philalethes, Country school-boy. *A letter to the author of The history of the Lutheran Church.* London: 1714.

13. Anon. *Political merriment: or, truths told to some tune.* London: [1714].

14. Rosewell, Samuel. *The king's true divine right. The flourishing of his crown: and the shame of his enemies* [...]. London: 1714.

15. Salter, Samuel. *A sermon preach'd at the cathedral-church of Norwich, on Wednesday October the 20th, 1714* [...]. London: [1714].

16. Talbot, William. *A sermon preach' at the coronation of King George, in the abbey-church of Westminster, October the 20th, 1714.* London: 1714.

17. Watts, Robert. *Two letters to the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Townshend: shewing the seditious tendency of several late pamphlets* [...]. London: [1714].

18. Wright, Samuel. *Of praying for the King. A sermon preach'd at Black-Fryars, October 24, 1714. Being the first Lord's-Day after the King's coronation* [...]. London: [1714].

19. Adams, John. *Ahab's evil: a funeral discourse on a late occasion.* London: 1714.

20. Archer, John. *The kingdom turned about. A sermon Preached at Tunbridge-Wells August 8. 1714* [...]. London: [1714].

21. Anon. *The arrival of the king. A poem. Inscrib'd to Sir Andrew Fountaine.* London: [1714].

22. Brett, Thomas. *A review of the Lutheran principles: shewing how they differ from the Church of England* [...]. London: 1714.

23. Burnet, Gilbert. *A sermon preach'd before His Majesty King George, at his Royal Chappel of St. James's; on Sunday, the 31st. of Octob. 1714.* London: [1714].

24. Chapman, Richard. *Britannia rediviva: or, Britain's recovery. An heroick poem humbly inscrib'd to the King's most excellent Majesty.* London: 1714.

25. Privy Council. *Copy of the orders for proclaiming the Kings most Excellent Majesty, George By the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France & Ireland &c.* [Edinburgh]: 1714.

26. Cramer, Johann Friedrich. *The funeral elogy and character, Of her Royal Highness, the late Princess Sophia: With the Explication of her Consecration-Medal* [...]. London: 1714.

27. Croxall, Samuel. *An ode humbly inscrib'd to the King, Occasion'd by His Majesty's Most Auspicious succession and arrival*. London: 1714.

28. Dennis, John. *A poem upon the death of her late sacred majesty Queen Anne, and the Most Happy and most Auspicious Accession Of his Sacred Majesty King.* […] London: 1714.

29. Dorrington, Theophilus. *The true foundation of obedience and submission to his present majesty King George, stated and confirm'd* […]. London: [1714].

30. Dunton, John. *Queen Robin: or the second part of Neck or nothing, detecting the secret reign of the four last years.* […]. London: [1714].

31. Edwards, John. *How to judge aright of the former and the present times. A discourse on Eccles. Vii. x. Say not thou, What is the Cause that the former Days were better than these?*[…]. London: [1714].

32. Ely, Thomas. *Israel's guardian: a thanksgiving-sermon preach'd November 5, 1714. In commemoration of the deliverance of this nation from the Gun-Powder Plot* […]. London: 1714.

33. Eusden, Laurence. *A letter to Mr. Addison, on the King's accession to the throne*. London: 1714.

34. Anon. *An excellent new ballad*. [London: 1714].

35. Farmerie, William. *The subjects duty in praying for kings, and all in authority. As recommended in a sermon preached at St. Margaret's Westminster, on Sunday the 19th day of September* […]. London: 1714.

36. Anon. *A funeral-Oration on the death of the incomparable princess Queen Anne*. London: 1714.

37. Garrett, Walter. *Demonstratio luculenta nova. Or, a new method of demonstrating, that by the woman, call'd Babylon (in Rev. xvii) is meant the church (and not the heathen city) of Rome. ... The second edition, revis'd*. [London]: 1714.

38. Anon. *The german doctor's cure for all diseases*. London: [1714].

39. Gough, Strickland. *A sermon occasion'd by the happy accession of King George to the throne of Great Britain, &c. By Strickland Gough, Minister in Bristol*. London: 1714.

40. Harris, Joseph. *A funeral-Pindarique ode, sacred to the happy memory of our late gracious sovereign, Queen Anne, &c. With a Congratulary poem, on Our Present Most Illustrious King George* […]. [London: 1714].

41. Anon. *A health, To be sung and drank by all honest Britons, upon the arrival of his sacred majesty King George, and his Royal Highness the Prince, at Greenwich, and forever after*. [London: 1714].

42. Hinchliffe, William. *An ode presented to the King, Upon His Majesty's Arrival at Greenwich*. London: [1714].

43. King, Peter Lord. *The speech of Sir Peter King Kt. Recorder of London, at St. Margaret's Hill, to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, upon His Royal entry, Sept. 20. 1714*. London: [1714].

44. Oldmixon, John. *Considerations on the History of the Mitre and Purse. Shewing, that the design of the three late managers, the Staff, Mitre and Purse* [...]. London: 1714.

45. Anon. *A poem on the arrival of His Majesty King George*. London: 1714.

46. Povey, Charles. *An enquiry into the miscarriages of the four last years reign. Wherein It appears by Sixty Five Articles, That a Scheme was laid to raise the Grandeur of France and Spain* […]. London: [1714].

47. Anon. *The right of the sovereign in the choice of his servants. Shewing the necessity of the present change of the ministry, and the folly and design of the last*. London: 1714.

48. Sewell, George. *A poem upon His Majesties accession. Inscrib'd to His Grace John Duke of Marlborough*. London: 1714.

49. Shaw, Ferdinando. *Condolence and congratulation: a sermon on the death of Queen Anne: the happy accession of King George to the throne: And His Safe Arrival In The British Dominions*. London: [1714].

50. Smith, Elisha. *A sermon preach'd at Wisbeech in the Isle of Ely, August 8. 1714. being the Sunday after the death of Queen Anne.*[…]. London: [1714].

51. Stinton, Benjamin. *A discourse of divine providence: occasion'd by the demise of Her late Majesty Queen Anne, and the happy accession of our present sovereign, King George, To the Throne of Great Britain, &c*. London: [1714].

52. Synge, Richard. *The good man's refuge in distress; and, the right way to secure and perpetuate the blessings of our present establishment* […]. London: 1714.

53. Anon. *A tender and hearty address to all the freeholders, and other electors of members for the ensuing parliament of Great Britain, & Ireland* […]. London: [1714].

54. Commissioners of Lieutenancy for the City of London. *To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, the humble address of the Lord Mayor, and the rest of Your Majesty's Commissioners of Lieutenancy for your city of London*. London: 1714/15.

55. Turner, Purbeck. *Augustus. A poem on the accession of His Majesty King George. Humbly dedicated to the Right Honourable Charles, Lord Hallifax, one of the Lords Justices appointed by His Majesty*. London: [1714].

56. Anon. *The welcome. Two congratulatory poems, the first, humbly inscrib'd to the Most August Monarch George King of Great Britain* […]. Nottingham: 1714.

57. Acres, Joseph. *The true method of propagating religion and loyalty. A sermon preach'd in the Parish church of St. Mary in White Chapel, on Sunday the 24th of October, 1714*. London: [1714].

58. Bickerstaffe, Jacob. *A letter from Mr. Jacob Bickerstaffe, nephew to Isaac Bickerstaffe, Esq, Occasion'd by the Death of Queen Anne. To a Gentleman in Holland*. London: [1714].

59. Bradshaw, William. *A sermon preach'd before the Right Honourable Sir William Humfreys, knight and baronet, Lord-Mayor, the Aldermen, and Citizens of London, at the Cathedral-Church of St. Paul, on the Fifth of November, 1714*. London, 1714.

60. Bristed, Ezekiel. *Religion and loyalty recommended: from the history of pious princes ministring to the church, as foretold by Isaiah* […]. London, [1714].

Appendix 4: Tables chapter 4

Table 1. Categories compared

Religious keywords	William & Mary	Anne	George
Total occurrences	(93x)	(110x)	(141x)
Average keywords	8,4	10	12,8
Difference 1689-1702 and 1702-1714	1,6		2,8
Difference 1689-1714	4,4		

'Other secular' keywords	William & Mary	Anne	George
Total occurrences	(54x)	(62x)	(100x)
Average keywords	10,8	12,4	20
Difference 1689-1702 and 1702-1714	1,6		7,6
Difference 1689-1714	9,2 (almost double)		

'Mixed rel.-sec.' keywords	William & Mary	Anne	George
Total occurrences	(29x)	(28x)	(33x)
Average keywords	9,6	9,3	11
Difference 1689-1702 and 1702-1714	-0,3		1,7
Difference 1689-1714	1,4		

Nationalist	William & Mary	Anne	George
Total occurrences	(34x)	(72x)	(106x)
Average keywords	4,3	9	13,3
Difference 1689-1702 and 1702-1714	4,7		4,3
Difference 1689-1714	9 (more than triple)		

Table 2. Keywords compared

a. **Religious keywords:**

Words or set of words occurring one or more times	**King William & Queen Mary** (93x)	**Queen Anne** (110x)	**King George** (141x)
GENERAL:			
Christendom	7	5	9
Protestantism/Protestant	16	16	29
Providence	5	10	15
Catholics/popery/Rome	31	13	34
IMAGE MONARCH(S):			
Defender of Faith/Church	4	11	17
(Nursing) Mother/Father	1	13	9
Glorious Instrument/Instrument of God/God's vicegerent	6	7	4
Deliverance/Deliverer	16	1	7
Deborah/Judith/Esther / David	3	10	6
Pious/zeal	3	20	11
Sacred Majesty	1	4	0

b. **'Other secular' keywords:**

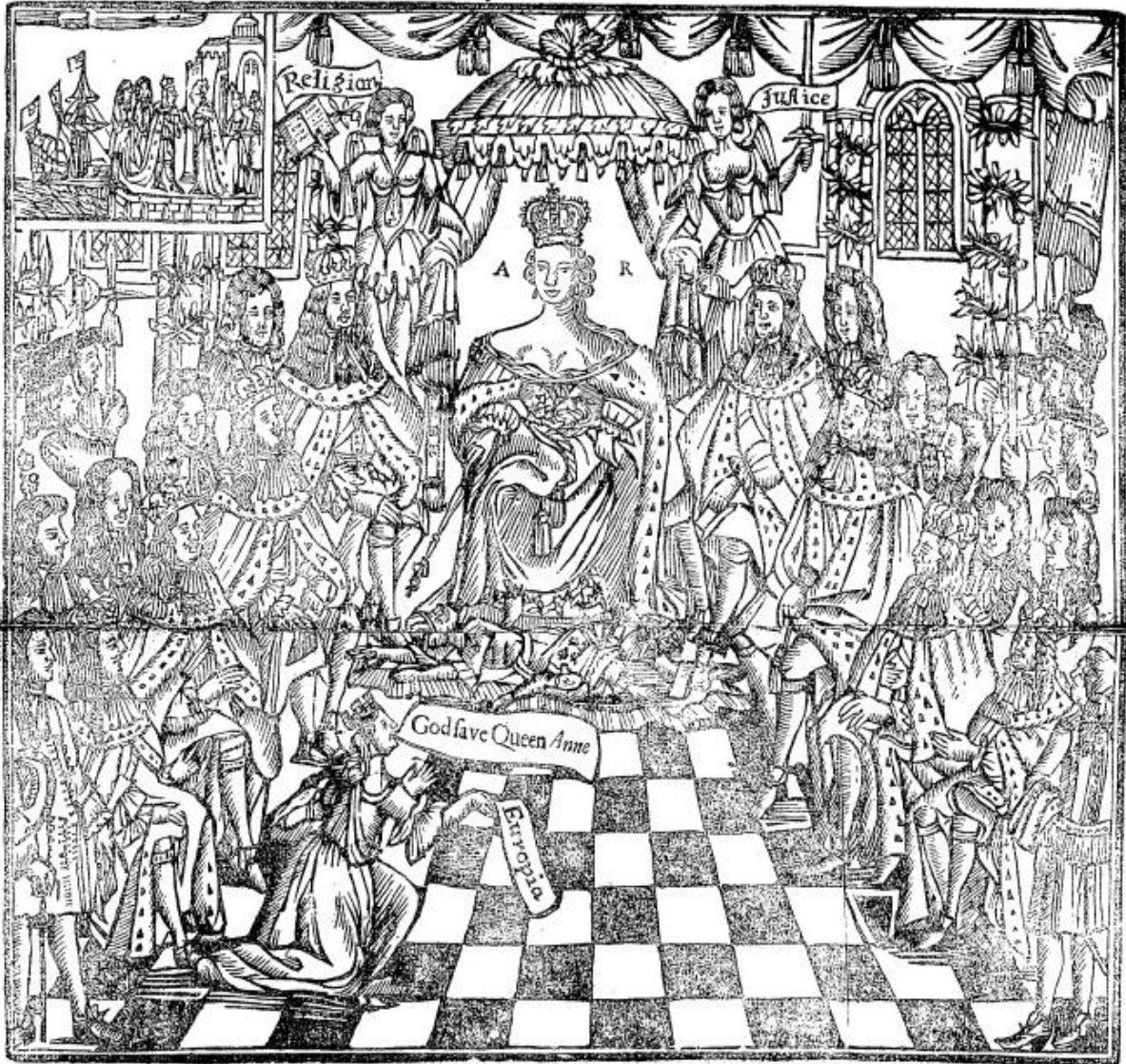| *Words or set of words occurring one or more times*	**King William & Queen Mary** (54x)	**Queen Anne** (62x)	**King George** (100x)
GENERAL:			
Law/justice/rights/liberties	18	17	31
Tyranny/despotic/oppressor/ arbitrary government or rule	15	14	15
Constitution	1	4	9
Lawful succession	1	10	20
IMAGE MONARCH(S):			
Heroic/warrior king or queen/ victorious	12	17	25

c. **'Mixed religious and secular' keywords:**

Words or set of words occurring one or more times	**King William & Queen Mary** (29x)	**Queen Anne** (28x)	**King George** (33x)
GENERAL:			
Religion, Law & Liberties/Rights/Property	12	13	21
Slavery	11	5	10
IMAGE MONARCH(S):			
Vertuous [meaning powerful and morally righteous]	6	10	2

d. Nationalist keywords:

Words or set of words occurring one or more times	King William & Queen Mary (34x)	Queen Anne (72x)	King George (106x)
GENERAL:			
Albion	0	7	9
Home and abroad/ neighbours/allies	2	11	21
France/Spain	8	16	13
Nation	13	6	21
(Balance/liberties of) Europe	4	21	21
Turk (denoting the pope or Louis XIV)	5	0	3
Just (and necessary) war	1	3	0
Pretender	1	8	18
IMAGE MONARCH(S):			
Elizabeth (not added to the total number of occurrences)	-	13	-

Appendix 5: Image coronation Anne

Anon., *England's triumph, or an occasional poem on the happy coronation of Anne Queen of England, &c.* (London: 1702), 1.