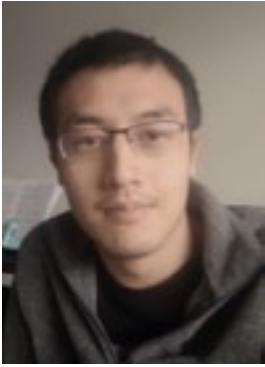


# The Role of Religion in William III's Propaganda During the Glorious Revolution

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*The Revolution of 1688, also known as Glorious Revolution, is often remembered as a revolution that effectively limited the monarch's power and introduced a strong and permanent parliamentary system to the British Isles. In the context of England's political development, much scholarly attention has been given to the constitutional aspects of the revolution, and the role of religion is often under-emphasized or seen as secondary. This essay examines a variety of Williamite propaganda piece and argues that religious ideas and symbols were used extensively in these propaganda pieces to convince people of the new regime's legitimacy. Instead of seeing religious and political elements as separate, this essay argues that religious elements were used in conjunction with constitutional ones to support William's reign.*

ON APRIL 11, 1689, at the coronation ceremony of William and Mary, the royal couple walked together on a blue carpet that extended from the steps of the throne in Westminster Hall to the steps of the theater in the Church of Westminster.<sup>1</sup> Crowds of spectators standing on both sides gave shouts of joy as William and Mary walked by. This moment marks a high point of the Glorious Revolution, which is often remembered as a revolution that effectively limited the monarch's power and introduced a strong and permanent parliamentary system. In the context of England's political development, much scholarly attention has been given to the constitutional aspects of the Revolution of 1688-1689. In comparison, the role of religion is often under-emphasized or seen as secondary to constitutional matters. This essay will look into a number of Williamite propaganda pieces and argue that religious ideas and symbols were used extensively by Williamite propagandists to convince people of the new regime's legitimacy. In other words, religious elements were used in conjunction with constitutional ones to support William's reign.

Historians of the Glorious Revolution have placed varying degrees of emphasis on the role of religion in Williamite propaganda. Some do not see religion as central to the revolution's dynamics and deemphasize the religious aspects of Williamite propaganda. As Steven Pincus wrote, "It was on the general right of nations and the particular laws of England that the Williamite bishops founded their justification for resistance," and the justification "was

political, not religious."<sup>2</sup> In contrast, Tony Claydon argues that Williamite propaganda reflected "a deeply Christian ideology, which rested upon a set of protestant and biblical idioms first developed during the Reformation. . ." Claydon further argues that "the regime of William III did not rely upon legal or constitutional rhetoric" and "courtly reformation was essentially non-constitutional."<sup>3</sup> While Pincus's and Claydon's views on the role of religion are quite different, both of them seem to present the religious aspects and constitutional aspects of the revolution as separate. There is a lack of emphasis on how the two aspects may have worked together to support William III's reign.

This essay argues that religious elements were central to Williamite propaganda not only because the propagandists used them extensively, but also because they frequently appeared alongside constitutional ones in opposition to James II's Catholicism and "arbitrary" rule. Against Pincus's argument, this essay argues that Williamite bishops founded their justification of the revolution on religious convictions as well as constitutional principles. This essay also questions Claydon's idea that the "courtly reformation" was non-constitutional by pointing out the reiteration of themes such as "law" and "free parliament" in Williamite propaganda. Due to the limited scope of this research and my understanding that the same religious symbols can have a very different implications in different time periods, this essay does not go into the debate on how deeply Williamite propaganda relied on Protestant traditions. Another

1. *An Exact Account of the Ceremonial at the Coronation of Their Most Excellent Majesties King William and Queen Mary, The Eleventh Day of the Instant April, 1689* (London: published by order of the Duke of Norfolk, 1689).

2. Steven Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 416.

3. Tony Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 6.

limitation is that it lacks an engagement with propaganda pieces that did not have religious content, and issues in Scotland and Ireland are left undiscussed. Concentrating on a number of influential propaganda in the revolution in England, from sermons to cartoons, this essay suggests that they suffice to demonstrate the significant role of religion in Williamite propaganda from 1688 to the early 1690s.

A major challenge that the Williamites faced after the Dutch landed on England in October 1688 was to legitimize William's conquest in a highly factious political environment. Earlier, James II had been ruling England as a legitimate, albeit unpopular monarch. As a staunch Catholic, James tried to annul the Test Act, which excluded from public office people who were not members of the Church of England, e.g. Catholics and dissenters. This move alarmed the Protestant population. As a contemporary observer wrote, there was a grave concern that if the Test Act were repealed, "both the Protestant Religion and the Safety of the Nation, would be exposed to most certain Dangers. . ."<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, James II dispensed hundreds of people from the Test Act and appointed Catholics to official positions previously held by Tory loyalists and churchmen.<sup>5</sup> In the summer of 1688, he ordered the incarceration of seven bishops who petitioned against the Declaration of Indulgence, which was intended for extending the religious freedom of Catholics and dissenters. The bishops were acquitted at the trial, "to national rejoicing and the king's humiliation."<sup>6</sup> The birth of James's son, the Prince of Wales (1688-1766), further irritated English Protestants who disliked the idea of a Catholic successor to James. In this context, William of Orange connived with English MPs and stepped on the English soil on 5 November 1688. Unable to resist the Dutch invasion, James fled from England.

*The Declaration of Reasons*, drafted by Gaspar Fagel and translated by Gilbert Burnet, was the most important Williamite propaganda in the initial stage of the revolution. Thousands of copies were distributed across England and a number of major European cities in the fall of 1688, with over twenty editions in four languages—English, Dutch, German, and French.<sup>7</sup> Lois Schwoerer notes that "The

4. Gaspar Fagel, "A letter writ by Mijn Heer Fagel . . ." Early English Books Online, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A41295.0001.001/1:1?rgn=div1;view=fulltext>

5. Mark Goldie, *Roger Morrice and the Puritan Whigs*, vol.1, *The Entering Book of Roger Morrice: 1677-1691* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), 9.

6. Ibid.

7. L. G. Schwoerer, *The Declaration of Rights: 1689* (Baltimore: The

widespread distribution of *Declaration* signaled the importance of the manifesto to the prince and his friends and also promoted its importance in the mind of the general public."<sup>8</sup> *The Declaration of Reasons* begins by asserting William's goal of "preserving the Protestant religion" and "restoring the laws and liberties of England, Scotland, and Ireland." Then it goes on to criticize, not James II directly, but his evil counselors who "have overturned the religion, laws, and liberties of these Realms, and subjected them . . . to arbitrary government." It particularly targets the court's Catholicism, or "the popish religion," describing it as essentially incompatible with a "Lawful Parliament." The declaration even brings up the insidious allegation that the newborn Prince of Wales was not born by the queen. Williamites, then, felt compelled to rectify the wrongs of the popish and arbitrary government. Their expedition "is intended for no other design, but to have a free and lawful Parliament assembled . . ." Near the end, the declaration expresses the hope that the English people would accept their proceedings, but ultimately their justification lies in "the blessing of God."<sup>9</sup>

*The Declaration of Reasons* shows that religious concerns were very important to how Williamites justified the Dutch conquest. On the one hand, the propagandists capitalized on anti-Catholic sentiments among the English. On the other hand, they explicitly invoked the help of God, presenting William's expedition as divinely commissioned endeavor to restore the freedom of Parliament. The declaration effectively shaped the public image of the Dutch intervention. Tony Claydon rightly points out, however, that it would be problematic to see it as representative of the entire Williamite propaganda, since it did not advertise William's intention to become king.<sup>10</sup> After James II fled from England, much of the precaution evident in the declaration was dropped. William hardly mentioned it again in public after 22 January 1689 and "was soon wrestling against its implications as the assembly deliberated."<sup>11</sup> Still, the *Declaration of Reasons's* significance as William III's first major propaganda should not be overlooked, and the

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John Hopkins University Press, 1981), 115.

8. Schwoerer, *The Declaration of Rights*, 115.

9. William III, "The Declaration Reasons" (Hague: printed by Arnold Leers, 1688), Early English Books Online, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A66129.0001.001/1:2?rgn=div1;view=fulltext>

10. Tony Claydon, "William III's Declaration of Reasons and the Glorious Revolution," *The Historical Journal* 39, no.1 (1996): 99.

11. Claydon, *Godly Reformation*, 28.

ways in which it justified political actions with religious ideas would be consistent with many of the themes in later propaganda pieces.

Following the promulgation of the *Declaration of Reasons*, Williamites continued to wage propaganda campaigns. They had to work hard to win over the English, especially when William made it clear that he intended to take the throne. James II's religious conviction and ruling style offended many people, but this didn't necessarily mean that they wanted to depose him. As a Tory member expressed, "I was for a Parliament and the Protestant religion. . . but I was also for the king [James II]."<sup>12</sup> The deposition of king ran counter to the principles of authority and allegiance that many had, in Mark Goldie's words, "imbibed and taught for a generation."<sup>13</sup> Mary II's identity as William's wife and an English Protestant proved advantageous for the Williamites, but William himself was still a foreigner, and "The Dutch were disliked by the English, who had fought them three times since 1651."<sup>14</sup> A significant minority known as the Jacobites would even support James and plot rebellion against William. Convincing the population of William's legitimacy was no easy task. In addition to the lengthy political deliberations with the Whigs and Tories, Williamites continued to rely on propaganda pieces, including sermons, ceremonies, and images, to advocate for the new monarchy.

Sermons delivered by Williamite bishops occupied a special place in the propaganda campaign. As well as being preached in the court and in large congregations, many of them were published and then distributed widely among civilians. Printed sermons dominated book production during William and Mary's reign.<sup>15</sup> Among the best-selling sermons, the ones by Gilbert Burnet were particularly important. Gilbert Burnet had been a historian and Whig cleric during the Restoration period. He had close connections with the Dutch court in the years leading to the revolution, and was appointed as the Bishop of Salisbury in 1689. He supported the new regime enthusiastically, advertising the new regime to his listeners in church and helping

William and Mary to direct ecclesiastical affairs.<sup>16</sup> Even though Burnet was also known for having a self-important disposition, which William did not find very amusing, his role as a chief propagandist for William and Mary is generally acknowledged.

In his sermons, Burnet repeatedly highlighted divine providence as the driving force behind William and Mary's ascendancy. On 23 December 1688, at the chapel of St. James, Burnet described the revolution as "God's doing." Conversely, he voiced the earlier fear that "The over-turning of this Church, and the subverting of this Government, must in consequence have brought on the Ruine both of the Protestant Religion and the publick Liberty all Europe over."<sup>17</sup> He drew on stories in the Old Testament and related the situation in England to the replacement of Saul by David—an indication that "Divine Designation," instead of hereditary right, was more fundamental. He also argued that the revolution's relative lack of violence was "a Character of God's Goodness to us, which can never be sufficiently acknowledged." On 11 April 1689, at the coronation ceremony of William and Mary, Burnet quoted the following passage from the Psalms: "He that ruleth over men, must be just, Ruling in the ear of the Lord. And he shall be as the light of morning, when the Sun riseth . . ."<sup>18</sup> In addition, he brought up heroic historical figures and likened William and Mary to them: "the return of good Princes put a New Face on the whole Empire: their Ancient Sense of Liberty was revived, which must carry with it, all that is Great, or Noble in human Nature. . . frugality and sobriety. . . Truth and Vertue. . ."<sup>19</sup> For English Protestants, having these moral traits meant that one could find favor in God's eyes—a handy argument for the legitimacy of the new monarchs. Throughout his sermons, Burnet frequently drew on religious and historical references to make the case that William and Mary were appointed by God for the protection of Protestantism and English Liberty.

16. Martin Greig, "Burnet, Gilbert," *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 03 October 2013, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4061>.

17. Gilbert Burnet, "A sermon preached in the chappel of St. James's . . ." (London: printed for Richard Chiswell, 1688), Early English Books Online, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eeboA30425.0001.001?view=toc>.

18. Gilbert Burnet. "A sermon preached at the coronation of William II and Mary II. . ." London: printed for J. Starkey and Richard Chiswell, 1689. Early English Books Online. <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eeboA30429.0001.001?view=toc>

19. Burnet, "A sermon preached at the coronation of William II and Mary II. . ."

12. George Southcombe and Grant Tapsell, *Restoration Politics, Religion, and Culture*, 163.

13. Goldie, *Roger Morrice*, 12.

14. Speck, W.A, "William—and Mary?" in *The Revolution of 1688-1689: Changing Perspectives*, edited by Lois Schwoerer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 140.

15. Claydon, *Godly Reformation*, 87.

William Lloyd was another influential bishop who advocated for the reign of William through his sermons (he was actually one of the seven bishops who petitioned against James II's *Declaration of Indulgence*). In a sermon delivered at the first anniversary of William's landing in England, he said, "The conquest in such a war is a decisive judgement of God, and gives one a right to the dominions that he has conquered from the other."<sup>20</sup> He argued that James II trampled on the people's rights and liberties, making himself an oppressor instead of a lawful ruler. Lloyd repeatedly stressed the concept of law. For instance, he argued that if the ruler did not follow the law, "it is a breach of faith, not only to their people, but to God also, where they are sworn to the observing of laws."<sup>21</sup> Under such circumstances, people have the right to support a conqueror who would remove the oppressor "by the just sentence of God." William III, then, fits the criteria for such a conqueror, and he should have "a much more glorious title than that of a conqueror, for he is properly their restorer and deliverer."<sup>22</sup> This sermon by William Lloyd, as well as other sermons that supported the cause of William and Mary, suggests that for many contemporaries justification of the new government relied heavily on their religious convictions. The ways that some scholars to emphasize political concerns of the revolution at the expense of religious ones are problematic. As Gerald Straka argued, "No doubt contractarianism and natural rights gained an ever-growing ascendancy. . . [but] divine right in a new form went just as far as natural right in giving support to the revolution . . ."<sup>23</sup> Moreover, the two rights often reinforced each other.

In addition to the sermons, services and ceremonies introduced Williamite ideology to a wide audience in England. People from various social backgrounds congregated in services like fasts and thanksgivings, prayed for the king and queen, and recited lines drawn up by Williamite bishops.<sup>24</sup> Claydon points out that the fasts and thanksgivings were "Based on biblical models" and "aimed to win God's favour for the nation by demonstrating the

population's adherence to his cause."<sup>25</sup> Specifically, thanksgiving services were intended to celebrate God's blessings on the nation, whereas fasts saw people engaging in mortification and prayers to avert divine punishment. In 1689, public fasts were conducted soon after the start of the war with France. In 1690, the court mandated a monthly fast dedicated to William's expedition against the Jacobites in Ireland.<sup>26</sup> A contemporary concluded that "the thanksgiving days and fasting days, and the collects and prayers read, and the saying Amen by all the members of the congregation is a justification of what hath been done in this Revolution."<sup>27</sup> The religiously and politically symbolic ceremonies left noticeable impressions in the minds of many English people.

The coronation ceremony of William and Mary epitomizes much of the religious and political underpinnings of the new regime. As Lois Schwoerer observes, the coronation "reflected the political and religious convictions. . . of the principal leaders of the Revolution" and "symbolized the resolution of a severe crisis in church and state," giving the impression of a unified support for the new regime.<sup>28</sup> The ceremony was directed largely by Henry Compton, the Bishop of London, known for his fierce opposition to popery and for being Mary's tutor.<sup>29</sup> The coronation committee under Compton designed the ceremony to resemble traditional coronation ceremonies in some ways, reinforcing a sense of legitimacy. For example, Compton placed the ceremony in the middle of a Eucharist resembling a traditional form of Anglican communion service.<sup>30</sup> Bishops sang the Litany and read the Nicene Creed and a series of biblical passages. Then William Burnet gave a sermon, in which he quoted: "The God of Israel, The Rock of Israel spake to me, He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God. And he shall be as the light of the morning. . ."<sup>31</sup>

New features were also introduced to highlight a hybrid of

25. Claydon, *Godly Revolution*, 101.

26. *Ibid.*

27. Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, 370.

28. Lois Schwoerer, "The coronation of William and Mary, April 11, 1689," in *The Revolution of 1688-89*, 107.

29. Lois Schwoerer, "The coronation of William and Mary, April 11, 1689," in *The Revolution of 1688-89*, 114.

30. *Ibid.*

31. *An Exact Account of the Ceremonial at the Coronation of Their Most Excellent Majesties King William and Queen Mary, The Eleventh Day of the Instant April, 1689* (London: published by order of the Duke of Norfolk, 1689).

20. William Lloyd, "The Revolution as an Act of Conquest," in *The Revolution of 1688: Whig Triumph or Palace Revolution*, edited by Gerald Straka (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1963), 26.

21. *Ibid.*

22. Lloyd, "Conquest," 28.

23. Gerald M. Straka, "The Revolution Justified by Divine Right," in *The Revolution of 1688*, 86.

24. Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, 372

constitutional rule and Protestant faith of the new regime. For example, the committee significantly enlarged the role of the Bible, “the most important symbol of Protestantism in the ceremony.”<sup>32</sup> A Bible decorated with gold fringe and golden edging lace was placed among the regalia and presented to William and Mary; they would kiss the Bible “after they had confirmed the oath at the altar with their hands on the Bible”—a gesture reminiscent of standard proceedings in law courts.<sup>33</sup>

The coronation oath, which differed significantly from the one in James II’s coronation, was an explicit manifestation of the new regime’s core ideology. In the traditional oath, the king start by promising to “grant and keep and . . . confirm to ye people of England ye Laws and Customs to them granted by ye King of England, your lawfull, and Religious predecessors; And namely ye Laws, Customs, and Franchises granted to ye Clergy by ye glorious King St. Edward. . . .”<sup>34</sup> The new oath of 1689 did not have such words as “grant” and “granted,” signifying that the laws did not belong to the king. Instead, the monarchs would promise “to govern the people of England and the dominions thereunto belonging, according to the statutes in parliament agreed on, and the laws and customs the same.”<sup>35</sup> This change speaks to a new level of limitation on the king and queen’s power. Instead of taking precedence over the law, they were now obligated to follow it and work respectfully with Parliament. The new oath also dropped the original words of “ye Holy Church,” which had Catholic overtones. Instead, it asked the monarchs: “Will you to the utmost of Your Power Maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the gospel, and the Protestant Reformed Religion Established by Law?”<sup>36</sup> As expected, William and Mary answered yes. In the end, they had to conclude the oath by declaring that “The things which I have here before promised, I will perform and keep: so help me God,” followed by a kiss on the Bible.<sup>37</sup>

Images provide another window into the importance of religion in the minds of Williamite propagandists. Visual propaganda, including medals, cartoons, engravings, and

32. Lois Schwoerer, “The coronation of William and Mary, April 11, 1689,” in *The Revolution of 1688-89*, 114.

33. *Ibid.*, 115.

34. *Ibid.*, 128.

35. Lois Schwoerer, “The coronation of William and Mary, April 11, 1689,” in *The Revolution of 1688-89*, 128.

36. *Ibid.*, 129.

37. *Ibid.*, 130.

courtly paintings, eulogized William and defamed his opponents in ways that civilians as well as elites could understand, and oftentimes resonated with. In the initial stage of the revolution, Dutch cartoons played a key role in Williamite propaganda.<sup>38</sup> The iconic picture *L’epiphne du nouveau Antichrist* (1689), drawn by Dutch artist Romeyn de Hooghe, shows James II and his Catholic subjects crammed on the left side, with disconcerted looks on their faces, while Williamites, tall and glamorous, gathered on the right side. James II’s eyes and mouth are wide open (like a fish) as he stands in a defensive position in front of the Williamites. A crown sits on his head and a chain binds his feet, and he pulls a rope attached to an oversized toy windmill. The windmill consists of seven mitre-like blades, which represent the seven bishops put into the Tower by James, and a globus cruciger which represents an intermeshing of Catholic and temporal power.<sup>39</sup> Near his feet, in the shadowy lower left corner, the newborn “anti-Christ” lies in an ornate cradle. In contrast to the Catholics, the Williamites are shown to be standing upright, looking composed and determined, and clean. Heavy with religious symbols, this image presents James and his followers as clownish, and the pleasant-looking Williamites seem ready to clear them away.

Another Dutch picture, *Qualis vir Talis Oratio* (1688), shows James II lying on a royal bed under a plaque that reads: “AUT CAEAR AUT NIHIL” (either Caesar or nothing). Lying sideways, James vomits a stream of devilish creatures to the ground. Some of the creatures wear Jesuit-style hats and are shown to be saying things like “Jesuit Colleges,” “French Alliance,” and “No Free Parliament.”<sup>40</sup> In the upper right hand corner, a fair-sized archway gives a clear view of the ocean and sky from which William’s fleet approaches in an orderly manner. This view stands in stark contrast with the crowded, foul-aired room. *Qualis vir Talis Oratio* reiterates the negative image of Catholicism and James II’s allegedly arbitrary rule while suggesting that the arrival of William would bring about pure Protestant faith and a free Parliament.

Such religious and political themes appeared in English pictorial propaganda as well. In *England’s Memorial*, the elegantly cursive title reads: “. . . Of its Wonderful deliverance from French tyranny and Popish oppression. Performed Through Almighty God’s infinite goodness and Mercy.” In

38. Lois Schwoerer, “Propaganda in the Revolution, 1688-89,” *The American Historical Review* 82, no.4 (1977): 860.

39. Southcombe and Tapsell, *Restoration*, 95.

40. Schwoerer, “Propaganda,” 861.

the center of the image stands a straight, symmetrical orange tree attacked by demons and demonic Catholic priest from the upper-left, and shone upon by God's presence from the upper-right. French monarch Louis IV is shown to be killing his subjects in the middle left, and the Anglican church in the middle right is "almost overthrown by the infernal council . . ." On the left side of the tree, the queen holds the baby Prince of Wales and says, "Now the smell of this tree offends me and the child." James stands next to them, saying "I may thank France for this." In the lower-right corner a crowd of Catholics flees from the Orange tree. One of them says, "O how strong it smells of a Free Parliament." *England's Memorial* demonstrates once again how religion and politics were intertwined in Williamite propaganda, and more often than not, religious symbols played the central role of decrying James and glorifying William's ascendancy.

Influential literary works further celebrated the Protestant and constitutional aspects of the new regime. As Kevin Sharpe argued, "For to many Whigs, the securing of English Protestantism, property and freedom in 1688 opened an opportunity for a new literary culture. . . ." Pamphlet plays, from *The Bloody Duke* to *The Folly of Priest-Craft*, tended to associate Catholicism with corruption, folly, and even tyranny, appealing to "the plain common sense of the freedom-loving Englishman."<sup>41</sup> Whig poets wrote panegyrics in a similar vein. For example, in the poem *An Ode Upon the Glorious Expedition of the Prince of Orange*, the author likened William III's arrival in England to saving "three sinking Kingdoms from the bloody doom/ And Tyranny of Hell and Rome" and to David's killing of Goliath with a slingshot, under the auspices of God.<sup>43</sup> Another poem, *Congratulatory Poem* by Thomas Shadwell, describes William III as the "Great Assertor, of the Greatest Cause; Mans Liberty, and Almighty's Laws: Heav'n Greater Wonders has for thee design'd, Though Glorious deliv'rer of Mankind."<sup>44</sup>

Williamite propaganda, filled with favorable depictions of Protestantism and political "liberty," often presented William as the main vehicle of God's deliverance of

41. Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, 373.

42. Lois Potter, "Politics and popular culture" in *The Revolution of 1688-89*, 196.

43. John Dennis, *An Ode Upon the Glorious Expedition of the Prince of Orange* (London: printed and are to be sold by Randal Taylor, 1689), Early English Books Online, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A53201.0001.001/1:3?rgn=div1;view=toc>

44. Thomas Shadwell, *Congratulatory Poem* (London: printed for James Knapton, 1689), Early English Books Online, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A59414.0001.001/1:2?rgn=div1;view=fulltext>

England. In comparison, Mary may seem to play a minor role. This impression is understandable given Mary's willing subordination to her husband and her limited direct involvement in political administration. Nevertheless, one should not overlook Mary's contributions to Williamite propaganda through her espousal of a virtuous court and her widely acclaimed public image. As Tony Claydon points out, "Mary became the linchpin of the regime's publicity. She was presented as a woman of immense personal piety. . . ." Mary not only led a devout personal life; she also led a so-called "moral revolution" in England. With the help of Burnet, she increased the number of religious services in the court and ordered sermons to be printed and distributed in large numbers so that English civilians may be edified.<sup>45</sup> She also supported the societies for reformation of manners and ordered officials to enforce laws against unseemly behaviors, such as drunkenness and swearing. Though ineffective on many occasions, the moral campaigns led by Mary greatly enhanced the prestige of the new regime.<sup>47</sup>

Accordingly, writers impressed by her religiosity and moral excellence published many panegyrics. Upon Mary's arrival in England in 1689s, a well-known poet wrote, "The mumuring world till now divided lay/Vainly debating whom they shou'd Obey/Till you great Cesar's Off-spring blest our Isle/The differing Multitudes to Reconcile."<sup>48</sup> Others described her as the epitome of "Virtues Catalogue," "This Great Exemplar of a Pious Life," or someone who "spread a spirit of devotion among all that were about her."<sup>49</sup> The effect of these impressions should not be underestimated. Even though matters of morality may not seem to be at the center of political affairs, Mary's persona helped consolidate the new regime by winning the hearts of the English people. As W.A. Speck wrote, "What was needed to ensure the permanence of the revolution of 1688 was a moral revolution. To inspire this Mary set an example of piety and devotion."<sup>50</sup> Mary's public image may not have been an explicit political propaganda, but its contribution to the new regime was arguably no less important than the printed propaganda pieces.

45. Claydon, *Godly Revolution*, 93.

46. *Ibid.*, 95.

47. W.A. Speck, "Mary II," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 24 May 2012. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18246>.

48. *Ibid.*

49. Claydon, *Godly Revolution*, 95.

50. Speck, "Mary II."

In summary, religious ideas and symbols played a central role in Williamite propaganda. They not only appealed to the religious sentiments of many English people, but also reinforced the monarchy's divine legitimacy and prevailing ideas of constitutional rule. Historians like Steven Pincus are definitely right to locate Williamite propaganda within the centuries-long development of English parliamentary systems, and constitutional issues were no doubt at the heart of the political debates in 1688-89. Nevertheless, when approaching such grand-scale events as the Glorious Revolution, it is just as important to zoom in for details; the big pictures that we see from today's perspective should be tested by a close examination of primary sources. In the case of this essay, the sources under consideration are propaganda pieces, which reflect contemporary people's concern for religious as well as political matters. As Craig Rose wrote, it is important that we try to see "King William's reign through the eyes, and in the words of those who lived through it."<sup>51</sup>

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