

# THE CHANGING SEMANTICS OF *HAPPY* AND *GLORIOUS* AFTER THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION OF 1688: A CORPUS-ASSISTED DISCOURSE STUDY

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**Abstract:** My paper centres on the semantic variation of the pre-modifying adjectives *happy* and *glorious* which resulted from the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the subsequent triumphal representation of Britain as a champion of freedom and emancipation<sup>1</sup>. By adopting principles of corpus-assisted discourse studies (Stubbs 2001; Partington 2004), I shall examine the collocational patterns of the two lexical items in the British periodical press, covering the period from 1620 to 1789. Before the Glorious Revolution the meaning of the two premodifiers appears consistent with the definitions provided in the *OED*, but from 1688 onwards changes in the phraseology affect their semantics. In particular, after the Revolution, *happy* and *glorious* show a semantic preference for words referring to liberty and (universal) rights which enriches their meaning with a sense of freedom from oppression and corruption. Given that the two adjectives already had a positive meaning, the libertarian semantics acquired after 1688 can be interpreted as a further amelioration in the direction of liberalism and, at the end of the century, Enlightened universalism. In order to investigate the changing semantics of the two adjectives throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, I shall make use of the *Florence Early English Newspapers Corpus* (1620-1649), the *Lancaster Newsbooks Corpus* (1653-1654), the *Zurich English Newspaper Corpus* (1671, 1681, 1691) and the *British Newspaper Archive* for the period from 1700 to 1789.

**Keywords:** *happy*; *glorious*; semantic preference; collocation; monarchy; people; well-being; liberalism; Glorious Revolution; 17<sup>th</sup>- and 18<sup>th</sup>-century British press.

<sup>1</sup> For a historical introduction to the causes and consequences of the Glorious Revolution, see Pincus (2009), Vallance (2013), and Wilson (2014).

## 1. Introduction

After the Revolution of 1688, the British press saw an explosion of libertarian rhetoric which impacted on the semantics of existing words. In particular, two positive adjectives, i.e. *happy* and *glorious* – whose attestation in the *OED* dates back to the 14<sup>th</sup> century – were singled out by contemporaries to celebrate the Revolution of 1688 and give rise to a new self-perception of England as champion of liberties and rights, as data will later show (Wilson 2014). In my analysis I shall examine the collocational behaviour of the two pre-modifying adjectives in the 17<sup>th</sup>- and 18<sup>th</sup>-century British press in order to track their semantic evolution and relate it to specific historical and socio-political contexts before and after the Revolution.

Although the motivation behind the Parliament's call for William of Orange to occupy the throne of England was more restorative than revolutionary (Kenyon 1972; Dickinson 1977; Clark 1986; Jones 1992), both the Whigs and the Tories who signed the invitation letter put a basic libertarian principle into practice: that governments exist and operate for the benefit of the governed, and not of the rulers, and are equally bound by the rule of Law (Jones 1992: 52). This was a fundamental point which had been repeatedly undermined under the early Stuarts' absolute monarchies and during the failed experiment of the Cromwellian Republic. Even the more cautionary attitude of Charles II during the Restoration was not sufficient to solve the controversies between Crown and Parliament and with the accession of the overtly Catholic James II, times were ripe for bringing about the end of the Stuart dynasty. Not only did the parliamentary manoeuvre of 1688 mark a shift from absolute monarchy to constitutional monarchy but, more importantly, it established the ruling power of Parliament over the king.

The uprising of 1745, representing the last attempt to restore the Catholic Stuart dynasty to the throne of England, shook, although for a short time, the stability of the monarchical apparatus and stimulated the revival of anti-Catholic and libertarian rhetoric. By and large, while in the 1750s and 1760s Tories and Whigs reached some kind of consensus on the fact that the settlement which had followed the Glorious Revolution guaranteed political rights for the people (Wilson 1992: 322; Hermann 2015: 331), the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century saw the resurgence of a radical rhetoric stimulated by the new configuration of élite politics under George III. Radicals strategically appropriated the Glorious Revolution as a reference point for the acknowledgement of natural rights of mankind in more expansive terms than those sanctioned by the revolutionaries of 1688. The right of the people was not just to canvass affairs of the State but to effect political transformation (Wilson 1992: 334)<sup>2</sup>.

Within this hectic socio-political and cultural context, my analysis aims to establish to what extent the new collocational patterns in which the adjectives *happy* and *glorious* occurred from 1688 affected their traditional meaning. The

<sup>2</sup> What social categories are included in the label "the people" is still unclear. According to Wilson, opposition spokesmen employed a political definition of the people "appealing to those men who were able to maintain their independence against both ministerial patronage and wages and who possessed sufficient 'public spirit' to resist the former" (Wilson 1992: 319).

choice of the adjectives is due to the fact that both were used to refer to the Revolution of 1688 (Wilson 2014). Besides, both are present in the patriotic song “God Save the King” which in the 19<sup>th</sup> century came to be known as the national anthem. The song has a history of propagandistic appropriation on the part of Williamites and Jacobites in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, which reveals the complexity of the historical period examined. Early versions of the lyrics date back to Jacobite drinking songs which were written in support of James II, although the song became famous when it was performed for the first time in London in 1745 in support of King George II after his defeat at Prestopans by the Young Pretender, Charles Edward Stewart (Sutherland and Fender 2010).

In order to track the semantic variation of the positive adjectives diachronically, my analysis encompasses a wide time span which goes from 1620 to 1789 and investigates the words in their socio-political and textual contexts of usage by adopting electronic archives and specialized corpora of 17<sup>th</sup>- and 18<sup>th</sup>-century weekly pamphlets and newspapers. Given that lexicography is focused on the investigation and recording of all aspects of lexical meaning (Šorli 2013), corpus linguistics can provide a valuable tool for retrieving recurrent patterns in which the words appear across a considerable amount of data.

In the following sections, first I present the data and the methodology used and then I report on the quantitative distribution of *happy* and *glorious* in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century. For each adjective, I examine its collocational patterns and the way they affect its meaning and associations in different historical periods using a qualitative approach. The final section contains concluding remarks about the impact that the Revolution of 1688 had on the meaning of the two pre-modifying adjectives.

## 2. Data

In my study of *happy* and *glorious*, I have made use of three electronic news corpora and one online news archive. The three electronic corpora are the *Florence Early English Newspapers Corpus (FEEN)*, the *Lancaster Newsbooks Corpus (LNC)*, and the *Zurich English Newspaper Corpus (ZEN)*. The *FEEN* corpus covers the period from the beginning of periodical news in 1620 until 1649. It consists of 256,000 words and is subdivided into six sub-corpora of selected texts which are meant to represent different aspects of periodical publication in those decades.

The *LNC* corpus is different in size and focus from the *FEEN* corpus, as it includes a larger number of newsbooks over a short time span. In particular, it covers the period from 1653 until the end of May 1654. For my analysis I adopted the website version (<https://cqpweb.lancs.ac.uk/lnc1654/>) which is restricted to the period from January to May 1654 and amounts to 988,000 tokens. The third corpus that has been queried, the *ZEN* corpus, contains a variety of periodical English newspapers, selected in 10-year intervals from 1671 until 1791. For my research, I examined numbers in the corpus from 1671, 1681, 1691 and 1701 amounting to 250,000 words. For the 17<sup>th</sup> century, my analysis presents a temporal gap between 1650 and 1670 (with the exception of the year 1654),

which is due to the discontinuity in the time span covered by the three corpora. The two decades include the period of the Commonwealth in Britain (1649-1660), where the use of a libertarian semantics in all probability increased as a result of Cromwell's liberation of Britain from the so-called popish absolutism of the Stuarts. This gap in the data has to be borne in mind when analysing the 17<sup>th</sup>-century usage of the two adjectives as further research could pinpoint a change in the semantics of *happy* and *glorious* already in the period of the Interregnum (1649-1660).

For the 18<sup>th</sup> century, I consulted the online *British Newspaper Archive* (BNA) which thanks to its continuity of data throughout the century allows for a homogeneous division into three sub-periods of 30 years each. Period 1 stretches from 1700 to 1729, period 2 goes from 1730 to 1759 and period 3 from 1760 to 1789. The archive contains provincial newspapers from England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales. The British provincial newspapers cited in the course of the analysis feature a Williamite stance, especially during the period of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745-1746<sup>3</sup>. This is also the case for those newspapers which generally opted for political neutrality (i.e. *Newcastle Gazette*, *Ipswich Journal*, *Kentish Weekly Post* and *the Oxford Journal*) and for those papers in the opposition camp which steered towards a "forced" loyalism at the height of the crisis (i.e. *Newcastle Courant*). As Harris observed (1995: 16), the impression created by most provincial newspapers was of a nation of defiant loyalists, although some differences emerged in the readiness and vigour with which editors offered succour to the Hanoverian monarchy.

### 3. Methodology

In my analysis I followed the principles of corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS). The term was originally coined by Partington (2004) on the basis of previous works by Stubbs (1996; 2001). This model of analysis combines a quantitative approach – i.e. statistical overviews of large numbers of tokens of the discourse type under study contained in a corpus and queried through concordancing software – and a qualitative approach typical of discourse analysis which takes into consideration language usage not only in the co-text but also in the wider socio-cultural and historical context of text-production and reception (Baker 2006: 17-18; Partington et al. 2013: 11). In this respect, my study adopts a multilayered notion of context which includes "textual contexts as well as sociohistorical conditions of text production with its societal, situational, historical, ideological and material sides" (Pahta and Taavitsainen 2010: 587). This contextual opening enables me to account for the socio-political and cultural motivations which triggered the semantic evolution of the two adjectives in terms of an extension of their meaning.

<sup>3</sup> Occasionally some newspapers could be instructed to publish articles with a Jacobite stance. This is the case of the Scottish newspaper *Caledonian Mercury* which in 1745, by request of the so-called Young Pretender, Charles Edward Stuart, published the minutes of the 1695 Parliamentary enquiry into the Glencoe Massacre, commonly exploited as an example of post-1688 oppression (see Hopkins 2021).

One important concept in corpus linguistics is that of collocation, that is to say, “how any particular word or expression co-occurs with other words or sequences of words with a particular frequency” (Partington 2011: 35). As Hunston explains, “where the co-occurrence is not with one or two words but with a range that nonetheless can be interpreted as belonging to the set, the relationship between the node and the set is termed ‘semantic preference’” (2011: 56). In Stubbs’ words, an item shows semantic preference when “it co-occurs or collocates with a set of semantically related words” (Stubbs 2001: 88). The two concepts – collocation and semantic preference – will be used in the course of my analysis in order to assess, through a close reading of concordances, possible changes in the collocational behaviour of the two adjectives and discuss the resulting variation of their meaning/associations in relation to the co-text and to the wider historical context. Data have been analysed through the corpus query processor contained in the Lancaster CQP website (<https://cqpweb.lancs.ac.uk/lnc1654/>), through the query system inside the ZEN corpus website (<http://es-zenonline.uzh.ch/>) and through the search options for words and exact collocates available in the advanced search tool of the BNA website (<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/>).

#### **4. Frequency and distribution of happy and glorious**

Table 1 below reports the frequency and distribution of the adjectives *happy* and *glorious* in the three 17<sup>th</sup>-century corpora (i.e. *FEEN*, *LNC* and *ZEN*) in relation to the total number of words contained in each corpus. Table 2, on the other hand, shows the frequency and distribution of *happy* and *glorious* in the three sub-periods of *BNA* in relation to the number of articles uploaded for each period (accessed August 2023)<sup>4</sup>. Table 1 and Table 2 also include the frequency of the pre-modified nouns (R1) of the two adjectives, which is calculated in relation to the number of occurrences of *happy* and *glorious* for each sub-period. The pre-modified nouns presented in the tables have a frequency equal or superior to 0,5%.

A comparison between the occurrences of *happy* and *glorious* in Table 1 and in Table 2 shows that *happy* is much more frequent than *glorious* throughout the period examined.

<sup>4</sup> *BNA* does not provide the total number of tokens uploaded for each year or decade. So, it is not possible to compare the results throughout the 17<sup>th</sup>- and 18<sup>th</sup>-century data. We can only assess the distribution of the adjective within the three corpora for the 17<sup>th</sup> century and within *BNA* for the 18<sup>th</sup> century, separately. This is also the case for the analysis of *glorious*.

**Table 1.** Frequency and distribution of *happy* and *happy* + noun and of *glorious* and *glorious* + noun in the *FEEN*, *LNC* and *ZEN* corpora.

CORPUS	PERIOD	F. <i>happy</i>	F. <i>glorious</i>	PREMODIFIED NOUNS (R1) for <i>happy</i>	F.	PREMODIFIED NOUNS (R1) for <i>glorious</i>	F.
<i>FEEN</i>	1620-49	0,009%	0,004%	conclusion peace memory	7,1% 7,1% 7,1%	victory Prince/Queen/Parliament	28,5% 21,4%
<i>LNC</i>	1654	0,006%	0,004%	Government peace	23,3% 18,3%	Instrument work Gospel	15,5% 11,1% 6,6%
<i>ZEN</i>	1671-1701	0,01%	0,009%	Accession Restoration Reign	17,6% 13,2% 7,3%	memory monarchy Reign	17,1% 8,5% 8,5%

**Table 2.** Frequency and distribution of *happy* and *happy* + noun and of *glorious* and *glorious* + noun in the three sub-periods of the *BNA*.

CORPUS	PERIOD	F. <i>happy</i>	F. <i>glorious</i>	NOUNS (R1) for <i>happy</i>	F.	NOUNS (R1) f or <i>glorious</i>	F.
BNA PERIOD 1	1700-1729	26,9%	10,3%	return Reign Revolution people Deliverance	7,7% 2,3% 1,3% 1,2% 0,7%	memory Reign Monarch/King/Queen victory peace	15,4% 3,5% 2,1% 1,8% 1,6%
BNA PERIOD 2	1730-1759	55,8%	23,3%	return people Reign Deliverance Revolution	4,9% 1,2% 0,8% 0,8% 0,5%	Memory victory Reign Monarch/King/Queen Revolution peace spirit [noun] of/for liberty Deliverance/Deliverer	4,1% 2,0% 1,5% 1,2% 1,1% 1,1% 0,8% 0,6% 0,5%
BNA PERIOD 3	1760-1789	123,2%	30,3%	return recovery people	1,8% 1,3% 0,6%	Revolution memory [noun] of/for liberty <sup>5</sup> war/struggle Reign victory monarch Deliverance/Deliverer	5,4% 2,7% 2,1% 1,8% 1,1% 0,8% 0,6% 0,5%

<sup>5</sup> Most of the occurrences which feature *glorious* in close proximity to *liberty* have the following pattern: *glorious* + noun + *of/for liberty*. The noun slot is filled in with words such as *cause* (78 occurrences), *spirit* (22 occurrences) and *struggle* (14 occurrences).

## 5. Analysis of happy

In the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the *FEEN* corpus features no dominant recurrent patterns for *happy*. The adjective is used with the following meanings, which are documented in the *OED*:

### happy, adj

I. Senses relating principally to good fortune.

I.1.a. Of a person: favoured by good fortune; lucky, fortunate, successful.

I.1.b. Blessed, beatified. Now only in of *happy memory*.

I.2. Of an event or period: marked by good fortune; fortunate, lucky, auspicious; prosperous; favourable, propitious.

II. Senses relating to pleasing appropriateness or aptness.

II.4.b. Of an action, speech, etc.: pleasantly appropriate to the occasion or circumstances; felicitous, apt.

III. Senses relating to contentment.

III.5.b. Esp. of an event or period: characterized by contentment or pleasure; joyous.

III.5.c. Used in expressions of good wishes for a person or persons on a celebratory occasion, event, day, etc., as happy birthday, happy Christmas, happy New Year.

In the *LNC*, on the other hand, we find two recurrent collocations: *happy Government* and *happy peace*. They refer to Cromwell's government and the fortunate peace he signed with the Dutch to put an end to the first Anglo-Dutch War (1652-1654). In both cases the collocations co-occur with Christian terms (*work of God/the Lord, bless, Christ, Lord, religion, Protestant*) which stress or imply the advancement of Protestantism under Cromwell:

- (1) The Ambassador from the King of Denmark has presented his Letters credential from the King his Master, and on Friday last he had audience before his Highness, where he congratulated him in his place of Government, and seemed to acknowledge it a happiness that so much of the differences were taken up by the Treaty with the Dutch and hoped all would conduce to a **happy peace** to the advancement of the **Protestant Religion**. (*Perfect Account*, 10 May 1654)
- (2) And further they humbly beg that Religion and Learning may flourish and the **work of the Lord** may prosper in the hand of the **Ministry of Christ** in these Nations under the hands of his Highness protections, Long and **Happy Government** (*Perfect Account*, 1 March 1654)

In the *ZEN* corpus we find three words which co-occur most frequently with *happy*: *happy Accession*, *happy Restoration* and *happy Reign*. *Happy Accession* co-occurs consistently with the words *to the Throne* and *to the Crown*. All the examples are part of the ritualistic expressions used to celebrate Queen Anne's Accession to the throne after the death of her father William III:

- (3) Last Monday the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen and Sheriffs, c. waited upon the Queen at St. James's to Condole the Death

of the late King of Glorious Memory and to Congratulate **Her Majesties  
Happy Accession to the Throne** (1701ept00221)

The second collocation, *Happy Restoration*, shows enthusiasm for the return of the Stuart king Charles II. In this context, *happy* co-occurs with a semantics of liberty and deliverance from oppression. Indeed, in 1681 the *London Gazette* celebrates the king as gracious dispenser of liberties to his people and Defender of the Protestant religion:

- (4) As also for the many other Royal Favours we have received under Your Majesties just and good Government, ever since Your Majesties **happy Restoration**; and particularly, for Your Majesties vigorous Endeavours to extirpate Popery, and secure and maintain **the Protestant Religion (as by Law established)** which with Your Gracious Promises of calling frequent Parliaments, and Governing according to **the Laws** in all things, gives us all possible assurance of **enjoying the greatest Liberty and best Religion that any People in the World have**. (1681lgz01623)
- (5) May it please Your Majesty, WE Your Majesties most Loyal and Dutiful Subjects, being sensible of the great Blessings which this Kingdom hath enjoyed ever since Your Majesties **happy Restoration**, under Your Majesties most Gracious and Indulgent Government, and most especially, in the constant **preservation of the established Religion, our Laws and Liberties**. (1681lgz01627)

In the propaganda rhetoric which characterizes the extracts above, *liberties*, *laws* and *religion* were encoded as something granted by the gracious king and ensured by his happy Restoration. The problem was that these same liberties could be revoked by the monarch at his pleasure, hence the Parliament's resolution to call William of Orange. Even so, the occurrences of *happy* + semantics of liberty before 1688 show that a libertarian semantics, with words such as *liberties*, *laws*, *rights*, *Constitution*, *property*, *religion*, was already used as proxy for the evaluation of a political event, government or memory of a monarch as *happy*<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> By semantics of liberty, I refer to that rhetorical conjunction of liberty, law, property, Constitution, and religion which, although not unique to the 17<sup>th</sup> century era of Restoration and Revolution, received a new interpretation from the Glorious Revolution onwards (Nenner 1992: 92). From an Anglocentric perspective, the liberty of the English subjects becomes their property, inherited from their ancestors and safeguarded by their Law/Constitution. The binomial property-liberty also affects religion and is invariably invoked in debates on religious toleration. By 1689 it can be assumed that an affection for Popery leads to the loss of English liberty and property. Indeed, contemporaries believed that they had a property in their laws and as their religion was by Law established, its exclusive privileges could not be abridged except by Parliament. Already in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, property comes to mean something more than estates and refers to the unassailable rights and privileges of the English freemen. Locke's political philosophy played a crucial role in this regard. For Locke, liberty and property were fundamental natural rights and the purpose of government was to protect them both. Influenced by Locke, the Whig political tradition identified property ownership with the preservation of political liberty and advocated the power of Law as safeguard for individual rights against any form of absolutism. Locke's liberalism was in common circulation in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and spurred the American Revolution through key political theorists such as Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson who were influenced by his ideas (Ely 2008).



*Happy Reign* too, which is the third pattern in order of frequency in the *ZEN* corpus, is found within the formulaic expressions of good wishes for the return of Charles II: “that your Majesty may continue a long and happy Reign”, “shall always pray for your Majesties long Life and happy reign”, and “that your Majesties happy Reign may be long and prosperous”.

In *BNA 1*, 2 and 3 *happy return* appears as the most frequent collocation. It is an expression of good wishes addressed to people who are coming back home and denotes the meaning of *happy* as contentment for a joyous event. This same sense of contentment is found in the second most frequent collocation *happy recovery* in *BNA 3* which is used for sending good wishes to the king. More interesting for the purpose of the analysis are the other instances of *happy* + noun which occur in the three sub-sections of the archive.

In *BNA 1* (1700 to 1729) *happy* continues to occur as a premodifier of *Reign* within the formulaic expression of good wishes “may your Majesty have a long and happy Reign”. The adjective increasingly co-occurs with a semantics of liberty, suggesting that a reign is considered happy, fortunate, prosperous insofar as it is grounded on principles of liberty, property and the preservation of the Protestant Religion. Although the rhetoric of praise for the future monarchs is not apparently different from that used for Charles II, the notions of rights and liberties are no longer to be understood as blessings graciously granted by the king under his Prerogative but as pre-conditions under which the king can rule legitimately. The nearby word *uninterrupted* (ex. 6) is highly significant in this regard: rights and liberties can no longer be revoked or recalled by the monarch at his/her pleasure as they are safeguarded by the laws of the kingdom:

- (6) Peace with all Power abroad, perfect Tranquillity and Plenty at Home, and the **uninterrupted Enjoyment of all our Rights and Liberties** are such inestimable Blessings to us, as leave us no Room to wish for any thing more to complete our Happiness but for Your Majesties Long and **Happy Reign** over a most faithful and obedient Subjects. (*Caledonian Mercury*, 26 November 1724)
- (7) That the Principles upon which we apply to your Majesty for your Bounty to the said College in our address of the 1 June 1709, were such as we shall never be ashamed to own, they being no other than those to which we owe the **Preservation of our Religion, Lives and Liberties, and Properties** and more especially the **inestimable Blessings** of your Majesties **Happy Reign** over us. (*Newcastle Courant*, 20 August 1711)

*BNA 1* also features the collocation *Happy Revolution* (1.3% occurrences). It is interesting that before being labelled as *glorious*, the Revolution was described as *Happy*, thus suggesting some kind of semantic overlap between the two adjectives as pre-modifiers of the noun. As was the case with *glorious Revolution*, *happy Revolution* shows a semantic preference for a surrounding libertarian lexis (e.g. *Constitution, Liberty, Property, Law*). The reason why *happy* – rather than *glorious* – was initially chosen as pre-modifier of the event of 1688 might be due to the previous attestations of *Happy Restoration* which made the adjective the most plausible candidate for evaluating a new crucial event in the history of

England positively. It is only after the 1730s that *glorious* replaces *happy* as the preferred collocate for the Revolution in Britain:

- (8) And when we consider the Share that Your Grace had in the **Happy Revolution** in 1688 and the many **good Laws** You have procur'd Us since, particularly That for Preventing the Growth of Popery, We are sure that the **Liberty and Property, that Happy Constitution in Church and State**, to which we were restored by King WILLIAM of glorious memory will be inviolably preserved under Your Grace's Administration. (*Dublin Intelligence*, 14 July 1711)
- (9) And will stand by and defend Your Majesties Title founded upon the late **Happy Revolution** and the Church of England as by **Law established**. (*Dublin Intelligence*, 29 April 1710)

Frequencies in *BNA 2* show the consolidation of *happy people* which sees the inclusion of the adjective *free* in the cluster *free and happy people* for expressing good wishes to the monarch<sup>7</sup>. The proximity between the adjectives *free* and *happy* affects the meaning of the latter and enriches it with liberal associations. The implication is that, after the Revolution, people are evaluated as happy only insofar as they are free and their rights are acknowledged by their monarch. In this regard the meaning of the word attested in the *OED* “of a group or community: exhibiting harmony or cooperation; marked by a pleasant sense of harmony and mutual goodwill”, might be extended to include the more political sense: “of people having their liberties and rights acknowledged by the government”. As was the case with *glorious* + semantics of liberty, the use of *free and happy people* concentrates in the year of the last Jacobite uprising (1745), when *BNA 2* registers 50% occurrences. The higher frequency of the cluster on this occasion was dictated by the need to undermine the spreading of Jacobite feelings with anti-Catholic and anti-Stuart propaganda which celebrated England's liberation from absolutism:

- (10) May Your Majesty's Counsels and Arms prevail to the secure **Establishment of the Liberties of Europe**; may you Triumph over your Enemies at home and abroad; and may you long continue to reign over a **free and happy People**. (*Kentish Weekly Post*, 25 September 1745)
- (11) Go on victorious Prince, with Heaven's Applause  
 Fight for thy own and for thy Country's cause  
 Leave us **our Laws and our Religion free**  
 And let no Bigot find Approach to thee  
 So may thou chase th' Usurper cross the Main  
 And o'er a **free and happy people** reign  
 (*Caledonian Mercury*, 11 October 1745)

<sup>7</sup> Clusters are defined as “multi-word units, that is, sequences or strings of words which ‘are found repeatedly together in each other's company’ in sequence” (Partington 2011: 35).

Another frequent collocation in *BNA 2* is *Happy Deliverance* which records a slight increase in comparison to *BNA 1*. The noun phrase co-occurs with negatively evaluated terms which represent the origin of discontent and mistrust among the people, as we can see in the lexico-syntactic pattern *happy deliverance from* + negative semantics. Apart from the nearby occurrences of *law*, *liberties*, *right*, *property*, the liberal associations that *happy* acquires can be also inferred from contrasting semantics: *happy Deliverance vs tyranny, Popery, arbitrary power, oppression, usurpation*:

- (12) Great part of the Citizens of London who had not forgot the **happy Deliverance from Popery and Aribtrary Power** by King William III of glorious memory. (*Stamford Mercury*, 28 October 1731)
- (13) The Church of Scotland must ever remember with the greatest joy and thankfulness to God **our happy deliverance from Tyranny and oppression** accomplished by the Glorious King William. (*The Scots Magazine*, 1 November 1745)
- (14) The People of this Nation have ever joyfully to commemorate the Day, which, by God's Blessing, brought them a **happy Deliverance** from a **tyrannical Usurpation** wherein the will of an absolute wicked Man was **the Law, the Liberties of the subject trampled on and Right and Property destroy'd**. (*Caledonian Mercury*, 7 June 1742)

The frequency of *happy Revolution* slightly decreases from *BNA 1* to *BNA 2*. The drop is presumably due to the concurrent appearance of the collocation *Glorious Revolution* in *BNA 2*, as we will see in the next section.

In *BNA 3* the co-occurrence of *happy* + semantics of liberty increases from 24% to 34% occurrences<sup>8</sup>. The most frequent pre-modified nouns are the same as those in *BNA 2* and follow similar patterns. *People* is the third most frequent collocate. The adjective also co-occurs with other premodifiers of *people* (i.e. *free* with 38% occurrences, *united* with 17% occurrences and *loyal* with 5% occurrences) which enhance the meaning of *happy* as “of people who are in a state of political well-being and socio-economic prosperity deriving from the government's acknowledgement of their Constitutional rights and liberties”. In particular, *BNA 3* features 23% occurrences of the cluster *free and happy people* for sending good wishes to the king:

- (15) Whose [your faithful subjects] most ardent wish is that your Majesty may be known to the latest Posterity by the most **glorious Title** of The Father of **a Free and Happy People**. (*Oxford Journal*, 28 October 1769)

When clustering with the adjectives *loyal* and *united*, *happy* extends the implications of its meaning further. In the period before and after the American Revolution, British subjects were considered happy not only insofar as they enjoyed the privileges of a libertarian monarchy as guaranteed by the Glorious

<sup>8</sup> The percentage is obtained by searching for the words *happy* + *liberty/rights/Constitution* and by counting the co-occurrence of the two words in the concordancing lines which appear in the first 120 results of *BNA*.

Revolution, but also insofar as they lived as loyal and faithful subjects of the king, united against any insurrectional attempt on the part of radicals and republicans. While the radicals appropriated the myth of the Glorious Revolution to legitimize their (allegedly) truly patriotic claims for authentic freedom and emancipation from domestic corruption, governmental forces insisted on the assumption that British people had been free since 1688 and had to maintain their loyalty to their king and Parliament in order to prosper as a model of happiness for the rest of Europe<sup>9</sup>. The conceptualization of socio-political happiness as linked to the loyalty and unity of the British people continues into 1789 as a result of the outbreak of the French Revolution:

- (16) We ardently hope your Majesty's life will be prolonged in good health; that your Majesty may continue to instruct your Subjects by an illustrious example of piety and virtue, and may rejoice to see them in possession, as they now are, of **liberty, peace, a flourishing commerce, and encreasing strength**; reigning over a **truly free, loyal and happy people**. (*Stamford Mercury*, 27 March 1789).

In the meantime, the noun phrase *happy revolution* drops below the threshold of 0,5% and is not reported in table 2. Its usage concentrates in the decade from 1780 to 1789 as a result of the celebration of the anniversary of the Revolution of 1688:

- (17) To the glorious and immortal memory of king William who, on 4<sup>th</sup> November 1688, arrived at Torbay and effected that **happy revolution** upon which **our liberties and constitution** (under our present gracious Sovereign) are founded. (*Hampshire Chronicle*, 24 November 1788)

Occasionally, *happy revolution* is used by radical news writers in order to refer to other effected or desirable revolutions for liberty and emancipation in the rest of the world:

- (18) If such a Law were passed by our legislature, for the benefit of those unhappy creatures who in a free constitution, in the British West Indies, are born to slavery, what a **happy revolution** would be effected, when our plantations should be cultivated by the **hands of freemen** and not of slaves. (*Kentish Gazette*, 24 November 1781)

## 6. Analysis of glorious

In Table 1, concordances show that the adjective *glorious* has a semantic preference for positively evaluated words such as *victory*, *monarchs* or *Parliament* in the period of the Civil War, *Instrument* and *work* (of God) in the Cromwellian Republic (*LNC*) and *memory* (of monarchs) in the period of the Restoration (*ZEN*

<sup>9</sup> For a discussion on the broad and multifarious meaning of loyalism and patriotism in Britain see O'Gorman and Blackstock (2014).

corpus). In most cases, *glorious* is used with the following meanings documented in the *OED*:

**glorious**, adj.

- 3.a. Of persons and things possessing glory, entitled to brilliant and lofty renown, illustrious.
- 3.b. Of an achievement, action, circumstance, state of things conferring glory, entitling to brilliant and lofty renown, conspicuously honorable.

The following examples are taken from the Parliamentary newsbook *Mercurius Britannicus* and from the *London Gazette* in the period after the Restoration:

- (19) \*A parliament since the victory in the North. \*The States Ambassadors have now addressed themselves to the Houses of Parliament, under the name and title: who says that a victory in the North is no advantage nor lustre to the State? I can not let pass that **glorious Victory** without drawing up the battle one again into their several Brigades. (*MB*, 8-16 July 1644)
- (20) And we do, (as indeed we always ought in the greatest Humility) lament at Your Majesties Royal Feet, the misfortune of this Island, in becoming a Prison to that Royal Martyr, Your Majesties most blessed Father of the most **Glorious Memory**; the thoughts whereof, by the Divine Grace, will keep us in our Duty to Your Sacred Person, and lawful Successors; and make us watchful, especially over that sort of Men, who brought that horrid mischief upon us (1681lgz01627)

In the early Stuart period, the occurrences of *glorious* fall outside the semantics of liberty that will characterize the post-Revolution period. This may be due to the absolutism of Charles I, who exerted his divine right to rule without restrictions. Nevertheless, instances of the co-occurrence of *glorious* with a semantics of liberty are found in the Parliamentary propaganda during the Civil War and in the period of the Cromwellian Republic. The example below features *glorious memory* occurring in close proximity to the words *religion*, *laws* and *liberty*, which are represented as undermined by the Prerogative of an absolute monarch with clear Catholic sympathies. As we can see in the following example, *religion* occurs as the first item in the tricolon, thus establishing anti-Catholicism as the pre-condition for the theory and practice of good governing (Hempton 1996). In the 18<sup>th</sup> century the statesman and philosopher Edmund Burke claimed that the English regarded their church establishment “as the foundation of their whole constitution with which and with every part of which, it holds an indissoluble union” (in Hempton 1996, 4). Since the English Civil War, *religion laws* and *liberty* has been construed as a unit of meaning where the semantic value of *religion* extends over the socio-political concepts of *laws* and *liberty* in much the same way as *laws* and *liberty* act as guarantors of Protestantism<sup>10</sup>:

<sup>10</sup> Anglo Protestantism was at the root of a violent anti-Catholic sectarianism which deeply affected Irish history well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. More extensive discussion on the origin of sectarianism in Ireland can be found in several studies such as Hayton (1998), Ford (2005) and Elliott (2009).

- (21) [...] the Parliament yet creates nor makes no Barons, & yet sure those whose lusters deserve a **glorious memory** to all posterity for their venturing all for defence of **Religion, Laws and Liberty**, shall not be wanting of due honours? (*MB*, 22-29 July 1644)

*LNC* shows two characterizing collocations: *glorious instrument* and *glorious work*, which are both functional to the representation of Oliver Cromwell as God's instrument for the safeguarding of the Protestant religion and liberties of the kingdom:

- (22) In which **great work of the Lord**, we acknowledge with thankfulness Your Highness hath been a **glorious Instrument**; and hath undergone many hardships, and hazard of all that was near and dear unto you, even to life itself, and understanding by providence Your Highness entrusted with, and hath accepted of the Protection of this Commonwealth in the Government thereof. (*Everyday Intelligencer*, 3 February 1654)

Cromwell's actions too are defined as *glorious* insofar as they are meant to redeem the liberties of the people through their representatives in Parliament:

- (23) he is every way worthy to Rule, whom God hath been pleased to use as his Instrument in that **glorious Work of Redeeming the Liberties of his people**: For, we are bold to say (weighing all circumstances together) that this Nation was never really **Free**, nor in any way of enjoying its **Freedom** so fully as now. (*Modern Intelligencer* 29 Feb. 1653, *Perfect Occurrences*, 27 February 1654, *Faithful Scout* 3 March 1654, *West Post* 7 March 1654)

As stated earlier, further inquiry into the period of the Interregnum (1649-1660) could provide more data about the usage of *happy* and *glorious* in proximity to a semantics of freedom and emancipation as a result of the transformation of Britain into a republic. With the advent of the Restoration the adjective seems to lose this libertarian sense and is mostly used with the meaning of *illustrious* in formulaic sentences for commemorating Charles I (see ex. 20) or for anticipating the best outcome for his son's reign:

- (24) From which the great God who did miraculously preserve your Sacred Person and restored you to us [...] still preserve and deliver Your most Sacred Majesty and **grant Your Majesty a long and glorious Reign**. (1681lgz01627)

In *BNA 1* (from 1700 to 1729), *glorious* continues to occur as a premodifier of *memory*, *reign*, *victory* and *monarch*, although, in some cases, an attitudinal change emerges which is consistent with the Constitutional values of 1688 and the celebration of William III as the Providential Deliverer from the Stuarts' tyranny. More precisely, the adjective begins to co-occur with an emerging semantics of liberty (17% occurrences) which is actualized in the nearby words *liberty*, *Constitution*, *laws*, *rights*, and *religion* as the following examples show:

- (25) We are assured that that **Liberty and Prosperity, that Happy Constitution** in Church and State, to which we were restored by King William of **Glorious Memory**, will be inviolably preserved under Your Grace's administration. (*Dublin Intelligence*, 14 July 1711)
- (26) This House will always preserve to them the full and entire Benefit of the Provision made for further **securing our Religion, Laws and Liberties** by an Act passed in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> Year of the Reign of his Late Majesty King William III of **Glorious Memory**. (*Newcastle Courant*, 5 March 1726)

Interestingly, the noun phrase *Glorious Revolution* does not occur before 1711 and only once in my data. The collocation occurs in the title of a pamphlet advertised in *The Flying Post* (from the *ZEN* corpus):

- (27) There is prepar'd for the Press, Solomon against Welton: Or that Princes Complaint against the Insolence of the White Chappel Priest. Being a Defence of the Resistance, made to the Late King James, by the Church of England at the **Glorious Revolution** in 1688. (1711fpt03022)

In *BNA* 2 (1730-1759) the co-occurrence of *glorious* with *revolution* begins to be attested in my data (1,1%), followed by the use of *glorious* as pre-modifier of *Spirit* (0,8%) and *glorious* + noun + *of/for Liberty* (0,6%). It is worth noting that the semantic preference of the adjective for words relating to freedom and constitutional rights occurs about 50 years after the Revolution, in a turbulent period in which the ideals that animated the political move of 1688 were put in danger by the corruption of the Whig administration and the threat of the return of the Stuarts. The closer proximity between *glorious* and semantics of liberty (35% occurrences)<sup>11</sup> extends the meaning of the adjective with a sense of freedom and emancipation which is advocated to contrast any kind of tyranny, whether it comes from the so-called "Pretender" or from Parliament itself:

- (28) This is a Dictate of Nature consistent with Equity, and absolutely necessary to preserve the Blessings of **Liberty, Property and Peace**. On this basis was the **Glorious Revolution** founded, as well as those Acts, which for ever exclude the present Gentleman who now pretends to mount to the Throne. (*Stamford Mercury*, 14 Nov 1745)
- (29) The Revolution in 1688 hath been by all the Englishmen by all the Lovers of their Country deservedly called a **glorious revolution**. But why? Not because Queen Mary drove her own father from the throne, but because Britons did then gloriously exert themselves in defence of their **religion, rights and liberties**. On that account it may truly be called **glorious**. (*The Scots Magazine*, 4 November 1754)

<sup>11</sup> As was the case with *happy*, the percentage is obtained by searching for the words *glorious* + *liberty/laws/rights/Constitution* and by counting the co-occurrence of the two words in the first 120 results of *BNA*. The same procedure is used for calculating the frequency of *glorious* + *tyranny/tyrannical*, *glorious* + *liberty* + *mankind* and *glorious* + *liberty* + *people/ancestors/Britons*.

- (30) The privileges of thinking, saying and doing what we please, and of growing as rich as we can without Restriction [...] are the **glorious Privileges of Liberty**; and its Effects, to live in Freedom and Safety, are peculiar to Englishmen. (*Derby Mercury*, 20 September 1745)
- (31) **The glorious spirit of Liberty**, which hath at length prevailed over that Torrent of Bribery and Corruption and Bribery, that has borne down all before it these Twenty Years past, gives the greatest satisfaction to every independent Briton; and induces us to hope that [...] we may see our Parliament **free and independent** and our ancient **Constitution** restored. (*Caledonian Mercury*, 1 May 1742)
- (32) And your Committee cannot doubt but that this **glorious Spirit** which hath shone out so eminently and conspicuously in this City and **Liberty** will give a light to, and spread and establish itself as a **Universal Pattern of Freedom and Independency** throughout the whole Nation. (*Newcastle Courant*, 20 Jan 1750)

In *BNA 2*, the idea that something is glorious insofar as it ensures and defends the liberties of the people is also attested by the co-occurrence of the adjective with an opposite set of words referring to tyranny (i.e. *tyranny*, *tyrannical*, *oppression*) and Popery (e.g. *Popery*, *Papist*, *Popish*, *Superstition*) which peaks in the 1740s (36% occurrences) due to the fear of the return of the Stuarts, as examples (33) and (34) show. In the following decades the co-occurrence of *glorious* + words semantically related to *tyranny/Popery* is maintained, although it decreases in frequency (19% occurrences):

- (33) They think it their Duty to give this publick Warning against the present wicked Rebellion in Favours of a **Popish Pretender** *educated in the Maxims of Superstition and Tyranny*, they therefore obtest all Protestants and Lovers of their Country to beware of the Arts of Romish Emissaries, who have been endeavouring to undermine *the glorious Structure of the Revolution*, which God reared up by King William of immortal memory. (*Caledonian Mercury*, 26 November 1745)
- (34) That **free Protestants** should ever think of assisting to restore **tyrannical Papist government**, from which the **Glorious King William** had so providentially delivered us was really amazing. (*The Scots Magazine*, 1 Aug 1746)

As we can see in Table 2, the collocation *glorious* + *Revolution* peaks in *BNA 3* (1760-1789). *Glorious* had always had a positive meaning, but throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century its usage documents a further semantic specification which is the result of a new ideological view of what is meant to be glorious. While prior to 1688 the adjective, with some exceptions, co-occurred with *Prince/Reign/Memory* entitled to brilliant and lofty renown on account of the *iure divino* character of the monarch, throughout the decades *glorious* is attributed to *King/Queen/Monarch/Reign/Memory* insofar as the authorities rule the country in line with the constitutional laws of the kingdom which are the true expression of God's will:



- (35) A Prince in whom were united all the Virtues which constitute a Brave, Wise, Human and Pious Ruler, whose Government over a Free and Grateful People was so equitable and just, that during his Long and **Glorious Reign**, the Prerogative of the Crown and the **Rights and Liberties** of the Subject went hand in hand sacred and inviolable. (*Manchester Mercury*, 25 November 1760)
- (36) A Prince [George II], who in the midst of Victories, never deviated from the established Rules of Justice and Equity nor suffered, during the course of **His glorious Reign**, our **Civil and Religious Liberties** ever to be interrupted; His Memory therefore will be as dear to his Country, as the Greatness He raised it to, will render it glorious to future Ages. (*Ipswich Journal*, 24 Jan 1761)

This ideological change is also documented by the increasing usage of the word *inglorious* in my data (from 4 occurrences in the 1720s to 238 occurrences in the 1780s). The close reading of concordances shows that the word acquires meanings of oppression and conflict in context, as the examples reveal:

- (37) The contest between the King (King John) and the Pope, it is well known, turned out to the loss and dishonour of the sovereign who finished an **oppressive and inglorious reign** of more than sixteen years in the forty-ninth year of His age. (*The Scots Magazine*, 7 June 1762)
- (38) When James I came to the throne, he sat down therein full of himself and his *iure divino* and that Parliaments or people, at that time considered as one and the same thing, had **no rights** but what were derived from the grace of the Crown and held under it as such. This led to **great disputes** throughout his **weak and inglorious reign**. (*Leeds Intelligencer*, 30 June 1770)

Another interesting collocate for *glorious* is *struggle* (26 occurrences), mostly found in the lexico-syntactic pattern *glorious struggle for liberty/independence* (in 8 cases out of 26). Unlike *glorious war*, that principally refers to the French and Indian War (1754-1763) and maintains the meaning of full of glory, honorable and successful<sup>12</sup>, the collocation *glorious + struggle* is often used to describe the American Revolution in radical news articles as well as in articles originally published in American newspapers. Both when referring to the military interventions of the government against Jacobites and when referring to the American Revolution of the colonists, the noun phrase acquires a sense of liberty and emancipation, as shown in the following examples:

<sup>12</sup> Consider the following examples of “glorious war”: “Sir, I heartily congratulate you, and my Country, upon the departure of Monsieur Bussy, and upon the breaking off of those negotiations, which were very near depriving us of all the fruits of our success, during the course of this **glorious war**. If what is reported of his demands be true, the impudence of his Court is astonishing (*Leeds Intelligencer*, 6 October 1761); “And lamenting the loss of those many brave Men, who have fallen in this **glorious War**, we will pay all due Attention to the Services of those who yet remain, by whose Valour those Acquisitions have been made. And we will continue to cultivate that Union to which we greatly owe the success of the War” (*Derby Mercury*, 26 November 1762).

- (39) He [the late Marquis of Granby] closed a life of military glory in an equal **glorious Struggle** for the **civil Liberties** of his Country. (*Derby Mercury*, 2 November 1770)
- (40) The spirit of the time renders it necessary for the Inhabitants of this Colony to convene, in order effectually to avert the destructive Consequences of the late base inglorious Conduct of our general Assembly; who have, in opposition to the loud and general voice of their Constituents [...] and the **glorious struggle** we have engaged in for **our valuable Birthrights**, dared to vote supplies to the Troops. (*Derby Mercury*, article reprinted from the *New York Gazette*, 16 February 1770)
- (41) Confiding in you, Sir, and in the worthy Generals immediately under your Command we have the most flattering Hopes of Success in the **glorious struggle for American Liberty**. (*Northampton Mercury*, 14 Aug 1775)

In the last decades of the century, the steady surge in the co-occurrence of *glorious* + semantics of liberty (64% occurrences) is accompanied by the introduction of a semantics of universalism traceable in words *universal* and *mankind*, as the following examples show<sup>13</sup>:

- (42) Let us therefore at length, return back to those **glorious maxims of universal liberty** established by our great deliverer K. William III, that **friend to mankind**; to whom we owe that this Nation, by adhering heretofore to those maxims, had become the most powerful and illustrious on earth. (*The Scots Magazine*, 1 May 1775)
- (43) **The glorious epoch** is now arrived when France quits her chains, emerges from her darkness and is warmed to animation by the bright beam of the sun of **Liberty**. The moment of vast import the prize is invaluable, for the noblest **rights of mankind** and the happiness of million must now or never be asserted and secured. (*Saunders's News Letter*, 12 August 1789)
- (44) In our own days we have witnessed miraculous revolutions for **the emancipation of mankind** from the trammels of tyranny and the extension of **liberty** on the basis of reason. The American colonies after a **glorious struggle** have effected their freedom. (*Dublin Evening Post* 17 September 1789)

This expansion in the semantics of *glorious* is prompted by the radical stance of the author characterizing several news articles in the last decades of the century.

<sup>13</sup> By semantics of universalism, I refer to those words (typically *universal* and *mankind*) which occur in close proximity to *glorious* and which reflect the radical stance of the author. A crucial feature of the Enlightenment was universalism which, amongst the other things, articulated the category of a shared human nature endowed with natural rights that governments had to secure through laws made with the assent of the people. Amongst the British radicals of the time who supported the American and French Revolution, Richard Price, the rational dissenter, claimed that "the man's highest destiny would not be realized until mankind enjoyed a universal freedom in which men might find and do the will of God both to His glory and to the improvement of humanity" (Toohey 1978: 229).

In particular, Irish and Scottish editors must have been more directly inclined to publish articles promoting universal rights and liberties through a re-appropriation of the Glorious Revolution, given the frustration they shared with the American colonists as abused subjects of the Empire (Hayton 1988; Pentland 2004). *BNA 3* also reveals a further semantic transformation of the adjective as a result of its increasing co-occurrence with words such as *people*, *Ancestors*, *Britons* (from 11% occurrences in *BNA 1* to 32% occurrences in *BNA 3*), as we can see in the following examples:

- (45) In the time of the last Stuart king during the general Confusion, when the dastardly Tyrant fled, the principal nobility and gentry restored to our Guild-hall for protection, and concerted with **our Ancestors**, the citizens of this metropolis, that generous and equal system of power which was established by **the people** at the **Glorious Revolution** and confirmed by the succeeding Parliament in the Bill of Rights. (*Derby Mercury*, 27 February 1770)
- (46) Your petitioners therefore pray that your Hon. House will be pleased to take the Plan of Parliamentary Reform, hereby offered, into its consideration, and trust you will comply with the request of **a brave People**, actuated by **the glorious idea of liberty**, and of restoring the *Constitution* to its original purity. (*Dublin Evening Post*, 2 March 1784)
- (47) **The spirit of freedom** now pervades **any class and denomination of people**, the wavering is confirmed and several of those who have proved opponents to **the glorious cause** from a variety of circumstances have now become advocates for defending **the rights** of their country. (*Saunders's Newsletter*, 16 August 1785)

From the 1760s onwards, British newspapers encode the key role of the people in the accomplishment of the Glorious Revolution in order to construct a revolutionary tradition of people who fight for the defence of their natural rights. This a posteriori construction of a legacy of popular sovereignty in the Revolution of 1688 is exploited by radical Whigs in order to legitimize popular resistance to a tyrannical Parliament and justify extra-parliamentary actions in the present. In particular, liberty is now seen as part of those natural rights which have been granted by God to His people and which exist independent of the favour of their monarchs and MPs. From the 1760s onwards, under the drift of radical whiggism and Tory patriotism, *glorious* extends its meaning in the British press by combining the sense of liberty, which the word acquired immediately after the Revolution, with that of popular will and resistance against any form of religious and political oppression.

## 7. Conclusion

A corpus-assisted discourse analysis of the usage of *happy* and *glorious* in the period before and after the Revolution of 1688 shows that the two pre-modifying adjectives undergo a semantic transformation throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup>

centuries. In particular, the analysis of weekly pamphlets and newspapers document an extension in their usage after the Revolution, when the two words begin to pre-modify nouns which did not appear as frequent collocates before (*revolution, struggle, deliverance, spirit, liberty*). At the same time, the analysis of the collocational patterns of the two adjectives suggests a narrowing of their meaning in political discourse. Indeed, after the Revolution, a reign, a monarch, his/her memory and the people are considered happy and glorious only insofar as the authorities abide by libertarian principles and people can benefit from the freedom ensured by the laws of the kingdom.

By and large, it may be claimed that the Glorious Revolution marked a watershed between two different ideological conceptualizations of what was glorious and what made a reign and its people happy. In the Stuart period, before the Glorious Revolution, a reign, a monarch and all their achievements were considered glorious insofar as glory was immanent in the king's persona and part of his *iure divino* character. The king was referred to as the gracious dispenser of liberties which were nevertheless subject to his Prerogative and as such could be revoked. People celebrated the monarch in the hope that he would keep his promises and follow the laws of the kingdom rather than his personal will. After the Revolution of 1688 a monarch and his/her reign and memory were evaluated as happy and glorious insofar as glory was conferred on them by people's socio-political wellbeing. From a strictly Anglocentric perspective, people's happiness derived from the government's acknowledgements of their natural rights to freedom; as a result, monarchs were glorified only if they recognized and protected the people's rights to liberty, property and Protestant religion. Given that *happy* and *glorious* already had a positive meaning, the libertarian association that they acquired after 1688 may be interpreted as a further semantic amelioration in the direction of liberalism and – towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century – Enlightened universalism, which set the basis for an embryonic vision of democracy.

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