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‘Everybody’s King’: Charles II and the Representation of Restoration Rule in England, 1660-1679

Contents

Abbreviations

Dairy, Vol. -	*The Diary of Samuel Pepys,* eds. Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols. (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1970-83).
CSPD	*Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles II,* ed. Mary Anne Everett Green, 28 vols. (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1860).
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn)

Introduction

On 1st April 1813 Sir Henry Halford entered Henry VIII's vault at Windsor, having been granted permission by the Prince Regent (later George IV) to exhume and examine the body of King Charles I. At first glance, the remains appeared remarkably intact, and Halford was struck by how much the figure before him resembled 'the pictures of King Charles I by Vandyke, by which [he] has been made to us so familiar'.[1] Upon closer inspection, however, Halford noted that 'when the head had been entirely disengaged from the attachments which confined it, it was found to be loose, and, without any difficulty, was taken up and held to view'.[2] Halford's examination was motivated by medical curiosity, but his description provides us with an apt metaphor for the problems faced by Charles II when he ascended the throne in 1660. Following his execution in 1649, Charles I's head had been famously sewn back onto his body before his burial and the restoration of his son eleven years later constituted a metaphorical reattachment of the monarchical head to the recently unruly body of the nation. However, much like the severed head of Charles I, when the position of the restored King is subjected to close scrutiny this attempted reattachment is revealed to be more cosmetic than real.

This thesis argues that the performance of kingship between 1660 and 1679 was the consequence of political realities triumphing over the highly idealised forms of royal representation that had gone before. The ambiguous and often contradictory representations of King Charles II were both a symptom of, and a calculated reaction to, the complicated legacy of civil war, regicide and interregnum. The notion of performance is crucial to this study, and the performative nature of both society and politics during the restoration has been repeatedly highlighted by scholars.[3] The restoration stage produced many famous actors, but the most skilful actor of all was the King himself. One of the first acts passed in 1660 was the re-opening of the London theatres, and in much the same way, Charles II set about fashioning his own court into the ultimate restoration drama. On this 'gaudy gilded stage' the King cast himself as monarch, rake and undisputed star.[4] As well as exploring performance and dissemination, this examination of royal representation will also focus on innovation. What was innovative about the representational methods of King Charles II? Which traditional methods of royal representation were able to be successfully adapted and employed? And how much of this ideological tradition was rendered unsustainable by the tumultuous events of the 1640s and 50s? These questions will be examined in due course, but first we must briefly consider the man behind the mask of the 'merry monarch'.

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[1] Sir Henry Halford, *An Account of What Appeared on the Opening of the Coffin of King Charles the First in the Vault of King Henry VIII in St George's Chapel at Windsor* (1813), p. 8.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] See John Spurr's monograph - *England in the 1670s 'This Masquerading Age'* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000)

[4] John Wilmot, '*The Complete Works of the 2nd Earl of Rochester*', ed. David. M. Leith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 85.

King Charles II has represented something of an enigma for historians. At times he appears to have been a man wrought almost entirely of contradictions – as much a mystery to his closest privy councillors as he was to his people. How then can we begin to unravel the representation of this infinitely inconsistent King? Ronald Hutton has suggested that Charles was a man defined by 'a set of strongly marked characteristics with a cold void at the centre of them'.[5] This harsh, but not entirely unfounded, assessment of Charles' personal character has interesting implications when considering the formation of his royal image. Both contemporary and scholarly assessments of the King highlight a set of well worn, and at times totally contradictory, characteristics. The 'merry monarch', the later Stuart tyrant, the loveable rouge, the quasi-Machiavellian backdoor dealer – in our minds and the minds of his people, King Charles II managed to be all of these things. As for the charge of a 'cold void' at his centre - there were indeed times when Charles proved ruthlessly pragmatic, frustratingly evasive, and even wilfully cruel. However, before condemning Charles as a man devoid of morals, it is important to consider the character of the period in which he lived. The 1660s and 1670s were both decades characterised by flamboyant masquerade, and in this atmosphere deception and subterfuge became positively fashionable. *Plain Dealing's Downfall*, a poem penned by the libertine court wit John Wilmot, the 2nd Earl of Rochester, lamented that plain dealing had been 'unanimously cry'd down' in the capital. The wayward Earl even went so far as to suggest that any who attempted to deal honestly 'must be poor'.[6] Honesty was not only unfashionable but, as Rochester's poem would suggest, actively frowned upon at the restoration court. Another of Hutton's succinct insights into the personal character of the King is his description of Charles as a man of 'almost constant good humour' who 'could meet most situations with a smile or a jest'.[7] Hutton credits this propensity for jest in the face of difficult situations as a by-product of the King's 'unmistakable charm', and undoubtedly, Charles II was a man with a considerable talent for superficial charm.[8] However, with this summation Hutton has (rather uncharacteristically) perhaps underestimated the calculating nature of the restored King. In their recent work on the political implications of satire and laughter, Mark Knights and Adam Morton have highlighted the power of jest as a social tool in the early modern period. Knights and Morton cite the work of Thomas Hobbes, demonstrating the unquestionably vicious nature of ridicule in restoration society. They argue convincingly that the 'most prominent component of laughter' during the early modern period was the assertion of 'aggressive superiority' over the object of ridicule.[9] The jest and witticism employed by Charles II was almost invariably at the expense of others. George Savile, 1st Marquis of Halifax recorded that the King's wit 'consisted chiefly in the quickness of his apprehension. [And] His apprehension made him find faults'.[10] Of course, we cannot know with certainty the intention behind the King's words, but this theory of aggressive jest

[5]Ronald Hutton, *Charles II King of England, Scotland and Ireland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p. 458.
[6] John Wilmot, *Plain Dealing's Downfall* in *The Penguin Book of Restoration Verse,* ed. Harold Love (Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1968), p. 86.
[7] Hutton, *King Charles II,* p. 447.
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] Mark Knights & Adam Morton, *The Power of Laughter and Satire in Early Modern Britain: Political and Religious Culture, 1500-1820* (London: Boydell Press, 2017), p. 4.
[10] Halifax, *Works,* Vol. II, p. 495.

is certainly worth keeping in mind. As Kevin Sharpe aptly summarised, the 'merry monarchy was serious business'.[11]

The approach being taken in this study is not biographical and neither is it an attempt to establish Charles II's personal thoughts, rather to examine what Clare Jackson has termed Charles' talent for 'presentational spin'.[12] The public presentation of Charles II's image has received some scholarly attention in recent years, most notably in the final volume of Kevin Sharpe's ambitious trilogy concerning early modern monarchical representation.[13] Sharpe paints a picture of a monarch very much engaged with the construction and dissemination of his own image. In *Rebranding Rule* and other works, Sharpe also outlined the idea of what he called a 'new politics of pleasure' that operated during the 1660s and early 70s.[14] Unfortunately since his work was published posthumously, Sharpe was unable to fully articulate the theory he had outlined and, when tested against the source material, it does prove problematic. Crucially, we must be wary of assigning intention to Charles II for behaviour in which he was likely to have engaged regardless of potential problems it might cause. However, Sharpe's theory provides a useful framework for the discussion of royal representation in the period under consideration here - the years 1660-1679. This section of Charles II's reign has received relatively little attention when considering the formation of the royal image. Much of the scholarly work has focused instead on the supposed dramatic upsurge in engagement with the public sphere during the later Tory reaction.

As we have seen, Hutton has expressed his deep cynicism that the King had any bearing on the formation of his own image. He characterised the atmosphere of 'intrigue and insecurity' fostered by Charles' ambiguous behaviour as 'genuinely depressing'.[15] In his celebrated 1989 biography, he surmised that Charles II was a 'monumentally selfish' man – and in a sense, this is true. In this thesis, it will be argued that the 'cold void' that so repulsed Hutton is perhaps best understood as a manifestation of the King's propensity towards extreme political pragmatism. In addition to Hutton's biographical work, some assessments have also been undertaken of Charles II's engagement in public ceremonies, both before and after his restoration in 1660.[16] Anna Keay and Clare Jackson have produced general analyses of Charles' public ceremonies, which offer insightful interpretations into 'the most slippery of kings'.[17] Jackson provides a brief but nuanced view of both the political and personal character of the King, concentrating on the consequences of his refusal to reveal his own personal feelings about almost any given topic.[18] Similarly, in her more forensic exploration

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[11] Kevin Sharpe, *"Thy Longing Contry's Darling and Desire": Aesthetics, Sex, and Politics in the England of Charles II*', in, *Politics, Transgression, and Representation at the Court of Charles II, eds. Julia Marciari Alexander & Catherine MacLeod* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 5.
[12] Clare Jackson, *Charles II: The Star King* (London: Penguin, 2016), p. 105.
[13] Kevin Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule: The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy, 1660-1714*, (New York: Yale University Press, 2013)
[14] Sharpe has outline this theory in *Rebranding Rule* and *Politics, Transgression, and Representation at the Court of Charles II* and *Rebranding Rule*
[15] Ronald Hutton, *Debates in Stuart History* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 157.
[16] Anna Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch: Charles II and the Ceremonies of Power* (London: Continuum, 2007)
[17] John Miller, *Charles II* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1991), p. xiii.
[18] Jackson, *The Star King,* p. 106.

of Caroline ceremony, Anna Keay has described a monarch who recognised the benefits of practical malleability.[19]

Two distinct historiographical pictures of Charles II have emerged in much of the scholarly material surrounding him. The figure of the lovable rogue emphasised by Antonia Fraser and Richard Ollard in the 1970s was compounded in popular history, although this interpretation was swiftly countered by the work of Hutton and John Miller in the 1980s, both of whom presented a far less flattering portrait of the King.[20] In Hutton and Miller's work Charles emerged as a deeply unsympathetic figure, consumed by selfish impulse and political pleasure seeking. These disparate interpretations have persisted in parallel in modern historiography. Brian Weiser and Mark Goldie have both supported the view that Charles was a '*laissez faire* monarch', more concerned with his pleasures than political realities, while others, such as Tim Harris and Sharpe, have presented a King who exploited his inherent likability, handling criticism with calculated amusement.[21] The existence of these parallel and seemingly contradictory portrayals of King Charles II by contemporaries and academics alike suggests that there is fertile ground in offering a further assessment of this enigmatic monarch. Indeed, the source material supports and justifies both interpretations and it is this very conundrum that renders this topic worthy of further enquiry. How was Charles able to appear as 'all things to all people', without ever resolutely committing to any definite representational program? The persistent historiographical myth that Charles II was a '*laissez faire monarch'* also needs to be dispelled, and it will be argued here that although Charles II avoided the proactive vocal approach to the royal image projected by his father, his inconstant image was not tantamount to disinterest. Whereas Charles I was prone to deafening displays of his perceived authority, Charles II operated in whispers - ever mindful that these were easier to deny should the need arise. Several aspects of the monarch's representation will be examined here, and when considering them all together, we will see the emergence of a program of deliberate experimentation and ambiguity.

In order to answer the questions posed above, a wide variety of sources have been mined, including both painted and printed images, satire, popular ballads, and cultural artefacts, such as embroidery and commemorative pottery. It has been well established that the restoration saw a flourishing of printing and collecting.[22] As a result, the sources available for this period are voluminous, and many have yet to be scrutinised. Much of the visual material examined here appears to have escaped the attention of historians. For instance, the numerous images celebrating General George Monck, wedding memorabilia featuring Charles and Catherine of Braganza and much of the popular imagery of the tale of the King's escape appear never to have been subjected to scholarly examination.[23] These overlooked visual sources play an important role in clarifying the project of royal representation that was mobilised in the 1660s and 70s and it is only through a comparison of these sources, which is integral to this thesis,

[19] Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch*, p. 208-9.
[20] Antonia Fraser, *Charles II* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1979), Jackson, *The Star King,* p. 230.
[21] Brian Weiser, 'Owning the King's Story: The Escape from Worcester', *The Seventeenth Century,* 14(1999), p. 44.
[22] Weiser, 'Owning the King's Story', p. 44.; Harold Weber, *Paper Bullets: Print and Kingship under Charles II* (London: University of Kentucky Press, 1995); Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, p. 93, 136.
[23] Some studies have been undertaken of particular sets of Worcester images, which will be discussed in the relevant chapter.

that one can begin to see the themes of royal representation employed by Charles II in this period. In addition to visual and textual representations, the diaries of Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn - both of which provide invaluable insights – have been explored. By adopting an innovative approach to both well-known and newly examined material, it becomes clear that what the King thought, and what his people thought he thought, were often entirely different things. In this world turned upside-down by civil war, regicide and republic, these sources display perhaps the most impressive political feat of King Charles II - his ability to commit himself to nothing and everything simultaneously.

The thesis is structed into three broadly chronological chapters, each examining a different facet of the performance of kingship under Charles II. In Chapter One, two completely novel modes of royal representation will be considered, both of which were employed immediately at the restoration - the use of the image of General George Monck, the architect of the restoration, and the imagery of the King's Escape from Worcester in 1651. Chapter Two deals with the employment of royal ceremony by the King, namely, the coronation and the practice of touching for the King's Evil. The third chapter examines the royal family, both in the traditional sense, and with the expansions put in place by Charles II. Under consideration here are the more traditional representation of the Queen as a conduit for the royal line, the representations of the Duke of Monmouth before 1679; and the innovative representation Charles' bevy of mistresses and illegitimate children.

Monarchical image is a wide-ranging and expansive area of study, so it is necessary to clarify here which aspects of this field of enquiry will not form part of the following discussion. For reasons of space, this thesis cannot adequately examine all aspects of royal representation under Charles II. Instead, the focus will be on aspects of the King's representation that were significantly expanded versions of traditional representative forms, or entirely innovative methods of performing Stuart kingship. Perhaps most obviously beyond the remit of this study is the influence of Charles' time in France on the formation and projection of his image. Similarly, the period after 1679, namely the Exclusion Crisis of 1679-1681 and the subsequent Tory Reaction, will also be excluded from our discussion. The nature of royal representation changed so dramatically after 1679, when Charles appealed to his people over the heads of both parliament and his own government, it becomes an area worthy of study in its own right. Another area outside the remit of this study is the vexed issue of audience response. Excluding the works of diarists such as Pepys and Evelyn, evidence of reactions of readers and viewers to the texts and images explored in this thesis are limited. It is difficult, often impossible, to ascertain a clear image of contemporary audience reactions – and although this thesis focuses on the King's public image, there is insufficient space to fully consider the problematic issue of audience response.

Before moving to the first chapter, let us briefly return to Henry Halford, whose account of the opening of King Charles I's tomb we saw at the opening of this introduction. Halford concluded his account by noting that the coffin of Henry VIII had been 'injured by… the introduction of the coffin of King Charles'.[24] Again, Halford's scientific description is analogous to the effects of regicide on the office of the monarch. Henry VIII stands as one of the most unshakable and imposing figures in British history, his life defined by his ruthless and

[24] Halford, *The Opening of the Coffin of King Charles the First*, p. 10.

masterful hold on the reins of power. Charles I not only lost this grip, but his death damaged the facade of royal power forever. It is in this context that we must view Charles II: whether a philanderer, a tyrant or a rake, what emerges above all else in this examination of the public image of King Charles II is a man who was prepared to do almost anything to preserves both his throne, and his head.

The Restoration of Rule: The imagery of General Monck and the King's Escape from Worcester

Fig. 1. *Boscobel House and White Ladies* (c.1670)

In 1670 London born artist Robert Streeter painted a seemingly innocuous landscape to form part of the decorative scheme of Whitehall palace. As this chapter will explore, even idyllic imagery of the English countryside was to bear the scars of the recent civil war. Streeter's *Boscobel House and White Ladies* was designed to be a visual representation of the familiar tale of Charles II's escape following the battle of Worcester in 1651. Whiteladies is shown to the left, Boscobel to the right, and the Royal Oak (in which Charles dramatically concealed himself) takes pride of place in the foreground. The only people in this image are the parliamentarian soldiers seen in the bottom left preparing to enter the thick foreboding forest in search of the 'malicious and dangerous traytor', Charles Stuart.[25] This image differs from the others we will examine here; but it is perhaps the most apt at capturing the essence of both the escape story and the representational tactics employed by Charles II in the first uncertain years of the restoration. Streeter's canvas does not force an interpretation of events upon the viewer, instead it provides a background that they can use to imagine their own version of the escape story – whatever that may be. This sort of ambiguous representation would become characteristic of the restored King as his reign progressed but as we shall see, it began as soon as he set foot on English soil. Charles II recognised both the value of allowing a range of interpretations of the royal image, and the far-reaching effects that the regicide and interregnum had had on the viability of many traditional forms of royal representation.

[25] *By the Parliament. A proclamation for the discovery and apprehending of Charls Stuart, and other traytors his adherents and abettors*, (1651)

From the moment his restoration was announced in early 1660, Charles II faced a unique problem; namely, how did one represent the restoration of the monarchy? It was an unprecedented question for a British monarch, and one to which there would be no single answer. It was undoubtedly helpful that much of the nation was keen to consign the recent decades of bloodshed and republic to the past; the massive outpouring of public jubilation at the King's return has been well documented by historians.[26] However, the undeniable fact remained that by its very nature Charles II's joyful restoration conspicuously followed his ignominious exile. In this chapter we will examine two aspects of royal representation employed by Charles as early as 1660 in an attempt to address this representational hurdle – the tale of the King's escape from Worcester, and the use of the image of General George Monck. At first these two representational forms may appear relatively disparate, but on closer examination they share a number of fundamental similarities. As we shall see, both had their roots in the interregnum period and were co-opted into royal representation post 1660, in addition, both were explicit attempts to negotiate the transition from republic to restored monarchy. Furthermore, both these representational methods were unique to Charles II; never before had an English monarch been represented fleeing from his own people, or included a military figure alongside the immediate royal family.

We will begin with the story of the escape from Worcester focusing specifically on its visual representation. The story of the escape gained huge popularity after the restoration in 1660; it was an adventure seemingly tailor made for manipulation by royal panegyrists and artists attempting to craft an image of the returning King. The narrative accounts of the escape, as Kevin Sharpe has rightly highlighted, are deserving of an overdue analysis as works of political polemic.[27] This chapter will provide a similar focus on the imagery of the escape, which has suffered even greater historiographical neglect. However, the inclusion of these images is crucial if we wish to develop a nuanced understanding of the escape story's role in royal representation post 1660. By first examining popular representation of the story, followed by an in-depth reading of the three surviving large scale painted images, we will establish the escape's place in a larger representational programme being formed in the early 1660s. The second half of the chapter will focus on the influence of the representation of General George Monck on the formation of the image of the King in the early 1660s. This argument is twofold, firstly it will examine the reconfiguration of the General from a figure with questionable loyalties into the grand architect of the restoration – to the extent of being pictured alongside the intimate royal family in popular prints. Secondly, we will assess the implications that Monck's role as the engineer of the restoration had on traditional theories of monarchy ordained by divine right. How was it possible for the King to be restored by such human intervention and still profess to have been rightfully anointed by god? The use of both these innovative forms of representation demonstrate some of the methods employed by King Charles II and the restoration regime as they attempted to negotiate the unique set of political realities they found themselves faced with in 1660.

[26] See Ronald Hutton, *The Restoration: A Political and Religious History of England and Wales 1658-1667* (London: Clarendon Press, 1985), p. 125-126.
[27] Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, p. 701.

The Escape from Worcester

On the third of September 1651, Charles II's forces were resoundingly defeated by Cromwell's New Model Army at Worcester. The defeated King spent the next six weeks living as a fugitive, disguising himself as a pauper and a servant, until he was finally able to escape to France on the fifteenth of October. This tale of daring escape was one that would become ubiquitous after Charles II's return to England. In 1660 alone, more than half a dozen accounts of the escape appeared - as Kevin Sharpe states, the story allowed Charles to appear 'strong and vulnerable, Christic and human, sacred and yet still familiar'.[28] While the escape did to some extent allow Charles to be represented as *all things to all people*, it also struggled with its own internal contradictions. The tale revolved around an event that was difficult to reconcile with traditional modes of royal representation, namely, how could a King be successfully disguised as a peasant while still retaining his inherent majesty? In addition to this conundrum the tale also suffered from other representational difficulties; it began with Charles in a battle against his own people – not only that, but it was the battle that would end all hope of a swift restoration, and secure the future of the new republic. These fundamental discrepancies could, to a large extent, be negotiated into inconsequentialities in textual representations of the escape story – but in its imagery, these problems were significantly harder to conceal. While written narratives of the escape from Worcester were numerous, visual depictions were less prolific. The majority of depictions of the escape can be found in more accessible visual mediums such as printed images and crude ceramics – most commonly they portray the King riding before Lady Jane Lane as her manservant, or the King nestled in the famous Boscobel Oak Tree. Larger painted images depicting the story of the King's escape from Worcester are harder to find, only three such contemporary examples have survived: Streeter's *Boscobel House and Whiteladies*, Isaac Fuller's five canvas series *Charles II's escape after the Battle of Worcester,* John Michael Wright's *Astraea Returns to* Earth. These representations were painted in the 1660s (or in the case of Streeter's canvas, 1670) when the popularity of the escape narratives - and of the restored King himself - were at their peak. It is of interest that the three depictions differ from one another in almost every sense; Streeter's image is a blank landscape onto which the story can be projected by the viewer, whereas Wright's image evokes a long legacy of sacral kingship, while Fuller's series plainly displays the cumbersome humanity of its royal subject.

As we shall see the escape story was highly malleable, and could be adapted to suit all shades of political belief. As a result of this malleability, historiographical interpretations of the purpose of the tale have varied. Harold Weber in his 1988 article, and subsequent book on print culture under King Charles II, argued that the story of the escape was 'far removed from the formal traditions of court art', and highlighted the role that providence played in textual representations of the escape. Weber also argued that the use of the narratives celebrated monarchical power in a way that was 'unavailable' to other more 'highly structured' methods of royal representation – for example large scale images.[29] Brian Weiser has recently criticised Weber's view, citing Weber's failure to put his sources into context, suggesting this resulted in him presenting Charles as a figure of overstated agency in the dissemination of the escape story in text. [30] Weiser instead suggests that the tale was appropriated and manipulated by others in order to serve their personal political purposes – with little or no input from the 'laissez faire monarch'.[31] While both Weber and Weiser present some valuable arguments, neither have included the visual representations of the escape in their studies. The imagery of the escape has not been completely overlooked; David Solkin has undertaken an

[28] Harold Weber, 'Representations of the King: Charles II and His Escape from Worcester', *Studies in Philology,* 85 (1998), p.492; Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pg. 9.
[29] *Ibid.* p. 492.
[30] Weiser, 'Owning the King's Story', p. 44.
[31] *Ibid.*

exceptional and detailed examination of the Isaac Fuller's narrative series, the *Escape of Charles II after the Battle of* Worcester. Building on Weber's observations, Solkin focused on the paradoxical representations of Charles offered in both images and text relating to the escape.[32] Solkin's argument regarding the story's paradoxical nature will be crucial to our discussion here, and will be extended to include other visual depictions of the escape outside of Fuller's series. In addition to this in depth study, Kevin Sharpe in his *Rebranding Rule* has produced a meticulously researched overview of both the escape texts and images, but he offers scant analysis into the imagery.[33] Solkin, Sharpe and Weber all highlight the ambiguity of the representations of the escape, but Charles' autonomy in this process is often unconsidered. With at least two (possibly three) large scale canvases decorating Whitehall, it is obvious Charles was not merely amused by the story but - contrary to Weiser's suggestion - wanted it to be publicly associated with his kingship. Consideration of the imagery of the escape is crucial to develop a nuanced understanding of how the escape story was used by others – and crucially by Charles himself – to reconstitute the image of monarchy following his restoration. This discussion will build upon the analysis of the Worcester texts by the likes of Sharpe, Solkin and Weber by adding the often neglected visual context. Furthermore, we will attempt to establish their place in a larger representational programme being created in the early 1660s.

The escape narrative was not only story of a daring escape and dramatic masquerade, it soon became a ubiquitous symbol of Stuart loyalty, although at times a contentious one. There are numerous mentions in the state papers of lotteries set up 'in commemoration of the Royal Oak', the *Royal Oak* warship was completed in 1664 and served as the flagship in the fight against the Dutch.[34] The 29th of May, the date of Charles' birthday and restoration, was also declared 'Royal Oak Day'. This day was commonly marked by bellringing, the lighting of bonfires, special prayers and the wearing of a sprig of oak. As David Cressy has demonstrated, Royal Oak Day was a royal holiday that 'provided entertainment for every sector of the community'.[35] The celebration of Apple Oak day also served to secure both the escape story and the restoration in the national memory. In addition to these public reminders, Charles also personally ensured regular payments were made to those who aided him in his escape until his death in 1685.[36] Despite this widespread use of the symbol of the Royal Oak, it was simultaneously an unwelcome reminder of more difficult times. It has been well established that many royalists were unhappy with the treatment they received after the restoration – many felt that they had been passed over for preferment, and that the new regime was going out of its way to include traitorous former parliamentarians at the expense of those who had remained loyal to the Stuarts.[37] A project for a new order of knighthood to honour 'the most distinguished of the King's old adherents' was suggested in 1660 in response to these feelings of neglect.[38] The Knights of the Royal Oak were to receive a silver medal with an engraving of King Charles in the Boscobel Oak – almost 700 names appeared on the proposed list of recipients.[39] However, the scheme was dropped with no real explanation presumably, as Ronald Hutton has suggested, to avoid causing offence to former parliamentarians.[40] This demonstrates that although the escape story was very popular and widely

[32] David Solkin, 'Isaac Fuller's Escape of Charles II: A Restoration Tragicomedy', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 62(1999), p. 211.
[33] Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule,* pg. 701.
[34] *CSPD*, Vol.II, p. 157.; *CSPD*, Vol. CVII, p. 123.
[35] David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989), p. 66.
[36] Keay, *Magnificent Monarch*, p. 111.
[37] Hutton, *The Restoration*, p. 138.
[38] *Ibid.*
[39] Edward Hasted, *The history and topographical survey of the County of Kent* (Wakefield: EP Publishing, 1972), Vol. I, p. 229.
[40] Hutton, *The Restoration,* p. 138.

referenced, it was also politically charged. It served as a reminder of the recent fracturing of the nation, during which the King had been forced to hide from his own people in fear of his life. A central aim of the 1660 Act of Indemnity and Oblivion had been to consign this divide to history - but the escape story naturally divided the audience into those who had aided the King in his hour of need, and those who had not. However, these inherent tensions among the Gentry did not restrict the use of the escape story at the popular level; it was a prevalent motif on commemorative memorabilia which flourished during the later 17th century.[41]

Fig. 2. *The Royal Oak* (1660-1680)

Fig. 3. *Royal Oak Charger* by Thomas Toft (1660s)

Fig. 4. *Charles II hiding in the Boscobel Oak,* (1660-1685)

[41] The role of popular ceramics as a mode of royal representation will be examined in detail in Chapter Two.

Fig. 5. *The Restoration of Charles II*, silk and metal thread raised work, (c.1665)

Many of these items followed a similar pattern; almost all feature Charles (sometimes with his accomplice Colonel Caresless) hidden in the branches of the royal oak. While they may appear crude to a modern viewer, these items emphasise connection the populous felt to the story. A large number of these commemorative items survive; the examples pictured above vary wildly in skill, place of production and by all likelihood in price (fig. 2,3&4). Their provenance is unknown, and therefore we cannot connect their production with the desires of the King or his advisors; however, their prevalence demonstrates that they played an important role in his popular representation. These commemorative plates featured vignettes from the escape story; frequently the pivotal moment the King took shelter in the Boscobel Oak. Some were more elaborate and featured several aspects of the tale in tandem, telling the story of the escape in sequence. In figure 4, Charles is pictured in the symbolic oak with three crowns nestled beside him in the leaves. To the right can be seen three pursuing roundhead soldiers, the ribbons above them reading 'dead or alive', 'the price is 1000 pound' and 'no quarter', to the left, the figures of Charles and Jane Lane can be seen escaping to the safety of a distant ship. In reality, the warrant issued by parliament for the arrest of Charles Stuart stipulated the reward would only be released to persons who brought the fugitive King 'in safe custody…. to be proceeded with… as justice shall require'.[42] The hyperbole on this plate served to heighten the danger that Charles faced, emphasising the effect of the statement in the scroll entwined within the three crowns which reads 'Perused by men. Preserved by God'. The role of providence, as we shall see, was one of the aspects of the escape tale that was deliberately emphasised to serve the political purposes of the restoration regime. The production of homemade memorabilia of the story of the escape further demonstrates its ubiquity in restoration popular visual culture. This homemade tapestry from approximately 1665 (fig.5) neatly encapsulates almost every aspect of the escape story. In the top right hand corner, we can see Charles posing as Lady Jane's manservant as he rode for Dover, and in the centre Charles and the Colonel nestled among the branches of the Boscobel Oak. In addition, this work also features Charles clad in his splendid coronation robes along with Queen Catherine on the left, and to the right, General Monck and a female figure (perhaps his wife). This embroidered example

[42] *By the Parliament. A proclamation….*, (1651)

is highly revealing when examining the popular relationship with the escape story for a number of reasons. Firstly, it demonstrates the explicit link between the escape and the King's subsequent restoration (which will be discussed in detail below). Secondly, the production of such a detailed home-made rendering of the story demonstrates how pervasive the tale had become in popular imagination by the mid-1660s.

The escape story permeated every stratum of restoration visual culture, and it was depicted in a wide range of objects from popular prints and crude ceramics to grand allegorical paintings. John Michael Wright's *Astraea Returns to Earth* is a well-known source, which has not been given the scholarly attention it deserves. Solkin and Sharpe highlight the stark humanity of the monarch in Fuller's *Escape of Charles II;* however*,* Wright's ability to depict the escape story while emphasising traditional aspects of royal representation is equally important. Little is known about John Michael Wright's early life; having trained in Edinburgh for a number of years, he then travelled widely around the continent – notably Italy – before returning to England in 1656.[43] In 1659 he painted both Cromwell's daughter and the royalist John Russell, after which John Evelyn saw fit to refer to him as the 'famous Painter Mr Write'.[44] However, after this he struggled to gain fashionable or illustrious patrons and in 1678 his Catholic leanings led him to flee to Ireland in the wake of the Popish Plot. Wright's English subjects were mostly confined to Catholic gentry and less illustrious sitters such as poet laureate John Dryden; but he did receive at least three royal commissions – one being an image of the Royal Oak, and in 1673 Wright was given the office of picture drawer in ordinary.[45]

Astraea Returns to Earth (fig.6) was commissioned by the King in 1660 to hang on the ceiling above his bed at Whitehall. In the image, the Greek mythological figure Astraea sits in the heavens alongside a trio of cherubs holding between them a portrait of Charles II. Astraea points to a single bright star in the sky, representative of the one that was said to have shone over London on the day of Charles' birth. The dominating figure in the canvas is an angel baring the message of Astraea's return to earth, at the base of the image beneath this figure we see a gaggle of cherubs lifting the Boscobel Oak up into the heavens. The story of Astraea was an obvious choice for restoration iconography, and a popular one. In the legend Astraea, the virgin goddess of purity, was the last of the immortals to live among the humans in the Golden Age of man. During the Iron Age, when humanity became too wicked, Astraea retreated to the heavens; and according to the her return to earth would heral the return of the Golden Age. Wright's image styled Charles as the nation's Astraea who put an end to the wicked Iron Age of the Interregnum and healed the resulting wounds under his divine leadership – as one poet stated, the 'Lyons Cave becomes Astraea's Court.[46] In 1660 the future poet laureate John Dryden penned his poem *Astraea Redux* which recounted Charles' trials in exile and his eventual restoration. By stressing both the King's 'heav'nly Parentage' and the loss of 'all… but the honour' at Worcester, Dryden highlights the crux of the escape story.[47] Much like Astraea, Charles II's inglorious escape was necessary as a precursor for the miraculous restoration. It is this implicit connection of escape to restoration that can be seen in Wright's canvas; by placing them side by side in the heavens, the image clearly links Charles to the figure of Astraea, imbuing him with her divine connotations and suggesting that his return will be linked with a golden age in his restored nation. In addition to this explicit parallel between Charles and Astraea, Wright also included the royal oak within the image, the inclusion of which reinforces the connection between the King's escape and his eventual glorious restoration. Although lacking artistic subtlety, Wright demonstrates with his *Astraea* that it was not

[43] D. Thomas*,* 'John Michael Wright' in *ODNB*.
[44] John Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. E. S. de Beer, Vol. III, p. 113.
[45] Thomas, 'Wright*', ODNB.*
[46] Richard Brathwaite*, To His Majesty upon his happy arrivall in our late discomposed Albion* (1660)
[47] John Dryden*, Astrea Redux* (1660)

impossible to confer divinity upon a King hiding up an oak tree when this undignified scene was linked explicitly to the act of restoration.

Fig. 6. *Astraea Returns to Earth* (1662)

This issue of providence was key to the escape narratives, both in text and image. The escape story began with Charles fighting a battle against his own people, and resolutely losing. The parliamentarians were quick to claim that their success was a sign of divine providence; just after the (now exiled) King's arrival in France, Thomas Hobbes heard of the republicans 'growing disposition' to portray their victory over Charles as a sign of God's providence.[48] When signing the death warrant of Charles I, Oliver Cromwell assuaged his doubts surrounding the act of regicide by claiming that it was

[48] Quentin Skinner, *Reason and rhetoric in the philosophy of Hobbes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 330.

'the Providence of God' that had lead the commons to try and convict the King.[49] With the King in exile with seemingly no prospect of return and Oliver Cromwell on his way to securing his role as head of the republic, the claim that tyrannical kingship had been overthrown by divine favour seemed all too plausible. However, Wright's painting and the vast majority of the textual accounts of the escape sought to champion the idea of divine providence working in favour of the Stuart Monarchy. This reversal of providential narratives served to delegitimise the republican rhetoric of providential triumph over the monarch. In printed texts this was a fairly simple task, one way it was achieved was by highlighting the fleeing company's numerous narrow escapes from Cromwell's pursuing forces. In Thomas Blount's popular retelling, the King escapes roundhead soldiers by as little as half an hour – even more daringly in Danver's *The Royal Oak* he rides right past them.[50] The prevalence of these close escapes are a clear indication of the role providence is ascribed in these texts; Charles' many *miraculous* close shaves can logically only be the result of a larger power sponsoring his success. When these literary flourishes were deemed insufficient, writers often identified providence by name - Charles is portrayed as 'circled about with providence', and the whole tale is often described as 'a work full of… providence'.[51] Wright could not fall back on such explicit proclamations, but the role of providence is clear in his *Astraea*. In the image the Oak is being lifted to the heavens, it has become symbolic of Charles' escape and exile and therefore a visual representation of his miraculous preservation. This coupled with the association with Astraea links Charles' escape at Worcester explicitly with his restoration. As Harold Weber highlights, the Restoration of Charles II was far from a certainty - the fact it occurred at all appeared miraculous to many. John Evelyn observed on the King's entry to London that 'such a Restoration was never seen… this hapning… was past all humane policy.'[52] Coupling the escape explicitly with the miraculous restoration amplified the role that providence played in enabling Charles to escape unharmed in 1651.

It is tempting to view Wright's *Astraea* as an insight into how Charles himself perceived the events of Worcester. After all, it was commissioned to hang in the King's own bedchamber where only the King himself, the highest nobility and body servants would have been able to view it. A semi-private image, it was certainly not intended to be seen by the wider public, or even by the majority of visitors to Whitehall. It has been suggested by Anna Keay that towards the end of his life the images found in Charles II's own bedchamber were often a highly personal choice, not selected to represent any coherent political or ideological belief but rather his own intimate connections.[53] While this may have been true by 1685 we must be wary of making the same assumption here. Both Weber and Weiser have rightly highlighted that Charles' own accounts of the tale are the ones that appear least concerned with the representation of the monarch as divine. None of the other textual representations, Weber argues, take such 'obvious pleasure' in describing details that 'demonstrate the irrelevance or non-existence of his [Charles'] inherent majesty.'[54] One reason for this apparent contradiction could be that the King recognised the diminished effectiveness of sacral kingship as a mode of royal representation by the 1660s. The escape story, as we shall see when examining Fuller's *Escape of Charles II*, has most impact when presenting Charles as connected to even his lowest subjects. It was simply not in the King's interest to portray himself as a semi-divine untouchable being

[49] S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War 1642-1649* (London, 1894), vol. IV, p. 288.
[50] Thomas Blount, *Boscobel, or, the History of His Sacred Majesties Most Miraculous Preservation After the Battle of Worcester* (1660), p. 17.; John Danvers*, Historical description of the royal progress, wonderful travels, miraculous, escapes, and strange accidents of his sacred Majesty Charles the II* (1660), p. 3.
[51] *London and England triumphant: At the proclaiming of King Charls the Second, by both the Houses of Parliament, the Judges of the Land,* (1660); Danvers, *Historical description,* p. 5.
[52] Weiser, 'Owning the King's Story', p. 55; Weber, 'Representations of the King', p. 489.
[53] Keay, *Magnificent Monarch,* p. 207-8.
[54] Weber, 'Representations of the King', p. 505.

when he could achieve more by representing himself less formally. Although the decision to marginalise Charles' divinity in his own retelling is significant, this choice should not be overstated. The King was after all the only person in a social position to be able to deliberately ignore his own divinity – but once he had done so, the door was opened for others to adopt this rhetoric. In his own repeated retellings of the tale Charles II was the leading ambassador for his own humanisation. In addition, Charles was reported to take genuine delight in the aspects of the tale where he appeared least divine and repeated them over and over for twenty years. A man well known for his love of masquerading and disguise, it is hardly surprising that his favourite aspect of the escape story was the act of deception. As with so many of Charles' own opinions, it is impossible to know which interpretation of the escape from Worcester he preferred. What we can infer from the semi-private placement of Wright's image is that, at the very least, Charles was conscious of the different meanings ascribed to the tale. As he so often did, by remaining uncommitted to one definitive interpretation he was able to capitalize on the benefits of all possibilities.

The escape story could clearly be used as an effective method of portraying the divinity of the monarch, but it could also, as in the case of Fuller's *Escape of Charles II,* do the opposite. Isaac Fuller's life and work could not have differed further from Wright's; Fuller's birth date is unknown and nothing is recorded of his parentage or early life. He was rumoured to have studied in France before spending time at Oxford during the 1650s; on returning there in 1660 he painted several large religious schemes in some of the collage chapels – all of which have now been lost.[55] Fuller was primarily known for his historical paintings, and although he maintained a steady career in portraiture, it was his historical work that was his most ambitious. During the 1670s Fuller painted mythological scenes in at least three London taverns.[56] His work in taverns seemed appropriate given his personal reputation for debauchery, he was accused of burlesquing his subjects – one near-contemporary noting that although he had a great 'genius' for painting history he 'he did not always execute [it] with due Decency'.[57] Isaac Fuller perhaps seems a more appropriate candidate for portraying the 'merry monarch' than the Catholic classically inclined Wright, he certainly better embodied the lax moral ideals of the 1660s.

Before analysing the content of Fuller's work, it is important to examine its provenance. Unlike Wright, there is no real evidence that Fuller spent much time at court, or that he was patronised by, the King, his courtiers or the high nobility. Solkin makes a convincing argument that the series was probably painted for the fourth Viscount Falkland, perhaps for display at his house at Great Tew - citing the Viscount's artistic leanings and his royalist pedigree.[58] However, Kevin Sharpe has proposed that the series was most likely commissioned on the King's behalf to hang in Whitehall.[59] While Sharpe offers no evidence to support this assertion (aside from the *Escape*'s great size), the possibility is potentially significant and deserves some consideration. If the series was indeed commissioned to hang in Whitehall at the King's behest, then that would mean three separate representations (including Streeter's canvas) of the escape story were on display in various parts of the palace.[60] When the existence and placement of these images are considered alongside the textual representations, Weiser's argument that the King had no part in the mobilization of the escape narrative seems extremely unlikely. Wright, Fuller, and Streeter brought the same story to life in wildly disparate ways

[55] C. MacLeod, 'Isaac Fuller' in *ODNB*.
[56] 'Fuller', *ODNB.*
[57] *Ibid.*
[58] Solkin, 'A Restoration Tragicomedy', p. 208.
[59] Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule,* p. 112.
[60] While there is no record of where in Whitehall the canvas was hung during the reign of Charles II, it was recorded as hanging at the palace during the reign of James II.

– and if Sharpe is correct in assuming that all three hung in the King's principal residence throughout his reign, it displays a clear personal connection between Charles and the purposeful propagation of the tale.

Fig. 7. *King Charles II at Whiteladies* (1660s)

Fig. 8. *King Charles II in Boscobel Wood* (1660s)

Fig.9. *King Charles II and Colonel William Carlos (Careless) in the Royal Oak* (1660s)

Fig. 10. *King Charles II on Humphrey Penderel's Mill Horse* (1660s)

Fig. 11. *King Charles II and Jane Lane Riding to Bristol* (1660s)

A great problem for artists and writers alike in the first unsteady months of the restoration was the considerable uncertainty surrounding the character of the King they were attempting to portray.[61] Charles had been absent from England for almost a decade, and although some images had made their way back to the Republic, no one was certain how the King would act – or how nine years had changed his appearance. This prompted one of the major artistic decisions in Fuller's *Escape* series – in all five canvases Charles appears as he did on his restoration rather than as a twenty-one-year-old fugitive prince. This served to familiarise the viewer with the returned King's visage while also invoking the daring escape of his past. Fuller's series titled *Charles II's escape after the Battle of Worcester,* is a completely unique work. It is the only set of Fuller's large-scale narrative images to have survived, and they appear to be the only historical series of paintings portraying the escape that were attempted. The series comprises of five canvases, each depicting a different scene from the tale - *King Charles II at Whiteladies, King Charles II in Boscobel Wood, King Charles II and Colonel William Carlos (Careless) in the Royal Oak, King Charles II on Humphrey Penderel's Mill Horse* and *King Charles II and Jane Lane riding to Bristol*. One of the most remarkable things about these paintings is their sheer size, hung in a row, their total width would be over forty-four feet.

Aside from their shared subject matter, Fuller and Wright's representations could not be more disparate. Where Wright utilized grand sacral allegory, the most striking feature of Fuller's series is the unflinching humanity of its royal subject. The sacred nature of the physical body of the monarch was an idea with a long tradition, and one that had been observed publicly by the previous Stuart monarchs. It was Charles I who actively sought to publicly emphasise the reverence due to the King's physical body - Kevin Sharpe has demonstrated that his rearrangement of Whitehall was focused around creating a point of separation between the royal person and those outside the immediate royal family.[62] During the 1630s this emphasis was intensified as illustrated by a number of orders Charles issued for court reform, such as the order that the towel he used for washing must be carried above the Gentleman Usher's heads as they left his presence.[63] Fuller's *Escape* paintings certainly do not convey an idea of 'great distance and respect to the royal persons'. [64] In each canvas Charles is depicted in close proximity with the other figures, often in the least regal of poses.

In Fuller's depiction the absence of such space is palpable - the King is portrayed in close physical proximity to all the other characters he meets during his travels. In the largest canvas *King Charles II and Colonel William Careless in the Royal Oak* (fig.9), Charles is seen sleeping against the Colonel while he keeps a look out for the pursuing soldiers. The two could hardly be in closer physical proximity, not only that, but Charles in his slumber is rendered a vulnerable figure totally dependent on the Colonel to protect him from any dangers he might face. David Solkin has identified the 'principal political point' of the escape narratives as the willingness of Charles' most loyal subjects to risk their own lives in service of his.[65] In *The Royal Oak* Charles' vulnerable position becomes representative of the protection of his people, he is safe with his loyal subjects who would defend him at any cost to their own safety. Throughout Fuller's escape series, this disinclination to represent the King's body as sacred is inescapable. In *Charles II Riding Humphry Penderel's Mill Horse* (fig.10) there is once again very little to distinguish the King from Penderel. While he is sat atop a horse, it is a far cry from the ideologically imbued equestrian images painted by Van Dyck of Charles I (figs.12&13). The horse Charles rides is thin and pitiful, and although Penderel stands in the traditional position of yeoman his expression is far from the usual one of admiration seen in the paintings of Van Dyck. Charles and Penederel are

[61]Weiser, 'Owning the King's Story', p. 45.
[62] Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I,* (London: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 212-217.
[63] *Ibid,* p. 218.
[64] *CSPD*, *Charles I: Vol. CLXXXII,* p. 478.
[65] Solkin, 'Isaac Fuller's Escape of Charles II', p. 207.

wearing nearly identical clothing, and both are looking back suspiciously into the forest from which they have just emerged. While this is an equestrian image the tone is far from grand, rather the image possesses an aura of menace – both figures appearing deeply troubled, concerned with very real, earthly dangers. Similarly, *Charles II Discovered by Colonel Caress* (fig.8) shows the King sitting on a log, flies unbuttoned, in the ragged clothes of his disguise – the composition hardly conveys the traditional image of inherent majesty. This lack of distinction can be seen in the other canvases of Fuller's *Escape*; in *King Charles II and Jane Lane riding to Bristol* (fig. 11) Charles rides before Lady Jane in the traditional position of a servant, and in *King Charles II at Whiteladies* the same scant physical distinction can be seen between the King and Penderel – despite the fact he is helping Charles on with his disguise. This failure to distinguish the King significantly from the other figures in the scenes shows a marked departure from traditional forms of monarchical representation in large scale painted works.

Fig. 12. *Equestrian Portrait of Charles I* (c. 1637-8)

Fig. 13. *Charles I with M. de St Antoine* (c. 1633)

While Fuller's *Escape* canvases certainly fail to imagine Charles as an exalted figure, we should not disregard the ways in which Fuller distinguishes Charles from the other characters in his canvases. In four of the five canvases, the King is depicted wearing a hat, while other figures are bareheaded – thus visually distinguishing him as their superior. Furthermore in *Charles II discovered,* the King remains seated (albeit on a log) while the Colonel bows to him in a traditional sign of respect to the monarch, reminiscent of the practice of attending a royal audience. In the *Whiteladies* canvas, Charles is being helped into his clothes by Penderel (fig.7), an action which conjures up unmistakable parallels with the traditional role of a servant dressing the King. Again, the written escape narratives better maintain the reverence towards the King's body, for example in Blount's account Charles' hair is shorn to disguise him - the King requests the hair be burned, but Penderel ignores this request instead keeping

a 'good part of it' as a 'civil Relique'.[66] By keeping the hair as a 'Relique' the tale hints heavily at the semi-divine nature of the body of kings, the event is dealt with at some length and is often repeated in other printed narratives. This episode neatly incorporates Charles' divinity into an otherwise very human tale. This symbolic majesty proved harder to depict on canvas, although it is noticeable in the *Royal Oak* image that the King's hair is longer than the other pictures in the series, despite the fact that at this point in the story the King's hair had already been cut. The *Royal Oak* as the largest image, is likely to have been the focal canvas - in his moment of ultimate vulnerability (which would later lead to his ultimate triumph), Fuller depicted the King not only as he appeared at his restoration, but also at his most Christic. These small distinctions act as recurrent nods to the King's inherent majesty and his higher status, however, the prevailing image created by these canvases remains one of unusual humanity.

Visual and textual representations of Charles' escape from Worcester had to negotiate an enormous hurdle– the spectre of the regicide. The regicide was a catastrophic event in the history of the British monarchy, especially when it came to royal representation. The son could be restored, but the wounds of the father could never be erased from the national memory; as a result legitimacy of the idea of sacral monarchy was irreparably damaged. According to ancient law in the statutes of Edward III, a crime against the King's physical body constituted a crime against the state. This idea was reinforced by Sir Edward Coke in 1608 when he stated that although the physical body of the King could die, the body politic was 'invincible' and the dignity of the office immortal.[67]Orr describes the most important aspect of the King's two bodies as the notion of *inseparability*. While the two bodies were distinct, they remained inseparable.[68] An attempt on the life of one, was an attempt on the life of the other. Therefore, as Charles II had not been crowned King immediately after the death of his father, the regicide had extinguished not only the physical body of Charles Stuart, but the theoretical body politic of Stuart monarchy. The regicide had not merely involved the murder of the King; he had been tried and sentenced in 'spectacular fashion' at the 'ground-zero of English justice' - the great hall at Westminster.[69] This public staging of the act burnt its coldly reasoned legality into the public memory and despite the restored regimes best efforts the wounds proved difficult to heal. The depictions of the escape story struggled with this legacy; characterising Charles II as a semi-divine monarch who derived his power from god faltered in the wake of the reality that the state had independently executed the King.

Wright and Fuller depicted one of the most popular stories of the age in very different ways. As we have seen, the escape story encompasses aspects that could appear to undermine the ideas of divine monarchy, providential success and the sanctity of the King's body. What Weber and Solkin fail to consider in their otherwise insightful studies, is that the story was likely chosen precisely because of this ambiguousness which provided such a challenge to artists such as Fuller and Wright. Weiser has highlighted that it was during the Exclusion Crisis - when Charles needed the loyalty of his people the most – that he decided to dictate his own narrative for publication.[70] This demonstrates the King was aware that the escape narratives had the power to appeal to a section of the population that would be left unmoved by more traditional ideologically imbued images. Indeed, in the 1660s the narrative provided him with an opportunity to connect directly with his people following more than a decade

[66] Blount, *Escape,* p. 33.
[67] D. Alan Orr, 'The Juristic Foundation of the Regicide', in *The Regicides and the Execution of Charles I,* ed. by Jason Peacey (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001), p. 119.
[68] *Ibid.*
[69] Sean Kelsey, 'Staging the Trial of Charles I', in *The Regicides and the Execution of Charles I,* ed. by Jason Peacey (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001), p. 73.
[70] Weiser, 'Owning the King's Story', p. 53-54.

of estrangement. We know that Charles' escape was a hugely popular tale on the restoration, and remained so throughout his reign. As well as work such as Fuller's ambitious series, the tale was widely reproduced in cheap printed pamphlets and broadside ballads. Consequently, from the early 1660s it became one of the most widely available representations of King Charles II. The selection of this particular narrative is significant as it focused not on divine intervention or military success, but rather on Charles' own subjects being instrumental to his escape and, therefore, his restoration. The tale of the escape from Worcester created a powerful connection between Charles and his lowest subjects. He had lived as one of them and experienced life in a way no other monarch before him had - it created the image of him as a 'man of the people'. Worcester symbolised the King's closeness to all of his subjects, and was therefore the perfect narrative to be mobilised on his Restoration in 1660, despite its apparent contravention of traditional techniques of royal representation.

The unusual work of Wright and Fuller enables us to see clearly both the effective and problematic aspects inherent in the escape tale. The marked difference in these two works illustrates that by the mid-1660s there was no artistic consensus on how such an unusual event should be depicted. Both men had very different careers - Fuller was famed for being a drunk, painting taverns and histories, and using a dramatic, colourful burlesque to portray his subjects. Wright, conversely, spent his career painting minor gentry, and fared badly in the religiously lax attitude of restoration London. These two portrayals sit at opposite ends of the representational spectrum and above all else they demonstrate the malleability of the escape story. Through these diverse works we can see how the tale could be manipulated to appeal to all shades of political opinion and all sections of society. The escape from Worcester was the perfect tale to be mobilised on the restoration, as it encapsulated the pragmatism that would come to characterize the restored monarch.

General Monck

Having reviewed the ways in which the escape from Worcester in 1651 was utilised after Charles II's return in 1660, the discussion will now turn to General George Monck: the man widely regarded as the architect of the successful restoration. In this section of the chapter we will consider how the General was used to facilitate the unprecedented process of selling the restored monarchy; specifically how his inclusion in royal iconography marked a perceptible shift in representational norms during the post-civil war period. General George Monck, created Duke of Albermarle on the restoration as an expression of royal gratitude for his pivotal role in its success, presented a conundrum for King Charles II. Monck was instrumental in the restoration of the monarchy, but he had achieved this feat by the authority of the very same army that had been responsible for its fall. Without his intervention it was unlikely that the King would have been able to return at all, and Charles himself was painfully aware of this. In his first letter to Monck in March of 1660, the exiled King acknowledged that 'these ends [the Restoration] can only prevail with you.'[71] General Monck presents historians with a contradictory figure; a royalist in the first years of the Civil Wars - he defected to the Parliamentarian cause after his capture, imprisonment and eventual release in 1647. He then spent the following thirteen years steadily rising through the ranks of Cromwell's army, eventually reaching the heights of commander and chief of all the armed forces in Scotland – or as Ronald Hutton has called him, 'The New Hammer of the Scots'.[72] Opinions of Monck in both contemporary sources and

[71] *The Letters Speeches and Declarations of King Charles II*, eds. By A. Bryant (Cassell: London, 1935), pg. 83.
[72] Ronald Hutton, 'George Monck, first duke of Albemarle' in *ODNB.*

historiography are diverse; he is described variously as heroic, capable, cold-blooded, vicious, and, as Samuel Pepys famously proclaimed, 'heavy' and 'dull'.[73]

A fascinating and elusive figure, Monck's role as the 'architect of the restoration' is undisputed in the historiography.[74] However, for such a widely mentioned public figure, General Monck has received little scholarly attention after his pivotal role in 1660. Only one biography of Monck has been produced in recent years, and his role in scholarly debate is generally confined to his pivotal actions in early 1660.[75] Despite his relive neglect at the hands of historians, his huge contemporary popularity at the restoration is evident; in contemporary ballads, images and poems the General was represented as 'thy Prince's and people's favourite', 'the great Monck' who almost single-handedly saved the country from the chaos of the collapsing Republic.[76] However, even in Kevin Sharpe's detailed analysis of the imagery of the restored monarchy these representations have been overlooked. Some of the most revealing representations of the General show him depicted with the royal family. There has been no scholarly examination of these images; Monck's appearance in such images begins in 1660 and he appears to have been featured in numerous prints until his death in 1670. General Monck was far from a traditionally heroic figure; he had abandoned the royalist cause and risen to prominence under Oliver Cromwell. He had fought consistently against the Scottish forces that supported the exiled King Charles, immediately declaring Richard Cromwell Lord Protector after his father's death. Although Monck made no public argument in support of Richard's deposition, soon after he received overtures from Charles Stuart he displayed signs that he was open to co-operation with the exiled King. However, once the royalist rising in England was crushed, Monck quickly abandoned any pretence of co-operation with Charles, plainly displaying what Ronald Hutton characterised as his innate 'capacity for duplicity.'[77] The intentions of Monck in 1660 will be discussed below, but these actions present an image of a man who was interested in protecting (and advancing) his own position rather than a champion for ancient liberty and monarchy.

The historiographical work surrounding George Monck by Ronald Hutton, Tim Harris and others has repeatedly emphasised the importance of Monck's contribution to the return of the monarchy.[78] However, despite his clear contemporary importance, little attention is given to the public veneration of General Monck after the restoration. When attempting to examine the image of Charles II from 1660-85 the inclusion of images of the man who played such a vital role in his restoration can provide an invaluable insight into the changing nature of royal representation during this period of flux. From the moment of Charles' restoration the image of General Monck was, in the contemporary mind, inseparable from the image of the King. This inexorable connection is evidenced by the printed images of Monck produced after 1660, where he is pictured alongside the King and other members of the royal family. By examining the often ignored imagery of Monck following the restoration, we will see that the use of Monck as a form of royal representation exposed the irrevocable ideological change brought about as a consequence of the regicide, and was an innovative experiment in dynastic representation undertaken in the 1660s and 1670s.

[73] Samuel Pepys, *Diary,* Vol. I eds. By Robert Latham (London: The Folio Society, 1996), p. 28.
[74] Sharpe, *Rebranding* Rule, p. 165.
[75] Peter Reese, *The life of General George Monck: for King and Cromwell* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2008)
[76] *Iter Boreal*, in *POAOS,* p. 17.
[77] 'Monck', *ODNB*.
[78] Hutton, *Restoration,* p. 83-9.; Tim Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and his kingdoms, 1660-1685* (London: Penguin, 2006)p. 43-44.

Englands Captivity Returned,
With
A Farwel to COMMON-WEALTHS.
To the Tune of, The brave Sons of Mars.

Fig. 14. from '*England's captivity returned'* (c. 1660)

The Loyal Subjects exultation, for the Coronation of King Charls the Second.
To the Tune of, When the King comes home in Peace again.

The second part, to the same Tune.

Fig. 15. from '*The Loyal Subjects Exultation'* (c. 1660)

Monck's intentions when he came to England in 1660 were by no means clear cut – in fact they were a matter of intense public speculation. In January 1660, Samuel Pepys recorded in his diary that 'all the world is now at a loss to think what Monke will do'; while the French ambassador claimed 'All parties now cast their eyes upon him, and each fancies that he is favourable to it'.[79] These opinions appear to have been widely shared, with one contemporary remarking that 'in the main… they were satisfied he no more intended the King's restoration… than his own horse did.'[80] There was even, Pepys records, speculation that Monck would try to seize the reins of power for himself. On the 2nd March Pepys recorded that there was 'great talk of a single person' be it 'Charles, George, or Richard again', and the next day he was told that there was 'a new design hatching' whereby 'Monke had a mind to get into the saddle'.[81] This perception of Monck changed rapidly following Charles' return in April 1660; Sir Edmund Walker's recollection of events reconfigured the uncertainty around Monck's arrival into calculated ambiguity designed to hide the General's secret resolve to aid the Stuart cause. In Walker's account, Albemarle marched into England with such 'prudence and reservation as that every interest hoped and believed him theirs although in the secrets of his heart he had resolved to assist the interests of the King his sovereign'.[82] Monck's failure to explicitly state his intentions evidently caused considerable contemporary anxiety, however, as Walker's account demonstrates, this ambiguity played a large role in enabling him to be reimagined as the noble champion for the return of monarchy post-1660.

This representational rehabilitation began with Monck's appearance in ballads and song sheets published to celebrate the King's return. These popular tunes presented an image of the 'Great Monck' who 'Restor'd his Countryes Joy', a far cry from the shadowy figure that marched from Scotland earlier that year.[83] The song sheets were often illustrated with printed images, some of which displayed both Charles and Monck side by side; in these images both men acted as symbols for the restoration of the monarchy. In *Englands captivity returned,* Monck is hailed as a symbol of 'true loyalty' and in the image printed at the top of the sheet we can see busts of Monck and Charles alongside one another (fig.14).[84] This motif is a common one in these ballad sheets, and much like the images examined below, these prints raise Monck's status to something perilously close to royalty. When taken into account alongside the contents of the ballads and poems surrounding Monck, these representations could appear contradictory to traditional ideas of divine kingship. In many of the ballads Monck was explicitly credited with restoring the monarchy. One poet wrote that England 'was restor'd by Monck' granting him exclusive recognition for setting England's 'head upon her shoulders'.[85] Another anonymous ballad of 1660 was similarly emphatic, proclaiming that Monck 'was the cause that good King Charles, the Second is proclaim'd.'[86] These ballads leave little room for support for the notion of the natural prevalence of divine monarchy. The traditional line of divinely ordained monarchy was dramatically ruptured by the failure to immediately proclaim Charles II the new King (in England) following the execution of Charles I in 1649. Although Charles' reign was backdated to 1649 in all official documentation following his return, the fact remained that his accession had been conspicuously disrupted. This reality can be seen reflected in the imagery of

[79] *Diary*, I, p 22 & n. 4.
[80] Quoted in, R. E. Prichard, *Scandalous Liaisons: Charles II and his Court* (London: Amberley Publishing, 2015) p. 44-45.
[81] *Diary,* I, p. 74, 75.
[82] BL, MS Stowe 580, fol 39v.
[83] *POAOS*, p. 5-6.; *Iter Boreale*, *POAOS,* p. 19.
[84] *Englands captivity returned with a farwel to common-wealths* (London: 1660).
[85] *The loyal subjects exultation, for the coronation of King Charls the Second* (London: 1660).
[86] *London and England triumphant* (1660)

General Monck; rather than recognising the inevitable and divinely ordained accession, they attribute the restoration to the very human intervention of a man with – at best – questionable loyalties.

Monck was linked with the restored King from the moment he returned to England, playing an important and visible role in the public ceremony that accompanied the King's return. Charles' entry to London was one of the first public performances the King gave for his people, and Monck was assigned a prominent role in the ceremony. When Charles set foot on English soil he was met by General Monck, and the first thing the restored King did was kiss the General and call him 'father'.[87] Another account claimed that Charles approached Monck 'his majesty embracing him acknowledged that hee owed his Restoration principally to his wisedome loyalty and courage'.[88] Monck then rode in the coach with the Royal Brothers to Canterbury. Keay highlights that the investiture of Monck into the Order of the Garter during this public procession was an act that raised Monck to a level of importance alongside the royal brothers, making him a hero of the day.[89] While this is an astute observation, I would argue that this public investiture also played another role. By installing Monck as a Knight of the Garter he was not only being rewarded for his services but he was also supplicating to the King in the most public of settings. In addition to this, on day the party entered London the General rode alongside the Duke of Buckingham – the highest noble in the land – behind the King. All these ceremonies, as Anna Keay highlighted in her work on the ceremony of Charles II, not only celebrated King Charles, but also General Monck himself.[90] This finely wrought act of royal performance was one of the first opportunities King Charles II had to present himself to his people, and it is significant that within this grand cavalcade celebrating the majesty and magnificence of monarchy General Monck was chosen to be venerated alongside the returning royal brothers. While the representations of General Monck were innovative, they also served to represent continuity from the recent past. As a prominent figure in the republican army, Monck helped to ease the transition from republic to monarch. The symbolic transfer of power from the army to the monarch began as soon as Charles landed at Dover, and continued through the public supplication of Monck during his investiture to the Order of the Garter, ending with his assimilation into the nobility when he was created Duke of Albemarle on the 7th of July 1660.[91]

[87] Keay, *Magnificent Monarch,* p. 81.
[88] BL, MS Stowe 580, fol 39v.
[89] *Ibid.* p. 87.
[90] Keay, *Magnificent Monarch*, p. 84.
[91] 'Monck', *ODNB*.

Fig. 16. *Royall History Completed* (c. 1660s)

Fig. 17. *The Royal Family* (c. 1660s – 1670)

This combination of praising Monck's status while still supplicating him to the King can also be seen in the printed images of the General and Charles. The collection of printed images flourished like never before in the later 17th century, with the King and Queen and those connected to them making popular subjects. Samuel Pepys records purchasing a print of the King's infamous mistress Barbara Villiers which he then had varnished and framed for display.[92] Far cheaper than commissioning a painting, these printed images provided more people than ever before with the opportunity to display publicly their interests and loyalties on the walls of their homes. One image printed in London in 1660 titled *Royall History Completed,* features a portrait of Monck set alongside three images of Charles II, The Duke of York, and the Duke of Gloucester (fig.16). In this image Monck is credited with masterminding the happy restoration of the three royal brothers, and being pictured alongside them is reward for his services. This may seem a logical visual representation of the political events of the restoration, but the uniqueness of the image cannot be disregarded. The inclusion of a low born, military man alongside three royals was unheard of in the history of monarchical depiction. In this image Monck is raised to the status of an intimate member of the royal circle. His image given the same care and attention as the other three, it features no less detail. Clad in his crown and ermine furs Charles II is clearly differentiated from the other men in this image; the two Dukes, however, possess no outward expressions of their royalty, and therefore their status is visually indistinguishable from Monck's. Monck is not granted completely equal standing in the image, each portrait is placed where we would expect to find it, with King Charles II occupying the top oval, and the General at the bottom. While Monck is indeed relegated to the least prominent physical position, the fact that he is included at all suggests a burgeoning new method of monarchical depiction. One in which the deeds of a soldier could be given equal recognition for the restoration as the traditional ideas of divine kingship.

[92] Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule,* p. 93, 136.

Even more daring is an image printed and sold by J. Clark depicting an innovative interpretation of the royal succession which includes General Monck (fig.17). The National Portrait Gallery lists this image as being produced in the late 17th century, but a closer examination of the image suggests that the date is in fact some time before 1670.[93] We know the image was first produced before Charles II's death as James II is labelled as the 'D. of York', furthermore the inclusion of the Duke of Monmouth suggests it was produced some time before he was publicly ruled out as a candidate for the succession by the King in 1680. The inclusion of Dukes of York and Monmouth alongside one another enables us to surmise that this is not a later piece of Exclusionist propaganda designed to promote Monmouth ahead of York as the King's successor. All the evidence leads to the conclusion that the image was printed sometime in the 1660s, or perhaps just before, or not long after, Monck's death in 1670. The image features seven figures; the King and Queen, The Dukes of York and Monmouth, Prince Rupert of the Rhine, the young Prince of Orange and of course Monck. Monck is identified as *General Monck* as opposed to the Duke of Albermarle – the title he was given in 1660 – perhaps to delineate him from the two Dukes whose role in this print is to be potential successors to the Stuart crown. The image is a clear dynastic advertisement, the King and Queen had been married for several years yet still no heir was forthcoming, as a result, the question of succession had begun to loom large in the public conscience. The image included four possible male claimants to the Stuart crown, as well as both the King and Queen who it was still hoped would yet produce a living heir. What then was a General's role in this image? Monck's placement in the centre of the image, larger than both Prince Rupert and the Prince of Orange, places him at the metaphorical centre of the map of succession. By referring Monck as 'General' rather than the Duke of Albermarle, this print conjures up an image of the man who brought about the restoration rather than the leader of later unsuccessful military campaigns against the Dutch. This explanation seems justified in the context of an image designed to advertise the success of the Stuart dynasty to deflect attention away from the conspicuous absence of a legitimate male heir. We have seen that the image of General Monck was inextricably linked with the memory of the glorious restoration of King Charles, this print utilises this familiar idea, reminding the viewer of a golden era of royal promise in the face of the more uncertain political realities that would begin to emerge during the course of the 1670s.

Despite these visual depictions of Albermarle as a celebrated hero, General Monck was by all accounts a disagreeable individual. Both Pepys and Evelyn found him personally unpleasant, and as early as 1662 Pepys recorded that the courtiers were 'weary' of the stern, dull Albermarle.[94] During his travels in England in 1668, Lorenzo Magalotti described the Duke as a man 'without either the curtesy of a nobleman or the demeanour of a great captain'.[95] The projected character of the Duke of Albermarle as a national hero was far removed from the uncharismatic and often course career soldier recorded by those who met him. These character defects are erased in poetical representations of the Duke after 1660, where he is depicted as the 'morning star' to Charles' 'sun'.[96] Depicting Monck as a loyal hero was beneficial to Charles II; emphasising the symbiosis between the General and the restored King provided an opportunity to heal the recent divisions between the army and the monarchy. As joint symbols of the restoration, the 'star' and the 'sun' conformed to the ideals presented in the act of Indemnity and Oblivion, they came together to heal the wounds that had caused the recent woes of the nation. The heroic character promoted by images and songs after the restoration was a fiction created after the Declaration of Breda in April; it seems inconceivable that the image of an eminent

[93] For the previous dating of this image see, *NPG D29269*, *'Royals'*.
[94] *Diary,* III, p.291.
[95] Lorenzo Magalotti, *Lorenzo Magalotti at the Court of Charles II: His Relzione d'Inghilterra of 1668*, trans. W. E. Knowles (Ontario: Wilfred University Press, 1980), p. 42.
[96] *POAOS,* p. 5-6.

republican could be manipulated to such an extent that he came to represent the restored Stuart monarch. However, as we have seen, the refashioning of General Monck proved remarkably easy in the ostensibly forgiving climate of 1660. Monck had the potential to present a sizable problem to the restoration regime; he commanded the loyalty of the armed forces, and as Magalotti perceptively summarised 'his great experience has made him the one who understands the country better than anyone else'.[97] By assimilating Monck into the most intimate royal circle, he no longer signified republican sedition, rather, he represented the idea propagated by the restored government of the healing of national wounds.

The King attempted to exploit the connection between himself and the image of Monck even after Albemarle's death in early 1670. On Monck's death, Charles II dictated that he should receive an official state funeral. Before Albermarle, the only non-royal to receive a state funeral had been Oliver Cromwell – who was promptly exhumed and beheaded as soon as the monarchy was reinstated. Monck's popularity had dwindled significantly after the questionable success of the Dutch campaigns towards the end of the 1660s, and his lying in state was not well attended.[98] Compared with the riotous reaction to the 'people's favourite' in the 1660s, Monck's funeral was a marked disappointment. As a ceremony, the state funeral was designed as a 'visual stimulus for a mythologizing process', and in the Duke's case, it was undoubtedly a failure.[99] Monck's state funeral can also be seen as an attempt by Charles to stir in his people the feelings of jubilation that had been so prevalent in 1660. The grandiose public treatment of Monck after his death demonstrated his importance to the Restoration regime, reinforced by giving him a state funeral – an honour usually reserved for royalty. Monck was once again being portrayed as an intimate member of the royal circle, although in this case to questionable effect. In ten years Monck went from the glorious architect of the restoration, to an 'ambidexter' devoid of any real loyalty whose veneration led one poet to question 'Why does thou soar aloft so high? To mount up dirt into the sky?'[100] The change in public feeling towards Monck mirrored a wider change in the perception of King Charles II himself. Albermarle the beacon of the 'free and ancient English spirit' was increasingly seen as an old drunkard who was loyal only to himself.[101] Similarly, the ruler who had been welcomed back with such fervour was now increasingly subject to accusations of Catholic leanings and encouraging the moral degradation of the nation.

To conclude this chapter, we will return to the question posed at its opening; how could one represent the restoration of the monarchy? In the case of King Charles II, the answer was (at least in part) to respond to these highly unusual political realities with highly unusual representational forms. The two methods of royal representation examined in this chapter were both unique to Charles II, and they highlight several of the innovative ways in which the restored Stuart monarchy attempted to 'rebrand rule'. The twenty years preceding Charles' restoration had been fraught with dramatic changes, the world had turned upside-down more than once, and the return of the King – while widely welcomed – was still a cause for significant uncertainty. Both acted as transitional representational techniques, responding to the unique situation faced by the monarchy in 1660.

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[97] Magalotti, *the Court of Charles II,* p. 42.
[98] Harry Garlick, *The Final Curtain: State Funerals and the Theatre of Power* (London: Brill, 1999), p. 71.
[99] *Ibid.* p. 86.
[100] *A Great cry and A little wool, or, An Answer to a coppy of verses on the death of the Lord General Monk* (London: 1670).
[101] *Englands triumph a more exact history of His Majesties escape after the battle of Worcester: with a chronologicall discourse of his straits and dangerous adventures into France, his removes from place to place till his return into England with the most remarkable memorials since* (London, 1660) p. 66-67.

The legacy of the regicide and the republic are evident in both the representational forms discussed in this chapter. The story of the escape provided a perfect opportunity for the discrediting of the republicans' providential narratives. Citing Charles as the object of God's providential protection after the battle of Worcester allowed the restored regime to transform the King's most ignominious moment into the ultimate sign of his divine right to rule. This was compounded by the transformation of the image of Monck from prominent republican to champion of Stuart monarchy following his actions in 1660. After his investiture to the Order of the Garter Monck was given a new role - no longer the mercenary General, he was recast as the dignified Duke - although as we have seen, it was not a part that he was born to play. The question of the viability of traditional ideas of divine kingship are also evident here. By crediting the restoration to the actions of a military man, the representations of General Monck challenged traditional ideas of divine right monarchy. Similarly, the Worcester story struggled with the divinity of the royal body in the wake of the realities of regicide. The two bodies of the monarch had been conspicuously separated, and it was no mean feat to reassemble them. The regicide did not, however, as some have suggested, destroy the ideas of scared kingship altogether. In both popular and elite visual culture, the King's divinity was still present – although as Fuller's canvases so clearly demonstrate, it had lost some of its lustre.

Both the escape story and the representations of General Monck were innovative forms of representation not employed by any of Charles' predecessors. By 1660, the political landscape was markedly different from the pre-war period and this change was not lost on the returning monarch. The portrayals of the escape and of General Monck provide a valuable insight into how the King and his councillors adapted to and negotiated the immediate transitional difficulties the restored monarchy faced. Above all else they demonstrate the burgeoning malleability of restoration representation. By 1685, John Miller saw fit to characterise Charles II as 'the most slippery of kings', and this tendency to pragmatism is clear in these innovative representations of the first decade of the restoration.

‘Everybody’s King’: The Performance of Royal Ceremony

‘For what is a King, more than a subiecte, Butt for seremoney… when that fayles him, hees Ruiend’ – these were the words that Charles’ childhood tutor William Cavendish, Earl of Newcastle, had to offer him on the eve of his restoration.[102] In his *Advice* Newcastle stressed the positive impact public ceremony could have on the royal image; recalling Elizabeth blessing her subjects, Newcastle insisted that while it was ‘no great matter, in it selfe… itt went very farr with the people’.[103] Through his performance of public ceremony, Charles II clearly demonstrated his awareness of his people’s desires – and the benefits of catering to them. Charles not only heeded his tutors’ advice, he exceeded it – to levels that Newcastle would have no doubt found distasteful.[104] This chapter will examine the use of public ceremony in formulating the royal image - specifically, the coronation ceremony of 1661, and the practice of touching for the King’s Evil. In contrast to the previous chapter, both the coronation and royal healing were well worn forms of royal representation, designed to reinforce traditional images of monarchical power. However, as the extraordinary events of the 1660s amply evidenced, Charles II was far from a traditional King. As he had done in 1660, Charles adapted these ceremonies to suit the altered political realties faced by the monarchy in the post-civil war climate.

As soon as Charles returned from exile, the climate of the nation shifted perceptibly from puritanical restraint to cavalier excess. So raucous was the atmosphere in England in the 1660s that as little as three days after his restoration the government issued a proclamation condemning the widespread drunkenness resulting from those toasting the King’s health.[105] The people of England were undoubtedly just as overjoyed to be freed from the repressive values of the preceding decade as they were to see the monarchy return. Charles clearly recognised this popular desire for traditional monarchical splendour, and he responded in kind. On the ‘gaudy gilded stage’ so eloquently described by the Earl of Rochester, Charles played the role of King with fluidity and skill. Fittingly, a succinct summation of Charles’ employment of public ceremony appears in Sir Robert Howard’s 1668 play, *The Duke of Lerma*:

> ‘From henceforth, sir, be everybody’s King,
> And then you are yourself….’[106]

This chapter will examine how, through his performance of these ceremonies, Charles sought to be ‘everybody’s King’. As both the coronation ceremony and the practice of touching for the King’s Evil are expansive topics in their own right, this chapter will focus on several key aspects that contributed towards the formation of the royal image from 1660 to 1679. Firstly, we will turn to the extravagant 1661 coronation celebrations. Although it was a joyous affair, the coronation took place against a background of the complicated struggles between indemnity and retribution. Here we will address the coexistence of these seemly contradictory images by examining the considerable anxiety shown by the restoration government over attendance at the coronation, and the sermon delivered by George Morley during the ceremony – where for the first time a coronation found it necessary to justify the existence of monarchy. Despite these tensions, the coronation proved a successful exercise

[102] William Cavendish, *Ideology and Politics on the Eve of the Restoration: Newcastle’s Advice to Charles II*, ed. T. P. Slaughter (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1984), p. 44.
[103] *Ibid,* p. 45.
[104] Newcastle also cautioned against overexposure, which would cheapen the royal person, *Ibid.*
[105] *By the King. A proclamation against vicious, debauch'd, and prophane persons* (London: 1660).
[106] Robert Howard, *The Duke of Lerma* in *Dryden and Howard 1664-8,* ed. D. D. Arundell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929), p. 247.

in connecting the King with his people. By examining together widespread production of memorabilia, the inclusive nature of the celebrations in the capital, we will see how Charles II use his coronation to lay the foundations for the personal relationship with his people that would prove so beneficial to him in 1679-81. Secondly, we will explore the practice of royal healing: a ceremony which, having reached its peak by the early seventeenth-century, began to decline after the restoration of Charles II. By the eighteenth century, as Harold Weber has shown, the practice had been relegated to an antiquated curiosity – a relic of the peculiar and superstitious Stuart kings.[107] During Charles' reign however, the popularity of the royal touch remained undiminished. From his restoration until his death in 1685, Charles touched over 100,000 of his subjects - around 2% of the entire population - to cure them of scrofula, far more than any of his predecessors.[108] Though increasingly recognised as an unreliable cure, hundreds of thousands of Charles' subjects still sought his touch. It is only logical, therefore, to look beyond traditional examinations of the belief in the efficacy of the royal touch when examining how and why Charles II utilized the ceremony for his own political gain. The role of 'royal healer' was one that Charles II played – if not to perfection – then at least with vigour. Charles II used the royal touch to serve several purposes; it gave the King an opportunity to endear himself to his lowest subject while simultaneously discrediting the legitimacy of the Lord Protector's 'reign'.

Crucial to this discussion of the influence of public ceremony on royal representation is the idea of perceived accessibility. It has been traditionally accepted that Charles II was a highly accessible monarch, especially in comparison with his father.[109] David Starkey in his pioneering work on the English court described the choice the monarch faced as being one between participation and distance.[110] By this measure, Charles II certainly appears to have been a widely accessible monarch. More recently however, Brian Weiser has countered this view of unfettered accessibility, carefully outlining a series of shifts in ease of physical accessibility throughout Charles' reign.[111] These distinctions are valuable ones; however, historiographical descriptions of accessibility often ignore the subtler nuances of public participation. While Weiser has correctly asserted the need to clarify the changes in physical accessibility throughout Charles' reign, this chapter will highlight the equally important fact that from 1660 to 1679 the perception of accessibility remained largely unchanged among the wider public. This chapter will also highlight the crucial role the touching ceremony played in the public's perception of the King's accessibility.

Through his performance of public ceremony, Charles II sought to appear as 'everybody's King'; he was vengeful and forgiving, remote and accessible, grateful to his people for his restoration while also remaining their ruler by divine right. Above all else, by employing the two ancient royal ceremonies discussed in this chapter, Charles fostered the direct connection between ruler and subject that would prove so crucial to him during the latter years of his reign.

The Coronation

When discussing the role of public ceremony in the formation of the image of an English monarch, no single event was more significant than the coronation celebrations. The coronation ceremony was a pivotal moment - Sybil Jack has even gone so far as to call the day of coronation 'the single most

[107] For the 18th century decline of the practice see, Weber, *Paper Bullets*, p. 84-7.
[108] Stephen Brogan, *The Royal Touch in Early Modern England: Politics, Medicine and Sin* (London, Boydell Press, 2015), p. 159.
[109] For a succinct discussion of the policy of access of Charles I see, Sharpe*, The Personal Rule*.
[110] David Starkey, *The English Court: From the War of the Roses to the Civil War* (London : Longman, 1987), p.8.
[111] Brian Weiser, *Charles II and The Politics of Access* (London: Boydell Press, 2003), p. 30-53.

important event in any monarch's life'.[112] The coronation ceremony offered the King or Queen an opportunity to present their people with their hopes and intentions for the coming reign in the most public arena. Within the coronation ceremony the new monarch could choose to present a narrative of continuity or distinguish themselves from their predecessors, depending on the image they wished to project. The coronation of King Charles II was simultaneously highly traditional and completely unique – never before had an English King followed a republican regime and a regicide, and in the first tentative years of the 1660s many were unsure of how to proceed in the light of this difficult legacy.

The historiographical consensus regarding Charles II's coronation is that he negotiated this difficult legacy by conforming stringently to ancient tradition. Carolyn Edie has highlighted the strict adherence to the Elizabethan forms for public coronation used in 1661, demonstrating the King's early inclination to revert to a more open mode of public ceremony than that which was employed by his father.[113] The coronation of Charles II has been almost universally acknowledged as a spectacular and widely celebrated event. Ronald Hutton characterised the day as highly performative, commenting on the 'staging' of the day – with Charles as the principal actor.[114] Charles II's coronation certainly conformed more to the ancient traditions of the coronation ceremony than both his father's and his grandfather's before him. Kevin Sharpe and Anna Keay have commented on the traditional nature of the ceremony, however, both recognise the exceptional circumstances in which it occurred. Sharpe has characterised the coronation of Charles II as 'in every sense, extraordinary'.[115] Seemingly conversely, Keay stresses the importance of continuity in the proceedings – but it was precisely these exceptional circumstances that made continuity such a paramount concern.[116] In her study of the ceremonies of Charles II, she singles out the coronation as the most impressive and expensive ceremony, as well as being 'a conformation of both his restoration and his right to rule'.[117] Speaking more broadly, Sharpe has argued that Charles II intuited 'English society, polity – and monarchy – had been irrevocably transformed by the events of the civil war', and that the King understood this 'before and more incisively than his subjects'.[118] In her assessment of the coronation ceremony, Lorraine Madway has asserted that the ceremony lacked a vital element of sacrality which resulted in an overall feeling that 'something was missing'.[119] While Madway is correct in highlighting the increasingly secular nature of the public face of the coronation, we cannot draw this conclusion from a lack of evidence alone. When examining the planning and execution of the coronation a picture emerges of a deeply self-conscious ceremony, reflecting a deeply self-conscious monarch. The coronation of Charles II was representative of everything the restored King would come to embody. With two days of national celebration Charles set forth his intentions for the reign to come, and firmly buried the repressive puritanical values of the republic that preceded him. Above all else, the coronation of Charles II is a prime example of the King's preference for ambiguous representation.

The atmosphere of celebration at the coronation was far from spontaneous; historians of Charles' reign have noted the seemingly uncharacteristically fastidious preparation that went into the ceremony. The deeper implications of this obsessively detailed organisation, however, have hitherto remained unexamined. This planning process reveals more than a desire to put on a spectacular show,

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[112] Sybil M. Jack, ''A Pattern for a King's Inauguration': The Coronation of James I in England' in *Parergon,* 21(2004), p. 67.
[113] Carolyn A. Edie, 'The Public Face of Royal Ritual: sermons, Medals, and Civic Ceremony in Later Stuart Coronations' in *The Huntington Library Quarterly,* 53(1990), p.314.
[114] Hutton, *Charles II,* p. 164.
[115] Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule,* p. 153.
[116] Keay, *Magnificent Monarch,* p. 5.
[117] *Ibid*, p. 8.
[118] Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule,* p. 193.
[119] Madaway, 'The coronation of Charles II', p. 153.

rather, it exposes the intense anxiety of the King and his councillors about how the ceremony would be received. As Kevin Sharpe has highlighted, it is impossible to know the details of who planned which aspects of the coronation ceremony and how the work was distributed among the committees and the city.[120] What is clear is that the intense planning began as early as September 1660 – although for the King himself, the coronation had been twelve years in the making. Charles' personal involvement and interest in the planning process was clear; in September of 1660 he ordered a comprehensive report be compiled detailing the form and order of previous English coronations. The committee compared several previous coronations: those of Richard II, Henry VI, Richard III, Henry VII, Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, James I and Charles I.[121] No detail of the day was left unconsidered in the report, even including whether the King ought to wear his hat (and if so, what sort of hat it ought to be?).[122] Each decision, however menial, had to be addressed directly to Charles for his consideration. The marginal notes peppered throughout the document highlight the variety of decisions, large and small, that were to be left entirely to the King's personal preference. Charles had to decide: whether he would process from the Tower of London, how the regalia was to be supplied, whether he would have a canopy above his throne in Westminster Abbey and where officers would stand during the coronation.[123] The committee not only required that Charles personally make important procedural decisions, but the report also sought the King's opinion on minor considerations such as the lining and length of his robes, as well as how he preferred them to be fastened.[124] Evidently, no detail was deemed too insignificant - or obvious - to warrant Charles' personal attention: it was even queried 'whether the sceptre & rod should be held by the King during dinner, but I thinke not'.[125] The image of Charles attempting to eat while holding the regalia is amusing and obviously impractical, even, as we can see, to the report's authors. This vignette succinctly demonstrates the extent to which Charles' coronation was micromanaged by a King who was acutely aware that every aspect of the day was being observed attentively by the whole nation.

Although Charles II's coronation was undoubtedly well attended, the planning of the event reveals significant anxieties over the matter of attendance. This concern over attendance has been hitherto ignored in scholarly assessments of Charles' coronation; however, it is worthy of attention. These anxieties clearly elucidate the awareness of Charles and his councillors that the civil war and republic had irrevocably altered the relationship between the monarch and his subjects. The customary outpouring of celebration expected at the coronation of a new monarch was no longer a certainty – it had to be ensured like never before. When analysing the coronation of James I, Sybil M. Jack stressed the importance James ascribed to the attendance of the English nobility. Given the unusual conditions surrounding his accession, James was anxious that the nobility attend 'confirming their acceptance of his legitimacy' with their presence. [126] Similarly, Charles II found himself in an unprecedented position. As the first English monarch to come to the throne after a republic there was little certainty regarding how ancient traditions and ceremonies would be received. It has been amply evidenced that the civil war split the loyalties of the nobility and the populous alike, and with his coronation Charles was anxious to heal this rift. Although the majority of the nobility had accepted the clause in the Declaration of Breda that offered safety by way of submission, the privy council clearly had concerns

[120] Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule,* p. 154.
[121] BL, MS Stowe 580, fol 2v, fol 3r.
[122] *Ibid,* fol 5r. Sir Edward Walker notes that Henry VIII went bareheaded, Edward VI wore a black hat, and to Walker's regret 'What others have done, I do not find'. It is clear from this, however, that Walker had attempted to find an overwhelming precedent which the King could be advised to follow.
[123] BL MS Stowe 580, fol 3r, fol 6v, fol 9r, fol 12r.
[124] BL MS Stowe 580*,* fol 17r.
[125] *Ibid,* fol 15v.
[126] Jack*, The Coronation of James I,* p. 80.

about their attendance at the coronation. The 1660 committee report suggested that writs for attendance should be sent 'at least a month before the time' to ensure adequate time for the recipients to make ready for the coronation.[127] The King exceeded this advice, and as early as February 1st 1661 Charles had begun issuing summons for both the ceremony and the procession the day before. In his letter to the 2nd Earl of Leicester, Robert Sydney, the King ordered his attendance at the coronation and procession, further adding that Sydney was expected to be 'furnished and appointed according to his rank' and ready to 'do such services as shall be required'.[128] On the same day orders were issued for the drafting of a 'blank form of a circular letter for summoning attendance at the coronation'.[129] Although Leicester was eventually granted permission from the King not to attend coronation due to his advanced age, exceptions were not willingly granted.[130] On March 19th Stephen Offley wrote to his brother, Cornelis Clarke, advising him to come to London for the coronation 'as there is a proclamation for all concerned to attend' with 'no excuse but under the broad seal'.[131] This correspondence illustrates that the writs for attendance for Charles' coronation were being issued prior to the one month recommendation, demonstrating a clear indication of the regime's strong desire to ensure the largest possible attendance, especially among the nobility.

Contrary to the laxity with which he had often been ascribed, in this matter Charles showed impressive zeal. Even James I who had been so anxious that the nobility attend his coronation issued some writs as little as two days before the attendees needed to be ready – a patently impossible task.[132] These concerns over attendance proved unfounded, with large numbers of people recorded 'flocking' to London for the coronation as early as April 13th, however, the vigour with which attendance was encouraged and monitored is revealing.[133] The restoration settlement, as Tim Harris and others have shown, was fundamentally unstable – and as a result, when it came time for Charles' coronation, the King and his councillors had no guarantee of how people would react.[134]

The coronation of Charles II was unquestionably an extravagant affair. Spectators were universally overawed at the splendour of the two-day celebration, watching in wonder at the majesty of the restored King. This splendour and spectacle was not merely designed as an excuse for joyful celebration – on the contrary, the conspicuous pomp and pleasure served a serious political purpose. Here we will examine two of these functions; the role of the ceremony in fostering a sense of accessibility, and the role the conspicuous jollity played in attempting to bury the final remnants of the republic. The coronation was undoubtedly a spectacular event - Lorranie Madway has highlighted how regardless of social or physical position, contemporary accounts of the day impart just how impressed the spectators were.[135] A large part of this splendour was naturally focused on the King himself. It was not unusual for some aspects of coronation traditions to be honoured while others were dispensed with, depending on the personal preference of the monarch. Charles I had eschewed the procession from the Tower all together, while James had postponed the building of the triumphal arches by an entire year; Charles II, however, engaged in almost every recorded tradition for the performance of his coronation. Over the course of the marathon two-day celebration the King

[127] BL MS Stowe 580, fol 4v.
[128] *CSPD,* Vol. XXIX, p. 500.
[129] *Ibid.*
[130] *CSPD,* Vol, XXIX, p. 506.
[131] *CSPD,* Vol. XXXII, p. 543.
[132] Jack, *The coronation of James I,* p. 80.
[133] *CSPD,* vol. XXXIV, p. 567.
[134] Harris has examined this at length in his monograph, *Restoration: Charles II and his Kingdoms,* pp.43-84.
[135] Madaway, 'The coronation of Charles II', p. 141.

processed from the Tower of London to Westminster through spectacular triumphal arches, attended his coronation ceremony and dined publicly in Westminster Hall.

Fig. 18. *Charles II* (c. 1676)

On his coronation day, and the previous day, Charles lost no opportunity to show himself conspicuously to his people. The stringent observance of traditional public aspects of the coronation ceremony gave the assembled crowds as many opportunities as possible to view their restored monarch. This focus on the personal magnificence of the King is also demonstrated by the distribution of the coronation funds, at over £30,000, the cost of the royal regalia equalled over a third of the £70,000 granted by parliament to finance the celebrations.[136] The regalia was a paramount concern in the planning of the coronation, inevitably so, given that the existing crown jewels had been destroyed during the interregnum. There could not be a King without a crown - and the restoration regalia was designed to the exact specifications outlined by the committee tasked with the painstaking examination of previous tradition.[137] Charles was careful to adhere precisely to tradition when he ordered the remaking of the regalia; even the Armills - whose exact purpose had already been forgotten – were remade in 1661. Sir Robert Viner was tasked with remaking the crown jewels, and at over £30,000, no expense was spared - the sovereign orb alone contained almost 400 rose cut diamonds.[138]

[136] *CSPD*, Vol. XXIV, p. 423.
[137] BL MS Stowe 580, fol 6v, fol 8r, fol 17v.
[138] *The Sovereign Orb,* RCIN 31718.

The complete restoration of the royal regalia was significant for several reasons - firstly, and most importantly, it added to the overwhelming splendour of the day. The relationship between magnificence and power was long established in royal representation, and the sight of the monarch seated on the throne with the full regalia was one of the most powerful visual representations of monarchical power. The power of the royal regalia is clear in John Michael Wright's coronation portrait; the King is seated with great formality under the canopy of state, dressed in his parliament robes over the full Garter Regalia. Charles is also adorned with St Edward's Crown and is holding the Sceptre and Cross – all of which, as we have seen, had been remade at great cost for the coronation ceremony. The life-size canvas skilfully evokes the atmosphere of the coronation day. Though difficult to properly appreciate from a photographic reproduction, the palate and perspective used by Wright give the image of the King an almost three-dimensional effect. Similarly to Hans Holbein's famous representations of Henry VIII, Charles' front-on pose and direct stare gives the impression that the viewer is standing in the direct gaze of the King. In addition to this, the darker palette used for the background make the vivid colours of the King stand out in a shock of white and red, and the skilful inclusion of the very edge of the canopy of state (including the shadow cast on the tapestry behind) add to this unmistakably lifelike effect. When standing before the canvas one can almost mistake it for Charles II himself. Kevin Sharpe has argued that this image was most likely painted in the early 1660s as part of the King's attempts at legitimisation of his reign.[139] However, recent reassessments of Wright's canvas suggest it was in fact painted in the 1670s; the wide bottomed wig and bejewelled shoe buckles were both fashions popularised in the later 1660s.[140] It seems unlikely then that Wright's image was designed as an advertisement of the new regalia, as Sharpe and Sir Oliver Miller have argued, however, this image still presents a helpful example of the power of the image of the King with his remade adornments.

Secondly, by recreating the regalia, Charles II was effectively remaking the legacy of the Stuart monarchy. Oliver Cromwell had ordered the destruction of the crown jewels as a symbolic gesture. Instead of merely selling them intact as Charles I had done to raise funds in the 1640s, Cromwell ordered the stones be sold separately and the gold be melted down and refashioned into coins bearing the words 'Commonwealth of England'.[141] By destroying the regalia instead of selling it, Cromwell made a clear statement about the future of the republican regime, and what he perceived to be the final death of the monarchy. The remaking of the royal regalia played an important role in the recreation of the image of the monarchy in the 1660s. As one of the most enduring symbols of monarchy, the remaking of the royal regalia in such splendour advertised the resilience and strength of the Stuart monarchy, and Charles II's own intentions for its far-reaching future.

The coronation ceremony played a vital role in fostering the image of Charles II as a monarch who was connected to and accessible by his people. The inclusive nature of the celebrations enabled the whole of London to participate in their creation. The spectators at the coronation were conscious that they should look the part. Samuel Pepys, for instance, chose to wear a fine velvet coat 'the first day I put it on though made half a year ago'.[142] While Pepys' outfit was in no way comparable to the £30,000 outfit purchased by the 2nd Duke of Buckingham, it reveals the importance with which Pepys saw the day, and the effort that people felt was expected from them to engage in the splendour.[143] Pepys'

[139] Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule,* P. 106.
[140] The re-dating of this canvas is discussed in the painting's royal collection catalogue entry - John Michael Wright, *Charles II,* RCIN 404951.
[141] Tessa Rose, *The Coronation ceremony of the Kings and Queens of England and the Crown Jewels* (London: HMSO,, 1992), p. 17
[142] *Diary*, II, p. 81.
[143] Hutton, *Restoration,* p.153.

detailed account demonstrates this atmosphere of inclusivity and a shared spectacle; he describes the effort the City of London put into the day with 'the streets all gravelled, and the houses, hung with carpets before them', all in all it made for 'a brave show'.[144] He also made mention of 'the ladies out of windows' one of whom he talked with to his great delight.[145] When the King eventually passed by some hours later Pepys' efforts at splendour were rewarded; he was overcome when Charles and the Duke of York 'took notice' of his party in the window.[146] Despite its unparalleled magnificence the coronation was orchestrated to be far more than a dazzling royal spectacle – by the act of coming together, it provided all those in attendance with the opportunity to demonstrate their support for their monarch, and symbolically bury the discord of the preceding decade.

The use of the coronation to inspire a public display of loyalty can be seen very clearly in the large number of trinkets and memorabilia produced to commemorate the event. Cups and plates proved especially popular, the large numbers of both which have survived is evidence of their large scale production and their contemporary significance. Small tin-glazed earthenware caudle cups were produced both to commemorate the King's restoration in May 1660, and his coronation the following year. These crude yet charming objects were designed to hold caudle – a popular spiced drink of ale or wine mixed with egg yolk into an emulsion. These cups are widely referenced but largely unexamined; Kevin Sharpe has mentioned the production of these unusual novelty items - a first for an English monarch on their coronation - but in the context of Charles' engagement with his subjects they deserve further attention.[147] The four examples we will consider here (all held in the Museum of London) remain in almost perfect condition. It is likely that these cups were kept as commemorative items: they are large enough to function as decorative objects, each measuring around 10cm tall and 12cm wide, and in addition the perfect condition of the interior coating suggests that they have seldom (if ever) been used for their intended purpose. All the cups follow a similar pattern, each feature a crude half-length portrait of the King wearing St Edward's crown, with the year of the restoration or the coronation painted to either side. Two of these cups are dated 1660, and the first was most likely produced to celebrate the restoration itself, before the returning Charles Stuart's appearance was well known. Charles is depicted wearing armour and brandishing his sword, flanked by the English and Scottish flags and the inscription 'C.R. DRINK/UP YOUR DRINK AND LEVE NON IN/FOR HEAR IS A HELTH TOO CHARLS OVER/RYOUL KING', undoubtedly an image glorifying triumphant return. However, the second cup, although also inscribed 1660, was more likely to have been produced the following year for the coronation festivities.

[144] *Diary,* II, p. 82-83.
[145] *Ibid,* p.83.
[146] *Ibid.*
[147] Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule,* p. 136.

Fig. 19, 20, 21, 22. Tin-glazed earthenware cups (c. 166-1661)

The three coronation cups all feature the King in his grand coronation robes, proudly holding the orb and sceptre under a triumphal arch. The inscription of 1660 is likely to refer to the restoration year, merging the restoration and the coronation into one commemorative item. While no reliable record of the cost of these items has yet been discovered, they were certainly more widely available and more affordable than traditional displays of monarchical loyalty such as large specially commissioned portraits. Although lacking in what we might consider artistic skill, these cups present a clear and explicit representation of the monarchy. Each of the key aspects of the coronation are included: Charles with his characteristic black wig and moustache, the date, the newly remade regalia and the triumphal arches. Far removed from traditional highly formal modes of court art, these were objects that could be purchased and displayed in the home of subjects of more modest means. These cups were not alone, for a number of large glazed earthenware dishes commemorating the coronation have also survived. Similar to images of private devotion, the acquisition of these commemorative pieces allowed subjects to conspicuously display their loyalty to the restored King in their home, not only this, they could also commemorate their own participation in the coronation festivities. The range of coronation memorabilia created was designed to cater to wider financial and social spectrum than

more elite art forms such as portraiture. In addition to this production of cauddle cups and plates, printed accounts of the day also appeared. The official printed account by John Ogilby, the architect of the public ceremony, was first published in 1662. Ogilby's book was large and detailed, and although the increasing popularity of print had made books more affordable, at over 100 pages it was still an extravagant purchase. Even this expensive volume could be tailored to suit the more modest purse. A condensed copy printed in 1689 featured an advertisement for images of the four triumphal arches and the inside of Westminster Abbey 'describing the places of the Nobility and great offices'. These images could be purchased separately at an unspecified cost, and added in to accompany the text.[148] Coronation memorabilia allowed those who were present at the coronation, as well as those who were not, the opportunity to participate in the day. For people who did not attend, printed images, books and ceramics allowed them to possess an object that displayed their loyalty to the restored monarch despite the fact they could not be present at the ceremony. Through the production of this kind of memorabilia Charles II was able to be, quite literally, everybody's King.

The King was also conscious to ensure the image he was attempting to craft with his coronation cerebrations was received as he intended. Lorraine Madway has argued that the coronation ceremony was a success largely because it 'dazzled and overwhelmed them [the subjects] and stopped them from thinking at all'.[149] She cites the fact that none of the contemporary observer's accounts 'went beyond the sumptuousness of the display' as evidence that Charles' subjects did not understand or recognise the intricacies of the coronation presentation they were witnessing.[150] Certainly, as with any large public ceremony, many present in the crowd suffered from a restricted view; Samuel Pepys bemoaned that 'I and most in the Abbey could not see' the coronation service itself.[151] However, we should not assume that the nuances of the presentation were lost on the public, or that they did not engage with the display. Pepys recorded his trouble to traverse the streets the night before the coronation because 'all the way is so thronged with people to see the Triumphall Arches'.[152] Pepys does not record how the people gathered about the arches reacted to them, but clearly significant attention was being paid to the meanings and messages presented by the coronation celebrations. On the 11th April, a mere twelve days before the coronation, John Olgiby received exclusive licence by the royal command to publish an account of the celebrations. Ogilby produced two separate accounts of the coronation by the King's orders: one in time for the coronation on the 23rd April, and a significantly expanded version printed in 1662. The 1661 edition at only 38 pages was dwarfed by the gargantuan 192 page edition published the following year; however, the two were intended to serve vastly differing purposes. As mentioned above, Ogilby's sumptuously illustrated large volume was an expensive, elite souvenir produced to commemorate the coronation day, however, it is the smaller 1661 edition that is of greatest interest to us here. Written in the first person, the account describes each stage of the public procession, re-counting the performance, the decoration and the location of the royal party at each point of the pageant. Ogilby's account acted like a theatre programme, describing the day's events as they unfolded and allowing the reader to experience the splendour of the celebrations while simultaneously describing the meaning of each part of the ceremony to ensure it would be properly followed and understood.

Perhaps the most challenging representational difficulty faced by Charles II at his coronation was how to address (or how to avoid addressing) the legacy of the recent interregnum. The fact that these

[148] John Ogilby, *The King's coronation truly described in the exact narrative of the coronation of King Charles II* (London: 1689), p. 19.
[149] Madway, 'The Coronation of Charles II', p. 152.
[150] *Ibid.* p. 129.
[151] *Diary,* II, p. 84.
[152] *Ibid,* p.81.

seemly contradictory images of the King as forgiving yet vengeful were able to happily coexist is another example of the kind of ambiguous representation we have already explored in the first chapter. The restoration settlement depended on mutually agreed political amnesia – albeit more agreed to by some than others. The foundation of this precarious agreement was the *Act of Free and General Pardon, Indemnity, and Oblivion* passed in August 1660.[153] When the return of the King was announced in early 1660 there was unbridled joy among much of the nation, but many were also understandably nervous - as John Miller surmised, 'no Act of Parliament could wipe out the memories of twenty years of civil strife'.[154] Former republicans were all too aware that the returning Charles Stuart might yet prove vengeful, despite the overtures of forgiveness made in the Declaration of Breda. Not only their lives, but their estates and future prospects rested on the decisions made in parliament regarding who exactly would be excepted from this generous 'forgiveness'. The Act itself was clear; it excluded a total of 104 men by name: twenty-four of these had already died, and a further twenty fled to the continent on the King's return. Those that remained were subject to varying degrees of punishment, from land forfeiture to imprisonment and execution.[155]

The Act was not only designed to decide who ought to be held accountable for the regicide, it also offered protection to former supporters of the parliamentarian cause. For the first three years after the passage of the Act, any person who 'maliciously call or allege of, or object against any other person… or other word of reproach anyway tending to revive the memory of the late differences' was to be subject to a fine (ten pounds for anyone above the rank of Gentleman, and 40 shillings below) to be paid to the maligned party.[156] The Act of Indemnity and Oblivion, along with the King's declaration from Breda, and his insistence that he desired nothing but forgiveness except for those directly responsible for his father's murder, created an understandable impression that Charles II intended to forgive and forget. So strong was this perception, that even those named as exempted from the Act remained optimistic for their hopes of reconciliation with the King. Colonel John Hutchinson had his place in parliament and all civil and military offices stripped from him for his part in the regicide. Having signed his name on the late King's death warrant, Hutchinson had good reason to be nervous, and his wife recorded that he laid low in the city 'not coming into any company of one sort or other' and waiting 'till the Act of Oblivion were perfected'.[157] Hutchinson was subjected to repeated questioning, and his wife was warned by one of her kinsmen privy to court gossip that it was safest for the Colonel to flee England. However, Hutchinson's wife answered only that 'the Act of Oblivion being passed, she knew not why he should fear.'[158] Colonel Hutchinson had every reason to fear - he was imprisoned in October 1663, accused of participating in a rising, and eventually died in prison the following year.[159] However, his wife's memoirs reveal the strength of the perception of forgiveness. At no point does Hutchinson appear to have seriously considered leaving the country, despite several warnings from concerned friends. Both he and his wife seem to have believed that the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion was enough to protect his life.

Charles may have claimed to have a forgiving heart – but he certainly had a long memory. In the months leading up to the much-anticipated coronation celebrations, the restoration regime appeared anything but forgiving. The satirical poet Andrew Marvell wrote in his *A Poem on the Death of O.C.,* 'in

[153] Hereafter, The Act of Indemnity
[154] Miller, *Charles* II, p. 47.
[155] Howard Nenner, 'The Regicides' in *ODNB.*
[156] Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution*, p. 342.
[157] Lucy Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, ed. H. Child (London: Keegan Paul, 1904), p. 384.
[158] *Ibid,* p. 394.
[159] P.R. Seddon, 'John Hutchinson' in *ODNB*.

his altered face you something faigne / That threatens death, he yet will live againe'.[160] The restoration regime feared the reality behind this metaphorical threat; Cromwell's death was not sufficient to eradicate his threat to the monarchy. The public punishment of the regicides was both brutal and conspicuous – though not, as we shall see, unwelcome. The Convention Parliament decided that Cromwell, Henry Ireton, John Bradshaw and Thomas Pride should all be exhumed and symbolically executed as traitors on the anniversary of the regicide. In his letter dated 1st February 1661, Secretary Nicholas wrote to Sir Henry De Vic of the 'comic scene at Tyburn' where the 'arch-traitor' Cromwell, along with Ireton and Bradshaw 'finished the tragedy of their lives.'[161] Another letter reports the large number of spectators at the mock execution, 'thousands' were reportedly 'attracted by so marvellous an act of justice'.[162] Clearly, the public humiliation of Cromwell and his ilk was not considered to be a threat to the people who had once supported them, but rather a symbolic end to their control of Charles' rightful nation. This public degradation was a powerful statement: the bodies were dragged through the streets to Tyburn where they were strung up for several hours, decapitated and thrown into a lime pit beneath the gallows. Cromwell's punishment did not end there - his head was taken impaled on a spike and mounted on Westminster Hall, where it would remain for the next twenty years.[163] Cromwell's public 'execution' has been well documented, however, its implications in relation to the coronation have escaped attention. While the newly crowned Charles II dined in state at Westminster Hall following his coronation ceremony, the Lord Protector's severed head was impaled on a spike above the celebrations. The rhetoric employed by Charles II on his restoration was one of forgiveness and acceptance, as John Evelyn famously gushed on the coronation day 'all this was done without one drop of blood'.[164] Evelyn's statement clearly did not take into account the burdens of the residents of Charing Cross, who complained 'that the smell of burned bowels was putrefying the air' after the treason executions.[165] This vicious vengeance provided the backdrop for the celebrations in April 1661 - and it could not have been further from the soothing messages of reconciliation. Perhaps a better description of the true nature of these years can be found in an anonymous satire published in 1665 which declared 'it rather doth become this age, to talk of bloodshead, fury, [and] rage.'[166] The contemporary reactions to the treatment of the regicides reveal that the ideals of forgiveness and righteous punishment were able to co-exist with minimum discomfort. Charles was able to punish the regicides, to public acclaim, while simultaneously projecting an image of national forgiveness that was strong enough to comfort even those excluded from the Act of Indemnity's protective reach.

While the procedural details of the coronation ceremony itself were highly regimented, there were some aspects of the ceremony over which the monarch had freedom of choice. One such decision concerned who should be chosen to deliver the coronation sermon; for this important task Charles selected George Morley, later Bishop of Winchester.[167] During the mounting political troubles of the 1640s Morley served Charles I as his chaplain, and after finally being ejected in 1648 he swiftly followed the young Prince Charles into exile. Morley's role in the reconciliation of the Church is hard to underestimate - John Spurr ventured so far as to suggest that 'Morley's powers of persuasion were one of the keys to reconciling the leaders of the presbyterian party to the restoration of the monarchy

[160] Andrew Marvell, *The Poems of Andrew Marvell*, ed. Hugh MacDonald (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1956), p.150.
[161] *CSPD,* vol. XXX, p. 500.
[162] *CSPD,* vol. XXX, p. 506.
[163] John Morrill, '*Oliver Cromwell*' in *ODNB*.
[164] John Evelyn, *Diary*, Vol. 2, p. 146.
[165] Miller, *Charles II,* p. 47.
[166] *The Character of a Coffee-House* (London: 1665).
[167] Edie, 'The Public Face of Royal Ritual', p. 312.

and some form of national church.'[168] Morley would later become greatly disillusioned with the monarchy he had worked so hard to see restored – on Christmas day in 1662 the Bishop was openly laughed at by the court as he delivered a sermon reprimanding their 'mistaken jollity'.[169] As this embarrassing incident shows, although he remained a staunch supporter of the monarch, the pious, disciplined Morley was not well suited to the restoration court.[170] In addition to his moral rigidity Morley was also a close associate of the Earl of Clarendon, and former tutor to his daughter (and then Duchess of York) Anne Hyde.[171] This association further impeded his ability to remain in the King's favour, and in February 1668 he lost his position as Dean of the Chapel Royal and permanently withdrew from Court.[172]

Despite the inauspicious end to Morely's court career, the beginning could hardly have been more promising. The coronation sermon was a crucial part of the ceremony, it was an opportunity to set the tone for the reign that was to follow, and its character did not escape public attention. The sermon preached at the Coronation of Charles I was widely held more appropriate for a funeral, although characteristically the King himself reportedly appeared oblivious to the underwhelming and maudlin tone.[173] Considering its remarkable nature, George Morley's coronation sermon has received relatively little scholarly attention. Morley included much of the standard rhetoric for a coronation sermon: he mentioned the need for compliance, obedience and reverence towards the monarch, and the role of the church as a bolster for government, however, woven in with these expected messages we find something highly unusual. Morley did not shy away from the remarkable situation which had brought about the return of the King, declaring to the crowds in the Abbey 'which of us would have Believed a little above a year age, that ever he should have lived to have seen this day?'[174] In his sermon, Morley offered several lengthy justifications for monarchical government – an unprecedented topic for such an event. He insisted that monarchy 'was instituted by God at the Creation' and that when the Greeks invented democracy, they did so to serve their own selfish ambitions.[175] Elsewhere Morley reiterates that the government most pleasing to God was 'surely… Monarchical', and he surmised that 'we may undoubtingly conclude that at least, for us this Nation, there is no other form of Government but Monarchy, under which we ever were, or ever can be happy.'[176] The tone of Morley's sermon was not entirely explanatory, he was careful to lay the blame for the republic on national sin, stressing its abhorrent nature, and styling it as a punishment from which the people should be grateful for deliverance. Morley blamed the 'madness and folly' of the nation for the republic, claiming that it was the result of God 'permitting them to be instruments of their own misery'.[177] As Patricia Crawford's pioneering work demonstrated, the trial and execution of King Charles I was justified in part by the concept of his 'blood guilt'; Charles was directly responsible for the sheading of his subjects blood which therefore rendered him less scared by default.[178] On the restoration, as Morley's sermon shows, this rhetoric was affectively reversed; the whole nation was not subject to blood guilt for killing their

[168] 'Morley', *ODNB.*
[169] *Diary,* III, p. 292-3.
[170] Morley's fervent support for the monarchy despite his moral concerns can be seen in his *'A Sermon Preached before the King at White-Hall … Novemb 5 1667'* (1683), where he preached that under **no** circumstances was it lawful for subjects to take up arms against their sovereign.

[172] 'Morley', *ODNB.*
[173] Edie, 'The Public Face of Royal Ritual', p. 330.
[174] *A sermon preached at the magnificent coronation of the most high and mighty King Charles the IId* (1661), p. 60.
[175] *Ibid,* p. 32-33.
[176] Morley*, A sermon preached,* p. 31.
[177] *Ibid,* p. 5.
[178] Patricia Crawford, 'Charles Stuart, That Man of Blood', *Journal or British Studies*, 16(1997), p. 42.

monarch, and father. Not only had they committed regicide, but patricide, the worst of sin of all. With his choice of language, Morley characterised the interregnum government as the result of the failures of the people, not of the Stuart monarchy. Regicide may not have legally been a crime, but it was certainly a sin, and one that Morley was not going to leave unpunished. Although this rhetoric unreservedly praised Charles and the restoration of the Stuart monarchy, its vehemence reflected the same concerns inherent within the government's anxieties over attendance. The purpose of the coronation of Charles II was not only to celebrate his investiture and set forth his intentions for the coming reign, for the first time a coronation needed to 'sell' the idea of monarchical government to the nation.

The Royal Touch

In the second section of this chapter we will examine the ancient practice of touching for the King's Evil. The tradition of touching in England was long established by the seventeenth century. The King's Evil – or scrofula – was an inflammation of the glands in the neck, often the result of untreated tuberculosis. While rarely fatal, the condition was painful and disfiguring, and almost endemic in certain medieval and early modern regions.[179] Only two European monarchs were said to be gifted with the healing touch; the King of England and the King of France. In earlier centuries this caused little friction, but as the King of England transformed into a protestant monarch the sharing of a religious royal ceremony with the Catholic French King presented inherent ideological tensions. Although many seventeenth century histories claimed that the practice began with Edward the Confessor, the first contemporary evidence for an English King touching for scrofula appears during the reign of Henry II.[180] Historians of the royal touch have evidenced it had a long tradition in England, however, as a dynasty characterised by personal rule, the employment of the ritual under the Stuarts varied wildly according to the personality of the monarch.

Studies dedicated to the royal touch have been sporadic, and the belief in the efficacy of the practice has emerged as the question that both dominates and divides the historiography. In 1911, Raymond Crawford produced his study *The King's Evil,* outlining the history of the practice in England.[181] Crawford presented his book as a work of medical history, and in accordance with this, he focused largely on the medical development of the touching ceremony. In the first political study of the ceremony, published in English in 1973, Marc Bloch stated that the practice in England was largely recognised as an effective treatment of the disease.[182] Anna Keay has also supported this view that the royal touch was 'widely accepted' as being a cure for scrofula, suggesting that this was the reason for the massive popularity of the practice during the restoration.[183] However, both Stephen Brogan and Harold Weber have more recently argued against this view. Brogan has suggested that Charles II employed the ceremony of the royal touch merely as a method of endearing himself to the public, and that the public belief in the healing powers of the monarch were subject to increasing scepticism over the period.[184] Similarly, Weber has argued that public belief in the ritual waned after the restoration. By examining the large number of tracts printed by members of the increasingly legitimised medical profession, Weber has convincingly demonstrated that the 'mystical' abilities of

[179] Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), p. 11.
[180] For the origins of the practice in England see Bloch, p.21-27.
[181] Raymond Crawford, *The King's Evil* (London: Clarendon Press, 1911).
[182] Bloch, *The Royal Touch*, p. 11.
[183] Keay, *Magnificent Monarch,* p. 170.
[184] Brogan, *The Royal Touch,* p. 151.

the King were being called into question more regularly than ever before.[185] This debate reveals much about the emerging tensions between old beliefs and rapidly developing scientific ideas. However, it is crucial to note that even in the face of this uncertainty, the numbers of people being touched for scrofula by Chalres II only increased. Here we will diverge slightly from the debate surrounding belief, and examine a different question. Why did the potential uncertainty about its validity fail to deter vast numbers of Charles' subjects from seeking the royal touch?

In order to understand how Charles II employed the ceremony during his reign, it is necessary to first look backwards to his Stuart predecessors and their relationship to the practice. King James VI & I was publicly sceptical of the royal touch. There was no tradition of royal healing in Scotland and on his arrival in England the King wasted no time in stating that he did not want to 'arrogate vainly to himself such virtue and divinity, as to be able to cure diseases by touch alone'.[186] However, within six months James had begun practicing the ritual, despite there being little evidence that he held any personal belief in its spiritual grounding.[187] Additionally, James appears to have disliked the ritual itself. He was notoriously reluctant to come into physical contact with his subjects, eschewing large crowds outside of his own court and famously complaining of the large numbers of subjects who wished to see him on his arrival in London. After spending some months acquainting himself with the traditions and practices of the English monarchy, James was easily persuaded to engage in a ritual he found both superstitious and personally distasteful. He clearly recognised the benefits that could be derived from the practice of touching for the King's Evil, the pragmatic King realised that the ceremony acted as the perfect vehicle for the propagation of the ideals of divine monarchy – ideals to which he was strongly attached.[188] Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake have used the royal touch to prove that Charles I was equally dedicated to the idea of divine monarchy. Fincham and Lake argue that Charles took his role as God's lieutenant on earth 'quite literally', and his dedication to the touching ceremony was proof of the King's own belief in his semi-divine status.[189] The depiction of the ceremony on the cover of a 1638 prayer book commissioned personally by Charles I supports this idea, especially when combined with his insistence on reverence in the royal presence, and the treatment of the royal body as sacred. However, despite his belief in his own semi-divinity, Charles I found the disorderly nature of large public ceremonies troubling. Although there was much talk of the theory of the touching ceremony, it was difficult for many of Charles I's subjects to obtain a cure from their sovereign. During the 1630s eleven proclamations were issued prohibiting access to the Court to receive the royal touch. Only in the late 1630s when opposition to his regime began to swell did the King make an effort to touch with any regularity.[190] Ronald Hutton has suggested that Charles II's use of the royal touch shows a similarly strong personal belief in the sanctity of Kingship.[191] However, unlike his father, Charles II showed no particular inclination towards the trappings of divine kingship in either the organisation of his court or the manner in which he conducted his personal life. As we shall see, Charles II's employment of the touching ceremony was arguably far more cynical than his father's zealous belief. As this examination will illustrate, for a monarch who was characterised by extreme political pragmatism, the touching ceremony offered the perfect opportunity to perform something we would now recognise as a triumph of public relations.

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[185] Weber, *Paper Bullets*, p. 50. (weber does, quite rightly, recognise the inherent contradictions in these texts. As many of their authors struggled with the idea of dismissing the King altogether)

[186] BL Add MS 22587.

[187] *Ibid.*

[188] James wrote in his *Basilikon Doron* that 'he maid you as a… god to sitte in his throne & reule over other men, remember that as in dignitie he has erected you above otheris', BL Royal MS 18 B XV, fol 8.

[189] Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake, 'The Ecclesiastical Policies of James I and Charles I', in *The Early Stuart Church* ed. Kenneth Fincham (London: Macmillan Press ltd, 1993), p. 44.

[190] J. Richards, "His nowe Majesty" and the English Monarchy: the Kingship of Charles I before 1640.', *Past and Present,* p. 93.

[191] Hutton, *Charles II,* p. 403.

In 1660 the celebration of the restoration was as close to ubiquitous as it is reasonable to imagine.[192] As discussed when examining the Worcester narratives, the restored King was faced with a sizable public relations problem on his return – his people did not know what he looked like. Outside of the exiled royalists, their families and visitors to Charles at The Hague, the people had not seen their new King in almost a decade. The desire of the public to see the monarch was well recognised – as it continues to be today – and the touching ceremony provided the perfect opportunity for Charles to show himself to his subjects publicly. This ceremony also provided the added benefit of a perception of personal connection. The grand pageants of the first years of the restoration, such as the coronation, served to expose the King to his people. In the context of the touching ceremony, subjects had an opportunity to engage in personal physical contact with the monarch that was lacking in most public processions. [193] Once he was restored Charles II expanded the practice of royal healing to levels not recorded under any previous monarch. This impressive frequency has been commented on by both contemporaries and historians, and it clearly demonstrates the King's personal devotion to the royal touch as a method of royal representation. Chares II touched a huge number of his subjects during his reign, the most often quoted number of around 100,000 comes from the treaties *Adenochoiradelogia* by the King's surgeon-in-ordinary John Browne.[194] Browne's mammoth work is an invaluable source when attempting to examine the touching ceremony during the restoration. As surgeon-in-ordinary Browne would have attended the touching, and in his work he includes the most detailed surviving record of the structure of the ceremony itself. In addition to this, Browne included numerous anecdotal tales of healings, along with a meticulous record of the numbers touched in each year of the reign. These large numbers must also be viewed in the context of Charles' relatively short reign, although it was swiftly back dated to 1649, in reality Charles II was only able to perform the touching ritual as the undisputed monarch for twenty-five years.

It is unusual that both Sharpe in his analysis of the King's image, and Weiser in his work on accessibility have neglected to consider the role of sacred healing in relation to Charles' connection with his people. Although it was highly structured, the touching ceremony was one of the easiest ways for subjects of lower social standing to gain physical access to the King. This access was not unmonitored – several theoretical barriers existed to restrict and control the practice. There were certain periods set aside for healing, theoretically the ceremony was only meant to take place in the month before Easter and the two weeks preceding Christmas.[195] There were other restrictions put in place as early as 1660; a proclamation issued that year stated healing was to take place only on Fridays, with no more than 200 suffers to be admitted in one sitting.[196] Sufferers hoping to receive a touch from the King also had to obtain a ticket from one of the royal surgeons – a practice that could prove more chaotic than the ceremony itself. John Evelyn described one incident where several patients attempting to procure tickets were crushed to death in a surge when the surgeon's doors were opened for the crowds.[197] Sufferers were also expected to have a certificate provided by either a parson, vicar or minister from

[192] For discussion of the reaction to Charles' restoration see Tim Harris, '"There is none That Loves Him but Drunk Whores and Whoremongers": Popular Criticisms of the Restoration Court', in *Politics, Transgression and Representation,* pp. 35-60.

[193] It is worth noting here that many of these public procession during the early years of the reign exposed the King only to the people of London – and those able to travel there to see him.

[194] John Browne, *Adenochoiradelogia, or, An anatomick-chirurgical treatise of glandules & strumaes or, Kings-evil-swellings* (1684). It is important to note that the kind of records kept be Browne are not available to accurately aquire the volume of people touched for previous monarchs.

[195] *At the Court at WHITEHALL the Ninth of January 1683* (1683).

[196] *By the King a Proclamation For the Better ordering of those who repair to the Court for their Cure of the Disease called the Kings-Evil* (1662).

[197] Evelyn, *Diary*, IV p. 374.

their local parish testifying that they were in fact suffering from the King's Evil, and that they had never before received the royal touch.[198] All these protocols would seem to suggest that gaining access to the King for the purposes of touching was a difficult task. However, on examination it is clear that many of these protocols were laxly implemented at best. Charles II appears to have touched people 'whenever he wanted to', rather than in the periods officially designated for healing.[199] Indeed, Browne's treaties on the practice shows that there were only four months (in the twenty-one years covered) during which the King touched no one.[200]

Charles also appears to have disregarded the regulations put in place regarding numbers of people to be touched. Thomas Allen extols this willingness to touch over the prescribed limit, writing in 1665 that although his surgeons had attempted to 'confine himself, to Touch a certain number at a time' Charles heard 'more were at the palace gates, crying out for his succour and help, he told the Chyrurgeon…. All that were there, should be received.'[201] Although it is tempting to view this anecdote as mere loyalist exaggeration, Charles II does appear to have touched more of his subjects than the restrictions should have allowed. For example, in one week in 1660 the King reportedly touched three times, with around 600 suffers in attendance at each ceremony.[202] Touching was a lengthy business, to perform the ceremony for 100 people could take around three to four hours.[203] These numerical details are particularly worthy of attention as they confirm the importance with which the King viewed the practice. Charles was regularly touching between 200 and 600 sufferers in one session, meaning the whole ceremony took at the very least six hours, and could often consume the whole day. In contrast with other royal ceremonies, such as greeting foreign ambassadors, no complaints appear in the master of ceremonies records that the King attempted to alter or shorten the touching ceremony in any way. Anna Keay has quite rightly argued that this dedication is evidence of the importance Charles gave the ceremony in shaping his power and authority. Indeed, for a man who was often recorded as being unable to stay seated for an entire Privy Council meeting, this show of majestic royal patience is especially noteworthy.[204] It is harder to find evidence of blatant circumnavigation of the ticketing system, in Browne's *Adenochoiradelogia* there is no record of whether the sufferers touched had obtained the proper paperwork prior to arriving at Whitehall. However in his 1713 work on scrofula and its cures, William Vickers claimed to have been touched 'twice by King Charles II and thrice by King James II' – clearly if this was true, then the regulation system was less than effective.[205] The repeated reissue of almost identically worded proclamations reiterating the need for documentation throughout the reign, also suggests that people were consistently arriving for the touching ceremony without going through the proper channels.[206] Charles' disregard for the prescribed limits of the touching ceremony demonstrates that the King recognised and responded to the high level of demand for the touching ceremony.

Clearly, the barriers put in place to regulate access to the King for healing were at best sporadically enforced. In addition, the King also touched outside of ceremonial confines. One of the anecdotes in Browne's *Adenochoiradelogia* recalls the efforts of the Welsh prophet Arise Evans to obtain a touch for his fungous nose. After attempting to secure a touch through his contacts at Whitehall and 'being

[198] *By the King a Proclamation For the Better ordering…* (1662).
[199] Keay, *Magnificent Monarch,* p. 114.
[200] *Ibid,* Appendix I.
[201] Thomas Allen, *Cheirexoke the excellency or handy-work of the royal hand* (1665), p. 11.
[202] Browne, *Adenochoiradelogia,* p. 161.
[203] Keay, *Magnificent Monarch,* p. 118.
[204] Miller, *Charles II*, p. 30.
[205] William Vivkers, *An easie and safe method for curing the King's Evil* (1713), p. 5.
[206] *By the King a Proclamation For the Better ordering…* (1662); *At the Court at WHITEHALL the Ninth of Janurary 1683* (1683).

utterly denied', Evans took it upon himself to find the King on one of his 'usual walks' in St James' Park. Here Evans waited for Charles to appear, and when the King presented his hand for the prostrate Evans to kiss, the suffering man instead rubbed his nose against Charles' exposed skin. Browne records that Evans was then completely healed of his malady within two days.[207] This humorous encounter allows us to draw a number of important conclusions. Firstly, that the King was evidently accessible to those seeking a cure outside the regular periods designated for touching. In addition to this, Evans' encounter demonstrates that the King was uniquely accessible to all his subjects outside of the confines of both the royal palaces and traditional royal ceremony. Unfortunately, Browne does not recall how Charles reacted to being accosted in such a manner, but the inclusion of this vignette displays that he did nothing to discourage the spreading of such tales that suggested he was easily accessible to his subjects in informal public settings.

While many of Charles II's subjects flocked to him in order to receive the royal touch, there were those who proved less than impressed by the practice. Interestingly, Samuel Pepys, a man notorious for his attentiveness at court activities, found the touching ceremony dull. In his diary Pepys only records having witnessed the ceremony twice, and neither of the entries convey an appreciation for this supposed act of miraculous majesty. In June of 1660, Pepys attended a touching ceremony with his friend Tom Guy, recording that the King failed to attend due to the rain, but later touched in the Banqueting House (which he did not see).[208] The following April Pepys actually witnessed the healing at the banqueting house, this time commenting that 'it seemed to me to be an ugly office and a simple one'.[209] Rather than the modern use of the word to mean easy or uncomplicated, the word 'simple' here denotes the foolishness Pepys observed in the ceremony. He does not explain why he thought it to be foolish, however, given his close ties to the Royal Society it is possible that Pepys was among a growing number of people in Restoration society who were beginning to question the efficacy of this ancient cure in the face of scientific expansion. In fact, on the 2nd of November 1660 the topic arose while Pepys dined with his friend, the surgeon (and staunch Puritan) Thomas Hollier. After debating at great length the efficacy of the royal to the touch, Hollier concluded by denying that the practice had 'any effect at all'.[210] The final time Pepys mentions witnessing the healing ceremony is the 10th April 1667, when he recorded that after seeing the King in his chapel he then attended a healing with a friend 'wherein no pleasure, I having seen it before'.[211] This startling lack of interest in the King's public actions does not extend to other forms of royal ceremonial – such as Charles' public dining.

In the period covered by his diary, Pepys witnessed the King dine in public on no fewer than eight occasions.[212] Not only did Pepys attend the King's public dining more frequently, but he also expresses a far greater enthusiasm for the practice. In 1664 he frantically complained that the King's advisors wanted to end public dining, instead planning to keep Charles 'obscurely among themselves'.[213] On another occasion he showed great delight in receiving some of the King's leftover metheglin 'which did pleasure me mightily'.[214] Pepys was clearly an enthusiastic spectator at these events, recording many incidental details of who was or was not in attendance, the room they were in, and the protocol observed. It is impossible to know with certainty why Samuel Pepys found the touching ceremony so unimpressive, but by comparing his entries regarding dining and touching a possible answer emerges.

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[207] Browne, *Adenochoiradelogia*, p. 163-4.
[208] *Diary*, I, p. 182
[209] *Diary,* II, p. 74.
[210] *Diary,* I, p. 281.
[211] *Diary,* VIII, p. 161.
[212] The dates are; 22nd Nov. 1660; 21st Sep. 1662; 7th Dec. 1663; 25th of July 1666; 10th April 1667; 28th Aug. 1667; 27th Sep. 1668.
[213] *Diary,* V, p.56.
[214] *Diary,* VII, p. 218.

Much of Pepys' interest during public dining was focused on the other people in attendance. In 1666 he commented on how 'little I should be pleased… to have so many people crowding about me', these spectators were courtiers and councillors – 'public' dining having been suspended for the duration of the war that year.[215] The King's meals were a perfect opportunity for spying and gossip. On one occasion Pepys noted at great length - and with his characteristic smugness – how the Russian envoys were suspected of having borrowed clothes from the King, and were so concerned about dirtying them that they dressed only when called for a royal audience.[216] He took great pleasure in seeing the envoys in person, and judging their appearance for himself in order to confirm this amusing rumour. Public dining offered to courtiers like Pepys something that was lacking in the touching ceremony, an opportunity to accumulate gossip about their social equals (and betters). By contrast, the healing ceremony was lengthy and formulaic, and offered little in the way of courtly intrigue. This difference highlights an important function of the touching ritual. It had no need to entertain men like Samuel Pepys, who had regular access to Whitehall and the physical person of the monarch, rather, it was employed to allow subjects of a lower social standing to access to their.

While the touching ritual made the King appear accessible to his people, it also served to powerfully reinforce ideas of the semi-divine nature of kings while simultaneously discrediting the memory of the Lord Protector. As early as 1665, Thomas Allen produced a lengthy examination of the King's Evil titled *The Excellency or Handy Work of the Royal Hand.* Little is known about Allen, but in his work he explores many of the areas of discourse that surrounded the topic of the royal touch. Coming almost twenty years before Browne's *Adenochoiradelogia,* the *Royal Hand* nevertheless highlights many of the same contemporary concerns. Allen begins his work by focusing on the fraudulent nature of those who had been claiming the healing power in the absence of a King. He highlights the 'proud blindness' that has lead 'seventh Sons, Stroakers, and what not', arguing that they had claimed powers they had 'neither competent strength to wield, nor any warrant from god to attempt.'[217] Allen makes a point to state that physicians are not part of this unsanctioned healing, stating that their scientific remedies can often be used to some effect. In Allen's eyes it is only the claim to symbolic power that is fraudulent and subversive, as those who claim to heal 'solely' by touch are encroaching upon a divinely ordained royal prerogative.[218] Following the execution of Charles I and the dismemberment of the Stuart monarchy, the role of royal healer in England was left vacant. Seventh sons were one of the most common methods of recourse for those who were left without access to the royal touch, and during the absence of a monarch their trade in touching for scrofula flourished. When faced with a choice between a stroker or suffering with the painful and disfiguring disease, many understandably opted for the unsanctioned option. Despite this, even during the interregnum the royal touch was a powerful method of royal representation for the Stuarts. During his incarceration many people sought Charles I's touch, and following his execution relics of the King were frequently employed as proxies for the practice. In his detailed examination of the Cult of King Charles I, Andrew Lacey demonstrated that the martyred King was never called to act as an intercessor in the traditional manner of Catholic Saints. The use of these royal relics in place of touching was concerned with divine monarchy rather than saintly miracles. Lacey crucially highlights the fact that only dried blood relics were employed to attempt to heal scrofula, the connection with the royal blood was vital, as it was the closest thing to laying hands on the royal person.[219] This crucial aspect of contact with the physical body of the semi-

[215] *Diary,* II, p. 218
[216] *Diary,* III, p. 428.
[217] Allen, *Cheirexoke*, p. 1.
[218] *Ibid,* p. 2.
[219] Andrew Lacey, *The Cult of King Charles the Martyr* (London: Boydell Press, 2003), p. 37, 62.

divine King allowed the ceremony of touching to continue to play an important role in popular royalism during the interregnum period.

Stressing the divine nature of Charles' body not only served to strengthen his own authority, but also to diminish that of his illegitimate predecessor. As David Horspool has succinctly summarised, Oliver Cromwell did nothing to break the habit of 'centring the culture of government on an individual', however, touching was never a power he was able to claim.[220] Despite the appearance of numerous strokers and seventh sons, there was never any suggestion made that the Lord Protector could claim the healing touch. While there is no evidence that Cromwell ever desired to adopt the touching ritual, post-1660 royal panegyrists were quick to point out the Lord Protector's shortcomings. Allen stated emphatically that while Cromwell 'durst do anything… he never so much as offered this [healing]'.[221] Browne in his *Adenochoiradelogia* takes this point a step further, recounting cases of scrofula suddenly reappearing on those who had previously been touched following his execution.[222] In Browne's view, the desecration of the physical body of the monarch was so complete, and the nations sins now so heavy, that the King's touch could actually be reversed. Charles II recognised both the desire and the benefits of filling this healing void and touched regularly throughout his exile, he held public ceremonies in Holland before his return to England and again almost immediately on his return.[223] The exiled King used the royal touch as a method of expressing his divine right to the throne, even though it was temporarily unavailable to him. Crawford astutely concluded of Charles I that 'Parliament could deprive Charles of his crown, it could rob him of his life, but it was powerless to arrest his gift of healing'.[224] Similarly, by continuing to perform the touching ritual in exile, Charles II was making a public declaration about his divine right to the crown. Cromwell may have been exceptionally devout, but he could never claim to be truly divine.

In the foreword to his sermon, George Morley stressed the importance of a 'mutual confidence betwixt the Prince and his People', a sentiment that is evident in both ceremonies explored in this chapter.[225] The coronation and the touching ceremony enabled Charles to fulfil a range of important roles; as the merry monarch, the sacred healer and the forgiving father, Charles II was truly 'everybody's King'. The King and his councillors adapted two traditional forms of monarchical ceremony to navigate the immediate political realities he faced following the restoration. Both the ceremonial forms discussed here contributed towards fostering a direct bond between the King and his people. As we can see from Pepys' colourful account and the intense concern by the council over writs for attendance, the ceremony encouraged nobility and spectators alike to actively participate in the performance of the coronation. The widespread production of coronation memorabilia also contributed to this sense of mutual allegiance between the King and his subjects. These important and often disregarded objects clearly illustrate the wide scale public engagement with the coronation celebrations; as well as the desire of Charles' subjects to own items they could display to express their loyalty to the restored King. The practice of touching for the King's Evil also strengthened the bond between Charles and his people, albeit in very different ways. Whereas the coronation was a large-scale event involving mass participation, touching was a more intimate method by which subjects could gain access to the King. As demonstraited , despite the mounting doubts over the efficacy of the royal touch, huge numbers of Charles' subjects continued to seek it. A crucial factor influencing this seemingly undiminished desire for the royal touch was the fact that the touching ceremony presented

[220] David Horspool, *Oliver Cromwell: The Protector* (London: Penguin, 2017), p. 96.
[221] Allen, *Cheirexoke,* p. 6.
[222] Browne, *Adenochoiradelogia,* p. 143-4.
[223] Keay, *Magnificent Monarch,* p. 70.
[224] Crawford, *The King's Evil,* p. 101.
[225] Morley, *A Sermon Preached*, p. 4.

an opportunity for lower subjects to have close contact with the monarch that would otherwise have been unavailable to them.

Both the coronation ceremony and the practice of royal healing enhanced the image of Charles II as the legitimate rightful monarch by detracting from the legitimacy of the recent republican regime. The inclusive and extravagant two-day coronation celebrations buried the memory of the austere republic under effervescent gaiety, however, as we have seen, equally important is the often-ignored background of indemnity and retribution in the months leading up to the ceremony. It was vital that the coronation spread a message of reconciliation and celebration, while simultaneously reinforcing the idea that this mercy did not equate tacit acceptance of sedition. The practice of touching for the King's Evil also contributed to the discrediting of republican representation. Healing was a powerful symbol of legitimacy and the authority of Charles II as a semi-divine being; and crucially one that Oliver Cromwell was never able to practice. It did not matter to restoration royal panegyrists that the Lord Protector had never attempted to heal by touch; it mattered that touching was a mode of representation that was unavailable to anyone but the divinely ordained monarch.

Charles II styled himself as 'everybody's King' as much through perceived as actual accessibility. Seemly natural engagement with the public would become a hallmark of Charles II's reign; and nowhere is this more evident than his enthusiastic participation in public ceremony. Charles' subjects had desired not just the restoration of their King, but all the trappings of majesty associated with the office of monarchy itself. Charles did not disappoint; his regular attendance at public theatres and daily walks in St. James' park, combined with the inclusive spectacle of the coronation and his continuing commitment to the touching ritual all contributed towards the creation of the image of Charles II as an easily accessible monarch.

An Unusual Royal Family

> 'Poor Prince! thy prick, like thy buffoons at Court,
> Will govern thee because it makes thee sport…
> …Though safety, law, religion, life lay on 't,
> 'Twould break through all to make its way to cunt.
> Restless he rolls about from whore to whore,
> A merry monarch, scandalous and poor.'[226]

As this stanza from the Earl of Rochester's notorious *Satyr on Charles II* amply demonstrates; Charles' enduring image would not be that of the man who restored the English monarchy, or as the King who thwarted the menace of exclusion, but as a perennial ladies' man - more comfortable in the arms of his mistresses than in the council chamber. This was not a dignified legacy, but it was not one that was never discouraged, in word or deed, by the licentious King. It is not without cause that the prevailing image of Charles II that survives today is one of a King whose 'sceptre and prick are of a length'.[227] During his reign Charles II would manage to father at least fourteen illegitimate offspring, but not a single legitimate heir to the throne – a significant failure for a monarch. Indeed, his inability to secure a protestant succession would result in the greatest challenge the King was to face over the course of his reign. The exclusion crisis of 1679-81 threatened the foundations of hereditary succession, and proved the ultimate test of the bond between Charles and his subjects. This final chapter will examine the role of the royal family in creating the image of Charles II; specifically, the impact of Queen Catherine of Braganza, James Scott, Duke of Monmouth, and the King's substantial collection of mistresses and bastards.

Unlike the representational techniques discussed in the preceding chapters, representations of the royal family did not necessarily include Charles himself. The royal family were as intimately connected to the King as it was possible to be; and as a husband, father and lover, Charles was omnipresent in any representations of them. Firstly, we will turn to Charles' often disregarded Queen, Catherine of Braganza. Quiet, pious and conscientious, Queen Catherine proved unable to compete with her husband's harem of vivacious court beauties, and as a result she has been largely ignored by historians. Charles' flaunting of his sexual body was an innovative and unusual form of royal representation, however, this has resulted in the King's initial attempts at traditional successional representation being overlooked. This chapter will examine the unexamined images of the King and Queen produced to commemorate their wedding in 1662 and their role in advertising the King's successional aspirations. As we shall see, it was only when the reality of Catherine's infertility became apparent that she ceased to function as an avenue for the representation of the Stuart succession.

In the second section of this chapter we will consider the representations of Charles' eldest illegitimate son, James Scott, Duke of Monmouth. Born in Rotterdam in 1649, Monmouth would be remembered for his important role as a partisan figure during the exclusion crisis, and for leading a violent uprising against James II in the summer of 1685 that would end in his execution. However, by viewing the Duke solely through the lens of Exclusion his complicated role in the successional representation of the 1660s and 70s has been marginalised; overshadowed by later Tory attacks on his legitimacy. In her recent biography of the Duke, Anna Keay has attempted to rehabilitate his early reputation suggesting

[226] Wilmot, *Complete Poems,* p. 61.
[227] *Ibid.*

he was more than just a debauched playboy, outlining his important role in the pre-exclusion political system.[228] This thesis builds on this reassessment by focusing on the period before 1679 - when Monmouth was presented as a loyal son, a beloved member of the royal family, and perhaps even a potential heir. As we shall come to see, portraits of the Duke, along with his successful military career and the ambiguous actions of his doting father, all combined to cloak the Duke in a fog of quasi-legitimacy. In the first two decades of Charles' reign it was no accident that his son appeared perilously close to legitimate royalty. Charles recognised Monmouth's popularity with the people, and capitalised on this image of the popular protestant prince to distract from the anxieties surrounding the deeply unpopular Duke of York. It was a technique that would prove all too successful, and ultimately backfire catastrophically when it encouraged exclusionist interests to converge around him.

Lastly, we will consider the role of Charles' mistresses and illegitimate children, described by John Spurr as the 'extensive alternative royal family'.[229] Of all the denizens of Whitehall, the mistresses of King Charles II were among the most infamous, controversial and visible. With their explicit connections to the King, these women and their representation were a vital component in the formation of the royal image. The crucial role the royal mistresses played in shaping the image of the King is clear from their domination of both contemporary and modern discourse surrounding Charles II. After 1688 it became the norm to denigrate the Stuarts as sexual and political despots, but during the 1660s and 1670s royal sexuality was employed as a novel mode of royal representation.[230] Kevin Sharpe has argued that during the first decade of the restoration, Charles II employed 'revolutionary representations' that 'transgressed political boundaries' and for a short time, sexuality and pleasure were actively employed as a form of legitimate royal representation.[231] The restored King undoubtedly created an innovative 'new politics of pleasure' through his use of royal sexuality, although Sharpe perhaps slightly overstates the King's autonomy in the creation of this image. Charles remained intractable on the topic of his mistresses, and as a result the representations of him as 'old Rowley' developed more consequently than by calculation.[232] Charles' sexual mores have been the focus of a disproportionate amount of attention from historians, and consequently we cannot adequately discuss all the implications of the King's sexual relationships here. The final section of this chapter will focus on two key aspects that directly influenced the formation of the image of Charles himself: the changing role of the royal favourite as an avenue for political criticism, and representations of the King's promiscuity as an alternative avenue for successional hopes.

Charles II's most impressive political achievement was perhaps the fact that he managed to hold the wolf of exclusion from the door for so long. This was achieved in large part through his malleable approach towards representations of the royal family. Charles II began his reign with attempts at traditional representation with Queen Catherine, but when it became apparent that she was infertile, the King began to experiment with other, more innovative, avenues of successional representation.

[228] Anna Keay, *The Last Royal Rebel: The Life and Death of James, Duke of* Monmouth (London: Bloomsbury, 2016)
[229] Spurr, *This Masquerading Age,* p. 196.
[230] Julia Marciari Alexander, 'Beauties, Bawds and Bravura: The Critical History of Restoration portraits of Women Painted Ladies' in, *Painted Ladies: Women at the Court of Charles I,* eds. C. MacLeod & J. Marciari Alexander *I* (London: National Portrait Gallery Publications, 2001), pg. 64.
[231] Sharpe, *'Thy Longing Country's Darling and Desire',* p. 2.
[232] The name 'Old Rowley' originated from the King's stud racehorse.

Catherine of Braganza

To begin the examination of Charles II's successional representation, we will turn to his Queen, Catherine of Braganza. Unlike his bevy of mistresses, Charles's Queen has received little scholarly attention. There is no modern monograph on Catherine of Braganza, the last being published in 1937.[233] This lack of academic attention is symptomatic of one the most prevalent assumptions made about Catherine by scholars and contemporaries alike – that this pious, modest Queen simply failed to make an impression on the 'gaudy gilded stage' of the restoration court.[234] While royal portraits were a well-established tool of royal representation, the lack of portrayals of Catherine helps us to better understand which modes of royal representation Charles II deemed most effective at various points throughout the 1660s and 1670s. Henry VIII had been fastidious in his updates of Hampton Court to display the correct heraldic symbols each time he remarried, and Henrietta Maria was crucial to the program of royal representation created by Charles I and Anthony Van Dyck.[235] The use of Catherine of Braganza as a mode of representation for the Stuart monarchy is indeed very different from what came before. Even Kevin Sharpe in his extensive work on the royal representation of Charles II only briefly discusses the role of his Queen, focusing instead on more flamboyant figures such as Barbara Villiers the Countess of Castlemaine. Some work has been undertaken on individual events which involved Catherine – Lorraine Madway has conducted a recent study of the marriage celebrations of Charles and Catherine.[236] Madway concludes the marriage celebrations were an ineffectual exercise in royal representation, a missed opportunity that failed to engender public intimacy with the newlyweds. Although, as we shall see, there are weaknesses in her argument, Madway's suggestion that Charles and Catherine's wedding was – rather like the coronation – an event conspicuously marketed for public consumption, is worthy of note. The most thorough examination of Catherine of Braganza is provided by Sonya Wynne, but even this account is brief when compared to those of other Queen consorts such as Henrietta Maria.[237] Representations of the Queen are indeed limited after the early 1670s when her infertility became obvious; as the 1660s progressed it became increasingly clear that Catherine would not bear children. As early as 1668 when he visited the English court, Magalotti recorded her 'extraordinary and ill-timed purges' which she feared would make her infertile.[238] The Queen's fertility was clearly a topic of intense discussion - Magalotti was able to discover these graphic and intimate details regarding Catherine's reproductive health after spending only fifty-six days at court. Here we will focus on the years immediately following Catherine's marriage to Charles II, when it was still expected she would bear a child, and when her image was clearly used to represent the Stuart monarchy. Catherine's hitherto unexamined rise and fall in popular imagery enables us to chart the shift in successional representation following the revelations regarding her fertility.

Arriving from Portugal in April 1662, the immediate reaction to the Queen was that she was a woman of no great beauty. Catherine had unsightly protruding teeth 'wronging her mouth' and was extremely thin and petite – not at all aligning with the ideal of plump cherubic beauty that would dominate the age.[239] Lorenzo Magalotti described Catherine's dress and countenance as 'more like that of a widow

[233] Janet Mackay, *Catherine of Braganza* (1937).
[234] John Wilmot, *Works*, eds. H. Love (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 85.
[235] Simon Thurley*, Hampton Court: a social and architectural history* (London: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 60.
[236]Lorraine Madway,' Rites of Deliverance and Disenchantment: The Marriage Celebrations for Charles II and Catherine of Braganza, 1661-62', *Seventeenth Century*, 2012 Spring, 27(1), p. 98.
[237]'Catherine', *ODNB*.
[238] Magalotti, *The Court of Charles II*, p. 31.
[239] 'Catherine', *ODNB.*

than of a young princess.'[240] The match, however, was popular among the people, and it was widely celebrated in the traditional manner of ad-hoc bonfires being erected around the city of London. In her study of the marriage celebrations of Charles and Catherine, Madway describes the public aspects of the event as 'brief and carefully controlled.'[241] Firstly, both marriage ceremonies were conducted in relative privacy. The first was a secret roman Catholic ceremony conducted to please the Catholic Queen; and the second ceremony, officiated by Archbishop Gilbert Sheldon, took place in the Governor's presence chamber of the *Domus Dei* Royal Garrison Church, rather than the chapel.[242] The significance of this venue, however, should not be overstated; while it may seem an unusual choice, it is worth noting that the Portsmouth parish church had been heavily damaged during the civil war and was not fit for royal use.[243] In addition, the marriage ceremony itself was often not the focus for royal ceremonial; Henrietta Maria had her grand wedding celebrations in France for her proxy marriage ceremony with the Duke of Buckingham.[244] Although Madway rightly highlights that Charles did not remain with his bride following the ceremony in order to present himself to the people: and the Queen's journey to Hampton Court also passed with disappointingly little spectacle.[245]

Fig. 23. Thomas Toft, *Charles II and Catherine of Braganza*, (c. 1662)

Fig. 24. *Chares II and Catherine of Braganza***,** (c. 1662-1666)

[240] Magalotti, *The Court of Charles II*, p. 29-30.
[241] Madway,'Deliverance and Disenchantment', p. 79.
[242] 'Catherine'*, ODNB*; Ann Fanshawe, *The memoirs of Ann, Lady Fanshawe, wife of Sir Richard Fanshawe 1600-72* (London: J. Lane, 1907), p. 99.
[243] Henry Wright, *The story of the 'Domus Dei' of Portsmouth, commonly called The Royal Garrison church* (London: 1873) p.23.
[244] *Ibid.*
[245]Madway,'Deliverance and Disenchantment', p. 92.

However, Madway fails to mention that the public were admitted to see the King and Queen dine on their first evening at the palace – even though the sheltered Catherine became flustered by the large crowd and had to leave the room.[246] This was a faltering start for the new Queen, although as Wynne points out, Catherine had probably ventured outside the confines of the sedate Portuguese royal palace fewer than ten times in her life prior to travelling to England.[247] It is unsurprising then, that the clamour caused by the arrival of a new Queen initially alarmed her; however, she would later go on to accompany the King at his public dining regularly for the remainder of his reign. The river pageant that accompanied the marriage has been described by Wynne and Sharpe as a grand public spectacle, one that Sharpe describes as being largely orchestrated by Charles II personally.[248] It was certainly Charles who made the decision to stage a water pageant rather than a repetition of the coronation celebrations. Sharpe argues this decision was born out of a desire to provide a new and interesting spectacle to engage the public of London – not merely to repeat what they had already seen only a year previously.[249] An additional motivation for this decision was very likely to have been the state of the King's finances. In September of the same year, Samuel Pepys recorded that the King was known to be 'poor' with 'almost no hopes of his being otherwise, by which things will go to wrack'.[250] The marriage celebrations by no means went 'to wrack', but the financial constraints of the crown undoubtedly affected the scale of the proposed events. It is reasonable to infer that these financial pressures were responsible for what Madway describes as the 'underwhelming' ceremonies, rather than being indicative of Charles' apathy towards the public performance of his marriage.[251]

Although less grandiose than the coronation celebrations the river pageant provided more opportunity for intimate connections with the people. Kevin Sharpe has highlighted a particularly unusual speech given by one of the watermen.[252] The waterman addressed the royal barge with a bold speech, referring to the 'merry time' Charles had enjoyed on the continent – an allusion to his past promiscuity – and begging that the King take it as a sign of loyalty that 'I am so familiar with thee'.[253] This speech illustrates that the event was designed to evoke a sense of familiarity with the royal couple – exactly the kind of relaxed intimacy that would become so characteristic of Charles II. This intimacy spread beyond the staging of the river pageant; much like the King's coronation, a huge array of memorabilia was produced to celebrate the match including coddling cups and decorative plates (fig.23&24). The marriage of Charles II and Catherine was, as Madway observes, the 'first time a royal marriage was marketed for public consumption' in the manner we are accustomed to today.[254] However, Madway's argument that this occurred in a 'different social universe' and served as a 'boundary' between the King and the people is a misinterpretation.[255] As highlighted in the preceding chapter, images of the King had previously only been available to the social elite who could afford to have a replica of a royal portrait commissioned for their own residence. The prints, plates, embroidery, medals and myriad other inexpensive items produced in 1662 to commemorate the royal marriage were available to a much wider group of consumers. Depictions of the King and queen could now be hung in modest homes for a fraction of the cost of a grand painting. Much like the coronation

[246] Willian Schellink, 'The journal of William Schellinks' travels in England, 1661-1663' eds. Maurice Exwood, H. Lehmann (London: Royal Historical Society, 1993), p. 90.
[247]'Catherine', *ODNB*.
[248] Kevin Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, p. 163.
[249]*Ibid*.
[250] Samuel Pepys, *Diary,* Vol. I eds. By Robert Latham (London: The Folio Society, 1996), p. 227.
[251] Madway,'Deliverance and Disenchantment', p. 79.
[252] Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule,* p. 162-164.
[253] John Tatham, *Aqua Triumphalis* (London: 1662), p. 5-6.
[254] Madway,'Deliverance and Disenchantment', p. 92.
[255] *Ibid.* p. 92, 97.

memorabilia, the production of these objects to commemorate the royal wedding memorabilia served as a bridge between the royal couple and the nation.

Fig. 25. *Baptismal font and basin* (c.1660-61)

Fig. 26. *The Marriage of Charles II and Catherine of Braganza* (c.1662)

Fig. 27. *Charles the second and Queene Catharine* (c.1662)

Fig. 28. *K. Charles the 2nd & K. his Queene* (c.1662)

Fig. 29. *Double marriage portrait of Charles II and Catherine of Braganza* (c.1662)

Fig. 30. *Charles II and Catherine his Queene* (c.1662)

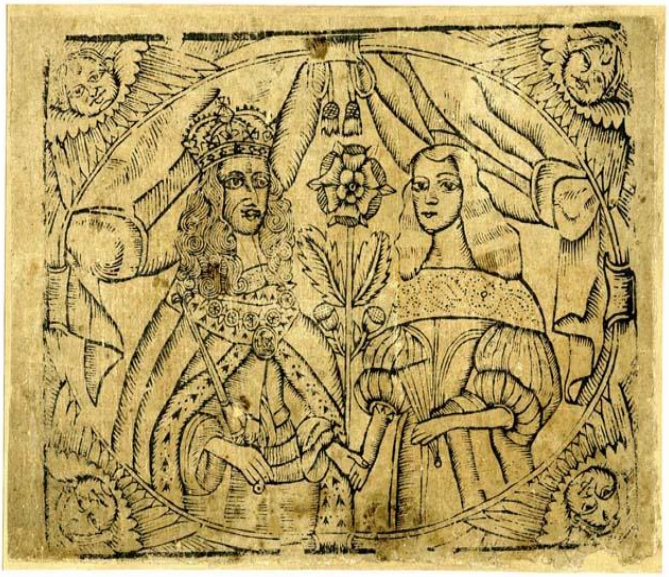

Fig. 31. *Double portrait of Charles II and Catherine of Braganza* (c.1662-65)

Fig. 32. *King Charles the Second and Queene Catherine* (c.1662)

On his restoration, Charles II demonstrated strong dynastic expectations – for instance, Richard Farmer was commissioned to craft a silver-gilt baptismal font in 1660 (fig.25). Although it would never be used for a legitimate heir of the King, the commission of this exceptional and rare object neatly encapsulates the King's intentions for the employment of successional representation during his reign. In 1662, Catherine appeared to be the perfect vehicle for these hopes - in the wake of their marriage, a royal heir was, of course, not only hoped for, but anticipated. In line with this expectation, printed portrayals of the King and Queen thrived. These images of the new King and Queen proved hugely popular, and the exceptionally large numbers in which such images survive are evidence of their high rates of production (fig.26–32). These images have not garnered much historiographical discussion, but within the context of the early marketing of Catherine of Braganza they are very revealing. The

printed images all follow a similar pattern; Charles and Catherine stand side by side, often holding hands, the King is generally depicted dressed in the flamboyant French attire he favoured in the early 1660s with the garter star prominently displayed. In these images Catherine's distinctive Portuguese dress is noticeably altered to meet the expectations of English tastes, a feature that visually assimilates her into the country she now represents (figs.25,38,29&31). These images were produced to reinforce the expectations of the future of the Stuart line; the most obvious example of this is *Charles the second and Queene Catharine* (fig.27) printed and sold by Peter Stent in 1662. This image shows Catherine and Charles in the typical pose, but with an additional element – to the far left the engraver has included the Royal Oak complete with Charles hidden in its branches. The inclusion of the Royal Oak allows this image to act not only as a commemorative piece for the specific event of the royal marriage, but also to call to mind the story of the Escape from Worcester. As we have seen, the escape story was imbued with many levels of meaning – here, it reminds the viewer of the event that preserved the Stuart monarchy. Both royal and popular panegyrists linked the moment Charles hid in the Boscobel Oak explicitly to the moment of restoration - in one dramatic moment the future of the Stuart monarchy was secured. Similarly, Catherine and Charles as King and queen now embodied the hopes for the future of a secure Stuart line. In a cruder image (fig.31) the pair are again depicted hand in hand and we can see hopes for a fruitful succession clearly represented. Between the figures of the royal couple we can see both the Tudor rose and the Stuart thistle, this display of dynastic imagery invokes similar ideals to the Boscobel Oak. In it, the foundation of Stuart kingship is reasserted, while the hopes for its future are embodied in the prospect of royal progeny. As the years passed and it became evident that Catherine would not conceive a child, representations of her alongside the King ceased completely.[256] However, in 1662 when these printed images were produced and sold, Catherine clearly represented the hopes for a fruitful straightforward succession. When it became clear she would not fulfil these hopes, her role in royal representation came to an abrupt end.

Fig. 33. *Charles I and Queen Henrietta Maria* (c.1632)

[256] Last extant prints of the royal couple together appears to have been produced in the later 1670s.

Fig. 34. *Charles I and Henrietta Maria with their Eldest Two Children*, (c.1632)

Fig. 35. *Anne Hyde, Duchess of York; King James II* (c.1661-1662)

The basis of a Queen consort's political power was rooted in their ability to conceive; in the light of Catherine's infertility, it is unsurprising that her representation differed from that of the previous Stuart Queens. Throughout the early modern period, the Queen consort was the model for fashion, beauty and virtue. As the serene wife of the nation's Father, her example was an example to all women. In no Queen was this concept more fully embodied than with Charles II's mother Henrietta Maria – who stands in stark contrast with Catherine of Braganza. After the death of the 1st Duke of Buckingham, Henrietta Maria became an important figure at the court of Charles I and her role in royal representation became ever more significant. In contrast to Catherine, Henrietta Maria was a figure that brought much jollity to the court. Her passions for plays, masques, dancing and dressing up were well known. Similarly, Anne of Denmark, wife of James VI, had a great love of dancing, fine clothing and expensive jewels.[257] In the case of King James and Queen Anne there was no great affection between the royal couple but James nevertheless took immediate action to settle her jointure as Queen consort.[258] The Queen took advantage of this, spending lavishly on jewellery for herself, and for others, and becoming a model for fashion in the English court.[259] Crucially, both Henrietta Maria and Anne of Demark had given birth to numerous children, including an all-important son. Catherine did not show the same enthusiasm for court life - on her arrival at Whitehall Catherine complained that the women spent 'soe much time in dressing themselves' that 'they bestow but little on God Almighty'.[260] Although Catherine's attitudes towards court entertainments mellowed, she failed to

[257] Ethel Carlton Williams, *Anne of Denmark* (London: Lowe & Brydone, 1970), p. 51.
[258] *Ibid*, p. 85.
[259] *Ibid.* p. 67, 185.
[260] 'Catherine', *ODNB.*

reach the heights of fashionable influence enjoyed by Henrietta Maria and Anne of Denmark.[261] During his eleven years of personal rule, from 1629-40, Charles I used royal portraiture as a key avenue of royal representation. An important part of Charles I's program of royal representation was a focus on the constancy of the royal family. Images of Charles and Henrietta Maria displayed a royal couple very much in harmony (fig.33). In this double portrait Charles' gaze is fixed loving on his wife rather than looking out at the viewer, the Queen hands her husband a garland laurel to accentuate their union. To the left the crown jewels are clearly visible ensuring the image skilfully displays their position, as well as the couple's affection for one another. Similarly, images of the royal family together were mobilised to construct the orderly, peaceful image Charles I wished to promote.

The most famous image produced of the royal family in 1632 (fig.34) is the essence of familial serenity. Henrietta Maria gazes with devotion at her husband who is flanked by the young Prince Charles, the royal regalia is again placed strategically on a table to the left of the portrait, and small dogs denoting loyalty play at the feet of the Queen. In this image Charles I is presented as the father of a harmonious family, not just in the immediate context, but also as the nurturing father of the nation. The representational concept of the family as a model for the nation was extremely popular throughout the 17th century, and here Van Dyck skilfully crafted an image of an idealised first family, whose serenity and stability could not help but influence the King's political children – his subjects. No such images survive of Charles II and Catherine of Braganza. The most obvious explanation for this is that any image attempting to present faithful marital bliss between Charles and Catherine would have been laughably hypocritical. Sexual promiscuity did not prevent the production of marital portraits, as evidenced by the picture of the Duke of York and Anne Hyde painted by Sir Peter Lely (fig.35). The Duke, however, conducted his affairs with a greater sense of privacy. By contrast, the King's philandering was common knowledge even in the early 1660s - when Catherine landed at Portsmouth it took the King a week to leave London to greet her, choosing instead to spend the time at the house of his pregnant mistress, Barbara Villiers. As Pepys wryly noted, there were bonfires all over London 'for joy of the Queenes arrival' but there 'was no fire at her [Castlemaine's] door.'[262] To the shock of many - not least the new Queen - Charles resumed his illicit relationship with Villiers almost immediately after his wedding. She was installed in Catherine's household, and despite the Queen's protestations the King could not be persuaded to end his affair or even to conduct it in a more discrete manner. Almost from the moment of her arrival Catherine was in competition with, and compared to, the vivacious Countess – already a muse for artists and a figure in the public consciousness. Worst of all, less than a month after Catherine's arrival, Castlemaine would give birth to a son - Charles FitzRoy. This was a feat the Queen would never replicate and which would torment her for the next two decades.

[261] A good summery of Henrietta Maria's role in the court can be found in Sharpe, *The Personal Rule*, pp. 168-173.

[262] Pepys, *Diary,* Vol. I (Folio Society edition), p. 196.

Fig. 36. Jacob Huysmans, *Queen Catherine of Braganza* (c.1664-1670)

Evidently, there was great hope surrounding the prospects of the royal marriage in 1662. The vast amount of memorabilia produced was a vital component of royal representation during these years. When there was no doubt that Catherine would conceive a child she provided the perfect vehicle through which Charles could advertise his dynastic hopes. His own mother had borne numerous children, including three sons, and the King was well aware of the power of a secure successional line. When doubts began to emerge around Catherine's ability to produce an heir, her usefulness as a tool for royal representation waned. In addition to this she remained pious and reserved, choosing to be depicted by several artists as the quietly suffering St. Catherine (fig.36). In the shadow of her husband's politicized sexual trysts, Catherine simply failed to capture the public imagination. This fact was not lost on Charles II, who in response turned to more innovative forms of successional representation. One of these was the representations of his son, James, Duke of Monmouth, who will be the subject of the next section of this chapter.

James, Duke of Monmouth

The problem of the succession - especially following his brother's public conversion to Catholicism in 1673, was one that would come to dominate not only Charles II's royal representation, but the entirety of his reign. The exclusion crisis of 1679-81 has been described as Charles II's own personal 'civil war',

and the King's inability to produce a legitimate heir was central to this crisis.[263] However, as those who favoured exclusion repeatedly caterwauled, the King did in fact have a son. A son who was protestant, heroic, handsome and popular – James Scott, Duke of Monmouth. With his military record, suave manners and impressive appearance Monmouth appeared to embody all the desirable traits an heir was expected to possess, with one fatal flaw – his lack of legitimacy. James was born in Holland in 1649 - three months after the abolition of the monarchy in England - the result of the exiled Charles II's brief liaison with Lucy Walter, the daughter of a middling Welsh gentleman.[264] Later reports would suggest that the King had married Monmouth's mother in a fit of youthful passion, making James a legitimate heir to the throne. Charles would always vehemently deny such claims, insisting that although James was his son there was to be no question of his illegitimacy. However, as fears over the succession increased, these rumours would become the root of the exclusionist campaign to have Monmouth declared the King's successor. Much of the historiographical work concerning the Duke of Monmouth has concentrated on his role during the Exclusion Crisis. This is unsurprising given the Duke's role as a crucial partisan figure around whom much of the furious debate would centre. Often ignored is the equally important role that Monmouth played in the creation of the royal image in the first two decades of Charles II's reign; before the King publicly distanced himself from his son in 1679 and deprived him of his royal offices, lands and his income - steadfastly announcing that James would 'never be restored more' to royal favour.[265] Ultimately, Charles' favourite son would lose his head after a failed rebellion against his Uncle in 1685. The historiographical focus on later exclusionist representations of Monmouth has created an unbalanced view of his role during the first two decades of his father's rule. Both Schmidgen and Keay have recently attempted to revise the tendency to view Monmouth as a purely partisan figure, an 'opportunist' who had ideas above his station. Schmidgen rightly suggests this approach fails to acknowledge 'Monmouth's cultural and political power'. [266]

One of the main contributory factors to the quasi-legitimisation of Monmouth was the closeness of the Duke and Charles II. From his arrival at the English court in the summer of 1662, there was no denying that Monmouth was every inch his father's son. In February 1663 James was made Baron Scott of Tynedale, Earl of Doncaster and the Duke of Monmouth – in addition to these titles, a month later he was also appointed a Knight of the Garter.[267] As Wolfram Schmidgen emphasised in his study of the Duke's relationship with the populous, these preferments meant that Monmouth was now the 'fourth gentleman in the realm', outranked only by the King, the Duke of York and Prince Rupert. Schmidgen suggests that this 'indulgent elevation' gave James 'clear pretensions' to the English throne and as we shall see, the young Duke was not discouraged from thinking his father's affection might transform into legal legitimacy.[268] Despite their later animosity, Charles and his eldest son had an exceptionally close relationship during the 1660s and early 1670s. In 1662 Monmouth's apartments were only yards from his Father's, and his Parisian education served him well in the English court where his French 'suavity of manners' endeared him to many.[269] Athletic, charming and handsome, Monmouth quickly became one of the shining stars of the English Court. Despite the Duke of York's claims that Monmouth more closely resembled Colonel Robert Sidney, there was little doubt that James Scott was Charles II's natural son.[270] The family resemblance between the Charles and James

[263] Ronald Hutton*, Charles II,* p. 388.
[264] Robin Clifton, 'Lucy Walter' in *ODNB.*
[265] Keay, *The Last Royal Rebel*, p. 237.
[266] Wolfram Schmidgen, 'The Last Royal Bastard and the Multitude', *Journal of British Studies,* vol.47(1), 2008, p. 55.
[267]Schmidgen, 'The Last Royal Bastard', p. 53.; Keay, *The Last Royal Rebel*, p. 57.
[268] Schmidgen, 'The Last Royal Bastard', p. 53.
[269] Keay, *The Last Royal Rebel,* p. 54, 56.
[270] Tim Harris, 'James Scott, Duke of Monmouth and Buccleuch' in *ODNB*.

was striking, even in portraits of the pair as children (fig.37&38). As one observer commented when greeting Monmouth in 1682 'you're so like your father, I'm sure you're no bastard!'[271] Although this similarity may seem like an obvious fact, the representation of Monmouth with such a close physical resemblance to the King served to agitate considerable poltical anxieties. James was the first bastard child of an English monarch in over a century and as a result, the conventions surrounding his proper place were ambigious at best. As the product of extramarital sex, bastards traditionally became tarnished by the negative perceptions of feminine lust. Consequently, they were often portrayed as physically or morally deformed (as James would be during the Exclusion Crisis).[272] In the years preceding the Crisis, Monmouth was depicted as anything but physically deformed; instead he was presented as the epitome of dashing regality.

Fig. 37. *James Scott* (c.1664-65)

Fig. 38. *King Charles II* (c.1638)

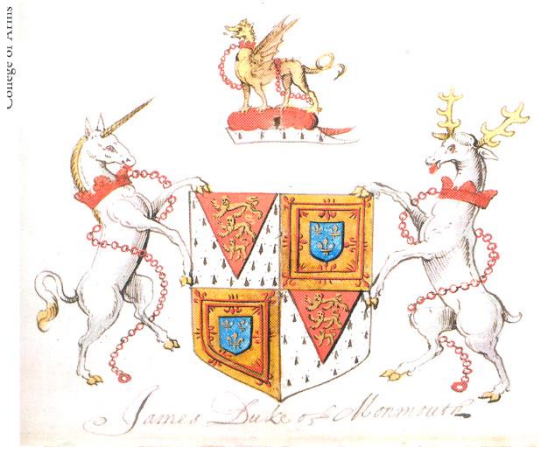

Fig. 39. Monmouth's Arms (c.1663)

Even a cursory examination of the first fifteen years of Charles II's reign suggests that Monmouth was far from unfounded in his expectations of future legitimacy. As we have seen, after his ennoblement

[271] Schmidgen, 'The Last Royal Bastard', p. 56.
[272] *Ibid.*

in 1663 James was the fourth gentleman of the realm, and he was almost inseparable from his royal father. In the same year Charles sought a consultation with the most senior lawyer in Scotland, Sir John Gilmour, over the matter of securing Monmouth's inheritance. This legal 'legitimization' appears to have been merely a formality designed to secure the future of the Duke's estates, but as Anna Keay aptly described 'this apparently innocuous request would unleash a deamon' that Charles would never be able to contain.[273] This sort of legal procedure was not without precedent in Scotland, and between 1533 and 1543 Henry VIII issued a series of acts of succession that declared his children legitimate, or not, dependent on his desires.[274] In the context of Monmouth however, Charles' actions were subject to exactly the kind of 'misconstruction' that Gilmour had feared. This legal technicality enabled the idea that the King could legitimise Monmouth to enter 'the collective imagination.'[275] In addition to this ill-considered consultation, Charles did little to dispel the rumours that he would legitimize his son; and in 1667 Monmouth was granted permission to bear and use the royal arms.[276] By 1670 references to James as the King's 'natural' son were considered in bad taste, and the use of the baton sinister to denote illegitimacy was never included in the Duke's personal arms (fig.39). In his memoir published in 1700, James Welwood described the relationship between the King and his son during these years; he recorded how 'King Charles had heap'd Honours upon him; and nothing pleas'd him so much as to see him Great.'[277] This ambiguity, Schmidgen argues, allowed Monmouth to traverse the worlds of high politics and common popularity. In his body 'democracy and monarchy could mingle in the alluring image of the bastard prince'.[278] Reflecting on this evidence, we can clearly see that the Duke of Monmouth's body was a site for contested royal representation long before the exclusion crisis. This confusion was only intensified by Charles II's refusal to adhere to traditional representational methods for denoting illegitimacy.

[273] Keay, *The Last Royal Rebel*, p. 59.
[274] *Ibid,* p. 101; 59.
[275] *Ibid,* p. 59.
[276] Christopher Bond,'The Phoenix and the Prince: The Poetry of Thomas Ross and Literary Culture in the Court of Charles II' in, *Review of English Studies: The Leading Journal of English Literature and the English Language*, 2009, Vol.60(246), p. 597.
[277] James Welwood, *Memoirs of the most material transactions in England for the last hundred years, preceding the revolution of 1688* (1700), p. 136.
[278] Schmidgen, 'The Last Royal Bastard', p. 56.

Fig. 40. *James Scott, Duke of Monmouth and Buccleuch* (c.1678)

Fig. 41. *Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales* (c.1610)

Fig. 42. *James Scott, Duke of Monmouth and Buccleuch* (c.1675)

In addition to this ambiguity regarding his legal position, representations of Monmouth often emphasised aspects traditionally associated with royal representation. In a portrait of the Duke painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller in 1678 (fig.40) his dark curls and distinctive features make Monmouth appear every inch his father's son. Kneller was closely associated with the royal family, and would later become one of the most celebrated painters in England; receiving copious royal favour and painting some of the most widely recognised images of King Charles II.[279] In 1678 when this portrait was painted, Kneller was new to London and during these early years he enjoyed the patronage of the young Duke, painting both him and his wife the Duchess of Buccleuch. In this portrait Monmouth is dressed in armour and the blue sash of the Order of the Garter is over his left shoulder – representing

[279] J. Douglas Stewart, 'Sir Godfrey Kneller' in *ODNB.*

his famous military successes and his position as one of the most prominent members of the English nobility. These two aspects were often the focus of representations of the Duke before 1679, in a 1675 canvas by Jan van Wyck (fig.42), Monmouth is depicted in front of Maastricht on horseback wearing his Garter sash. This victory was highly significant in Monmouth's military career. As the commander of the English forces fighting for the French cause, Monmouth contributed to the resounding success of the 1673 siege on the notoriously impenetrable city, and was widely hailed for his heroic and skilful actions.[280]

This kind of military representation was a familiar method for depicting the heir to the throne, even if they had not experienced active service, such as in the case of the eldest son of James VI, Henry Stuart. The representational parallels between Monmouth and Prince Henry are striking, though they have escaped historiographical attention. In her work on the visual representations of the Prince, Catherine MacLeod defined the role Henry played in royal representation as being a figure designed to 'convert national anxiety into expectation.'[281] She also highlights the 'remarkable' consistency with which Henry was represented - during his short life he was almost invariably depicted as the 'warrior prince', perpetually 'ready to take arms on behalf of noble and virtuous causes'.[282] These representations of Henry were ambitious and innovative; and like the portraits of Monmouth their role was to advertise the strength and vitality of the Stuart line. In Isaac Oliver's miniature of the young Prince (fig.41), Henry appears in his exquisite black armour and garter sash against a backdrop of rich red velvet. Behind him we can see a military camp, complete with rows of tents and soldiers. In this image, which was copied numerous times, Henry appears every inch the military prince, well prepared to one day assume the role of monarch. These ambitious representations of Prince Henry benefitted from his uniquely stable position; Edward VI had been a minor when his father died, both Elizabeth and Mary suffered from the difficulties of representing a female monarch, and James VI had already been King of Scotland for over thirty years when he ascended to the English throne in 1603. As a result, the representation of a stable male succession had waned steadily until the arrival of James and his family in England. Similarly, before Monmouth was brought to the English court successional representation via princes had been sorely lacking. Charles I had suffered in comparison to his strapping, endearing elder brother, and Charles II's own chance to be represented as next in line to the throne had been curtailed by the civil war. Despite his illegitimacy, Monmouth, much like Henry, was a welcome and comforting reminder of the virility of the King, and the stability of the Stuart line.

When considered in relation to Monmouth's unique political situation these portrayals carried additional - potentially problematic - connotations. Monmouth's military success had the misfortune of coinciding with the rapid decline of his Uncle's position; the young Duke 'stood possess'd of all the Qualities requisite to gain the Love of the People, and stir up the Jealousy of the Duke of York.'[283] Despite his heroic role in the early years of the Dutch Wars, the Duke of York was technically in charge during one of the most devastating English naval disasters in memory – the burning of the fleet moored at Chatham in 1667.[284] In addition to this, by 1670 the Duke had been forced to relinquish some of his responsibilities due to a bout of ill health - responsibilities that Charles then passed over to Monmouth.[285] Finally, in 1673, the passage of the Test Act which disqualified Catholics from holding public office, forced York to resign his post as Lord High Admiral. In the wake of his brother's

[280] Keay, *The Last Royal Rebel,* pp. 106-130.
[281] MacLeod, Catherine; Smuts, Malcom; Wilks, Timothy; MacGibbon, Rab, *The Lost Prince: The Life and Death of Henry Stuart* (London: National Portrait Gallery Publications, 2013), p. 11.
[282] *Ibid*, p. 33, 40.
[283] Welwood, *Memoirs*, p. 136.
[284] W. A. Speck, 'James VII & II King of England, Scotland and Ireland' in *ODNB.*
[285] Keay, *The Last Royal Rebel,* p. 100.

resignation Charles did not immediately appoint a successor, choosing instead to hand over many of the practical duties to his son.[286] This rapid role reversal between the two Dukes created considerable tension, which was only intensified as the 1670s progressed and the public desire for a protestant heir became ever more apparent. As Christopher Bond highlighted in his examination of the work of Thomas Ross, by presenting Monmouth as a military hero, these images can 'only have increased' the hopes of those who saw the Duke as a viable candidate for the succession.[287] As York's comments that Monmouth more closely resembled Colonel Sidney highlight, also highlight the threat Monmouth posed to his Uncle. James felt sufficiently threatened by his nephew to feel the need to draw his parentage into question.

Fig. 43. *James Scott, Duke of Monmouth and Buccleuch* (c.1665-1675)

Fig. 44., *Charles II on Horseback with London Beyond,* (c.1658)

[286] Bond, 'The Pheonix and the Prince', p. 597.
[287] *Ibid,* p. 599.

The representation of Monmouth as a military hero was also prevalent in print. The typical printed images of the Duke show him in heroic military poses astride his horse with his sword drawn, every inch the valiant cavalier (fig.43). The cumulative effect of these repeated depictions was to create an image of a young man of valour, heroism, skill and physical strength – the image of a man who could easily be seen as a Prince. In his work on Monmouth's tutor Bond highlighted numerous instances of Ross' preoccupation with the idea of receiving the right to rule by 'undeniable qualifications'.[288] Bond argues that Ross' work is saturated with repeated allusions to the idea that Monmouth only need 'prove his worth' in order to be elevated to his rightful place as Charles' successor. An idea that the young James appears to have embraced with gusto.[289] We can apply Bond's observations to these pre-exclusion depictions of Monmouth – especially military imagery. In these images Monmouth is proving his worth as a military leader, a role that traditionally went hand in hand with leading the nation. Images such as Van Wyck's were reminiscent of earlier images of Charles II in exile (fig.44). An engraving produced in 1658 imagines the restoration of the exiled King: in the background we can see the City of London, with Charles and his heavenly forces poised ready to recapture it. As David Solkin surmises, this image clearly evokes the ideals of 'triumphant masculine strength, of self-control and power over others, [and] exemplary military valour'.[290] We can see these same values clearly displayed in Van Wyck's imagining of Monmouth at Maastricht. Although he is not technically a Prince, in this image he is imbued with all the qualities which enabled his father to win back his wayward nation in 1660.

Fig. 45. *James Scott, Duke of Monmouth and Buccleuch* (c.1674)

Fig. 46. *James Scott, Duke of Monmouth and Buccleuch,* (c.1680)

Another powerful symbol of his association with his father adopted by Monmouth in these early years is his use of the garter regalia. As we have previously seen it was employed alongside military representations of the Duke, but it also appears in perhaps the most famous image of Monmouth,

[288] Bond, 'The Phoenix and the Prince', p. 601.
[289] *Ibid,* p. 600-601.
[290] Solkin, 'A Restoration Tragicomedy', p. 229.

produced by Sir Peter Lely in 1674. This image remains the dominant image of James, and it was the subject of innumerable copies in Lely's own studio, as well as by popular printmakers (fig. 45&46). An exceptionally fine example of his work, the portrait was clearly worked on personally by Lely, an indication of its cost and importance. The Duke cuts an impressive figure, depicted in full garter regalia and displaying his athletic physique; as with the other images of Monmouth, the similarity with his father is impossible for the viewer to overlook. The garter regalia held great personal significance for Charles II. While in exile he employed it frequently in representations of himself, and wore the robes for many public occasions - in the absence of the crown jewels they became the ultimate visual symbol of monarchy. Emblematic of Charles' kingship when he had no crown, he continued to utilise them extensively throughout his reign. Significantly, the Duke of Monmouth wears his garter sash in almost every image of him produced after his induction into the order. It is not a coincidence that in this, his most copied and disseminated image, he is pictured in full garter regalia. The tendency to view Monmouth in parallel with his father in exile is also, as Schmidgen highlights, emphasised by the use of the allegory of the Phoenix (mythological King of birds) in representations of both father and son.[291] By choosing this regalia, the Duke is clearly displaying his connection to his royal father, but in addition to this I would suggest that the use of garter iconography also serves to call to mind Charles' own period in exile. Charles II had been banished from his own land and denied his rightful crown, and James now faced the metaphorical exile of illegitimacy. As a bastard James was rendered politically fatherless, just as Charles II was rendered politically and literally fatherless by the act of regicide. These abstract political concepts could be effectively evoked using the garter regalia which was so favoured by Charles throughout his life. Its use can be interpreted as a way of reinforcing that James is simultaneously regal and fatherless. The ending of Charles' story was already known, like the phoenix reborn he was restored and returned to his throne. In these images Monmouth is a son barred from his rightful inheritance and rendered fatherless by his illegitimacy; by invoking the idea of his Father's exile, the possibility for James' own restoration became implicit.

For a brief period, the Duke of Monmouth appeared every inch his father's son, poised to take his place in the succession. Although Monmouth could be presented as the heroic protestant son that the nation desired, the King was aware of the danger of emboldening his son too much. The final section of this chapter we will shift our focus to the King's extramarital relationships. Charles II recognised in his mistresses another avenue he could exploit to advertise his virility and the continued possibility for the birth of a legitimate heir.

Mistresses

Historians have been inclined to concentrate on the role, real or imagined, that Charles' mistresses played in influencing his decision making. In her work on the role of the royal mistresses in court politics, Sonya Wynne has outlined the 'theoretical non-participation' of the women close to the King. While it was culturally expected that they could not participate in politics in the traditional manner, their 'involvement in practice' allowed them to play a 'significant' role in court politics.[292] This theoretical exclusion from political roles is crucial when examining the role of Charles' mistresses in his representation, and is supported by Harold Weber's point that there was a wider desire to 'banish the female body' in restoration political discourse.[293] However, as the work of Wynne and others has

[291] Schmidgen, 'The Last Royal Bastard', p. 602.
[292] S. Wynne, *The Mistresses of Charles II and Restoration Court Politics'* in *The Stuart Courts,* ed. Eveline Cruickshanks, (Somerset: Sutton Publishing Ltd, 2000), p. 186.
[293] Weber, *Paper Bullets,* p. 123.

demonstrated, women (especially the King's mistresses) could, and did, engage in political discourse – often by their own innovative self- representation.[294] As their lover, their King, and the father of their children, this self-representation had an implicit effect on the public perception of Charles himself. Writing about the male favourites of James VI and I, Michel B. Young succinctly summarised that although some historians described these men as 'apolitical playthings' it 'did not prevent them from becoming political liabilities'.[295] Similarly, the extent of Charles' mistresses' political influence may have been unclear, but their ability to become political liabilities is evident.

The discussion of the role of the royal mistresses in contributing towards the creation of the image of Charles II must also be considered within the wider historiographical debate of the changing nature of sexuality and monarchical representation. John Spurr surmised that by the 1670s the court of Charles II had become an 'eroticised institution', home to the King's collection of mistresses, his libertine companions and a veritable cast of bawdy characters.[296] Kevin Sharpe and Tim Harris have supported this view, drawing attention to the public perception of an overtly sexual environment within Whitehall.[297] It seemed to many, as Harris concluded, that 'the pursuit of pleasure was being carried to the excess'.[298] Charles II recognised this discourse, and attempted to manipulate it, as Rachel Weil asserts, he used his sexual body to serve 'a contradictory and ambiguous role' in royal representation.[299] Similarly, Sharpe has theorised that this change was indicative of a 'blatant uncoupling of religion, morality, and sex'.[300] Extending this argument, Sharpe has postulated the notion of what he termed 'a new politics of pleasure', whereby Charles used his own sexual desires to fashion a new mode of representing the monarch to the people.[301] Sharpe's theory is insightful, however, we must be wary of ascribing intention to the restored King for behaviour he would have likely engaged in regardless of any ulterior political motivations.

Perceived sexual deviancy was a problem that was endemic in the Stuart dynasty. From the numerous mistress and bastards of James V, to the male favourites of James I and the rumoured sexual relationship between Charles' mother Henrietta Maria and Earl of St. Albans, Henry Jermyn; the Stuarts had been repeatedly linked to elicit sexual conduct.[302] Following the orderly Elizabethan court, James VI's poorly concealed sexual preferences raised eyebrows during his reign. His relationship with George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham, created a link between two long standing traditions used to express political concerns – anxieties surrounding the King's two bodies, and the critique of the figure of the 'court favourite'. Favourites were a long-standing problem at the English Court; Weil has argued convincingly that these favourites became increasingly politically problematic as figures that served 'the monarch's pleasure rather than the public good' from Elizabeth's reign onwards.[303] At the Elizabethan court this relationship was not always characterised as an explicitly sexual one, but with the meteoric rise of the Duke of Buckingham, the royal favourite fast became a sexualised figure.

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[294] Wynne, *The Mistresses of Charles II*, p. 171.; For an extensive discussion of the self-representation of women in restoration society see , MaLeod & Marciari Alexander, *Painted Ladies: Women at the Court of Charles II*; and MaLeod & Marciari Alexander, *Politics Transgression and Representation*.

[295] M. B. Young, *King James and the History of Homosexuality* (London: Fronthill, 2016) p. 158.

[296] Spurr, *This Masquerading Age,* p. 197.

[297] Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule,* p. 170-171 ; Tim Harris, *'The dissolute Court and Retribution'* in *Samuel Pepys: Plague, Fire Revolution,* ed. Margarette Lincoln (London: Thames and Hudson, 2016), pp. 64-65.

[298] *Ibid,* p. 64.

[299] Rachel Weil, *Sometimes a Scepter is only a Scepter: Pornography and Politics in Restoration England,* in *The Invention of Pornography 1500-1800,* ed. Lynn Hunt (New York: Zone Books, 1993), p. 152.

[300] Sharpe, '*Thy Longing Country's Darling and Desire',* p. 15, 18.

[301] *Ibid.* p. 22.

[302] Andrea Thomas, 'James V' in *ODNB.*; Young, *King James and the History of Homosexuality*; Anthony Adolph, 'Henry Jermyn, Earl of St. Albans' in *ODNB.*

[303] Weil, 'Sometimes a Sceptre', p. 139.

Buckingham embodied Weil's definition of the royal favourite, with one crucial addition; during the 1620s Villiers became a figure who was perceived to not only serve the monarch's pleasure *rather* than the public good, but *over* it. Buckingham was subject to a myriad of attacks throughout the reigns of James and Charles I, contemporary libels blaming him for almost every perceived fault in Stuart government, and he was famously labelled the 'grievance of grievances'.[304]

By the 1660s, the favourite was a problematic figure which increasingly facilitated the expression of popular grievances. The dramatic executions of Archbishop Laud and the Earl of Strafford – widely perceived as Charles I's favourite ministers – came to be seen as precursors to the act of regicide.[305] Conscious of this, Charles II was careful not to show favouritism to any of his ministers or courtiers. His extreme pragmatism meant that the King would abandon even his most loyal servants if it proved beneficial to his own survival - the most obvious example being his spectacular abandonment of the Earl of Clarendon following his impeachment in 1667. Even Charles' patience with his childhood friend the 2nd Duke of Buckingham did not prove inexhaustible. By 1674 Charles had deprived the Duke of all his offices following a hugely public scandal involving the wife of the Earl of Shrewsbury. Raised in the same nursery, childhood best friends and partners in debauchery, the King did not hesitate to deprive the Duke of all royal favour a mere two days after Parliament requested it of him. Both Clarendon and Buckingham, the two most cited candidates for royal favourite, died without reaching a rapprochement with their King. Charles II did, however, quite clearly favour his mistresses. During the course of his reign they proved to be one of only a handful of issues the pragmatic monarch was intractable on. Charles would not, as Archbishop Sheldon so boldly suggested, 'put away' any of the women he kept at Whitehall.[306] Consequently, the royal mistresses represented an alternative avenue through which people could, and did, express their political concerns.

Images of mistresses did not only advertise their overt sexuality; they also publicised their intimate political connection with the King. Painted between 1672 and 1680, the only surviving double portrait of the King with one of his mistresses provides us with an invaluable insight into of this kind of visual political advertisement. Painted by Henri Gascar, this portrait provides a picture of both the perceptions and realties of sexual-political representation at the court of Charles II. Gascar was born in Paris, the son of an obscure painter, he left France for England in 1671 after his portrait of the Daupin was received unfavourably by the *Académie Royale* in Paris.[307] It was later suggested by Bainbrigg Buckeridge that Gascar was encouraged to come to England by the King's principal mistresses Louise de Keroualle – and she was certainly his most faithful patron.[308] Gascar painted a number of portraits of the Duchess (most of which are now in private collections) including images of Louise and her eldest son Charles, Duke of Richmond.[309] During his English career Gascar also painted a wide variety of court figures; including the Duke of York, the King's mistress Barbara Villiers, and Frances Jennings, Duchess of Tyrconnell (who Charles pursued unsuccessfully).[310] As a result of this court patronage, Gascar became a leading advocate in the representation of the restoration court during the 1670s. His ascendency coincided with the rise of the King's mistress, Louise de Keroulle,

[304] In the online collection of Early Stuart Libels (http://www.earlystuartlibels.net) there are over 36 works with Buckingham as the main subject, and many more that mention him as a grievance of the nation.
[305] Weil, 'Sometimes a Sceptre', p. 140.
[306] Harris, *Dissolute Court,* p. 70.
[307] Juila Marciari Alexander, 'Henri Gascar' in *ODNB*.
[308] B. Buckeridge, 'An essay towards an English school of painters', in R. de Piles, *The art of painting, and the lives of the painters* (1706), p. 421.
[309] 'Gascar', *ODNB.*
[310] Piers Wauchope, 'Frances Jennings, Duchess of Tyrconnell' in *ODNB.*

and in the wake of the 1670 Treaty of Dover this contributed to emerging concerns that the court was becoming increasingly disposed towards the French.

[insert image]

At first glance the portrait appears to be a conventional representation of the monarch, however, on closer examination the unusual nature of the image soon becomes apparent. Charles is depicted in his coronation robes, seated beside the royal regalia to his left – although these are both traditional symbols of monarchical power, as we have seen Charles II preferred to be depicted in his garter regalia. In this image the uncharacteristic use of the coronation robes serve to emphasise Charles' regality. This detail suggests that the image was unlikely to have been commissioned by the King, and given her personal connection with the artist, the paintings other subject – Louise de Keroualle – seems a more likely patron. To the right of the King, and behind his guard, Louise and her ladies can be seen walking in the background of the scene. Compositionally, this image does everything possible to conspicuously display Louise's connection to Charles. Although she is pictured in the background, every artistic technique is employed to draw attention to Portsmouth. The royal guard in their red uniforms are cloaked in shadow, parting to reveal Louise brightly illuminated, drawing the eye away from the figure of the King towards his mistress in the background. This skilful employment of negative space ensures that although the King at first appears to be the main subject of the image, it is in fact Louise who inevitably draws the viewer's attention. As well as being an obvious advertisement of Louise's intimate connection to Charles, Gascar draws more subtle allusions about the nature of Charles II's kingship. Renowned as a man who preferred to conduct his business in back rooms rather than council chambers, Gascar's representation of Charles and Louise seems to exemplify the worst fears of the English courtiers. Like Barbara Villiers, Louise was a politically charged figure, who many feared had undue influence over political decision making. Sonya Wynne has demonstrated that in reality the influence Charles' mistresses had on policy making was minimal.[311] However, the contemporary perception of the extent their influence far exceeded the reality – especially in the case of the Duchess of Portsmouth.

Portsmouth arrived from the French court in 1670, and was installed as the King's main mistress by 1673. In October of 1676 her annual pension was set at £8600 and was raised to £11,000 by 1680.[312] In addition to the vast expense, concerns were raised in relation to Louise's connections with the French court, and, of course, her Catholicism. There was widespread suspicion that Louise was working as a spy for Louise XIV and had been sent to England to serve French interests. The production of paintings such as this one of Charles and Louise only served to intensify these fears, especially when considered within the context of Louise's apartments in Whitehall. Louise's apartments reflected her status as the King's favourite mistress, by the end of the reign they numbered some twenty-four rooms, including a sixty to seventy foot gallery.[313] Louise's apartments were also an established point of contact between the French ambassadors and the King; from 1675 onwards her personal apartments were the location of numerous private meetings between Charles and the ambassador, with Louise frequently in attendance.[314] In the highly politicised environment of Louise's apartments the display of a portrait such as the one above, which flaunted her attachment to Charles and alluded to her behind the scenes influence, would have caused considerable disquiet. While Charles may not

[311] Wynne, '*The Mistress of Charles II',* p. 185.
[312]Sonya Wynne, 'Louise de Kéroualle, duchess of Portsmouth' in *ODNB.*
[313] Ibid.
[314] 'Louise de Kéroualle', *ODNB.*

have permitted Louise any real power over his decision making, it is not difficult to see why many people believed that she had 'more power over him than can be imagined'.[315]

Charles' promiscuity may seem an usual focus for royal representation, however, as we have seen throughout this examination of the King's image, Charles II was particularly adept at transforming perceived weakness to his advantage. The theory of patriarchal kingship was a familiar one throughout the 17th century, as illustrated by Van Dyke's familial portraits commissioned by Charles I. As previously discussed, by the 1670s there were significant doubts about Catherine of Braganza's ability to produce a legitimate heir to the throne, and combined with the 1673 revelations regarding the Duke of York's Catholicism, the Stuart monarchy was facing the beginnings of a successional crisis. In addition to this, in September of the same year the Duke married the Catholic Mary of Modena; although James had two protestant daughters from his first marriage, if his new wife gave birth to a son, there was a real danger the Stuart line of succession could become catholic. The resulting successional panic presented Charles II with a serious dilemma, as Larry Carver summarised, 'overthrow the principle of succession and you overthrow one of the main supports for paternalistic government'.[316] Charles faced a threat to paternalistic government from two directions, as a consequence of the infertility of his Queen and the problematic nature of his brother's religion; nevertheless, Charles still employed the notions of the father King. The rhetoric of patriarchal kingship could be manipulated to justify his own sexual mores. The poet laurite John Dryden in his poem *Absalom and Achitophel* likened Charles' promiscuous behaviour to King David 'spreading his seeds' throughout his kingdom.[317] This kind of skilful manipulation of biblical themes allowed Dryden to redefine Charles as a fertile father to his nation rather than a philandering rake. Although the King had no legitimate heir he was evidently able to father children, a fact that was often mentioned in contemporary rhetoric. One poet asserted that Charles had 'sons and daughters more, The e'er Harry by threescore', another counted 'seventy-five bastard boys and girls'; even Charles himself when he was called the father of his people reportedly quipped 'I believe that I am, of a good number of them'.[318] By conspicuously flaunting his virility Charles II effectively diffused the anxieties developing around the Duke of Monmouth. While he continued to have children, Charles was publicly demonstrating that a legitimate heir to the throne was still a possibility.

[315] *Diary of the times of Charles the Second by the Honourable Henry Sidney (afterwards earl of Romney)*, ed. R. W. Blencowe (1843), Vol. I, p. 15.
[316] Larry Carver, 'The Restoration Poets and their Father King', *Huntington Library Quarterly,* 40 (1977), p. 344.
[317] John Dryden, *Absalom and Achitophel a Poem* (1681).
[318] *POAOS,* V. I, p. 244.

Fig. 48. *Barbara Palmer, Duchess of Cleveland with her son* (c.1664)

Via the representation of his mistresses, Charles could advertise his own virility despite the fact the royal marriage remained barren. Nowhere was Charles' virility more explicit than in the portrayal of Barbara Villers, later Countess of Castlemaine, and her son Charles Fitzroy. Castlemaine was the King's principal mistress for the first decade of the restoration, and between 1661 and 1665 she bore the King five children. Her first son was born in 1662, a mere two months after the arrival of the Queen from Portugal, and he was given the surname Fitzroy – a name that meant 'son of the King'.[319] The portrait we will discuss here was painted by Sir Peter Lely in 1664, and boldly depicts Castlemaine and her son as the Madonna and child. The portrait is unquestionably audacious and imbued with a humorous tone; by 1664 it was well known that Villiers was far from virginal, and as Julia Marciari Alexander has highlighted, she appears to be pregnant under her flowing robes.[320] As well as the amusing irony of portraying Castlemaine as the Virgin, by presenting her son as the Christ child, Lely was very unsubtly alluding to his semi-divine parentage. As both the father of his nation and the natural father of the child, Charles II is boldly styled as god – although not physically present, he is very much present in the body of his son. Verging on sacrilegious, this canvas presented a tongue-in-

[319] Kevin Sharpe, *'Thy longing country's Darling and Desire',* p. 1.
[320] *Painting a Life: The Case of Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland,* in *Writing Lives: Biography and Textuality, dentiy and Representation in Early Modern England,* eds. Kevin Sharpe and Stephen Zwicker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 177.

cheek representation of the scandalous relationship between Charles and his most controversial mistress.

Despite undeniable positive representational uses, Charles' reputation for sexual debauchery undoubtedly proved to be a double-edged sword which also damaged the King's image. Charles' gaggle of mistresses and their illegitimate children were not universally accepted as proof of the King's virility, on the contrary, they were often held responsible for corrupting and effeminising him. Charles' licentiousness was clearly cause for public concern; the first 'major' outbreak of rioting during Charles' reign were the bawdy house riots in 1668, motivated principally by concerns over the morality of the court.[321] Charles' people were obviously concerned about his sexual conduct, and nowhere is this more evident than in contemporary satirical poetry. Harold Weber has outlined the recurrent tendency of restoration writers to link Charles' promiscuity to impotence, infertility and effeminacy; and a cursory glance at the collection *Poems on Affairs of State* reveals numerous references to the gross sexual excesses of the court.[322] The series of *Advice to a Painter* satires, originally penned by Andrew Marvell, that appeared from 1666 to 1667 seamlessly married sexual and political criticism. In the *Last Instructions* Marvell bemoaned the 'race of drunkards, pimps, and fools' running the town, and launched a vicious attack on Castlemaine; ending with her graphically 'stripp'd to her skin' to expose her aging body.[323] In the final stanzas Marvell goes on to warn Charles that his courtiers, especially his mistresses, 'obscure him while to near they prease'.[324] The *fourth* and *fifth* advices' also rely, albeit less skilfully, on the linking of sexual depravity with misgovernment. These poems compare Charles to Nero who fiddled while Rome burned, attempting to extinguish the flames 'with his seed' though ultimately 'his prick then prov'd as uselss as his chain.'[325] With this unsubtle allusion to the Anglo-Dutch war, the author links the country's military impotence with the King's sexual profligacy. The blame for this misgovernment does not fall solely at the feet of the King; the author of the *Fifth Advice* asserts that 'women have grossly snar'd the wisest prince' leading him astray with their feminine whiles.[326] This sentiment is again reminiscent of the traditional rhetoric of the 'evil councillor', leading the monarch astray with their nefarious intentions; extolling the King to 'let vice be damn'd' and 'henceforth Charles only to Charles shall sit.'[327] In addition, this rhetoric also served to effeminise the King. By allowing his mistresses to influence his decision making, the restored King was rendering himself weak and effeminate. This effeminacy was also linked implicitly with impotence; satirical works spoke of the King wasting his royal seed on common whores, therefore blaming him for the barren royal marriage.

In conclusion, the representations of the royal family display the King's preoccupation with the succession and dynastic promise. As we have seen, initial expectations of the Queen's fertility were displayed by the wide array of memorabilia produced to honour the royal couple. Most historiography has ignored the initial attempts at traditional successional representation examined above. It was only when the reality of Catherine's infertility became apparent that Charles II abandoned traditional successional representation. The mobilization of the Duke of Monmouth also highlight the focus on successional representation during the 1660s and 1670s. The representations of Monmouth in the garter regalia, combined with his consistent presentation as a military prince melded with the King's

[321] Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration Until the Exclusion Crisis* (Cambridge: Cambridge university press, 1987), p. 82.
[322] Weber, *Paper Bullets*, p. 94.
[323] *POAOS*, p. 104.
[324] *Ibid,* p. 138.
[325] *Ibid,* p. 146.
[326] *Ibid,* p. 152.
[327] *Ibid,* p. 138.

attempts to legally legitimise his son to result in an ambiguous impression of the Duke's role in the royal family.

These representations of the royal family also contributed towards the creation of the image of Charles II as a popular and accessible King. As Harold Weber highlighted, the discussion of the most intimate details of the King's body signified a level of personal familiarity with the monarch that had never existed before.[328] The contested role of the Duke of Monmouth's body allowed him to use his illegitimacy as a form of popular endearment, tapering the anxieties that were amassing around the dislikeable, Catholic Duke of York. In addition to this, Charles' sexual availability opened him up to his people in the most immediate sense. It is hard to imagine Charles as sacred and aloof when, as Kevin Sharpe has highlighted, there was intense and widespread public debate about the size of the royal member.[329] Charles II was as likely to be found in the theatre wooing a common actress as he was to be found in his council chambers – by failing to discourage the public discussion of royal sexuality, Charles II reinforced the perception of his accessibility.

The royal family clearly played a large part in the formation of the image of Charles II from 1660-1679 –above all else it demonstrates the political pragmatism that has been evident through this thesis. Through his mercenary use of his family, the King diverted anxieties surrounding the succession by distracting attention from both the Queen's infertility and his brother's Catholicism. While Charles continued to conspicuously advertise his ability to father children, neither of these concerns were able to evolve into unavoidable realities.

[328] Weber, *Paper Bullets,* p. 90.
[329] Sharpe, *'Thy Longing Country's Darling and Desire',* p. 18.

Conclusion

Fig. 49. Unknown Artist, *Charles I after his Execution with his Head Stitched on* (c.1660)

A little over 150 years before Henry Halford exhumed the body of Charles I, an anonymous British artist produced a portrait of the executed King titled, *Charles I after his Execution with his Head Stitched on*. While no record exists of either the artist or the patron, this rather gruesome image encapsulates many of the contradictions inherent within restoration monarchical representation that have been examined in this discussion. On the left, we see Charles I clothed in his execution garments with his eyes closed, and to the right three lamenting women, crowns falling from their heads, signifying the three kingdoms that had been deprived of their monarch. However, the most prominent feature in the composition is undoubtedly the macabre stitching running around the King's neck. This image attempted to present King Charles I as a sacred martyr – prominently displaying his scars as Christ displayed his stigmata. Much like Halford's description of the King's exhumation, this canvas provides an accidentally apt commentary on the representational shift brought about by the execution of Charles I. Although he appears as a martyr – just as he did in the Worcester imagery - it is difficult to escape the humanity of the King's body in this image. With his sallow skin and puckering wound, it is impossible to escape the impression that one is looking not at a christic figure, but at a corpse.

The legacy of the regicide would come to permeate every aspect of the English monarchy. On 29th February 1649, a young Samuel Pepys attended the execution of King Charles I. When meeting with an old school friend eleven years later, Pepys found himself deeply afraid that his companion would recall the words he had spoken on that day - that 'the memory of the wicked shall rot'.[330] In 1660, the

[330] *Diary,* I, p.280.

memory of Charles I was not one of a tyrannical King - he was remembered instead as a holy martyr, the victim of overreaching republican hubris. However, despite the restoration regime's best efforts, the creeping necrosis of the royal body would prove irreversible and the viability of representations of sacral kingship would be forever damaged. In order to commit the regicide, the people of England had found a way of 'thinking the unthinkable' - and it could not be unthought.[331] By examining Charles II's approach to the royal image during the years 1660-1679, it becomes clear that he had learnt the lessons that his father had proved unable or unwilling to acknowledge. Tim Harris has stated that the restoration came about 'because the people wanted it to' – a fact of which the restored King was evidently amply aware. Following the dramatic demise of his father, Charles II recognised that he needed the support of his people; he was returned by their desire, and he ruled by their consent. Traditional historiography of the later exclusion crisis has often cited a 'popular appeal' made by Charles II to his people, over both the heads of parliament and traditional government that allowed him to triumph in 1681. In this examination of the years 1660-79, the basis for such an appeal becomes evident. Despite the difficult representational legacy of the regicide, Charles II showed a remarkable ability for 'presentational spin'.[332] As we have seen throughout this examination, in practice accessibility was not as binary as it has often been assumed. In addition to the ease with which Charles II provided physical access in the years 1660-1679, the avid interest in royal memorabilia, both available for purchase and homemade, combined with the discussion of the King's sexual body all contributed to a pervasive sense of perceived accessibility. By making himself both physically and ideologically accessible, Charles II worked hard at making himself appear to be an effortlessly 'common prince'.[333]

Frustratingly, the more time one spends scrutinising the representation of Charles II, the more inconsistent it appears. Ronald Hutton has repeatedly emphasised the King's distasteful habit for cruelty and deception and, to be sure, even in this isolated examination of the creation of the royal image, these unpleasant traits are difficult to deny. In the manipulation of his royal image King Charles II appears at best mercenary and, at worst, wilfully heartless - it is not difficult to see why, by the 1680s, Queen Catherine felt that she had been 'sacrificed' to her husband. Clearly, there is more work to be done on the complex ambiguity of Charles II. Having waited in ignominious exile and humiliating poverty for almost a decade, when he returned to England to claim his throne he found it was not the country he had left behind in 1651. However, in the face of this change, Charles II recognised the need to adapt and survive and in this respect, he could not have been more different to his father. As the opening of this thesis discussed, Charles has long been accused of being a lackadaisical King – a man who simply gave up when he encountered the slightest problem.[334] The discussion presented above has shown that this was not the case; instead what emerges is the impression that Charles II practised a kind of quasi-Machiavellian political pragmatism. It is true that the King abandoned certain representational techniques when they proved ineffective, such as deploying the image of his long-suffering Queen, but his motivation was more nuanced than the result of mere laziness. The restored King adapted quickly to the political realities of the post-republican landscape, altering traditional forms of representation where he could, and inventing new ones where old methods proved defunct or ineffective. Following the regicide Charles Stuart's overwhelming preoccupation was to ensure he

[331] Glenn Burgess, 'Regicide: The Execution of Charles I and English Political Thought', in, *Murder and Monarchy: Regicide in European History, 1300-1800*, ed. R. Friedeburg (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 212.
[332] Jackson, *Charles II*, p. 105.
[333] *POAOS*, p. 138.
[334] Paul Seaward, 'Charles II (1630–1685)', *ODNB.*

avoided the fate of his inflexible father and he demonstrated he was willing to use any means at his disposal to do so.

King Charles II left both contemporaries and historians with a frustratingly ambiguous and contradictory set of images. However, this is not reflective of an unfocused approach to royal representation; rather, it enabled him to appeal to as many of his subjects as possible - from 1660-1679 Charles worked tirelessly to appear as 'everybody's King'. He may have been debauched, deceptive, neglectful and often thoughtless, but Charles II was undoubtedly the greatest ambidexter to occupy the English throne.

Bibliography

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