

The King vs. the Commons





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Charles I

Prospects for Charles I

London, June 17, 1625

Another glorious chapter in the history of England has begun with the accession to the throne of Charles Stuart, our new and youthful king.

At twenty-five, the new monarch is all that his father, the late James, was not. Youthful, handsome, and mannerly, Charles is the epitome of kingliness. His conduct, bearing, and religious devotion are exemplary — a welcome relief from recent events and behavior.

Although he has been king for less than three months, and has not yet been officially crowned and anointed, Charles has already brought sweeping reforms to the Court, casting out many of the cheats, drunkards, and n'er-do-wells.

Weak and sickly as a child, he is in manhood most regal in appearance, being tall, slim, and dignified. His love of outdoor sports such as golf, hunting, and horseback riding is well known, as is his skill at these noble diversions. His face is well formed; his high forehead and clear grey eyes are framed by his long chestnut brown hair.

The new monarch is also a patron of the arts and is interested in fine paintings and music. The Court has already begun to take on a dignity and elegance not seen since the magnificent days of Queen Elizabeth. This elegance may well be raised to new and even higher levels in the future, now that our King is married.

Henrietta Maria

Charles's new bride, Henrietta Maria, only sixteen years old, is fond of plays, music, dancing, and other forms of gaiety proper to a highborn lady.



Henrietta Maria

Sister of Louis XIII, King of France, Henrietta was married by proxy to our noble sovereign this last May 1 and arrived on our shores only four days ago, entering London for the first time yesterday.

She is an attractive girl, half French and half Italian, and her dark eyes, pale complexion, and dark, curly hair give her a delicate beauty. Small and graceful, the young bride reacts quickly to her new surroundings. She obviously loves to be in the midst of elegance, laughter, and witty people. In this she is a marked contrast to our solemn king.

Turning to the more serious side of our new king's affairs, we find him greatly involved in many issues, both domestic and foreign. At home, prices continue to rise,



The Duke of Buckingham

making it difficult for many of our people to earn their living, and religious dissent bubbles below the surface.

Overseas, the Spanish grow more bold and insolent every day, and war continues to rage in Europe. In the New World, many of our colonies are under attack from savages or from agents of our rival powers. Disease and hardship also take their toll.

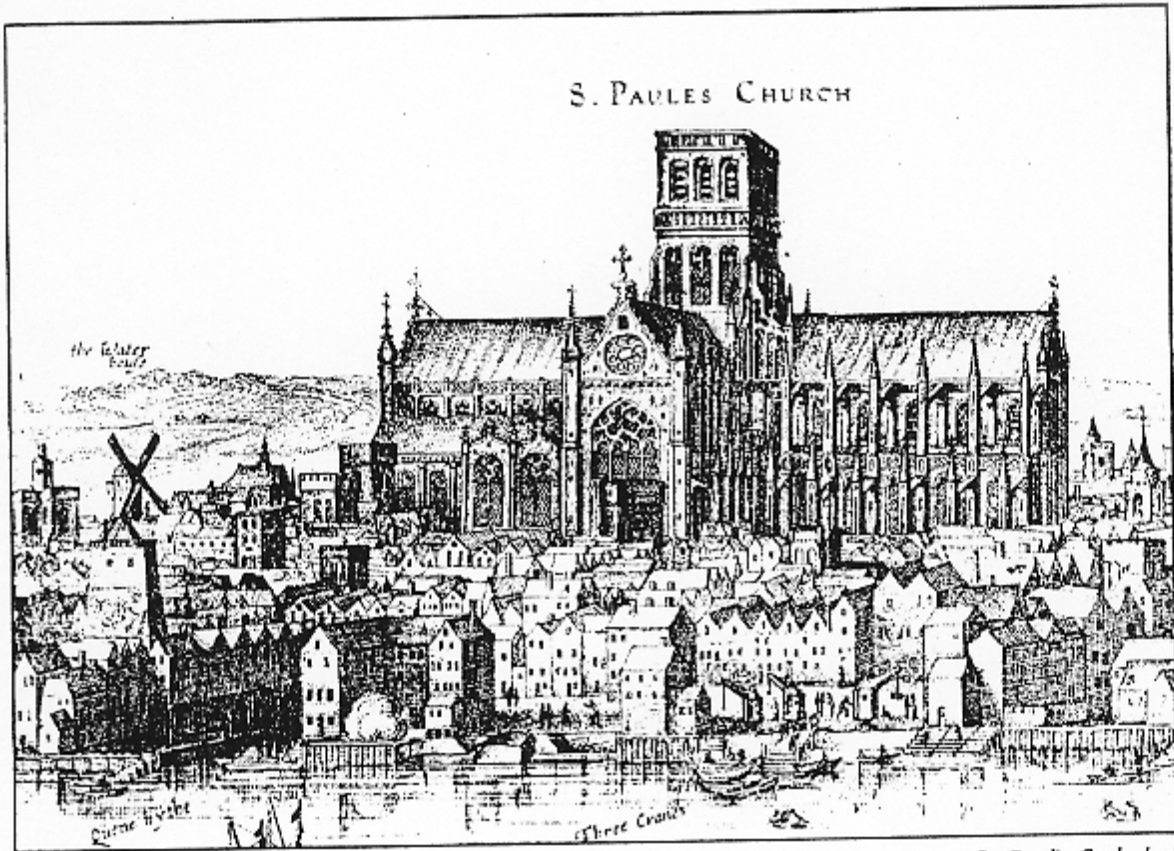
The Duke of Buckingham

Advising our sovereign on these and other matters is his most intimate friend, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. Buckingham is eight years older than Charles and has been his confidant since Charles's childhood, serving as both adviser and companion. Their close relationship has continued to this day.

Buckingham favors a stronger defense of the Protestant cause in Europe, and thus can be expected to urge Charles toward greater protection of English claims and interests abroad than was the case under King James. In particular, rescue can be expected for Charles's brother-in-law Frederick, exiled Elector of the Palatinate. Frederick has been displaced from his rightful position as ruler of that German state by our most hated enemies, the popish Spaniards.

In private affairs as well as in public, Buckingham is the King's constant adviser, and Charles relies heavily on his help; the two men are in fact so close that the King refers to Buckingham as "Steenie," a nickname originally given him by the late James, whose favorite he also was.

These three persons — our King, his bride, and the Duke of Buckingham—are the heart of the new Court with which England's future lies. God willing, they may lead it to greater glories than any previously achieved in our nation's long and proud history.

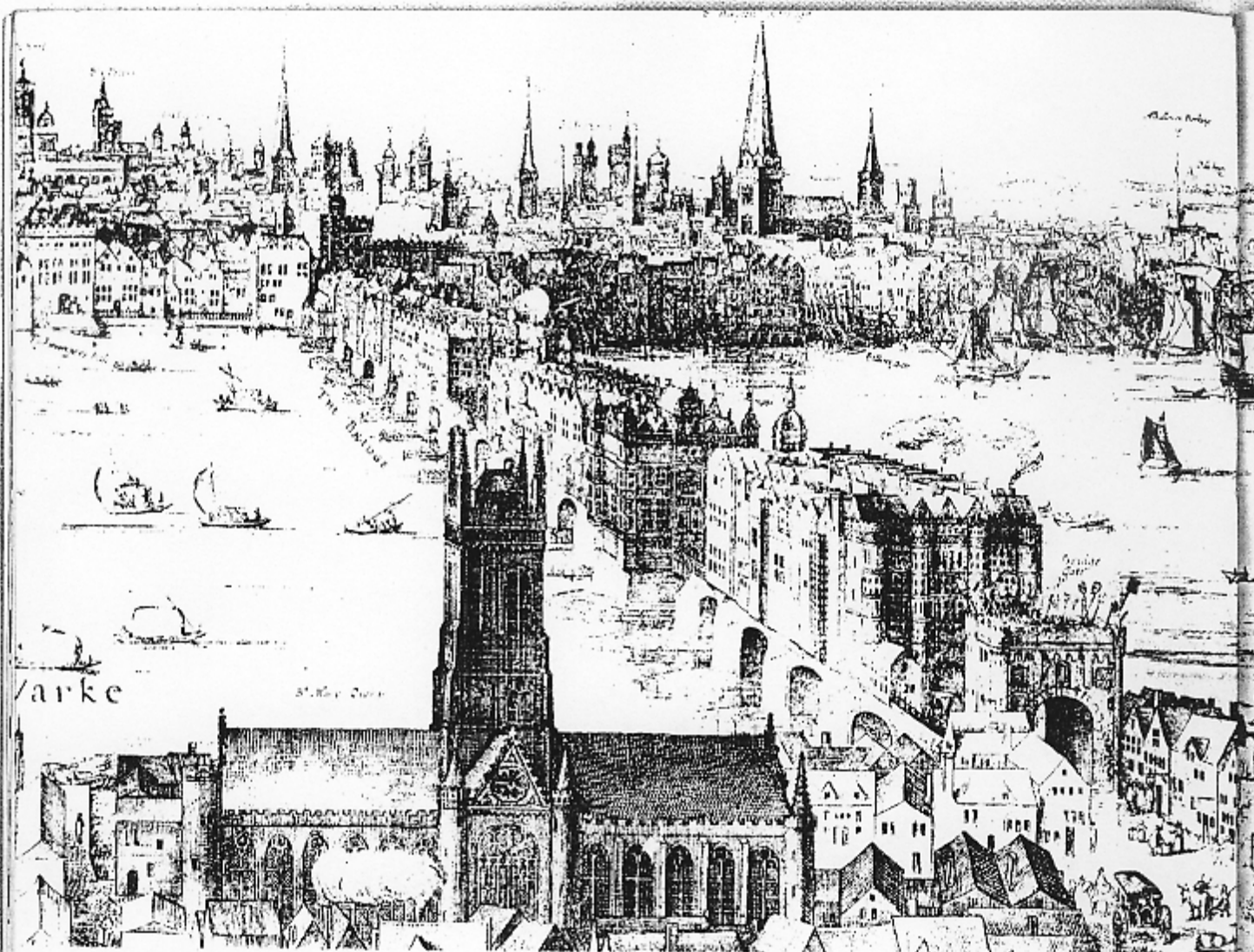


St. Paul's Cathedral

London

With more than one tenth of England's population enclosed within its boundaries, London is the first city in the realm. A busy manufacturing town as well as commercial center, London supports such industries as shipbuilding, silk - weaving, paper - making, brewing, brick-making, and cloth manufacture.

In London's skyline there are more than one hundred churches, of which the tallest is the ancient Cathedral of St. Paul overlooking the western half of the city. Its churchyard, lined with bookstalls and stationer shops, is daily thronged with all manner of men and has, by long custom, become a public place for discussing everyday affairs.

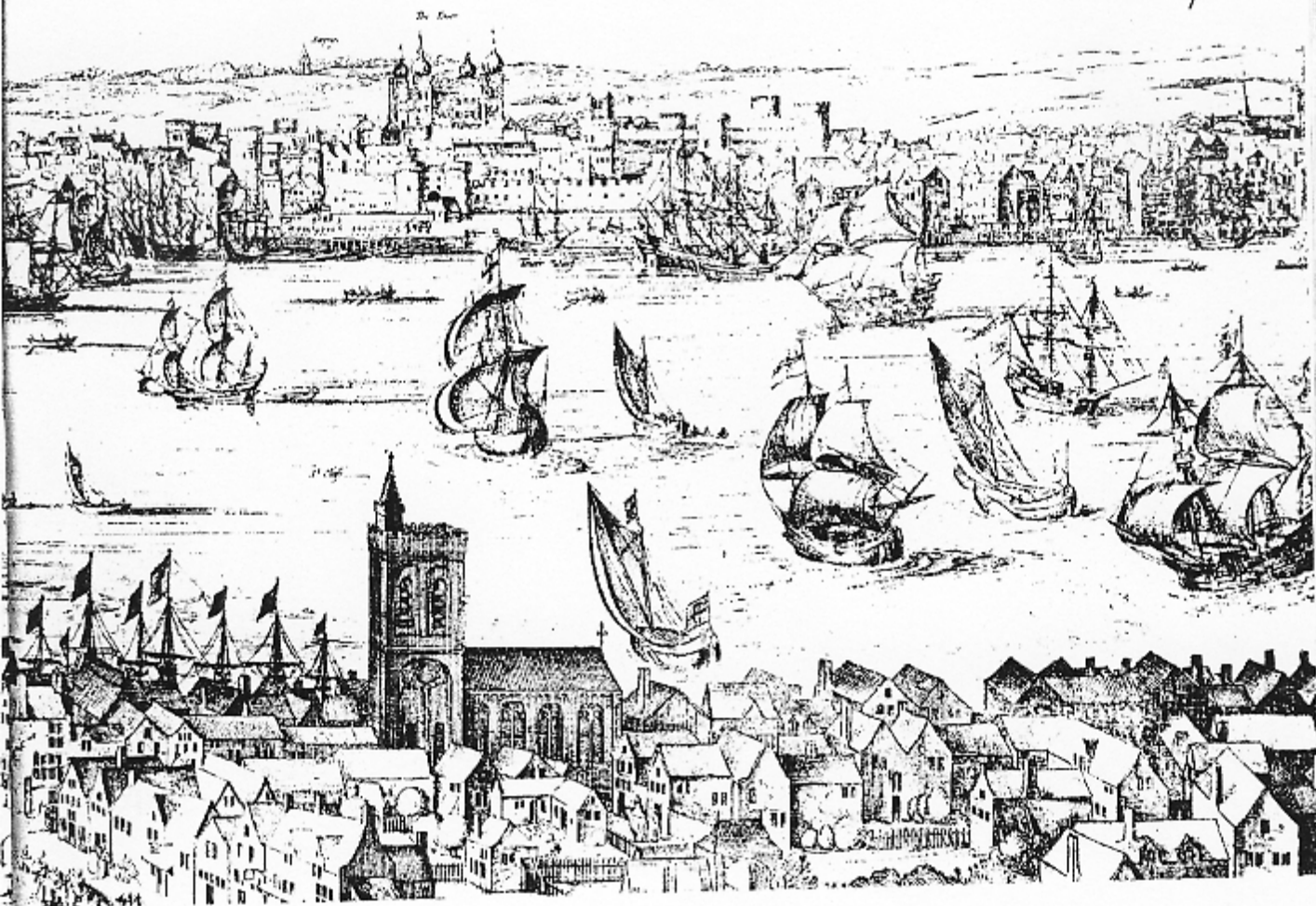


Visscher's View of London, 1616

Along the Thames to the west of St. Paul's stretch the magnificent mansions of the nobility, surrounded by gardens and stables with stairs leading to the river. At the bend in the river, London ends and the city of Westminster begins. Here is Whitehall, the palace of His Majesty, as well as the Houses of Parliament and royal courts of law. A ferry ride across the river from Whitehall brings one to South Warke, the southern suburb whose bear-baiting garden and theaters daily attract hundreds of Londoners. Through South Warke pass farmers carting their garden and dairy produce across the city's only bridge to the markets. Over four centuries old, London Bridge is surmounted by gay shops and merchant houses perpetually

crowded with people and traffic. Its twenty arches allow the passage of light craft upstream. The decaying corpses of traitors and criminals hung from Bridge Gate are a stark contrast to the scene below.

Of the thirty landing stages on the London side of the river, Billingsgate is both the oldest and the largest. For centuries London's primary fish market, Billingsgate is the pier onto which ships must unload their cargo for transport upstream. Most of London's markets are associated with churches — Bow Church and Cheap Cross in Cheapside, for example — so that citizens may discharge their religious duties as well as their shopping chores in one journey. Also included in the market districts are the merchant halls,



like Leadenhall, Fishmongers' Hall, and the Exchange. The only exception is Guildhall, which was built by the city for the meetings of the Council of Aldermen and the keeping of public records.

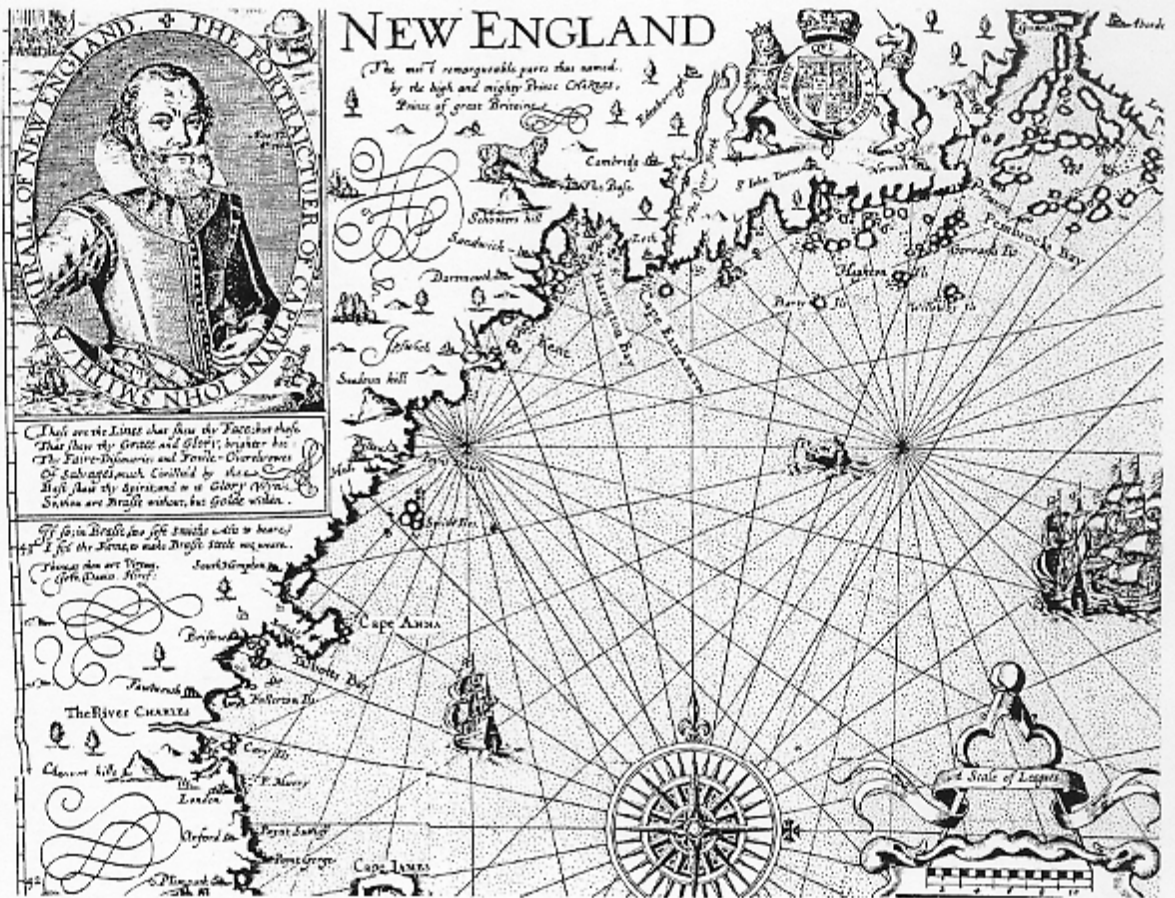
The most exciting spots in London are the streets. Public feasts, carnivals, parades, trials, sports, and even political demonstrations daily fill the London air. In spite of this, the city's streets are filthy. Unpaved, muddy, and deeply rutted, roadways are literally open drains into which all manner of garbage is tipped, eventually poisoning the springs and wells. The lack of proper sanitation coupled with the overcrowded wooden tenements of the poor make London a breeding ground for the rats that invade the port with the arrival

of each ship and spread the dreaded plague.

Impassable roads have made the River Thames London's great central highway. Ferrymen, plying for hire from landing stages along the river banks, move busily up and down in an unending procession. Occasionally a royal barge with silken awnings and fluttering pennants glides to Whitehall or the royal courts.

To the east is the impressive Tower of London. Originally a state prison, the Tower is employed as arsenal, mint, and zoo as well.

As seat of the royal government and heart of England's industry and commerce, London is a great magnet which draws to itself all those who seek to make their way in the world.



John Smith's Map of New England, 1614

The American Plantations

The reign of the late King James of Glorious Memory has seen the fair beginnings of a new English nation beyond the seas. And now that we are blessed with a new sovereign, we may expect to see him assert England's rights in the New World for the great profit and comfort of his loving subjects.

Many advantages will come from establishing plantations in the New World. The King of Spain will be weakened, for in the gold and silver mines of America lie the source of all his power. Sturdy beggars and idle women will find occupation, along with orphans and idle craftsmen. Some hardy mariners may find a passage to the untold riches of China and the Indies, whereby the East India Company, that prosperous corporation of London merchants, may benefit. The savages may be brought to Christ and their souls thereby saved from burning. Once converted to the true God, the healthier may abandon their idle ways of life and work in the mines and fields so that the land may produce abundantly.

Even now adventurers willing to put their wealth in American plantations may reap rich harvests. According to the best information from ship captains and merchant adventurers of London, Plymouth, and Bristol, the present opportunities for adventurers and planters in his Majesty's dominions across the seas are as follows:

NEWFOUNDLAND AND NOVA SCOTIA

The late King James was much interested in these lands that adjoin that inexhaustible source of wealth, the cod fisheries of the Grand Banks. His Majesty has granted to Sir

George Calvert a lordship there. Sir George is reported to have transported great numbers of his servants, and he is building a goodly mansion with a view to making his residence there. The King granted Sir George a dispensation allowing him to practice Roman Catholic worship in the distant land.

THE BERMUDAS

The prospects for profitable planting in these islands have recently been blighted by a monstrous plague of rats. The many great reefs that surround the land make shipping dangerous.

VIRGINIA

The great expectations that were had for this colony by reason of the excellent profits to be made from the tobacco grown there have recently been blighted. The population has been cut in half as a result of plagues, famine, and attacks by hostile savages. It is claimed, however, that the loss of settlers can be made good by importing from Africa Negroes, who do not suffer from malarial fevers and who are used to a warm and humid climate.

NEW ENGLAND

Several small plantations have recently been established on the shores of New England. Some Puritans, not allowed to practice their worship in England and unhappy in the Netherlands, have recently established themselves at a place they call Plymouth. To the north of Plymouth a group of adventurers from Dorchester in the County of Dorset have founded a permanent fishing place on Cape Ann. Between these two settlements lies a large harbor, dotted with islands, where the Charles River enters the sea, and here several gentlemen have set up residence.

A Member of Parliament Looks at His King

The characters:

A YOUNG MAN
 KING CHARLES I
 FIRST COURTIER
 SECOND COURTIER
 THIRD COURTIER
 FOURTH COURTIER
 FIFTH COURTIER
 THE YOUNG MAN'S GRANDFATHER

There are also other courtiers and members of Parliament who do not speak.

SCENE I. AT COURT

The court of King Charles I, March 16, 1628. We are in an anteroom hung with rich tapestries and magnificent paintings. A courtier enters. He is splendidly dressed in bright silk. He is followed by a young man, more soberly dressed.

FIRST COURTIER So you come to see the King, eh?

YOUNG MAN [Proudly] Yes, indeed. I am the new member of Parliament for Danborough.

FIRST COURTIER Oh?

YOUNG MAN My grandfather visited the court of Queen Elizabeth on several occasions, and I have been longing to come. But my mother said King James' court was . . . unsuitable. She said that everyone there was drunk all the time.

FIRST COURTIER Well, nobody gets drunk these days, that's for sure. The King should be coming this way soon, but you know very few people ever get to speak to him.

YOUNG MAN Why is that? I had hoped . . .

FIRST COURTIER Only a very few nobles are allowed to sit near him.

Enter SECOND COURTIER. He is a cheerful and noisy man, also magnificently dressed.

SECOND COURTIER Hey, whose is this new face? Well, we come and we go, and I'm just about to go.

FIRST COURTIER Ha, he's sent you off, has he?

SECOND COURTIER Yes. [To the young man] You had better take care, my boy. If you misbehave around here you can get sent away from the court and even from London as quickly as that [snaps his fingers].

YOUNG MAN But why? By whom?

FIRST COURTIER The King, of course.

Enter THIRD COURTIER. He is dressed for hunting.

THIRD COURTIER The King is coming. [To young man] Why are you wearing boots and spurs? Take them off quickly before the King gets here.

SECOND COURTIER [In a whisper to the young man] What did I tell you? Take care, my friend. I must be off before the King sees me. Remember to kneel when he enters, and if you want to leave while he's in the room, you must walk out backwards. [He exits.]

FIRST COURTIER Yes, whatever you do, don't turn your back on the King. Here he is.

The King and several courtiers walk through the room while the young man and the first and third courtiers kneel. First and third courtiers then join the group walking at a respectful distance behind the King. Fourth and fifth courtiers detach themselves from this group and join the young man.

YOUNG MAN How handsome the King is and how dignified.

FOURTH COURTIER Huh, he wasn't always like that. He was a weak and sickly child, I remember, and his legs were crooked.

FIFTH COURTIER His brother Henry — the one who died, God rest his soul — used to say that he'd better become an archbishop.

The young man looks puzzled.

FOURTH COURTIER So that long robes would hide his legs, country boy.

FIFTH COURTIER And his father, King James, wanted to put his legs in irons. [Courtiers both laugh.]

YOUNG MAN Oh dear! Maybe that is why he doesn't travel round the countryside very much.

FOURTH COURTIER He spends too much time hunting to do that, if you ask me.

FIFTH COURTIER Well, it was all that hunting and golf and riding he goes in for that made him healthy again, and his legs straight.

YOUNG MAN At least he won't be hunting tomorrow. It is the opening of the new Parliament. I am to take my seat as the new member for Danborough.

The courtiers are unimpressed.

YOUNG MAN I am looking forward to the opening. My grandfather was a member under Queen Elizabeth, and he says it is a magnificent occasion and the King will make a great speech.

Fourth and fifth courtiers laugh.

YOUNG MAN Why, what is the matter?

FOURTH COURTIER Just you wait!

FIFTH COURTIER [Sarcastically] Magnificent speech!

Courtiers exit, still laughing.

SCENE II. IN PARLIAMENT

It is the next day, March 17. We are in the House of Lords where Parliament is gathered to hear the King's opening speech.

KING CHARLES [He speaks with a fairly pronounced stutter and little expression.] My Lords and Gentlemen, this is a time for action and not for words. I shall therefore set a good example and be brief. I think that you are here chiefly to vote money for that war. I consider Parliament to be the best and quickest method of obtaining money when there is an emergency. I have, therefore, called Parliament together so that you may grant the necessary taxes. Each of you must act in this matter in the way you think is right. However, if (which God forbid) you should not do your duty in voting such a grant, I will be forced to find some other way of obtaining money.

Do not take this as a threat (for I never threaten persons who are not my equals) but as a warning. I hope that you will behave in such a way that I shall be persuaded that it is a good idea to call Parliament often. So my hope today is that you will not repeat your former bad behavior under similar circumstances and will take the advice offered in the sermon we have just heard, to maintain the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.

SCENE III

The scene is Danborough. The young man, the new Member of Parliament from Danborough, is chatting with his grandfather.

GRANDFATHER What did you think of the royal court, son? Did you see the King?

YOUNG MAN Yes, Grandfather, I saw him . . .

Complete scene III. The young man describes his impression of King Charles, his court and his speech to Parliament. His grandfather reacts to this description by comparing Elizabeth's attitude toward the people and Parliament with that of the new king. See the following speeches of Elizabeth and Charles to their Parliaments.



Queen Elizabeth

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S SPEECH TO HER LAST PARLIAMENT 1601

I do assure you that there is no prince that loves his subjects better, or whose love can countervail [equal] our love. There is no jewel, be it of never so rich a price, which I set before this jewel, I mean your love . . . And, though God hath raised me high, yet this I count the glory of my crown, that I have reigned with your loves . . . And as I am that person that still yet under God hath delivered you, so I trust . . . to preserve you from every peril, dishonour, shame, tyranny, and oppression; partly by means of your intended helps [the subsidies they were granting], which we take very acceptably, because it manifesteth [shows] the largeness of your good loves and loyalties unto your sovereign.

Of myself I must say this: I never was any greedy, scraping grasper, nor a strait, fast-holding Prince, nor yet a waster. My heart was never set on any worldly goods, but only for my subjects' good. What you bestow on me, I will not hoard it up, but receive it to bestow on you again. Yea, mine own properties I account yours, to be expended for your good; and your eyes shall see the bestowing of all for your good. Therefore, render unto them I beseech you, Mr. Speaker, such thanks as you imagine my heart yieldeth, but my tongue cannot express.¹

KING CHARLES'S SPEECH
TO PARLIAMENT 17 March 1628

My Lords and Gentlemen, these times are for action; wherefore, I mean not to spend much time in words . . .

I am sure you now expect to know the cause of your meeting . . . I think there is none here but knows what is the cause of this Parliament, and that supply [voting money for war] at this time is the chief end of it . . .

Only let me remember [remind] you, that my duty . . . and . . . yours . . . is to seek the maintenance of this Church and Commonwealth; and certainly there was never a time in which this duty was more necessarily required than now.

I, therefore, judging a Parliament to be the ancient, speediest and best way, in this time of common danger, to give such supply . . . have called you together. Every man now must do according to his conscience, wherefore if you (which God forbid) should not do your duties in contributing what this State at this time needs, I must . . . use those other means which God hath put into my hands . . .

Take not this as a threatening (for I scorn to threaten any but my equals),¹ but an admonition [warning] from him that, both out of nature and duty, hath most care of your preservations and prosperities, and hopes that your demeanours [behavior] at this time will be such as shall not only approve your former counsels but lay on me such obligations as shall tie me by way of thankfulness to meet often with you, for be assured that nothing can be more pleasing unto me than to keep a good correspondency with you.²



Charles I



The King vs. the Commons

Background to the Game

Religion

Queen Elizabeth had been loyally supported by her Protestant subjects who feared invasion by Catholic Spain. As England's position as a Protestant power in Europe became more secure, those Protestants who wanted further changes in the English church demanded them more vigorously. These men were generally known as "Puritans." They wanted to "purify" church services by abolishing elaborate ceremonies and ornate vestments, candles and incense. They also wanted to increase the power of the local congregations, which meant reducing the power of the bishops who were appointed by the King. James and Charles saw the attack on the bishops as a threat to their own power. "No bishop, no king!" James shouted, and then told the Puritans that he would make them conform or he would harry them out of the land.

Charles I continued this policy and made use of the Court of High Commission to punish those who wanted to introduce changes in church services and organization.

Money

Financially, the Stuart kings were in serious trouble. Even under the careful management of Elizabeth, the ordinary income of the Crown had not produced enough to meet the ordinary expenses of the government. The costs of government tended to increase in the seventeenth century — a period of rising prices — but the king's ordinary income did not increase. The ordinary income of the king came from three main sources: rent from the lands the king owned; customs duties his officials collected at the ports on imported and

exported goods; and fines from the law courts. He needed this money to pay for both his personal and government expenses. His personal expenses were his family and the cost of running several palaces and estates. Government expenses included the army and the navy, the upkeep of forts and prisons, and the payment of ambassadors and royal officials. Today no country expects a king or president to be personally responsible for government expenses.

Another source of income for the king was a grant of money known as a subsidy, which only Parliament could vote him. A subsidy was usually a combination of a property tax and income tax collected from wealthy men. The king usually asked for subsidies only in time of an emergency such as a war. When King James and King Charles ran short of money to pay for government expenses, they went to Parliament to ask for a subsidy.

The House of Commons

King James and King Charles found that they needed to ask Parliament for a subsidy more and more frequently, because of their financial difficulties. These frequent meetings of Parliament gave the members of the House of Commons plenty of opportunity to get to know each other and work together. The members discussed those actions of the King which they disliked and then criticized the King's policy in Parliament. Many of the members of the House of Commons were Puritans and did not like the King's religious policy. Some of the members disliked the men whom James and Charles chose to be their ministers. They therefore attacked the ministers in Parliament and tried to make the King dismiss them. The House of Commons repeatedly criticized Charles I for his inability to pay for the normal costs of govern-

ment from his ordinary income — the traditional responsibility of the monarch. Parliament was unwilling to vote a subsidy in time of peace. Charles's increasing need for money and his dependence on Parliament led in turn to Parliament's increasing demands for a say in the way the money should be spent.





2 The King's Authority Is Tested

Judge in a Court Scene

The King and the Law

Elizabeth Tudor, her father and her grandfather, who had ruled England for over one hundred years before the Stuarts, had been very powerful monarchs. Elizabeth I had always been careful not to define her powers in precise terms but had held the royal prerogative powers of the crown — calling and dismissing of Parliament, control of the church, and foreign policy — beyond question. Her wise handling of the extraordinary crises of her reign — the threat of invasion by Spain, the possibility of religious civil war — allowed her to increase the traditional powers of the monarch with the support and love of her people.

The ideas of James I and his son Charles about the powers of the king were probably not very different from those of Tudor monarchs. But they had seen how powerfully Elizabeth ruled and mistakenly concluded that her authority was based on a theory of absolute royal power. They were unaware that Parliament, too, was more conscious of its privileges than ever before. James delighted in defining his powers and this trait together with his unfortunate choice of ministers antagonized some of his subjects. James said, "It is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a King can do, or say that a King cannot do this or that . . ." ¹ This idea, if pushed far enough, could mean the end of Parliament. James himself would never have concluded this. He admitted that "he had no power to make laws of himself, or to exact any subsidies . . . without the consent of his three Estates." ² However, such a theory of royal power was open to extension in practice. In the reign of Charles I

the king and his ministers did extend royal power to the point where they claimed the king was entitled to disregard the law and act independently of it.

The Law

There had developed in England over the centuries a body of law known as the "common law" which was based upon "precedents" — meaning that judges based their decisions on those made by earlier judges in similar cases. The common law was regarded as one of the safeguards of English freedom, because the judges supposedly followed precedent even in cases where the interests of the subject and the king might conflict.

The common law was stable, was rational, and was above personal whims or temporary passions. Alongside the common law courts, there were also two courts established by the Tudors to deal with two of the most pressing issues of their time. The Court of Star Chamber was set up to protect individual subjects from the power of their local barons. During Tudor times these barons wielded power through private armies and the control they had in local courts. The Court of Star Chamber, the king's own court, settled disputes between barons and could be a court of appeal for local subjects. The Court of High Commission heard church cases. The power of both courts depended on the king's position outside the common law, and they were popular under the Tudors because the common law courts were very slow. Because the common law was based on tradition, it was difficult to apply to new circumstances in a time of swift change.

In James's and Charles's reigns, the courts of Star Chamber and High Commission became tools of the king. They were used mainly to enforce the unpopular religious and financial policies of the king. The common lawyers, who were jealous of the amount of business done in the royal courts, became the natural leaders of those who opposed the policies of the Stuart kings. Some of the early attempts to limit the powers of the king in the reign of Charles I were thus made in the courts of law.

The King vs. the Law

The ancient system of common law had grown up with the monarchy. The king enjoyed many privileges in common law, but whether he was above the law or not had never been settled, largely because it had seldom been considered. During the reign of Charles I, the conflict between the king and his subjects over the problems of religion and finance raised this question of the king's relationship to the law.

We have seen that both James and Charles found it difficult to meet the expenses of government out of their ordinary income. It was not that the country as a whole had become poorer. The problem was that the cost of running the government was higher. New sources of money were needed. Realizing this, James and Charles introduced various taxes on trade and ships and increased customs duties. Charles also continued to collect customs duties without the consent of Parliament. It looked as if all these taxes might make the king independent of subsidies from Parliament. Some people began to challenge the king's right to raise money in this way. In one particular case, that of "ship money," the king's relation to the law was brought to trial and questioned in court.



Judge

The Puritans and the Law

Religion was another area of conflict between the king and his subjects that was tested in a court of law. Charles I insisted that the Puritans conform to his view of the Anglican Church. To carry out his policy he appointed as Archbishop of Canterbury William Laud, of whom James I had said, "He hath a restless spirit and cannot see when matters are well, but loves to toss and change and bring matters to a pitch of reformation."

The Question of Religion

William Laud (1573-1645)

The Man Who Cared Too Much

To look at William Laud one would never guess that he was for a time one of the most powerful men in England. He was a short, fussy little man who had made his way up in the Anglican Church partly by ability and partly by bootlicking. He had beady little eyes, a short pointed beard, and the reddish complexion that often goes with a short temper. He looked more like a villager than Archbishop of Canterbury — the highest churchman in England, second in power only to King Charles I.

Laud devoted his life to the Anglican Church. He dreamed of restoring to the church the lands, the money, the respect, the power that had made it a center of Englishmen's lives in the Middle Ages. He cared intensely that church buildings were falling apart; that too many clergymen were ignorant, slovenly men; and — worst of all — that a party within the church, the Puritans, wanted to change its organization and forms of worship.

Once in power, Laud insisted on various details of worship. In every church in England the altar was to be placed at the east end and the congregation were expected to bow their heads in its direction when they entered the building. During the services clergymen were required to wear specified and sometimes elaborate vestments. Services were expected to be read according to the approved Book of Common Prayer, and preaching was discouraged to silence criticism of these policies.



William Laud

Every one of these details was bitterly opposed by the Puritans. They favored, for instance, a simple communion table in the center of the church instead of an altar. And to bow the head toward the altar was, they thought, on a par with bowing down before idols (idolatry). The use of rich vestments, organ-playing at services, fixed rituals of the Prayer Book, were all regarded as superstitious remnants of the "popery," that is, Roman Catholicism, that was hated and feared by the English.

In all he did, Laud had the support of Charles I. The King loved beauty. Like Laud he wanted church services performed with due ceremony and devotion; he enjoyed organ music, solemn ritual, and impressive churches. Charles I also supported Laud and the so-called "high church" party in the

Anglican Church because of their political philosophy. In a sermon before Parliament, for instance, Laud told the members that they should vote the King taxes without conditions. "The King is the sun," he said, "and taxes are like vapors that it drew up later to shower fruitful rain upon the land."

Archbishop Laud savagely harried the Puritans. He drove their preachers out of pulpits and deprived them of their salaries. He imprisoned some and tortured those who spoke or wrote against his policies.

Even those at court who did not suffer persecution at his hands had no great affection for Laud. He lacked social grace and was bored by court functions. Courtiers resented his bluntness, and one said that he put "more vinegar than oyle" into his remarks. Another called him "a little meddling hocus-pocus."

THE CASE OF THE MEN WHO LOST THEIR EARS

On June 30, 1637, a hot bright day, three prisoners were led out into the Palace yard at Westminster. The prisoners embraced each other. The wife of one came up to her husband as he stood in the pillory. She kissed each of his ears and he asked her not to be afraid for him, as he had no fear for himself. A sympathetic crowd was gathered in the yard and they threw flowers at the prisoners; many of the crowd carried wine and brandy to give the men when they had received their punishment. John Bastwick, Henry Burton and William Prynne had been condemned by the Court of Star Chamber to lose their ears; in addition, Prynne was to have S.L. for "seditious libeller," branded on his cheek.

Laud Dining on Prynne's Ears (contemporary cartoon)



All three remained cheerful as they waited for the executioner. Burton was dressed in his best clothes and carried flowers; a bee perched on them and Burton was inspired to deliver a short sermon, which began: "Do ye not see this poor bee? She hath found out this very place to suck sweetness from these flowers; and cannot I suck sweetness in this very place from Christ?" Bastwick and Prynne took the opportunity of an audience to defend their stand; Prynne spoke loudest and longest. Burton was the first to suffer and the executioner cut one ear off so deep and close to his cheek that an artery was cut and he fainted through loss of blood. Bastwick, a doctor, produced a surgeon's knife as the executioner approached and instructed him on how to perform his task. Afterwards, the crowds dipped their handkerchiefs in the spilled blood, and called for a surgeon to help Burton. The surgeon found it almost impossible to make his way through the press of people. From Westminster the three men were taken to prisons on three separate islands where they were condemned to serve life sentences. The third part of their punishment was a fine of £5,000 each.

The Punishment

The treatment for Burton, Bastwick and Prynne was widely criticized, and they became popular martyrs. Part of this outcry stemmed not from sympathy with their opinions, but anger about their sentences, which were usual enough for common criminals, but not for professional men. Prynne, for instance, was a lawyer and a man of powerful intellect and immense learning. He was said to be an exasperating man who had few friends, but great courage. In a pamphlet called *News from Ipswich*, Prynne had loudly condemned

Bishop Wren and all other bishops as "upstart mushrumps." Henry Burton, another pamphleteer, wrote in the style of Prynne. Dr. John Bastwick, like Prynne, had been imprisoned before for publication of his Puritan views, and he too was charged with a deliberate attempt to overthrow the Church government by the bishops.

The Charge

The official charge against Burton, Bastwick and Prynne at their trial was that they had written and published "seditious, schismatical and libellous books against the Hierarchy"; in other words, against the bishops and the Anglican Church of England. In their writings and sayings they had certainly attacked the bishops. They believed that it was their duty to warn the people of England that these bishops were gradually bringing back the Roman Catholic religion to the country. In his defense at the trial, Bastwick called the bishops "advancers of popery, superstition, idolatry . . . enemies of God and the King, and servants of the Devil."

The Defense

Burton defended his action in these words: "I being a pastor of my people, whom I had in charge, and was to instruct, I supposed it was my duty to inform them of these innovations [changes] that are crept into the Church, as likewise of the danger . . . of them." In a book he had written, Burton called the clergy "a generation of vipers, of proud, ungrateful, idle, wicked, and illiterate asses" and even the officials of the church courts "filthy locusts that came out of the bottomless pit." Prynne's defense was not read out at the trial, as his lawyer was too timid to deliver it. Speaking from the pillory, Prynne declared that he, too,

felt it to be his duty to make the people of England aware of "how deeply they [the bishops] have intrenched [trespassed] on your liberties in the point of popery."

The Archbishop

The one man to whom Prynne referred was William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury. Laud himself spoke at length at the trial of the three men, denying their accusation that it was he and the other bishops who were trying to introduce changes into the church services and suggesting that this was just what the Puritans were trying to do.

The Church

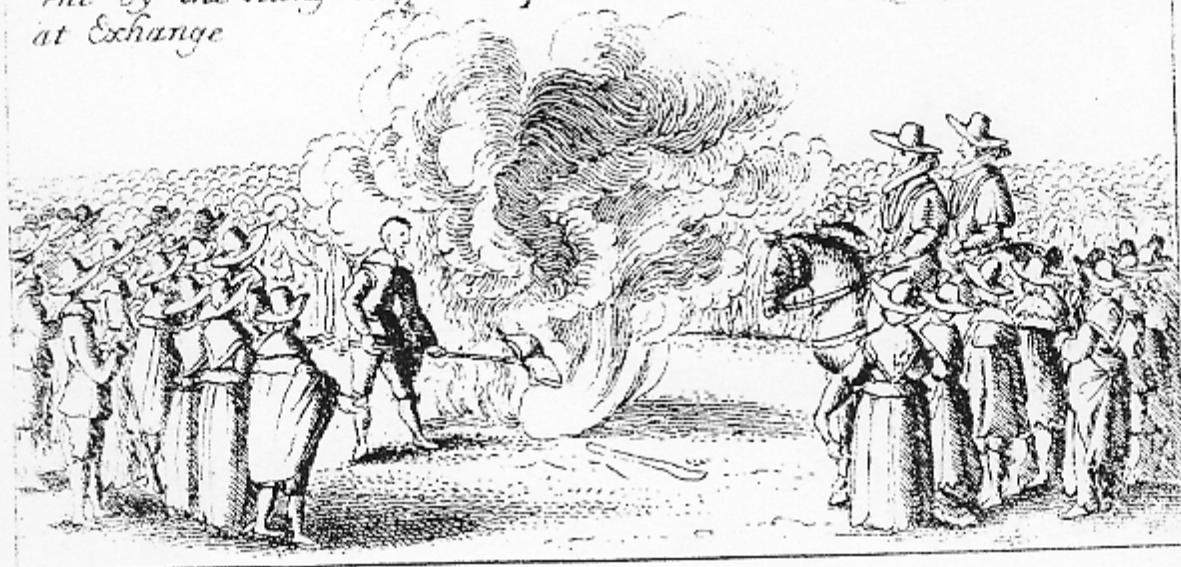
Laud and the bishops were accused of encouraging the "external worship" of God. This meant not only such practices as bowing the head at the name of Jesus, but also the prac-

tice of decorating the churches. Laud encouraged the use of stained glass windows, paintings and candles in churches. He believed that these things both showed respect for God and reminded the congregation of God's good gifts. To the Puritans they were distractions and a waste of money. They also smacked of Roman Catholicism.

An even more basic conflict was revealed by Laud's attempt to "reduce" the church to order. Laud and the bishops wanted all the people of England to refrain from criticizing the church and using differing practices in church services. They believed that if people criticized bishops there was nothing to prevent them from criticizing the king; indeed, since the king appointed the bishops, the Puritans were already criticizing him. If such criticism and individual opinion were allowed, Laud believed that there could be no

The Burning of the Book of Sports

15 of May the Boooke of Spartes upon the Lords day was burnt by the Hangman in the place where the Crosse stode, & at Exchange



real peace and order in the country. He wanted order not only for its own sake, but for the sake of the ordinary people in England. He felt that the Puritans, by spreading these new ideas, were merely making the people discontented to no purpose. Elizabeth I had succeeded in keeping the people of England united, and one of her methods was the establishment of a Church of England to which all people officially belonged. Laud wished to maintain this church as he believed it had been and should continue to be.

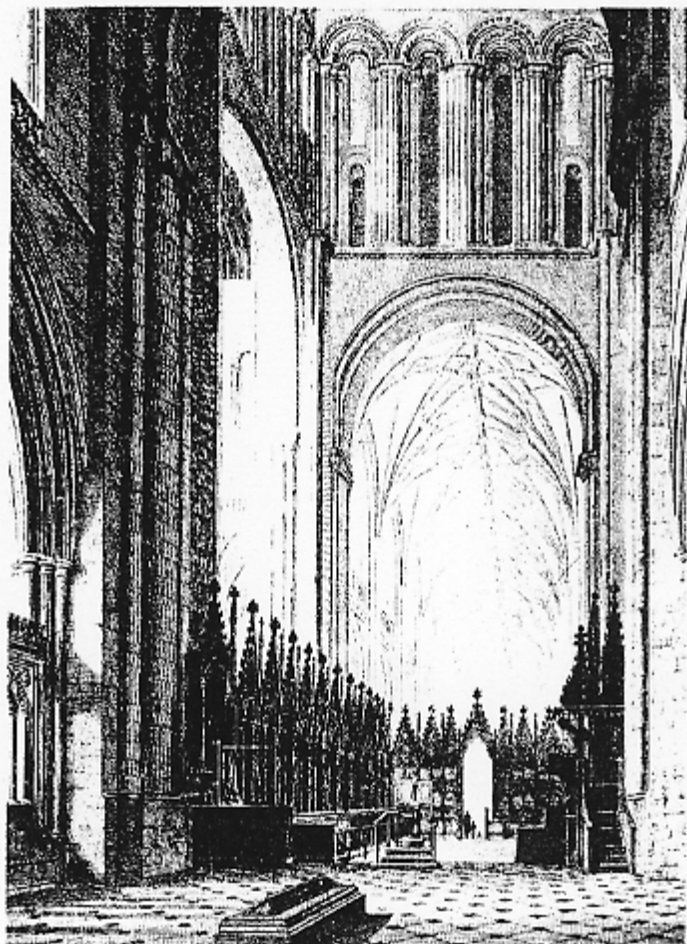
The Threat

Burton, Bastwick and Prynne had first accused Laud of introducing changes in church practice, changes which they thought might reaffirm Roman Catholicism. It is difficult for us to imagine the real fear with which Protestant Englishmen viewed the possibility of a return towards Catholicism. They could still remember, or their grandparents could, the reign of the last Catholic queen when many Protestant Englishmen had been

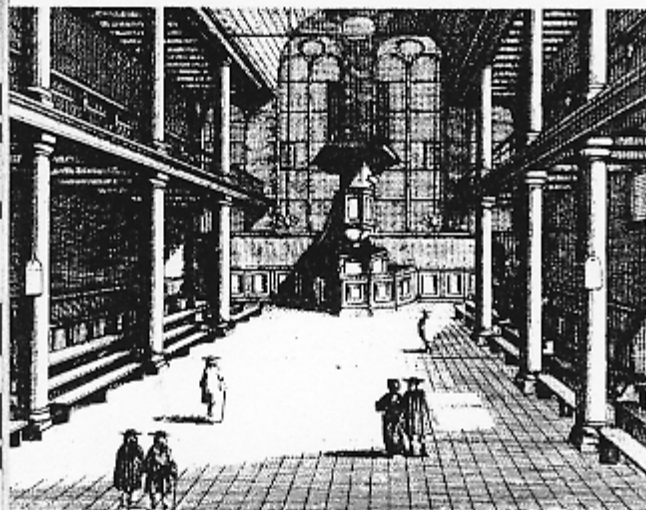
burned at the stake for their religion. They feared the authority and intolerance of a Catholic government and the possible domination of England by Spain or France.

While Puritans such as Burton, Bastwick and Prynne feared that the government of the King was being taken over by a group of Catholics who planned to destroy Protestantism in England, Laud feared that Puritan discontent would weaken the country and cause civil disturbance, riot and disorder.

Interior of the Anglican Church — Disapproved by the Puritans



Interior of the Anglican Church — Disapproved by the Puritans



Does the King Break the Law?

Test 1 *Forced Loans*

When Charles I was crowned King of England, he inherited several kingdoms and a war. Charles found himself bound to keep promises his father and he himself had made to their uncle, the King of Denmark. They had promised to help Denmark defend a group of Protestant princes in a religious war against a group of Catholic princes in Germany. When Spain sided with the Catholic princes, Charles's largely Protestant Parliament would have given him men and arms — if it meant a victory for Protestantism. But that was precisely the problem.

When Charles asked the Commons of Parliament for money to send more land and naval forces to Germany, the Commons refused. Their reason was simply that they did not think the war could be won. England had already suffered severe losses. When they examined the evidence to find the cause of the disasters, some members of Parliament came to the conclusion that the King himself was responsible.

It wasn't that Charles had personally directed the bungling campaigns that failed, but he approved of the man who had. As a matter of fact, what disturbed Parliament was that this military incompetent, the Duke of Buckingham, was the King's closest friend and adviser.

In 1627, badly in need of money, the King called Parliament. Parliament's first move was to refuse to give the King any money as long as the King continued to support Buckingham. Charles took the only step he could. He dismissed Parliament.

The King was now entirely without funds, and it was necessary for him to take desperate

steps to continue the war. Although the laws forbade him to compel his subjects to give him money without Parliament's approval, there was nothing to prevent him from making them *lend* it to him. In an edict sent to his counselors and knights (who were also to act as his tax collectors), Charles explained his dilemma. He had to fight the war, Parliament was unwilling to give him funds, and it was urgent that he raise funds quickly. He requested a "competent" sum of money to be speedily collected with the promise that this "loan" should be repaid as soon as possible.

His instructions to his tax collectors began by asking them to set a good example by lending the amount he had asked for promptly. He also advised them to speak to his subjects in private, one at a time, noting on records the signatures of those who promised to pay and those who didn't.

Charles warned the collectors that anyone who refused to pay should be prepared to come before him and his Privy Council and answer why. Finally, Charles promised that he would call Parliament to get funds as soon as it was possible.

Test 2 *"Turkish Tyranny"*

In England when a new king came to the throne, it was normal practice for Parliament to make him a *lifetime* grant of "tonnage and poundage" (a tax on goods exported from and imported into England). Charles's first Parliament had granted tonnage and poundage for one year only. After this year the King demanded it from his subjects without the approval of Parliament. Furious at

this, the Commons passed a resolution in 1629 stating: "If any merchant or person whatsoever shall voluntarily pay the said tonnage and poundage [which has] not been granted by Parliament, he shall likewise be [called] a betrayer of the liberties of England, and be an enemy of the [country]." The House of Commons wanted to grant money to the King for a limited time only. In this way they would force the King to call Parliament regularly. Tonnage and poundage, however, was demanded by Charles I, and anyone who refused to pay was treated as a criminal, forced to appear before the King's Privy Council or the Court of Star Chamber, and either fined or imprisoned for his offence.

CASE OF RICHARD CHAMBERS – LONDON MERCHANT

September 1628

Richard Chambers called before King's Privy Council.

Charge:

Not paying customs duties on some silk he was bringing into London.

Defense:

Chambers claimed he was willing to pay the duties and casually remarked, "The merchants are in no part of the world so screwed and wrung as in England; in Turkey they have more encouragement."

Verdict:

Guilty. Chambers was imprisoned and then brought before the Court of Star Chamber.

Charge in the Court of Star Chamber:

Treason — comparing "his majesty's happy government to Turkish tyranny."

Defense:

Chambers said the case of silk valued at £400 had been confiscated by junior customs officials although he had promised to pay any customs duties. His phrase "Turkish tyranny" had been used privately to the Privy Council, not in public. He did not intend to stir up people against the government.

Verdict:

Guilty of making treasonable remarks about the King's government.

Sentence:

Fined £2,000 and imprisoned. Must publicly confess his errors in court and in front of all the London merchants.

Reaction:

When Chambers read the statement of guilt and penitence drawn up for him to sign, he wrote underneath, "All the above said contents and submission I, Richard Chambers, do utterly abhor and detest, as most unjust and false and never till death will acknowledge any part thereof." He added a number of verses from the Bible.

Punishment:

Chambers was imprisoned for six years.

Test 3 "Popish Soap"

One source of money available to Elizabeth and her predecessors came from the fees paid for the exclusive right to manufacture a certain product. Monopolies, as these rights were called, were granted to an individual or company by English kings up to Elizabeth's reign. Because the public resented these monopolies, Parliament passed a law in 1624 which prevented an individual from having a monopoly. There was an exception

to the law: trading "companies" could still receive monopolies.

In 1632 the King's Treasurer, Weston, cleverly saw how this clause, primarily designed to protect the London companies, could be used to fill the King's purse. Weston formed a corporation of soap boilers which would pay the King £4 for every ton of soap it manufactured. In addition the company was authorized to oversee and, if necessary, condemn soap made by any other company. In this way the King was able to tax all soap made in England.

Because a number of Roman Catholics were among the directors of the soap company, people called its product "popish soap" and said using it "would certainly corrupt the body and might not improbably corrupt the soul."

The King's Treasurer used this loophole to include the manufacture of other basic products. In this way monopolies, although forbidden by act of Parliament, brought profit to the King and expense to the people.

John Hampden Challenges the King

Is the King Subject to the Law?

John Hampden was born in 1594 into a family of wealthy, landed gentry. He was the owner of vast estates and enterprises which gave him an income of £1,500 a year. He was well educated and studied law at the Inns of Court. As a leading citizen of Buckinghamshire, he was appointed a Justice of the Peace. In 1620 he was elected to the House of Commons.

Hampden was very discouraged by the growing split between Charles and Parliament. He knew that there were no clear-cut laws which told exactly what powers belonged to the King and what powers belonged to the Parliament. Supporters of both the Crown and Parliament pointed to certain examples of the way the English government had been run in the past. But, as a lawyer, Hampden knew that such examples could be used equally well to defend the rights of either the King or Parliament. Putting aside legal questions, Hampden came to the conclusion that the issue hinged on money. If the King of England had no money, he could do nothing. If Parliament controlled the amount of money the King was to get, then the King would have to rely heavily on the Parliament. This would put Parliament in a very powerful position. (In fact, Parliament was not so strong.) The King felt that he had the right to raise money through taxes other than those voted by Parliament, thus giving him an independent source of money. Hampden knew that if Charles could collect taxes which Parliament had not approved, then Charles could do whatever he pleased. Parliament would have no control over him.

IS THE KING SUBJECT TO THE LAW?	
TEST I Turkish Tyranny	TEST II Turkish Tyranny
What does the law say?	
What did the King do?	
Did the King break the law?	
Can we defend the King?	

From 1625 to 1629, Hampden served in three Parliaments of Charles I. His experiences in these years added to his firm conviction that the power of the king must be limited by the power of Parliament. In 1627, when Charles demanded that certain wealthy citizens lend him money, Hampden was among those who refused to do so. He felt that this forced loan was just another example of Charles's attempt to raise money without asking Parliament, that is, in a way which was not in accordance with the laws of the country.

After Charles dissolved Parliament in 1629, it did not meet again until 1640. So for eleven years there was no way for the members of Parliament to express any collective dissatisfaction with Charles's government. Like the other members of the House of Commons, Hampden resented being cut off from the government. Then, in 1634, he had the opportunity to voice his discontent.

Charles I badly needed money. Because he could not levy any new taxes without asking Parliament, Charles decided to revive an old tax called "ship money." From time to time in the past, this tax had been paid by the ports of England for ships to patrol the coastal waters to keep them free from pirates. The coastal towns paid the tax willingly because it helped them directly. But soon Charles decided that the inland counties should pay "ship money" as well. This enraged many of the inland property holders. Why, they asked, should they pay a tax which benefited only the coastal communities, especially as it seemed to be only a device for the King to raise money outside Parliament.

John Hampden wanted to oppose the King. He had several choices: he could leave the country — many Englishmen had chosen to go to America and Hampden thought



John Hampden

about this. Or he could stay in England and try to change the things he felt were wrong.

After careful thought, Hampden decided that he would stay in England and refuse to pay the tax. He knew that he would be hauled into court for this refusal, and that was exactly what he wanted. Hampden could easily have paid the tax, for it amounted to only 20 shillings. But he wanted the chance to prove in a court of law that Charles had no right to levy a tax without first getting Parliament's consent. In short, Hampden wanted to prove that the King had broken the laws of England.

Hampden's case did not reach the Court of the Exchequer until 1637. By that time, his refusal to pay the tax was the talk of every county in England. Both Hampden and his lawyers, especially Oliver St. John, wanted to show that one Englishman dared to oppose Charles I on the matter of "ship money."

On November 6, 1637, the Court opened Hampden's case by listening to St. John's argument for the illegality of "ship money." Oliver St. John examined the case, raised what he felt were key questions and went about answering them.

The Question

Can the King demand money and aid from his subjects without Parliament's consent if the country is in danger?

FOR THE DEFENSE OF JOHN HAMPDEN: Oliver St. John

Who Judges the Country's Danger?

It is the King's watchfulness that discovers who are our friends and foes, and first warns us of them. When the enemy is discovered by the King, it is not for the subject to order the ways and means of defense, either by sea or land. But — the question in this case is not about the person who is responsible for defense of the kingdom, for that is the King: The question is *how* and by what method he uses this supreme power; AND whether or not in this case methods used have been in accordance with the law set down.

How Have Former Kings Handled This Problem?

The aids or money demanded by former kings and granted in Parliament for this very purpose of defense and in times of immediate danger, are so frequent that I won't mention them. The business of defense is not only one reason for calling Parliament, but the chief reason for calling Parliament.

What May Result from the King's Actions in This Case?

If his Majesty may without Parliament's consent lay a tax of twenty shillings on a subject's goods, I shall humbly ask why not £20 and so on, indefinitely. It could come to pass that if the subject had anything at all left him, he is not protected by the law, but is left entirely to the goodness and mercy of the king.

How Should the King Obtain Money to Meet an Emergency?

We have an ordinary way to handle an emergency in this country. Parliament is the means for getting money in times that are not ordinary; especially in a national emergency. Parliament is best qualified to give the King money. Once the King declares the danger, members of Parliament best know the estates of all men within the realm; Parliament is best able to decide how much money men can give. Parliament preserves the right of the subject in his lands and goods, because each subject's vote is included in whatever is done in Parliament.

What is the Power of the King?

There are certain fixed or known ways in which the King is to proceed. Such rules or known methods govern all the actions of the King. His Majesty is the fountain of justice; and though all justice which is done within the realm flows from this fountain, yet it must run in certain and known channels. Although the King has power to provide for the defense of the realm, he can only do so in certain regular ways, as he must do all things, according to the law. By law a subsidy or aid can be raised only with the consent of Parliament.

FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE CROWN:
Sir John Bankes, Attorney General

Who Judges the Country's Danger?

If Mr. St. John admits that the *King* is the sole judge of the danger of the Kingdom, then this Court has no right to inquire how or what the King decides to do or in what manner. It must be content that the King has decided that the realm is in danger. It therefore follows that in an emergency he can act as he thinks best.

Who Controls the Armed Forces?

The power to compel his subjects to set forth ships and men is entirely in the hands of an absolute King, and such is the King of England . . . This power does not in any way belong to the people, but is entirely that of the King.

Is There Any Reason For Not Paying Ship Money?

Even if ship money were against the law, yet to preserve ourselves we should pay it. These taxes will be used for our benefit and defense. Therefore, let us obey the King's command, and not argue. He is the leader of our world; he is the center of us all; he is the soul of this body, and his proper act is to command.

What Power Does the King Have Over His Subjects?

The rights of Parliament and the liberties of the subject are given by the King only as matters of grace and favor. Supreme power cannot be divided. If he who holds supreme power grants a right or privilege, he can also withdraw it.

The Judgments

IN HAMPDEN'S FAVOR:
Sir George Crooke

The King cannot in an ordinary way tax the subject, except in Parliament. The common law of England gives freedom to subjects in respect of their persons and gives them a true possession of their goods and estates. Without their consent, or by a law which they consented to by a common assent in Parliament, it cannot be taken from them nor their estates taxed.

It is difficult to imagine a case in which the defense of the realm in an emergency could not be provided for in Parliament as quickly as by a royal writ.

There is no such thing as absolute power of the King.

IN FAVOR OF THE CROWN:

Sir John Finch

I consider that by the common law and the basic policy of the kingdom, that the King may tax his subjects for the defense of the kingdom, and that the King may tax his subjects towards the defense thereof when it is in danger; and I hold that the King is sole judge of the danger, and ought to direct the means of defense.

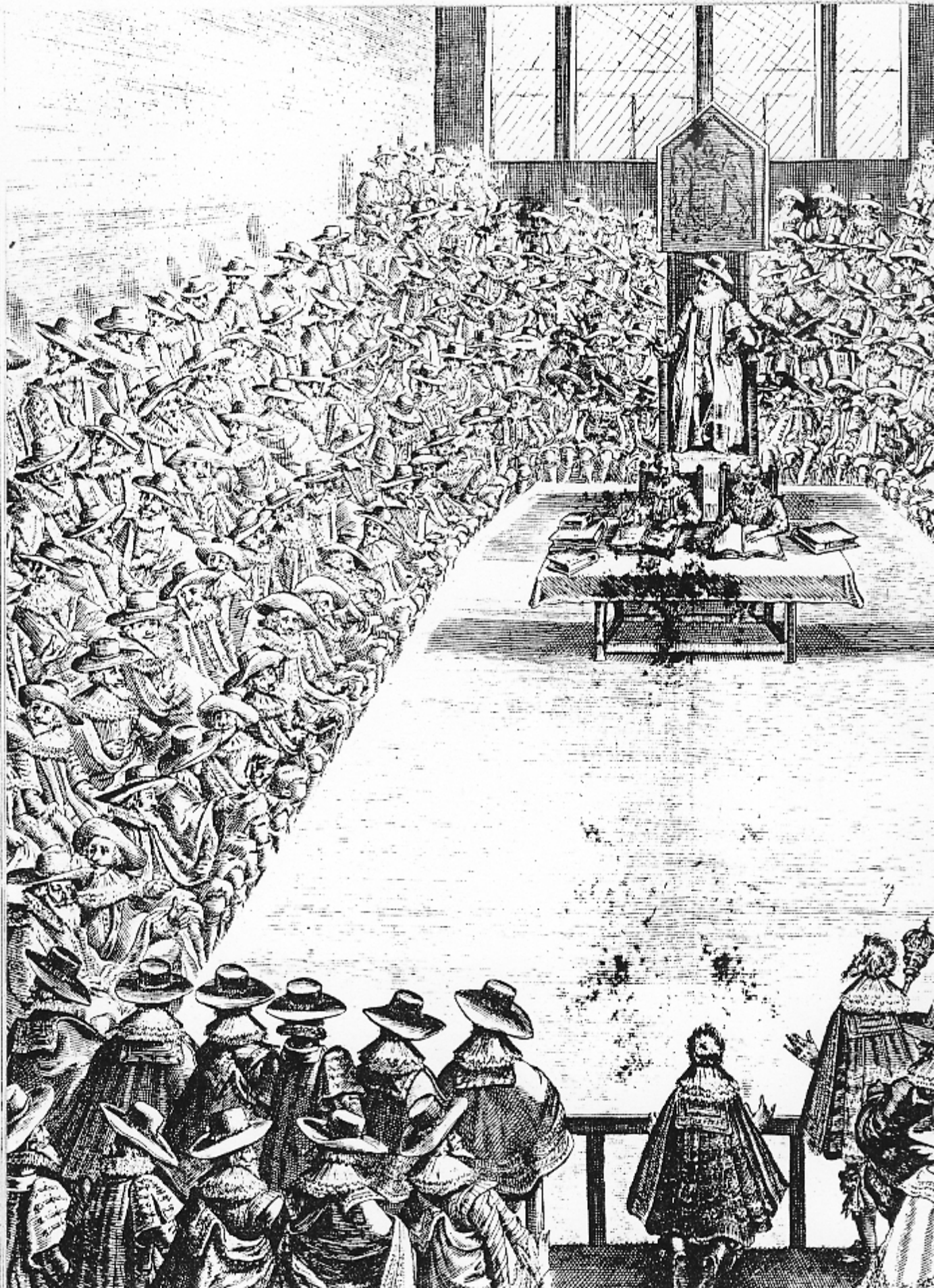
Which is the majority opinion?

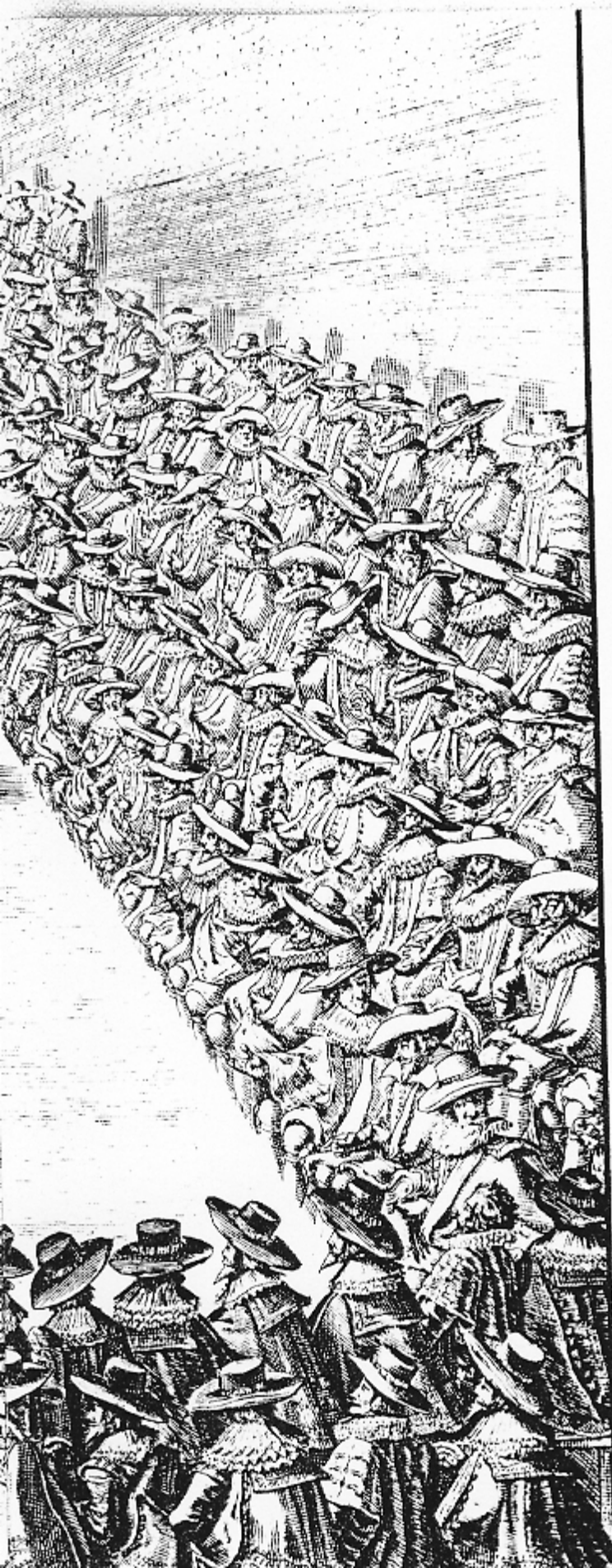
What does the decision in the case prove?

The law had laid upon the King the duty of defending the realm, and it therefore must give him the right of laying such taxes upon the people as would enable him to fulfill the duties imposed upon him.

Sea and land make but one kingdom . . . The soil and sea belong to the King, who is lord and sole owner of them . . . and without a navy this authority can do but little good. The King holds this crown from God only: all others hold their lands of him, and he of none but God. From hence only I will observe that none other can share with him in this absolute power.

A Parliament is an honorable Court; and I confess it an excellent means of taxing the subject and defending the kingdom; but yet it is not the only means . . . Therefore, acts of Parliament to take away the King's royal power in the defense of his kingdom are void . . . Acts of Parliament to bind the King not to command the subjects, their persons and goods, and I say their money too, are void, for no acts of Parliament make any difference.





3 Parliament Asserts Its Power

House of Commons in 1624

The King's Hand Is Forced

April 1638: John Hampden awaits the decision of the judges in his case against "ship money." There is a rumor that, anticipating a verdict against him, he and his cousin Oliver Cromwell are preparing to cross the Atlantic to the freer soil of the American colonies. As their ships lie in the Thames ready to leave, a command of the King forbids them to sail.

June 1638: Final pronouncement of judgment in the case of John Hampden. Chief Justice Finch roundly declares for the King: "No acts of Parliament make any difference." He means: Any act of Parliament that would prevent the King from commanding his subjects, their persons, their goods and their money is declared illegal. Hampden loses his case but gains support for his position.

At the suggestion of William Laud, Charles attempts to force the practices of the Anglican Church upon the people of Scotland, most of whom are either Presbyterians or Roman Catholics. In Edinburgh Cathedral, when this announcement is made, a woman rises up in defiance and throws her chair at the bishop; a crowd joins in with more chairs and Bibles. The Scots swear to defend their religion and to resist all changes in their church. An army is raised and stands ready to march across the English border.

King Charles resolves to put down these "damnable" designs by force. He scratches together some unwilling troops and puts at their head a Catholic Earl. But many English people, and even the soldiers, sympathize with the Scots. Charles's army is defeated,

and he is forced to conclude a treaty with the Scots. The King promises to allow the Scots a special assembly to discuss the form their religious worship should take. But Charles is still secretly determined to impose his own religious views on the Scots. He returns to London and prepares for another attack on Scotland.

April 1640: Charles recalls from Ireland his strongest and most able minister, Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, to advise and help him. Wentworth favors the use of force and determination, such as he had used to bring the Irish under his thumb. He also points out that Charles will have to call Parliament to get the money necessary to carry out such a policy. Recognizing that he cannot act without its aid, Charles calls Parliament.

The Long Parliament: A Role Play

Instructions to the Student

In 1640 King Charles was forced to call Parliament as a result of the Scots' invasion of England and their subsequent demand for money. For eleven years members of Parliament had waited for an opportunity to voice their opinions in government. For the next two class periods, you will sit in Parliament and raise, debate, and decide on the very same issues that the English Parliament argued in the session of 1640.

The teacher will announce who is to be Speaker of the House, and you will look to him for direction. The Speaker will explain to the assembled members how the classroom is to be arranged to represent the House of Commons chamber. He will also brief you before the meeting begins on the rules of order to be employed. It is very important that you follow these rules closely, just as it is important that you respect the Speaker's judgment.

During these two periods, three major pieces of legislation will be discussed; you are expected to voice your own opinion about each issue, and to vote one way or the other on its enactment.

The Parliament of 1640 was probably one of the most critical in English history. It raised issues that had never before been brought up in a governmental assembly.

Instructions to the Speaker

(WILLIAM LENTHALL)

You are to be the Speaker of the House of Commons. For the next two periods, you will be personally responsible for the proper conduct of the Parliamentary assembly. This responsibility entails a number of important tasks.

First, it is your duty to arrange the classroom according to the accompanying diagram and seat yourself in the center of the room as shown.

Second, you must explain to the class the correct Parliamentary procedure. This means that you will be completely in charge of the meeting and, in order for someone other than yourself to speak, he must address you first with a request to be heard. Any student may do this by simply raising his hand and receiving acknowledgment from you. No one may speak without your permission, and no one may ever interrupt a speaker except yourself. You personally must begin the meeting and end it. No one may enter or leave the chamber without your permission, even the King. You call the vote and tally the "ayes" and "nays." Whenever there is any question as to procedure, your decision is final.

Third, you are responsible for raising the issues to be discussed during the course of the meeting. There are three, and these are to be brought up in the following order:

- a. How can Parliament be assured a voice in government, especially with respect to granting subsidies?
- b. What can be done about the injustices of the royal courts of law?
- c. What is to be done about the bishops' control of the church? About Archbishop Laud?

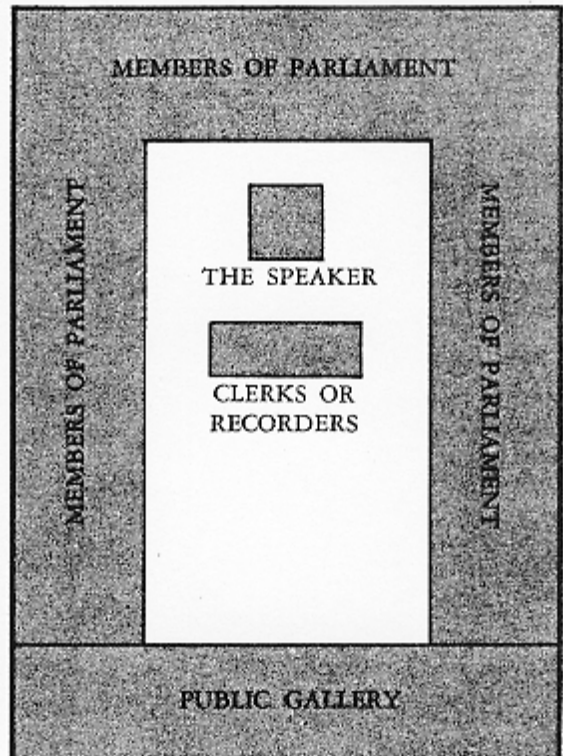


William Lenthall

Your job is to ask the assembly to air their ideas about these three issues and then to initiate legislation on the most agreed upon suggestions.

Lastly, after the assembly has voted on legislation dealing with the three issues above, you are to require the members to draw up a list of grievances that have accumulated over the past eleven years of non-Parliamentary rule. You will personally present this list to King Charles after you call the session to an end. It will be known as the *Grand Remonstrance*.

You are urged to remember that some piece of legislation must be enacted for each of the three issues to be argued. Do not allow too much time to be spent on any one and call for a vote as soon as you feel the class has reached some consensus.²



The House of Commons Seating Arrangement



John Pym



Sir Henry Vane



Israel excudit cum Prinsibus Regis



4 The Breakdown of Law and Order

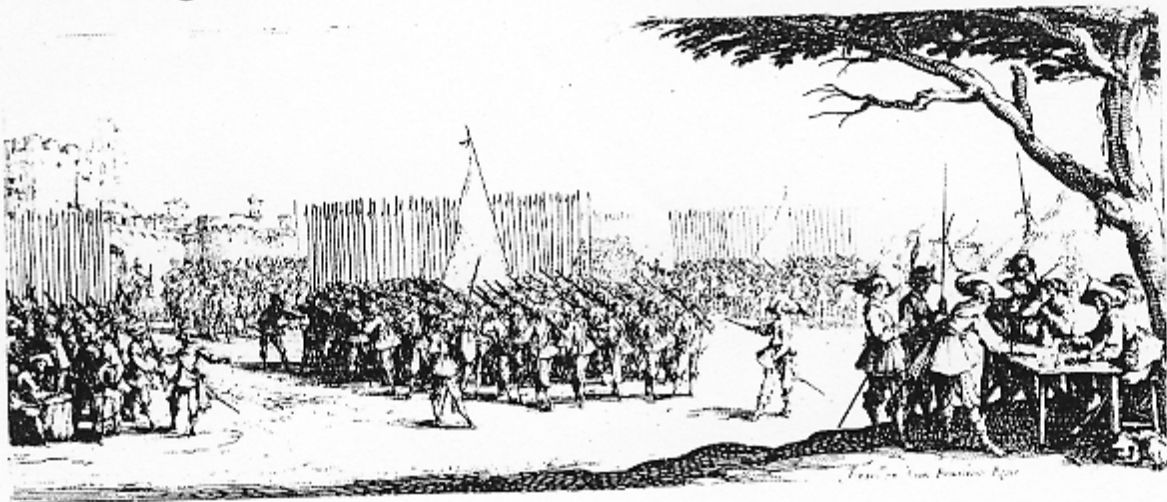
Army in a Cavalry Charge



Close Fighting

opposite: Army in Camp

The King at Bay



April 1640: The King calls Parliament. Charles and Strafford had hoped that a sense of crisis after the Scots' invasion might silence Parliament's complaints and unite England behind the King. But the Commons begin by discussing the illegality of "ship money" rather than voting the King a subsidy at once.

May 1640: Angered by Parliament's refusal to grant his request for men, arms, and money immediately, Charles dismisses Parliament three weeks after its opening.

Members of the House of Commons such as Pym and Hampden are absolutely determined that Parliament must be recalled at any cost. They plot with the Scots to start the war again.

August 1640: Twenty-five thousand Scots cross the border into England. Their intention: to demand that the King call Parliament.

September 1640: Charles stops the advance of the Scots, at a cost of £850 a day, but finds himself desperate for money and orders Parliament to meet again.

November 1640: When Parliament (to be known as the Long Parliament) meets, the eyes of all men are fixed on Hampden, Pym, and other leaders of the opposition to the King. At last they are in power, and the King is helpless to restrain them. Within one week they attack the power of the King.

November 1641: Further attacks are made on the King's policy. The Commons vote to remove all bishops from office. A rebellion takes place against the English government in Ireland. Many hundreds and possibly thousands of Englishmen are killed. Opposition members of Parliament refuse to trust the King's choice of a commander to send with an army to Ireland. They attack the King's authority over the armed forces of the country. London is in uproar. Men march in the streets shouting slogans against the bishops. Rumor has it that the Commons plans to impeach the Queen, symbol of the hated Catholic influence on Charles. The King is in despair.



Henrietta Maria



Charles I

The Arrest of the Five Members

The Characters:

CHARLES STUART

HENRIETTA MARIA

A COURTIER

WILLIAM LENTHALL, Speaker of the House of Commons

A YOUNG MAN

SCENE I.

January 1642. Outside it is dark and raining. The scene is a small room in the royal palace. There are two people present: a servile and rather stupid courtier and the Queen, Henrietta Maria. She is nervous and restless. She has a French accent.

HENRIETTA MARIA Why is his Majesty not back yet? What can be delaying him; sometimes he is so slow, I could . . .

COURTIER Perhaps his horse has . . .

HENRIETTA MARIA Life here is so unbearable these days; I sometimes wish I were back at home in France. Nothing has gone right since . . . well, almost since the beginning.

COURTIER Since the beginning of this Parliament, madam?

HENRIETTA MARIA No . . . Yes, I suppose Parliament was to blame. The nerve of those common men! The King should have dismissed them as soon as they sent him that "Great Remonstrance" or whatever grand title they gave their list of petty complaints.

COURTIER But the King needed money for . . .

HENRIETTA MARIA Yes, yes, I know, for the war with the Scots. Mon dieu, what a kingdom!

COURTIER Your Majesty, I see the King returning across the courtyard.

HENRIETTA MARIA How does he look?

COURTIER Tired. His face is pale. Here he comes, madam.

The King enters.

HENRIETTA MARIA Leave us alone. [Courtier exits.] Why Charles, what is the matter now? What else has gone wrong? Tell me!

CHARLES It is nothing, my dear. I am tired, that is all. Let us dine early this evening.

HENRIETTA MARIA [Annoyed] But you must tell me. How can I help if you are always trying to shield me from bad news? You may as well tell me now as later; I can usually deal with such problems better than you yourself.

CHARLES Please, my dear. I am so tired of this whole business. Now they are . . . they are planning . . . well, the rumor is . . .

HENRIETTA MARIA Charles!

CHARLES It is said that they have been planning another trial.

HENRIETTA MARIA Another! But who? Who is there left? Tell me! Who is it? I cannot imagine . . . Strafford is gone, Laud . . . Charles, who?

CHARLES You.

HENRIETTA MARIA But that is ridiculous. [She laughs shrilly.]

CHARLES It is no laughing matter. It was inevitable, I suppose, that if they succeeded with my minister, my friends, they should then turn to my family.

HENRIETTA MARIA But they can't!

CHARLES They probably can.

HENRIETTA MARIA Dismiss Parliament!

CHARLES [Wearily] We have gone into all this before.

HENRIETTA MARIA [Hysterically] But now they have gone too far.

CHARLES They went too far years ago. I think I see that now.

HENRIETTA MARIA It's that terrible little man, Pym.

CHARLES Yes, indeed. A clever man. I am almost sorry he would not take the position I offered him at court.

HENRIETTA MARIA How dare he refuse!

CHARLES But he did. [As if to himself] Now what is to be done? What is there left to do?

HENRIETTA MARIA Arrest him!

CHARLES That might lead to disaster. It is probably what they expect me to do.

HENRIETTA MARIA And Hampden. And Holles too; and that terrible man Strode. And . . .

CHARLES Stop, Henrietta. They are members of Parliament. Their privileges . . .

HENRIETTA MARIA Damn their privileges, they care not for yours! Arrest them!

CHARLES It would be a fatal mistake. It could lead to nothing but a complete breakdown of all trust . . .

HENRIETTA MARIA Trust! Who trusts whom now! Pym is trying to trap you into behaving as he wants you to — as his puppet. Behave like a king!

CHARLES I have tried . . . how I have tried. And what if I should fail here too? Then what?

HENRIETTA MARIA Why should you fail? Why must you always think of failure? Pull yourself together. You are a king.

CHARLES Am I? Will I ever be again? Let me think about this matter for a while. It would be terrible if . . .

HENRIETTA MARIA No! You must act now, before it is too late. Show them that yours is the power. Go, you coward, and pull those rogues out by the ears, or *I* will go — and never return!

SCENE II.

The House of Commons. A young man rushes in.

THE YOUNG MAN The King is coming! With his guards . . . several hundred of them. Mr. Speaker, he is coming, as you must know, to arrest Mr. Pym and the others, Hampden, Holles, Strode and Haslerig. They must leave quickly. There is a boat waiting for them on the river; leave by that way, the King is at the main door.

The five members leave hurriedly. Charles enters. He is looking around for Pym and the others.

CHARLES Gentlemen, I am sorry for this occasion of coming unto you. Yesterday I sent a Sergeant-at-Arms upon a very important occasion, to apprehend some that by my command were accused of high treason; whereunto I did expect obedience and not a message. And I must declare unto you here, that although no king that ever was in England shall be more careful of your privileges, to maintain them to the uttermost of his power, than I shall be; yet you must know that in cases of treason, no person hath a privilege. And, therefore, I am come to know if any of these persons that were accused are here. For I must tell you, gentlemen, that so long as

Attempted Arrest of the Five Members by Charles I, 1642



these persons whom I have accused (for no light crime but for treason) are here, I cannot expect that this House will be in the right way that I do heartily wish for it. Therefore, I am come to tell you that I must have them wheresoever I find them.

After his long speech there is a pause as he looks around in vain for the five members.

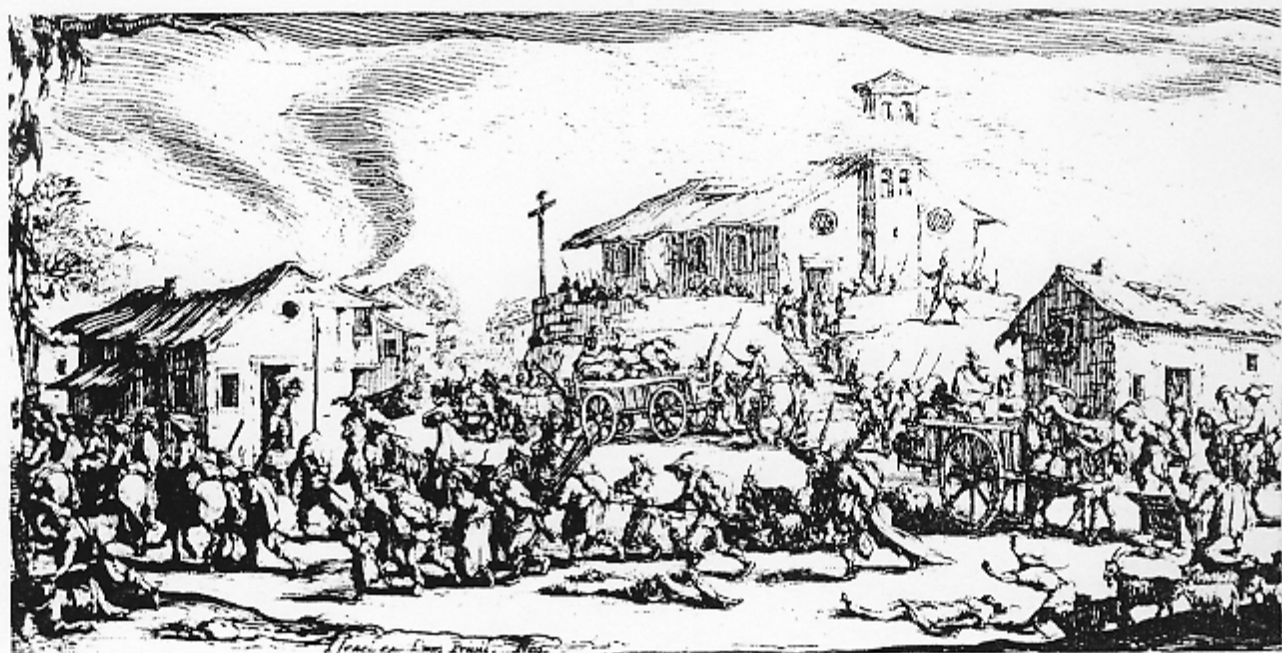
CHARLES Mr. Speaker, are any of the accused in the House?

LENTHALL May it please your Majesty, I have eyes to see only what the House tells me to see.

CHARLES I think my eyes are as good as another's. I see all the birds are flown. I do expect from you that you shall send them unto me as soon as they return hither. But I assure you, on the word of a king, I never did intend any force, but shall proceed against them in a legal and fair way for I never meant any other.

And now, since I see I cannot do what I came for, I think this no unfit occasion to repeat what I have said formerly, that whatsoever I have done in favor and to the good of my subjects, I do mean to maintain it.

I will trouble you no more, but tell you I expect as soon as they come to the House, you will send them to me; otherwise I must take my own course to find them.



Sacking a Church

Checkmate

January 1642: King Charles I brings a body of armed men to the House of Commons in an unsuccessful attempt to arrest Pym, Hampden and three other leaders of the opposition in the House of Commons. Charles leaves London. The five members return in triumph.

June 1642: The King is in the north of England. Parliament sends him a proposal which would give Parliament the greatest power in the kingdom. This proposal amounts to an ultimatum. After the King rejects it, Parliament enlists an army of 10,000 men for active service under the Earl of Essex.

August 1642: The King, who has already been preparing for war, raises his standard



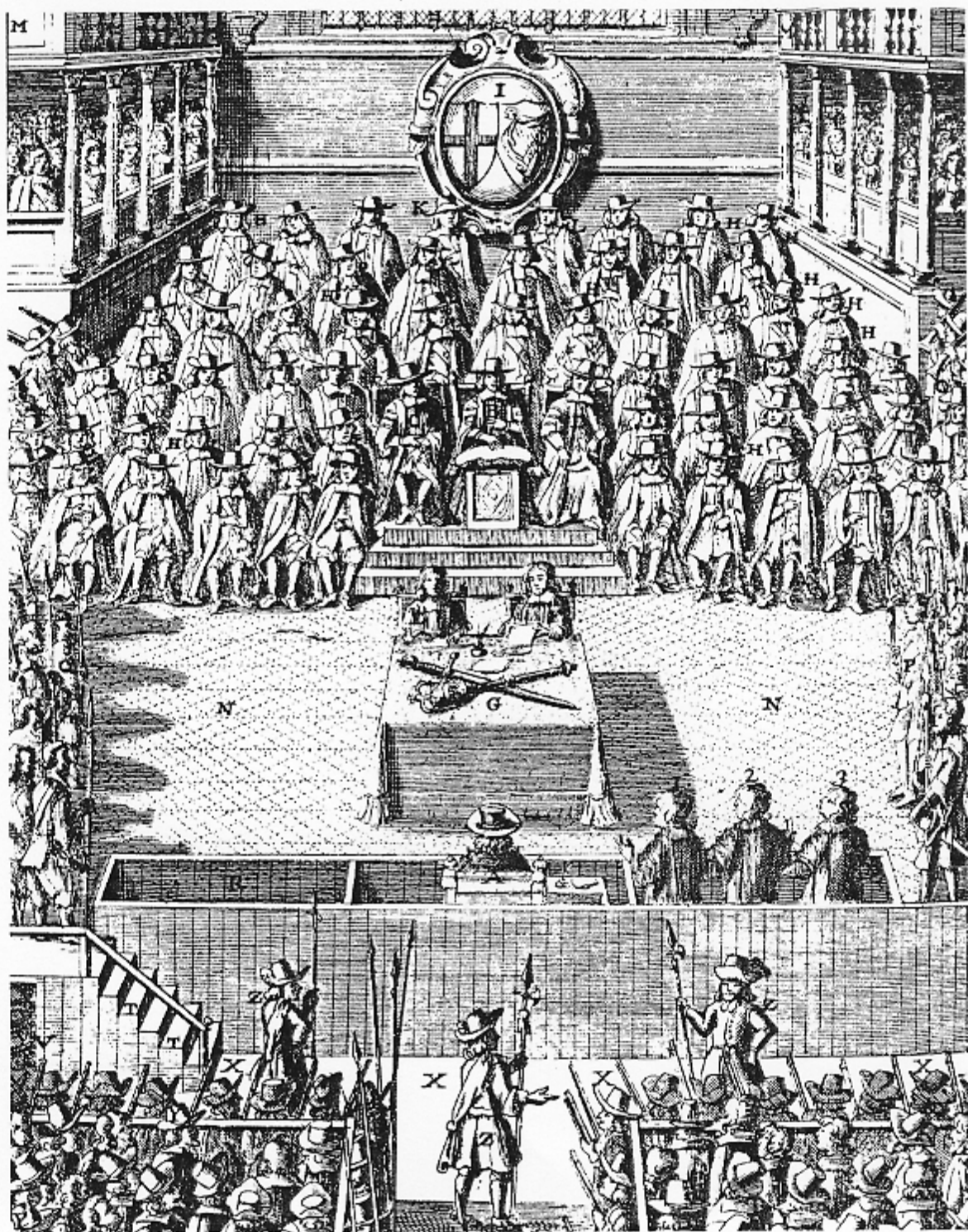
The Wages of War

at Nottingham. The country is now divided. North and west tend to side with the King; the larger towns, the east and south, with Parliament. London, the richest and largest city in England, is mainly on Parliament's side.

October 1642: The armies clash at Edgehill, the first formal battle of the war; both sides claim a victory. Charles advances on London, is checked and withdraws to Oxford.

September 1643: Hoping to break the military deadlock Parliament signs a solemn agreement with the Scots.

January 1644: A Scottish army crosses the border again and joins General Oliver Cromwell, who commands one of Parliament's armies. Control of the north passes to Parliament.



January 1645: Parliament executes Archbishop Laud.

April 1645: The New Model Army based on firm discipline and prayer is formed by General Oliver Cromwell. The strength of this new army is proved when the Royalists are defeated at the battle of Naseby.

June 1646: The rest of the war consists of a series of mop-up operations which end with the surrender of Oxford, where the King had held his Court. Just before the surrender, Charles I seeks refuge with the Scottish army; his only hope now is to divide his enemies — the Scots and Parliament.

January 1647: But the Scots hand Charles over to the Parliamentary army. Arguments break out between Parliament and its victorious army. Two factions develop in Parliament. The conservatives propose to disband the army. The army threatens mutiny. Cromwell and his officers finally throw their lot with their men. Newly united, the army issues a manifesto declaring it will not disband. It calls for a purge of the members of Parliament who wanted to disband it. The army occupies London.

August 1648: The King escapes from the army and flees to the Isle of Wight. Hoping to play on the dissent within Parliament and its army, he once again puts himself in the hands of the Scots. He signs an agreement to extend the Scottish religion to England and the Scots invade England again. This action of the King unites Parliament and the army defeats the Scots easily. On November 18 the Council of Officers adopts a statement including the demand that the King be brought to justice for treason.

ENGLAND DIVIDED BY CIVIL WAR 1643



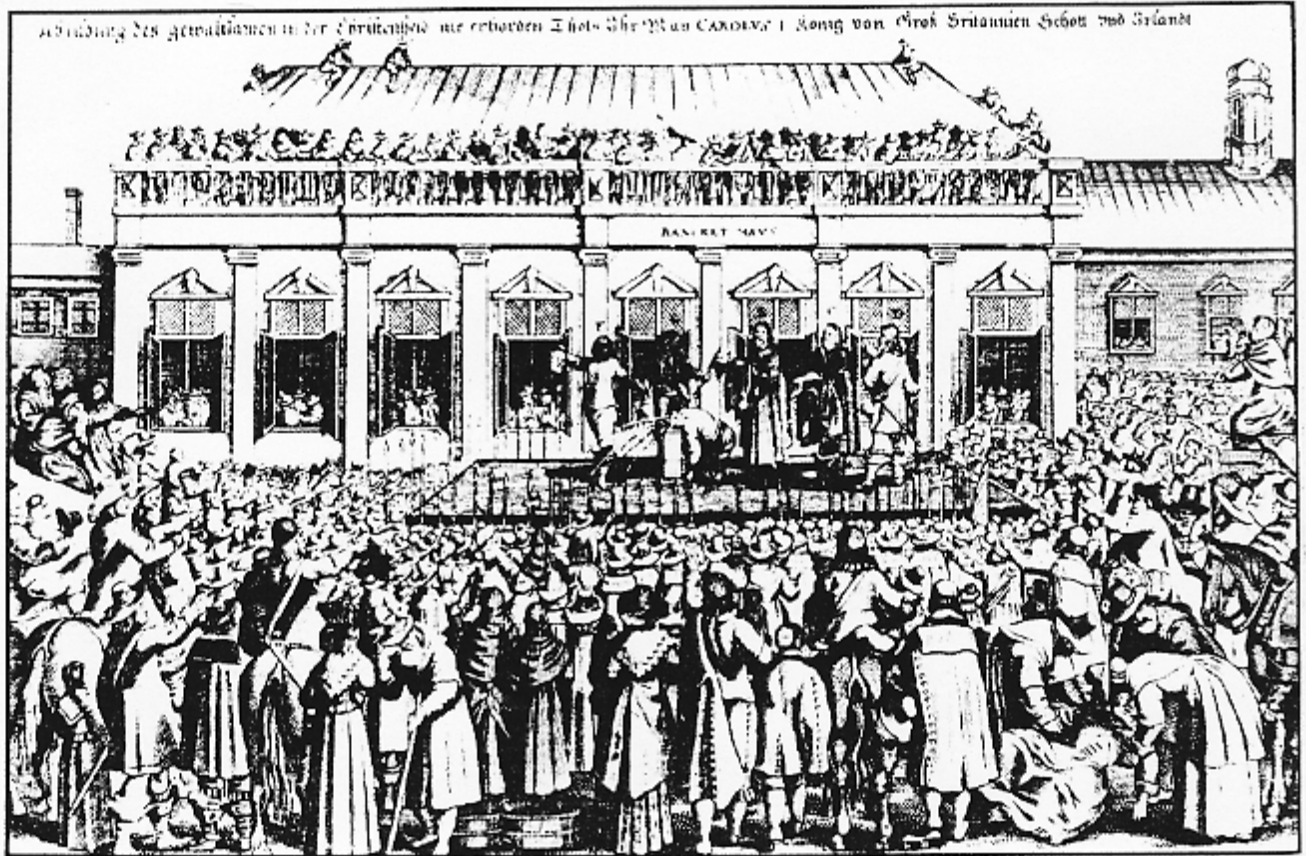
January 1649: The Commons send up to the House of Lords an ordinance creating a special court to try the King, accompanied by a resolution accusing the King of treason. The Lords reject the ordinance. On January 8 the Commons institute a new High Court of Justice consisting of 150 commissioners who are to act as both judge and jury. On January 16 the King is brought to trial.





5 The Search for Stability

The Phoenix. This mythical bird rising reborn from its own ashes symbolizes this age of King versus the Commons.



The Execution of the King

Cromwell's Dilemma

Introduction

When King Charles I was beheaded in 1649, the most powerful man in England was Oliver Cromwell.

Member of Parliament

Cromwell, a small landowner, had sat in the Long Parliament and had been one of the leaders of the opposition to King Charles.

Soldier

When the Civil War broke out, Cromwell, aged 41, proved to be an outstanding soldier and leader. He soon became one of the most important generals in the army.

Member of Parliament

During the Civil War, Cromwell was the main link between the army and Parliament. When quarrels broke out between them, he usually did his best to settle their differences. When the war ended, Parliament and the generals tried to come to some arrangement with the King. Cromwell soon concluded that Charles could not be trusted to keep any agreement, so he took the lead in setting up the court that tried and condemned the King.

In 1649 the King was executed by the authority of Parliament. Officially Parliament took over the government of England, but the real power was in the hands of the army which soon defeated those Royalists who continued to fight after Charles's death. As the only man trusted by both the army and Parliament, Cromwell did his best to prevent them from quarreling. But in 1653, he grew impatient with Parliament, because its members were unable to agree on a new



Oliver Cromwell



Oliver Cromwell



Oliver Cromwell

constitution — that is, some permanent form of government to replace the monarchy. This Parliament, known as the "Rump," consisted of sixty members of the Long Parliament who had fought against the King and had sided with the army. In April 1653, Cromwell used troops to dismiss the Parliament.

Ruler of England

Oliver Cromwell was now declared Lord Protector of England by the other generals. (This was the title traditionally used by men ruling in place of very young kings or princes of England.) Although he now had all the power he needed, Cromwell called two new Parliaments in 1654 and 1656. The members of these Parliaments were uncooperative. They claimed that Cromwell had no authority without Parliament, and they objected strongly to the rule of the Major Generals. (Cromwell had divided England and Wales into ten districts and placed each under the rule of a Major General.)

The Situation in 1657

In 1657 Cromwell faced a very difficult situation. He knew that he depended on the army for his position as ruler of England. He also knew that most men in England hated the army and looked upon Parliament as the basis for lawful authority. Parliament respected Cromwell and realized that he was the only man capable of ruling England at that time. But Parliament distrusted the army and wanted to take away the power it had won during the Civil War. Cromwell wanted to avoid displeasing either the army or Parliament, and at the same time he wanted to strengthen his own position as ruler of England. In March of 1657 Parliament made an unusual move. It offered to Cromwell a new basis for authority — it offered him the Crown.



Oliver Cromwell

Cromwell's Dilemma

Oliver Cromwell is praying in a chapel. He is seated, soberly dressed, with his head resting on one hand. The date is March 1657.

Outside there is a loud noise of footsteps and the sound of weapons striking against leather armor. A man enters and walks straight up the aisle at a brisk, military pace. He stops just behind Cromwell and stands, hands on hips. He, too, is Cromwell, but is dressed as a soldier. Only as he begins to speak does the first Cromwell look up. Even then, he does not face the soldier but remains immobile, staring straight before him.

SOLDIER [Brushing snow from his sleeve] Damned cold outside. Reminds me of that campaign in Scotland, back in '50. No snow then, but too much rain. We routed them, though, didn't we, huh? Good years, those. Remember the campaign in Ireland in '53? It was almost like the battles of the first war; real comradeship in arms, the comfort of campfire and friendship before the battle, and celebration before God after victory. Of course, there were still grand schemes to come, but never enough time to play a real part in them. Take that trip to the West Indies. All we got out of it was that useless island, Jamaica. Now if I'd been in command, personally . . . Of course, the army never really stopped doing its duty. That expedition to Dunkirk was a neat job, and got us a fine foothold on the continent. Y'know, if you can get an army of Englishmen into shape, there's nobody can beat 'em. All that's needed is discipline, organization and prayer. When commanding such an army, a general can plan a battle, call the council and be sure the plan will be adopted if it's properly explained. And he'll get not just obedience, but intelligent cooperation. Now, if only the same could be said of civilian government . . . [He bangs one gloved fist into the palm of the other hand] discipline, that's the trouble! [pause] I believe that we could have had such a civilian government in '55, if we'd been able to give the thing a proper try. The rule of the Major-Generals was honest and efficient; they began to sort out all that corruption and laziness in the town government. Before they stepped in, local justice had almost come to a standstill! And they made sure that religious views were respected. And furthermore, we were able to keep in touch with all ten of them from Whitehall with no waste of people or time. What more could anyone want?

A voice interrupts him from the doorway of the chapel.

A Parliament!

Another figure walks more slowly up the aisle and takes a seat in a pew opposite to the soldier. Again it is Cromwell, now in civilian clothes, a Member of Parliament.

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT What, may I ask, were you fighting for in all your great and glorious battles? [Scornfully] Discipline? Efficiency? What use are these things unless there is a legal basis for government? Military rule can never last in England, thank God! The natural, the legal rulers of England are not generals, they are the men of property, the Members of Parliament.

We fought against the tyranny of Charles Stuart, who tried to rule illegally without Parliament. We cannot sacrifice our victory for the sake of efficiency. That is why we have never abandoned Parliament, even when real power was in our hands alone. We have always turned the power of the sword back to the legal rulers of England, again and again.

A third voice comes from the shadow in the doorway of the chapel.

VOICE 3 [Scornfully] The legal rulers of England! They are usually a collection of quarrelsome, impractical idiots. Remember the Rump, remember the "Barebones" Parliament and that session in the winter of '54? Every Member of Parliament thought he had the perfect idea for settling the question of who should rule the country and with what powers. They all argued and shouted at each other like schoolboys to persuade everybody to adopt their own ideas. And so we resorted to the use of real power again, the power of the sword which had been placed in our hands.

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT [Turning towards the door] But only for a short time. We did recall Parliament again last September.

SOLDIER Huh! Quite unnecessary, that was.

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT We need legality . . .

VOICE 3 Legality, what does that mean, what does that matter?

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT It has mattered in England for longer than the memory of man. The law of England is the most ancient and respected in the world.

VOICE 3 But of what use is its great age when it is usually controlled by local landlords who have no idea of the meaning of justice? It is the intellectuals, the lawyers, who need legality, not the ordinary

people. Let's face it, we abandoned legality when we dismissed the Rump in '53. Those men were the last members of a Parliament called legally by a king.

SOLDIER I agree that this legal business is all nonsense, but now we've got rid of the Major-Generals too, so where does this all get us?

VOICE 3 [Softly] The Crown.

SOLDIER We can't take it. It's quite ridiculous. King Oliver, my foot.

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT [Hesitantly] It would make the government truly legal. After all the title of Protector is unknown in law, but the title of King . . .

SOLDIER The army would never accept the idea!

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT The army! What rights has the army, it is the servant of the King . . .

SOLDIER Huh! So that's why you want this title of King — so that you can control the army. Well, let me tell you . . . Why, it was Parliament that abolished the monarchy! You can't just dig it up again!

VOICE 3 [Laughing] Since when has Parliament behaved logically! All the same, there is some sense in what he says.

SOLDIER What, you too! Aristocrat!

VOICE 3 Oh, I have no ambitions to become noble just for the sake of it, never fear. I am speaking purely practically.

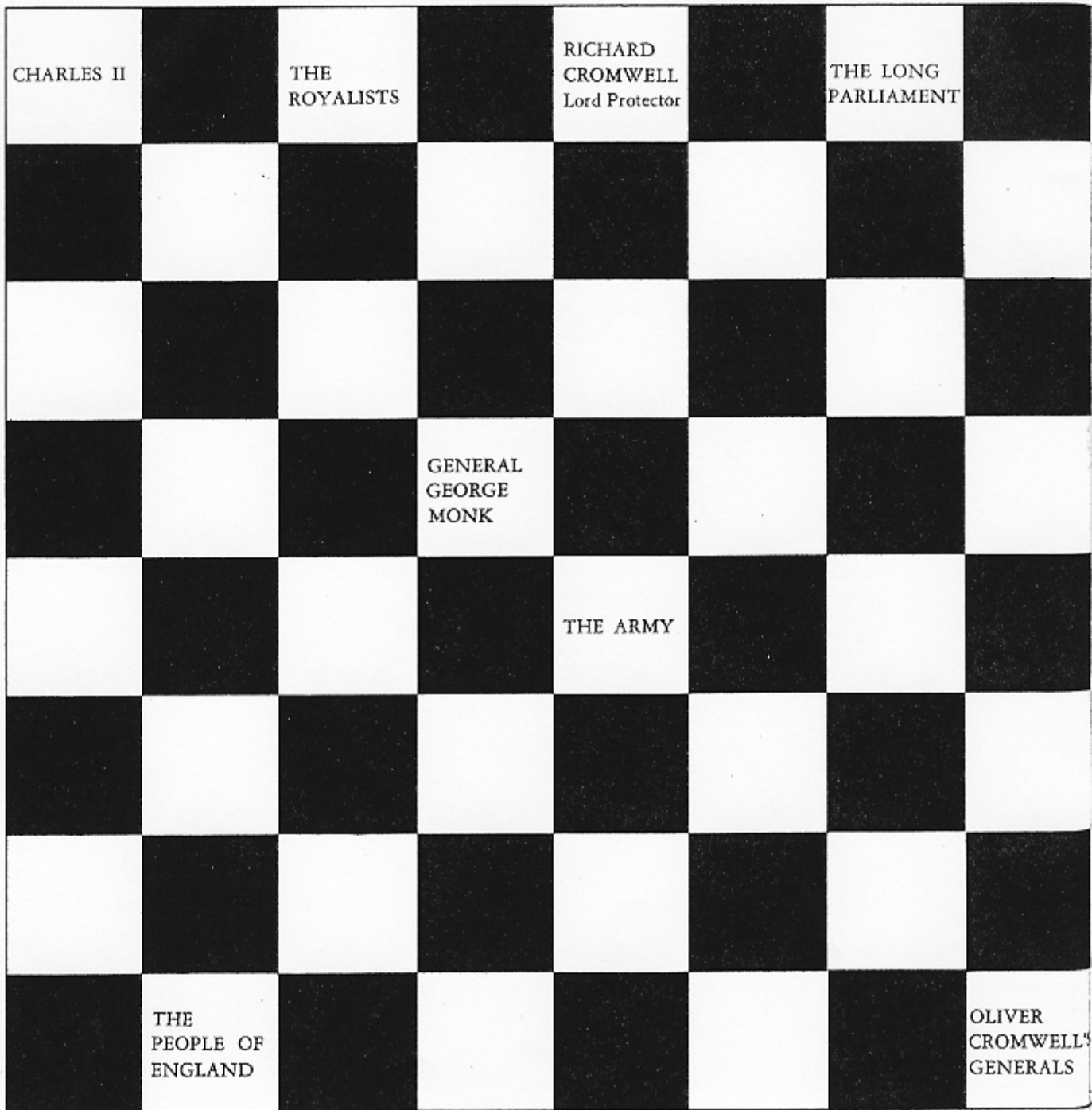
SOLDIER But practically speaking we have no need for the power of kingship. We have all the power we need in the army.

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT But we have no legal powers. Now, the title of King rests on all the ancient foundations of the law.

VOICE 3 The title itself is certainly all important. However shaky the claims of past kings to the throne, once they actually called themselves King, King William or King Henry or whatever, they were immediately accepted by the people of England. And we must not forget about that boy in France, Charles Stuart's son.

SOLDIER But he has no money, no troops.

VOICE 3 But as the son of the King of England he claims a title. Now if we were to take that title of King, he could only claim it from us by force and that, as you say, he does not have the power to do. It would also make it much easier to settle the question of our successor. We must avoid chaos and argument after our death.



Who will act to rule England? Who should rule?

The Contenders for Power

THE INDIVIDUALS

The Lord Protector: RICHARD CROMWELL

On his death bed, Oliver Cromwell named his son Richard his successor as Lord Protector of England. Unlike his father, Richard was a timid, retiring man whose only ambition was to live the peaceful life of a country gentleman. He was respected by neither the army nor any other group of important people in England.

Charles Stuart, son of King Charles I

On the death of King Charles I, his son Charles had claimed the English throne and began to call himself Charles II. In 1658, he was living in Europe on a very small allowance from the King of France. Charles was desperate to return to England as King and would be willing to come back on any terms. Through hard experience in exile, he had learned more diplomacy and tact than his father ever possessed.

General Monk

General George Monk was in command of the troops in Scotland in 1658. He was therefore not involved in any of the quarrels or jealousies which often took place among the other generals, particularly after the death of Oliver Cromwell. George Monk was a silent and cautious man. He had a great respect for Parliament and did not believe in military rule.

THE GROUPS

The Generals: LAMBERT, FLEETWOOD AND DESBOROUGH

The generals who had persuaded Oliver Cromwell not to accept the crown were the most powerful men in England after Cromwell's death. General Lambert, General Fleetwood and General Desborough had agreed that Oliver Cromwell should not accept the crown, but otherwise they each had very different ideas about how England should be governed. None of them was as clever as Oliver Cromwell, nor as highly respected by the army. None of them admired or respected Richard Cromwell.

The Army

The soldiers in the army were very restless in 1658. Many of them had not been paid for some time and discipline was not as good as it had been in previous years. Neither the soldiers nor the officers of the Army trusted Richard Cromwell as they had his father. They were afraid that Parliament might persuade the new Lord Protector to disband the army, and in this way make them powerless politically.

The Long Parliament

The Long Parliament, called by Charles I in 1640, was the last English Parliament to be called by a king. In 1658 about 80 men who had sat in this Parliament, including the Speaker, William Lenthall, were still alive. Some men regarded the Long Parliament as the only lawful Parliament. It was still in session, they argued, because only a king could call and dismiss Parliament. Other men

who did not agree with this argument respected the Long Parliament because it had passed many laws to limit the powers of a king, should a king be restored to England.

The Royalists

In 1658 some of the men who had fought for Charles I in the Civil War were living in exile in France or the Netherlands. They were plotting to put his son Charles Stuart on the English throne. Other men were still living in England who had either fought for Charles I or wished they had. These men had been careful not to antagonize Cromwell's administration, but they were prepared to write pamphlets and organize petitions supporting Charles Stuart.

The People of England

The question of who should rule England was of little concern to most ordinary people in 1658. Such people were concerned with the high taxes they had to pay under Lord Protector Cromwell. They disliked the fact that many people had to have soldiers living in their houses because the army was so large. Most people associated these problems, as well as the terrible years of the Civil War, with the name of Cromwell. It seemed to them that there had been nothing but bloodshed, foreign wars and military rule since the execution of Charles I. English people in 1658 wanted peace; they feared the outbreak of another civil war and did not mind very much who ruled England, as long as the government was strong and would last a long time.

What is essential for acceptable political authority in England?

Who should rule England?



The Commonwealth Ruling with a Standing Army

Conclusion

THE OUTCOME OF THE SITUATION

In 1658 Richard Cromwell, Lord Protector, calls a Parliament. The members of Parliament criticize the army and try to bring it under their control. The army is disgruntled because they fear their power may be diminished by Parliament. They also want to be paid. General Desborough persuades Richard Cromwell to dismiss Parliament. Richard Cromwell, rather than calling for the help of his father's faithful General Monk in Scotland and fearful that civil war may break out, abdicates.

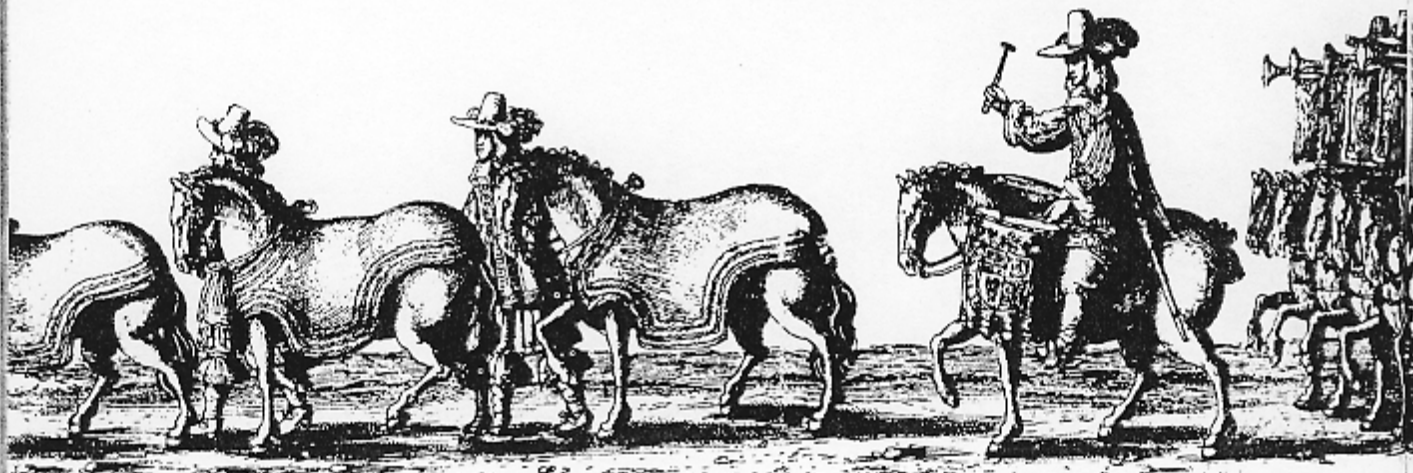
In May, 1659, the army leaders, compelled by pressure from the army and some Parliamentary leaders, recall Parliament. Forty-two members take their seats. With no Protector, no written constitution, no House of Lords, no real representation of the people of England and no limitations on the power

of the House, discussion of the basis of power or a constitution ends. Again the army is dissatisfied. It calls for some representation of the people. But disagreements flare up. On October 13, 1659, General Lambert expels Parliament.

General Monk, who had been ruling Scotland since 1654 with a disciplined army of 10,000, had been prepared to support Cromwell's son. But when Richard Cromwell abdicates, he vows to see England freed from the slavery of the sword. On January 2, 1660, Monk crosses the Scottish border into England at the head of an army.

The generals recall the Long Parliament, the last Parliament called into session by a lawful King. General Lambert marches north with an army to meet Monk, but it disintegrates in the face of Monk's troops. Monk enters London. Awaiting him is a letter from Charles Stuart. Monk sends a message to Charles suggesting that he:

HIS MAJESTIES PASSING THROUGH



1. promise to pardon those who fought against his father;
2. promise to pay the army;
3. promise to allow Englishmen to worship as they please.

The Long Parliament dismisses itself and makes arrangements for the meeting of a new, freely elected Parliament with a House of Lords as well as Commons. Charles Stuart publishes the Declaration of Breda in which he makes all promises suggested by Monk. Parliament accepts the Declaration of Breda. Parliament declares Charles Stuart King of England. Charles II lands in England.

A SOLUTION

*From the Diary of Samuel Pepys,¹
London, January 1660*

"The condition of the state was thus; the Rump Parliament was lately returned to sit again. General Monk is with the army in Scotland. The new city council has sent their

representative to Monk to inform him that they want a free and full Parliament."

March 2nd

"Great is the talk of a single person and that it would now be Charles, George [Monk] or Richard [Cromwell] again. Great also is the dispute now in the House [of Commons] in whose name the writs shall run for the next Parliament; and it is said that Mr. Prim, in open House, said 'In King Charles' [Charles Stuart, the son of Charles I]."

March 5th

"Saw Mr. Pinkney at his own house, where he showed me how he had always kept the Lion and the Unicorn [royal coat of arms] in the back of his chimney bright, in expectation of the King's coming again."

March 6th

"This day I hear that the Lords do intend to sit, and great store of them are now in town . . . Everybody now drinks the King's health without any fear, whereas before it was very private that a man dared to do it."

OF THE CITY OF LONDON TOWARDS HIS CORONAT.

The Duke of York's Horse Guard. Confisting



Charles II's Procession on the Eve of His Coronation

April 11th

"The Skinners Company the other day at their entertaining of General Monk had took down the Parliament [coat of] Arms in their Hall and set up the King's."

May 2nd

"The King's letter was read in the House of Commons. In reading the letter the House ordered £50,000 to be provided to send to his Majesty . . . and a committee chosen to return an answer of thanks to His Majesty for his gracious letter . . . and in all this not so much as one 'No.' Great joy all yesterday at London, and at night more bonfires than ever, and ringing of bells, and drinking the King's health upon their knees in the streets."

May 4th

"The twelve companies of the City of London do give everyone of them to his Majesty, as a present of £1,000."

May 11th

"This morning we began to pull down all the [old] states [coats of] arms in the fleet, having first sent to Dover for painters and others to come and set up the King's."

[A ship was sent to the Netherlands to bring home the King. Pepys was on board.]

May 22nd

"News is sent us that the King is on shore, so my lord fired all his guns round twice, and all the fleet after him. The gun over against my cabin I fired myself to the King, which was the first time that he had been saluted by his own ships since this change; but holding my head too much over the gun, I had almost spoiled [lost the sight of] my right eye!"

Dover, May 25th

"The King was received by General Monk with all imaginable love and respect at his entrance upon the land of Dover. Infinite the crowd of people and the horsemen, citizens and noblemen of all sorts. The Mayor of the town came and gave him his white staff, the bade of his office, which the King did give him again. The shouting and joy expressed by all is past imagination."

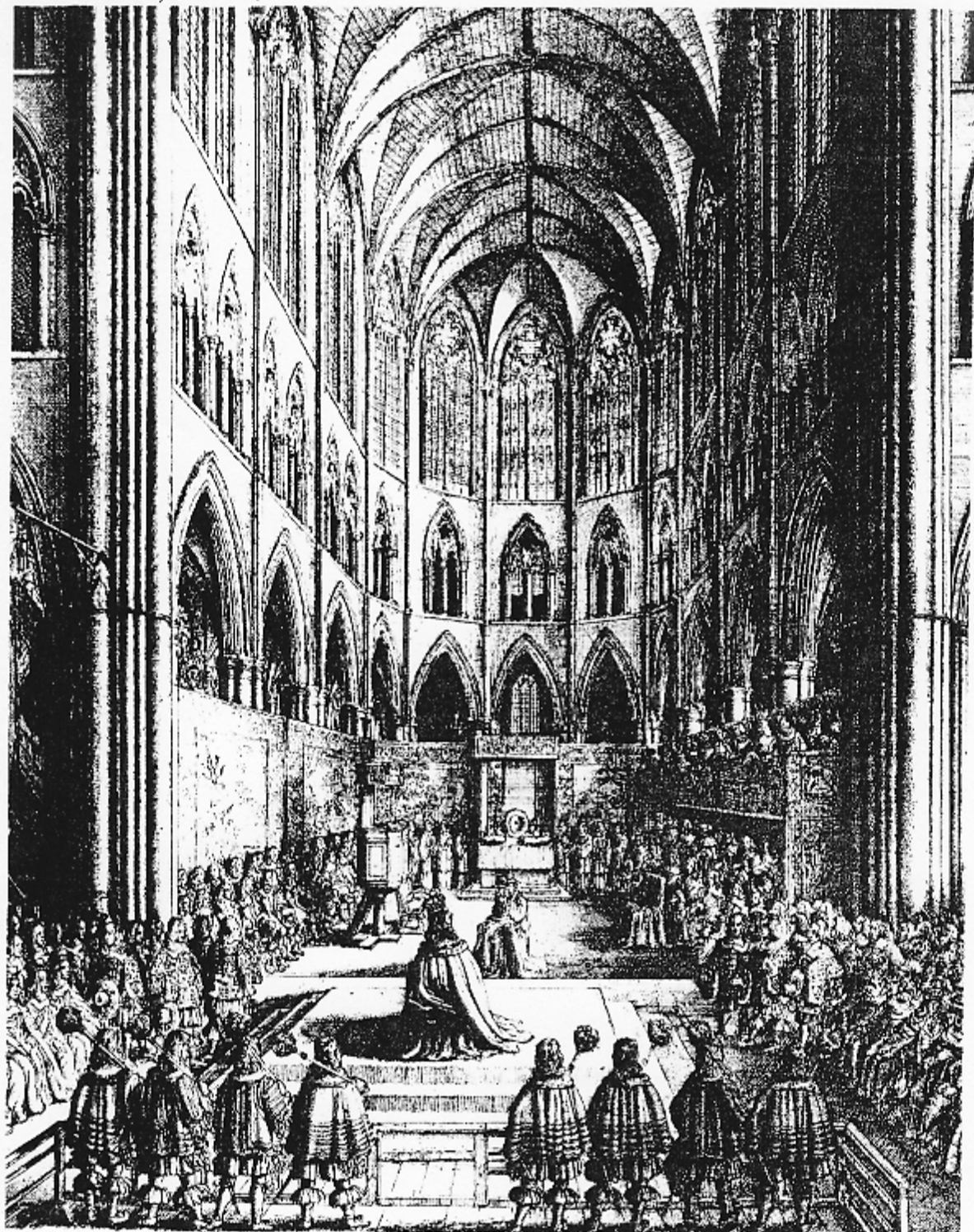
London 1661, April 22nd

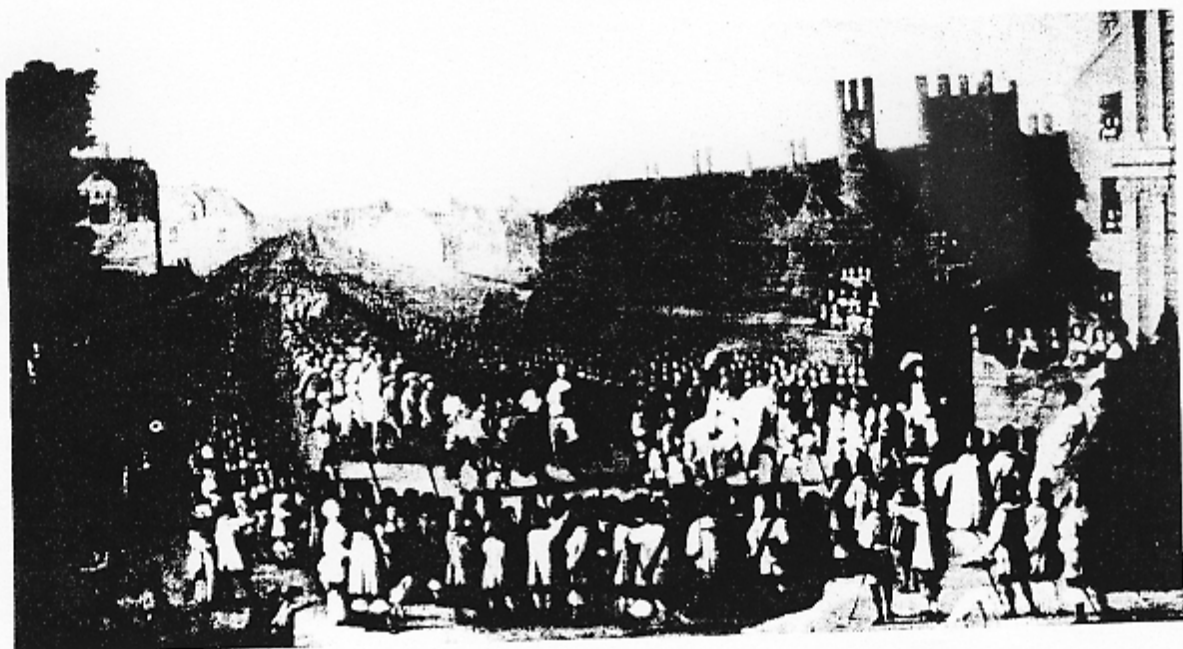
"Up early and made myself as fine as I could, and put on my velvet coat . . . it is impossible to relate the glory of this day — the clothes, the horses and horse clothes . . . embroidery and diamonds were ordinary among them. The bishops come after the barons which makes me think that [in] the next Parliament they will be called to the House of Lords . . . The King, in a most rich embroidered suit and cloak, looked most noble. The streets all gravelled, and the houses hung with carpets before them, made brave show, and the ladies out of the windows. So glorious was the show with gold and silver, that we were not able to look at it, our eyes at last being so much overcome with it."

Westminster Abbey, April 23rd

"Great pleasure it was to see the Abbey with the throne in the bishops (many of them in cloth of gold capes) and after them the nobility all in their Parliament robes. Then the Duke and the King with a scepter and sword and orb before him and the crown too. The King in his robes, bareheaded. The crown being put on his head he came forth to the throne, and there passed more ceremonies — and his lords and bishops came and kneeled before him. And the heralds

The Coronation of Charles II, 1661





Coronation Procession

proclaimed that if any one could show any reason why Charles Stewart should not be King of England, that now he should come and speak."

[The coronation was followed by a banquet for the King and all the nobles and bishops.]

"And the King came in with his crown on and his sceptre in his hand and all set themselves down at their several tables. At last the King's champion, all in armour on horseback, with his spear and target carried before him. And a herald proclaims "That if any dare deny Charles Stewart to be lawful King of England, here was a Champion that would fight with him;" and with these words, the Champion flings down his gauntlet [glove], and all this he do three times in going up towards the King's table. At last when he is come, the King drinks to him, and then sends him the cup which is of gold, and he drinks it off, and then rides back again with the cup in his hand.

That night the City of London had a light

like glory round about it with bonfires. We drank the King's health and nothing else till one of the gentlemen fell down stark drunk . . . Thus did the day end with joy everywhere."

*From the Diary of John Evelyn*²

London Welcomes King Charles II

"This day his Majesty Charles II came into London after a sad and long exile. This was also his birthday, and he entered the city with a parade of above 20,000 horse and foot soldiers waving their swords and shouting with wild joy. The bells rang and fountains ran with wine. The Mayor and aldermen were in their chains of gold, lords and nobles in cloth of silver and everybody else was clad in gold and velvet. Thousands of people crowded into the streets. The King and his party were seven hours in passing the city, from two in the after 'til nine at night: I stood in the street, and beheld it, and blessed God. And all this without one drop of blood,



Charles II

and by that very army, which rebelled against him. But it was the Lord's doing, for such a restoration was never seen in history. Nor so joyful a day, and so bright ever seen in this nation."

*From the Memoirs of Sir Ralph Verney*³

"An old blind prophet, living high above the dust and confusion of the street, begged Englishmen not to bring back the King. By returning of our own free will into the same bondage, we make vain and viler than dirt the blood of so many thousand faithful and valiant Englishmen who left us in this liberty bought with their lives. . .

"The happy change that we have lately had in England, makes us now begin to plant again, in hope that we, or our children may reap the fruit in peace, under our good and gracious King . . . On the strength of these conclusions Sir Ralph begs his friend to send him a large shipment of vines of the early ripe grape."