

The ceremonies of Charles II's court

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THE CEREMONIES OF CHARLES II'S COURT

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the question of how the restored monarchy used the ceremonies of court in the period 1660-1685. It is concerned with those rituals which took place regularly within the royal palaces, that is to say the ceremonies of the Chapel Royal, of healing, of reception and audience, dining and entertaining, and the rituals which took place within the privy apartments, including the royal lever and coucher. The ways in which these rituals operated over the course of the reign are considered – with close reference to their physical setting – as is their significance as expressions of royal power.

The contention of the thesis is that the ceremonies of the Restoration court are a neglected subject deserving of serious study, and that by examining them real insight can be gained into the changing nature of monarchy, the personality of Charles II and the politics of his reign. The thesis argues, contrary to traditional accounts of his reign, that Charles II took the formal exchanges of court life very seriously, that their performance was intimately connected to the politics of the period and that they were crucial to the way in which he projected his own majesty.

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NOTE ON TEXT CONVENTIONS

I have tried to capitalise as few words as possible and all titles and rooms names have been rendered in lower case. However, institutions of government, such as Parliament, and the primary household departments, such as the Bedchamber and Chapel Royal, are capitalised, in part to avoid confusion when they share a name with a room within the royal palaces. I have tried to keep all bibliographical references as short as possible, though each has a full reference in the bibliography and when first mentioned in the footnotes.

Old style dating is used but the year is assumed to start on 1 January.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Angliae Notitia*, 1669 Edward Chamberlayne, *Angliae Notitia or the Present State of England* (London, 1669)
- Ailesbury, *Memoirs* *The Memoirs of Thomas, Earl of Ailesbury written by Himself*, W. E. Buckley, ed., 2 vols (London, 1890)
- BL The British Library
- Bod. Lib. The Bodleian Library
- Colvin, *King's Works* Howard Colvin, ed., *The History of the King's Works*, 6 vols (London, 1963-1982)
- CSPD *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series of the Reign of Charles II*, Mary Anne Everett Green, F. H. Blackburne Daniell and Francis Bickley, eds, 27 vols (London, 1860-1938)
- CSPVen *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs in the Archives and Collections of Venice and in other Libraries of Northern Italy*, Allen B. Hinds, ed., vols XXXII-XXXV (London, 1931-5)
- DRO Dorset Record Office
- Evelyn, *Diary* *The Diary of John Evelyn*, E. S. de Beer, ed., 6 vols (Oxford, 1955)
- Hartmann, *Charles II* C. H. Hartmann, *Charles II and Madame* (London, 1934)
- HMC *Historical Manuscripts Commission*
- Lives of the Norths* *The Lives of the Right Hon. Francis North, Baron Guildford; The Hon. Sir Dudley North; and the Hon. and Rev. Dr. John North by the Hon. Roger North together with the Autobiography of the Author*, Augustus Jessop, ed., 3 vols (London, 1890)
- Magalotti, *Travels* Count Lorenzo Magalotti, *Travels of Cosmo the Third Grand Duke of Tuscany through England during the Reign of King Charles the Second (1669)* (London, 1821)
- NUL Nottingham University Library, Manuscripts Collection
- Pepys, *Diary* *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Robert Latham and William Matthews, eds, 11 vols (London, 1970-83)
- PRO Public Record Office (since 2003 part of The National Archives)
- Reresby, *Memoirs* *Memoirs of Sir John Reresby*, Andrew Browning, ed., second edition, Mary K. Geiter and W. A. Speck, eds, (London, 1991)
- Schellinks, *Journal* *The Journal of William Schellinks' Travels in England 1661-1663*, Maurice Exwood and H. L. Lehmann, eds, Camden Society, 5th Series, I (London, 1993)
- WRO Worcestershire Record Office

INTRODUCTION

*A king that discourages ceremony, is like the carpenter that sawd off the pieces of timber upon which he stood.'*¹

The treatise on kingship which the duke of Newcastle wrote for the exiled Charles II is a guide so practical, it borders almost on the Machiavellian. In its author's own inimitable words it contained 'no oratorye In Itt, or anye thinge stolen out off Bookes, for I seldome or Ever reade anye' but was instead borne of 'my longe Experience'. He hoped it would be useful to Charles II; if it was not, the king should 'throug Itt In to the fier'. One of the recurring themes of this work is the duke's maxims about 'Seremony and order'. Of this aspect of royalty Newcastle remarked plainly: 'Seremoneye though Itt Is nothing In Itt selfe yett Itt doth Everye thinge – For what Is a kinge more than a Subiecte butt for seremoneye & order when that fayles him hees Ruinde'. He went on to point out that this held true not only for monarchy, but for almost every institution of contemporary life; for Newcastle, as for many of the time, ceremonies were the outward manifestation of the correct order of things, part of the apparatus which 'keepes Everye man & Everye thinge within the Circle off their own Conditions'.²

Newcastle wrote his advice during the Interregnum, in which he saw some advantage, as 'your Ma^{tie} will have more time & Leasure to reade Itt nowe then when you are Inthronde';³ few historians, however, have shared Newcastle's optimism on this point. David Ogg, for example, confidently asserted that 'It is at least certain that the counsels of the dissertation had no influence on royal policy; for its extreme length precludes the hope that Charles ever read it'. Arthur Strong shared this view, noting that it 'does not seem to have had any effect upon the policy of Charles II'. Ronald Hutton has warned against the temptation of assuming that just because the advice survives, it had any influence on the king, while Neil Cuddy is quite clear that Charles II paid no attention to this 'arch-conservative' advice and pursued quite the opposite tack in his reign.⁴

The contrast between Newcastle's confident adages on kingship and the king's condition at the time of its writing are striking. The king's own accounts of his exile, centring always on his 'escape' from

¹ *The Works of George Savile, Marquis of Halifax*, Mark N. Brown, ed., 3 vols (Oxford, 1989), III, p. 67.

² *A Catalogue of Letters and other Historical Documents exhibited in the Library at Welbeck*, S. Arthur Strong, ed., (London, 1903), pp. 54, 210; Thomas P. Slaughter, *Ideology and Politics on the eve of the Restoration: Newcastle's Advice to Charles II* (Philadelphia, 1984).

³ *A Catalogue of Letters*, Strong, ed., p. 173.

⁴ *A Catalogue of Letters*, Strong, ed., p. vii; David Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1934), I, p. 147; Ronald Hutton, *Charles II: King of England Ireland and Scotland* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 2-3; Neil Cuddy, 'Reinventing a monarchy: the changing structure and political function of the Stuart Court, 1603-88' in Eveline Cruickshanks, ed., *The Stuart Courts* (Stroud, 2000), p. 70.

the battle of Worcester, describe a man, shorn of all royal trappings, forced to exist on his wits, running the gauntlet to survive: hiding in barns, sleeping in priest-holes and tree-branches, pursued along muddy lanes by enemy soldiers, dressed as a 'country fellow' or a serving man, and all the while befriended by and befriending the kindly common people he encountered.⁵ (Figure 1) However, though this was the exile the king chose to remember and endlessly recount, it was – of course – hardly the reality of kingship during the Interregnum. When Newcastle sat down to write his manual for monarchy in late 1658 or early 1659, Charles was, as he had been for some years, kicking his heels in the Spanish Netherlands, variously in Brussels and Bruges, as a pensioner of the king of Spain. Planning for the elusive royalist uprising, and lending what few men he had to support the Spanish in fending off Anglo-French forces, Charles II was broke. He had asked his sister Mary to pawn her jewellery, sold his own George and garter for 190 florins, and lived, in Brussels, in a 'town house rented from a Walloon noble'.⁶ Yet despite all this, the king was far from 'letting all distinction and ceremony fall to the ground as useless and foppish', instead, his household accounts show what the pawn-money was put towards, and it is quite clear that however hard times were, the king was not living as other men. His house, though no palace, was divided up as if it were, with rooms designated the chapel, the presence chamber, the privy chamber and the bedchamber and he spent considerable sums in January 1659 erecting a pillared 'alcove bedchamber', almost certainly inspired by the room at the Louvre in which Louis XIV slept. Though living on charity himself, he distributed alms to the poor, he scrupulously received communion and offered at the altar on those specific feasts on which English kings did so, and he healed the sick with his touch.⁷ (Figure 2) This was, understandably given the man, not the exile of which Charles told elaborate tales, it is less daring and romantic and makes a less compelling yarn, but it was the reality of how he lived during much of that period. By the same token, historians and the king himself have been much more interested in a licentious Restoration court, home to illicit liaisons and indecent dealings, than in understanding the world of rituals and ceremonies which was, in substantial part, the reality of court life. This thesis attempts to redress this imbalance and to argue that, whether or not Charles II ever read Newcastle's manual for monarchy, when it came to 'seremonye and order', he was his master's pupil.

* * *

⁵ *The Boscobel Tracts, relating to the Escape of Charles the Second after the Battle of Worcester*, J. Hughes, ed., 'The King's Narrative edited by Pepys', pp. 156, 150, 162, 176.

⁶ Hutton, *Charles II*, p. 110.

⁷ Dorset Record Office, D/FSI, Box 268, general household accounts 1658-9, unpaginated: March and June 1658 payments for the king's offering at Easter and Whitsun communion that year; June 1658 payments for the 'poore at the gate'; January 1659 accounts for 'Making up his Maties Alcova'; September 1659 payments for gold and ribbon for 'poore persons that his matie touched'; *The Works of John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, Marquis of Normanby and Duke of Buckingham*, 2 vols (London, 1729), II, p. 81.

i. HISTORIOGRAPHY OF RITUAL

Over the last two decades historians have come to pay considerable attention to the hitherto neglected subject of royal ceremonial. Scholars working in the 19th and early 20th centuries had had little time for this area of research; it was not just the bias of the surviving evidence which caused this lack of interest in ritual, as enough contemporary documentation survives to allow thorough investigation, but a basic disregard for the value of such a field. In Marc Bloch's words such subjects were considered 'beneath the dignity of history'.⁸ Great institutions of state such as Parliament, Privy Council, and government committees were the loci of real power, the antecedents of many institutions still in operation in England and Europe, and as such the only places in which to seek the nature of rulership in the early modern period. In contrast pageants, rituals, progresses and ceremonies were seen as colourful dressing, at best, and as frivolous, superstitious nonsense, at worst.

It was from outside the camp of traditional historical scholarship that much of the impetus came to change attitudes, in particular from the disciplines of anthropology and sociology, whose practitioners were examining power in a different way. Unfettered by minute-books and calendars, and often working in fairly primitive and usually non-literate societies, anthropologists had long been studying networks of command and structures of communities as they were expressed and created by means which were not given credence by historians of English society. They investigated and understood power through a much wider range of media: through myth and genealogy, costume and art, festivals and feasts, through whole patterns of belief and faith. Marc Bloch's pioneering work *Les Rois Thaumaturges*, published in 1924, was one of the first works to use the insights and methods of anthropology and ethnography for the study of English monarchical ritual. Amazingly it was not until 1973 that this work was published in English; it seems that English historians continued to find its subject matter 'peculiarly repugnant to the modern mind' long after Bloch had exposed the absurdity of such an attitude.⁹ Another pioneer was Norbert Elias, whose essay on history and sociology was to become something of a manifesto to those who were to campaign for a closer relationship between the social sciences. Like many after him, he embraced with open arms the wide definitions of power which sociologists and others espoused and with these at his side set about investigating and explaining the evolution of social manners in western Europe. One of the results of applying lessons taught by other social sciences such as sociology, anthropology, and psychology to historical material, was to bring a study of the court into the limelight. Like the rituals in which the court participated, historians had had little time for serious examination of the court itself: it was the playpen of the elite, but not a serious political institution. Elias's *The Civilising Process* (1930) changed that forever. He

⁸ Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France*, J. E. Anderson, trans. (London and Montreal, 1973), p. 7.

⁹ Bloch, *The Royal Touch*, p. 3.

was the first historian properly to examine the court and to see its rituals and rules as more than examples of the quaint and superstitious habits of our unenlightened forebears, but instead as an integral and important part of the exercising of power. His conclusions, that the court and its behavioural precepts were devised by the emergent monarchies of the late medieval and early modern periods as a tool with which to pacify and domesticate the nobility and to facilitate the development of absolutism, has not been wholly endorsed by other scholars, but his recognition of the importance of this field of study has become a pillar of historical scholarship in the latter part of the 20th century.¹⁰

In the last hundred years there has been a blossoming of studies of the great out-door public rituals of the court. In some cases work had been done on the subject for many years, frequently by people who came to look at a ceremony from a related or subsidiary discipline; the new interest in rituals served therefore to bring new approaches and ideas to bear on the subject rather than to broach virgin territory. Coronation rites must be the most thoroughly examined English royal ritual of all. Scholarly works on coronations blossomed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, as a result the medieval and early modern documents for coronations have been painstakingly examined to an extent which is not reflected in the work on the sources for any other royal ritual.¹¹

An area of research which has overlapped with coronation studies is that of the great processions or entries through the city of London and elsewhere. For the 16th and early 17th centuries the work of John Nichols was pioneering, and has since been augmented by many other studies, often looking at the progress and entry in tandem. Perhaps most masterful is the work of Sidney Anglo on the pageantry of the early Tudor court; Anglo was one of the first scholars to examine English royal ritual seriously as an exercise in politics. The theatrical and dramatic aspects of royal entries has also had excellent examination in recent years in the work of David Bergeron and others, who have done much to elaborate on themes first discussed by Robert Withington's *English Pageantry: An Historical Outline*.¹² As well as having an interest in processions generally, students of heraldry were for a long

¹⁰ Norbert Elias, *The Civilising Process. Volume One: The History of Manners*, E. Jephcott, trans., (Oxford, 1978); idem, *The Civilising Process. Volume Two: State Formation and Civilisation*, E. Jephcott, trans., (Oxford, 1982); idem, *The Court Society*, E. Jephcott, trans., (Oxford, 1983); Jeroen Duindam, *Myths of Power: Norbert Elias and the Early Modern European Court* (Amsterdam, 1995), *passim*.

¹¹ Much analysis and publication of the crucial coronation texts happened in the early decades of the 20th century, prompted partly by the accession of four English kings in as many decades, notably J. Wickham Legg, *English Coronation Records* (London and New York, 1901) and P. E. Schramm, *A History of the English Coronation* (Oxford, 1937) see also C. G. Bayne's important article on Elizabeth I's coronation; C. G. Bayne, 'The coronation of Queen Elizabeth', *English Historical Review*, XXV, 1910, pp. 550-2.

¹² John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, 4 vols (London, 1823); J. G. Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions and Magnificent Festivities during the Reign of King James*, 4 vols (London, 1828); idem, *London Pageants* (London, 1831); Sidney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford, 1969; second edition, Oxford, 1997); Robert Withington, *English Civic Pageantry: An Historical Outline*, 2 vols (1918-20); David Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry* (Columbia and London, 1971); idem, 'Charles I's royal entries into London', *The Guildhall Miscellany* III, 2 (April, 1970), pp. 91-8; idem, 'Elizabeth's coronation entry (1559): new manuscript evidence' *English Literary Renaissance* 8, (1978) pp. 3-8; R. Malcolm Smuts, 'Public ceremony and royal charisma: the English royal entry in

time among the only scholars to pay much attention to royal funerals. Until recently Sir Anthony Wagner's *Heralds of England. A History of the Office and College of Arms* was almost the only work to enter in to a detailed discussion of English royal funerals in the early modern period. In the last twenty years rituals of death, generally, have received considerable attention, and the royal funerals of this period have not escaped this. Ralph Giesey's work on French royal funerals has been substantially responsible for drawing historians' attention to the subject and, by building on concepts developed by him and medieval historians like Ernst Kantorowicz, Paul Fritz and Jennifer Woodward have examined the English context. Fritz's approach has been characterised by a refreshing concern with both the symbolics of the funeral and the logistical demands of staging it on royal officials and city tradesmen.¹³

Work on the subject of this thesis, that is the rituals which took place within the walls of the court itself, has been less prolific. However there are exceptions; Bloch's great work notwithstanding, in certain circles there had never been any lack of interest in the royal touch, particularly among those who practised medicine: from Charles II's own physicians to Raymond Crawford at the beginning of the last century. There have been no substantial re-writings of the English royal touch since Bloch's work, but it has been examined by several distinguished scholars in the contexts of their own work, including Keith Thomas and David Sturdy. Those ceremonies which included the gift of a coin – touching and the Maundy particularly – have also always been of great interest to numismatists, among them Brian Robinson, searching for the lost contexts from which their shiny tokens had sprung.¹⁴ Diplomatic ritual, one of the most denigrated and scoffed-at areas of ceremony, has been given some much deserved attention in the last fifty years. Phyllis Lachs's study of the diplomatic service was the first work on 17th century English diplomacy to interest itself in the realities of diplomatic life and to take the trouble to unravel the rules of diplomatic behaviour. But again it has been the work of scholars of the French court who have tended to blaze a trail; among them R. M.

London, 1495-1642' in *The First Modern Society: Essays in English History in Honour of Lawrence Stone*, A. L. Beier, David Cannadine and James M. Rosenheim, eds, (Cambridge, 1989).

¹³ Sir Anthony Wagner, *Heralds of England: A History of the Office and College of Arms* (London, 1967); Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies* (Princeton, 1957); Ralph E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva, 1960); Paul S. Fritz, 'From 'Public to Private': the royal funerals in England, 1500-1830' in Joachim Whaley, ed., *Mirrors of Morality: Studies in the Social History of Death* (London, 1981), pp. 61-80; idem, 'The trade in death: the royal funerals in England 1685-1830', *Eighteenth Century Studies*, XV (1981-2), pp. 291-315; A. Harvey and R. Mortimer, *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey* (Woodbridge, 1994); Jennifer Woodward, *The Theatre of Death: The Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England, 1570-1625* (Woodbridge, 1997).

¹⁴ Raymund Crawford, *The King's Evil* (Oxford, 1911); Helen Farquhar, 'Royal charities. Part I: Angels as healing pieces for the King's Evil', *British Numismatic Journal*, XII, 2nd series, II (1916), pp. 39-137; idem, 'Royal charities. Part II: Touchpieces for the King's Evil', *British Numismatic Journal*, XIII, 2nd Series, III (1917), pp. 95-165; David Sturdy, 'The royal touch in England' in Duchardt, Jackson and Sturdy, eds, *European Monarchy* (Stuttgart, 1992), pp. 171-84; Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, (London, 1971; edition London, 1991), pp. 227-51; Frank Barlow, 'The King's Evil', *English Historical Review*, XCV, no. 374 (January, 1980), pp. 3-27; Carole Levin, "'Would I could give you help and succour": Elizabeth I and the politics of touch', *Albion*, 21, 2 (Spring, 1989), pp. 191-205; Brian Robinson, *Silver Pennies and Linen Towels: the Story of the Royal Maundy* (London, 1992); Harold Weber, *Paper Bullets: Print and Kingship under Charles II* (Kentucky, 1996).

Hatton; while more recently William J. Roosen has done much to draw the focus of English studies in on the meaning and purpose of the ritual itself.¹⁵

There has been an escalation in thoughtful work on the royal rituals which operated in the 17th century, and there can be no doubt that the field has altered beyond recognition in the last forty years. The collections of essays of the 1980s edited by Sean Wilentz and by David Cannadine and Simon Price usefully sum up how the subject had developed. Cannadine made the point that historians are no longer content to consider ritual as a reflection or subsidiary expression of power, but view it rather as an integral part of power and politics themselves, or, in his neat phrase, adhere to the view that 'ritual is not the mask of force, but is in itself a type of power'. Sean Wilentz went so far as to suggest that in the wake of the scholarship of 'Marxist' and 'Annales' historians, it is in the study of political ritual that historians have found the new way of understanding authority which has long been wanting.¹⁶

However, the anticipated revolution has not happened. We still have a very partial understanding of early modern royal ceremonial, and a monograph has yet to appear on ritual at the English court for any period. Though the studies of recent decades have avoided some of the obvious shortcomings of the early work on the subject (such as indulging in description at the expense of analysis, and ignoring questions of audience and response in favour of iconographic puzzle-solving)¹⁷ there are still some fairly major limitations to this corpus of work. With some distinguished exceptions, analysis of royal ceremonial has usually remained bounded by the confines of one particular ritual.¹⁸ While focussed specialist studies are always useful, most scholars have shied away from broadening out their work at all, failing to ask whether models and hypotheses which have helped them to understand the way in which one kind of ritual operates can be applied to others. The decisively diachronic nature of many studies seems to have involved scholars in investigating the origins of a ceremony to an extent which has deterred them from drawing parallels with other rituals, of different origins, which were practised

¹⁵ Phyllis S. Lachs, *The Diplomatic Corps under Charles II and James II* (New York, 1965); R. M Hatton, 'Louis XIV and his fellow monarchs' in *Louis XIV and the Craft of Kingship*, John C. Rule, ed., (Ohio, 1969), pp. 155-96; William J. Roosen, *The Age of Louis XIV: The Rise of Modern Diplomacy* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1976); idem, 'Early diplomatic ceremonial: a systems approach', *Journal of Modern History*, 52, September 1980, pp. 452-76; Maurice Keens-Soper, 'Francois Callières and diplomatic theory', *The Historical Journal*, XVI, 2 (1973), pp. 485-508.

¹⁶ David Cannadine, introduction, in David Cannadine and Simon Price, eds, *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 1-19; Sean Wilentz, 'Teufelsdröckh's dilemma: on symbolism, politics and history', in Sean Wilentz, ed., *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual and Politics since the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1985), pp. 1-13.

¹⁷ See, e.g., J. E. Farmer, *Versailles and the Court under Louis XIV* (New York, 1905); Gerard Reedy, 'Mystical politics: the imagery of Charles II's coronation' in P. Korshin, ed., *Studies in Change and Revolution: Aspects of English Intellectual History, 1640-1800* (Menston, 1972), pp. 19-42.

¹⁸ Exceptions include Fiona Kisby, "'When the King Goeth a Procession": chapel ceremonies and services, the ritual year and religious reforms at the early Tudor court, 1485-1547', *Journal of British Studies*, 40 (January 2001), pp. 44-75; Jennifer Loach, 'The function of ceremonial in the reign of Henry VIII', *Past and Present* 142 (1994), pp. 43-68; R. O. Bucholz, *The Augustan Court, Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture* (Stanford, 1993); idem, "'Nothing but Ceremony": Queen Anne and the limitations of royal ritual', *Journal of British Studies*, 30 (1991), pp. 288-323. A non-English example is Richard Wortman, *Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy* (Princeton, 1995).

by the same group of people. In other instances the scholars who have come to study ritual from a different perspective, that of literature, the theatre, medical history or numismatics, have not been inclined, or, perhaps, felt qualified, to look beyond the particular ritual in which they had become interested.

While work on the great rituals which periodically took place outside the palace walls, the coronation, state entries and funerals, have received attention, the study of the daily and weekly round of rituals – rising, eating, conducting audiences, worshipping and so on – which took place within the palaces has been strangely neglected.¹⁹ There seems still, in some quarters, to be a feeling that these were inconsequential and tedious activities not worth spending much time on, though why the latter should disqualify them from study is unclear: that parliamentary proceedings and legal cases were often dull has been no bar to their discussion. Court historians such as David Starkey, Malcolm Smuts, Roy Strong, Kevin Sharpe and Linda Levy Peck have concerned themselves with examining the structure and personnel of the court, the networks of patronage which operated there, and its dramatic and artistic milieu, and yet surprisingly little attention has been paid to the formal ceremonies in which so much of the court and household engaged.²⁰ In this respect, A. J. Loomie's recent edition of John Finet's notebooks represents a missed opportunity of the highest degree: Loomie uses the introduction to these fantastically detailed accounts of royal ceremonial to make only the slightest remarks, mostly relating to the career of the author.²¹

ii. EXTENT OF THIS TOPIC

Before sketching out the main contentions of this thesis, some explanation of its scope is required. First it is perhaps useful to define terms. By royal 'ceremonies' I mean those events in which the king repeatedly participated for reasons other than his own personal pleasure, and which served in some way or other to emphasise his majesty. It might be argued that there was no act undertaken by a personal sovereign which was not in some sense demonstrative of his or her monarchy. This may be so, but for present purposes, I have not included events which, though they did in some way serve to project the king's majesty, were not carried out primarily for that purpose, and for this reason I have not considered areas of royal activity such as theatre-going, court entertainments or hunting.

More than this, even according to my own definition, I have not considered all royal ceremonies of the reign. Instead I have concerned myself with ceremonies of the court, that is to say those events

¹⁹ R. O. Bucholz., 'Going to court in 1700: a visitor's guide', *The Court Historian*, 5, 3 (December, 2000), pp. 181-215, is one of the few exceptions, as are the works cited in the previous footnote.

²⁰ See under these authors in the bibliography.

²¹ *Ceremonies of Charles I: The Notebooks of John Finet 1628-1641*, Albert J. Loomie, ed., (Fordham, 1987).

regularly conducted within the royal apartments of the palace, sometimes described in the French context as 'cérémonial domestique'.²² The reasons for this are several: first these have a common story in more than geographical terms, being (almost without exception) the responsibility of the same household departments; second, the regular rituals of court have received nothing like the attention of the great out-door ceremonies (such as the coronation or royal entries), and so are an area where original research may most usefully be directed; third, they formed a regular and repetitive cycle of ritual activities, which allows greater scope for asking questions about continuity and change. Had space allowed I would have included chapters on the ceremonies of the order of the Garter and of birth, marriage and death; a considerable literature already exists for the former, but little work has been done on the latter and it was my intention to cover both here. Unfortunately word length has prevented me from doing so, but I hope to develop some thoughts on the mass of material I accumulated for these subjects elsewhere in the future. Though references are made to the king's exile, rather than taking its start date as 1649 or even 1630, this thesis is concerned with the period 1660-85. There would doubtless be great advantages in throwing the chronological net wider, but the limits of space notwithstanding, this is a consideration of the ceremonial world of a ruling sovereign. The ceremonies of the court are considered in three sections, corresponding to the three distinct spaces within the royal palaces in which they took place: the privy lodgings, the state apartments and the royal chapels. There is some over-lap between these but as activities in each of these three distinct spatial areas were overseen by a discrete group of officials, it seemed a logical and useful division.²³

The nature of the sources which inform this work, and the paucity of modern studies of ritual at Charles II's court and of early-modern England altogether, have led me to devote a good number of words to establishing the form of each of the areas of ritual activity. This may seem a pedestrian approach, but I came to feel it was unavoidable, and once done, may form a useful body of information for others to subject to further analysis. It must also be emphasised that this aspires to be principally a work of historical inquiry, rather than of sociology or cultural anthropology. This is partly because of my own belief in the need to establish an account of a subject through a fairly strict empirical approach before testing out on it models of interpretation, and partly because, after some thought and reading, I did not feel qualified to draw from this study universal conclusions about human behaviour and the nature of power. So I leave it to those with a better understanding than I of comparative material and the social sciences to make what they will of questions of intimacy and space, of centres and translations. My intention is simply to inquire into the nature of these occasions:

²² Duindam, *Myths of Power*, p. 103.

²³ The groom of the stool was responsible for the privy apartments and the lord chamberlain for the state apartments; though the chapel royal also fell under the auspices of the lord chamberlain, the dean and his staff operated in a much more autonomous fashion than the officers of the secular state rooms and so it has been considered separately.

how they operated, who participated in them and for what reason, and what it is they can tell us about the people and institutions of this period of English history.

iii. MAIN CONTENTIONS

The various conclusions and contentions of this thesis are to be found in the body of the text, and it is not intended to rehearse them all here. However, there are two main themes which recur and which are, perhaps, the primary arguments which have emerged from this study of this subject, and it may be useful to say something at the outset about those and about the context in which they should be understood. Though the two are intimately connected, they are still distinct; the first relates to the nature of royal power in the period 1660-85 and the second to the character and preoccupations of the king himself. To cast them in the most revealing light, it may be useful briefly to consider the historiography of the king and his court.

Charles II, like most English sovereigns, has fared varyingly at the hands of his historians. Every ruler is understood differently by successive generations but the character of few, if any, monarchs of the post-medieval period has, in the end, been quite so elusive. However, while readings of his motives and intentions have changed dramatically over the last century and a half, one of the few things which has remained almost unaltered in interpretations of his character is the belief that the formal rituals of monarchy held little, if any, appeal for him, and were not a prominent feature of the Restoration court.

Lord Macaulay in his great *History of England* set the tune for the Victorian view of Charles II and his court. The king was, he wrote 'addicted beyond measure to sensual indulgence, fond of sauntering and of frivolous amusements, incapable of selfdenial and of exertion, without faith in human virtue or in human attachment, without desire of renown, and without sensibility to reproach ... Honour and shame were scarcely more to him than light and darkness to the blind'.²⁴ The moral horror (and titillation) which this dissolute court provoked in the Victorians can be seen, too, on canvas, in the works of Augustus Egg and W. P. Frith (Figure 3); Queen Victoria herself, as a girl, had been happy to attend a Restoration ball, but soon lost her affection for her morally suspect forebear, and her views on him would later be reported as 'The Queen ... does not care for Charles II'.²⁵ The 19th-century view of the Restoration court as a wicked and corrupt place, soon to be swept away by the Glorious Revolution, continued until the early 20th century, though expressed in terms of ever-increasing alarm; Osmund Airy remarked that description of Charles II's court, a 'temple of unabashed

²⁴ T. B. Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James the Second*, 5 vols (London, 1849), I, p. 168.

²⁵ Public Record Office (hereafter PRO), LC1/513, II, no. 7; the Museum of London owns the costume made for Queen Victoria to wear to a Restoration ball; O. Millar, *The Queen's Pictures*, p. 190.

wickedness, where Lady Castlemaine sat enthroned, triumphant goddess of lust', 'is forbidden by the reticence of modern life'.²⁶

The rehabilitation of the king began with G. M. Trevelyan's *England under the Stuarts* (1925), in which he was re-drawn as a more balanced figure, forced by circumstance to relinquish his lazy and recalcitrant ways, to become in the end 'one of the greatest politicians who ever succeeded in the struggle for power in England' even if his struggle was for absolutism and therefore doomed.²⁷ This was taken to extremes in Sir Arthur Bryant's best-selling biography of 1931, which broke the Victorian mould entirely. Endlessly indulgent of his subject, Bryant paints a rosy, almost nostalgic, portrait of an affable, avuncular king whose foibles were forgivable, and who brought joy and prosperity to his war-torn lands. Liberally daubed (as the index headings demonstrate) with evidence of the king's 'courage', 'courtesy', 'generosity', 'geniality' and 'gentleness', Bryant's Charles II is a man who did not command loyalty through his awful majesty, but won it with his 'charming informality'.²⁸ David Ogg's account of the period, published just three years later, dismissed Bryant's hagiography in a sentence ('To the patriotism, moral courage, and self-sacrifice which have been eulogized by his more recent biographers he made no claim') but recognised that the king had his strengths, and noted that he shared his father's 'supreme sense of the dignity of kingship'.²⁹

Two popular biographies, based almost exclusively on printed sources, appeared during the 1970s, and did not significantly advance scholarship or interpretation of their subject. They continued to voice the long-standing view that ritual kingship was unappealing to Charles II.³⁰ Antonia Fraser's *King Charles II* does give some account of royal ceremonies, but as colourful period padding rather than material warranting serious analysis; she remarks promisingly at one point that 'his display had a political purpose' but her explanation, that 'he had after all been brought back to incarnate not a republican head of state but the beloved old monarchy for which the people yearned', throws little light on what that purpose was, and her casual observation that 'where pomp was concerned, Charles II was outwardly traditional rather than innovatory' is not explained or developed.³¹

Charles II had to wait longer than most post-medieval kings for real, scholarly consideration; the first modern account of his reign, J. R. Jones's *Charles II: Royal Politician*, was not published until 1987. Jones's Charles is altogether more sophisticated and shifty than previous accounts had described, his

²⁶ Osmund Airy, *Charles II* (London, 1904) p. 193.

²⁷ G. M. Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts* (London, 1925), p. 350.

²⁸ Arthur Bryant, *King Charles II* (London, 1931), p. 111 and *passim*.

²⁹ Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, I, pp. 148, 149.

³⁰ Maurice Ashley casts Charles as one who 'made a practice of informality', *Charles II: the Man and the Statesman* (London, 1971), p. 146.

³¹ Antonia Fraser, *Charles II* (London, 1979), pp. 192, 226.

affability a thin sheen on a steely and sometimes Machiavellian character. In the author's own words his is a 'political study of Charles II' rather than a biography, and hence has little space for the sometimes rather breathless discussions of his 'private life' which featured so prominently in earlier works. Though Professor Jones's account substantially revised the received view of the king's motives, he still subscribed to the conceit that the king was a man impatient with the traditional formalities of the English court; indeed it was precisely his 'dislike of protocol' which 'made his Court the most relaxed, informal and open in Europe, so that its often scandalous doings quickly became public knowledge'.³²

After such a dearth of substantial accounts of the king and his reign, it is in keeping with the cliché that three should have arrived within four years of one another: Jones's work, Ronald Hutton's *Charles II: King of England, Scotland and Ireland* (1989) and John Miller's *Charles II* (1991). Hutton is one of the few biographers to take a different view of his subject's attitude to court ceremonial. In his summing up of the character of the king, he refers to his 'love of purely symbolic functions, such as touching for the King's Evil' and describes him as 'pedantically conscious of the dignity which was due to the monarchy', but this is not developed beyond an observation.³³

What this thesis argues is that historians have long been labouring under two misapprehensions: one about the character of the Restoration court, and the second about Charles II's own attitude to the rituals of royalty. As a canter through the historiography of Charles II and the Restoration court serves partly to demonstrate, the normal view has been that in terms of order, stateliness and kingly magnificence, Charles II's court was a shadow of his father's. Over the last twenty years a great deal has been published on the early Stuart courts; however works which cover the subject of ritual in the early modern period almost invariably end their discussions at the 1640s.³⁴ There are, of course, obvious reasons for this: political historians have searched the court and its esoteric ways for clues to the origins of the civil war, while cultural and art historians have been dazzled by an England inhabited by Inigo Jones, Ben Jonson, Peter Paul Rubens and Anthony van Dyck. However, the tenacity of the interregnum's tendency to appear as an impassable chasm in English history has been

³² J. R. Jones, *Charles II: Royal Politician* (London, 1987), p. 55 and *passim*.

³³ Hutton, *Charles II*, p. 453.

³⁴ Consider, e.g., R. Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (Philadelphia, 1987); idem, 'Public ceremony and royal charisma', pp. 65-94; Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven and London, 1992); idem, 'The image of virtue: the court and household of Charles I 1625-1642', in David Starkey, et al, *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London and New York, 1987), pp. 226-61; Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake, eds., *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (London, 1994); Linda Levy Peck, *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England* (Boston, 1990); Graham Parry, *The Golden Age Restor'd: The Culture of the Stuart Court 1603-1642* (Manchester, 1981); Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry*; David Howarth, *Images of Rule: Arts and Politics in the English Renaissance, 1485-1649* (London, 1997); David Stevenson, 'The English devil of keeping state: élite manners and the downfall of Charles I in Scotland', in R. Mason and N. Macdougall, eds, *Power and People in Scotland: Essays in Honour of T. C. Smout* (Edinburgh, 1992), pp. 126-45.

remarkable. Many studies of the Tudor and early Stuart courts have not cared to try to cross it, and indeed have proposed interpretations which seem to omit Charles II's 25-year reign altogether. For example, Malcolm Smuts's excellent study of the royal entry maintains that the great external ceremony of the progress was on the wane from 1603, and that Charles I's failure to secure Londoners' support in 1642 was influenced by his lack of enthusiasm for the progress. The mode of traditional ostentation embodied in public royal ceremonial was becoming outdated, says Smuts, until on the eve of the civil war the monarch almost never appeared on the streets. He points out that many European countries curtailed public royal ceremonies in the 17th century, and states that 'the royal entry had become a prohibitively expensive example of an increasingly obsolete form of conspicuous consumption'. Yet in this scheme of the decline of the great outdoor pageants there seems to be little room for the great processions through London undertaken by Charles II in 1660 and 1661.³⁵ The apparent unwillingness of historians of the early Stuart court to discuss Charles I's successor seems also to reflect a certain reluctance to engage with Charles II's court, to know quite how to place it within models of the long-term development of court and politics, and to understand its relationship with the revolutions which bordered it.

When Charles II's court is considered – and the last decade has seen a small flurry of publications – it is usually as a place from which the glories of his predecessors' had long departed, and for the most part recent detailed accounts of the Stuart courts have continued this view.³⁶ John Adamson has Charles II's reign as a period of inevitable decline of the court: its majesty, its rituals, and its centrality to political life all on the wane. He sees a 'change of tone' and a 'qualitative change in attitudes' which meant that while 'for Charles I the rituals of the Court defined the essence of the royal household, its place as the tabernacle of royalty', after the Restoration, people were no longer fooled, instead recognising that 'the rituals were a public theatre, a choreography to be invented and reinvented at will'. Neil Cuddy goes even further, stating plainly that at the Restoration, 'with the exception of the annual Garter feast, the pre-war round of display ... was allowed to lapse'.³⁷ But, as I hope this thesis shows, these views, and the evidence which supports them, do not withstand close examination. For instance, Cuddy and Adamson both claim that, while the Tudor and early Stuart sovereigns sometimes dined in state as frequently as once a week, this gave way (in Adamson's words) 'to much less frequent observance under the later Stuarts'. This, it will be shown, does not

³⁵ Smuts, 'Public ceremony and royal charisma', *passim*.

³⁶ Recent works which discuss the court of Charles II include: Alan Marshall, *The Age of Faction: Court Politics, 1660-1702* (Manchester, 1999); essays in John Adamson, ed., *The Princely Courts of Europe* (London, 1999); Cruickshanks, *The Stuart Courts*; R. Malclom Smuts, ed., *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture* (Cambridge, 1996); David Allen, 'The political function of Charles II's Chiffinch', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, XXXIX, 3, (May, 1976), pp. 277-90; Brian Weiser, *Charles II and the Politics of Access* (Woodbridge, 2003); Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*, pp. 12-22.

³⁷ Cuddy, 'Reinventing a monarchy', p. 70.

hold true for the court of Charles II and is typical of the sort of assumptions generations of historians have made about the Restoration court and its 'informality'.³⁸

There, moreover, is a residual 'Whiggishness' in the view that the reign of Charles II was the last stage of the inevitable decline in the culture and self-expression of an *ancien régime* institution. This was not contemporaries' view; the count de Grammont, arriving hot-foot from the Louvre, 'Accustomed as he was to the grandeur of the court of France [,] ... was surprised at the politeness and splendor [sic] of the court of England'.³⁹ Though Macaulay's determinism has long been corrected in relation to the politics of the period, somehow his approach still colours interpretations of the court. It was as if the early 17th century had seen the glorious court of Elizabeth over-ripen, and thereafter – following the civil war – it was only a matter of time before it rotted away completely, to be replaced at the Glorious revolution with the fresh blossom of a new sort of monarchy. Of course things would change dramatically in the 30 years after Charles II's death, and arguably monarchy was a subtly different species by the 1720s, but this was not an inevitability. There has been too hasty an assumption that Charles II's reign saw the mechanics of monarchy gradually malfunction, that the cogs and wheels of its mechanisms – the rituals and conventions of English court life – were grinding to a slow halt even as the reign progressed.⁴⁰

The second principal contention of this thesis is that the traditional reading of Charles II's own attitude to the rituals and conventions of behaviour of monarchy, and therefore of an aspect of his character, is incorrect. The biographies old and new bristle with accounts of the king's laziness, which is attested to in the contemporary accounts; Anthony Hamilton remarking, for example, that the king 'showed great abilities in urgent affairs, but was incapable of application to any that were not so'.⁴¹ Historians, deafened by the raucous accounts of debauches in his mistresses' rooms and fruity exchanges with young Quaker petitioners, and distracted perhaps by their own assumptions about the relative importance of ceremonies, have assumed that ceremonial activities were the un-urgent affairs of Hamilton's description. We are told that Charles attended chapel very infrequently compared to his father and Tudor forebears, he seldom ate in public and so forth. Paul Hammond makes no bones about this view: 'It was the actual character and public behaviour of the king which did much to

³⁸ Adamson, *The Princely Courts of Europe*, pp. 104, 116; Cuddy, 'Reinventing a monarchy', p. 74.

³⁹ Anthony Hamilton, *Memoirs of the Count de Grammont, Containing the History of the English Court under Charles II, with Notes by Horace Walpole, Sir Walter Scott and Mrs Jameson* (London, 1899), p. 113.

⁴⁰ See, e.g., Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, p. 244: 'In seventeenth-century England this mystique was diminishing. Patriarchal adoration of the sovereign was challenged by a frank republican scepticism exemplified in the increasingly common assertion that 'kings were but as other men.' and Neil Cuddy's view that the revival of state dining in the 1630s was 'a case of artificial respiration', 'Reinventing a monarchy', p. 69.

⁴¹ Hamilton, *Memoirs of the Count de Grammont*, p. 113.

undermine the reconstructed edifice of Stuart monarchy which his propagandists were building'.⁴² However it is argued here that these conclusions have been jumped-to too readily by modern commentators, who have taken contemporary satire too much at face-value and assumed that Charles II, so different from his father, could not possibly have had the patience to listen to a sermon every Sunday, or put up with ceremonial state dining, or sit still in the banqueting house for hours on end to receive petitions or heal the sick. More than this, hearty, virile and quick-witted, he was simply not the sort of man who would want to dawdle about with such 'purely symbolic functions'. The accepted view of Charles II – casual, masculine and almost-modern – and of court ritual – tedious, archaic, and interesting only to pedants and Europeans – have combined like oil and water, leaving modern observers in no doubt that the king despised ceremony.

However, all of this is too simplistic. As John Miller remarked in his introduction to his own biography, we must not fall into the trap of expecting the king to be a two-dimensional character. The material examined for this thesis reveals that Charles conducted many of the principal royal ceremonies (healing, dining in state, worshipping after the English royal form) in exile despite the financial pressure this put on his penniless court; this runs contrary to the received view, expressed by one biographer in the following bald terms: 'Charles had spent too many years as King with "nothing but the name" to bother himself over an insubstantial notion such as glory'.⁴³ Throughout his reign, it is argued here, Charles II took the rituals of royalty extremely seriously: he performed his own part in them with patience, dignity and charisma. He was a great stickler for ensuring they took the correct form (never allowing himself, or his representatives, to be in any way dishonoured) and it was he, personally, who decided all matters of controversy or debate. More than this, rather than being the reluctant slave of royal ritual codes, he was highly skilled at using ceremonial exchanges to his advantage. He sometimes (but not often) waived the ceremonial dues he was entitled to when it suited his political purposes; on other occasions, having insisted on full ceremonial honours, he would change the agreed form as the occasion was under way, thereby honouring his guest without necessitating any alteration to the precedent books; and on other occasions still, he would use the rituals to dramatic effect, by insisting on the most punctilious observance of ceremonial honours on relatively informal occasions, reinforcing his own sovereignty with devastating impact.

One of the things which may have thrown historians off the scent is Charles II's own occasional remarks on the subject. He famously complained to Samuel Pepys of the 'ceremoniousnesse' of the Spanish king, who 'doth nothing but under some ridiculous form or other; and will not piss but

⁴² Paul Hammond, 'The king's two bodies: representations of Charles II' in Jeremy Black and Jeremy Gregory, eds, *Culture, Politics and Society in Britain 1660-1800* (Manchester and New York, 1991), p. 17.

⁴³ Fraser, *Charles II*, p. 226.

another must hold the chamber-pot', and in 1664 he wrote to his sister recommending sleep as the best course to get through sermons.⁴⁴ However, historians have been too quick to take these light-hearted remarks literally: a closer examination of the evidence makes it clear that though Charles II did not require a servant to hold his chamber pot, he was attended by two senior officials, one holding the candle and one the lavatory paper, when he relieved himself; while there is (as far as I can discover) no contemporary account of the king sleeping out sermons, but abundant evidence that he attended service in the chapel royal on most Sundays and holy days of his 25-year reign, offering and receiving according to the traditional calendar.

The easiness of access described in the king by contemporaries, has too often been understood as meaning he had an antipathy to ritual events and occasions.⁴⁵ Not only does that not follow, but it is the contention of this thesis that the opposite may in fact be true; it meant, rather, that more people than perhaps ever before were able to watch the king perform the ancient rituals of state: see him receive communion alone at the altar rail, watch him being served on bended knee and so on. As one recent commentator has noted, the court's openness and the king's accessibility mean that 'almost anyone of gentle birth and appearance could turn up' to witness these occasions.⁴⁶ When Halifax wrote in the 1690s of Charles II's '*aversion to Formality*', he was not referring to ceremonial events; his comment comes, rather, in the context of his attitude to transacting business with his ministers, where '*aversion to Formality* made him dislike a *serious Discourse*, if very long, except it was mixed with something to *entertain* him'.⁴⁷ He did frustrate his master of the Ceremonies by making changes to the form ceremonial occasions had taken under his father, but even Cotterell admitted that he did so to make them suit him better and 'if any should take it as a respect done to them, or insist for it, they would find He only did it in the way of using his own liberty'.⁴⁸ The earl of Ailesbury, who knew the king intimately, remarked that 'although by the king's connivance many men of assurance and of a buffooning humour made the king wink often at their forwardness because they made him laugh for

⁴⁴ *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Robert Latham and William Matthews, eds, 11 vols (London, 1970-6) (hereafter: *Pepys, Diary*), VII, p. 201; C. H. Hartmann, *Charles II and Madame* (London, 1934) (hereafter: *Hartmann, Charles II*), p. 95.

⁴⁵ Brian Weiser discussed the rise and fall of the king's 'accessibility' at length; he sees changes in the accessibility of the king as a series of deliberate strategies: first there was his great accessibility at the Restoration ('Clarendon's policy of open access'), then 'a general policy of restricting access in 1663', then another 'policy of open access' in 1668, and then from 1673, following 'Danby's policy of closed access', 'he slowly moved away from his adherence to open access' (Weiser, *The Politics of Access*, pp. 30-53, 60, 77). While I would agree that there was a new focus on order from the early 1670s, I am sceptical of his characterisation the decade before then as being made up of such a specific series of initiatives, of his description of these as deliberate 'policies' and of his view of Clarendon's role in promoting accessibility. See Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *The Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor of England, and Chancellor of the University of Oxford in which is included a Continuation of his History of the Grand Rebellion*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1827), I, pp. 503-4 for one instance of Clarendon's disapproval of the king's accessibility, by which 'many inconveniencies and mischiefs broke in, which could never after be shut out.'

⁴⁶ Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*, p. 15.

⁴⁷ *The Works of George Savile, Marquis of Halifax*, II, pp. 493, 494.

⁴⁸ PRO, LC5/2, p. 37.

the present, yet, when he would, he could keep up majesty to the height of his great countenance ... His court was splendid.’⁴⁹

It is the contention of this thesis that the rituals of monarchy flourished at the Restoration court, promoted, overseen and shaped by the king himself. Far from being ossified remnants of an old world order, in Charles II’s hands these ceremonial occasions were dynamic events whose performance was carefully shaped to his own advantage. Through them, he asserted the strength of the English monarchy, bound his people to him and projected an often dazzling image of his own sovereignty, and as such they served as a powerful weapons in his own political struggles during the reign. In many ways Charles II succeeded where his father failed, by managing to strike a balance between formality and informality, easily combining magnificence and stateliness in his performance of court ceremonies with exuberance and joviality in his personal dealings with his subjects. At Charles II’s death, far from being just a ghostly spectre of the occasions of Charles I’s day, the rituals of monarchy were in rude health, and perhaps as vibrant, as well-attended and as enthusiastically performed as they had been since the glory days of the young Elizabeth I.

⁴⁹ *The Memoirs of Thomas, Earl of Ailesbury written by Himself*, W. E. Buckley, ed., 2 vols (London, 1890) (hereafter: *Ailesbury, Memoirs*), I, pp. 93-4.

1. CEREMONIES OF THE PRIVY APARTMENTS

In September 1660, James Wynstanley, recorder of Leicester, travelled to London with a deputation of the aldermen of that town. Here, at the palace of Whitehall, they were 'brought to his Majestys bed chamber', where in the company of Lord Loughborough, the duke of York and 'divers Lords and Gentlemen', the recorder made a speech to the king in which, at some length and with great formality, Wynstanley thanked the king on behalf of the corporation of Leicester for the act of indemnity and oblivion, which had shown Charles to 'be made after Gods owne image, as you are Gods vicegerent'. Then, presenting the king with £300 of gold, the recorder and aldermen kissed the king's hand and departed.⁵⁰

The remarkable things about this straight-forward enough event is that it took place not in the presence or privy chamber, with their canopies of state, raised daises and royal thrones – rooms designed specifically for the sovereign to receive these kinds of formal visits – nor even in the withdrawing room, but in the king's own bedchamber, where the principal piece of furniture was not the canopy over the throne, but the king's great state bed. Charles II used his bedchamber in a way which would have been unfamiliar to his father and grandfather. Here he presided over a whole range of formal events and exchanges, which his forbears had staged in the sequence of state rooms designated for such occasions, and over new royal ceremonies specific to the bedchamber which had never before been conducted in England.

This relocation of formal events to the bedchamber and emergence of new bedchamber-specific ceremonies is one of the most remarkable and noticeable characteristics of the performance of ceremonial events within the royal palaces during the reign of Charles II.⁵¹ The moving of these formal events into the bedchamber had profound effects on the way in which they were performed, attended and controlled. The state rooms where many such activities had historically taken place were under the direct control and supervision of the lord chamberlain with his staff of officers, among them the master of the Ceremonies and the gentlemen ushers, who had long overseen the execution of ceremonial events within the royal palaces. By contrast, the royal bedchamber was not in the domain of the lord chamberlain but instead was instead under the control of the groom of the stool, the king's own personal body servant, who had under him the gentlemen and grooms of the Bedchamber. For all but a handful of people, access to the king's bedchamber was possible only with the king's specific and personal permission.

⁵⁰ *The Diurnal of Thomas Rugg 1659-1661*, William L. Sachse, ed., Camden Society, third series, XCI (London, 1961), pp. 111-12; *The Parliamentary Intelligencer*, 38, 15 September 1660.

⁵¹ See, e.g., Hugh Murray Baillie, 'Etiquette and the planning of the state apartments in Baroque Palaces', *Archaeologia*, 101 (1961), pp. 169-99; Weiser, *Charles II and the Politics of Access*, pp. 34-5.

i. THE BEDCHAMBER

From its creation in 1603, the household department called the Bedchamber had been responsible for the privy lodgings of the royal apartments under the headship of the groom of the stool.⁵² (Figure 4) Confusingly, 'bedchamber' could describe the household department, the privy lodgings for which the department was responsible or one or more of the rooms within those lodgings. The groom of the stool, who was answerable directly to the king, independent of the lord chamberlain, had a staff of gentlemen, grooms and pages and was himself also first gentleman of the Bedchamber. He was responsible for overseeing the staff of, access to and all activities within the privy lodgings, and as this therefore meant that he enjoyed unparalleled proximity to the king and the power to deny others his presence, this was a post of enormous influence.⁵³

The king's first appointment to the post of groom of the stool, on 31 May 1660, was his father's own groom of the stool, the distinguished royalist and soldier William Seymour, marquis of Hertford, now in his seventies.⁵⁴ After Hertford's death in October, Charles appointed Sir John Grenville, soon to be earl of Bath, who was to hold the position for the next twenty-five years. Two years younger than the king himself, Grenville was an unlikely choice as the king's closest servant. From a Cornish family, he was a kinsman of George Monck, and had fought for the king in the civil war. Having briefly governed the Scilly Isles for the royalists after the regicide, he remained in England for the rest of the interregnum and played an important part in negotiating the Restoration. On the return of Charles II Grenville did well. He was made a gentleman of the Bedchamber in June 1660, and then, on the death of the marquis of Hertford, he was promoted to be groom of the stool – appointments which Bishop Burnet put down unequivocally to Monck's influence. Most of Grenville's concerns were in the west country. In April 1661 he was made earl of Bath; and in May governor of Plymouth; he organised the Devon and Cornwall militia for the defence of the region in 1666 and 1667 and oversaw the re-fortification of Plymouth. There is little evidence that he enjoyed the king's special affection or confidence, and until a dispute with the lord chamberlain arose in the 1680s, he made little mark in his oversight of the king's privy lodgings.⁵⁵

⁵² N. Cuddy, 'The revival of the entourage: the Bedchamber of James I, 1603-1625', in David Starkey, et al, *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London, 1987), pp. 173-225; Gerald Aylmer, *The Crown's Servants: Government and the Civil Service under Charles II, 1660-85* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 22-3.

⁵³ To make the distinction clearer, the department will be referred to as the Bedchamber, the rooms under their control as the privy lodgings and the room(s) in which the king slept will be referred to as bedchamber(s). NUL, Portland MSS, PW V 92, fol. 3v.

⁵⁴ PRO, LC5/201, p. 1; *The Dictionary of National Biography*, Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lees, eds, 63 vols (London, 1885).

⁵⁵ PRO, LC5/201, p. 2; *DNB*; *Burnet's History of my Own Time*, Osmund Airy, ed., 2 vols (Oxford, 1897-1900), I, pp.178-9; Aylmer, *The Crown's Servants*, pp. 23; Ronald Hutton, *The Restoration* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 106-8; *Historical Manuscripts Commission: Twelfth Report, Appendix, Part VII: The Manuscripts of S. H. Le Fleming Esq of Rydal Hall* (London, 1890) (hereafter: *HMC Fleming*), p. 67. Even when the dispute with the lord chamberlain arose in the 1680s, it was one of the other

The gentlemen of the Bedchamber, who numbered around twelve in Charles II's reign, were appointed from the nation's aristocracy. At the Restoration, the gentlemen were a mix of old royalists such as Hertford and Newcastle, the king's closest exile companions, Ormond and Buckingham, and those who had helped bring about the restoration, notably Albemarle and Bath. They were charged with the most privileged aspects of the personal attendance of the king, standing in for the groom of the stool whenever he was absent, sharing even his eponymous duty of attending the king at his close stool; they slept in the bedchamber with the king, dressed him in the mornings and served him at meals within the privy lodgings.⁵⁶ The grooms of the Bedchamber, who also numbered about twelve, were less lofty in status – they were specifically 'not to be above the degree of Gentlemen' – and were charged with providing the king's linen, being in constant attendance in the rooms to do the king's bidding and aiding the gentlemen in their service of the king at his private meals; they also slept in the privy lodgings, on the floor of the withdrawing chamber.⁵⁷ The pages (sometimes also called pages of the backstairs), who numbered six, were, in reality, responsible for much of the day-to-day operation of the privy lodgings, for 'take[ing] care that every thing be ready'. They dealt with all the mundane tasks, such as lighting fires, making the beds, keeping the rooms clean and running errands, and were issued 'Watches with Alarums' to ensure punctuality was maintained. In addition, they were also, crucially, responsible for manning the doors and overseeing the rules of access – something which has gained them some notoriety then and since.⁵⁸ Through the 25 years of the king's reign, there was remarkably little change in the people who served as pages, only eleven men holding posts in total. In addition one of the pages was always appointed keeper of the king's cabinet closet, a post which gave the holder unique access to the king in his inner-most rooms, and which was held throughout the reign by the Chiffinch brothers, first Thomas and then William. One other post was effectively part of the Bedchamber, the keeper of the privy purse, responsible for the royal personal expenditure: a position first held by Arlington, and from 1665 by Baptist May.⁵⁹ As has been shown by David Allen, these

gentlemen of the Bedchamber, rather than Bath, whose insistence that the lord chamberlain did not have right of access which sparked the argument, *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton being Chiefly Addressed to Christopher, Viscount Hatton AD 1601-1704*, Edward Maude Thompson, ed., 2 vols, Camden Society, NS XXII, XXIII (London, 1878), II, pp. 21-2.

⁵⁶ Nottingham University Library, Manuscripts Collection (hereafter NUL), Portland MSS, Pw V 92, fos 4v-6r; Edward Chamberlayne, *Angliae Notitia or the Present State of England, Together with Divers Reflections upon the Ancient State Thereof* (London, 1669) (hereafter: *Angliae Notitia*, 1669), pp. 262-3; *The Present State of the British Court or, An Account of the Civil and Military Establishment of England* (London, 1720), p. 22, Ailesbury, *Memoirs*, I, p. 86; Count Lorenzo Magalotti, *Travels of Cosmo the Third, Grand Duke of Tuscany through England during the reign of King Charles the Second (1669)* (London, 1821) (hereafter: *Magalotti, Travels*), p. 383.

⁵⁷ *Angliae Notitia*, 1669, pp. 265-6; NUL, Portland MSS, Pw V 92, fos 6r-v; PRO, SP29/230, no. 84; British Library (hereafter: BL), Egerton MS 3350, fol. 7r; *Magalotti, Travels*, p. 384

⁵⁸ NUL, Portland MSS, Pw V 92, fol. 7r; Pw V 93, fol. 20r; PRO, SP29/230, no. 84; *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton*, II, pp. 21-2; *The Present State of The British Court*, p. 25; *The Diary of John Evelyn*, E. S. de Beer, ed., 6 vols (Oxford, 1955) (hereafter: *Evelyn, Diary*), III, pp. 299-300. There seems to have been a great emphasis on punctuality in the privy lodgings: the king had several clocks in his bedchamber which ticked and chimed noisily through the night, PRO, LC5/138, p. 362, Ailesbury, *Memoirs*, I, p. 87.

⁵⁹ John Sainty and Robert O. Bucholz, *Officials of the Royal Household 1660-1837, Part I: Department of the Lord*

men, the grooms and pages of the Bedchamber, were both Charles II's daily companions and the means by which those visiting the court might gain access to the king. There was nothing particularly sinister in these roles, which were a natural extension of their long-standing duties. However, as has been noted elsewhere, by relying on men such as Chiffinch, who was not a great patron or politician in his own right 'working to forward his own policy or ... in their [his ministers'] pay like some male precursor of Mrs. Masham', Charles II was perhaps able to exercise much more immediate personal control over his affairs.⁶⁰ In this light, it is interesting to speculate whether the king deliberately maintained as groom of the stool someone who was not to be an over-bearing or very constant presence in the Bedchamber thereby enabling himself to deal directly with his junior officials.

The area of the royal palaces for which this collection of officials was responsible varied in its extent depending on the building, but their jurisdiction always started at the junction between the privy chamber (the last room in the sequence run by the lord chamberlain) and the withdrawing room (the first room in the privy lodgings) (Figure 4).⁶¹ The regulations for the privy lodgings issued in 1661 describe the rooms run by the groom of the stool at Whitehall as comprising: 'Our Bedchamber, the great Withdrawing Roome next our Bedchamber, the lesser Withdrawing Roome formerly called the Horne Roome, And ... our Cabinet or Clossett, the back Galleryes and back staires'. As this definition was specific to one building it was necessary to add the qualifier 'all other Roomes that doe or shall belong to Our Bedchamber, att our Pallace of Whitehall, and in all other Our Mansion houses'.⁶²

When the geography of the privy lodgings at Whitehall was altered, so was the formal description of the domain of the Bedchamber. (Figure 5) After the construction of the Volary lodgings at Whitehall in the late 1660s, new Bedchamber ordinances were issued with a modified delineation of the geographical extent of the Bedchamber, which was now to include: 'Our old and new Bedchambers, the great with-drawing Roome next our old-Bedchamber comonly called the Fane Roome, the lesser Withdrawing room on the other side of our said Bedchamber formerly called the Horne Roome, Our Cabinets or Clossets, Our new Withdrawing Roome to our new Bedchamber and all other Roomes belonging to our old and new private Lodgings and the back staires & back Galleryes at our Pallace of

Chamberlain and Associated Offices (London, 1997), pp. 16-17; Aylmer, *The Crown's Servants*, pp. 23-5; Cuddy, 'The revival of the entourage', p. 187; Allen, 'The political function of Charles II's Chiffinch', pp. 277-90; only the king and Mr Chiffinch had keys to the king's most private spaces, PRO, LC5/142, p. 51. That the keeper of the closet genuinely enjoyed privileged access is vividly demonstrated by the earl of Ailesbury's description of waiting on the king as gentleman of the Bedchamber: Ailesbury was unable to go into the king's closet to ensure the king was well, but instead had to ask William Chiffinch to do so 'for no other had that liberty', Ailesbury, *Memoirs*, I, p. 88.

⁶⁰ Allen, 'The political function of Charles II's Chiffinch', p. 287.

⁶¹ The orders for the government of the lord chamberlain's domain concur with the Bedchamber ordinances on this point, and go no further than the privy chamber and gallery, BL, Stowe MS 562, fos. 1r-16r, see Brian Weiser, 'A call for order: Charles II's ordinances of the household', *The Court Historian*, 6, 2 (September, 2001), pp. 151-7.

⁶² NUL, Portland MS, Pw V 92, fol. 3v.

Whitehall and in all other Our Mansion houses'.⁶³ And when the layout of the king's privy lodgings at Whitehall altered significantly for a third time in the early 1680s, a modified set of orders were again issued, described specifically by Sir Charles Lyttleton as 'the new orders ab[ou]t y^e bedchamber, since the K[in]g is come into these new lodgings'.⁶⁴

While Charles II's use of his bedchamber as a room of state where formal ceremonies were performed was barely reflected in the written orders for the use of that room (see below), it was reflected in the physical configuration and decoration of the principal bedchamber in his palaces. In the year of his return from exile, Charles II was in almost continual residence at Whitehall Palace. His immediate concern here in terms of the decoration of his principal rooms was to order the Chapel Royal according to his needs (see chapter 3). Once this had been undertaken, the king's Works turned their attention to the king's bedchamber. In the course of the winter of 1660-1, the old bedchamber north of the withdrawing room, or vane room, was reconfigured for Charles II. An alcove was created in which the royal bed was to sit, while the bed was given further elevated and separate status by the provision of 'carved pannells before his ma^{ties} bed'.⁶⁵ (Figure 6) Unfortunately no image survives of this room, but Works accounts describe it as having a 'frett' ceiling, a raised parquet floor and 'two g^t Draperyes wth two flying boyes in them holding the drapery before the Alcove'; indicating that it was strikingly similar to the chambre à coucher built for Henri IV, and in which Louis XIV slept in the 1650s, at the Louvre.⁶⁶ (Figure 7)

In the plans for the king's great new palace at Greenwich, a bedchamber along similar lines was envisaged, with a great railed alcove, for which detailed drawings survive.⁶⁷ (Figures 8 and 9) Although the new bedchambers built by Charles II after the 1660s did not include an alcove, the great alcove bedchamber created for Charles II at Whitehall in 1661 continued in use right through his reign, periodically re-hung and re-decorated.⁶⁸ In the bedchambers which were subsequently set up

⁶³ Simon Thurley, *Whitehall Palace: An Architectural History of the Royal Apartments, 1240-1690* (New Haven and London, 1999), pp. 108-11; NUL, Portland MS Pw V 93, fol. 2v.

⁶⁴ *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton*, II, p. 21; Thurley, *Whitehall Palace*, pp. 111-13.

⁶⁵ Carpenters 'furring ye ceeling Joysts in ye Kings Bedchamber...& ye Alcove roome...bracketting ye Kings bedchambr...& ye Alcove roome for ye fretted Ceelings' [fol 163v]...laying a floore in ye Alcove roome 19 fot long & 12 fot broad, making one ptition 12 fot high & 9 fot longe', PRO, WORK 5/1, fol 163r-v.

⁶⁶ Thurley, *Whitehall Palace*, p. 106; PRO, WORK 5/1, fol. 163r-v, 196v; WORK5/2, fol. 40v. Simon Thurley and I worked together on establishing this relationship, in preparation for a paper at the 'Tudor and Stuart Interior' conference at the Victoria and Albert Museum, February 2002. A drawing of the French royal alcove is among a collection of drawings brought to England at some point in the mid-17th century and now in the Ashmolean Museum.

⁶⁷ John Webb's sketch for 'the Alcove in his Ma^{ties} Bedchamber Greenwich 1665' is in the collection of the RIBA, John Harris, *Catalogue of the Drawing Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects, Volume One: Inigo Jones and John Webb* (Farnborough, 1972), p. 24, cat. 130 and fig. 129. Simon Thurley, 'A country seat fit for a king: Charles II, Greenwich and Winchester', in Cruickshanks, ed., *The Stuart Courts*, pp. 214-40.

⁶⁸ For example, in August 1670 the mourning hangings of this bedchamber were taken down, which had included '4 yds of Cloth the [sic] cover y^e rayle of y^e Alcove', PRO, LC5/201, p. 454; while in August 1682 new hangings, stools and a chair were provided for 'the Room betweene the old Bedchamber and Closset on the Garden side' – which must refer to the

without alcoves, rails or screens continued to be provided some of which went right round the bed on three sides and performed something of the function of the bed alcove. (Figure 10) Thus in 1676-7 a 'Skreene of Walnut Carved, to stand about the Bed' was provided for one of the king's bedchambers at Whitehall,⁶⁹ while in 1696 among the contents of the Wardrobe were a variety of old bed rails, including '4 pieces of Railes and Ballesters GUILT with Gold Made for an alcove', '2 Brass wyer screenes to goe Rownd a bedd' and '1 sweetwood wyar screene to put about a bed'.⁷⁰ (Figure 11)

At Whitehall, Charles II had, throughout his reign, always at least two bedchambers and by the end of his reign as many as four, at his disposal.⁷¹ (Figure 5) Given the nature of the sequential progression of state rooms in all royal palaces, that set up in 1661 was the most geographically 'public' being immediately adjacent to the withdrawing room or vane room. Those constructed in the volary lodgings were further away from the state rooms and adjoined more directly onto the queen's lodgings. Unfortunately references to formal events within the king's bedchamber very seldom indicate which of his bedchambers was meant, but the few that give any sense of location suggest that the 1661 alcove bedchamber was often used for the more formal ceremonies.⁷²

In his new apartments constructed at Windsor Castle, Charles II again provided himself with more than one bedchamber despite the very constricted area he had at his disposal: he had a great bedchamber opening directly off the withdrawing room and a little bedchamber which opened off the great bedchamber.⁷³ (Figure 12) The only means of certainly determining how Charles II wanted his bedchambers to be arranged, as opposed to how they had to be arranged given the difficulties of building in pre-existing royal palaces, is to examine his plans for the palace he built at Winchester. (Figure 13) Here, with no restrictions or previous lay-out to respect, Charles II planned for himself the traditional sequence of state rooms leading up to a withdrawing room, then he inserted into this usual sequence two additional substantial rooms – a privy gallery and a large ante room – before the

bedchamber set up in 1661, which (unlike the others set up later) looked out over the privy garden; see also Worcestershire Record Office (hereafter: WRO), Caspar Frederic Henning Papers, BA 2252/5 (705:366), unfoliated, order signed by the earl of Bath, 15 January 1682/3.

⁶⁹ PRO, LC5/41, fol. 105r.

⁷⁰ PRO, LC5/87, fol 12 'Goods in Charge and Custody of Peter Hume' and 'ffrom the Wardrobe office at S^t Jameses'.

⁷¹ In 1666 the duke of Albemarle, in his correspondence regarding the return of the court to Whitehall after its long absence during the plague, wrote to Lord Arlington that 'The house will be ready, and he [the king] can have his choice of three bedchambers', *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series of the Reign of Charles II*, Mary Anne Everett Green, F. H. Blackburne Daniell and Francis Bickley, eds, 27 vols (London, 1860-1938) (hereafter: *CSPD*), 1665-6, p. 225. After the construction of the new lodgings in 1682, the old bedchamber set up in 1661, the two bedchambers in the Volary lodgings and a new bedchamber in the new range were apparently at the king's disposal, Thurley, *Whitehall Palace*, pp. 106-113.

⁷² For example the chapter of the order of the Garter in 1680, held 'in the King's Bedchamber by the Garden', PRO, LC5/2, p. 124; or the reading to the king of the paper presented by lords Huntingdon, Grey, Clare and others in December 1678, in the bedchamber adjacent to the vane room, *Historical Manuscripts Commission. Seventh Report* (London, 1879), 'The Manuscripts of Sir Harry Verney, Bart., at Claydon House, Co. Bucks', pp. 433-509 (hereafter *HMC Verney*), p. 496. See below for the orders of the Bedchamber being hung on the wall of this room,

⁷³ Howard Colvin, ed., *The History of the King's Works*, 6 vols (London, 1963-82) (hereafter: Colvin, *King's Works*), V, 'Windsor Castle', *passim*.

principal 'Bed-chamber' itself. Beyond the principal bedchamber was his closet, his backstairs and stool room, and then his 'Inner Bed Chamber' with a second set of backstairs.⁷⁴ Thus Charles II's ideal arrangement, come the 1680s, at least, was apparently to have two bedchambers, one which led directly from the traditional sequence of state rooms but was preceded by two additional chambers, and another which was smaller and was provided with the full series of supporting rooms.

The decoration of the bedchambers of Charles II is also telling in an investigation into the nature of the rooms and of the sorts of activities which took place there. When John Evelyn visited the painter John Michael Wright in October 1662, he made a note in his diary of some of the artist's best-known works, among which were 'the rooffe of his Majesties old Bedchamber, being *Astrea*'.⁷⁵ This canvas miraculously survives: *Astraea*, a daughter of Zeus who inhabited the earth during the golden age but thereafter withdrew and was placed among the stars, is shown tumbling downwards bearing a banner with the words 'TERRAS ASTRAEA REVISIT', while a portrait of Charles II and an oak tree are borne aloft by putti.⁷⁶ (Figure 14) A simple allegory of the Restoration and the return of the golden age, this painting presumably adorned the ceiling of the bedchamber set up with alcove and rail by Charles II in early 1661, which, with the creation of a new bedchamber in the summer of 1662, would understandably have been referred to as the 'old' bedchamber in October of that year.⁷⁷ As the room used for some, if not most, of the ceremonial events staged in the privy apartments at Whitehall, the public, political message contained in the ceiling painting was entirely appropriate.

At Windsor Castle in the rebuilding of the 1670s, Antonio Verrio was employed to provide great decorative painted ceilings for the new royal apartments. For the state rooms he executed grand allegorical scenes of the restoration of the monarchy and the re-establishment of the Church of England, in the eating room he painted the banquet of the Gods. The subject matter of the ceiling painting in the great bedchamber was every bit as political as those in the state rooms. As an early 18th-century observer noted, it rather audaciously depicted Charles II enthroned in Garter robes with France 'as an humble Supplicant kneeling at his feet': interesting altogether as an iconographical statement commissioned during the hey day of Danby's ministry. (Figure 15) The subject of the ceiling in the little bedchamber, in contrast, was the amorous story of Jupiter and Danae.⁷⁸ Though he

⁷⁴ Thurley, 'A country seat fit for a king', pp. 230-1.

⁷⁵ Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 337.

⁷⁶ The canvas was saved from Whitehall during the great fire of 1698 and is now in Nottingham Castle Museum. Edward Croft Murray, *Decorative Painting in England*, pp. 228-9.

⁷⁷ Thurley, *Whitehall Palace*, p. 106

⁷⁸ Edward Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting in England, 1537-1837. Volume One: Early Tudor to Sir James Thornhill* (London, 1962), p. 240, quoting George Bickham, *Deliciae Britannicæ*, (London, 1742). Colvin, *King's Works*, V, pp. 315-26. Interestingly, William III, who was to use his bedchamber in a much less public way than Charles II, had both his great and his little bedchambers at Hampton Court painted with allegorical scenes depicting deep and restful sleep: Endymion in the arms of Morpheus and Mars in the lap of Venus, respectively.

never visited it as king, Charles II was closely involved in the plans for rebuilding James I's palace of Holyroodhouse,⁷⁹ and here again, his bedchamber is decorated with just the sorts of public and political imagery which are to be found throughout the state rooms: on the ceiling, among plasterwork bursting with emblems of monarchy, is De Wett's canvas of 'The Apotheosis of Hercules', while over the fire is a complementary work by the same artist of 'The Infant Hercules strangling the Serpents'.⁸⁰

ii. ROYAL CEREMONIES MOVED TO THE BEDCHAMBER.

The most formal and ritualised of all formal and ritualised activities which took place in the king's bedchambers were the private audiences of foreign visitors and diplomats (see chapter 2. i for detailed consideration of diplomatic ceremonial). While the great first public audiences of ambassadors usually took place within the vast banqueting house at Whitehall following a ceremonial entry into the capital, a first private audience was a separate event which happened within the royal apartments in the royal palace. Though these first private audiences were attended by fewer people, they were still highly formal and performed with great care, and the term 'private' did not necessarily indicate informality.

The extent to which Charles II's personal practice on these occasions differed from that of his father is made perfectly clear by a statement on the subject made by the master of the Ceremonies in 1683: 'private audiences heretofore were generally in the Kings withdrawing roome now called the Fane roome, tho' since his Ma^{ty} Restauration they have beene sometymes in the Closset and for the most part in the Bedchamber'.⁸¹ As the many studies of his court have indicated, during the reign of Charles I, the king's bedchamber and privy lodgings were genuinely private and closely-guarded spaces. Orders restricting access to the king were a commonplace of the reign, and there is no evidence that his bedchambers were ever used for official meetings or events in the way his son's would be.⁸² This is further borne out by the notebooks of Charles I's master of the Ceremonies, Sir John Finet, and would be enshrined in the Bedchamber ordinances of 1661, which state 'Our Principall Secretaries of State, Our Master of Requests and all others shall have their private Audiences in Our Withdrawing Room'.⁸³ Charles II's master of the Ceremonies, Sir Charles Cottrell

⁷⁹ Robert Scott Mylne, *The Master Masons to the Crown of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1893), pp. 169-71.

⁸⁰ Ian Gow, *The Palace of Holyroodhouse* (London, 1995).

⁸¹ PRO, LC5/201, p. 45.

⁸² Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, pp. 210-16; Kevin Sharpe, 'The image of virtue: the court and household of Charles I, 1625-1642', in Starkey *et al*, *The English Court*, pp. 226-60, *passim*.

⁸³ In the early 17th century the withdrawing room and (in James I's reign), the privy gallery, were used for private audiences but the bedchamber was not used for such occasions. There is only one reference in Finet's extremely detailed account of his work as master of the Ceremonies, John Finet, *Finetti Philoxenis: som choice Observations of Sr John Finett Knight and Master of the Ceremonies to the two last Kings Touching the Reception and Precedence and Treatment and Audience, the Punctillios and Contests of Forren Ambassadors in England* (London, 1656), to anything happening in the royal bedchamber at Whitehall: this was in March 1624 when the ambassadors from the States General took their leave from James I lying in bed, as the king was too ill to rise, Finet, *Finetti Philoxenis*, pp. 137-8. In contrast there are numerous references to private

described the contrasting procedure when foreign envoys were to have a private audience at the Restoration court. Having been conducted by the marshal of the Ceremonies to either the privy chamber or the lord chamberlain's lodgings: '... they stay till the King be ready to receive them, which He doth sometimes in his Antechamber, & then they are met at the doors thereof by the Lord Chamberlain...& sometimes in the Bedchamber, & then some Gentleman of the Bedchamber brings them in'.⁸⁴

In 1673 Mary of Modena travelled to England with her mother, Marie D'Este, duchess of Modena and uncle, Prince Rinaldo, to marry the duke of York. Once the marriage had been performed and consummated, the party proceeded to London. Charles II came as far as Woolwich to greet them, and then together they all proceeded to Whitehall. Having taken the two duchesses to meet the queen, the king withdrew and Prince Rinaldo set out to make his visit to the king.

'Prince Rinaldo came to visit the King accompanied by the Duke of York, going through the Park, along the Privy Gallery the Marshall of the Ceremonies, going before, reconducting them into the King's Bedchamber, where he was, with a great many persons of quality, the King standing still without stepping forward at all & being uncovered, received that Prince, who bowed his Knee to the very ground. Their conversation lasted but a quarter of an hour; after which his Royal Highness brought that Prince into the Queen's withdrawing room'.⁸⁵

Here the king conducted the audience in the bedchamber and though, in his customary fashion, he waived the formality of remaining seated and covered, he deliberately moderated his liberal treatment of his visitor by not moving forward to receive him.⁸⁶ Though there are not always such precise details about these receptions, there is plenty of evidence for important foreign visitors receiving their first private audience with the king in his bedchamber; as, for example, in January 1682, when

audiences in the withdrawing room, *ibid*, pp. 26, 100, 118, 129, 137, 145, 176, 178, 179 and in the privy gallery, pp. 49, 73, 102, though Charles I curtailed the use of the privy gallery, pp. 145, 146. See also *Ceremonies of Charles I*, Loomie, ed., *passim*, (e.g. pp. 45, 53, 56, 58, 66). In a telling incident in March 1629, Charles I, having seen the agent from Savoy in the withdrawing room, was pressed by Finet to see the ambassador from the States General, who was already waiting in the privy gallery. The king paused between these official engagements by withdrawing into his bedchamber: 'his majesty ansered me: Well, Well intreate him to have a litle patience, I must fyrst goe in and chew an agent, before I undertake to swallow an ambassador. This sayd, entring his Bed Chamber, he soone after came forth and gave an audience to the other.', p. 56; NUL, Portland MSS, PW V 92, fol. 7v.

⁸⁴ PRO, LC5/2, p. 38.

⁸⁵ PRO, LC5/2, p. 35; this is almost certainly the king's alcove bedchamber.

⁸⁶ 'The King according to the rule should receive them sitting & covered, as his father was wont to do, but having contrived a custom of more peculiar converse while he was out of England, he is thereby grown an enemy to formality, & seldom keeping his hat on, or sitting down in those room He receives them as they find Him, standing, & his hat in his hand, but yet without consequence, for if any should take it as a respect done to them, or insist for it, they would find He only did it in the way of using his own liberty', 'Concerning the reception of Amb^r Envoyes etc in the Court of England', PRO, LC5/2, p. 37.

Charles was visited by the Moroccan ambassador, who 'had a *private Audience* of His Majesty in his Bedchamber'.⁸⁷

In addition to these ritualised audiences with international visitors, Charles II also formally received domestic visitors in his bedchamber, such as on the occasion quoted at the beginning of this chapter, when he received a deputation from the town of Leicester.⁸⁸ Subjects of the king who could procure an introduction were frequently given that introduction in the bedchamber, during which they would often cement their loyalty, and receive the king's approbation, by kissing the sovereign's hand. Thus, in April 1665, John Evelyn presented the young Dutch captain, Everse, in the king's bedchamber, where 'the K. gave his hand to kisse'.⁸⁹ The earl of Longford wrote approvingly to the duke of Ormond in October 1680 about Lord Arran's reception by the king, he having 'had the good fortune to be present in the King's Bedchamber when my Lord Arran kissed his Majesty's hand'.⁹⁰ While in March 1684 the earl of Danby, on his eventual release from the Tower, 'came to kiss his Majesty's hand in the bedchamber'.⁹¹ It was also to the king in his bedchamber that Lord Halifax brought a penitent Lord Huntingdon in October 1681, where he 'threw himself upon his knees and begged his Majesty's pardon for his late errors ... His Majesty replied that ... he knew how to show mercy, and gave him his hand to kiss'.⁹²

As the most developed form of the giving and exchanging of gestures of allegiance, Charles II would sometimes actually knight in the bedchamber those whose pledges of loyalty he was receiving. Thus, for example, on 5 November 1674, the king received the director of the Dutch East India Company and the commissary of the musters to the United Provinces, and 'they having been presented to His Majesty in his Bed Chamber', the king 'was pleased to confer the Honour of Knighthood' upon them.⁹³ In October 1675, the king was introduced to, and then knighted, one Pemberton, a sergeant-at-law, in his bedchamber.⁹⁴ Robert Hackett was knighted by the king on the morning of 23 November 1677 'in his Bed Chamber', following Hackett's introduction by the duke of York.⁹⁵ On 25 February 1682 Captain Thomas Cutter of Gloucestershire was brought to the king, who was 'pleased, as a mark

⁸⁷ *London Gazette*, 1687, Tuesday 17 January 1681/2; 'Whether when the Master of the Ceremonies introduces forreigne Ministers for a private Audience into y^e Bedchamb the Lord Chamberlayne ought ...', PRO, LC5/201, p. 20.

⁸⁸ *The Diurnal of Thomas Rugg*, pp. 111-12.

⁸⁹ Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 407.

⁹⁰ *Historical Manuscripts Commission. Fourteenth Report, Appendix, Part VII: Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde, K.P., Preserved at Kilkenny Castle*, 8 vols (London, 1895-1920) (hereafter: *HMC Ormonde*), V, p. 467.

⁹¹ *Memoirs of Sir John Reresby*, Andrew Browning, ed., second edition, Mary K. Geiter and W. A. Speck, eds (London, 1991) (hereafter: *Reresby, Memoirs*), p. 330.

⁹² *HMC Ormonde*, VI, p. 204.

⁹³ *London Gazette*, 936, Thursday 5 November 1674.

⁹⁴ *HMC Verney*, p. 466, William Fall to Ralph Verney, 7 October 1675.

⁹⁵ *London Gazette*, 1254, Friday 23 November 1677.

of his Favour, to confer the Honour of *Knighthood*, in his Bedchamber' upon his visitor, who kissed his sovereign's hand declaring 'that as his Life ever had been so Life and Fortune ever should be at His Majesty's Service'.⁹⁶ A special ceremony of recognition was held in the king's bedchamber at Windsor on 14 August 1681. Sir Samuel Morland was called into the room 'where there were present his Highness Prince Rupert, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chamberlain, and divers other Great ministers of State, and Members of the Most Honourable Privy Council' and the king declared his great satisfaction with Morland's new water engine, conferred on him the titles of 'Master of Mechanicks' and presented him with a special jewelled medal.⁹⁷

The bedchamber was also the location of a variety of other one-off or occasional ceremonial events. Marriages sometimes took place within the royal bedchamber: in April 1665 the duke of Monmouth married the young heiress, the countess of Buccleuch, in the king's bedchamber.⁹⁸ In April 1666, as part of the proceedings relating to the trial of Lord Morley and Mouteagle in Westminster Hall, the ceremonial delivery of the staff of the office of lord high steward took place in the king's bedchamber at Whitehall. Here 'the Lord Chamberlayne delivered the staffe upon his knee unto the King And the King delivered the staffe unto y^e Gentleman Usher & Garter King at Armes upon their knees and Comanded them to deliver it to the Lord High Steward'.⁹⁹ Lord Treasurer Clifford finally resigned his staff of office in the bedchamber on 6 June 1673 – the king then presenting it immediately to Sir Thomas Osborne who was standing at the ready.¹⁰⁰ When the Electoral Prince Palatine was recalled from his incognito visit to England, his father having died unexpectedly, the decision was taken to elect him to his father's place as a knight of the Garter before his departure. A chapter of the Garter was swiftly arranged, 'His Electoral Highness stay'd in the council chamber during the Chapter which was held in the king's Bedchamber by the Garden; and was sent for thither', being brought in 'the King Himself put the order about his neck, and the Duke of York buckled the Garter about his leg; and after the ceremony was over His Majesty at my Motion, was pleased to Knight the two Chiefest of his train'.¹⁰¹ On the king's birthday in 1681, following various celebrations of the event at Windsor Castle in the morning, 'in the afternoon a *Council* was held in the King's Bed Chamber'.¹⁰²

In addition to its role as the setting for formal ceremonial exchanges detailed above, the bedchamber

⁹⁶ *London Gazette*, 1699, Saturday 25 February 1682.

⁹⁷ *London Gazette*, 1643, Sunday 14 August 1681.

⁹⁸ *The Rawdon Papers, consisting of Letters on Various Subjects, Literary, Political and Ecclesiastical to and from Dr. John Bramhall, Primate of Ireland*, Edward Berwick, ed., (London, 1819), pp. 175-7; William and Mary married in the princess's bedchamber at St James's Palace, 'Diary of Dr. Edward Lake, chaplain and tutor to the Princesses Mary and Anne, 1677-1678', George Percy Elliot, ed., *The Camden Miscellany*, I, (1847), p. 6.

⁹⁹ PRO, LC5/201, p. 490.

¹⁰⁰ *Letters Addressed from London to Sir Joseph Williamson while Plenipotentiary at the Congress of Cologne*, W. D. Christie, ed., 2 vols, Camden Society, NS VIII, XII (London, 1874), I, p. 51.

¹⁰¹ PRO, LC5/2, pp. 124-5.

was, like the closet which usually adjoined it, the location of many essentially informal conversations and gatherings.¹⁰³ David Allen has detailed how access to the king in his private rooms could be gained with the consent of the king's principal page of the bedchamber, Thomas, and then William, Chiffinch. Allen argues that we need to understand 'the backstairs as a secret channel of political communication at the Restoration court as well as to characterize the Page of the Backstairs and Closet-Keeper as Charles II's personal secretary, a household servant with undefined influence but without corresponding responsibility to any but the king'.¹⁰⁴ The use of the bedchamber for purely private social and political exchanges with the king is beyond the scope of this discussion of ceremonial activity. However, as will be seen, Allen's conclusions about the way Charles II used the pages of the Bedchamber do support the argument put forward here about the king's use of the Bedchamber for ceremonial purposes. This can be seen, not least, in Allen's suggestion that by using his pages of the bedchamber as agents or facilitators in some of his social and political dealings, Charles II gave himself greater freedom of movement in these dealings; and the further implication is that, by the nature of their positions, these men were peculiarly suited to their role as buffers and scapegoats in some of the less reputable aspects of these dealings, be they sexual or political.

iii. NEW BEDCHAMBER CEREMONIES

In addition to the various ceremonial exchanges which took place in the bedchamber, the reign of Charles II saw a significant innovation in the royal ceremonial routine: the emergence of the occasions of the king's rising and retiring. As the earl of Ailesbury fondly remembered: 'No Prince was ever so diverting and amusing as the King was at his levee and coucher'.¹⁰⁵ Understanding of this area of Charles II's court has suffered from two problems: the first is that little work has been done to establish the form of these events during his reign, the second is that misleading assumptions have consequently been made about the relationship between the lever and coucher of Louis XIV's court and the way in which Charles II performed rituals of the same name in England.

It was nothing new for the English sovereign to be attended by a variety of courtiers while he rose and dressed and while he disrobed and retired: this was and had long been the duty of various members of the staff of the royal bedchamber and wardrobe of the robes. The Eltham ordinances of 1526 include details of how the king was to be dressed each morning, and similar procedures for dressing the sovereign existed at courts across Europe. Broadly speaking, what differed from court to court was

¹⁰² *The Loyal Protestant*, no. 26, Sunday 29 May 1681.

¹⁰³ Though there are references to purely social informal gatherings in Charles II's bedchambers (for example *Historical Manuscripts Commission. Twelfth Report, Appendix, Part VII: The Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Rutland KG, Preserved at Belvoir Castle*, 2 vols (London, 1888-9) (hereafter: *HMC Rutland*), II, pp. 11-12) these are fewer than one might expect and far outweighed in number by more formal occasions.

¹⁰⁴ Allen, 'The political function of Charles II's Chiffinch', p. 278.

¹⁰⁵ Ailesbury, *Memoirs*, I, p. 93.

whether people other than the Bedchamber staff were admitted into the royal presence as the sovereign was dressed.¹⁰⁶ This had not historically been the case in England. However, after the Restoration Charles II started to be attended at his rising and retiring by those who were neither servants of the Bedchamber nor directly involved in the ceremony itself, that is to say an audience of people who attended solely as spectators.

The limited evidence there is indicates that the form of the king's rising and retiring developed gradually over the course of his reign. In 1661, at which time 'no rules or formalities were yet established', Lord Clarendon described the free conduct of the Spanish ambassador, who 'came to the king at all hours, and spake to him when and as long as he would, without any ceremony, or desiring an audience according to the old custom; but came into the bedchamber whilst the king was dressing himself'.¹⁰⁷ John Evelyn was called into the king's bedchamber 'as he was dressing' in 1665, while in 1667 the 'Quaking' earl of Pembroke dashed into the royal bedchamber to tell the king of the imminent end of the world, which he did on his knees at the king's bedside.¹⁰⁸ These instances in the 1660s, in which visitors gained apparently spontaneous access to the king as he dressed, contrast with the descriptions of the lever as a specific event in the 1670s, and the implication of the evidence is that the dressing of the king became increasingly formal and organised during the reign. When the king was at Newmarket in October 1682, it was reported that 'the Musicians of the Towns hereabouts came and played to Him as he was dressing. One morning Bury men, another Morning Cambridge men, another Thetford; thay all came with their Cloaks and Liveries very formally; which was much liked of by His Majesty, he giving to every Company two Guineys'.¹⁰⁹

The earl of Ailesbury's very detailed account of the night of the king's eventually fatal seizure in February 1685 reveals much about the specifics of the sovereign's rising at the end of his reign. On

¹⁰⁶ For English practice in the early 16th century (as expressed in the Eltham ordinances of 1526) see *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household, made in divers reigns, from King Edward III to King William and Queen Mary. Also Receipts in Ancient Cookery* (London, 1790), pp. 155-6. For French practice, in which spectators had formed an integral part of royal rising since at least the reign of Henri II, see Nicolas Le Roux, 'La cour dans l'espace du palais: l'exemple du Henri III' in Marie-France Auzepy et al, *Palais et Pouvoir: de Constantinople à Versailles* (Vincennes, 2003), pp. 229-267, esp. p. 246; D. Potter, and P. R. Roberts, 'An Englishman's view of the court of Henri III, 1584-5: Richard Cook's "Description of the Court of France"', *French History*, 2: 3 (1988), pp. 323-4, 339; David Buisseret, *Henry IV* (London, 1984), pp. 101-5; J. Levron, *Daily Life at Versailles in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, transl. C. E. Engel (London, 1968), pp. 36-53; B. Saule, *Versailles Triomphant: Une Journée de Louis XIV* (Paris, 1996), pp. 30-45, 175-183. For the Spanish and other Habsburg courts, where there was no question of broad access to the royal bedchamber to witness the sovereign dressing, see Yves Bottineau, 'Aspects de la cour d'Espagne au XVII^e siècle: l'étiquette de la chambre du roi', *Bulletin Hispanique*, LXXIV (1972), 1-2, pp. 138-58; Christina Hofmann, *Das Spanische Hofzeremoniell von 1500-1700* (Frankfurt, 1980), pp. 66-7. At the *ankleiden* and *abziehen* of the Imperial court in Vienna and the Bavarian Wittelsbach court, there were present 'only a very small number of courtiers who assisted the prince according to a strict etiquette', S. J. Klingensmith, *The Utility of Splendor* (Chicago and London, 1993), pp. 156-7; Adamson, ed., *The Princely Courts of Europe*, pp. 174, 200.

¹⁰⁷ Clarendon, *The Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon*, I, pp. 503-4.

¹⁰⁸ Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 406; *Historical Manuscripts Commission. Report on the Manuscripts of the late Reginald Rawdon Hastings Esq. of the Manor House, Ashby-de-la-Zouch*, 4 vols (London, 1928-47) (hereafter, *HMC Hastings*), II, pp. 150-1.

¹⁰⁹ *Loyal Protestant*, no 226.

the king's call, the gentleman of the Bedchamber in waiting rose from his bed, also in the sovereign's bedchamber, and unfastened the inside lock of the bedchamber door which he had himself locked the night before. This was protected during the night by the yeomen of the guard standing watch on the outside.¹¹⁰ Before the door was unbolted it was the gentleman of the Bedchamber's privilege to raise any matter he wished with the king.¹¹¹ The pages of the Bedchamber then entered to light the fire while the gentleman of the Bedchamber retired to the backstairs room to dress. In his absence the grooms of the Bedchamber attended the king, who would rise and go to his stool room to relieve himself. The captain of the night guard then came in to receive the watch word, and then on designated 'shaving days' the barber would be admitted and would shave the king seated with his knees against the window seat.¹¹² Even in exile a regular supply of fresh eggs (for the lather), powder and pomade was maintained for shaving the king.¹¹³ Whichever of the king's physician, surgeon, apothecary or barber were required could be summoned from the withdrawing room where they would wait when their services were needed.¹¹⁴

The ordinances for the government of Charles II's bedchamber prescribe what was to happen in the dressing of the king. The provision of the king's linen, or undergarments, was the responsibility of the grooms of the Bedchamber. One of the grooms was to warm the king's linen in front of the fire before handing each item in turn to the groom of the stool who would then put it on the body royal. The king's outer garments were the responsibility of the department of the Robes, and it was the duty of a gentleman of the Robes to come every morning to the bedchamber to dress the king in his outer garments.¹¹⁵ Sadly no detailed contemporary description of Charles II dressing survives, so it is hard to know to what extent the king followed his own orders. However Henry Sidney, who was master of the Robes to Charles II from 1679, recorded in his diary on 24 June 1681, 'I dressed the King', confirming that the officer of the Robes did indeed do as the Bedchamber orders prescribed.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁰ See, e.g., provision of candles for 'The yeoman of y^e Gard that watches at y^e Kings bedchambr: doore at night are to have for that service' PRO, LS13/171, p. 97.

¹¹¹ As the earl of Ossory did, in December 1678, when he discussed with Charles II his plans for better organising the army 'when we were both in bed, it being my turn to wait in the bed-chamber', *HMC Ormonde*, IV, p. 277.

¹¹² Ailesbury, *Memoirs*, I, pp. 88-9; see also J. S. Clarke, *The Life of James the Second King of England Collected out of Memoirs Writ of his Own Hand ... Published from the original Stuart Manuscripts in Carlton House*, 2 vols (London, 1816), I, p. 566, for the duke of York entering the king's presence at seven o'clock in the morning as he was being shaved.

¹¹³ DRO, D/FSI, Box 268, 'General Household Accountss, 1658-9', December 1658.

¹¹⁴ NUL, Portland MS, PW V 92, fol. 7v; SP 29/230, no 84, para. 3.

¹¹⁵ 'the Gentleman of Our Roabes be permitted to come to Us every morning into Our Bedchamber to put on Our Doublett, and to stay in Our Bedchamber untill Wee shall be Apparrelled and drest'; NUL, Portland MS, PW V 92, fol. 4r, 6r, 7v; Portland MS PW V 93, fol. 3v, 7r; *CSPD*, 1661-2, p. 350; PRO, SP 29/230, no 84, para. 2; Edward Chamberlayne, *Angliae Notitia or the Present State of England* (London, 1671) (hereafter: *Angliae Notitia*, 1671), p. 172.

¹¹⁶ *Diary of the Times of Charles the Second by the Honourable Henry Sidney, afterwards Earl of Romney; including his correspondence with the Countess of Sunderland and other distinguished persons at the English Court; to which are added letters illustrative of the times of James II and William III*, R. W. Blencowe, ed., 2 vols (London, 1843), II, p. 208.

While access to the king seems to have been granted on an individual and reasonably ad hoc basis in the 1660s, the event had clearly become much better regulated by the 1680s. The contemporary accounts do not reveal much about how and when, in the course of proceedings, more general access was allowed in these later years. However the evidence that there is does strongly imply that contemporaries – be they English MPs or foreign ambassadors – genuinely witnessed the stages of Charles II's rising. The fact that courtiers had seen the king dressing in the 1660s, that the event came to be known as 'the king's rising', and that at the 'coucher' those attending saw the king put on his night shirt and get into bed, all support this. It is tentatively suggested that those who attended as spectators were not admitted until the king had risen, and been shaved and dressed in his undergarments. In 1683 the keepers of the privy gallery were reminded that they were not to open the gallery doors until the king had risen and the guard had been set, while when the duke of York returned from the Low Countries in September 1679, by coming to the king at seven o'clock in the morning when he was being shaved, he was able to be the first to tell the king of his return.¹¹⁷

The king's 'going to bed', or coucher, took place late in the evening, at about eleven o'clock, and during the course of it, the king actually undressed and got into bed. Sir John Reresby describes the coucher on Christmas Eve 1680: 'He was that night two hours putting of his cloaths, and it was halfe an hour past one before he went to bed'.¹¹⁸ There is every reason to believe that the audience at a coucher was actually witnessing the king going to bed for the night, and that the king did not leap out of bed as soon as they left. Despite his numerous and well-charted sexual liaisons, there is no evidence that the king ever received his mistresses, or indeed his wife, in his own bedchamber – he seems always to have visited them in their lodgings. In the early part of his reign, the king would sometimes remain with his wife or mistress for the duration of the night in her lodgings, however it seems that this did not continue and by the 1680s he always slept in his own bedchamber.¹¹⁹ By the late 1670s the king had a 'coucher' several times a week, and an indication of attendance is given by Reresby's particular observation in his memoirs of the poor attendance at the coucher on 24 December 1680: 'Ther was but four present'.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Reresby, *Memoirs, passim*; *Diary of the Times of Charles II* by Henry Sidney, II, p. 77: 'I was at the King's rising' Clarke, *The Life of James the Second*, I, p. 566; PRO, LC5/144, p. 641.

¹¹⁸ Reresby, *Memoirs*, p. 208.

¹¹⁹ The king always visited the queen in her lodgings, Hartmann, *Charles II*, p. 43, and in the early days of their marriage, before the rituals of rising and retiring had fully developed, and when the possibility of his wife conceiving still seemed real, the king usually slept with the queen in her bedchamber, Clarendon, *The Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon*, II, pp. 184-5, 193-4; Pepys, *Diary*, IV, pp. 1, 30; *The Life, Amours, and Secret History of Francelia, late D[uche]ss of P[ortsmou]th Favourite Mistress of King Charles II* (London, 1734), p. 38. As the reign wore on the king seems to have increasingly slept in his own bedchamber, Ailesbury, *Memoirs*, I, p. 87: 'The King always lying in his own bedchamber'; Reresby's description of the king's routine at Newmarket in 1684 makes it clear that though the king might sup and spend the evening with the duchess of Portsmouth, he slept in his own bedchamber: 'about three he went to the hors-races, at six to the cockpitt for an hour, then to the play...and soe to supper, next to the Duchess of Portsmouth's till bed time, and then to his own apartment to bed.', Reresby, *Memoirs*, p. 333.

¹²⁰ 'I was at the Kings going to bed (as I was three times in one week)', Reresby, *Memoirs*, pp. 208, 224.

As has been mentioned, access to the king's bedchamber was, with the exception of the staff of the Bedchamber and Robes and princes of the blood, theoretically only possible with the explicit permission of the king.¹²¹ Thus, they should have been attended by an invited audience alone. Like the doctors and barber, those who wished to attend the king in his bedchamber waited in the adjoining withdrawing chamber, and could then request access to the bedchamber. The Bedchamber ordinances of 1678 stipulate that footmen should not be allowed among those 'who come to waite on Us, [and] are permitted to attend and stay in the Withdrawing Roomes without Our Bedchamber', and that this was 'not only in the morning while Wee are dressing, but the whole day'. From the withdrawing room, to which access was clearly pretty easily achieved (see below), admission to the bedchamber was gained by sending a page of the Bedchamber in to ask the king's leave. In 1678, as part of new tighter security arrangements, the pages were to be provided with a list of all those who were allowed to request permission to enter the bedchamber.¹²²

Audience and Attendance

The duke of Ormond, in his advice to the earl of Arran in January 1678 on how best to conduct himself at court, advised his son to 'make your court assiduously, not in the drawing room only, when everybody is there, but at the King's and Duke's rising', going on to advise that 'it is a duty (especially in an officer and person of your station in such a time)'. At this time, Arran did not hold a Bedchamber post, so it was presumably his position as a senior nobleman which rendered such attendance a duty. Diplomats, too, were regularly to be found at the king's lever; the correspondence of the French ambassadors is littered with accounts of conversations conducted with the king 'ce matin a son lever'. However, it was not only those of the highest social status who were admitted. Some of the best evidence for the lever and coucher of Charles II comes from Sir John Reresby, an MP who held only local offices and who frequently attended the king's rising and retiring rituals. He was not the only such person to attend, as his memoirs record, on 28 February 1677/8, 'attending the King's levy' he had a discussion with the king and 'some other Parliament men then present'.¹²³

Like most occasions which allowed the king's subjects into close personal contact with him, the lever and coucher were times when suits were pressed, and the king's support sought. Charles II seems to have talked easily with those who attended his rising and reclining rituals of the political issues of the moment; so on 20 April 1681 at his going to bed, 'His discours was generally of the impossibility of

¹²¹ 'noe person of what Condition soever doe at any time presume, or be admitted to come to Us in Our Bedchamber but such as now are, or hereafter shall be, sworne of it, without Our speciall Lycense, Except the Princes of Our Blood', NUL, Portland MS PW V 92, fol. 7v; Portland MS PW V 93, fol 20r-v.

¹²² NUL, Portland MS PW V 93, fol . 20v; WRO, Caspar Frederic Henning Papers, BA 2252/5 (705:366), unfoliated, order signed by Bath 15 January 1682/3.

such a thing as the Popish Plot, and the contradictions of which it was framed'. As Ormond explained to the earl of Arran, at the lever 'opportunities may happen and discourses set on foot wherein you may properly bear a part, or usefully take notice of them'. On 12 April 1677, 'being at the Kings rising', Reresby was gratified that the king, knowing that a petition against his election as MP for Aldborough was pending, 'gave an order to his servants that were members to attend the committee, and to assist me when it came on'. At a lever later in 1677 the king was careful to reassure the French ambassador on the matter of his discussions with the visiting prince of Orange.¹²⁴ Attendance at such occasions could have less specific goals for courtiers, and might be worthwhile simply to demonstrate that you had permission to be present. Prominent appearances in the bedchamber were certainly regarded as an indicator of a courtier's position in royal favour: at Newmarket in 1677, it was observed that the 'jockeys keep their privileges at the height, and command as formerly, both in the drawing-room and bed-chamber'.¹²⁵ At such gatherings people met and exchanged news and conversation, both with one another and with their sovereign. The earl of Ailesbury recorded that after his son was born, his father 'went out after the birth to the king's rising, who perceiving he had a more cheerful countenance than usual, his majesty took notice of it ... My father saying he had a grandson born that morning, the king replied, 'And my Godson, God's fish!'.¹²⁶ Yet it was not appropriate to discuss all matters there; as Samuel Pepys reported to Lord Dartmouth in the Spring of 1684, he only had a superficial discussion with the king and duke about Dartmouth's recent expedition, 'being in the King's bedchamber it was not proper there to enter into any more particular discourse with him relating to nearer matters'.¹²⁷

iv. THE CHANGING USE OF THE BEDCHAMBER

Having sketched out the ceremonies which were performed within the king's privy apartments, it remains to ask what was the significance of these events, and how it was that they changed over the course of the reign. It was generally agreed by those who passed comment that the king's natural accessibility, his ease with having his subjects constantly about him, was partly due to his personality, and partly to his experiences in exile. Charles Cotterell was confident that his master had learnt 'a custom of more peculiar converse while he was out of England' when it came to his attitudes to the performance of ceremonies.¹²⁸ The question is then, where and under what circumstances did he learn

¹²³ PRO, PRO31/3/137, fos. 46r-v; *HMC Ormonde*, IV, pp. 92-3; Reresby, *Memoirs*, p. 134.

¹²⁴ *Selections from the Correspondence of Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex*, Clement Edwards Pike, ed., Camden Society, third series, XXIV (London, 1913) (hereafter: *Correspondence of the Earl of Essex*), pp. 33-4; Reresby, *Memoirs*, pp. 116, 224; PRO, PRO31/3/137, fos. 46r-v; *HMC Ormonde*, IV, pp. 92-3

¹²⁵ *HMC Ormonde*, IV, p. 53.

¹²⁶ Ailesbury, *Memoirs*, I, p. 71. See also *HMC Ormonde*, VI, p. 324. 'I met my Lord of Essex in the King's bedchamber and went with him to the Treasury', *Diary of the Times of Charles the Second by Henry Sidney*, I, p. 186.

¹²⁷ *Historic Manuscripts Commission. Eleventh Report, Appendix, Part V: The Manuscripts of the Earl of Dartmouth* (London, 1887) (hereafter: *HMC Dartmouth*), p. 113.

¹²⁸ PRO, LC5/2, p. 38

a different way of doing things? During his exile, for almost 15 years from the mid 1640s until 1660, Charles II was peripatetic, and at times was moving on a weekly or monthly basis. He visited several princely courts, including his sister's in Holland, but spent the longest periods by far in two areas: France and the Low Countries (Germany and the Netherlands). Charles II's periods of residence in France fell into two main spells: as prince of Wales from 1646 to 1648 and as king for a further two years from October 1651 to July 1654, this time residing at the court itself. The principal residence of the court was, of course, not Versailles (which would not become so for thirty years) but the Louvre; and understanding what he witnessed there is crucial to making sense of the way Charles II conducted himself at Whitehall after the Restoration.

Charles II rode along-side Louis XIV on the French king's return Paris in October 1652, following the brief exile of the Fronde. On their return the fourteen-year-old Louis installed himself in the royal pavilion of the Louvre, the apartment in which all French kings had lodged since 1555. The royal suite, much shorter than the equivalent in England, was made up of four rooms: the *salle de garde*, the *antichambre*, the *chambre de parade* and the *chambre à coucher*, with a small closet and oratory beyond. (Figure 16) The 'chambre de parade' (the ceremonial bedchamber), a great square room, was the 'pièce centrale du château'. As had been the case during the reigns of Henri IV and Louis XIII, its focus was the royal state bed, set on a raised platform and surrounded by a gilded balustrade, constantly guarded by a groom of the chamber, to which courtiers had to make a reverence as they passed. The adjoining room, the *chambre à coucher*, had been altered from a cabinet by Henri IV (perhaps because he did not want to sleep in his wife's apartments) with the addition of a great wooden alcove at the back of the room in which a bed was to be placed. (Figure 7)¹²⁹

In the first instance the young Louis XIV occupied these rooms as he had inherited them. It is clear from contemporary accounts that, like his forebears, the teenage Louis XIV conducted most of his great audiences in his *chambre de parade*, and was attended as he rose by spectators in a carefully controlled and highly ritualised manner (Figure 17).¹³⁰ During the two years Charles II spent at the Louvre, plans were being made for the suite to be redecorated in a fashionable modern style. The new royal architect of choice, Louis le Vau was employed to undertake this task and, during Charles II's last summer at the Louvre, Louis XIV was finalising the details for the refurbishment of his *chambre à coucher*, which would see the walls and ceiling remodelled, but the great alcove retained. Work

¹²⁹ Louis Hauteceur, *L'histoire des châteaux du Louvre et des Tuileries sous le règne de Louis XIV* (Paris, 1927), pp. 50-61; Louis Batiffol, *Le Louvre sous Henri IV et Louis XIII la vie de la Cour de France au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1930), pp. 1-40; Louis Batiffol, *Marie de Médicis and the French Court in the XVIIth Century*, Mary King trans., H. W. Carless Davis, ed., (London, 1908), pp. 36-73; Monique Chatenet, 'Cherchez le lit: the place of the bed in sixteenth-century French residences', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society* 24 (1999), pp. 7-24.

¹³⁰ See, for example, the contemporary account of Louis XIV's daily rituals in the 1650s quoted in John B. Woolf, *Louis XIV* (New York, 1968), p. 90.

began on this project, which would create 'la plus belle chambre qui soit au monde et du plus grand Roi de la terre', just as Charles II left Paris for the Low Countries.

While in France during the early 1650s Charles II lived as a member of the family of Louis XIV and was treated, generally speaking, as part of the French royal elite. By contrast for much of the six years which followed he lived in private rented houses and, though he visited princely and ducal courts, he was not a member of one. In 1654-6 he travelled around northern Germany, spending time with his sister Mary in Spa, Aachen and Dusseldorf, but with his base in a rented house in Cologne. From 1656 to 1660, he lived in rented houses in Bruges and Brussels, making occasional trips further afield, including, briefly, to both France and Spain in 1659. During this period, it was presumably personal preference and necessity rather than a particular experience of the conduct of foreign courts which influenced the way in which he conducted his affairs. He stuck firmly with English practice in his household, his lodgings in Brussels were set up as a mini English royal suite, with presence, privy and bedchambers – rather than ante-chambre, chambre de parade or chambre à coucher – and he continued to abide by the English royal ritual calendar. However, he did not live as his father might have done. Even before his extended stay at the Louvre, he was to be found receiving visitors in his bedchamber: the commissioners from the Scottish Parliament who had visited him at Breda in 1650, 'made their addresses by Generall Rothven, as Chamberlain of the House: on Tuesday the 19/29 they were received; the Lord Wentworth was appointed to attend them at the outer door, who conveyed them to the Bed-Chamber'.¹³¹ In architectural terms, what he had seen at the Louvre clearly influenced Charles II, and in 1659 he paid for his bedchamber in Brussels to be reconfigured: the room was partitioned up – with lath, plaster and 'pillers' – and boarded to create an 'Alcova'.¹³² Something of a hybrid of royal conduct seems to have emerged in the latter years of the king's exile: traditional English royal forms were maintained, but these were tinged with a taste for French artistic fashion, and showed signs of alteration born of necessity and personal choice more than anything else.

On his first return to England, the king made few significant changes to the lay-out or nomenclature of the rooms of his palaces and reissued his father's Bedchamber regulations largely unaltered.¹³³

¹³¹ Quoted in S. R. Gardiner, ed., *Letters and Papers Illustrating the Relations between Charles II and Scotland in 1650* (Edinburgh, 1894), pp. 39-41.

¹³² DRO, D/FSI, box 268, January 1659.

¹³³ NUL, Portland MS Pw V 92, fos 1r-9v: 'A Booke conteyning his Majesty's Orders for the Government of the Bedchamber and Privy Lodgings'. These are the earliest set of regulations to survive for the government of the Bedchamber of any Stuart king of England. They assert, though, that they were not new but merely 'a confirmation of the auncient Orders for the Government of Our Bedchamber and Privy Lodgings made by Our Royall ffather and Grandfather' (fol. 9v). The claims made in the 1661 orders for their own antiquity should be treated with some caution, not least as the lord chamberlain was to cast serious doubt on aspects of this claim in the 1680s. Neil Cuddy uses the 1661 ordinances as evidence of how James I's Bedchamber operated (Cuddy, 'The revival of the entourage', pp. 173-226; '... the claim is probably to be believed. Used with caution, therefore, the 1661 ordinances can give us important information about Jacobean practice', p. 186, n. 34). Kevin Sharpe goes further and, ignoring the ordinances from Charles II's reign, uses the Bedchamber ordinances as re-issued by William III as his guide to the practice of the reign of Charles I: 'No book of orders has survived for the

Nonetheless he began immediately to transact much business and carry out many receptions in his bedchamber. This he did, I would suggest, not as part of a scheme for adopting French practice, but simply because it was what he was used to. When his mother returned to England after the Restoration, she also received formal visits in her bed chamber as a matter of course, and it is quite natural that Charles should have done the same.¹³⁴ (Figure 18) When any indication of location is given, it appears that the loyal deputations which flooded to Whitehall in the first year or so of his reign were received by the king in his bedchamber.

The restored king's manner of receiving visitors in his privy apartments would be given physical expression in the creation of two bedchambers, of greater and lesser formality, during the first years of the reign. Evelyn described the 'the infinite concourse of people' who came in these early months: 'It was indeed intollerable, as well as unexpressable, the greediness of all sorts, men, women & children to see his Majesty & kisse his hands, inso much as he had scarce leasure to Eate for some dayes, coming as they did from all parts of the Nation: And the King on the other side as willing to give them that satisfaction, would have none kept out, but gave free accesse to all sorts of people'.¹³⁵ Colbert's account of life at Newmarket in 1669 describes the king as constantly surrounded by people, from dawn until 'son coucher'.¹³⁶ Under these conditions, it is hardly surprising that changes were made to the privy lodgings the king had inherited from his father. Within two years Charles II had altered his old bedchamber and fitted out a new bedchamber further into the privy apartments – presumably to give him somewhere to sleep which did not suffer the daily clatter of aldermen's boots.¹³⁷ That the former was decorated in a style that aped the chambre à coucher at the Louvre is a reflection of the king's life-long admiration for French decorative and artistic forms, rather than his systematic adoption of French royal practice.¹³⁸ The distinction between the rooms would endure, and when the king planned his new apartments at Windsor in the early 1670s, he provided himself with much the same arrangement (albeit on a quite different site): a great or state bedchamber, in which the

Caroline Bedchamber. We do, however, have a book of orders issued in 1689 for the Bedchamber of William III which announces that the orders are 'in the same form as they were established in the reigns of our royal uncle and grandfather of ever blessed memory'. There is no reason to doubt the statement', Sharpe, 'The image of virtue', p. 231. This takes no account of the fact that William III's ordinances incorporate changes made during Charles II's reign. For example, the stipulation that the groom of the stool should have complete command of appointing and supervising the staff of the Bedchamber, 'excepting only at public ceremonies' when they were to observe the dictates of the lord chamberlain, appears for the first time in the 1673 revision of the ordinances, and so is unlikely to have been a feature of Bedchamber regulations in Charles I's reign (Sharpe, 'The image of virtue', p. 234; NUL, Portland MS PW V 92, fol 3v, cf PW V 93, fol 2v).

¹³⁴ Clarendon, *The Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon*, I, pp. 403-4

¹³⁵ Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 247

¹³⁶ PRO, PRO31/3/122, fol. 7r.

¹³⁷ For the new bedchamber of 1662, in the 'Turks Gallery', see PRO, WORK5/3, fol. 139r.

¹³⁸ PRO, WORK5/1, fol 163r-v. For his love of French fashion, see e.g., the frequent references in his letters to his sister to French styles, Hartmann, *Charles II, passim*, and note his employment of the distinguished French tailor Claude Sourceau, LC2/10/1, fol 48v; LC5/137, p.10; Bryant, *Letters*, p. 89. It is also worth noting on this point that the French chambre de parade, roughly equivalent in function to alcove bedchamber at Whitehall, did not have an alcove, while the chambre à coucher which did, was closer in function to Charles II's new bedchamber(s) of 1662, 1666-8 and 1682 that did not have alcoves.

day-time ceremonial events could happen, and a small or private bedchamber, to which the king could withdraw for the less 'public' occasions.¹³⁹

As has been discussed, the admission of people to Charles II's bedchamber to speak to him as he rose was not highly organised in the 1660s. As a practice it bore scant resemblance to the great formal levers which Louis XIV inherited and would further elaborate in France. Instead, privileged people were simply given access to speak to the king at the beginning and end of the day. While the king began using the bedchamber for audiences and receptions straight after the Restoration, the lever and coucher evolved into events gradually over the course of the reign; far from arriving with the king as fully-formed occasions, they slowly took shape moulded by Charles II's own personality and the political circumstances of the reign. Some explanation of this development will now be attempted.

In December 1673 the orders for the regulation of the king's privy lodgings promulgated in 1661 were re-issued with some amendments. Because, the preface explains, the orders of 1661 had been 'neglected and discontinued', the re-issuing was to 'revive' and 'confirm' them with 'some further explanation of his Ma^{ty} pleasure concerning his necessary attendance' in the privy lodgings.¹⁴⁰ Among the state papers is a document which was apparently produced when the revision of the orders was proposed, in which various additional or alternative paragraphs are set out, prepared for the king's consideration.¹⁴¹ Though the author of neither the proposals nor the annotations which were made to them is identified, it seems probable that the paper was written by the groom of the stool and annotated by the lord chamberlain.

Broadly speaking the paper proposed that there should be further explanation of the responsibilities of the groom of the stool and stronger emphasis of the rules of access to the privy lodgings: i.e. reiterating that no-one other than the Bedchamber staff should be admitted without the king's special leave, as 'by such Instrusions his Ma^{ty} doth not only receive disquiet in his Person but disturbance in his most weighty affaires'. The author of the annotations was clearly uneasy about the proposals: as his notes explain, it was right that the privy apartments should be entirely under the control of the groom of the stool 'while his Ma^{ty} is private in them', but this could not be the case 'wⁿ y^e King is in publick & company is admitted' as on those occasions 'y^e direction hath ever been in y^e L: Ch: to w^m it belongs to bring Amb^{rs} & other strangers to y^e Audience, w^{ch} he doth frequently in those private

¹³⁹ For an occasion in 1679 when the king and duke of York withdrew from the great to the little bedchamber at Windsor see BL, Add MS 28049, fol 75r.

¹⁴⁰ NUL, Portland MS, PW V 93.

¹⁴¹ PRO, SP29/239, no. 84. The document is undated, but internal evidence strongly suggests it was written after 1661 and before 1673; the paper refers to only one set of previous bedchamber ordinances, indicating that it pre-dates the 1673 orders, while several of the paragraphs make suggestions which are taken up in the 1673 ordinances; the requirement for the Bedchamber staff to wait without their cloaks (para 5), was set aside by the 1678 orders.

Roomes'. Here was the problem: as the king was using technically private spaces for public functions, it was making a nonsense of the division of responsibilities between the groom of the stool and the lord chamberlain. The controversy which the paper's proposals was clearly going to stir up meant that in the event only one or two of the proposed alterations were made when the Bedchamber ordinances were re-issued, most notably a much fuller description of the spaces which comprised the privy apartments.

The date of the amended orders is interesting. There is no reference in any of the papers to a particular catalyst: to a breach of security or significant disagreement about jurisdiction, so why was it that the king, or his officers, felt the need to reinforce the government of the privy apartments at this particular time? One possibility is the effect of the visit of the duchess of Modena, who travelled to England the month before the new orders were issued to see her daughter married to the duke of York.¹⁴² Perhaps the many meetings in the privy apartments which this visit occasioned prompted the officials to ask for clarification on responsibilities and procedure in these rooms. This may well have been so; however, the issuing of the bedchamber orders was not a stand-alone event in the management of the royal household. As will be discussed in due course, 1673 saw the start of a substantial campaign of re-ordering in the chapel royal and the issuing of orders to the staff of the state apartments, requiring them to ensure the rules of access were properly maintained. It will be argued in subsequent chapters that the passage of the Test Act in March 1673, and the duke of York's conspicuous failure to comply with its stipulations, saw activities in the royal apartments come under close scrutiny. This resulted in a series of initiatives undertaken to ensure the events in these rooms were conducted in an orderly fashion, both to celebrate and protect the king.¹⁴³

Despite the fact that Bedchamber orders of 1673, in the form in which they were actually issued, were little different from those of 1661, for a time at least the regulations they contained seem to have been more closely followed. On 2 January 1674 Sir Gilbert Talbot, a senior courtier and, as master of the Jewel House, an officer of the lord chamberlain's department, wrote to Sir Joseph Williamson that when a foreign envoy was received that day, it was 'in the bedchamber, whence all men by the Lords of the Bedchamber and the grooms are excluded by new order'.¹⁴⁴ Though it is difficult to marshal evidence for the regulation of access to the king's bedchamber, it does appear that the years of the mid-1670s saw tighter regulation and more formality in the admission of visitors to the king's bedchamber. For the first time the king's 'rising' is used as a noun rather than a verb: for example, in April 1677, Sir John Reresby noted that he had been 'at the Kings riseing', and for the first time

¹⁴² The master of the Ceremonies extensive notes on this visit are to be found in PRO, LC5/2, pp. 48-57.

¹⁴³ PRO, LC5/140, fos 248, 249. See chapter 3.

¹⁴⁴ *Letters Addressed from London to Sir Joseph Williamson*, I, p. 106.

Englishmen used the word 'lever', 'levy' or 'levée' to describe the event.¹⁴⁵ It was now an occasion, and one which, for example, the French ambassador regularly attended.¹⁴⁶

The 'discovery' of the popish plot in September and October 1678 had an immediate and direct effect on access arrangements for the king's bedchamber. Just three weeks after the body of the murdered Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey was discovered, new 'additional orders' for regulating the Bedchamber were drawn up. Dated 10 November 1678 the orders were issued by the king's 'especiall Command' from Whitehall and bear his signature and his initials on each page.¹⁴⁷ The rubric at the beginning explains that 'the Orders of Our Bedchamber' had not been 'of late observed as they ought but very much neglected': specifically, and 'to Our great displeasure', a 'multitude of keyes of Our Bedchamber are made and disposed through the House, and also abroad in the Towne in the hands of Strangers' which 'may be of very dangerous Consequence to the safety of Our Person'.¹⁴⁸ For these reasons, 'wee have therefore thought fitt to renew and repeat Our former Commands' regarding the government of the Bedchamber. However, the 1678 orders are quite unlike those of 1661 and 1673, which were very similar in content and form, and instead comprise eight orders emphasising or modifying the previous regulations. The clear underlying concern of the 1678 orders was to increase the security of the king's privy lodgings and therefore of his person. First their physical security was dealt with: new locks and keys were to be provided for all the rooms of the Bedchamber, and while this was being arranged the old locks were to be altered.¹⁴⁹ Procedures for passing the keys between staff as they came into and out of waiting were laid down. Second, the rules for admitting visitors to the privy lodgings were tightened: the criteria for access were re-emphasised, and the Bedchamber staff's duty to enforce these reasserted. The pages were to be more vigilant about access to the room. One was to 'stand constantly at the Doore of Our Bedchamber' to open the door automatically to the king, princes of the blood, and the Bedchamber staff, to open it with the groom of the stool's permission to the keeper of the Robes, the keeper of the privy purse and the first physician, but 'to noe other person or persons whatsoever without Our leave', and this was to be 'upon paine of being suspended, and such farther punishment as Wee shall thinke fitt to inflict.' As well as dealing with the

¹⁴⁵ Resesby, *Memoirs*, pp. 116, 134; *HMC Ormonde*, IV, pp. 92-3; see also Ailesbury, *Memoirs*, I, p. 93. Brian Weiser's assertion (*Charles II and the Politics of Access*, p. 34) that 'In fact, English contemporaries do not refer to their king's rising as ceremonial, or term it a "levée"' is incorrect.

¹⁴⁶ PRO, PRO31/3/137, fos. 46r-v, 58r; 123r.

¹⁴⁷ Ordinances were also issued for the state apartments; the lord chamberlain's order of 8 March 1678/9 refers to 'New Orders for the Better regulateing the resort of persons unto' both 'his Palace & Privy Lodgings', LC5/143, p. 282, this is discussed below.

¹⁴⁸ NUL, Portland MS, PW V 93, 'Additional Orders' for the Bedchamber of Charles II, fos 20r- 21r; fol. 20v.

¹⁴⁹ Concerns about the security of the king as he slept were raised in February 1676/7 when a gang of drunken courtiers went on the rampage at Windsor and smashed up Prince Rupert's laboratory; in the ensuing chaos 'about 2 or 3 a'clock one of Henry Killigrew's men was stabbed in the company in the next chamber to the King. ... the Duke ran speedily to His Majesty's bed and drew the curtaine and said 'Sir will you lie in bed till you have your throat cut?' where upon His Majesty got up at 3 a'clock in the night and came immediately away to Whitehall', *HMC Rutland*, II, pp. 37-8; see also Resesby, *Memoirs*, p. 155.

admission to the privy lodgings of those with permission to come in, the orders laid down stricter rules for those who were allowed to try to gain access. A written list was to be provided for the Bedchamber staff of all those permitted to request access to the privy lodgings, while footmen and the 'meaner sort of people' were to be excluded altogether from the ranks of those allowed to wait in the withdrawing room for the king's coming forth.¹⁵⁰ Two further orders followed. The Bedchamber staff were to concentrate on maintaining security and decorum within the bedchamber itself, rather than on the other rooms, notably the withdrawing room, over which they technically held sway. An officer of the horse guard was 'allwayes to attend and follow next Our person' when the king walked out from his Bedchamber.¹⁵¹ Thus the orders of 1678 represent a concerted effort to regulate, restrict and control access to the king in his bedchamber and to ensure the security of that room itself. This tightening up of the security of the privy lodgings can be seen as part of a general campaign to increase the safety of Whitehall, as part of which, on 31 October, Christopher Wren had given orders 'for shutting and walling up certain doors and passages' in and about court.¹⁵²

After dramatically tightening up regulations for access to the rooms of the Bedchamber following the security scares of 1678-9, the king soon decided significantly to expand and improve the rooms of his privy lodgings at Whitehall. During the summer of 1682 extensive works were carried out to the king's private apartments, and in late October Charles II moved into his new rooms there.¹⁵³ The state apartments were left untouched, but the king now had at his disposal east of the bedchamber at the bottom of the privy gallery, a new withdrawing room (in addition to the existing vane room), ante room, bedchamber with ancillary closets and eating room. [Figure 5]¹⁵⁴

Following the completion of this work, it was considered necessary, given the altered geography of the privy lodgings, to reiterate the regulations concerning access to them, and on 15 January 1683, the groom of the stool issued the list (as the 1678 orders had prescribed) of exactly who could ask permission to enter the region of the Bedchamber.¹⁵⁵ The order reminded the Bedchamber staff to

¹⁵⁰ The groom of the stool was to give the pages 'a List under his hand' of those who could ask for permission to enter, NUL, PW V 93, fol. 20v. See also WRO, Caspar Frederic Henning Papers, BA 2252/5 (705:366), unfoliated, order signed by Bath dated 15 January 1682/3.

¹⁵¹ The groom of the stool vigorously objected to this order, viewing it as a diminution of his own right of walking 'next immediately to our person', and complaining that such an alteration 'at this time when the safety of his royal person is so much concerned' would cause his and his staff's 'fidelity or courage' to be 'much suspected', *CSPD*, 1678, pp. 505-5.

¹⁵² *CSPD*, 1678, p. 499.

¹⁵³ *Loyal Protestant*, 224, Tuesday 24 October 1682, which states that Charles II 'lies in his new Lodgings'. Thurley, *Whitehall Palace*, p. 112.

¹⁵⁴ Thurley, *Whitehall Palace*, pp. 112-13. In May 1684 the groom of the stool called for the staff of the Bedchamber attending in these rooms to be more conscientious in their service, 'His Majesty taking notice that the Gentlemen & Groomes of his Bedchamber doe not soe duly attend upon his Royall person as they ought', Orders for better attendance of the Bedchamber Staff, 17 May 1684, BL, Egerton MS, 3350.

¹⁵⁵ WRO, Caspar Frederic Henning Papers, BA 2252/5 (705:366), unfoliated, order signed by Bath dated 15 January 1683. On the list were: members of the privy council, peers of the realm, chief officers of the household, the duke of York's secretary and the colonels of the king's guards. The completion of the new lodgings was the reason given by Sir Charles

make reference to 'His Ma^{ty} Orders hanging in y^e Old Bedchamber' when granting access to the privy lodgings. This confirms that the 'old bedchamber' (that at the bottom of the privy gallery, set up with its alcove in 1661) not only remained part of the domain of the Bedchamber, despite the fact that the king now had three newer bedchambers, but that this was the room which defined the beginning of the sequence of rooms under the sway of the Bedchamber staff. The nature of the geography of the new lodgings in Whitehall meant that so long as the status of this room, and the vane room which adjoined it, as part of the domain of the Bedchamber continued to be asserted, all the rooms beyond would by definition also be part of that domain. Thus, having tightened-up significantly the rules for access to his privy lodgings in 1678/9, three years later Charles II set about considerably expanding and improving the number and quality of the rooms which constituted the privy lodgings.

Unsurprisingly, these changes caused some consternation among the staff of the state rooms, who were effectively losing power by the expansion of the domain of the Bedchamber, and it was only a matter of weeks before a serious dispute arose – something which had been in the offing since 1673.¹⁵⁶ At some moment in January 1683, the lord chamberlain, the earl of Arlington, presented himself at the door to the bedchamber and asked the page for the king's permission to enter. When the Bedchamber staff refused to go to the king in his closet to request this permission, the lord chamberlain finally lost his temper, and there and then began a great quarrel which was to run for the rest of the reign, in which Arlington asserted that he should not have to request permission from the king to enter the Bedchamber, 'claiming the right by virtue of his office of entering into it without leave first asked'.¹⁵⁷ This was more than a dispute over the privileges which applied to a household post. Arlington repeatedly pointed out the absurdity of a situation in which the officers of his department – responsible for the ceremonial activities of the royal apartments – were involved in arranging ceremonial occasions in rooms to which he himself did not have the right of access. The king's response to Arlington's claims was that 'he would have the Bedchamber governed by the rules and practises of the King, his father, and that according to them right should be done to him'; a clear statement to one observer that the 'K^{ty} has determined y^e cause agst my L^d Cham: so as that he is not to come in wth out leave'.¹⁵⁸

Nonetheless, in early March a commission was appointed to investigate the matter. During the

Lyttleton for the reiteration of the regulations in January 1683, which he described as 'the new orders ab^t y^e bedchamber, since the K^{ty} is come into these new lodgings', *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton*, II, pp. 21-2. In May 1684 the groom of the stool called for the staff of the Bedchamber to be more conscientious in their service in these rooms, 'His Majesty taking notice that the Gentlemen & Groomes of his Bedchamber doe not soe duly attend upon his Royall person as they ought', Orders for better attendance of the Bedchamber Staff, 17 May 1684, BL, Egerton MS, 3350.

¹⁵⁶ Aylmer, *The Crown's Servants*, pp. 23-4.

¹⁵⁷ *HMC Ormonde*, VII, pp. 29-32; PRO, LC5/201, pp. 9-45, 71-2; CSPD, Jan-June 1683, pp. 90-2, 134, 144, 146, 147, 154, 163, 155, 245, 254, 289, 319; *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton*, II, pp. 21-2.

¹⁵⁸ *HMC Ormonde*, VII, p. 28; *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton*, II, pp. 21-2.

following two months Arlington gathered written testimonies from ceremonial officers present and past which he was confident would convince the commission to decide in his favour. The case of the groom of the stool, who denied the lord chamberlain's claims, depended entirely on the Bedchamber ordinances of 1661, 1673 and 1678, which did not include the lord chamberlain on the list of those allowed access to the Bedchamber as of right, while the lord chamberlain's turned on the actual practice in this reign and the two before, which, he claimed often required his staff to perform their duties in the rooms of the Bedchamber.¹⁵⁹ As the final report of the commission described, the real problem was that these two types of evidence, one comprising the rules and the other the practice, were irreconcilable. The commissioners concluded that the Bedchamber orders clearly excluded 'all persons whatsoever, except princes of the blood, and such as are sworn of the Bedchamber' from automatic right of entry to the Bedchamber. However, they added that 'Wee think it our duty at the same time humbly to observe to yo^r Ma^c that the aforementioned Bookes of Orders made in 1661 have been but rarely put into practice ... and that they do conteyne severall paragraphs ... which wee do find unusuall and not agreeable to constant practice'.¹⁶⁰ It is remarkable that at this moment, when the king could have taken the opportunity to update and clarify the orders governing the use of his privy lodgings, he deliberately avoided doing so. Instead, he flew in the face of his own practice of the last twenty years and made the extraordinary declaration that his Bedchamber would function exactly according to his father's orders on the subject.

Thus, despite the commissioners' attempt to encourage the king to confront this anomalous situation, Charles was determined to leave the anomaly in place. The case was decided in favour of the groom of the stool and the king himself continued to exercise personal control over the Bedchamber. By denying the lord chamberlain automatic right of access, a situation was perpetuated in which the most senior ceremonial officer in the household could only gain access to the most important ceremonial space in the palace with the sovereign's specific permission. Unlike the presence or privy chambers, there had been little delegation of responsibility for the performance and attendance at ceremonial events in the bedchamber to the staff of officers which manned them and all decisions continued to rest with the king. By insisting on the continuance of the rules that had governed his father's Bedchamber, which had given the sovereign complete authority over what was then a genuinely private space, and by refusing formally to recognise the dramatic changes in the use of the royal bedchamber during his own reign, Charles II ensured he continued to exercise direct and complete control over his bedchamber.

¹⁵⁹ The locksmith's list of 1665 indicates clearly that the duke of York, lord chamberlain and lord steward were to be issued with the 'treble' keys which gave access to the bedchamber, PRO, LC5/137, unpaginated reverse section at end of volume.

¹⁶⁰ *HMC Ormonde*, VII, pp. 28-31; PRO, LC5/201, p. 74, 'The Lords Report upon the whole matter'. It was expected that the commission would decide the case in the favour of the lord chamberlain; but as one observer sagely remarked, this could not be counted upon as 'perhaps his Majesty may afterwards take different resolutions' on the matter, *CPSD*, Jan-June 1683,

iv. CHARLES II AND THE PRIVY LODGINGS

It could be argued that Charles II's use of his bedchamber for audiences, and his admittance of people to that room to watch his rising and retiring, stemmed simply from his natural ease with living publicly and inclination to grant people access to his person. As Lorenzo Magalotti remarked in May 1669, 'The court of the king of England keeps up less reserve than that of other princes, it being there very easy to see the king'.¹⁶¹ The earl of Ailesbury similarly remembered Charles II as 'So affable, that in the galleries and park he would pull off his hat to the meanest; gave great liberties to others in discourse',¹⁶² while both John Evelyn and George Savile, marquis of Halifax, who knew the king better than most, cited 'Easiness of Access' as one of the defining characteristics of his style of kingship.¹⁶³ However, it is argued here that the king's natural inclination towards accessibility is not a sufficient explanation of the complex way in which he used his bedchamber. Indeed to see his performance of ceremonies within his bedchamber as an indication of his informality is fundamentally to misunderstand the inherent formality of many of these occasions, especially as the reign wore on – however much the king might have gossiped and quipped his way through them.

By the 1680s, there were, in effect, three zones to the royal apartments: the state rooms, under the direct control of the lord chamberlain; a number of genuinely private rooms beyond the bedchamber, under the sole control of the king and his closet keeper (who was one of the pages of the Bedchamber) and the rooms between these two zones (principally the withdrawing room and bedchamber) which were governed by the groom of the stool. Charles II's reign saw much greater, though regulated, access to the middle zone of rooms than had been the case in the past, and a growing emphasis on the strict privacy of the innermost rooms. While the door from the privy chamber to the withdrawing room still marked out the state apartments from the privy apartments, the withdrawing room had now become, in effect, the waiting room to the bedchamber, a place where courtiers and visitors gathered ready for admission to the bedchamber or the king's coming forth into the public sphere of the state rooms.¹⁶⁴ However, the additional bedchamber ordinances of 1678 confirm what had no doubt been the case for some time: that access to the withdrawing room was not hard to gain. 'Persons of Quality', 'Our Servants' and 'others who come to waite on Us' were in fact 'permitted to attend and stay in the Withdrawing Roomes without our Bedchamber' and the only individuals specifically denied this privilege were 'Footmen, or meaner sort of People'. That this degree of access was an

p. 163.

¹⁶¹ Magalotti, *Travels*, p. 405.

¹⁶² Ailesbury, *Memoirs*, I, p. 93.

¹⁶³ *The Works of George Savile, Marquis of Halifax*, II, p. 501; 'Easy of accesse', Evelyn, *Diary*, IV, pp. 409.

¹⁶⁴ The household ordinances of c.1678 and the Bedchamber ordinances of 1661 and 1673 make clear that the withdrawing room was still officially part of the privy lodgings under the control of the groom of the stool, NUL, Portland MS PW V 92; NUL, Portland MS, PW V 93; BL, Stowe MS 562.



innovation of the reign is also made plain, the ordinances stating: 'Wee are pleased that soe many persons more then formerly are admitted to waite in Our Withdrawing Roome'.¹⁶⁵ These stand in direct opposition to the stipulations that the withdrawing room, as part of the domain of the Bedchamber, was only open to the staff of that department and princes of the blood and no others without the specific say-so of the king.

A locksmiths' account for the new royal apartments at Windsor Castle makes it plain that the area of highly restricted access, by the mid-1670s, was beyond the great bedchamber: locks to the doors from the guard chamber through the sequence of rooms to the great bedchamber were all on the 'household' key, but the door from the great bedchamber to the little bedchamber, from the little bedchamber to the closet and from the closet to the terrace were all to be on a 'housekey with a distinction for the K and Mr Chiffinch'.¹⁶⁶ It is clear from contemporary accounts for the later years of the reign, that while the elite of court would generally expect to be granted access to the bedchamber, they would not expect access to the king in the closet: even a gentleman of the Bedchamber dared not enter this area to attend the king.¹⁶⁷ When he came to design Winchester Palace, the king expanded the middle zone, by inserting between the drawing room and great bedchamber a substantial privy gallery and an anteroom, presumably to accommodate the various visitors and courtiers who would come to wait on or for the king in these rooms.

Though the withdrawing room was now open to a wider spectrum of people than it had ever been, access to the bedchamber itself was much more carefully regulated, and there is good evidence that the king still remained substantially in control of access to his bedchamber. John Evelyn mentions in his diary several occasions on which he attended the king in the royal bedchamber, but he makes it clear that he entered only when the sovereign 'call'd me into his bedchamber'. Similarly at Windsor in 1676 it was when 'His Ma^{tie} was pleased to call mee into his bedchamber' that the earl of Essex went through.¹⁶⁸ When the future earl of Ailesbury tried to gain access to the king's bedchamber in 1679, he found 'the door ... shut against me', the Bedchamber staff not having been told that he 'followed him [the king] *by order* towards his Bedchamber'.¹⁶⁹ While, when a clutch of peers waited to speak to the king after his return from chapel on 8 December 1679, they 'stood ready in the Faire [vane] Chamber' and only when 'his Majesty went into his bed-chamber' did they enter that room,

¹⁶⁵ NUL, Portland MS, PW V 93, fol. 20v.

¹⁶⁶ PRO, LC5/142, p. 51; on the queen's side the doors from the drawing room into the bedchamber was on a key with a distinction for the queen.

¹⁶⁷ Ailesbury, *Memoirs*, I, p. 88; *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton*, II, pp. 21-2.

¹⁶⁸ Evelyn, *Diary*, III, pp. 407, 430; *Correspondence of the Earl of Essex*, p. 74.

¹⁶⁹ Ailesbury, *Memoirs*, I, p. 37, my italics.

following at his heels.¹⁷⁰ Ailesbury recorded a telling conversation he had with the king on this very subject in his memoirs. The earl remarked that Charles II ‘was the first and the last king that could have his bedchamber door open’, and then recalled ‘In my hearing one told me that persons would thrust in “I would willingly see that”, said the king; and one Thomas Vernon happening to come in soon after, the King’s countenance only made him go out faster than he came in, and I never saw a poor gentleman so ashamed’.¹⁷¹ In this respect it is worth remembering that there was a gulf between the disdain Charles II sometimes voiced for ceremonial procedures and formalities, and the reality of the way his personal as well as public activities were conducted. The contemporary account of Charles II’s disdain at the king of Spain’s inability to ‘piss but another must hold the chamber-pot’ (mentioned above), is made much more interesting when it is remembered that Charles II relieved himself in the morning attended by a gentleman and groom of the Bedchamber, the first holding the candle and the second the paper.¹⁷²

The likelihood is that before the security of the privy lodgings were increased in 1678, some were assumed to have the king’s permission to enter the bedchamber without asking for his permission, even though they did not meet the official criteria. When Sir Charles Lyttleton wrote to Lord Hatton of the orders regarding access issued on completion of the new apartments at Whitehall in early 1683, he reported ‘No body except y^e Duke, L^d Ormond, and I think Halifax, the 2 Secretaryes of England, and y^e Secretaryes of Scotland are to come into the y^e bedchamber wthout leave first asked’.¹⁷³ Hatton’s tone indicates that this would represent a curtailment of access to the privy lodgings, implying that access without official consent had in the past been extended to rather more people – regardless of the official restrictions. For the privileged, access might be relied upon, when Sir John Reresby waited on the king in the bedchamber in January 1682, Charles expressed his satisfaction with Reresby’s conduct, ‘said thes words, that he thanked me for my endeavours in this other perticulers of his service, that whenever I had a mind that I should freely have accesse to him’.¹⁷⁴ Though there might be disputes over who exactly had the right to enter ‘without leave first asked’ and who could request permission to enter, the principle remained that these were rare and sought-after privileges.¹⁷⁵

Thus the royal bedchambers were spaces over which Charles II had great personal control. The formal

¹⁷⁰ *HMC Verney*, p. 496.

¹⁷¹ Ailesbury, *Memoirs*, I, pp. 93-4.

¹⁷² ‘As soon as he put on his night-gown, he went to ease himself, and often more out of custom than by necessity, by reason nobody could come in there but the gentlemen and groom in waiting; and there he laughed and was more merry and diverting: I holding the candle and the groom of the bedchamber, Mr. Henry Killigrew ... held some paper’, Ailesbury, *Memoirs*, p. 93.

¹⁷³ *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton*, II, pp. 21-2.

¹⁷⁴ Reresby, *Memoirs*, p. 247.

¹⁷⁵ This was in substantial part the core of the great dispute between the lord chamberlain and the groom of the stool in the early 1680s, see below.

regulations for their government, which were designed to keep almost to single figures the numbers entering this once highly exclusive and private area of the palace, allowed the king to decide exactly whom he would admit. Though he admitted a wide range of people, almost none of these visitors had the *right* of access, only permission to enter at the king's pleasure. The Bedchamber staff, as Arlington and Ailesbury discovered, would stop at the door those who did not have the right of access (that is all but about twenty people in the kingdom), but the king could give personal permission for anybody at all he wished to attend him. In this way, Charles II had a great degree of power over this space, and the flexibility of either allowing the Bedchamber staff's enforcement of official access regulations to stand or overruling them and granting right of access to a visitor. In the last years of the reign this was further refined by restricting the numbers of those who were allowed even to ask permission to enter.

By not changing the Bedchamber regulations to reflect actual practice – of allowing daily access to watch the king rising and retiring, or staging of formal diplomatic ceremonies and audiences in a royal bedroom – Charles II was perpetuating an inconsistency between the regulations and the activities which were being regulated, which gave him unprecedented personal control over those activities. The way in which access to Charles's privy lodgings operated both embodied the king's love of personally granting privileges to those he favoured and of leaving to others the task of withholding privileges from those he did not favour. As Ailesbury explained of Charles's attitude to granting access to his privy lodgings and ceremonies in general: 'when he would, he could keep up majesty to the height of his great countenance, for he could not say a hard word to any one, and if that was of absolute necessity, it was executed by another'.¹⁷⁶ The Bedchamber staff alone would refuse access, while the king alone would overrule them and grant it. A perfect arrangement for a king famous for his disinclination to say 'no'.

A similar conclusion can perhaps be drawn from the king's use of the Bedchamber for diplomatic receptions. By using for such events a room not designed to house them, the king allowed an ambiguous situation to exist and, in the gulf between past practice, enshrined in formal precedents, and current use, greater flexibility in the performance of these events was possible and the king himself gained greater personal control over them. The catatonically strict rules which pertained to the reception of foreign ambassadors were based on the assumption that audiences would be conducted in rooms of state, equipped with dais and canopy and a series of chairs of a variety of honour-giving designs: those with arms and back, those with back alone, and those (i.e. stools) with neither. Depending on the precise balance of seniority and status between the receiver and the received, seats

¹⁷⁶ Ailesbury, *Memoirs*, I, p. 94.

were allocated and placed accordingly.¹⁷⁷ In this sense, it made little difference if an audience was staged in the banqueting house, the presence chamber, the privy chamber or the withdrawing room, as all were equipped with essentially the same range of furniture. However, the bedchamber was a different space altogether.

While the placing of the principal chair of state, dais and canopy was a fixed formula in the rooms of the state apartments, the placing of all the seat furniture in the privy apartments could easily be adapted to the precise way the king or queen wanted to use it. Thus receptions in a bedchamber could involve the placing of chairs at the foot of the bed in whichever form best suited that precise occasion. When Charles II visited the duchess of Modena in her bedchamber in December 1673, 'the King [was] seated in a chair with arms at the Bedfeet: a little sideways upon the Duchess's left hand'. However, when the king received in his bedchamber, he often chose to dispense with chairs altogether, such as on the occasion of the reception of Prince Rinaldo (cited above), when he conducted the reception 'standing still', apparently with no chairs placed at all.

As well as the greater flexibility possible because of the absence of a formal layout of seat furniture, the bedchamber was equipped with a further seat for reception, which allowed all the usual rules to be broken: a bed. By receiving visitors while actually lying on the bed, the receiver assumed a place which could be occupied by only one person, and so broke with the usual disputes over who was to be in the chair with arms. Thus when the Elector Palatine was to leave England at the end of his visit in 1669 and the king and duke of York were both to visit him, the king informed the master of the Ceremonies that he had considered the most appropriate form for the reception and had decided: 'that both He & his Brother would go visit Him themselves in the afternoon but bad me to advise Him to receive them lying upon his bed, to avoid the punctillios of Reception & reconduction'.¹⁷⁸ For the duchess of Modena, who spent much of her visit to England unvisited as the noblewomen of the court refused to cede place to her on such occasions, a similar compromise was suggested. While the noblewomen had refused to sit in chairs without arms if the duchess was to have one with arms, they were prepared to visit if the duchess received them lying on her bed while they were seated in arm chairs. However, in this instance, a solution could not be found, the 'Duchess not being willing to receive their visits upon her bed', and she was visited only by the Catholic ladies, who were alone prepared to cede place to her in the usual fashion.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷ For a detailed assessment of these rules for the French court, organised and tabulated in a manner which would have delighted 17th-century masters of Ceremonies, see E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Saint-Simon and the Court of Louis XIV* (Chicago and London, 2001), table I. I, p. 27

¹⁷⁸ PRO, LC5/2, p. 124.

¹⁷⁹ PRO, LC5/2, p. 53.

Thus by staging diplomatic audiences in his bedchambers, the king introduced a greater degree of elasticity into the manner of their performance, more room for manoeuvre, a greater range of possible configurations of furniture and people. It enabled him to dispense with chairs and stand, when he chose to do so, or to make use of the bed as an altogether exceptional piece of furniture from which visitors could be received. When Charles II's novel manner of receiving visitors was described by his master of the Ceremonies, Sir Charles Cottrell, Cottrell explained that the king's use of the bedchamber differed from his father's, as he often received standing up and hatless; but, Cottrell remarked, the king did so 'without consequence', that is, in a way which did not make any alteration to the formal rules on the matter, 'for if any should take it as a respect done to them, or insist for it, they would find He only did it in the way of using his own liberty'.¹⁸⁰

By using rooms not designed for such formal or public occasions, but doing so without making any substantial alteration to the way in which the rooms were governed, the king gave himself personal control over those occasions and greater flexibility in the manner in which they were performed. By receiving foreign emissaries in his bedchamber Charles II created a situation in which the usual rules were rendered dramatically less appropriate and therefore unenforceable. There should be no doubt that the king himself was the one influencing and making use of this flexibility. The master of the Ceremonies' notebooks make it clear that the king was the principal arbiter of the form of diplomatic ceremonial, and responsible for the continued use of the bedchamber for its performance. When the Elector Palatine had initially demurred to the suggestion that he receive the king and duke lying on his bed, it was the news that it was the king's personal wish that moved him: 'He at first was very unwilling but when I told Him, it was the King's advice He submitted: and their several visits were made accordingly in the afternoon.'¹⁸¹

¹⁸⁰ PRO, LC5/2, p. 38.

¹⁸¹ PRO, LC5/2, p. 124.

2. CEREMONIES OF THE STATE APARTMENTS

INTRODUCTION

The state apartments of the royal palaces were the rooms of the sovereign's apartments – the guard chamber, presence chamber, privy chamber, privy gallery, and any rooms in between – governed by the lord chamberlain. (Figure 4) One of the three great officers of the royal household, the lord chamberlain was the most senior official responsible for domestic ceremonial. On 1 June 1660 Charles II made Edward Montagu, second earl of Manchester, his lord chamberlain; Manchester was 58 at the time, and would hold the post until his death at the age of 69. (Figure 19) The earl's days of action had been in the mid-1640s, when he had fought vigorously as a general of the Parliamentary army. His ardour had dulled, though, and by the late 1640s he was defending the House of Lords, of which he was speaker, and opposing the trial of the king. Having lain low during the commonwealth, Manchester played an important part in the events of the early months of 1660 that brought about the Restoration and as speaker of the upper house welcomed the king on his return. Although Manchester was not a flamboyant lord chamberlain, he was well-liked and his ministry was characterised by peacefulness in the king's household, despite the retrenchment forced on him by the parlous state of the king's finances. Clarendon noted of Manchester's occupation of this post, he 'complied very punctually with all the obligations and duties which his place required, never failed being at chapel, and at all the king's devotions with all imaginable decency; and, by his extraordinary civilities and behaviour towards all men, did not only appear the fittest person the king could have chosen for that office in that time, but rendered himself so acceptable to all degrees of men, that none, but such who were implacable towards all who had ever served the king, were sorry to see him so promoted'.¹⁸²

On Manchester's death in 1671, Charles appointed his late mother's friend and companion, Henry Jermyn, earl of St Albans, to the post. St Albans, who had spent the previous years occupied with Anglo-French affairs, held the post only briefly, his tenure lasting barely three years before Henry Bennet, earl of Arlington succeeded him. Arlington came to the office straight from that of secretary of state and eventually took up his wand after a year of negotiation. (Figure 20) Though his days at the heart of royal government were over, Arlington was still young and energetic, and was to retain the post until the end of the reign. The job of overseeing royal ceremonial activity, which he had actively sought, was one which apparently suited Arlington's character well. He had a natural inclination towards formality (something Buckingham attributed to his years spent at the Spanish court) and as secretary of state he had taken an active interest in foreign ceremonial forms – in April

¹⁸² Clarendon, *The Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon*, I, p. 367-8; *DNB*; *Burnet's History of my Own Time*, I, p. 175.

1669 the English agent in Paris was busy writing a detailed 'journall' of French court ceremonial 'according to my L^d Arlington's order'.¹⁸³

The lord chamberlain, assisted by a vice-chamberlain, was master of a huge staff of some 900 officials, of whom about a quarter had duties 'above Stairs' in the state apartments of the palaces.¹⁸⁴ Each of the principal rooms of the state apartments had a substantial standing staff who answered to the lord chamberlain. The guard chamber, the first room in the sequence, was attended by the yeomen of the guard, responsible for the overall security of the state apartments; the yeoman usher oversaw access there, while the grooms and messengers of the room ran errands and kept it clean.¹⁸⁵ (Figure 21) The adjacent presence chamber had the largest staff of the state apartments: its primary officers, the gentlemen ushers daily waiters, were next in seniority to the vice chamberlain, and so had authority under him over all the officers of the state apartments.¹⁸⁶ Under direct control of the gentlemen ushers daily waiters in the presence chamber were the gentlemen ushers quarter waiters, who oversaw access, and the pages of the presence who kept the rooms clean and furnished with fuel and candles.¹⁸⁷ It was in the presence chamber, too, that the carvers, cupbearers and sewers, who served the king when he dined in state, were to wait. On top of this host of officials, the presence chamber had two great bands of ceremonial guards attached to it, the gentlemen pensioners and the sergeants at arms, who accompanied the king on ceremonial occasions, notably when he attended the chapel royal.¹⁸⁸ The privy chamber was run by the gentlemen ushers of the privy chamber aided by the grooms of the privy chamber. The once-powerful band of gentlemen of the privy chamber (who had been robbed of proximity to the king by the creation of the Bedchamber) were still supposed to wait in batches of twelve, but as Charles II did not dine in the privy chamber they can have been little called upon to perform any actual duties. The privy gallery was also within the domain of the privy chamber, and gallery keepers were appointed by the gentlemen ushers of the privy chamber to man the doors and keep order there.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸³ Violet Barbour, *Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington, Secretary of State to Charles II* (London and Boston, 1961), p. 243; 'he could never shake off a little air of formality, that an Embassy into Spain had infected him with', *The Works of John Sheffield Duke of Buckingham*, II, pp. 84-88; *The Despatches of William Perwich, English Agent in Paris 1669-1677*, M. Beryl Curran, ed., (London, 1903), p. 7.

¹⁸⁴ *Angliae Notitia*, 1669, p. 247; Sainty and Bucholz, *Officials of the Royal Household*, pp. xx-xxx.

¹⁸⁵ *Angliae Notitia*, 1669, p. 290; BL, Stowe MS 562, fol. 2v-4r.

¹⁸⁶ 'They wait in the Presence-Chamber next to the King's Person, and order all Affairs, next to the Lord Chamberlain and Vice-Chamberlain, and all under Officers above Stairs are to obey them', *The Present State of The British Court*, p. 27; *Angliae Notitia*, 1669, p. 269.

¹⁸⁷ *Angliae Notitia*, 1669, p. 269-70; *The Present State of The British Court*, p. 28; BL, Stowe MS 562, fos. 4r-7r.

¹⁸⁸ *The Present State of The British Court*, p. 35-6, 61-2; *Angliae Notitia*, 1669, p. 289.

¹⁸⁹ BL, Stowe MS 562, fol 9v-13r; *The Present State of The British Court*, p. 26; *Angliae Notitia*, 1669, p. 268; LC5/140, fol. 248v-249v.

Charles II's forebears had periodically issued regulations for the government of the state rooms, and in October 1660 the king declared his intention to emulate his father in setting out 'in a booke' a 'forme of government ... for the modelling and regulating of this house'.¹⁹⁰ In the event no such book was issued until almost twenty years later. The 'Articles' for governing the king's house which survive in the British Library probably date to late 1678 or early 1679; their promulgation at this time was almost certainly prompted by the drive to impose order and security on the royal household in the wake of the popish plot.¹⁹¹ In the main Charles II's orders followed his father's, but with some adjustments to reflect changing circumstances; these included the modification of the sections on the duties and attendance of the officers of the guard and on security arrangement in general, adjustments to the rules on formal dining and changes to the access and seating rules for the chapel royal.¹⁹²

As well as commanding the officials stationed in the state rooms, as described above, the lord chamberlain was responsible for a number of sub-departments which also operated in the state apartments. Among these were the master of the Ceremonies and his staff (who ran diplomatic ceremonial), the dean and officers of the Chapel Royal and the corps of royal physicians and surgeons. The work of these officials and others of the lord chamberlain's department in overseeing court rituals will now be discussed in the context of the different sorts of ceremonial activity which took place in Charles II's state apartments.

¹⁹⁰ PRO, LC5/135, unfoliated; LC5/180, fos 1r-30v; BL, Stowe MS 561, fos. 2r-10r; *The Diurnal of Thomas Rugg*, p. 122.

¹⁹¹ BL, Stowe MS 562, fos 1r-21r; SP29/421, no. 180; Weiser, 'A call for order', pp. 151-6; 'Whereas His Ma^{tie} hath made & Established New Orders for the Better regulateing the resort of persons unto his Palace & Privy Lodgings' LC5/143, p. 282. The new orders for the privy lodgings, issued in November 1678, are discussed in chapter one.

¹⁹² PRO, LC5/180, fos 1r-30v *cf* BL, Stowe MS 562, fos 1r-21r.

2. i. AUDIENCES AND PRESENTATIONS

Perhaps the most varied and potentially complicated of the ceremonial activities of the court were the ritualised meetings between the king and his visitors. These are here taken to embrace the whole range of introductions from the most magnificent and orchestrated public audiences of foreign princes and extraordinary ambassadors to the formal presentation to the king of one of his subjects by another of his subjects – all of which had a ceremonial dimension. These meetings encompassed both those which were ostensibly purely symbolic, such as the reception of a civic deputation of congratulation, to those which were overtly practical or functional, such as the presentation of a political petition. While the by-product of many other forms of ceremonial exchange was certainly the introduction of the king to others and vice-versa, audiences and presentations were the occasions officially contrived for this purpose. Quite different concerns and levels of ritual pertained to diplomatic and domestic audiences, but they were nonetheless essentially part of the same broad area of formalised activity. Not all of these exchanges took place in the state apartments of the royal palaces; as has been seen, they did on some occasions take place within the inner lodgings, or private apartments; however the state rooms were certainly their traditional location, indeed were largely designed specifically to accommodate such meetings, and were still extensively used for these events, and so audiences and presentation are considered here, but with reference to other areas of the palaces when relevant.

More contemporary evidence survives for the meetings between Charles II and foreign diplomatic agents than for any other area of the ceremonial activity of his court. This is to a significant extent reflective of the seriousness with which such relations were treated. However, while the deliberate and sustained recording of the details of such events is in itself further indication of their importance to contemporaries, it was also the product of the existence of a permanent staff of officers who had inherited a tradition of recording.¹⁹³ While the historian struggles to ascertain precise details of formal royal dining (see below), though this was certainly a highly ritualised and frequent event, many accounts survive which detail every minute of an important diplomatic audience, sometimes several of the same event. It perhaps goes without saying that this is both a great advantage and a potential pitfall to the student of this subject.

¹⁹³ Indeed the notes of the master of the Ceremonies in the reign of Charles II (transcripts of the original manuscripts at Rousham Park are in PRO, LC5/2, and a calendar in *Historical Manuscripts Commission. Second Report* (London, 1871), 'The manuscripts of C. Cottrell Dormer, Esq., Rousham, near Oxford', pp. 82-4) though a treasure trove, are a poor shadow of the almost comprehensive record of audiences and presentations maintained by Sir John Finet: Finet, *Finetti Philoxenis and Ceremonies of Charles I*, Loomie, ed..

The organisation of the ceremonies through which so much diplomatic business was transacted was technically part of the responsibilities of the lord chamberlain.¹⁹⁴ In 1603 the day-to-day administration of diplomatic ceremonial had been delegated to an official, the master of the Ceremonies, in line with the creation of a comparable post at the French court in the 1580s. Under him evolved a small department comprising an assistant master and a marshal.¹⁹⁵ Sir Balthazar Gerbier's occupation of the place of master, which he held by a patent from Charles I, was suspended in December 1660, and in February 1661 Sir Charles Cotterell, initially appointed assistant master, was confirmed in the senior post which he was to hold to for the whole course of Charles II's reign.¹⁹⁶

The 'master of the Ceremonies' role was to act as intermediary in arranging the contact between foreign ministers and the king, and members of his family. He was to communicate with the lord chamberlain, or the monarch directly, to agree time and location of meetings. It was his job to ensure that the ceremonies accorded with past precedent, and that the privileges allowed to any given minister were appropriate to his status, his embassy, past practice and the treatment given to English agents at their home court.¹⁹⁷ As an officer he was concerned, therefore, solely with administering and overseeing the execution of ceremonial procedure in the course of a diplomat's stay at court. It is clear, not least from the frequent reiteration of the need to consult him, that diplomats often tried to make arrangements via the lord chamberlain or one of the secretaries of state without reference to the master of the Ceremonies.¹⁹⁸ The need to go through the proper channels in arranging audiences with the king was further stressed in the spring of 1679, as part of the general enforcement of household regulations after the discovery of the popish plot. At this time there was even a stipulation that diplomats should not attempt to raise any matter of business with the king without first discussing their intention with the master of the Ceremonies.¹⁹⁹

Despite the richness of the descriptions of the ambassadorial entries and receptions, it is not the purpose of this study to enter into a detailed description of them per se, but rather first to establish broadly how the ceremonies worked and then to discuss the meaning and significance of this area of royal ritual in the context of the reign of Charles II.

¹⁹⁴ PRO, LC5/2, p. 37.

¹⁹⁵ A. J. Loomie, 'The conducteur des ambassadeurs of seventeenth century France and Spain' in *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, LIII 1975 (II), pp. 333-57; Finet, *Finetti Philoxenis, passim*; *Ceremonies of Charles I*, Loomie, ed., pp. 22-3; Sainty and Bucholz, *Officials of the Royal Household*, pp. 37-8; John M. Beattie, *The English Court in the Reign of George I* (Cambridge, 1967), p. 48.

¹⁹⁶ CSPD, 1660-1, pp. 415, 455, 522. Cotterell (1615-1687?) was also MP for Cardigan, 1633-78, briefly served as ambassador to Brussels in 1663 and as master of Requests from 1670. He was an excellent linguist, an obvious advantage in a master of the Ceremonies, and translated various romantic and political works for publication.

¹⁹⁷ PRO, LC5/2, pp. 1, 37.

¹⁹⁸ PRO, LC5/201, pp. 71-2; LC5/2, pp. 13, 110-1; *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice and in other Libraries of Northern Italy*, vols XXXII-XXXV, Allen B. Hinds, ed., (London, 1931-5) (hereafter: *CSPVen*), 1664-6, p. 238. See also, for example, PRO, LC5/2, p. 17.

a. FOREIGN VISITORS: POTENTATES AND THEIR FAMILIES

In the course of his reign, Charles II was visited by a series of members of foreign royal families in addition to the visits of female members of his own family who had married into other European royal dynasties. The principal royal or princely foreign visitors to the English court were as follows: Christian, Prince of Denmark, in October 1662;²⁰⁰ Cosmo III, Grand Duke of Tuscany, April-June 1669;²⁰¹ Prince George of Denmark, July 1669;²⁰² the prince of Orange three times: October 1670-February 1670/1;²⁰³ October-November 1677 (to marry Princess Mary)²⁰⁴ and July-August 1681;²⁰⁵ the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel in July 1670;²⁰⁶ the duchess of Modena and her brother, with Mary of Modena, November-December 1673;²⁰⁷ the prince of Neuburg, May 1675;²⁰⁸ Charles of the Palatinate, who succeeded his father as Elector Palatine during his visit, September 1680;²⁰⁹ Prince George of Hanover (future George I of England), December 1680;²¹⁰ and Prince George of Denmark, to marry Princess Anne, July 1683 (remaining in England).²¹¹

These visits fall more or less into two groups: those which were formal or state visits and those which were informal, 'incognito', visits. The first include, most obviously, the visits made to contract or negotiate a royal marriage such as William of Orange's visit in 1677, the Modena family's in 1673 and Prince George of Denmark's in 1683. However, if the visit was not an official trip, designed to negotiate a specific piece of national business, the visitor might declare the visit 'incognito'. Visits undertaken primarily for the traveller to view the country and the court were usually conducted 'incognito', as was the case with the visit to England of Christian of Denmark in 1662, Cosmo III in 1669 and the prince of Neuburg in 1675. The two sorts of visit will be considered in turn.

¹⁹⁹ PRO, LC5/2, p. 110 (11 May 1679); CSPD, 1679-80, p. 142.

²⁰⁰ CSPVen, 1661-4, p. 200; PRO, LC5/60, p. 354.

²⁰¹ Magalotti, *Travels*, pp. 161-80.

²⁰² HMC Fleming, p. 65; PRO, LC5/2, pp. 16-19; *London Gazette*, 384, 16 July 1669.

²⁰³ 'the trip to England was little more for the Prince than a [debt] collection process', Stephen B. Baxter, *William III* (London, 1966), pp. 54-6; *The Diaries of Anne Clifford*, D. J. H. Clifford, ed., (Stroud, 1999), p. 207; *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton*, I, p. 59; HMC Fleming, p. 73; *London Gazette*, 517, 30 October 1670; Reresby, *Memoirs*, p. 82; PRO, LC5/2, pp. 25-36. He was installed a knight of the Garter during this visit.

²⁰⁴ PRO, LC5/2, pp. 101-3; HMC Fleming, VII, pp. 140-1, 163; HMC Ormonde, IV, p. 53; Baxter, *William III*, p. 149.

²⁰⁵ CSPD, 1680-1, pp. 371, 378; PRO, LC5/201, p. 375; LC5/2, pp. 114-18; *London Gazette*, 1636, 23 July 1681; 1638, 30 July 1681; Baxter, *William III*, pp. 172-5; Marquise de Campana de Cavelli, *Les Derniers Stuarts à Saint-Germain en Laye: Documents Inédits et Authentiques Puisés aux Archives Publiques et Privées par la Marquise Campana de Cavelli*, 2 vols (Paris, 1871), I, 'Documents', p. 362.

²⁰⁶ *London Gazette*, 485, 10 July 1670.

²⁰⁷ BL, Stowe MS 203, fol. 209r; PRO, LC5/2, pp. 58-70.

²⁰⁸ *London Gazette*, 991, 15 May 1675; *Historical Manuscripts Commission. Twelfth Report, Appendix, Part IX: The Manuscripts of the Duke of Beaufort, K.G., the Earl of Donoughmore, and others* (London, 1891) (hereafter: *HMC Beaufort*), p. 65; PRO, LC5/2, pp. 76-81.

²⁰⁹ PRO, LC5/2, pp. 120-6; *London Gazette*, 1546, 12 September 1680.

²¹⁰ Ragnhild Hatton, *George I: Elector and King* (London, 1978), pp. 41-2; PRO, LC5/201, p. 378.

State Visits

Non-incognito visits of foreign rulers or their immediate family were characterised by the king of England honouring and providing for the visitors at every opportunity. Typically, the king's yachts would be dispatched to the continent to transport the visitors across the channel,²¹² the visitors would then be met on the coast by the master of the Ceremonies with a member of the English nobility, usually an earl, to welcome them.²¹³ In exceptional circumstances, especially when a wedding was to take place, the duke of York or even the king, might come some distance towards the coast to meet the new arrival. The party would then be transported to London in the king's barge or coach, with, in the former case, a pause at the Tower of London for the firing of a salute.²¹⁴ Arriving at court, usually Whitehall, the visitors would be met (at the watergate if they came by river) by ceremonial officers, normally a number of gentlemen ushers daily waiters.²¹⁵ They were then taken to the king's stairs, the entrance to the royal lodgings, where senior household officials, including the lord chamberlain met them, and conducted into the state apartments themselves.²¹⁶ The route up the stairs and through the royal apartments would be lined with members of the various guards of the household, standing to arms, past whom the visitors would be taken into the royal presence.²¹⁷

Unlike the arrival of diplomats, the arrival of members of a foreign ruler's family did not involve a state audience in the banqueting house or presence chamber. This is because these state audiences, the technical purpose of which was for the emissary to present his letters of accreditation, were unnecessary when the visitor was not a representative, but attended the court in his or her own right. Instead, the meetings between these sorts of visitors and the king and queen took place in the privy apartments.²¹⁸ If, as was sometimes the case, the king and queen received visitors together on these occasions, the reception took place in the queen's withdrawing room, probably for the simple reason that as a general rule the queen never formally entered the king's apartments.²¹⁹ If the king and queen

²¹¹ PRO, LC5/2, pp. 143-5; *London Gazette*, 1844, 19 July 1683.

²¹² See, for, example, Baxter, *William III*, p. 55; PRO, LC5/2, pp. 25, 100 (William of Orange in 1670-1 and 1677) and 143 (George of Denmark in 1683), PRO, PRO31/3/155, fos 35r, 47v.

²¹³ For example, in 1677 William of Orange was met at Harwich, *HMC Fleming*, p. 140, while the D'Este family were met at Dover, PRO, LC5/2, pp. 48-9.

²¹⁴ PRO, LC5/2, pp. 25-6, 49-50, 143; LC5/201, p. 373; *The Diaries of Anne Clifford*, p. 207.

²¹⁵ PRO, LC5/201, p. 373; LC5/2, p. 95

²¹⁶ PRO, LC5/2, p. 27; LC5/201, p. 373.

²¹⁷ PRO, LC5/2, pp. 27, 121.

²¹⁸ Although the earl of Essex records that Mary of Modena was introduced to Catherine of Braganza in 'the Queens Presence Chamber', Cotterell is clear in his record that the meeting took place in the queen's withdrawing room. Given that details of this sort were of great consequence to the officers of the Ceremonies, and that he was there, it is likely that Cotterell's account is the more reliable. PRO, LC5/2, p. 50; BL, Stowe MS 203, fol. 209r.

²¹⁹ PRO, LC5/201, p. 373; LC5/2, pp. 27, 50.

received the visitors separately, the king usually conducted the audience in his bedchamber, the queen in either her withdrawing room or bedchamber.²²⁰

Once in the presence of the king and/or queen the audience would be conducted. Depending on the precise balance of status between the visitor and the king and/or queen, he or she might bestow various signs of honour, from standing up or taking a specified number of steps forward to embracing or kissing the guest.²²¹ It was also usual, at these meetings when there was proximity of status between the host and guest, for the king or queen to invite the visitor to sit; the king and queen would be seated in a chair of state, with arms, while the visitor(s) would normally be offered a stool, with the highest status visitor seated closest to the host and on the host's right hand.²²²

After visiting the king and queen, the guests might also then visit the duke of York and members of his family and Prince Rupert. However, if the visitor was of higher status than the duke of York or Prince Rupert, he or she would expect to receive a visit from them first.²²³ Naturally this required agreement between the parties on their relative status, which did not always exist. As the duke of York and Prince George of Denmark, were both brothers of crowned heads of Europe, on George's arrival in England to marry Princess Anne in 1683, each argued that they should honour the other by making the first visit. Eventually Prince George was forced to back down and accept the first visit from his father-in-law.²²⁴ In 1673, though, the reverse occurred, Prince Rinaldo D'Este and Prince Rupert each considered that they ought to be the recipient of a visit from the other, and, being unprepared to compromise, consequently did not exchange formal visits of any kind.²²⁵

After the initial visits had been made to those who were of superior status to the guest, he or she would then receive visits from those of inferior status. These visits were then returned. Where relative proximity of status pertained, even the king and queen themselves might return the visits they had received. So it was that Charles II and the duke of York both visited the Elector Palatine in 1680 when

²²⁰ So in 1683 Prince George of Denmark was received by the king and queen separately in their respective bedchambers, PRO, LC5/2, p. 143; as it seems was Charles of the Palatinate, once he had been relieved of his incognito status, *ibid*, p. 121

²²¹ In his first audience with his nephew, the prince of Orange, in the autumn of 1670, Charles II 'came 3 or 4 steps forward', while two years later he received Prince Rinaldo, Mary of Modena's uncle, 'standing still without stepping forward at all', PRO, LC5/2, pp. 27, 51; for kissing, see, for example, LC5/2 p. 121.

²²² So the queen invited Prince George of Denmark to sit on a stool in their meeting in the queen's bedchamber, PRO, LC5/2, p. 143; while when Mary of Modena and her mother visited the queen in 1673, they were invited to sit 'on stools, Her Royal Highness on the right hand of the queen, side ways; her Mother below them', *ibid*, p. 50.

²²³ So William of Orange recognised the duke of York's superior status by visiting him before receiving a visit from him, see e.g., *The Diaries of Anne Clifford*, p. 207; PRO, LC5/2, p. 27.

²²⁴ Straight after Prince George's audience with the king and queen, the duke of York sent the earl of Peterborough to find out when he might pay his visit to the prince, to which 'he answered that he begged for to wait on him' but as Peterborough would not open discussion on this subject, 'the Prince was forced to yield & the Duke came immediately', PRO, LC5/2, p. 143.

²²⁵ PRO, LC5/2, p. 53.

the death of the elector's father during his visit had suddenly elevated him to the senior position in his family, while following Mary of Modena's marriage to the duke of York, the queen returned the visits of the newly-weds.²²⁶ Both the king and queen also returned the visits of Mary's mother, the duchess of Modena, although it seems that this was not so much because her own status required it, but rather to be consistent with the honours with which the new duchess of York treated her mother.²²⁷ In addition to the exchanges of visits between the visitor and members of the royal family, visitors from foreign ruling dynasties would exchange visits with ambassadors resident in London, and might also dine with the lord mayor of London.²²⁸

For princes and their relations a defining characteristic of a state visit to a foreign court was that during their stay they would be equipped with a variety of stately provisions by the king whose guest they were. In the first instance, this meant that Charles II would house official visitors of this kind. Those who were particularly to be honoured were lodged within the royal palaces – something never allowed to foreign diplomats, however grand. On all of his three visits to the English court during Charles II's reign, William of Orange was lodged at court, usually in the Cockpit at Whitehall, or in the apartments of members of the royal family or prominent courtiers at Windsor and Newmarket.²²⁹ Charles, son of the Elector Palatine, was lodged in the Cockpit at Whitehall and the keep at Windsor Castle in 1680; the duchess of Modena in St James's Palace in 1673 and Prince George of Denmark in his father-in-law's rooms at Whitehall in 1683.²³⁰ While physical spaces in the king's control were given over to these visitors, the Great Wardrobe was instructed to furnish these rooms for their use and comfort with everything from candlesticks and close stools to beds, chairs and canopies of state – to the extent that even the prince of Orange's preference for quilts over blankets was catered for.²³¹

In addition to being housed at the king's cost, visitors to court of this status would normally have food provided for themselves and their retinue throughout their stay. During his visit in 1677, the prince of

²²⁶ *London Gazette*, 1546, 12 September 1680; PRO, LC5/2, pp. 51, 124. To avoid the problem of how the various signs of honour should be deployed in their meeting, the elector received the king reclining on his bed.

²²⁷ This is the implication of the question posed before the visit: 'Whether the Queen will not make the Duchess Regent of Modena; sit before her & whether it shall be in the same manner, the Duchess doth, her Royal Highness having the hand of her Mother; as it is supposed she must take it everywhere else' to which the reply was given: 'The Queen will make the Duchess Regent of Modena sit with her; as the Duchess of York; her Royal Highness having always the hand of her mother.' PRO, LC5/2, p. 46.

²²⁸ For ambassadorial visits, see, for example, PRO, LC5/2, pp. 28, 53-4, 115, 144; for dining with the lord mayor of London, see LC5/201, p. 373; LC5/2, pp. 29, 116. See also BL, Add MS 40860, fol. 61r.

²²⁹ *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton*, I, p. 59; *The Diaries of Anne Clifford*, p. 207; *HMC Ormonde*, IV, p. 53; PRO, LC5/65, fol. 52v; LC5/2, pp. 100-1, 115; *Loyal Protestant*, 40, 23 July 1681.

²³⁰ PRO, LC5/144, p.25; LC5/2, pp. 121, 143; *London Gazette*, 1546, 12 September 1680; Campana de Cavelli, *Les Derniers Stuarts*, I, 'Documents', pp.113-14. The duke of York gave up his rooms at Whitehall to each of his sons-in-law on their visits to England to marry his daughters.

²³¹ PRO, LC5/41, fos 92v-93r, 130r; LC5/62, fol. 115r; LC5/201, p. 373; LC5/2, p. 100; 'one Indian downe quilt Covered with White Satten to be presently sent to Windsor Castle for the service of the prince of Orange, the quilt is to be laid upon the Bed instead of blanquets', PRO, LC5/66, fol 20r.

Orange's entourage had 'for their diet four tables served twice a day at the Prince's lodgings at Whitehall', and this seems to have been true of all such visitors who were not travelling incognito.²³² Princely visitors were not just given dishes from the royal kitchens, but were provided with a staff from the royal household to ensure they were served in sufficiently magnificent style. So in 1680 Charles of the Palatinate was not only furnished with '10 Dishes; besides fruit; dinner & supper' but also 'persons...to attend to the service of it ... a Quarter waiter, a server, two Grooms of the Chamber & 5 Yeomen of the Guard to carry up the Dishes'.²³³ While in 1677 the lord chamberlain assigned no less than fifty members of his own staff 'to attend upon His Highness the prines [sic] of Orange at Whitehall'.²³⁴ Finally, formally-acknowledged visitors from European ruling families could also expect to be transported from place to place in the king's coach throughout their stay in England.²³⁵

Incognito visits

The sheer effort and outlay, both in material and ceremonial terms, which the visit of a foreign prince to another court necessitated could verge on the prohibitive, and for these reasons an alternative had evolved. The simplest way around the problems inherent in a state visit was for a visitor to declare himself 'incognito', by which the visitor stated his intention to make a non-state visit and to lay aside some or all of the formal procedures of reception and hospitality.²³⁶ The reasons cited for doing so were usually money and convenience: as Pepys put it of the visit of Cosmo III in 1669, the duke intended to 'remain Incognito' throughout his visit 'for avoiding trouble to the King and himself, and expence also to both'; or as was expressed regarding the visit of the duchess of Modena and her train in 1673, the assumption of incognito status would mean 'the avoiding of many troublesome and chargeable ceremonies'.²³⁷

In addition to these widely-acknowledged reasons for remaining incognito, it was also a useful way of avoiding the endless complications that sprung from princes' desire to assert their international status on ceremonial occasions. This could be in the general sense of the grandeur of the appearance of a visitor on public occasions needing to reflect the stature of the country and monarchy, dukedom or republic which he represented. So, for example, when the master of the Ceremonies was commenting on the incognito status of the prince of Neuburg on his visit to England in 1675, he noted that such a status was employed on some occasions 'to excuse their appearing in an Equippage not equal to their

²³² *HMC Fleming*, pp. 140-1; PRO, LC5/2, pp. 27-8, 100-1, 116, 118, 121.

²³³ PRO, LC5/2, p. 121.

²³⁴ PRO, LC5/201, p. 374.

²³⁵ PRO, LC5/82, fol. 117r; LC5/41, fos. 57r-v; LC5/2, pp. 117, 121.

²³⁶ For a discussion of what was meant by 'incognito' travel in the mid-18th century, see Ulrik Langen, 'The meaning of "Incognito"', *The Court Historian*, 7, 2 (December, 2002), pp. 145-55.

²³⁷ Pepys, *Diary*, IX, p. 526; Cavelli, *Les Derniers Stuarts*, I, 'Documents', pp. 9-10.

Quality'.²³⁸ In more specific circumstances, 'incognito' was used to avoid a public meeting which would have necessitated agreement on the relative standing of the participants. So in 1669 the duke of York offered to visit Prince George of Denmark, but 'the prince refused to receive that honour, which he said he could not do without putting off the disguise of Incognito', however Cotterell noted knowingly that 'possibly he was unwilling to meet his Royal Highness, at the stair head; & conduct him to his coach, which would have been insisted upon, had he accepted it'.²³⁹

Slightly varying interpretations of the precise details of 'incognito' trips were espoused by visitors to the English court in Charles II's reign, but the general principles remained the same. For Cosmo III, designating his trip incognito entailed eschewing all the formal accoutrements for which Charles II would normally pay, including a house, household servants, food and furnishings. It also meant turning down all public or state entertainments: there would be no formal entry, no grand audiences and no public appearances at any of the ceremonies conducted in the state apartments, such as royal public dinners.²⁴⁰ Similarly, when Prince George of Denmark visited England in 1669, travelling incognito, he visited members of the royal family only in their private apartments, did not employ the formal greetings and salutes, and refused to receive visits from them in return.²⁴¹ In Magalotti's words, being incognito meant 'omitting all exterior hospitality'.²⁴²

Having said all this, it must be emphasised that though travelling incognito meant all the 'public' (in the 17th-century sense) formalities could be laid aside – just as was the case with the 'private' form of other activities, such as meals and healings – private audiences were still ceremonial occasions, the forms of which were negotiated with every bit as much care as state audiences. Before the arrival of the grand duke of Tuscany in the spring of 1669, Charles II was sent a detailed list of questions as to the form of his treatment and reception on his arrival in England, to which Henrietta Maria, from France, provided additional advice on international precedent.²⁴³ Cosmo had his audience with the king at Whitehall on 9 April 1669. The meeting was arranged with the lord chamberlain, and at the appointed time the grand duke travelled to Whitehall attended by two of his own gentlemen. The lord chamberlain met the duke in the privy garden and, circumventing both the outer state apartments and the privy gallery, led him 'up a small and secret staircase' (presumably the king's backstairs) into the king's presence in a closet. Here, as Magalotti proudly recorded, Charles II greeted the grand duke with 'a most courteous embrace, a reception demonstrative of cordiality and especial regard', which

²³⁸ PRO, LC5/2, p. 76.

²³⁹ PRO, LC5/2, p. 18.

²⁴⁰ Reresby, *Memoirs*, p. 76; Magalotti, *Travels*, pp. 161-2, 178, 349, 351, 373.

²⁴¹ PRO, LC5/2, pp. 16-19.

²⁴² Magalotti, *Travels*, p. 373.

²⁴³ PRO, SP29/256/92, fos. 14r-15r; 93, fos 16r-17r; 94, fos 18r-v.

most visitors could not expect 'others being only admitted to kiss his hand'.²⁴⁴ His audience with the queen took place a few days later; the grand duke was taken to the queen in her bedchamber from the lodgings of her vice chamberlain, and was received 'in the same form as had been observed on Wednesday at that of the King'.²⁴⁵ Similarly when the prince of Neuburg came 'very privately' in a hackney carriage to his audience with the king in 1675, he was also met at the privy garden door and, having rested in the lodgings of the lord chamberlain, was introduced to the king in 'his little Bedchamber; by the water side' and then to the queen in her bedchamber, both of whom stood throughout the meetings.²⁴⁶ When Cosmo received a visit from the duke of York, he went to every length to make symbolic gestures of respect for the duke: meeting him from his carriage, and insisting on not simply seeing him out of his lodgings but into his carriage 'though the duke was very repugnant to it.'²⁴⁷ Just before the grand duke's departure the king who 'during the whole time of his highness's residence at court, had testified, in the most lively manner, the consideration in which he held him, wished to give a final proof of it by some positive and public demonstration', came to supper at the grand duke's house, and for one evening at least put to one side Cosmo's incognito status. Travelling to the grand duke's lodging attended by trumpeters in a great torch-lit procession 'so much more than usually ceremonious' the king exchanged the 'splendid arm chair' put out for him on a carpet at the head of the table for him a stool 'in all respects similar to those of the rest of the company'. In turn, at the end of the evening Cosmo accompanied the king to his coach and 'in spite of the opposition of the latter' climbed in next to him and escorted him back to Whitehall, 'the king confirming his expressions of good will by embraces and the most signal signs of cordiality'.²⁴⁸

Thus incognito visits involved symbolic and ceremonial exchanges just as much as official visits – between the king and the visitor, between the visitor and members of the aristocracy and ambassadors resident in London – which were very carefully considered and treated as highly significant.²⁴⁹ These were primarily different from official audiences only in that they did not, in the case of visits to court, involve entering the state apartments of the palaces and might not involve members of the lord chamberlain's staff of ceremonial officers. What more obviously differentiated incognito from official visits was that in the former instance the king was entertaining the visitors at his cost.

²⁴⁴ Magalotti, *Travels*, pp. 166-8.

²⁴⁵ Magalotti, *Travels*, pp. 171-3.

²⁴⁶ PRO, LC5/2, p. 78.

²⁴⁷ Magalotti, *Travels*, pp. 193-4.

²⁴⁸ Magalotti, *Travels*, pp. 373-80.

²⁴⁹ For exchange of visits with people other than the royal family by incognito visitors, see, for example, PRO, LC5/2, pp. 78-9; Hartmann, *Charles II and Madame*, p. 249; PRO, PRO31/3/122, fols 5r-6r, 11r, 14r.

Charles II discouraging incognito

While the grand duke of Tuscany had persisted in his refusal of the offer of Somerset House as a lodging or the provision of the king's coach for his own journeys during his visit in 1669 'in order to the preservation of his *incog.*', others were not able to be so fixed in their resolve.²⁵⁰ In 1662 Prince Christian of Denmark visited England, as part of 'a tour of the world to study the customs of other Courts and gratify his curiosity', on which voyage he travelled 'without a suite and wished to remain incognito'.²⁵¹ However, in the event the prince was put up at Exeter House (furnished at royal charge), received numerous visits from the great office holders and diplomats and was given the highest possible honour, being created a knight of the Garter – the king personally tying the George and ribbon around the prince's neck.²⁵² According to the Venetian resident, the king himself was responsible for the prince's eventual acceptance of hospitality, Christian having 'tried his hardest to avoid this, but without effect, so he has been obliged to submit to his Majesty's wishes.'²⁵³

It is interesting to note that, despite the obvious financial advantages in being visited incognito, Charles II was reluctant to allow his visitors to assume this status. He was again to persuade a foreign visitor to relinquish his incognito status in 1680; on this occasion the visitor was Charles of the Palatinate, nephew of Prince Rupert, soon to succeed his father as Elector Palatine, who landed with so little fuss that the king only learned of his arrival in England by reading it in the morning's newspaper.²⁵⁴ The master of the Ceremonies was immediately dispatched to intercept the prince; though hampered by being unable, at first, even to discover where the prince was staying, Cotterell soon caught up with him. Doling out distinctly chiding apologies to the prince 'not being received according to his Quality, by reason of his sudden coming without notice given', Cotterell bundled him into the royal coach and took him to Windsor, where 'the King was resolved he should be lodged at the Castle & defrayed at his charge'. According to Cotterell the prince was a relaxed fellow, who 'took al in good part' and acquiesced in his incognito visit being hijacked and turned into a state affair.²⁵⁵

Some insight into Charles II's desire to discourage incognito visits from his fellow rulers or their families is given by the master of the Ceremonies' notes on the visit to England of the prince of Neuburg in 1675. Like Christian of Denmark a decade or so earlier, the eighteen-year-old son of the duke of Neuburg, accompanied by his governor, was on an educational trip with and wished to remain

²⁵⁰ Magalotti, *Travels*, p. 161-2

²⁵¹ *CSPVen*, 1661-4, pp. 192-3, 200.

²⁵² *The Kingdomes Intelligencer*, 46, 6 November 1662; PRO, LC5/60, p. 355.

²⁵³ *CSPVen*, 1661-5, p. 200.

²⁵⁴ 'the first certainty we had of his arrival was from this days Gazette', PRO, LC5/2, p. 120.

²⁵⁵ PRO, LC5/2, pp. 120-1; *London Gazette*, 1546, 12 September 1680; 1547, 15 September 1680.

incognito. The prince's father, a sovereign prince of Germany, had received Charles II publicly at his court in Düsseldorf in the autumn of 1654 after the latter's departure from France, for which gesture of friendship in distinctly friendless days Charles was evidently extremely grateful. Consequently the king was anxious 'to receive him with such respects as were suitable to his Quality & might testify a sense of his Father's kindness'.²⁵⁶

In preparation for the prince's arrival, the lord chamberlain asked the master of the Ceremonies to report on what had happened at the incognito visit of Cosmo III six years earlier. Cotterell, however, was unable to oblige. As he explained, the grand duke had maintained incognito status throughout his visit, consequently the office of Ceremonies had 'been excluded from that service' and could offer no advice on the procedure which had been followed. What followed is perhaps worth quoting in full:

'whereby the King & his Lordship [Arlington], being in the dark, were both convinced that the word Incognito, affected by any stranger Prince, or other Person of great quality ought not to make the King to be so here, in his own Court; but that unless such Persons will be so really incognito, as not to be taken notice of at all, there is a kind of necessity (where that word is made use of only, to excuse their appearing in an Equipage not equal to, their Quality which they can hardly do out of their own country;) that the respect which is shewed them by the King should be performed, by his proper Officers; & Especially by the Master of the Ceremonies; to the end that, all remarkable passages in such receptions; being observed, & Registered by him; may serve as presidents, to guide the proceedings of his Majesty for the future upon the like occasions.'

Charles was therefore objecting to the assumption of 'incognito' by his most important visitors on two counts: first that it denied him the opportunity to demonstrate the splendour of his own court, which he as host was so well able to do in receiving them, and second that by avoiding the usual ceremonial procedures and supervisions, such visits might involve lapses and inconsistencies in treatment which could potentially prejudice future visits.²⁵⁷ Despite the objections of the king and lord chamberlain, the prince and his governor were determined to 'make the same use of the word incognito which the Prince of Tuscany had done ... it being indeed an advantage to them, but a manifest inconvenience to the King.' A compromise of sorts was settled on, whereby the prince turned down the royal coach for

²⁵⁶ Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England Begun in the Year 1641*, W. Dunn Macray, ed., 6 vols (Oxford, 1888), V, pp. 357-9; PRO, LC5/2, pp. 76-81. When Charles had visited the prince's father in 1654, despite his exiled status, there was still careful discussion of the details of the meeting and how exactly he and the duke would treat one another, *Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers Preserved in the Bodleian Library*, W. Dunn Macray and H. O. Coxe, *et al*, eds, 5 vols (Oxford, 1869-1932), II, p. 411.

²⁵⁷ PRO, LC5/2, pp. 76; there is indeed no account of the three-month stay of the grand duke in Cotterell's notes. Magalotti's account of Cosmo III's visit mentions the king's desire, at that time, to make 'public and positive demonstration'

a hackney carriage and met the royal family in their most private rooms, so maintaining 'his Quality of being Incognito', but was attended by Cotterell on his all his visits, enabling the office of Ceremonies to record with care precisely what honours he was accorded. The *London Gazette* noted for 15 May 1675 that the king received the prince 'with very particular demonstrations of kindness and esteem, for the sake of the Duke his father'.²⁵⁸ After this no truly 'incognito' visits from members of foreign ruling dynasties were tolerated. As has been seen, the one serious attempt to make an unofficial visit, by the Elector Palatine in 1680, was allowed to remain so for only a matter of days.

b. FOREIGN VISITORS: REPRESENTATIVES

There was a basic pattern of ceremonial procedure for the arrival and introduction of diplomats into a foreign city which was followed by most European rulers, and indeed had been for some two hundred years. As it was summarised in the mid-15th century, the diplomat would be met on arrival by a member of the nobility, conducted on a grand processional entry through the capital and taken to a highly formal ceremonial audience at which he presented his credentials.²⁵⁹ This was the skeleton, too, of English diplomatic ceremonial in the reign of Charles II. Foreign agents, when they arrived in London were first to make their presence known to the secretary of state responsible for relations with the country from which they came. Having satisfied the secretary of state with his credentials, the agent was then directed by the secretary to the master of the Ceremonies, and the appropriate arrangements were then made for the introduction of the diplomats to the king.²⁶⁰

For the lesser diplomats – residents and envoys – once they had established themselves in lodgings in London, an audience would be arranged. However, for ambassadors, a grand ceremonial entry and public audience in the banqueting house would normally be staged first. Usually ordinary ambassadors would first arrive in London 'privately' and then retreat to Gravesend or Greenwich to enter formally, while an extraordinary ambassador, 'if he affects to be received with the utmost formality', might remain down river while an envoy was dispatched ahead to make the arrangements on his behalf.²⁶¹

of his respect for the grand duke.

²⁵⁸ PRO, LC5/2, pp. 76-9; *London Gazette*, 982, 15 May 1675; a play was performed in his honour on 7 June 1675, *HMC Beaufort*, p. 65.

²⁵⁹ Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (London, 1955), pp. 36-9, citing Bernard du Rosier's 'Short Treatise about Ambassadors' of 1436; Lachs, *The Diplomatic Corps under Charles II and James II*, pp. 96-8; M. S. Anderson, *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy 1450-1919* (London and New York, 1993), pp. 56-64.

²⁶⁰ PRO, LC5/2, p. 37.

²⁶¹ PRO, LC5/2, p. 38-9; see, e.g., *Une Ambassade du Prince de Ligne en Angleterre, 1660*, Félicien Leuridant, ed., (Brussels, 1923), p. 4. In some cases, extraordinary ambassadors might be brought over in English boats.

The public entry

Having made his arrangements with the king, via the master of the Ceremonies, regarding the time and day of his public entry, the new ambassador travelled downstream, with his entourage, to make his entry.²⁶² The master of the Ceremonies would follow with the royal barge to meet the ambassador, bringing with him a member of the English nobility to greet the new arrival; if the diplomat came from a crowned head of Europe, he would be greeted by an earl and a complement of gentlemen of the privy chamber. If his master was not a crowned head, he was met by a lord.²⁶³ The ambassador would then be taken into the king's barge and rowed up river to the Tower of London; here the marshal of Ceremonies would be waiting to receive the ambassador with the king's coach, invariably attended by a variety of other coaches sent by various dignitaries.²⁶⁴ (Figure 22)

The ambassador, master of the Ceremonies and earl or lord then entered the coach, and set off for Westminster followed by the coaches of the others who attended, in descending order of precedence. These might number many dozens; the master of the Ceremonies noted there were often over forty, while more than sixty were said to have accompanied the Spanish ambassadors on their entry in May 1665.²⁶⁵ The procession would also include what appeared to be the ambassador's baggage train, the covers richly embroidered with arms obscuring the absence of the ambassador's chattels, which had invariably been unpacked at his lodging days if not weeks previously.²⁶⁶

The coaches would then pass through the city, the knight marshal's men clearing the way before them, the footmen and pages of the ambassador and the accompanying lord walking along side.²⁶⁷ Reaching Westminster, extraordinary ambassadors would be taken to New Palace Yard, to the house in which ambassadors were accommodated by the king until their public audience; here they would be met by the officers of the king's household who were to attend them during this period.²⁶⁸ Once

²⁶² PRO, LC5/2, p. 39. *A French Ambassador at the Court of Charles II: Le Comte de Cominges from his Unpublished Correspondence*, J. J. Jusserand ed., (London, 1892), pp. 72-74, 207-9, *passim*, for all aspects of the entry of the ambassador of a crowned head. Until 1626 it had been quite normal for the ambassador to be met at Dover, but in that year it was ruled that they would be met no further than Gravesend, PRO, LC5/2, p. 21; Finet, *Finetti Philoxenis*, p. 181.

²⁶³ *The First Triple Alliance: The Letters of Christopher Lindenov Danish Envoy to London 1668-1672*, Waldemar Westergaard, trans. and ed. (New Haven, 1947), pp. 7-8, 20, 164; *CSPVen*, 1661-4, p. 192; 1666-8, p. 252; PRO, LC5/2, p. 39; *Une Ambassade du Prince de Ligne*, p. 18.

²⁶⁴ *The Diurnal of Thomas Rugg*, p. 158; PRO, LC5/2, pp. 39-40; *Une Ambassade du Prince de Ligne*, p. 20. After October 1661 no foreign diplomats resident in London were permitted to send their coaches to the entry of an ambassador; *CSPD*, 1661-2, p. 104.

²⁶⁵ *Une Ambassade du Prince de Ligne*, pp. 20-1; PRO, LC5/2, p. 40; *CSPVen*, 1664-6, p. 125.

²⁶⁶ *CSPVen*, 1666-8, p. 252; PRO, LC5/2, p. 40.

²⁶⁷ PRO, LC5/2, p. 40.

²⁶⁸ *CSPVen*, 1661-4, p. 23; PRO, LC5/2, p. 41; *Journal des Voyages de Monsieur de Monconys*, 2 vols (Lyon, 1666), II, pp. 9-10; the house belonged to Rebecca Williams: *London Gazette*, 1700, 2 March 1681/2; PRO, LC5/64, fol. 92v; Lachs, *The Diplomatic Corps under Charles II and James II*, p. 98.

installed in the house in New Palace Yard, the ambassador of a crowned head would receive visits from representatives of the queen, and the duke and duchess of York.²⁶⁹

There was, predictably, intense competition between nations about the way in these entries were conducted. This ranged from concern about the general level of splendour at an ambassador's own entry, to specific gripes regarding the precise details of the event and their representation of international precedence. As Sir John Reresby remarked, these events saw 'each of them [the diplomats] contending to outdoe one another in gallantry and entertainments', to the extent that in 1669 Boreel, the Dutch ambassador, negotiated with the king to dispense with his entry altogether 'because he fears that the people will smile at his meagre equipage as compared with that of our [i.e. Danish] ambassador, which we so recently saw and admired'.²⁷⁰ The extent to which the detail mattered just as much as the overall effect is clear from the endless correspondence on such matters as the seating within the royal coach, the identity of the nobleman sent to greet the new arrival and the order of the procession, and its sheer importance to contemporaries is nowhere more vividly illustrated than in the scenes of extraordinary violence in the city of London at the entry of the Swedish ambassador in September 1661. As has been extensively discussed elsewhere, the competition between the Spanish and the French ambassadors to take the position immediately after the king's coach – denoting international supremacy – on this occasion ended in a bloody battle and what was to be a painfully pyrrhic victory for the Spaniards. Following the expulsion of the Spanish ambassador from Paris and threats of war from Louis XIV, the king of Spain was forced to make the ignominious promise no longer to seek precedence over the French on such occasions.²⁷¹

It was also generally recognised that the splendour with which one of these entries was carried off reflected the glory of the host nation as well as that of the visiting nation. Charles II's own entry into The Hague in 1660 was described by Hyde, significantly, as 'answerable to the pomp, wealth and greatness of that State'.²⁷² Accordingly, it was clearly an important part of the work of the master of the Ceremonies to ensure that a great and grand audience of English people turned out on these occasions: he would notify all the nobility in London of the date of an entry so that they were 'careful to send their coaches', while a drum would be beaten through the city the previous day as a reminder

²⁶⁹ PRO, LC5/2, p. 41.

²⁷⁰ Reresby, *Memoirs*, p. 18; *The First Triple Alliance*, pp. 155. See also the comte de Soisson's 'great preparations to surpass the prince de Ligne in everything', *CSPVen*, 1659-1661, pp. 207-8.

²⁷¹ Lemaire, 'L'ambassade du comte D'Estrades à Londres en 1661: l'affaire "du pas"', pp. 181-226; *A French Ambassador at the Court of Charles the Second*, pp. 24-30; *CSPD*, 1661-2, pp. 100, 104, 105; Evelyn, *Diary*, III, pp. 299-300; Pepys, *Diary*, II, pp. 187-9; *CSPVen*, 1661-4, pp. 61-2; François de Callières, *The Art of Diplomacy*, p. 124.

²⁷² Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion*, VI, p. 228.

– as was the case before the entry of the Russian ambassador in December 1662, ‘to warn everybody to be ready at 7 o’clock the following morning’.²⁷³

Defrayment

For the period between their entry and their first public audience, extraordinary ambassadors were entitled to be housed and fed at the king’s expense – three days’ allowance was normally provided.²⁷⁴ The house in New Palace Yard was the usual lodging; though it clearly left a little to be desired, it was usefully located: in Cotterell’s words ‘the place whereof is more convenient than the house itself, which is no ways suitable to the magnificence of such entries’.²⁷⁵ Especially important extraordinary embassies were sometimes accommodated elsewhere, in houses specially furnished for the occasion. So in 1660 the prince de Ligne, extraordinary ambassador from the king of Spain, was lodged at Campden House and the comte de Soissons, from the king of France, at Somerset House, while in 1665 the duc de Verneuil and Honoré de Courtin were lodged at Berkshire House. The furnishings alone for one of these houses, for just three days’ use, might cost Charles II in excess of £500.²⁷⁶

There were occasional exceptions to these rules about the defraying of foreign ambassadors’ expences. One understandable alteration to the normal rules was made in 1662, when extra allowances were given to the Portuguese representative at the time of the marriage of Charles II and Catherine of Braganza.²⁷⁷ Another exceptional case was that of ambassadors from Russia. Historically, the Muscovy Company, which was effectively responsible for so much of Anglo-Russian relations, undertook the costs of accommodating the Russian or Muscovy ambassadors during their visits to London.²⁷⁸ By the Restoration, the Muscovy Company was refusing to finance visits which were not essentially about trade; nonetheless there was clearly an expectation from the Russians, ‘whose Nation stands so much on Ceremony’, that they would continue to be entertained. Ignoring Clarendon’s attempts to dissuade him from accepting embassies from Russia on the basis of their cost, several came to England during the reign and Charles II was landed with a bill for tens of thousands

²⁷³ PRO, LC5/2, p. 39; *The Journal of William Schellinks’ Travels in England 1661-1663*, Maurice Exwood and H. L. Lehmann, eds, Camden Society, 5th Series, I (London, 1993) (hereafter: Schellinks, *Journal*), pp. 173-4.

²⁷⁴ *The Diurnal of Thomas Rugg*, pp. 109, 158; *CSPVen*, 1659-1661, pp. 191, 201, 205; 1664-6, p. 125; *True Protestant Mercury*, 142, 13 May 1682. Though Lindenov explained to his masters that the reason why ‘no entertainment was provided...during the three days as had usually been the case’ for the Venetian ambassador was that ‘the king has resolved not to entertain any ordinary ambassadors but only the extraordinary’, this had actually been the case since 1634, *The First Triple Alliance*, p. 20; PRO, LC5/2, p. 21; *Ceremonies of Charles I*, Loomie, ed., p. 31. Phyllis Lachs misunderstood this point, *The Diplomatic Corps under Charles II and James II*, p. 98.

²⁷⁵ PRO, LC5/2, pp. 40, 120; the house was furnished at the king’s expense by the Great Wardrobe, see, e.g., LC5/64, fol. 92v.

²⁷⁶ PRO, LC5/39, pp 13-23, *passim*, 47-8, 69, 70; LC5/60, pp. 10, 14, 42-3; LC5/61, pp. 220, 232; *Une Ambassade du Prince de Ligne*, p. 21.

²⁷⁷ PRO, LC5/2, p. 21.

²⁷⁸ The expences of Vasily Demetrovich, during his visit in 1628 to congratulate Charles I on his accession on behalf of the Tsar, were, despite some wrangling, defrayed by the Muscovy Company according to ‘theyr former precedents’, *Ceremonies of Charles I*, Loomie, ed., p. 48.

of pounds for putting up Russian ambassadors.²⁷⁹ It was also accepted that the entry of the Russian ambassadors should be particularly fine, with a troop of the king's horse guards and trumpets preceding the royal coach, an 'honour not shown to any foreign minister'. Comminges, at least, considered this special treatment to have 'no cause but the interests of the London merchants who trade with Muscovy, and in consideration of which they treated him to such a *fanfare*'.²⁸⁰ Ordinary ambassadors, envoys and residents were responsible for arranging and paying for their own accommodation in London.

First public audience: extraordinary ambassadors

After their state entry, extraordinary ambassadors had a great public audience at Whitehall. Normally arranged for the day after the entry, and usually staged in the mid-afternoon, these ceremonial audiences were the moment for diplomats to offer their credentials to the king and deliver to him any presents which they had brought.²⁸¹ On the day of the first public audience the ambassador was collected from his lodging by the master of the Ceremonies with, again, either an earl or a lord, depending on the status of the ruler they represented, and conveyed to Whitehall in the king's coach, often accompanied by numerous other coaches.²⁸² Typically the ambassador was accompanied to the audience by as many of his train as he could muster, dressed in magnificent finery.²⁸³ On arrival at the palace, the ambassador was usually first taken to the council chamber, where he would wait for the king to be ready to receive him, before being brought to the banqueting house.²⁸⁴

These ceremonial receptions were among the grandest and most conspicuous occasions of any reign, and the banqueting house would be prepared specially for the occasion. The walls were hung with one of the Great Wardrobe's most magnificent suites of tapestry: the set on the subject of the life of

²⁷⁹ Finet, *Finetti Philoxenis*, pp. 46, 55; CSPD, 1663-4. pp. 126, 127, 358; PRO, PC2/56, fol. 14r; *The Letters, Speeches and Declarations of King Charles II*, Arthur Bryant, ed., (London, 1935), p. 136; *Historic Manuscripts Commission. Fourteenth Report, Appendix, Parts II-IV: The Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Portland Preserved at Welbeck Abbey*, 10 vols (London, 1891-1931) (hereafter: *HMC Portland*), III, p. 270; *A French Ambassador at the Court of Charles the Second*, pp. 23, 189-90; 'they will be defrayed at the king's cost for six months at the rate of 1,500*l.* sterling per month, the Muscovy Company having refused to undertake the charge. So the whole cost falls on the king and it be considerable as they are staying months, not days' CSPVen, 1661-4, p. 217. By 1676 it had been officially accepted that diplomats from Russia 'are allways entertayned at His Ma^{tyes} charge', PRO, LC5/201, pp. 346-7, 352.

²⁸⁰ *A French Ambassador at the Court of Charles the Second*, p. 67, 194; CSPVen, 1661-4, p. 219.

²⁸¹ *Elias Ashmole (1617-1692): His Autobiographical and Historical Notes, his Correspondence, and Other Contemporary Sources Relating to his Life and Work*, C. H. Josten, ed., 5 vols (Oxford, 1966), II, pp. 788, 801, 813.

²⁸² For example, *London Gazette* 288, 17 August 1668; 887, 19 June 1674; *Une Ambassade du Prince de Ligne*, p. 23.

²⁸³ Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 256; Pepys, *Diary*, eds, I, p. 275; *The First Triple Alliance*, pp. 8-9; CSPVen, 1661-4, p. 23; 1666-8, p. 252.

²⁸⁴ *The First Triple Alliance*, pp. 8-9; *London Gazette*, 1685, 11 January 1681/2; *Une Ambassade du Prince de Ligne*, p. 24. On the few exceptional occasions when the banqueting house could not be used for these receptions, the king's presence chamber would be used instead. For example, in October 1669 the Dutch ambassador had his first public audience in the presence chamber because, according to the Danish resident, the recent death of Henrietta Maria 'did not permit the king to appear in public so soon', *The First Triple Alliance*, p. 164; *London Gazette*, 405, 1 October 1669. In 1682 the Bantam ambassadors had their first public audience in the king's presence at Windsor; the obvious alternative, St George's Hall, was being renovated at the time. In these exceptional cases, the queen would participate in ceremonial occasions in the king's

Abraham woven for Henry VIII was generally brought up from Hampton Court and hung with another from the collection to cover the walls of the great room.²⁸⁵ As well as setting up the furnishings, the household officers also ensured the banqueting house and council chamber were thoroughly perfumed.²⁸⁶

The king and queen usually received the ambassador together at the first public audience, seated on chairs of state placed on a dais of three steps, beneath a great canopy of state, with important and favoured courtiers and councillors standing behind them.²⁸⁷ Separating the dais from the rest of the hall was a rail, which diplomats would be brought within when presented to the king and queen,²⁸⁸ while members of the household guards of the gentlemen pensioners and yeomen of the guard lined the route from the door to the dais (their pikes can be seen amongst the crowd in the contemporary painting of the audience of the prince de Ligne (Figure 23)).²⁸⁹ Musicians seated in the gallery played throughout the ceremony.²⁹⁰

On arrival the diplomat was met at the door by the lord chamberlain and led up to the high end of the room where the king and queen would be, seated. Here, with a speech and much bowing, he would offer his letters of credence to the king, who swiftly passed them on to the secretary of state.²⁹¹ The king and queen would then rise, the king removing his hat, in recognition of the ambassador's position and the ruler he represented. The diplomat might then be invited to come forward on to the royal dais, where the king would usually invite him to put his hat on, doing the same himself.²⁹² (Figure 24) Conversation on the general amity and good relations between England and the ambassador's nation would follow, with the king and ambassador raising their hats whenever mention was made of their respective prince or republic. When the ambassador turned to address the queen, he would usually remain bare-headed, ceremonial rectitude being carefully maintained where the queen was concerned.²⁹³

state apartments; *London Gazette*, 1721, 14 May 1682.

²⁸⁵ PRO, LC5/137, p. 358; LC5/6, fos 66v, 71v.

²⁸⁶ PRO, LC5/137, p. 65.

²⁸⁷ Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 412; *CSPVen*, 1666-8, pp. 252, 280; *Oxford Gazette*, 66, 30 June 1666; *Une Ambassade du Prince de Ligne*, p. 25.

²⁸⁸ 'HM's Royall Band of Pensioners being placed along the Raules', *The Parliamentary Intelligencer*, 36, August 1660; PRO, LC5/39, p. 15; *Loyal Protestant*, 104, 16 January 1681/2, when the Moroccan ambassador was 'conducted within the rails to Their Majesties'.

²⁸⁹ *CSPVen*, 1661-4, p. 23; 1666-8, p. 280; *London Gazette*, 1685, 11 January 1681/2; *The Parliamentary Intelligencer*, 36, August 1660; *Une Ambassade du Prince de Ligne*, p. 25.

²⁹⁰ 'Wind musick playing all the while in the Galleries', Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 349.

²⁹¹ *London Gazette*, 1685, 11 January 1681/2; *Une Ambassade du Prince de Ligne*, p. 24; Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 349.

²⁹² *CSPVen*, 1666-8, pp. 280-1, 317; *Une Ambassade du Prince de Ligne*, p. 25.

²⁹³ "'Embajada Espanola": an anonymous contemporary Spanish guide to diplomatic procedure in the last quarter of the seventeenth century', H. J. Chaytor, ed., *Camden Miscellany*, XIV (London, 1926), p. 27; *CSPVen*, 1666-8, p. 280.

At the grandest of these audiences gifts were given, usually appropriate to the country of origin of the embassy; so the Dutch ambassador gave fine paintings, furniture and sculpture, the Russians sable and ermine furs, the Venetians gondolas and the Moroccans lions and ostriches.²⁹⁴ These presents were delivered with considerable flourish; in 1681 at the audience of the Russian ambassador 'the presents were carried before them, held up by his followers standing in two ranks towards the Kings state', while his predecessor twenty years earlier had his presents brought in, 'borne by 165 of his retinue', including dozens of hawks 'such as they sayd never came the like' and a number of fine Arab horses.²⁹⁵ As was the case with so many aspects of these ceremonial occasions, the flamboyance and generosity of the presents was intended to reflect the magnificence and power of both the giver and the receiver.²⁹⁶

Before the end of the audience the king would invite members of the company to kiss his hand, and the most important of them, usually just the ambassador, to kiss the queen's.²⁹⁷ On exceptional occasions, the king might embrace the diplomats, as he did the extraordinary ambassadors from Venice in August 1661, as a special sign of friendship.²⁹⁸ Credentials and presents delivered, and professions of amity delivered and received, the ambassador would take his leave. As he withdrew, the ambassador continued to face the king and queen, who remained standing, and so walked the hundred or so feet to the door backwards.²⁹⁹ The nobleman who had accompanied the ambassador to the audience then saw him either to a second audience with the duke of York and his family, or back to his house.³⁰⁰ At the end of an extraordinary embassy a virtually identical state audience of departure, or congé, would be held. The departing ambassador would be collected from his house by the master of the Ceremonies and a nobleman, be taken to court in the king's coach, repose in the council chamber, and be received by the king in the banqueting house.³⁰¹

Being grand and frequently exotic affairs, the public audiences in the banqueting house were invariably very well attended. The guards who lined the route to the dais were not just for show, and often had difficulty maintaining the dignity of the occasion. In 1681, at the audience of the Moroccan

²⁹⁴ *The Diurnal of Thomas Rugg*, p. 126; Evelyn, *Diary*, IV, pp. 262-3, 265-6; *The Parliamentary Intelligencer*, 47, 2 November 1660; *CSPVen*, 1661-4, p. 45; Reresby, *Memoirs*, p. 245.

²⁹⁵ Evelyn, *Diary*, IV, p. 262; Pepys, *Diary*, III, p. 297; *CSPVen*, 1661-4, p. 219.

²⁹⁶ After he had seen Charles II touch for the king's evil, the Moroccan ambassador was embarrassed about the quality of his gifts and begged the king 'not to take amis the mean Present, he being mis-inform'd by the Jews as if His Majesty has been a petty Prince; but now he found him to be the greatest monarch in Europe', *London Gazette*, 1721, 14 May 1682; *Loyal Protestant*, 111, 29.

²⁹⁷ Pepys, *Diary*, III, p. 297; *The Parliamentary Intelligencer*, 36, August 1660.

²⁹⁸ *CSPVen*, 1661-4, p. 23.

²⁹⁹ *CSPVen*, 1666-8, pp. 281-2.

³⁰⁰ *Une Ambassade du Prince de Ligne*, p. 25; *CSPVen*, 1666-8, pp. 252, 281-2; *London Gazette*, 669, 13 April 1672; 727, 5 November 1672.

³⁰¹ *Une Ambassade du Prince de Ligne*, pp. 32-3; *London Gazette*, 151, 26 April 1667; 1738, 14 July 1682; *True Protestant*

ambassador 'the Concourse & Tumult of People was intollerable, so as the Officers could keepe no order'.³⁰² In 1668, at the audience of the Venetian ambassador, a less obviously colourful character, there were so many people that 'the guards found it difficult to make a way through the curious throng.'³⁰³ There seems to have been little close scrutiny of those who came. Pepys was able to pass 'through the croude almost as high as the King and the Embassadors' without being challenged.³⁰⁴ As well as the hall itself, the balconies of the banqueting house were filled with spectators; at the audience of the prince de Ligne 'il y avoit un tel nombre et une si grande multitude de gens dans cette sale et dans toutes les galeries d'en haut qui l'environnent qu'il est impossible de l'exprimer'; there were so many in December 1662 that Pepys was in 'fear of falling of[f] [the] gallery, it being so full and part of it being parted from the rest'.³⁰⁵ So the scene shown in the painting of the reception of the prince de Ligne in 1660 (Figure 23), with the west gallery of the banqueting house crammed with spectators was no doubt a reasonably accurate image of the scene on that day, and the fact that it is so prominently included in the canvas is a useful reminder of the importance to the grandeur of these occasions of a mass of spectators.

First audiences: ambassadors, envoys and residents

Though ordinary ambassadors had a state entry, their first audience was not held in the banqueting house but other rooms of the royal apartment at Whitehall; diplomats below the status of ambassador would have neither a ceremonial entry, nor a great public inaugural audience in the banqueting house. Nonetheless these emissaries would all still have a carefully arranged first audience with the king and queen, to which the master of the Ceremonies conducted them.

On the day arranged, the diplomats would be met by the master of the Ceremonies from their lodgings. Residents were always brought to court in the lord chamberlain's coach, envoys and envoys extraordinary might sometimes be brought in the king's coach, while ambassadors were always brought in the king's coach.³⁰⁶ A nobleman would accompany the master of the Ceremonies to collect

Mercury, 1685, 11 January 1681/2.

³⁰² Evelyn, *Diary*, IV, p. 266.

³⁰³ *CSPVen*, 1666-8, p. 280.

³⁰⁴ Pepys, *Diary*, III, p. 297.

³⁰⁵ *Une Ambassade du Prince de Ligne*, p. 25; Pepys, *Diary*, III, p. 297.

³⁰⁶ 'Embajada Espanola', p. 27; *A French Ambassador at the Court of Charles II*, pp. 75, 208-9; *The First Triple Alliance*, p. 240; *London Gazette*, 1649, 5 September 1681. The allowance of the king's coach for envoys was a novelty of Charles II's reign, who permitted it following the 'example of France where that honour was first done to my Lord Crofts who was send thither immediately after his Majesty's restoration', PRO, LC5/2, pp. 37-8. Christopher Lindenov, Danish resident in London, tried to secure the royal coach for his first audience, but was told 'that it has always been customary here at court for the royal envoys and residents to be taken to the audience in the lord chamberlain's carriage', *The First Triple Alliance*, p. 233. There was some scope for increasing the honour of the entry of residents and envoys, as in 1674 when the duke of Monmouth's coach was sent to the prince of Brabanson as 'a particular favour shown this young prince for his great quality', *HMC Fleming*, p. 109.

an ambassador, but for lesser diplomats Cotterell travelled alone.³⁰⁷ On alighting from the coach at Whitehall, they were received by the marshal of Ceremonies. These first audiences would take place in the royal apartments, but never in the banqueting house. The diplomats would be escorted through the state apartments, where, in the case of envoys and ambassadors, the yeomen of the guard would stand to arms as they crossed the guard chamber. These diplomats, like extraordinary ambassadors, would usually have to wait for the king to be ready to receive them, though in their case they were usually left in either the privy chamber or the lord chamberlain's lodgings during this time.³⁰⁸

When the king and queen received formally together in the royal apartments they seem usually to have done so in the queen's apartments. The first audience of the Russian envoys in August 1667 took place in the queen's presence chamber, as did that of two other Russian envoys in November 1682.³⁰⁹ However, according to the master of the Ceremonies, when the royal couple received separately the queen's presence chamber was not used at all; instead, the king received 'sometimes in his Antechamber ... & sometimes in the Bedchamber'. At the door to whichever was being used the visitor would be met, by the lord chamberlain or vice chamberlain if it was the antechamber, and a gentlemen of the Bedchamber if it was the bedchamber. In the latter case the master of the Ceremonies would walk on the left hand of the visitor into the audience.³¹⁰ Though diplomats should, technically, have been received by the king sitting and with his hat on, Charles II usually conducted such audiences standing and hatless.³¹¹ Having seen the king, handed over his credentials and exchanged pleasantries, the diplomat would then normally be conducted to the queen, usually in her withdrawing room, where they were met at the door by her lord chamberlain or vice chamberlain, and where she would receive them sitting.³¹² Very much the same procedure was followed in these first audiences as those in the banqueting house: the diplomats' credentials were handed over, compliments and declarations of good intent were exchanged, and royal hands were proffered for kissing.³¹³

³⁰⁷ *A French Ambassador at the Court of Charles II*, pp. 75, 208-9.

³⁰⁸ PRO, LC5/2, pp. 38, 135.

³⁰⁹ Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 494; PRO, LC5/2, p. 135.

³¹⁰ PRO, LC5/2, p. 38; *London Gazette*, 403, 24 September 1669. Lindenov was told by the master of the Ceremonies that he would be met at the door by the lord chamberlain, but 'as he was not at hand, a gentleman of the chamber met me and accompanied me back again', *The First Triple Alliance*, p. 234; *CSPVen*, 1661-4, p. 217 for the Hanse ambassadors being received in the king's drawing room.

³¹¹ PRO, LC5/2, p. 38.

³¹² PRO, LC5/2, p. 38; Lindenov noted: 'At the door to the queen's anteroom I met the vice-chamberlain, Killegray', *The First Triple Alliance*, p. 234.

³¹³ Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 494; PRO, LC5/2, p. 135.

Other audiences

After the first formal meeting between the king and queen and a diplomat there would be others, and indeed there had frequently (even normally) been a 'private' audience in the days before an entry.³¹⁴ After the formalities of reception, much of the real business was conducted between the diplomats and the king's ministers and, though the king came across the foreign agents in London on a more-or-less a daily basis in the galleries and withdrawing rooms of Whitehall, more formal audiences were still requested from time to time when occasion merited it.³¹⁵ These 'private' audiences were usually conducted in the king's bedchamber or closet, without the formal trappings of dais and canopy of state, but more defining of their 'private' character still was that diplomats came to them not through the state apartments, as they would for a public audience, but through the privy gallery from St James's Park or directly from the privy garden into the privy apartments.³¹⁶ However, though the king usually conducted the interview standing and bare-headed, the master of the Ceremonies would still (in principle, at least) officiate, even bringing the diplomat to court in the royal coach, and great notice was always taken of the sovereign's smallest physical gestures.³¹⁷

As was the case with visiting members of foreign ruling families, newly-arrived diplomats would embark upon a series of visits and return visits with members of the royal family, principal officers of the household and state, and other diplomats stationed in London. The order in which the new arrival was visited and visited others was determined strictly by precedence: the more important being visited by the less.³¹⁸ This in itself involved considerable scope for disagreement, but even when there was consensus about who should be visited by whom and when, the precise details of at what point the visitor should be met and what signs of respects should be proffered and returned, provided almost infinite potential for argument.³¹⁹ Where intractable disagreement existed, prospective participants were much happier for the visit to be abandoned altogether than conducted in what was perceived as a dishonourable fashion.³²⁰

c. FOREIGN VISITORS: SOME CONCLUSIONS

In the staging of these ceremonial meetings, and the introductions to them, all those involved were concerned throughout with the appearance of honour and the appropriate reflection of international

³¹⁴ Hartmann, *Charles II*, p. 106; *CSPVen*, 1659-61, p. 211; "Embajada Espanola", p. 23; Pepys, *Diary*, VI, p. 76.

³¹⁵ For informal meetings between the king and diplomats see, e.g., Reresby, *Memoirs*, p. 238 and chapter 2. iii.

³¹⁶ *CSPVen*, 1666-8, pp. 252, 255-7, 284-5; PRO, LC5/201, p. 70; *Une Ambassade du Prince de Ligne*, p. 26.

³¹⁷ PRO, LC5/2, pp. 13, 110-1; *Loyal Protestant*, 105, 16 January 1682; *CSPVen*, 1666-8, pp. 256, 284-5; *Une Ambassade du Prince de Ligne*, p. 26.

³¹⁸ Callières, *The Art of Diplomacy*, p. 126.

³¹⁹ See, for example, *CSPD*, 1660-1, p. 285; PRO, LC5/2, pp. 114, 143; *The First Triple Alliance*, pp. 10-11; Hartmann, *Charles II*, p. 252; *HMC Verney*, p. 487.

³²⁰ *CSPD*, 1680-1, p. 378; *CSPVen*, 1666-8, p. 291.

stature and precedence. These events as indicators of international politics were taken extremely seriously by everyone, not just the ambassador carrying them out, or even just the head of state he represented, but also the bystanders who witnessed them. As a contemporary diplomat remarked 'nothing is more natural nor more deeply founded upon every good reason of state than that the good or ill relations between kings and government should depend upon the good or ill reception and treatment of foreign ministers in the courts'.³²¹

Contemporaries did notice and understand the eloquence and significance of the performance of these events. The dispute between the English and French king in 1664 regarding the order of coaches at entry of Lord Holles into Paris was not just of interest to the sovereign and the diplomatic corps. Mr Allsop, the king's brewer, spent a hour in February 1664 gossiping over matters great and small with Samuel Pepys, discussing among other things how 'our Embassadour had, it is true, an Audience; but in the most dishonourable way that could be, for the Princes of the Blood (though invited by our Imbassador, which was the greatest absurdity that ever embassdor committed these 400 years) were not there, and so were not said to give place to our King's imbassador'. While in 1666 Pepys remarked on the king of France's symbolic riposte to Charles II's declaration against the wearing of French clothes, that it was 'an ingenious kind of affront; but yet makes me angry to see that the king of England is become so little as to have that affront offered him'.³²²

The performance of these ceremonies of arrival and introduction to the satisfaction of all participants depended on the process of careful and meticulous consideration of all the elements in advance and on agreement being reached on precisely what form they should take. The appearance of magnificence, courtesy and harmony which defined the successful execution of these events was only achieved only through exhaustive preparatory negotiations. The delay of several months which might follow after the arrival of a diplomat and before his ceremonial entry was as much as anything to allow time for the arrangements, both material and ritual, for the ceremonial arrival to be made – though it was generally thought advisable to try and resolve the latter before the visitor had arrived on the host soil.³²³ These negotiations did not simply involve each party's ceremonial officials putting their precedence books together and deciding on the appropriate form, but were political discussions, often conducted at the highest level. Arrangements regarding the reception of the French extraordinary ambassador Verneuil were, for example, conducted directly between Charles II, his sister, the duchess of Orléans, and Catherine of Braganza.³²⁴ These were literally negotiations, in

³²¹ "“Embajada Espanola”", p. 29.

³²² Pepys, *Diary*, V, pp. 59; VII, pp. 380-1.

³²³ *HMC Hastings*, II, p. 140; Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, IV, pp. 206-7; *HMC Fleming*, p. 57; *CSPVen*, 1661-4, pp. 271-2.

³²⁴ Hartmann, *Charles II*, p. 145; C. H. Hartmann, *The King My Brother* (London, 1954), p. 145.

which various offers and counter-offers were made, and trade-offs proposed, in the process of trying to reach an agreement. The grand duke of Tuscany was adamant that the duke of York should return his visit, but was prepared to enter into discussions on the detail of the exchange of honours at that meeting, while the prince of Orange was prepared to dine with the lord mayor of London in 1681, but when he was presented with the mayor's proposals for how he would be met and seated, 'conceived that his Lordship might do more Honor to the Prince at his own House' and Cotterell was dispatched 'to see him the next morning early & endeavour to obtain something more'.³²⁵

On occasion those who were to attend in a secondary capacity, as observers rather than principal participants, might also make a point of establishing in advance what form the proceedings were to take before deciding to attend.³²⁶ There were good reasons for making completely sure that everything which was to happen on these occasions was known and agreed in advance as there always existed the risk that, once a ceremonial occasion was underway, it could be hijacked by one of the participants to his or her own advantage, something which it was then extremely hard to escape from honourably.

If complete agreement had not been reached in advance there was potential for all sorts of conflict and confusion. Henry Sidney related to Leoline Jenkins how at the Orange court in December 1680 the French ambassador came to wait upon Princess Mary without previous agreement having been made about form. When he presented himself to her at her card table, she invited him to sit and join in; however the French ambassador had strict instructions that he was to sit on an arm chair if the princess did so; thinking on his feet, he retrieved an arm chair from the other side of the room, dragged it over, sat down in it for a short while, before rising and coming to the gaming table to join the princess. On this occasion the result of an ill-arranged meeting was clumsiness but not dishonour.³²⁷ However, when the Russian envoys had their audience with Charles II in November 1682 the outcome was rather more serious. In the middle of the audience the envoys demanded that the king should stand and remove his hat, effectively asserting their master's parity of status; the king was outraged and the master of the Ceremonies was 'very much blamed that he did not presee it.'³²⁸

Though lengthy negotiations over the form of meeting between the prince of Orange and French ambassador, Barillon, in 1681, resulted in apparent agreement, 'at last after several messages by me [Cotterell] between them all', there was still room for trouble. On the appointed day, after Barillon had been met by the prince and conducted to the withdrawing room, where the audience was to take

³²⁵ PRO, LC5/2, p. 116; SP29/256, no. 92 fol. 115r. In the event the king decided that the prince should not attend, Baxter, *William III*, p. 174.

³²⁶ PRO, LC5/2, p. 53, the ladies of the court making 'Enquiries after' the form of ceremonial receptions in 1673.

³²⁷ *Diary of the Times of Charles the Second by Henry Sidney*, II, pp. 141-2.

³²⁸ PRO, LC5/2, p. 135.

place, the Frenchman seized control of the whole event: '2 fauteils standing against the wall: the Amb: with great forwardness pulled them in order, setting the Prince's back of the Chair to the door, & himself moved the Prince to cover'. Cotterell was appalled, remarking that 'it being a thing done by connivance & not by right'.³²⁹ These examples demonstrate the scope there was for these performances to be taken over completely by one of the participants; given that the exact manner of their performance was agreed by everyone to be a microcosm of international politics and precedence, this was potentially very damaging to the reputation of those taking part, and all concerned in them were constantly vigilant about what exactly was happening, both before and while they took place.

It was generally agreed to be much better to dispense with a ceremonial meeting altogether rather than to participate in one which did not reflect accurately the power and prestige of its participants. Charles II was much happier for Lord Holles not to have an entry into Paris than for him to take part in one which saw a diminution of the honours usually afforded English ambassadors.³³⁰ Prince Rupert frequently backed out of exchanging formal visits with diplomats and foreign potentates, to avoid a situation in which he would be treated with less honour than he felt he deserved.³³¹ This extended to those who were not even the focus of a meeting: the ladies of the court absented themselves from attending the reception of both the duchess of Modena and the duchess of Orléans, in order to avoid being publically afforded lesser status than the visitors.³³²

There were, though, ways around some of these knotty questions of precedence. One solution often used was for a meeting to occur, apparently by accident, in a neutral location, which was not the house of one or the other participant ('a third place' in Magalotti's words), whereby no sticky precedent was created ever after to determine the form of such meetings. The duke of York and Cosmo III of Tuscany were able to arrange their introduction in such a way that would avoid having to resolve questions about their relative status by meeting in Hyde Park, while a similar potentially problematic question, regarding the relative status of the duke and the newly acceded Elector Palatine was resolved by the elector taking his leave from the duke in the lodgings of the duchess of York. Here, apparently spontaneously, 'the Duke would come in while He was there whereby the Punctillo of reception might be avoided'.³³³ By appearing at the supper being given by the duke of Buckingham for the grand duke of Tuscany 'unexpectedly', the king and duke of York avoided the trickier issues of precedence, while the lodgings of the duchess of Portsmouth were also a useful ceremonially

³²⁹ PRO, LC5/2, p. 115.

³³⁰ Hartmann, *Charles II and Madame* pp. 90-1.

³³¹ PRO, LC5/2, p. 53; *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton*, I, p. 59.

³³² CSPD, 1670, p. 190; 1673-5, pp. 40-1; BL, Stowe MS 203, fol. 209r; PRO, LC5/2, pp. 52-3; BL, Add. MS 28954, fol. 18r.

³³³ Magalotti, *Travels*, pp. 163, 174; PRO, LC5/2, p. 125.

neutral location where meetings could take place, such as that between the king and the Moroccan ambassador in January 1682 which saw the two men meet 'by accident'.³³⁴

In many ways the diplomats concerned in these meetings needed more than anything to be seen to be insisting upon the honours to which their nation was entitled, even if privately compromises were being made. Derision would result from a perceived excess or deficit of enthusiasm in the pursuit of honour in the diplomatic arena. As one contemporary put it: 'the minister has merely to see that no part of the ceremony is omitted, without claiming that more should be done in his case than is usual with others; otherwise not only will he have the mortification of failure to secure his request, but will be held up in ridicule'.³³⁵ So, though Charles II would 'openly say' à propos the question of Lord Holles's entry into Paris 'that he would not be hector'd out of his right and preeminencys by the King of France, as great as he was', Thomas Salusbury reported that 'our King had given a private order to his ambassador to remit of the rigour of the demand as to the latter part of the claim touching the French King's own coach'.³³⁶

Diplomatic ceremonial seemed, and frequently was, entirely intractable and unchangeable; as one visitor to the late Stuart court remarked 'In all the courts of Europe the ceremonial is fixed and if any minister claims to alter it, he is not heard, because innovation in this respect provides a precedent for all the rest'.³³⁷ However, having said this, and acknowledging the generally static nature of most aspects of these occasions, the way in which even these most rigid ceremonies were performed could both reflect and affect contemporary international relations. So it was that Charles II insisted on the prince of Neuburg being treated with much greater attention and ceremony than would usually have been the case with an incognito visit as a deliberate act of reciprocation of the duke's reception of him during the Protectorate (see above). John Evelyn remarked of the treatment of the Russian ambassadors in 1662 that 'his Majestie ordered [they] should be received with much state, the *Emperor* his Master having not onely been kind to his Majestie in distresse, but banishing all Commerce with our Nation during the Rebellion'.³³⁸ In 1682, the Moroccan ambassador was 'received with more than ordinary ceremony, the King believing that a commerce between the Emperour and this kingdome might proove of great advantage to us, we haveing soe fitt a place for a staple or stoorhous of our own commodities upon their contenant as Tangers', for which reason also, the lord chamberlain secured extra sums of money from the Treasury – 'His Ma^c being desirous to

³³⁴ CSPD, 1682, p. 43; Magalotti, *Travels*, p. 349.

³³⁵ "'Embajada Espanola'", p. 27; Callières, *The Art of Diplomacy*, p. 153.

³³⁶ Pepys, *Diary*, V, p. 60; HMC *Hastings*, II, pp. 143-4; PRO, PRO 31/3/113, fos 2r-4v, Cominges to Louis XIV 'je ne cognais dans l'esprit de leur maistre qu'un grand desir de trouver quelque expédient pour une réciproque satisfaction'.

³³⁷ "'Embajada Espanola'", p. 27.

³³⁸ Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 344.

gratify the Ambassad^r from the King of Fess [Fez] and Moroccoe in all things'.³³⁹ The king also ensured that the intrepid and exotic Bantam ambassadors were received with great honour and state, and decided to treat them as being of the highest status by appointing an earl to conduct them to their first public audience. When there were complaints from other ambassadors from foreign princes that their honour was being eroded, the king quickly resolved it by ruling that 'they should be Introduced by an Earl, and that he also should be a knight of the Garter'.³⁴⁰

d. DOMESTIC VISITORS

The formal meetings which Charles II had with his subjects during his reign were, predictably, much less elaborate and ceremonially complex affairs than those involving foreigners, largely for the obvious reason that they were not defined by the need for the king to treat these visitors as representatives of foreign princes or states in a way carefully calibrated to reflect contemporary international relations. However it is important to remember the disparity in surviving information for domestic and diplomatic meetings. The master of the Ceremonies was concerned only with foreign visitors to court and there was no comparable system for recording how domestic audiences and presentations were organised and the reasoning for doing things in any given way. In seeking an understanding of these occasions we have to rely almost entirely on the mentions made of them in contemporary diaries and newspapers – payments relating to them do not feature in household account books or regulations governing them in official ordinances. So, while acknowledging that the king's meetings with his subjects were certainly less agonised over than diplomatic meetings, it is important to remember that the information which survives about them is far less full and that this may in itself give an incomplete impression of their performance.

Individuals

Charles II came into contact with his courtiers and subjects in the usual course of court life: perambulating in St James's Park, coming out of the council chamber, conversing in withdrawing rooms, passing through the privy gallery and so on. It was certainly the case that informal introductions were made on these occasions, positions promised, and professions of loyalty and affection exchanged.³⁴¹ To consider these as ceremonial events is perhaps to stretch the definition too far. However, the organised introduction of English people to their king did take place in Charles II's

³³⁹ Resesby, *Memoirs*, p. 245; orders survive for both the royal trumpeters and the king's private music to attend him 'as often as he shall desire', which was not usual practice, PRO, LC5/201, p. 353, 354. The ambassador, Ahmed Hadu, was in London to secure the revision of a treaty relating to Tangier made in 1681 and to negotiate a treaty for peace at sea; on 23 March 1682 a 'Treaty of perpetual Peace' was signed between Charles II and the king of Morocco, *London Gazette*, 1706, 23 March 1682.

³⁴⁰ *True Protestant Mercury*, 122, 7 March 1681/2; 142, 13 May 1682; *London Gazette*, 1721, 14 May 1682; Lady Newdigate-Newdegate, *Cavalier and Puritan in the days of the Stuarts, Compiled from the Private Papers and Diary of Sir Richard Newdigate, Second Baronet with Extracts from MS News-letters Addressed to him between 1675 and 1689* (London, 1901), pp. 165-6.

reign, and deserves some consideration, especially when at these meetings the symbolic act of kissing the king's hand took place.

Ritualised meetings between the king and individual subjects of his generally involved the introduction of the subject into the king's presence, normally in one of the rooms of the royal privy apartments, an exchange of professions of loyalty (from the subject) and approval or support (from the king), which were then symbolically sealed by the king offering his hand to the subject to kiss. Hand-kissing was the ceremonial expression of this reciprocal exchange of good intent: loyalty on the part of the subject and recognition and approval of that on the part of the king. At the beginning of the reign there was, understandably, a great rush of visitors to court anxious to demonstrate their allegiance to the newly-restored monarch. In the words of John Evelyn 'It was indeed intollerable, as well as unexpressable, the greediness of all sorts, men, women & children to see his Majesty & kisse his hands, inso much as he had scarce leasure to Eate for some dayes, coming as they did from all parts of the Nation'.³⁴²

In these formal meetings, the visitor was taken to the king by another person who had access to the sovereign, whether by household or political position, or by personal influence. Where the location of these meetings is recorded, they usually happened in the privy apartments at Whitehall, sometimes the withdrawing (vane) room and very occasionally the privy gallery, but usually the bedchamber or closet.³⁴³ The introducer might be the household official who was responsible for the area of the palace where the meeting was to take place; the most famous example being Thomas Chiffinch, page of the Bedchamber and keeper of the King's closet. Chiffinch introduced Elias Ashmole to the king, to kiss his hands, two weeks after Charles II's arrival at Whitehall, and, with his brother who succeeded him in this role in 1666, was to do the same for many other visitors to the king throughout his reign.³⁴⁴ The great politicians of the moment, who were frequently also senior household officers, often acted as the introducers of visitors to the king: in August 1660 Sir John Reresby was introduced to the king by the lord steward, the marquis, soon to be duke, of Ormond; in January 1666 the duke of Albemarle presented John Evelyn to the king, who 'gave me his hand to kisse, with many thanks for my Care & faithfullnesse in his service'; in September 1681 Laurence Hyde introduced Reresby to the king at Newmarket; in October of that year Lord Halifax introduced Lord Huntingdon to the king in

³⁴¹ See, for example, Evelyn 'casualy in the Privy Gallery at Whitehall', Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 387; Pepys, *Diary*, VII, p. 26.

³⁴² Evelyn, *Diary*, III p. 247.

³⁴³ See, for example, Reresby, *Memoirs*, pp. 33, 227; *HMC Verney*, p. 466; Evelyn, *Diary*, IV, pp. 130-1; *The Correspondence of the Family of Hatton*, I, p. 102; Charles II's Bedchamber regulations of 1661 and 1673 acknowledged what had been the usual practice in the time of his father, that is that the king's important subjects would have their 'Audiences in Our Withdrawing Roome, where the Lord Chamberlain, and other the Chiefe Officers of Our house and Our Privy Councill may allwayes attend Us', NUL, Portland MSS, PW V 92, Bedchamber Ordinances, 1661, fol. 7v.

³⁴⁴ *Elias Ashmole*, II, p. 780; Allen, 'The political function of Charles II's Chiffinch', pp. 277-290; 'getting audience by way of Mr. Chiffinch', *HMC Ormonde*, IV, p. 555; 'Diary of Dr. Edward Lake', p. 20.

his bedchamber at Whitehall; while in September 1684 Lord Dartmouth presented guardsman Major Billingsly to kiss the king's hand.³⁴⁵

As well as these great politicians, lesser courtiers who were well-known to the king would bring others to meet him. So in April 1665 John Evelyn, who the king hailed as 'his old Acquaintance', introduced to the king in his bedchamber a young Dutchman to kiss his hand, while, similarly, Elias Ashmole, having been introduced to Charles II himself, brought Dr Edward Warner to meet the king and kiss his hands in October 1660.³⁴⁶

On one level these audiences or presentations were straight-forward introductions; but they were also usually intended, on the part of the visitors, to further careers and assist in the search for position and preferment in court or government. More specifically, an organised meeting in which the king offered his hand to kiss was considered virtually essential when the king was conferring a post or office on one of his subjects. To kiss hands 'on' or 'for' a post was to secure it, as the king thereby made a public and visible confirmation of having bestowed it on a particular person. So in April 1673 the earl of Anglesey had a formal meeting with the king, at which Charles 'delivered me the privy seal in the purse', following mutual expressions of trust and support, Anglesey then kissed the sovereign's hands.³⁴⁷ In 1678 John Reresby kissed hands 'for my commission received the day before', while in July 1680 Henry Savile 'kiss'd his Maj^{ty}s hands to be his Vice-chamberlain'.³⁴⁸ That these meetings, and the kissing of hands for positions which was their purpose, took place was noticed and remarked upon by contemporaries. A newsletter sent to a bookseller, Mr Courteney, in June 1671 noted that 'On the 15th Mr. Felton kissed his Majesty's hands and was made Groom of the Bedchamber'; the *London Gazette* reported that Jonas Moore's son 'kissed His Majesty's hand in order to be received into his Father's place', while in June 1681 the *Loyal Protestant* reported that John Browne was made one of the king's surgeons: 'the lord chamberlain presented him to kiss the Kings hand, the which he also did as a further Confirmation of His Majesty's Gracious acceptance of his Services'.³⁴⁹ Naturally the reports were of interest in that they indicated who had been promoted into which place, but the kissing of hands was the firm proof that the position had certainly been granted.

It was not just on first introduction or promotion that a subject would meet the king formally to kiss his hand, but also – as a gesture of trust and loyalty between subject and sovereign – on their

³⁴⁵ Reresby, *Memoirs*, pp. 33, 231; Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 429; *HMC Ormonde*, VI, p. 204; *HMC Dartmouth*, p. 121.

³⁴⁶ Evelyn, *Diary*, III, pp. 249, 407; *Elias Ashmole*, II, p. 796.

³⁴⁷ BL, Add MS 40860, fol. 45r.

³⁴⁸ Reresby, *Memoirs*, p. 136; *Letters to and from Henry Savile, Envoy at Paris and Vice-Chamberlain to Charles II and James II*, William Durrant Cooper, ed., Camden Society, 71 (London, 1858), p. 162.

³⁴⁹ *CSPD*, Jan-Nov 1671, p. 332; *London Gazette*, 1439, 6 September 1679; *Loyal Protestant*, 29, 9 June 1681.

departure or return from an important voyage, or on other occasions when a confirmation of loyalty was useful or necessary. So diplomats habitually kissed the king's hand on departure and return; in 1682, for example, 'Sir Peter Wyche His Majesty's late Resident at Hamburg, kissed His Majesty's hand upon return home, and was very graciously received'.³⁵⁰ Similarly, when a senior member of the royal family was going away or returning, as when the duke of York went to fight the Dutch at sea in 1665, there was much kissing of hands on the eve of departure and after return to confirm bonds of loyalty.³⁵¹

In times of ambiguity or uncertainty regarding loyalty, these organised meetings for the purpose of kissing of hands became highly controversial and political. If there was public uncertainty regarding the loyalty of one of the king's subjects, his or her admission to kiss the king's hands was a clear sign of concord. So, for example, in November 1670 Sir Thomas Allen landed at Portsmouth, his recent conduct in some question; he came straight to court where he was 'received very graciously to kiss his Majesty's hand and afterwards by his Royal Highness', indicating to everyone that 'he has sufficient proofs to justify his conduct in his late expedition'.³⁵² It was not simply that the subject performed what was effectively an act of fealty, but also that the king admitted him to do so, in Sir Thomas Allen's case, 'very graciously'. In August 1679, Lord Chief Justice Scroggs, who had presided over the popish plot trials, including the controversial acquittal of Sir George Wakeman, came to the king, who was dangerously ill at Windsor. Here the king received him in his bedchamber 'call'd him to y^e bedside and gave him his hand to kiss, renewing to him y^e assurance y^t he wou'd stand by him'.³⁵³

The deliberate refusal of permission to kiss the sovereign's hand was one of the most active and positive indicators that could be given (short of banishment or imprisonment) of the king's dissatisfaction. So in March 1669 Pepys noted that Henry Savile was 'denied to kiss the King's hand' and that the king had insisted that the duke of York should also refuse it.³⁵⁴ A month or so later, after Sir William Coventry had been goaded by the duke of Buckingham into challenging him to a duel, for which he suffered the king's acute anger, Coventry was temporarily deprived of office, and for five months Charles refused 'to give him leave to come to kiss his hand'. It was in September that his readmission to kiss the king's hand showed he had 'been received into favour again'.³⁵⁵ Indeed being received to kiss the king's hand after some public misdemeanour was the outward indication that a subject had regained the king's favour. On his release after a fortnight in the Tower in 1671, Lord

³⁵⁰ *True Protestant Mercury*, 1693, 31 January 1681/2.

³⁵¹ Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 389; Pepys, *Diary*, V, p. 337; see also 'Diary of Dr. Edward Lake', p. 9 for members of Princess Mary's household coming to kiss her hand on the eve of her departure for Holland.

³⁵² *HMC Fleming*, p. 72.

³⁵³ *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton*, I, p. 192.

³⁵⁴ Pepys, *Diary*, IX, p. 493.

Windsor came directly to court, where his admission to kiss the king's hand signified his rehabilitation. In October 1681 the earl of Huntingdon was admitted into the king's presence in his bedchamber where he threw himself on his knees, imploring the king to forgive his behaviour and promising complete loyalty in the future, the king answered that 'though he would never capitulate with his subjects; yet when he saw their eyes opened, and found they were convinced of their faults, he knew how to show mercy, and gave him his hand to kiss'.³⁵⁶

In the immediate aftermath of the revelations about a 'popish plot', and throughout the exclusion crisis, exactly who was kissing the hand of whom was closely watched by all at court. At a meeting of Whig lords in March 1680, 'L^d North ... bee looked on now as a renegade, because he has kisssd the Duke's hand', while exclusionist William, Lord Cavendish made prominent show of not kissing the duke of York's hand in the same month 'coming hither after his leaving the Council, and being here severall days in the rooms, where he met the Duke and never took notice of him or went to kiss his hand, as the other three that quit with him have done. The King has commanded him from his presence'.³⁵⁷ On the duke of York's return from the Low Countries in September 1679, the number who had come to kiss his hand was an important and highly visible indicator of the support which existed for him at court.³⁵⁸ A subject could demonstrate his opposition to the king by conspicuously not coming to kiss his hand, and a king could do the same by not admitting those who tried to come and kiss his hand. In September 1679, following his expulsion from office, Samuel Pepys attempted to gain access to the king. He was refused entry to the royal apartments by the lord chamberlain, but managed nonetheless to slip through, but when he tried to kiss Charles's hand, 'His Majesty Frowned angrily upon him and turned from him'.³⁵⁹

All of these attempts, omissions and permissions to kiss the king's hand were reported in the press and noted in diaries and their nuances and significance pored over. As Lord Chesterfield told the mayor of Derby, not all who performed this act could be regarded in the same light, and distinction should be drawn between 'the new kissers of his majesties hand, and those loyal gentlemen who had ever been faithfull to the crown'.³⁶⁰ When the duke of Monmouth was finally, and briefly, reconciled to his father in November 1683, the critical meeting took place privately outside the royal apartments. The actual reconciliation having taken place, the king called an extraordinary council, at which he

³⁵⁵ CSPD, 1668-9, p. 495; Pepys, *Diary*, IX, p. 515.

³⁵⁶ *Loyal Protestant*, 69, 21 October 1681; *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton*, I, p. 64; *HMC Ormonde*, VI, p. 204.

³⁵⁷ *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton*, I, p. 224; *HMC Ormonde*, V, p. 291.

³⁵⁸ Cavelli, *Les Derniers Stuarts*, I, 'Documents', pp. 299-300; Evelyn, *Diary*, IV, p. 18; *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton*, I, p. 193; Miller, *Charles II*, p. 316.

³⁵⁹ *True Domestic Intelligencer*, 19, 4 September 1679.

³⁶⁰ *Letters of Philip, Second Earl of Chesterfield to Several Celebrated Individuals of the time of Charles II, James II, William III and Queen Anne with some of their Replies* (London, 1829), p. 246.

announced his pardon of his wayward son, following his display of 'Extraordinary Penitence', and arrangements were made for a public reconciliation to be staged in the royal apartments the following day. Monmouth, 'according to his instructions', formally sent for permission to prostrate himself at the feet of the duke of York and the king. He was admitted to do so, first to the duke in his lodgings, and then to both in the king's bedchamber. There, kneeling in contrition before his father and uncle, the duke 'was graciously lifted up after repeating what he said at the first interview', and was allowed to kiss both their hands.³⁶¹

Groups

In many senses the most formal and ritualised of meetings between the king and his subjects were those in which a group of people came to see the king with a collective purpose. At the Restoration many deputations as well as individuals travelled from all over England to congratulate the king on his return from exile; coming, like Colonel Popham and the hundred gentlemen of the west country, to Whitehall to compliment the king, present gifts and profess loyalty.³⁶²

There was a general pattern to the conduct of these meetings which, though they were fundamentally similar to those between the king and individuals, tended to be a little more formal. In 1662 the Royal Society wanted to thank Charles II for his patronage. The council and fellows of the society went to Whitehall and were introduced into the presence of the king; here the most senior person among them, the president, Lord Brouncker, delivered formally 'an eloquent Speech' in which the purpose of their visit – 'to acknowledge his Majestis royal grace, in granting our Charter, & vouchsafing to be himselfe our Founder' – was expressed; the king accepted their thanks in giving 'a gracious reply' to the speech. (Figure 25) This reciprocal and harmonious exchange was then sealed by the king allowing them all to kiss his hand.³⁶³ Regardless of the purpose of a visit, this pattern was generally followed in all formal meetings between the king and groups of his subjects as, for example, in June 1681 when a deputation of Surrey men came to the king at Hampton Court – they were introduced into his presence by the duke of Albemarle, formally 'presented their Addresses' to him and, being accepted, were given the king's hand to kiss.³⁶⁴

Although this simple format might appear unremarkable, the detail of the rituals – the place in which they happened and the extent to which the various elements were performed – expressed in a remarkably precise fashion the exact character of the occasion. So, in June 1681, a deputation of

³⁶¹ Reresby, *Memoirs*, p. 320; Ailesbury, *Memoirs*, I, pp. 82-3; *London Gazette*, 1880, 25 November 1683; *HMC: Second Report*, p. 82; PRO, PRO31/3/156, fos 63v- 67r, 68r.

³⁶² See, e.g., *London Gazette*, 23, 27, for such visits by officers of the army, the clergy of Lincoln, civic deputations from St Albans, Doncaster, Plymouth, Exeter, and 'the poor and small island' of Eye in Suffolk.

³⁶³ Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 334.

apprentices came to Hampton Court to present the king with a petition bearing 18,000 signatures. One of the apprentices read the petition aloud, after which the king made his reply 'very graciously', but does not appear to have proffered his hand for them to kiss.³⁶⁵ In January 1680 a petition was presented to the king from MPs asking for Parliament to be recalled. Sir Gilbert Gerrard, the spokesman for the occasion, presented the petition 'upon his knees' in one of the rooms of the royal apartments at Whitehall. Mid-way through Gerrard's speech the king interrupted, and 'sayd he would have them to know that hee was head in y^e government'. When Gerrard attempted to reply to this, 'y^e K^s w^d not heare him, and so went away wth y^e petition under his arm and carried it into his closset'.³⁶⁶ In July 1681 the lord mayor and the principal magistrates of the city of London came to see the king, also with a petition urging the recall of Parliament. Approaching the king, the mayor bowed down, and asked permission to read it aloud. This time the king did not interrupt but allowed the mayor to deliver the entire speech on his knees. At the end the king 'made no reply', but instead directed the lord chancellor to reply who 'spake to the effect ... that ... it being matter beyond their province to meddle in, it would become them better to mind their duty in their Places and Calling'. With that the interview ended. Reports of it spread far and wide, though; Barillon described the event to Louis XIV, musing sagely that 'je ne croit pas que le Roy d'Angleterre responde a leur requeste d'une ffaçon qui'leur plaise', while a report of the event appeared in the *True Protestant Mercury* giving precise details of the bowing and kneeling of the petitioners and the magisterial behaviour of the king.³⁶⁷

These three examples show how, within the formal structure of the domestic audience, the king could express his approval or disapproval of the subject of the meeting by the manner in which it was performed. By not offering his hand to be kissed, by having the petitioner speak on bended knees, by interrupting the speech and most dramatically of all by positively refusing to make any kind of personal reply, Charles II was using the ceremony of the audience to communicate his dislike of the request being made by those visiting him.

A similarly frosty audience followed in June 1683 when the lord mayor, sheriffs and aldermen of London came to Windsor to make their submission to the king after the King's Bench had ruled against them regarding the city's tenure of its liberties. Here, as in 1681, the deputation delivered its speech kneeling before the sovereign, which had not normally been required at such meetings, and was received in the presence chamber. The king would probably have been standing before, or even sitting on, the throne, beneath a great heraldic canopy of state, in this, the most formal state room in the whole palace. Again, the king heard the address but it was Lord Keeper North who replied in a

³⁶⁴ Evelyn, *Diary*, IV, p. 248.

³⁶⁵ *HMC Ormonde*, VI, p. 91.

³⁶⁶ *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton*, I, p. 215.

speech in which he detailed how by the ‘dissorderly & royotous behavious in the late Election’ they had ‘incurr’d upon themselves his Majesties high displeasure’, and specified the form that their submission should take, before he terminated the audience.³⁶⁸

Although the evidence is certainly incomplete, it also seems that when the king received a deputation of his subjects, the character of the occasion was anticipated in part by the location which the king chose for the audience. When the civic deputation from Leicester came to congratulate the king on his restoration, and present him with a gift of £300, they were received in the king’s bedchamber. When the representatives of the House of Lords came in March 1668 to deliver a message to the king about the relative precedence of various strands the English nobility, to which the king was decidedly lukewarm, they were received in the intermediate space of the vane room. When the lord mayor and aldermen came in 1683 to make their formal submission to their sovereign, they were received in the extremely formal outer space of the presence chamber.³⁶⁹

In this area of royal receptions, the king seems to have expressed his disapproval at his subjects’ attempts to interfere in matters which he considered to be his alone to order, by observing the utmost formality in their performance. By insisting on adherence to the most formal aspects of audiences which he habitually waived – the use of the presence chamber, the visitor speaking on his knees, the king declining to reply personally – Charles was emphasising in the most vivid and visual way his own majesty and the distinction between himself as king and his visitors as subjects.

Throughout his reign, but particularly in times of political instability, the way in which the king received visitors was clearly the subject of great interest. These occasions were evidently considered to be a reliable gauge of political relations between the king and groups or individuals of his subjects. It appears that during the last six years of the reign Charles II used the form of these audiences as an additional means of asserting his royal authority: insisting on their being staged in the most correct and conservative fashion, in a way which emphasised his own sovereignty, and ensuring that the physical acts of obeisance involved in these receptions were performed and performed publicly. By so doing something of the separation between the monarch and his subjects was given more vivid visual form: by denying subjects access to him, reacting to them with frowns and silence and by insisting on elaborate acts of capitulation and submission, the king (known for his usually easy manner), could reinforce both his feelings on the matter before him and that he was the sovereign and they the subjects.

³⁶⁷ *True Protestant Mercury*, 53, 8 July 1681; PRO, PRO31/3/149, fos 23r-v.

³⁶⁸ PRO, PRO31/3/155, fol. 46v; Evelyn, *Diary*, IV, p. 319; *London Gazette*, 1835, 18 June 1683.

³⁶⁹ *London Gazette*, 38, 15 September 1660; Pepys, *Diary*, IX, pp. 106-7; *London Gazette*, 1835, 18 June 1683.

e. CONCLUSIONS

Phyllis Lachs characterised Charles II as dismissive of the ceremonies of reception, keen to escape the formalities of their performance and quotes the Venetian ambassador's description of his audience, where the king 'treated me personally very courteously' as evidence for his 'relaxed' attitude. In fact the picture is far more complex and nuanced than this suggests.³⁷⁰ Charles II was personally involved in the discussions on the precise form of the reception of the most important visitors and not only the general principles but the specific details were decided upon by the king himself. Indeed a procedure had apparently been developed for this to happen: the ceremonial officers, presumably the lord chamberlain and master of the Ceremonies, would work out the anticipated form any given reception would take on the basis of past precedent, setting aside any areas of contention or ambiguity for referral to the king. The details of these would be put to Charles II in the form of a list of questions which the king would then go through, returning considered answers to each question.³⁷¹ In the state papers, for example, are the series of detailed questions regarding the ceremonial form to be followed during the incognito visit of Cosmo III of Tuscany, which 'Points are humbly offered to His Maj^{ties} consideration', while among the lord chamberlain's papers are a series of eleven 'Queries concerning the Reception of the Dutchess York' and the answers that were given to them. The same procedure seems also to have been followed when an English diplomat's reception at another court was being considered.³⁷² When William of Orange was to dine with the lord mayor of London during his visit of 1670-1, there was uncertainty as to the order of seniority of the participants, so 'a copy of this precedent was carried to the King, by my lord chamberlain' and the king decided the matter, with considered reference to the various historical precedents.³⁷³ The question of how William ought to receive the visits of the foreign diplomats stationed in London was again resolved with reference to 'the King's pleasure' in the matter, while when Prince Rupert raised a question about how the duke of York would receive the Elector Palatine, the duke 'told me he would ask the King'.³⁷⁴

Thus on all these questions regarding the ceremonial form of the meetings between the king, his subjects and foreign princes, Charles II took great personal interest and made the important decisions. As the dispute over Lord Holles's entry into Paris demonstrated, Charles II was both interested in and firm on matters which he considered to involve the reputation and international standing of England,

³⁷⁰ Lachs, *The Diplomatic Corps under Charles II and James II*, pp. 105-6.

³⁷¹ Cotterell himself noted that the manner of the reception of foreign ministers was dictated by two principal concerns 'what is done to our Amb[assado]rs & Envoyes, &c, in other courts' and 'the latest precedents of what hath been practiced here', PRO, LC5/2, pp. 37-42.

³⁷² PRO, SP29/256, no. 92, fos. 14r-15r; 93, fos 16r-17r; 94, fos 18r-v; PRO, LC5/2, pp. 46-8; Bodleian Library (hereafter: Bod. Lib.), Rawl. MS A 477, fos 108r-20v. This way of setting a ceremonial matter to be considered, and of the left-hand side of the document being marked up with his rulings and remarks, is also followed in the undated Bedchamber orders in the state papers, suggesting that the annotations on these were the king's own, PRO, SP29/230, no. 84.

³⁷³ PRO, LC5/2, p. 32.

³⁷⁴ PRO, LC5/2, pp. 115, 125.

and therefore of himself as sovereign.³⁷⁵ His anxiety to demonstrate the magnificence and hospitality of the English monarchy to foreign princes during their trips to England, notably by forbidding incognito visits, is further evidence of his belief in ceremonies as an effective way of demonstrating national prestige. In his correspondence with his sister, Charles made a clear distinction between 'trifles', or 'points of honour' of negligible importance, such as insults thrown as part of 'idle discources' between men of no consequence ('not worth his [Louis XIV's] anger or myne') and those which he considered were of genuine importance, such as the treatment of his official representatives; as he put it to Henriette-Anne 'I never did nor never will permitt my ambassade to give the place to any whatsoever'.³⁷⁶ As Barillon discovered when making his entry into London in 1677, though he vowed not to, he eventually 'sat down and aquiesced' to the king's ruling that the duke of York's coach would go immediately after his own in the entry procession. Having been driven 'to his wits end' trying to avoid it, it was his realisation of the king's own complete obduracy in the matter which finally drove him to submit.³⁷⁷

Thus, although Charles II may not have been as personally fascinated with all the details of ceremonial receptions as his cousin Louis XIV, he was certainly concerned with receiving the honours which were due to him as a sovereign, and as a sovereign of England. The king, a restless person by everyone's account, disliked sitting still with his hat on at private audiences, on which subject Cotterell remarked that he avoided doing so 'in the way of using his own liberty' and that should any visitor consider it an honour due to them they would be disappointed, as he did it 'without consequence'.³⁷⁸ That this is more indicative of Charles's idea of repose than of his being fundamentally careless of proper ceremonial form, is demonstrated by accounts of the audiences he presided over. All the surviving descriptions make it clear that at the public audiences in the banqueting house the king always followed the formal procedures, receiving sitting and covered and then symbolically standing and raising his hat after the diplomat had made his obeisances and delivered his credentials. When in November 1682 two envoys from the Tsar came to have their introductory audience, they entered the queen's presence chamber, where the king received them seated and covered, and then to the scandal of all present one was 'so insolent as to capitulate before the delivery of his letter, that his Majesty should rise up & pull off his hat'. This extreme 'fruitishness' got Cotterell into deep trouble and so incensed the king that he commanded the

³⁷⁵ Beyond the scope of this study, but clearly relevant is the king's firmness on maintaining the rule that his ships would be saluted at sea by foreign ships, on which subject he is said to have declared that he would rather lose his crown than abandon the salute at sea. Hartmann, *Charles II*, p. 36; *CSPD*, 1668-9, p. 117; *HMC Fleming*, pp. 71, 80, 82; *Letters, Speeches and Declarations of Charles II*, p. 246; *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton*, I, p. 106; Pepys, *Diary*, II, p. 12; *CSPVen*, 1661-4, pp. 69, 96-7, 101, 105.

³⁷⁶ Hartmann, *Charles II*, pp. 149, 207. For an example of this being the case, see Bod. Lib., Rawl. MS A. 477, fol 117r.

³⁷⁷ *HMC Ormonde*, IV, p. 388.

³⁷⁸ PRO, LC5/2, p. 38; *CSPVen*, 1659-1661, p. 174.

secretary of state to deliver a formal letter to the Russians declaring that the king would not see them again. In July 1675 the king forwent altogether a meeting with the prince de Vaudemont rather than permit him to wear his hat in the royal presence – something the visitor insisted he should be allowed to do as a grandee of Spain.³⁷⁹

This attitude is also what seems to have informed Charles II's reception of his subjects. He was happy to quip and joke, and he exercised his legendary charm widely, but when there was any question of his authority, dignity or majesty being challenged, he immediately fell stony. By refusing to receive those of whom he disapproved and insisting on the utmost formality in the audiences which did take place, he ensured these events were performed to the greatest public effect, thereby rendering them compelling demonstrations of the power and authority that were his as the king of England.

³⁷⁹ PRO, LC5/2, p. 135; BL, Add. MS 28954, fol. 18r.

2. ii. ROYAL DINING

Although the importance of the sovereign's meals to court life has long been recognised, comparatively little work has been done to establish what the procedure and practice of royal dining was and to define the significance and function of these ritual occasions, and this is particularly true of the late 17th-century English court.³⁸⁰ This has in part contributed to the misapprehensions which some historians have exhibited regarding royal dining in late Stuart England. This chapter therefore strives to demonstrate that the view that Charles II regarded state dining as an unnecessary activity, and one which he seldom if ever performed, is entirely incorrect.³⁸¹

The meals eaten by Charles II (like many areas of royal activity) fell into two entirely separate categories: those designated public (or state) and those which were described as private. Of the three meals of breakfast, dinner and supper, the first and the last were always private, while the second might be either public or private. As has been discussed elsewhere the modern meaning of the words 'private' and 'public' must be set aside entirely when they are considered in the context of the 17th-century court – as in that context they have almost nothing whatever to do with the presence or absence of spectators. 'Public' denoted activities undertaken in the formal rooms or spaces of state, in the strictest accordance with the rules regarding the recognition of degrees of hierarchy and 'with consequence', that is to say, as events which could be referred to as precedents in the future. In contrast 'private' referred to activities which took place outside the royal rooms of state, usually in the privy apartments, for which the strict rules of hierarchy, behaviour and precedent that governed public occasions were deliberately laid aside. Thus when the king 'dined in public' this did not indicate, as is often understandably assumed, that he ate in front of an audience, but that he dined according to the full complement of rules and rituals of formal royal activity.

a. PUBLIC OR STATE MEALS: AT COURT

As elsewhere, the mid-afternoon meal of dinner had long been the most important and formal repast served at the English court. James I, on his arrival in England, had dramatically altered his manner of dining to conform with the customs of English formal dining; consequently he regularly ate in state in

³⁸⁰ See Michael Thompson, *The Medieval Hall: the Basis of Secular Domestic Life, 1660AD-1600AD* (Aldershot, 1995), pp. 144-75; Simon Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England* (New Haven and London, 1992), pp. 145-63; G. S. Thompson, *Life in a Noble Household 1641-1700* (London, 1937), chs VI, VII, VIII; Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1990); Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House* (London, 1978); Roy Strong, *Feast: a History of Grand Eating* (London, 2002), esp. pp. 202-9, 256; Adamson, *The Princely Courts of Europe*, pp. 104-5. See also the work of historians of metalwork on this subject, e.g., Philippa Glanville, 'Protocoles et usages des tables à la cour d'Angleterre' in *Versailles et les Tables Royales en Europe XVIIème – XIXème Siecle* (Paris, 1993), pp. 156-7 and 'Dining at Court, from George I to George IV' in *A King's Feast: The Goldsmith's Art and Royal Banqueting in the 18th Century*, catalogue to an exhibition at Kensington Palace, 5 June-29 September 1991.

³⁸¹ Adamson, *The Princely Courts of Europe*, pp. 104, 116; Cuddy, 'Reinventing a monarchy', p. 74.

the presence chamber, served by important courtiers, eating from the finest royal plate.³⁸² (Figure 26) The dignity of formal dining appealed to Charles I, who expanded it – with specific reference to Henry VIII’s household orders – by reinstating both the obligation of senior household officers to dine in the hall and guard chambers on high days, and the ‘board of state’ in the presence chamber – which entailed the regular service of a formal dinner to the sovereign’s table irrespective of whether or not the king was present.³⁸³ (Figure 27) In 1660 the traditional practices of the provision of meals in the great hall for the vast majority of the court, of the furnishing of the great officers’ tables in the outer state apartments, and of the king himself regularly dining in state, were re-established.³⁸⁴ As Sir Edward Hyde noted the king ‘directed his own table to be more magnificently furnished than it ever had been in any time of his predecessors; which example was easily followed in all offices’.³⁸⁵

One of the crucial factors which defined public meals at court was that they took place in the state rooms of the royal palaces, usually in the presence chamber, or, sometimes on especially grand or well-attended occasions, in the banqueting house, which was in use and position effectively a second presence chamber.³⁸⁶ So in January 1661 the king and members of the royal family ‘dined publicly in the Presence Chamber at Whitehall’.³⁸⁷ The king dined in his own state apartments when he ate in public alone and when joined by one of his siblings or the representative of a foreign power, but when he dined in public with his wife or mother it was always in the queen’s presence chamber.³⁸⁸ So when Charles II ate with Henrietta Maria in June 1664 he travelled to Somerset House to do so.³⁸⁹ On 21 September 1662, shortly after the king and queen returned to Whitehall after their marriage, Samuel Pepys went to the queen’s presence chamber to watch them dining in public together; when the queen decided to stay at St James’s rather than join the king, ‘they were forced to remove the things to the King’s presence, and there he dined alone’, while in 1663 Balthazar de Monconys went to Whitehall ‘d’où le Roy sortoit pour aller disner avec les Reynes’.³⁹⁰

³⁸² *CSPVen*, X, 1603-7, p. 46; *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, E. McClure, ed., 2 vols (Philadelphia, 1939), I, pp. 250-1; David Stephenson, ‘The English devil of keeping state’, pp. 126-44.

³⁸³ *Historical Manuscripts Commission. Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Denbigh preserved at Newnham Paddox, Warwickshire. Part V 1622-1787* (London, 1911) (hereafter: *HMC Denbigh*, V), p. 18; *CSPD*, 1631-3, p. 207; Smuts, ‘George Wentworth goes to court, March 1634’, *The Court Historian*, 6, 3 (December, 2001), pp. 213-25; BL, Stowe MS 561, fols 4v-5r, 6r, 8v, 9v: references to ‘King Hen: 8: tyme’ *passim*. See also Cuddy, ‘Reinventing a monarchy’, pp. 68-9; Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, pp. 216-18. For the service of a meal to an absent sovereign in the presence chamber at Greenwich in the late 1590s, see Paul Hentzner, *Travels in England during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth with Fragmenta Regalia; Or, Observations on Queen Elizabeth’s Times and Favourites* (London, 1899), pp. 49-51.

³⁸⁴ A. Barclay, ‘Charles II’s failed restoration: administrative reform belowstairs 1660-4’, in Cruickshanks, ed., *The Stuart Courts*, pp. 158-70; Evelyn, *Diary*, III, pp. 261, 352; Clarendon, *The Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon*, I, p. 367; Elias Ashmole, p. 785.

³⁸⁵ Clarendon, *The Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon*, I, p. 367.

³⁸⁶ *The Parliamentary Intelligencer*, 23, May, 1660.

³⁸⁷ Elias Ashmole, III, p. 810.

³⁸⁸ Schellinks, *Journal*, pp. 60-1.

³⁸⁹ Hartmann, *Charles II*, p. 102; see also *London Gazette*, 573, 21 June 1671.

³⁹⁰ Pepys, *Diary*, III, p. 202; *Journal des Voyages de Monsieur de Monconys*, II, p. 28; *CSPD*, Jan.-Nov. 1671, p. 317.

The most formal and grand dinners held at Whitehall during Charles II's reign were staged in the banqueting house itself. Thus, on the king's birthday and anniversary of his restoration to the throne, 29 May 1669, he attended chapel and then was to be seen 'dining in public, with the princes of the blood, in the banqueting room at Whitehall'.³⁹¹ It was also in the banqueting house that the knights of the Garter had their great banquet on the occasions, such as in April 1667, when the feast was celebrated in London; when they were staged at Windsor, they took place in the great St George's Hall.³⁹² (Figure 28) Unfortunately the decorative iconography of Charles II's presence chambers is largely lost to us. The banqueting house at Whitehall bore, as it has done since they were installed for Charles I, Peter Paul Rubens's great 'Triumph of Peace' canvases celebrating the union of the crowns and the Solomonic virtues of James I. The only one of the king's presence chambers for the decorative painting of which detailed information survives is that built in the 1670s at Windsor Castle. There Antonio Verrio's ceiling painting (obliterated in the 19th century) depicted Mercury, as messenger of the gods, showing a portrait of Charles II 'with transport, as it were' to the four corners of the Earth.³⁹³ These rooms were, then, adorned with great stately images that made bold claims for the glory of the English monarchy.

The presence chambers of the royal palaces and the banqueting house at Whitehall were all provided with essentially the same suites of state furniture, the use of which was another defining characteristic of public dining. These suites comprised the usual complement of a canopy of state, a chair of state with attendant stools and cushions which were ranged on a carpet on a raised dais under the canopy.³⁹⁴ Of all of these, the most important piece was the canopy of state. The presence of a canopy over the head of the king was a defining feature of public, as opposed to private, dining. To sit beneath a canopy of state when dining was the highest possible indicator of the status of the diner. William of Orange was treated with every possible mark of respect during his visit in 1670, and as a sovereign prince was even permitted to have his own canopy of state in his lodgings at Whitehall. However that honour was accorded on one highly significant condition: that he would not sit beneath it when he dined.³⁹⁵

³⁹¹ Magalotti, *Travels*, pp. 364.

³⁹² Evelyn, *Diary*, III, pp. 479-80; *Memoirs of Lady Warwick also her Diary, from 1666 to 1672, now First Published: to which are added, Extracts from her Other Writings*, Anthony Walker, ed., (London, 1847), pp. 109-10; *Elias Ashmole*, III, pp. 1085-1091.

³⁹³ W. H. St John Hope, *Windsor Castle: an Architectural History*, 2 vols (London, 1913), I, p. 339; Croft Murray, *Decorative Painting in England*, p. 240.

³⁹⁴ PRO, LC5/62, fos 73r-74v; LC5/66, fos 52r-v; 'their royal highnesses came to dine in publick seated under a State', LC5/2, p. 50; LC5/41, fol 92r, 102r, 106v; LC5/210, p. 451; St John Hope, *Windsor Castle*, I, p. 339; 'ils disnent dans une grande sale sous un dais de broderie', *Journal des Voyages de Monsieur de Monconys*, II, p. 24.

³⁹⁵ PRO, LC5/201, p. 373.

In addition, both the king's and queen's presence chambers were provided with a cupboard, used for the storage and display of plate, in front of which was placed a rail separating it from the rest of the room.³⁹⁶ Normally when the king dined publicly, a rail or balustrade was also set up in the room in front of the king at his table. As is described of the king's birthday dinner in 1669 'the more elevated part of it [the banqueting house], under the canopy ... is traversed by a balustrade, to prevent the people who resort thither from flocking round the royal table'.³⁹⁷ Such rails before the king dining in state can be seen in at least two contemporary visual sources (figures 28 and 30).³⁹⁸ The use of a dining table rail was not confined to meals in the banqueting house – there were rails in both the king's and queen's presence chambers at Hampton Court in the early 1660s and by the 1670s the rail about the royal dining table in the presence chamber was a standard feature of that room.³⁹⁹ In addition to the rail which separated the area around the king's table from the rest of the room, the bottom end of the presence chamber was provided with a great 'traverse' curtain behind which, when it was drawn at night, the esquires of the body would put down their pallet beds.⁴⁰⁰ As was usual for the period, dining tables were not permanently placed in the rooms used for formal dining, but were set up as they were needed. The king sat beneath his canopy of state to dine, with the table placed on the dais itself – on the carpet which invariably lay there.⁴⁰¹ In addition to the canopy of state and the railed-off table, one of the defining characteristics of the more formal occasions when the king dined in state was the music which accompanied it.⁴⁰² The music played when Charles II dined in public was much admired for its quality by Englishmen and foreign visitors alike; Evelyn considered it 'excellent', William Schellinks 'very beautiful' while Lorenzo Magalotti felt that it 'enlivened' the whole occasion.⁴⁰³

The fullest first-hand account of Charles II dining in public dates to April 1646, three years before Charles I's death. The young Jersey-man Jean Chevalier describes in detail the sight of the 16-year-old prince eating in state at Elizabeth Castle, just off the island of Jersey. Although this account is too early to be taken as typical of Charles II's dining practice for the next 40 years, it is a useful guide to

³⁹⁶ Joiners were paid for 'making good the raile and ballisters about a cobbard in the Kings presence' at Whitehall in August 1674, PRO, WORK5/23, fol 68r; see also LC5/201, pp. 451-2, 'A Breviate taken of the Blacks in the King and Queenes Lodgings att Whitehall the 22^d of August 1670'.

³⁹⁷ Magalotti, *Travels*, p. 364.

³⁹⁸ Katharine Gibson, 'The decoration of St George's Hall, Windsor, for Charles II: "Too resplendent bright for subjects' eyes"', *Apollo*, May 1998, pp. 30-40, p. 36; see also *Historical Manuscripts Commission. Fifth Report, Part One* (London, 1876), 'Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Sutherland at Trentham, Co. Stafford' (hereafter *HMC Sutherland*), p. 154.

³⁹⁹ PRO, LC5/39, p. 308 'One hundred, and Seaven yardes of baies to cover the Railes in our Presence Chamber att Hampton Court'; LC5/60, p. 314; BL, Stowe MS 562, fol. 5v: 'Presence Chamber'. It was behind the rail in the presence chamber at Portsmouth that Charles II and Catherine of Braganza were married, *The Memoirs of Ann Lady Fanshawe, wife of the Right Hon^{ble} Sir Richard Fanshawe, Bart., 1600-72* (London, 1907), pp. 98-9.

⁴⁰⁰ PRO, LC5/62, fos 73r-74v; LC5/64, fol 145r; LC5/201, p. 65; LC5/141, p. 304.

⁴⁰¹ 'when Wee are to dine no man shall presume to tread upon the Carpet or Half Pace...', BL, Stowe MS 562, fol. 5v.

⁴⁰² Ailesbury, *Memoirs*, I, p. 57; *Burnet's History of my Own Time*, II, p. 247. For Charles I, see BL, Stowe MS 561, fol 5r.

⁴⁰³ Evelyn, *Diary*, III, pp. 290-1; Schellinks, *Journal*, p. 90; Magalotti, *Travels*, p. 364; Pepys, *Diary*, VIII, p. 404. See also

the way things were done in his earliest years of adulthood. Chevalier describes (to paraphrase and translate his French) Charles seated alone at his table, wearing a hat, while all others present were bareheaded; on his right hand stood a priest who began and ended the meal with a prayer. On the other side of the table stood the lords, knights and gentlemen who watched the event; Charles was attended by a number of squires who served him on bended knee. First one presented him with a silver gilt ewer and plate for him to wash his hands; then a squire on the other side of the table cut pieces from whichever of the many meat and fish dishes Charles chose to eat, the squire tasted them and then presented them. The bread, along with everything else, was served on silver or silver gilt dishes; the cup was presented by a young squire, also on bended knee, who first tasted its contents and, when Charles drank, the cupbearer held a silver vessel underneath to prevent any drops from falling on his clothes. Following dessert the squires undressed the table and cleared any remnants of food on to a silver plate; finally Charles rose, the priest gave a final prayer and the meal ended. The occasion clearly impressed Chevalier, who approved of the decorum and dignity of the royal table: 'pour le maintient de sa table il estoit tel q chaux cun y congoissoit son office et les affaires y estois minse p sy bon ordre q le tout sy faisoit a vecq plaissir et contentement a les voir come chaux cun estoit pront s son office'.⁴⁰⁴ The surviving evidence from the Restoration strongly suggests that this form of ceremonial dining was followed by Charles II beyond boyhood, as king. Though there is only scanty information about how the king dined when he lived in exile, two images survive which depict him eating during this period and both show the king being treated with all the state of a monarch regnant. (Figures 29 and 30) A detailed description of the great feast held at the Hague in May 1660 (shown in figure 30) makes it clear that, on this occasion at least, every care was taken to ensure the form of service reflected perfectly the delicate distinctions in hierarchy of the diners and celebrated the majesty of the king.⁴⁰⁵

The one full set of household orders which survives from the reign of Charles II gives some information about the procedure for serving the king when he ate in the presence chamber in his palaces. The food was to be brought up into the state apartments by the yeomen of the guard, some of whom remained in the presence chamber while the king ate.⁴⁰⁶ Once the salt had been placed on the table, no-one present was allowed to sit. The king was served at his meals by the officers who filled the ancient posts of carver, sewer and cupbearer; these officers were to present themselves by ten

Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 306-7.

⁴⁰⁴ *Journal de Jean Chevalier*, J. A. Messervy, ed., Société Jersiaise (St Helier, 1906), pp. 289-90; S. Elliot Hoskins, *Charles the Second in the Channel Islands*, 2 vols (London, 1854), I, p. 366.

⁴⁰⁵ Abraham van Wicquefort, *A Relation in form of Journal, of the Voiage and Residence which the most Excellent and most Mighty Prince Charles II King of Great Britain, &c. Hath made in Holland, from the 25 of May, to the 2 of June, 1660*, Sir William Lower, trans. (The Hague, 1660), pp. 79-81.

⁴⁰⁶ BL, Stowe MS 562, fol. 5v.

o'clock every morning 'to receive directions from the Gentleman Usher concerning the Service'.⁴⁰⁷ Among the late 17th-century notebooks of the lord chamberlain are a set of orders for 'The King dining on the Queenes side' which sets out how the ritual serving of the king by his carver and cupbearer should be conducted on such occasions.⁴⁰⁸ Such formalities were not to last long in England, and by 1714 the carver and cupbearer had ceased to serve the king when he dined in the state apartments, the staff of the bedchamber performing the service instead.⁴⁰⁹ The detailed descriptions of Charles II's coronation banquet indicate that the rituals of tasting and serving on the knee continued after the Restoration.⁴¹⁰ This is borne out by Samuel Pepys's description of the king and queen dining at Whitehall in September 1667, where he was particularly struck by the 'formality' whereby all those who served a dish tasted a morsel of it before it was placed before the king and queen.⁴¹¹ It is also clear that after the Restoration the clerk of the closet continued to attend the king at dinner, saying grace before the meal as Chevalier described at Elizabeth Castle.⁴¹²

There is some evidence, too, that the practice of the serving of a royal dinner in the presence chamber even in the absence of the king continued during the reign of Charles II. The notional, ceremonial, presence of the king may have been the reason why, when an important group of French visitors were entertained in 1671, a great feast was laid out on a table in the great hall 'at which none sat, but was only for show after the old English fashion'.⁴¹³ When the king and queen were staying at Hampton Court in the summer of 1662, Charles touched for the king's evil in the great hall in the company of the archbishop of Canterbury 'and very many important people', after which he withdrew to the private apartments to dine alone with the queen; however, in 'the great dining hall' (probably the presence chamber) 'according to custom some dishes were served up ceremoniously and immediately taken off again and everything removed'.⁴¹⁴ This ceremonial service of food to an empty throne may have been what was meant by the injunction to the carvers, cupbearers and sewers of the presence chamber in the household regulations of c.1678 to 'performe the usuall Ceremony to the State'.⁴¹⁵

⁴⁰⁷ BL, Stowe MS 562, fol. 5r; *Angliae Notitia*, 1669, pp. 267-70.

⁴⁰⁸ PRO, LC5/201, pp. 259-60; unfortunately the order is undated, and it is just possible it is an early-17th century precedent; however, the fact that it was written out in the lord chamberlain's notes in the second half of the century strongly suggests it was still relevant and that this type of formal dining was still taking place.

⁴⁰⁹ Beattie, *The English Court*, p. 35.

⁴¹⁰ PRO, LS13/170, fol 28r; Pepys, *Diary*, II, p. 84; 'he [the king] is at all times served upon the Knee', *Angliae Notitia*, 1669, p. 109.

⁴¹¹ 'So to White-hall and saw the King and Queen at dinner, and observed (which I never did before) the formality, but it is but a formality, of putting a bit of bread wiped upon each dish into the mouth of every man that brings a dish – but it should be in the sauce..', Pepys, *Diary*, VIII, p. 428.

⁴¹² 'Memoirs of Nathaniel, Lord Crewe', Andrew Clark, ed., *The Camden Miscellany*, X (London, 1895), p. 20.

⁴¹³ *HMC Fleming*, p. 78; for this ritual in the 16th century see Strong, *Feast*, pp. 204-9.

⁴¹⁴ Schellinks, *Journal*, p. 91.

⁴¹⁵ BL, Stowe MS 562, fol. 4v; cf. PRO, LC5/180, fol. 9r (Charles I's household orders, which do not include this injunction).

The king did not dine in public every day. After formal dining in the presence chamber was resumed in 1667 (see below), it was announced that the king and queen would dine in public together on three days of the week. Whether or not they kept to this scheme is hard to tell, but public dinners were clearly fairly frequent occurrences.⁴¹⁶ Most important ceremonial events at court were followed or preceded by the king dining in public: he would usually do so after attending chapel on Sundays and on the principal religious festivals of the year, such as Candlemas.⁴¹⁷ Formal dinners in the presence chamber were the most conspicuous activity undertaken by the king on the two days after his entry into London in May 1660.⁴¹⁸ A formal dinner often followed after the king held a session of healing scrofula-sufferers, as happened on 20 March 1663 when, having touched some of the 505 sufferers who came to receive the king's cure that month, Charles dined publicly with his wife and brother.⁴¹⁹ Similarly, important diplomatic entries and audiences were often followed by a public dinner in the presence chamber – this happened, for example, in August 1668 after the magnificent entry of the French ambassador Colbert – as were royal marriages.⁴²⁰ This pattern continued throughout the reign; even when the king was unwell in May 1680, after an appearance at the chapel royal, 'He dined with the Queen in public', while the earl of Ailesbury noted in his memoirs that during the king's 'latter years he had no private meals'.⁴²¹

When Charles II dined formally in his palaces in company, it was only with people of the highest social standing. Members of his immediate family were acceptable co-diners: the king frequently dined with his brother, his wife, his mother and his sisters when they were at court.⁴²² Otherwise, the king could and did eat in the company of foreign princes: he asked the grand duke of Tuscany to dine in state with him on his thirty-ninth birthday, he dined with the duchess of Modena and her daughter in the queen's presence chamber in 1673 – but, significantly, would not permit the duchess's brother to join them, who instead 'had a table apart in his own quarter'.⁴²³

⁴¹⁶ *HMC Fleming*, p. 52; Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 434; *CSPD*, 1667, p. 388. John Adamson's throw-away claim that, while the Henry VIII and Charles I sometimes dined in state as frequently as once a week, this gave way 'to much less frequent observance under the later Stuarts' is clearly untrue for the court of Charles II and is typical of the assumptions generations of historians have made about the Restoration court and its 'informality', Adamson, *The Princely Courts*, p. 104.

⁴¹⁷ Schellinks, *Journal*, pp. 60-1, 72; Pepys, *Diary*, II, p. 60; *True Domestic Intelligencer*, 51, December 1678. See also the duke of Newcastle's reference to the lords who 'serve your Ma^{tie} ... [and] wayte off [i.e. 'on'] your Ma^{tie} off a Sundaye or a Holedaye', *A Catalogue of Letters*, Strong, ed., p. 223.

⁴¹⁸ *The Parliamentary Intelligencer*, 23 (May, 1660); 'afterwards to see the King heal the King's Evil (wherein no pleasure, I having seen it before) and then to see him and the Queen and Duke of York and his wife at dinner in the Queen's lodgings', Pepys, *Diary*, VIII, p. 161.

⁴¹⁹ Schellinks, *Journal*, p. 177. A public dinner was also planned for after the touching on 31 May 1662, but the king decided instead to dine privately with the queen – though some of the dishes were still 'served up ceremoniously' in his absence, *ibid*, p. 91.

⁴²⁰ Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 513; PRO, LCS/2, pp. 50, 144; *Elias Ashmole*, III, p. 810; *HMC Verney*, p. 474.

⁴²¹ *Diary of the Times of Charles the Second by Henry Sidney*, II, pp. 64-5; Ailesbury, *Memoirs*, I, p. 85.

⁴²² *The Works of George Savile, Marquis of Halifax*, III, p. 492; Schellinks, *Journal*, p. 61.

⁴²³ *HMC Fleming*, p. 64; PRO, LCS/2, p. 50.

On these occasions, when the king dined formally in company, the precise details of the seating arrangements, of who was to sit where, and on what, were carefully considered and negotiated in advance.⁴²⁴ The king normally sat centrally in the middle of the long side of the table, wearing his hat, with the queen beside him on his left if they dined together, and the person to be most honoured on his right hand at the end of the table. A chair with arms and a back was always provided for the king, while some diners sat on chairs with a back only and others on stools, reflecting the hierarchy of status. The long side of the table opposite the king would be left empty, allowing spectators a clear view of their sovereign. So, for example, in 1663 a French visitor to court recorded the immediate members of the royal family at dinner, with the duke of York, heir to the throne, in pole position: 'Nous vismes disner le Roy avec la Rayne proche l'un de l'autre assis au costé de la table, & le Duc d'York assis au bout de la table', while in 1673 the seating was designed to honour the new duchess of York so: 'The Duke and Duchess of York; at the end of the table, on the right hand; the Duchess next the King & the Duchess of Modena, at the other end, on the left hand of the Queen'.⁴²⁵

The household regulations specified clearly who was to be allowed to see the king eat in public. The staff of the guard chamber were to let into the state apartments 'Persons of good Fashion and good Appearance that have a desire to see Us at Dinner', and specifically to exclude 'any Inferior, Mean, or Unknowne People'. However, in order to pass into the presence chamber to watch the king dine, visitors would need to be approved by the staff of the presence chamber, the gentlemen ushers daily waiters – as the orders state: 'Persons shall be permitted into Our Presence Chamber at the Discretion of the Gentleman Usher daily Wayter, or in his absence the Gentleman Usher Quarter Wayter'. More details of the qualifications required for access into the presence chamber are given in the household regulations: 'all Persons of [sic] Gentlemen of Quality, and of good Fashion, and the Gentlemen that attend Our Great Officers and Privy Councillors, and Persons of good Quality, are permitted to come and remaine in the said Chamber, And all Wives & Daughters of the Nobility, and their Women that attend them may passe through this Chamber, and all other Ladyes of good Ranck and Quality, but not their servants'.⁴²⁶

From these rules it is clear that almost anyone of reasonable dress and appearance could gain access to the king at dinner – it was as much about how you looked as who you were. So Pepys, a junior government official, was able with no apparent difficulty to walk into the presence chamber at various of the royal palaces to watch his sovereign dine. Another observer of public dining in 1663 also

⁴²⁴ See, for example, the endless discussion about the seating arrangements during the visit of the duchess of Modena in 1673, PRO, LC25/2, pp. 47, 50, 54; SP29/256/92, fol 114v.

⁴²⁵ PRO, LC5/2, pp. 54, 143, the French master of the Ceremonies, who was present, considered this seating arrangement to be incorrect, being 'of the opinion, that it had been better if the Duke of York had been alone, at the end, on the right hand'; *HMC Sutherland*, p. 154; *Journal des Voyages de Monsieur de Monconys*, II, p. 45, 'le Roy, lequel estoit couvert'.

⁴²⁶ BL, Stowe MS 562, fos 3r, 5r.

remarked on the ease with which people were given access to the dinner of the king and queen, here 'tout le monde entre & les voit avec liberté, car toutes les portes sont tousjours ouvertes pour tout le monde, & les personnes de quelque condition qu'ils soient, entrent dans les chambres d'audience'.⁴²⁷

Contemporary accounts indicate that royal dinners were frequently very well, indeed almost too well, attended. When the king and queen dined in public at Hampton Court shortly after their wedding in 1662, 'The hall was so full of people and it was so hot that the sweat ran off everybody's face'.⁴²⁸ The rail about the table was not simply there to give extra status to the royal diners, but physically kept the spectators at bay – people 'flocking round the royal table' could do terrible damage. When the grand duke of Tuscany entertained the king and duke of York in 1669, the meal culminated in a magnificent course of fruit from all over Europe, 'But scarcely was it set upon the table, when the whole was plundered by the people who came to see the spectacle of the entertainment'. As the plunderers were completely undaunted in their 'pillage of these very delicate viands' by the presence of the king and his guard at the grand duke of Tuscany's lodgings, they would probably have behaved the same way in Whitehall, given the opportunity.⁴²⁹ During the coronation feast itself, having wandered from table to table ogling the distinguished guests, the young Pepys sat down to consume the loaf of bread, four rabbits and a pullet which he had managed to pester and purloin from the diners. He was not alone in this, as, in his own words: 'everybody else did [eat] what they could get'.⁴³⁰

It was again the gentlemen ushers daily waiters who oversaw the standing arrangements of the spectators within the presence chamber when the king dined in public. As ever, the most coveted position at the event of royal ceremonial dining was that closest to the king. Charles I's household orders decreed that the audience was to 'stay towards the lower end of the chamber, & shall not presse too neare the table whereby the rome may be pestered, & our service hindered', but his son abandoned this reliance on the audience's good behaviour with the introduction of the physical barrier of the rail.⁴³¹ In Charles I's reign a few privileged people, privy councillors, bishops, peers, the dean of the Chapel Royal, were to be allowed 'to tread upon the carpet or halfpase' when the king dined. The definition was looser in his son's reign: people would be allowed to stand 'near the Table within the Rayle', so long as they were 'generaly none but Persons of good Quality'.⁴³² To stand behind the king within the rail was an honour which most of those on friendly terms with the king seem to have been allowed. In 1678 the MP Sir John Reresby 'stood behind [the duke of York] ... as he dined with the

⁴²⁷ Pepys, *Diary*, III, pp. 60, 202; *Journal des Voyages de Monsieur de Monconys*, II, pp. 23-4.

⁴²⁸ Schellinks, *Journal*, p. 90.

⁴²⁹ Magalotti, *Travels*, p. 378.

⁴³⁰ Pepys, *Diary*, II, pp. 85-6.

⁴³¹ PRO, LC5/180, fol. 10v, cf BL, Stowe MS 562, fol. 5v.

⁴³² BL, Stowe MS 562, fol. 5v.

King', while it was when John Evelyn was 'Standing by his Majestie at dinner in the Presence' in 1668 that he first tasted pineapple, given to him from the royal plate by the king himself. In 1661 Pepys was able to get his wife a place behind Henrietta Maria's chair in the queen's presence chamber at Whitehall to watch the queen dowager and her two surviving daughters dine in public; and so a woman born without money or social standing was able to stand inches away from three of the most important women of 17th-century Europe and watch them eat.⁴³³

As has been explained by Andrew Barclay, the reinstatement by Charles II of his father's catering arrangements at court was only fleetingly successful.⁴³⁴ The king's stated desire to feed his household and so conform to 'that antient and [laudable] hospitality for which the court of our royal progenitors have ever beene famous amongst all nations' buckled under the weight of financial necessity.⁴³⁵ Following the examination of a commission for the Household in the summer of 1663, the king informed the board of Greencloth that 'finding ourself necessitated to retrench all expenses as possibly we can, we have thought fit, for the better example to the rest, to begin with those of our household', consequently from Michaelmas no-one other than the king's immediate family and the maids of honour were to receive meals at court, and the king and queen themselves were to receive a reduced service of ten dishes of meat per meal.⁴³⁶ The orders were carried out accordingly: in early September it was public knowledge that 'the King has reduced his diet' and by 13 October 1663 it could be stated categorically that 'The tables at Court are now absolutely gone'.⁴³⁷ In addition to the reduction in the size of their meals, the king and queen were directly affected by these economising measures in another way, as Anglesey explained to the absent lord steward, the duke of Ormond, the king and queen 'are to eat together'.⁴³⁸

As a result of this, instead of dining in public in their respective presence chambers, the king and queen, and other members of the royal family, dined together in the principal withdrawing room of the king's apartments, the vane room. Samuel Pepys records in his diary for 7 December 1663 'Anon the King and Duke and Duchesse came to dinner in the Vane=roome, where I never saw them before; but it seems since the tables are down he dines there altogether'.⁴³⁹ With the change of room came a reduction in the splendour of royal dining, the vane room did not have a canopy of state for the king to

⁴³³ Reresby, *Memoirs*, p. 135; Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 513; Pepys, *Diary*, I, p. 299.

⁴³⁴ Barclay, 'Charles II's failed restoration: administrative reform belowstairs 1660-4', pp. 158-70.

⁴³⁵ *The Diurnal of Thomas Rugg*, p. 122; Clarendon, *The Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon*, I, p. 367.

⁴³⁶ CSPD, 1661-2, p. 611; 1663-4, pp. 223, 255; *Letters, Speeches and Declarations of King Charles II*, p. 146; Evelyn, *Diary*, III, pp. 360-1; *Historical Manuscripts Commission. Third Report* (London, 1872), 'The Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Devonshire at Hardwicke Hall, Co. Derby', p. 92.

⁴³⁷ CSPD, 1663-4, p. 264; *HMC Ormonde*, III, p. 91.

⁴³⁸ *HMC Ormonde*, III, pp. 78-9.

⁴³⁹ Pepys, *Diary*, IV, p. 407.

be seated under and the playing of music was dispensed with once dinners were re-located here.⁴⁴⁰ As the vane room was part of the Bedchamber department's domain, it must be assumed that the royal family were served not by the carvers and cupbearers of the presence chamber, but by the staff of the Bedchamber – as was normally the case for private dinners.⁴⁴¹

This pared-down version of state dining continued for four years until August 1667, when full state dining in the presence chamber was resumed. At least two contemporary commentators considered this to be as a consequence of the signing of the treaties of Breda at the end of July, Evelyn noting: 'Now did his Majestie againe dine in the Presence in antient State, with Musique & all the Court ceremonies which had been interrupted since the late warr'. Public dining in the rooms of state with musical accompaniment was henceforth to take place three times every week.⁴⁴²

b. PUBLIC OR STATE MEALS OUTSIDE COURT

Although strictly speaking outside the scope of this study, which is concerned solely with royal ceremonial activities within the royal palaces, it is perhaps worthwhile making brief mention of the few occasions on which Charles II dined in state outside his own domestic buildings. As one of the defining characteristics of dining in public was its strict reflection of social hierarchy, there were very few places where the king could dine in state which allowed the observance of this, and there was almost no-one outside his own family who could be his host.

When Charles dined in state outside the royal palaces he never ate at a table with anyone other than his own immediate family. There were various places where the king dined in state which, though not technically royal palaces, functioned as such. Thus the coronation banquet, perhaps the grandest and most elaborate ceremonial meal of the reign, was not under the control of the lord chamberlain but took place, nonetheless in a royal building - Westminster Hall. Following his surprise dissolution of Parliament at Oxford in 1681, Charles II 'dined in public, and with music' as usual (though happening unexpectedly early, 'twas a breakfast rather'), at Christ Church, which operated as a royal palace when the court was based in Oxford.⁴⁴³

⁴⁴⁰ The vane room had a chair of estate and stools, but not a canopy of state, as is indicated (for example) in the accounts for covering the furniture there with mourning hangings, PRO, LC5/201, p. 453. As mentioned above, to sit beneath a canopy of state when dining was the highest possible indicator of the status of the diner, LC5/201, p. 373; Evelyn, *Diary*, pp. 490-1; PRO, LC5/201, p. 453.

⁴⁴¹ NUL, Portland MS Pw V 92, fol. 3v; Pw V 93, fol 2v: 'the great with-drawing Roome next our old-Bedchamber comonly called the Fane Roome'; *Angliae Notitia*, 1671, p. 172.

⁴⁴² Evelyn, *Diary*, pp. 490-1; *HMC Fleming*, p. 52; *CSPD*, 1667, p. 388. I can see no reason to dismiss these contemporary explanations for the curtailment and then resumption of public dining, as Brian Weiser does (*The Politics of Access*, p. 30); contemporary accounts make it clear that the suspension of public dining involved the reduction of the ritual sophistication and magnificence of formal meals rather than the exclusion of spectators.

⁴⁴³ Ailesbury, *Memoirs*, I, p. 57.

On these occasions, therefore, the king was to all intents and purposes dining in his own palaces. There was only one person in the kingdom with whom Charles would dine in state as a guest: the lord mayor of London. On 5 July 1660 the city of London received the king, his two brothers, the privy council, and the two houses of Parliament at the Guildhall. The rules of state dining were strictly observed: the king sat under a canopy in the middle of a long table with his brothers at either end, and was served by the senior officers of the city. The royal table was placed on a high platform with a rail encircling it; the lords who attended the meal ate at four tables on a level lower than the king and outside the rail, and the commoners a step lower than that; the king's musicians played from a gallery with the gentlemen pensioners and other royal ceremonial officers in attendance.⁴⁴⁴ In addition to regularly dining privately with the lord mayor, Charles II dined in state in the city of London on a number of other occasions during his reign, while visiting foreign princes also accepted invitations to dine in state with the lord mayor of London.⁴⁴⁵ It would appear that this one exception to the rule that the king never formally dined as a guest of one of his subjects was a reflection of the unique position of the lord mayor as second in status to the king only within the confines of the city of London. Even princes of the blood royal were, theoretically, second in eminence to the lord mayor within the city walls, a peculiarity which closed the huge gap of status which existed between the king and all his other subjects, and so enabled him to dine as the mayor's guest.⁴⁴⁶

c. PRIVATE MEALS AT COURT

While public dining was the most formal type of dining at court, as was the case with so many areas of the king's activities, the private form of this activity could be every bit as ordered and nuanced. The meals of breakfast and supper were always 'private' but were an important part of the daily cycle of domestic court rituals.

The evidence for the way in which Charles II took breakfast is scanty. A list of household diets of 1663 refers to 'The K^s breakfast Called y^e great Breakfast', but the meal is not mentioned in any of the household or bedchamber regulations.⁴⁴⁷ Several meat dishes were certainly prepared by the royal kitchens for the king's 'gentaculum' every day; these the lord steward's orders required to be delivered to the grooms of the Bedchamber, indicating that breakfast was eaten within the precincts of

⁴⁴⁴ *HMC Sutherland*, p. 154; College of Arms, MS M 3, Ceremonial, fol 20r-21r; *The Diurnal of Thomas Rugg*, pp. 98-9.

⁴⁴⁵ *HMC Fleming*, p. 83; PRO, LC5/141, pp. 20, 468; CSPD, 1672-3, p. 628; *Diary of the Times of Charles the Second by Henry Sidney*, I, pp. 301-3; *HMC Verney*, p. 497 (privately); *HMC Ormonde*, VI, pp. 210-12; Reresby, *Memoirs*, p. 236 (in public). PRO, LC5/201, pp. 263-4, 373; *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton*, II, p. 4.

⁴⁴⁶ PRO, LC5/2, pp. 29-31; only after long discussion and the king's own intervention was the lord mayor persuaded to yield precedence to the prince of Orange when he came to dine at the Guildhall.

⁴⁴⁷ PRO, LS13/170, fol. 127v.

the Bedchamber and not in the state rooms.⁴⁴⁸ As part of the reduced household catering arrangements established in the autumn of 1664, the king was to be provided with three pieces of mutton and two chickens for his breakfast.⁴⁴⁹ Charles II did, on occasion at least, take breakfast in the company of others: in October 1661 John Evelyn and four noblemen ‘brake fast this morning with the king’ on board one of the king’s vessels (provided with food from the attendant kitchen boat), but as the king’s usual dining practices were significantly altered when he was on water, little can be read into this.⁴⁵⁰ The meal is perhaps seldom mentioned by contemporaries as it was taken by the king in his private apartments without much performance. The evening meal of supper was also always a ‘private’ meal, never taken in state or in the formal apartments of the royal palace. About twice the number of dishes were served to the king at dinner than at supper, but the latter was nonetheless a substantial meal, frequently taken by the king in the company of his subjects and with its own rituals.⁴⁵¹

Meals which were not public could not, by definition, happen in the state rooms of the palaces, and so were taken instead in one of the rooms of the privy lodgings administered by the department of the Bedchamber. In May 1661 John Evelyn spoke to the king as he ate his supper ‘in the withdrawing room to his Bed-Chamber’, while in 1662 the king ate ‘alone with the Queen in his bedchamber’ to avoid the crowds which were swamping Hampton Court.⁴⁵² Although the queen had a dedicated ‘supping room’ at Whitehall as early as 1666, the king did not provide himself with such a room at that palace until the 1680s.⁴⁵³ This may be due in part to the fact that in the first part of his reign Charles II frequently supped away from his own apartments, with mistresses or courtiers – something which caused the allowances of meat to the master cook for his supper to be reduced, ‘as he seldom supped’.⁴⁵⁴

In the rebuilding of the royal apartments at Windsor Castle in the 1670s, the room later called the king’s eating room was created, accessible directly from the king’s and the queen’s drawing rooms and located conveniently close to a staircase that led down to kitchen level. (Figure 31) During Charles II’s reign this room was technically part of the queen’s and not the king’s apartments: its construction therefore mirrored the existing arrangement at Whitehall rather than marking a new departure. The room was, however, furnished with two elbow chairs – no doubt provided for when the king supped or dined in private with his consort – and decorated with elaborate carved wood drops of fruit and fowl by Grinling Gibbons and a grand painted ceiling by Antonio Verrio depicting a banquet

⁴⁴⁸ See, for example, PRO, LS9/78, *passim*; *HMC Ormonde*, III, p. 178.

⁴⁴⁹ *HMC Ormonde*, III, p. 178, ‘Proposals for further reducmnts of his Majesty’s Household Expences’.

⁴⁵⁰ Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 297.

⁴⁵¹ PRO, LS9/78, *passim*.

⁴⁵² Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 288; Schellinks, *Journal*, p. 91.

⁴⁵³ PRO, LC2/9, fol. 14v; LC5/119, Manchester to Sandwich, 23 December 1669; LC5/201, p. 453; LC5/138, p. 260.

of the Gods. This fecund imagery of food and its consumption is entirely appropriate to the room's status as private rather than state space, and is in contrast to the stately imagery of the presence chamber, where any public dining would have taken place.⁴⁵⁵

At Whitehall there was still no dedicated king's dining room in the early 1680s – an ancillary room to one of the royal bedchambers was used instead, described as 'the Ante Chamber to the Bed Chamber where his Ma^{tie} Sometime eates'.⁴⁵⁶ It was not until almost the end of the reign, in the course of the reconstruction of the privy lodgings in 1682, that Charles II provided himself with a purpose-built dining room in the royal apartments at Whitehall – the king's 'Eating Room' – located beyond the new bedchamber and provided with a service stair for bringing in the food.⁴⁵⁷ Plans for the king's great new palace at Winchester gave much greater prominence to the eating room: rather than being beyond the bedchamber, it now opened directly off the privy chamber and the drawing room and, located on the one of the projecting blocks of the building with windows on two sides, must have had some of the best views in the palace.⁴⁵⁸ (Figure 13) These eating rooms were all outside the domain of the lord chamberlain; being part of the privy lodgings under the command of the Bedchamber staff, it is inconceivable that they would have been used for state or public dining.⁴⁵⁹

The furniture of the rooms in which the king supped at Whitehall (and, incidentally, of the queen's eating rooms at Whitehall and Windsor) was not the equipment of state to be found in the rooms where state dining took place. The anteroom at Whitehall used for private dining before 1682 was provided with an armchair and stools of figured velvet; the new eating room of 1682 with two arm chairs of crimson figured velvet and matching stools, footstools and forms, but nowhere is there any evidence of a dining rail, great cupboard, dais or canopy of state.⁴⁶⁰

The lord chamberlain's department included about a dozen members of staff responsible simply for serving the king when he ate in public; however when the king ate in the privy lodgings, as he did in the evening, the event was beyond their control. Instead it was the duty of the staff of the Bedchamber

⁴⁵⁴ CSPD, 1666-7, p. 74.

⁴⁵⁵ This is indicated by the furnishing accounts, which detail the furniture for the king's and queen's apartments but make no mention of a king's eating or dining room, but give extensive information about the 'Queen's Supping Room', PRO, LC5/41, fos 116v-117r, 130r-v; Croft Murray, *Decorative Painting in England*, p. 241.

⁴⁵⁶ PRO, LC5/66 fol. 25r. This seems to have been a continuation of pre-war practice: the withdrawing room at Hampton Court was used for private meals and was alternatively known as 'the Supping Chamber', see Ernest Law, *The History of Hampton Court Palace*, 3 vols (London, 1898), II, p. 278.

⁴⁵⁷ Thurley, *Whitehall Palace*, p. 112-13; PRO, WORK5/35, fol. 314r ff.

⁴⁵⁸ Thurley, 'A country seat fit for a king', pp. 230-1.

⁴⁵⁹ The position of the eating room at Winchester, opening off both the privy chamber and withdrawing room, makes its institutional status ambiguous, and it is just possible that the intention was for it to function as a room of state.

⁴⁶⁰ PRO, LC5/66, fos 25r, 28v, 52v. The queen's supping room at Windsor was furnished with six stools, two elbow chairs and one footstool, LC5/41, fos 116v-117r, 130r-v.

to wait on the king.⁴⁶¹ The Bedchamber ordinances of 1661 and 1678 detail the procedure ‘when wee please to eat, dyne or sup in our Bedchamber, or in any the private Roomes adjoyning to, or neare our Backstaires’. The groom of the stool was to act as cup-bearer, a gentleman of the Bedchamber as carver and a groom of the bedchamber as sewer. The pages of the Bedchamber were to ‘deliver all Meate, Drinck, and other things brought for our use and service’ to the grooms and the grooms would in turn deliver them to the gentlemen of the Bedchamber ‘to the end that wee may be duly and decently served’.⁴⁶² As was the case with public dining, when the king travelled to dine with the queen in private he was to take his own staff with him – a gentleman and a groom of the Bedchamber. The same serving arrangements applied to the queen in her apartments, which put Catherine of Braganza in the uncomfortable position of being, on occasion, waited on by her husband’s mistress – something which even in 1684 ‘putt the Queen into that disorder that tears came into her eyes, whilst the other laughed and turned [it] into jeast’.⁴⁶³ This was a salutary reminder that ceremonies could, in reality, work against those they theoretically celebrated.

The king’s supper was an event which many courtiers would expect to be able to attend, despite the fact that it was conducted in the domain of the Bedchamber.⁴⁶⁴ Technically the same rules of access applied to entry to the king’s supper as did to his bedchamber, that is to say almost everyone could only gain access with the king’s personal permission. Among those who mention attending the king’s supper are John Evelyn, Sir John Reresby, Sir Christopher Musgrave and Henry Sidney.⁴⁶⁵ Evelyn also managed to gain access to the queen’s bedchamber where he watched her eating supper, in June 1662.⁴⁶⁶ However, though a variety of senior or favoured courtiers could and did attend the king at supper, there is no evidence that Charles II ever sat down to supper in his or his wife’s apartments with anyone other than a member of his own family, a foreign prince or his most distinguished representative.⁴⁶⁷

d. PRIVATE MEALS OUTSIDE COURT

One of the notable aspects of Charles II’s practice of dining was that he frequently took his meals away from court. In the months after his return from exile, the king both dined and supped at the houses of important members of the nobility on a regular basis. So, for example, in June 1660 alone,

⁴⁶¹ Ailesbury, *Memoirs*, I, p. 22.

⁴⁶² NUL, Portland MS, PW V 92, fol. 4v-5r; PW V 93, fol. 5r.

⁴⁶³ Reresby, *Memoirs*, p. 338.

⁴⁶⁴ The earl of Ailesbury criticised his father for not attending the king’s supper frequently enough, Ailesbury, *Memoirs*, I, p. 85.

⁴⁶⁵ Reresby, *Memoirs*, p. 202; Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 288; *HMC Dartmouth*, p. 93; *Diary of the Times of Charles the Second by Henry Sidney*, II, p. 111.

⁴⁶⁶ Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 322.

⁴⁶⁷ PRO, PRO31/3/137, fol. 45r; PRO 31/3/155, fol. 98r; LC5/2, pp. 100, 144; *The Diurnal of Thomas Rugg*, pp. 114, 115; Reresby, *Memoirs*, p. 40.

the king supped, on separate evenings, with the earl of Pembroke, the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewsbury, the earl of Manchester, Lord Lumley, Lord Berkeley, the lord mayor of London and the speaker, Sir Harbottle Grimstone. In the same month he dined at the houses of the earl of Middlesex and the countess of Devonshire.⁴⁶⁸ Though there are obvious reasons why the king would want both to become better acquainted with the nobility and to strengthen ties with them in the early months of the Restoration, he continued to dine and sup out throughout his reign.⁴⁶⁹ When the grand duke of Tuscany was visiting England in 1669, he accepted an invitation to dine at Lord Arlington's house only because he was 'following the example of the king and the duke, who are in the habit of doing the same; for they are frequently seen in the private houses of gentlemen at dinner and at supper'.⁴⁷⁰ Magalotti interpreted this as Charles and James 'divesting themselves ... of that reservedness which is indispensably observed at most other courts, where it is by no means permitted to attend similar entertainments', but it would be wrong to assume dining out meant avoiding altogether the etiquette of dining at court. Among the lord chamberlain's notes on ceremonies were orders for 'When the King Dines abroad att any Nobleman, att an Invitation' which specified that a page and/or a gentleman usher should attend the king on these occasions, and ordered that though the 'Lord of the House' might deliver the napkin to the king on bended knee, the page or usher did not have to deliver the king's drink in this fashion.⁴⁷¹

Nonetheless, these meals at private houses were a far cry from those held in the Guildhall or Westminster Hall. When the king dined at the house of the duke of Buckingham in 1669, in the company of the grand duke of Tuscany, 'no distinction of place was observed' and the company all sat down together, including the dukes of York and Monmouth, the earls of Northumberland and Arlington and two of the grand duke's retinue. The seating arrangement ensured the two places on either side of the king were filled by the grand duke and the duke of York, and there were endless diplomatic gestures in the proposing and receiving of toasts at the end, but it seems otherwise to have been a remarkably relaxed occasion.⁴⁷² Though such occasions could be high-spirited, appropriate behaviour in the king's presence was still expected: when the king dined at the Dutch Ambassador's lodging in February 1669 Thomas Killigrew goaded the duke of Buckingham into striking him, which immediately caused the latter to be 'forbid the Court'.⁴⁷³

⁴⁶⁸ *The Diurnal of Thomas Rugg*, pp. 93, 94, 97; *HMC Sutherland*, pp. 151, 154.

⁴⁶⁹ Ailesbury, *Memoirs*, I, p. 15. See for example: *HMC Fleming*, p. 54; *HMC Verney*, p. 471; *HMC Ormonde*, V, p. 541.

⁴⁷⁰ Magalotti, *Travels*, p. 318.

⁴⁷¹ PRO, LC5/201, p. 261.

⁴⁷² Magalotti, *Travels*, pp. 349-53.

⁴⁷³ BL, Add. MS 36916, fol. 127r.

The etiquette of the palaces was also relaxed when the king dined on the move: either on his yacht or when out hunting. On 1 October 1661 Evelyn and four noblemen travelled with the king on his yacht and dined there 'where we all Eate together with his *Majestie*', while when the king viewed a new ship at Deptford in 1681 there followed a great dinner, 'wher his Majesty commanded all the gentlemen to sit down at the same table'.⁴⁷⁴ Samuel Pepys had his pride bruised in 1665 when the king, having inspected the shipyard at Greenwich, sat down to dine with the assembled company, but did not ask Pepys to join them. Pepys would never have dreamt of eating with the king within the walls of a royal palace, but it was just conceivable he might be given this honour in the docks of Greenwich.⁴⁷⁵ After a day of hunting in Enfield Chase in 1663, Charles II 'made us all sitt downe that hunted with him' for a hearty meal as was also the case following a long morning of hunting at Newmarket in 1669.⁴⁷⁶

e. MEANING AND FUNCTION OF ROYAL DINING

Having established something of the practice, procedures and peculiarities of the various sorts of royal dining, it remains to ask what was the purpose and significance of these occasions and the way they were conducted.

It was a received assumption in early-modern Europe that one of the hallmarks of a legitimate and magnificent king was that he should eat in the manner of a great king.⁴⁷⁷ Great feasts were the appropriate culmination of great ceremonial occasions; the coronation and annual celebrations for St George's day both climaxed with an enormous majestic dinner. The way in which a prince, or indeed any person, dined, more than almost any other activity, was thought to give a true reflection of their status in the world, and the manner of Charles II's meals was a clear expression of his own understanding and endorsement of this contemporary attitude. It is plain from many sources that the idea that stately dining was a defining feature of kingship was accepted and recognised at Charles II's court. The way in which Charles II was served in 1650-1 was one of the critical things that indicated that – despite the absence of any tangible power or territorial sovereignty – he was in fact a king. Edward Hyde recalled in his *History of the Rebellion*, that although Charles II was virtually a prisoner in Scotland in the summer of 1650, the Scottish nobles were very careful to conceal this, ensuring that 'in all public appearances [he] seemed to want nothing that was due to a great king'. These dues Hyde characterised 'in a word' as the quality of the king's horses and that 'the King's table was well served,

⁴⁷⁴ Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 298; Reresby, *Memoirs*, p. 235.

⁴⁷⁵ Pepys, *Diary*, VI, pp. 169-70.

⁴⁷⁶ Reresby, *Memoirs*, p. 9; Magalotti, *Travels*, p. 209.

⁴⁷⁷ See, e.g., Strong, *Feast, passim*; Adamson, *Princely Courts*, pp. 30, 46, 241, 269, 280.

and there he sat in majesty, waited upon with decency'.⁴⁷⁸ The status and dignity of the monarch in the act of dining was more significant than the way he behaved and was treated in any other situation. Even when in de facto exile and away from all the rigour of life in his father's palaces, the young Charles ate with great ceremony in Elizabeth Castle; testifying (along with the impressive impact it had on the onlooking Chevalier) to the real power which dining in state could carry. It is worth remembering the point made above, that in 1670 the prince of Orange's use of the canopy of state in his lodgings was restricted in only one respect, 'when hee did eate', an indication that this activity was the most royal thing William could possibly have done there.⁴⁷⁹

It was because of the sheer eloquence of the dining table in expressing the quality of the diner that so much attention was lavished on the plate and furniture which was given to ambassadors to take on their postings – it directly reflected the honour and splendour of the sovereign they represented. One of the grandest embassies to England during the reign was that of the comte de Soissons, sent from France to congratulate the king on his restoration in 1660. Contemporaries certainly marvelled at the size and appearance of the ambassador's entourage, but there was one activity which seems to have communicated most clearly the power and magnificence of the French monarchy, and that was the manner in which the ambassador ate: 'at his table hee was atended with persons of very great quality of his country when hee sate at diner, a rich canopey over his heade and musicke of his owne playinge before him ... He had a most noble cuboard of plate that the like hath not beene [possessed] by any ambassador'.⁴⁸⁰

At the beginning of Charles II's reign, in the anarchic period between Christmas and Epiphany, Lincoln's Inn appointed a student to be a 'prince' until twelfth night. In order to define his status as such, the 'prince' made appointments, had an expensively-dressed retinue and sent an ambassador to Whitehall to request the loan of two maces. Significantly, too, he 'entertain[ed] the King with many important persons and his entire college at a royal banquet'.⁴⁸¹ This little oddity of an event touches on two important aspects of dining and kingship: first further indicating that dining grandly was a defining characteristic of kingship, and second that to dine in the company of another was to recognise and reinforce relative parity of status. For the 'prince' to invite the king to dine, and for the king to accept immediately demonstrated that they endorsed one another's royal-ness.

That this applied in practice can be seen by the great care that was taken that the king should never dine publicly in the company of those who were not in his league in terms of status. At the banquets

⁴⁷⁸ Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion*, V, pp. 231-2.

⁴⁷⁹ PRO, LC5/201, p. 373.

⁴⁸⁰ *The Diurnal of Thomas Rugg*, p. 122.

of the order of the Garter, the king never ate with the knights, but separately on an elevated platform with all the usual trappings of state. As has been mentioned above, on those occasions when the king dined publicly with others, it was only ever with members of his own immediate family or members of other royal families (though not even all of those were acceptable) or on rare occasions with the most prestigious ambassadors as proxies for their royal masters – such as in 1661 when the match with Catherine of Braganza was being agreed, Charles dined in state with the Portuguese ambassador.⁴⁸² It is also in this context that the huge significance of Charles II's treatment in Cologne in the autumn of 1654 should be understood. Having left France in a state of considerable frustration, Charles, with his sister Mary was entertained by the Catholic duke of Neuburg, who, regarding proper ceremonial behaviour was 'more punctual and obstinate than any other people in Europe'. The importance to Charles of being received publicly as a sovereign by another sovereign, given how mercurial most European princes were being about giving him overt support, is obvious. Nowhere was the duke of Neuburg's recognition of Charles's royalty better expressed than at the dining table. As Hyde recounts, 'The entertainment was very splendid and magnificent, in all preparations, as well for the tables which were prepared for the lords and the ladies, as that where his majesty and his sister and the duke and duchess only sat'.⁴⁸³

For a reigning king to dine with someone was therefore a statement of his support for that person and an endorsement of their position. That a state dinner usually followed immediately after the marriage of a member of the royal family was an expression of this, a public declaration of the inclusion of the bride or groom in the royal fold. By dining in state with his brother and Anne Hyde on 2 January 1661, the king was unequivocally signifying his recognition of their union – the importance of which was reflected in the reference to this meal in the week's newspapers.⁴⁸⁴ This did not just apply to state dinners, but to meals of all descriptions taken in the public eye. In the spring of 1680 the rapprochement between the king and the lord mayor of London was signified by Charles and the duke of York eating in the city with the mayor; this caused the 'malcontent lords' much disquiet, and prompted them to invite themselves to eat with the mayor, 'w^{ch} was done a purposse to keepe up theyr credits in y^e citty w^{ch} has mitily fallen of late, especially since y^e King and Dukes supping there'.⁴⁸⁵ The king went to great lengths to express his respect and regard for the grand duke of Tuscany during his visit in 1669, and when he wanted to 'give a final proof of it by some positive and public demonstration' it was by going to sup at the grand duke's house that the king achieved this. It is in

⁴⁸¹ Schellinks, *Journal*, pp. 70-1

⁴⁸² Evelyn, *Diary*, III, pp. 290-1. This had also been the case when James I was contracting the Spanish match for his son, as shown in figure 28.

⁴⁸³ Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion*, V, p. 359; *Calendar of Clarendon Papers*, II, p. 411.

⁴⁸⁴ Elias Ashmole, III, p. 810; *Kingdomes Intelligencer*, 1, 1 January 1660/1.

⁴⁸⁵ *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton*, I, p. 224; *Diary of the Times of Charles the Second by Henry Sidney*, I, pp. 301-3.

this light, too, that Charles II's campaign of supping with dozens of his senior subjects during the first year or so of his reign should be viewed. By doing so he was demonstrating in the most public way possible the bonds of loyalty and amity between himself and his people, but without diminishing his status by dining with them in the state rooms of the palace.

As has been mentioned above, it was not only who ate where and with whom that communicated messages about social status and political relations, but the precise way in which a meal was conducted. For state dining there was a strict hierarchy of place at the table and of chair type, the distribution of which made a further, more detailed statement of the relative status of the diners. Before important or controversial dinners there was always intricate, and often prolonged, discussion about exactly who should be seated where and on what; the closer a diner was to the king both in physical place and in manner of seating, the more royal he or she was.⁴⁸⁶ Far from such matters as the form of royal dining being left to an obscure group of ceremonial officials to decide upon, it was the king himself who was referred to on any particularly important question relating to proper form in royal dining. In August 1663, when the French ambassador took umbrage at the inadequate attention given to him at a dinner at the Guildhall, it was Charles II who looked into the matter and apportioned blame: 'the King, who it seems occasioned the invitation, saith my Lord St. Albans only was at fault'.⁴⁸⁷ Similarly, when the prince of Orange was to dine with the lord mayor in 1671, there was much consideration of the seating arrangements; the king was consulted and he gave his ruling on the matter – that the prince should rank before the mayor. A 15th-century precedent was then unearthed which, showing Henry V's brothers had ceded place to the lord mayor, apparently contradicted Charles's decision on the matter, but 'notwithstanding the King kept his first opinion; alledging that forms of Ceremonies were changed in the world since that time; & that those Dukes were the Kings own brothers; yet they were his subjects; which the Prince of Orange was not'.⁴⁸⁸

As was the case in other areas of royal ceremonial, Charles II seems to have been adept at refusing to agree to a ceremonial arrangement which apportioned more honour to a participant than they were due, but once the event was underway might make changes to its form to the advantage of that participant. Thus he was able to maintain his rights to the highest honours, yet in practice behave with attractive grace in waiving them. So when the king dined with the grand duke of Tuscany, he was provided with an arm chair, which was his due, but in the event 'ordered the chair to be removed, and a stool without a back ... and in all respects similar to those of the rest of the company, to be put in its place'.⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁶ PRO, LC5/2, p. 54; *Letters Addressed from London to Sir Joseph Williamson*, I, p. 86.

⁴⁸⁷ *HMC Ormonde*, III, pp. 101-2

⁴⁸⁸ PRO, LC5/2, pp. 29-31.

⁴⁸⁹ Magalotti, *Travels*, p. 378.

In addition to the question of why the king and his family continued and elaborated the ritual of public dining, it is important to ask also why courtiers and others attended these events. It is clear that the king's meals were occasions at which political discussions frequently took place and business was transacted, exchanges which the necessary presence of the sovereign rendered of the first importance. So it was at the king's dinner that John Evelyn received back from Charles II his account of the recent calamitous entry of the Swedish ambassador, which was to be sent to Louis XIV, with the king's comments and amendments.⁴⁹⁰ At the king's supper on 7 November 1680 Sir John Reresby 'tould him [the king] I was threatned by some of the Hous of Commons to be called to account for writing the abhorrance, and signing of it with the rest of the Yorkshire gentlemen'.⁴⁹¹ On 17 December 1678 'at the King's dinner' the duke of Monmouth tried to find out from the earl of Ossory how many soldiers the duke of Ormond required, 'as also the nature of them, there being horse and foot dragoons to be disbanded'.⁴⁹² As well as a place to deal with particular items of business in the king's presence, these royal meals were also occasions for hearing news and gossip: learning of new appointments and meeting the movers and shakers of the moment.⁴⁹³

It is notable too, that Charles II made quite significant modifications to his father's form of formal dining. The household ordinances of c1678 are in many respects very similar to those issued by Charles I, but there are notable modifications to the rules relating to dining in public. The provision of the rail in front of the table, the broadening of the definition of who was allowed to stand at the king's side, and the delegation to the gentleman usher daily waiter of the responsibility for regulating access, all indicate that this was an event now much better attended than it had been. At the same time, the new regulations recognised the fact that, with the end of household diets in 1663, the senior household officers were now not even notionally to eat formally in the great (or guard) chamber.⁴⁹⁴

While Charles II assented to the abolition of household diets in 1663, his reinstatement of royal public dining but not household diets in 1667 was a significant act. When news broke of the abolition of the court tables, there were expressions of dismay and complaints that this was a fundamental reduction of the magnificence of the English court; as the earl of Anglesey put it 'the splendour and dignity of the Court is taken away'.⁴⁹⁵ In his analysis of the complex process of retrenchment, Andrew Barclay

⁴⁹⁰ Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 300.

⁴⁹¹ Reresby, *Memoirs*, p. 202.

⁴⁹² *HMC Ormonde*, IV, p. 277; 'Just as the king was sitting down to dinner I received yours, and gave him the news, which he told me he would read as soon as he had dined. The post being now going, I asked if he had any commands for you? He said none at present.', *CSPD*, 1675-6, p. 18.

⁴⁹³ *HMC Dartmouth*, p. 93; *HMC Ormonde*, VII, p. 202; *HMC Hastings*, II, p. 389.

⁴⁹⁴ Compare PRO, LC5/180 with BL, Stowe MS 562.

⁴⁹⁵ *HMC Ormonde*, III, pp. 78-9. John Evelyn saw the end of the public tables as the result of a 'determining [sic] to put

identifies Charles II himself as a 'key player', concluding, that the 'bitter reality Charles II was coming round to appreciate was that ... a court on the scale his predecessors had thought appropriate would not be an affordable option'. In this context of financial stricture, and the contemporary maxim that the magnificence of the monarch was reflected in the hospitality of his court notwithstanding, it is revealing that Charles II felt that there was more to be gained from treating his court and subjects to the sight of their sovereign dining in ritual splendour, than from providing them with the diets which were so characteristic of medieval lordship.⁴⁹⁶ When this aspect of court dining is considered, the view of one recent commentator, that 'financial stringency had left Charles II unable to maintain the accustomed 'majesty' of the court' seems an inadequate judgement on this aspect of the Restoration court.⁴⁹⁷ That Charles II reinstated public dining in the presence chamber with the traditional rituals of service in 1667 is, on its own terms, telling. It demonstrates that this form of eating was not simply followed because it always had been, but it indicates that the king felt that the elements of the ritual dispensed with in 1663 – music, formal service and tasting, and its location in a room of state – were important enough to merit reinstatement, and reflects something fundamental about his attitude to the rituals of domestic life.

Charles II did not dispense with or dilute the status of dining. Rather, he reinstated royal dining ritual with at least the frequency, and all the elaborate ceremonies of formal service, that his father had known before the civil war. Except for a short period in the 1660s, the ritual was conducted in this form for the rest of the reign, while the rules regulating the ceremony were adjusted to make the admission of greater numbers possible. It is hard to recognise in this sovereign, who under financial pressure could reconcile himself to the cessation of court diets but would not allow his own formal meals to be shorn of their ritual trimmings for longer than absolutely necessary, the Charles II of received wisdom, careless, restless and intolerant of ceremonial activities.

downe the old hospitality', Evelyn, *Diary*, III, pp. 360-1.

⁴⁹⁶ 'The Magnificence and abundant plenty of the Kings Table hath caused amazement in all Forreigners ... [p. 299] This prodigious plenty caused Forreigners to put a higher value upon the King, and caused the Natives who were there freely welcome, to encrease their affection to the King, it being found as necessary for the King of England this way to endear the English, who ever delighted in Feasting; as for the Italian Princes by Sights and Shews to endear their Subjects, who as much delight therein.' *Angliae Notitia*, 1669, pp. 298-9; Barclay, 'Charles II's failed restoration', p. 167.

⁴⁹⁷ Adamson, *The Princely Courts of Europe*, p. 116.

2. iii. THE CIRCLE OR DRAWING ROOM

The occasion known in the Restoration court as the circle or drawing room could, in some senses, be considered to fall outside the scope of this study. As a gathering it certainly had a strong social element and it always took place outside the king's apartments, however it was one of the most regular and important elements of what the duke of Ormond called 'the ceremony of the days', was almost always attended by the king and was governed by rituals and rules of behaviour; it has, for these reasons, been included in this discussion.⁴⁹⁸

The court gathering known as the circle was reinstated in England after the Restoration by Henrietta Maria, who had herself hosted such events in the days before the civil war.⁴⁹⁹ In the course of her two stays in England during her son's reign (October 1660 to January 1661 and July 1662 to June 1665) Henrietta Maria hosted assemblies in the palaces of Greenwich and Somerset House. These gatherings were held in the evening, took place within the queen mother's lodgings and were presided over by her; they were attended by men and women of the court alike – though the women took the more prominent role in the event. They were the most important regular social gathering of the court calendar, as the French ambassador noted, on receiving his master's dispatches 'le soir ... je fus chez la Reine Mere où toute la cour ne manque à se trouver'.⁵⁰⁰ In August 1662 John Evelyn records, after a busy day of audiences at court, 'In the evening I went to the Queene-Mothers Court & had much discourse with her Majestie & so returnd home late'.⁵⁰¹ Only a week or so later, Samuel Pepys attended one of these assemblies at Somerset House, where he was taken into the queen's presence chamber by the surgeon James Pierce. There Henrietta Maria was seated, presumably under the canopy of state, with Catherine of Braganza next to her; also there were the countess of Castlemaine, the duke of Monmouth and many others, and to the event came, in due course, the king and duke and duchess of York. Pepys stayed until after dark, marvelling at the ease with which he was able to see so many of the English royal family.⁵⁰²

⁴⁹⁸ *HMC Ormonde*, VII, p. 174. The term 'drawing room' is used here to denote the occasion, also called the circle, while 'withdrawing room' describes the room.

⁴⁹⁹ The circle held in the queen's presence chamber at St James's Palace in 1638 was described in the following terms: 'tous ensemble suivis d'une foule de Seigneurs & de Dames, monterent dans la chambre de la Reyne, ou aprez que les plus grandes Dames du pays eurent fait la reverence a sa Majesté, on y tint un des plus beaux Cercles que je vis jamais. La Reine étoit assise au milieu, ayant le Roy son Beau-Fils a son costé droit, & la Reyne sa Fille a l'autre, & tous ces Princes & ces Princesses audevant de leur Majestez. Toute la chambre encore remplis des plus grandes Seigneurs, & des plus grandes Dames d'Angleterre en rendoit le sejour si agreable, que les puls [sic] melancholiques y trouvoient leur Paradix terrestre ...' P. de la Serre, *Histoire de l'entree de la Reyne Mere du Roy Tres-Chrestien dans la Grande-Bretagne* (London, 1639), unpaginated. Agnes Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England: Volume VIII* (London, 1845), ch. 5; Elizabeth Hamilton, *Henrietta Maria* (London, 1976), pp. 247-60.

⁵⁰⁰ PRO, PRO31/3/113, fol. 53r.

⁵⁰¹ Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 334.

⁵⁰² Pepys, *Diary*, III, pp. 190-1

Although Catherine of Braganza attended her mother-in-law's circle at Somerset House on occasion, from the earliest months of her arrival in London she instituted similar gatherings at her own apartments in Whitehall Palace. The queen's court and the evening gatherings held in her apartments were unfavourably compared with those of Henrietta Maria, but they were to continue throughout Charles II's reign and were to become the principal meeting place for courtiers, visitors and members of the royal family. Though some, and occasionally all, members of the royal family would attend the circle, for the event to happen it was essential that the queen be present herself. When Catherine of Braganza was thought to be pregnant in 1669, she presided over the occasion from the adjacent bedchamber, but it went ahead nonetheless, visitors coming to make their bows to her there. However, when she was considered too ill to take any part in court occasions in November 1681, the drawing room was cancelled altogether.⁵⁰³

Henrietta Maria held her evening assemblies at Somerset House in the presence chamber of the palace, reconstructed for her in 1662-3, and Catherine of Braganza similarly used the presence chamber of her apartments for these receptions in the first year or so of her reign.⁵⁰⁴ This had apparently been usual practice before the civil war, and the engraved image of Marie de Medici presiding over a circle in 1638 (figure 32) is entitled 'le cercle de levas magestes dans la chambre de presence: a: s james'.⁵⁰⁵ A first-hand account of Catherine of Braganza's circle in the presence chamber in 1663 describes her as sitting in a large state chair placed on a dais under a velvet canopy of state embroidered with the arms of England.⁵⁰⁶

However at some point in her first years as queen, perhaps in the winter of 1663-4 but certainly by the summer of 1666, Catherine of Braganza abandoned the formal presence chamber for the more intimate withdrawing room – two rooms further along the sequence of rooms which made up the queen's apartments – as the venue for her evening assemblies.⁵⁰⁷ From then until the end of the reign, the evening circles took place in the queen's withdrawing room at Whitehall, the chamber which was to lend its name to these occasions for the next two or three hundred years.⁵⁰⁸ The queen's

⁵⁰³ Pepys, *Diary*, III, p. 299; Magalotti, *Travels*, p. 372; *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton*, I, p. 240.

⁵⁰⁴ Colvin, *King's Works*, V, pp. 255-6. It was in the presence chamber at Greenwich that Henrietta Maria first received her daughter-in-law, Queen Catherine, in July 1662, 'Historia Genealogica, Casa Real, Portugesa' quoted in Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, pp. 325-6.

⁵⁰⁵ De la Serre, *Histoire de l'entree de la Reyne Mere*, unpaginated.

⁵⁰⁶ *Journal des Voyages de Monsieur de Monconys*, II, pp. 19-20, Monconys stayed in the presence chamber for some time, though he found the tapestries only 'passablement belle' and the firedogs ugly and badly polished.

⁵⁰⁷ Pepys, *Diary*, III, p. 299; IV, p. 230. In January 1663/4 the grooms of the queen's privy chamber complained that the usual allowance of coal was 'to[o] Little to mentayne the two fyres in the presence & wth drawing Chamber', especially as 'her Ma^{tie} is a great parte of y^e Evening in the wth drawing Chamber', PRO, LS13/170, fol. 145r.

⁵⁰⁸ See, e.g., Pepys, *Diary*, VII, pp. 159, 297-8; IX, pp. 290-3; 322-3; Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 568; CSPD, 1673-5, p. 43; Hamilton, *Memoirs of the Count de Grammont*, p. 141.

withdrawing chamber faced the Thames on the east side of Whitehall Palace and in the summer people attending a gathering in that room might spill out onto the great terrace overlooking the river.⁵⁰⁹ The room was furnished with two chairs with arms and six stools, all upholstered in 1668 with sky-coloured velvet, but without a canopy of state. The walls were hung with tapestry and the two windows, which overlooked the great terrace, were hung with white taffeta curtains. For specific activities such as the playing of card games, the necessary items of furniture, such as the leather stools for the players, would be brought in, but otherwise the room was sparsely furnished. As the circles took place in the evening, the queen's withdrawing room was purposefully kept supplied with extra coals and candles to ensure the room was warm and well-lit after dark.⁵¹⁰

The new royal lodgings at Windsor Castle were provided with a large withdrawing room in the queen's apartments; a privy gallery ran to it from the privy chamber, while from the queen's withdrawing room there was direct access to both the queen's bedchamber and to the eating room on to which the king's withdrawing room also opened. (Figure 12) Special glass hoods for the candles were made to prevent the flames damaging the ceiling of the queen's withdrawing room, which was painted, appropriately, with a scene of a great assembly of the gods by Antonio Verrio in c.1676. As at Whitehall, the room was not furnished with a canopy of state, but provided with two arm chairs and ten stools.⁵¹¹ It must be stressed that the king's withdrawing room was never the location for the evening 'circles': that room was used exclusively by men (like the whole of the king's apartments) both as a waiting room to the privy lodgings beyond and, on occasions, for meetings and audiences between the king and his visitors.⁵¹²

The circle, so-called because of the configuration of the line of courtiers around the queen, was occasionally a late-afternoon but normally an evening event at the Restoration court. It happened after chapel on Sundays and in the evening on most other nights of the week, and broke up sometime after eight in the evening for the attendees to go to supper.⁵¹³ The most detailed descriptions of the way in which these receptions were conducted is in Lorenzo Magalotti's account of Cosmo III's trip to England in 1669. Though Magalotti incorrectly describes these events as happening in the closet, he seems to be accurate in all other details.⁵¹⁴ The queen presided over the occasion seated on one of the

⁵⁰⁹ Pepys, *Diary*, IX, p. 322.

⁵¹⁰ PRO, LC5/62, pp. 25, 29; LC5/144, p. 115; LS13/170, fos 145r, 151r.

⁵¹¹ Croft Murray, *Decorative Painting in England*, p. 240; PRO, LC5/143, pp. 50-1, 121.

⁵¹² See Chapter 2 above; this had also been the case under Charles I, who held numerous 'private' audiences in his withdrawing room at Whitehall, Finet, *Finetti Philoxenis*, *passim*.

⁵¹³ *HMC Fleming*, p. 47; Pepys, *Diary*, VIII, p. 590; IX, pp. 11, 276, 294-5, 320, 382, 418; Ailesbury, *Memoirs*, I, pp. 83, 93; Magalotti, *Travels*, pp. 177-9 ff, esp. pp.177-9; *The First Triple Alliance*, p. 35.

⁵¹⁴ Magalotti describes the queen's evening assemblies as taking place in a room adjoining the queen's bedchamber, with sky-blue upholstered furniture and lit with a chandelier, all of which accords with the withdrawing room which was provided with sky blue furnishings the previous year. It is clear to me that both the room and event that he is describing would be

great chairs with arms, set against the wall opposite the door to the privy chamber. Those who attended would then form a circle around her chair 'standing and [would] discourse on different subjects'.⁵¹⁵ (Figure 32) The circle was principally composed of women but men too certainly attended; in December 1673, for example, Ralph Montagu was 'standing in the circle before the Queen in the withdrawing room' when he was elbowed aside by the duke of Buckingham, who was trying to reach the king, also present at the occasion.⁵¹⁶ When the queen was pregnant, as in 1669, she might receive on a sofa rather than a chair of state for reasons of comfort, but the principle remained that she was seated while those who attended were usually standing.⁵¹⁷ Sometimes, as had been the case when Queen Catherine visited Henrietta Maria at Somerset House, the queen might receive with other members of the royal family. This could, however, be contentious: when the new duchess of York received the ladies of court 'at that first circle' after her arrival in 1673, her mother, the duchess of Modena, was particularly asked by the king not to attend, as if she had attended none of the ladies of the court would have come – being determined not to be received as inferior by one they considered their equal.⁵¹⁸ Those who attended were expected to make an obeisance to the queen and, depending on their rank, the queen might offer them a sign of respect in return, by saluting them, or even rise up to greet them in recognition of their status.⁵¹⁹

As well as the formation of a formal circle, these drawing rooms were also characterised by card-playing; this – a time-honoured pastime of the drawing room – was mainly indulged in by women in Catherine of Braganza's apartments, though men might also sit down to play with her from time to time. Although it is not clear from the evidence, it seems likely that the formal part of the occasion happened first, and the card-playing thereafter.⁵²⁰

The Danish envoy to London, Christopher Lindenov described the drawing room in a letter to the Danish Chancery in 1668 as attended by 'many high ladies and cavaliers who ordinarily assemble every evening in her majesty's rooms to wait upon their majesties, who usually find themselves there'.⁵²¹ The women of Queen Catherine's court, the 'many high ladies', were the staple company to be found in the queen's withdrawing room, particularly the ladies of her Bedchamber and maids of

known in England as the withdrawing room and that the word 'closet' is a mistake by either Magalotti or his translator; Magalotti, *Travels*, pp. 177-8.

⁵¹⁵ Magalotti, *Travels*, p. 178; Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 568.

⁵¹⁶ *CSPD*, 1673-5, p. 43.

⁵¹⁷ Magalotti, *Travels*, pp. 314-6.

⁵¹⁸ PRO, LC5/2, p. 51; BL, Stowe MS 203, fol. 209r.

⁵¹⁹ PRO, LC5/2, p. 51; Magalotti, *Travels*, p. 178.

⁵²⁰ Resesby, *Memoirs*, p. 248; Pepys, *Diary*, VII, p. 49, VIII, p. 71; PRO, LC5/201, p. 494; *Diary of the Times of Charles the Second* by Henry Sidney, II, pp. 141-2; Ailesbury, *Memoirs*, I, p. 82.

⁵²¹ *The First Triple Alliance*, p. 35.

honour, but also female members of the aristocracy when they were in town.⁵²² The king came almost daily to the withdrawing room, and the duke of York's presence was similarly 'usual', both being 'frequently seen there'. Rather than being present from start to finish the king and duke would normally come, like other visitors, at some point during the course of the evening; so it was towards the end of the evening in May 1669, as Cosmo III was bowing to the queen, that 'the king and duke made their appearance', while in June 1666 gossip and card-playing were well underway in the queen's withdrawing room when 'the King then coming in' overheard his mistress tell his wife of his inconstancy to them both.⁵²³

In addition to members of the royal family, the queen's drawing rooms were regularly attended by foreign diplomats; 'the representatives of sovereign princes' and their wives, the 'ambassadors', were also 'very often present'.⁵²⁴ The great men of the court also frequently attended, as Magalotti remarked 'neither was the entertainment confined to the ladies, but the gentlemen were admitted, both natives and foreigners'; visitors to the circle in the 1660s, for example, might expect to come across there men such as the duke of Buckingham, the duke of Monmouth and earl of Sandwich.⁵²⁵ In addition to these specific groups the queen's drawing room seems to have been attended by all sorts of gentlemen and ladies who looked respectable enough to be allowed access. There is no evidence that Samuel Pepys was ever allowed to attend the king's lever or coucher, but he came frequently to the evening circle in the queen's withdrawing room, as did his friend John Evelyn.⁵²⁶ Appearance no doubt counted for a great deal; household orders for Catherine of Braganza's court do not survive, but those for Henrietta Maria's allowed into the presence chamber where her circle took place 'such Gentl^m of Note which are strangers, As the Gentlemen ushers shall thinke fitt to admitt', and it seems probable that the same delegation to the household officials of responsibility regarding access applied to Catherine's drawing rooms as to her mother-in-law's assemblies.⁵²⁷ Certainly great attention was given to fineness of appearance on these occasions: Samuel Pepys was endlessly fascinated with the beauty, both corporal and sartorial, which he encountered in the queen's withdrawing room; Lady Warwick was dazzled by the 'great gallantry of jewels', while even the grand duke of Tuscany was careful to change his clothes before attending.⁵²⁸

⁵²² Pepys, *Diary*, VII, pp. 49, 159; *HMC Fleming*, p. 47; *Memoirs of Lady Warwick*, pp. 116-17.

⁵²³ Magalotti, *Travels*, pp. 290, 372; *HMC Ormonde*, IV, p. 312.

⁵²⁴ PRO, PRO31/3/137, fos 4r, 27r; Magalotti, *Travels*, p. 178; *Memoirs of Lady Warwick*, p. 132.

⁵²⁵ Pepys, *Diary*, VIII, p. 71; IX, p. 493; *CSPD*, 1673-5, p. 43.

⁵²⁶ Pepys, *Diary*, IV, p. 230; VII, pp. 159, 297-8; VIII, p. 71; Evelyn, *Diary*, III, pp. 334, 361; IV, p. 89.

⁵²⁷ PRO, LC5/201, p. 494.

⁵²⁸ Pepys, *Diary*, IV, p. 230; *Memoirs of Lady Warwick*, p. 132; *The Secret History of Francelia*, pp. 48-9; Magalotti, *Travels*, pp. 290-1. The frenzy over clothes worn on the queen's birthday was simply an exaggerated version of the great interest in clothes worn at the daily drawing rooms, cf, e.g., *HMC Rutland*, II, p. 21.

Given that the political influence of Catherine of Braganza is now, and was then, generally recognised to be slight and her company unremarkable, it remains to ask why it was that all the world, 'the public ministers and the private gentlemen', flocked to her assemblies at Whitehall each evening; what was it that passed between people on these occasions and what was it that drew them there?⁵²⁹ On the most mundane level, these occasions were one of the few organised events in the royal apartments in which the men and women of the court might mingle freely. The meetings, audiences and levers of the king's apartments were almost completely men-only occasions, but the withdrawing room being in the queen's domain, was filled with women, and doubtless this in itself held an attraction for both sexes. These were certainly occasions on which much rumour and news was exchanged and court gossip was hotly discussed: on 2 December 1668 the king regaled the assembled company with the tale of Lord Rochester's clothes being stolen while he was seducing a girl, while on the 20 January 1677 Sir Carr Scroope was entangled in a 'too loud quarrell' in the queen's withdrawing room by a young woman who had been the victim of 'some lampoone made of her that she judged him as the author'.⁵³⁰

Beyond the purely sensational, information of a more serious nature, 'of the news of the day', was also exchanged on these occasions on subjects such as the dealings between diplomats and the passage of foreign affairs.⁵³¹ Pepys attended with the general desire of keeping abreast of affairs, 'in order to my hearing any news stirring', but as an occasion for meeting people, extending invitations and securing introductions, the drawing room must have been extremely useful for the ambitious courtier. Here Pepys asked Lord Peterborough to dine with him and Lord Sandwich, while it was in the queen's withdrawing room that courtiers and diplomats were able to present their compliments to grand duke of Tuscany.⁵³² Magalotti remarked definitively that all manner of subjects might be discussed at these gatherings 'provided it be unconnected with business and state-affairs; those topics being always reserved for a proper and seasonable time'.⁵³³ He was, however, clearly quite wrong about this: business and politics certainly were transacted in the relative informality of the queen's withdrawing room, albeit discretely. During the bustle and conversation of the gathering the king or duke of York might take individuals into a corner to discuss with them quietly some point of politics. In the weeks before the arrival at court of William of Orange in 1677 Charles and James were anxious to reassure the French ambassador about the implications of the journey for Anglo-French relations. As Barillon explained to Louis XIV, in the withdrawing room on 17 September 1677 the king 'me mena dans l'embrasure d'une fenêtre, et me dit qu'il avoit sceu de M. le Duc d'York que j'avais pris

⁵²⁹ Magalotti, *Travels of Cosmo the Third Grand Duke of Tuscany*, p. 178.

⁵³⁰ Pepys, *Diary*, VIII, p. 464; IX, p. 382; *HMC Rutland*, II, p. 37.

⁵³¹ Magalotti, *Travels*, p. 192; Pepys, *Diary*, IX, p. 320.

⁵³² Pepys, *Diary*, IX, p. 419; Magalotti, *Travels*, p. 290.

⁵³³ Magalotti, *Travels*, p. 178.

quelque allarme du voyage que M le Prince d'Orange devoit faire en Angleterre mais qu'il n'en arriverait aucun mal ...'.⁵³⁴ On another occasion, the duke of York had taken Colbert aside from the 'cercle' into a small gallery adjoining to discuss with him the poor state of English finances. When the king arrived at the gathering, all three slipped out into the queen's bedchamber where the king proceeded 'me redire ce qu'il m'avait deja dit plusieurs fois touchant la necessite de ses affaires'.⁵³⁵ It was again, in 'the withdrawing room, wher the Queen was at cards' that Sir John Reresby saw the king who 'tould me in my ear that he expected some further account from the king of Denmarke before he intended to send to that Prince; but whenever he sent he had pitched upon me for that service'.⁵³⁶ Although Pepys certainly attended the queen's drawing room in part to ogle Lady Castlemaine, it was also a time for professional discussion, and on several occasions he records that the king or duke 'did take me out' of the body of the gathering to talk Navy business.⁵³⁷

The drawing room was the perfect occasion for the public demonstration of loyalty and favour and inclusion. Attending altogether was a way of 'shewing...respect to their majesties and their royal highnesses', and merely by being there a courtier or diplomat was demonstrating both his or her recognition of the legitimacy of the king and queen and that he or she was to some extent privy to their favour.⁵³⁸ As the one regular gathering which could accommodate more or less everyone at court, exactly who attended and what passed at the drawing room could be an extremely useful gauge of people and politics. The great regard with which, for instance, the jockeys at Newmarket were held by the king in 1677 was typified by one observer with the remark that they 'command as formerly, both in the drawing-room and bed-chamber', while Charles Hatton noted very tellingly on the duke of York's return to England in September 1679 that 'y^e entertainment of y^e town is to enquire: "Who goes for Windsor?" that being y^e mesure y^e disaffected personns take to judge how other personns stand affected'.⁵³⁹

The drawing room was used, in turn, by the royal family to demonstrate publicly who they favoured and who they shunned. Immediately following the marriage of James, Duke of York to the Catholic Mary of Modena, the duke brought his new wife 'forth into the withdrawing room'. By appearing here, 'at that first Circle' in the company of the duke and being introduced to members of the court by him, Mary's new status as duchess of York, sister-in-law to the king and member of the royal family

⁵³⁴ PRO, PRO31/3/137, fol. 27r.

⁵³⁵ PRO, PRO31/3/137, fos 4r-5r.

⁵³⁶ Reresby, *Memoirs*, p. 242.

⁵³⁷ Pepys, *Diary*, IX, pp. 294-5, 445. See also *The Correspondence of the Earl of Essex*, pp. 23-4 for politicians taking intense political discussion 'into [the] Queen her very drawing room'.

⁵³⁸ Magalotti, *Travels*, p. 195.

⁵³⁹ *HMC Ormonde*, IV, p. 53; *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton*, I, pp. 191-2.

was being displayed to the assembled court.⁵⁴⁰ In the early part of Charles II's reign the duke of Monmouth had been a regular presence at the queen's drawing room. He had, though, been excluded from court and absent from these gatherings for some time before his reconciliation to Charles II in the autumn of 1683. After the reconciliation had taken place the king immediately came 'thence to the Queen's circle as usual before supper time' where he told members of the company 'that James had surrendered himself' and the duke was once again (albeit briefly) a presence at such court gatherings.⁵⁴¹ Similarly, just how those present were treated by the queen and members of the royal family could demonstrate vividly the status and favour with which they were regarded. When the duke of York was introducing his new duchess at the circle in 1673 he remained with her throughout 'telling her to whom she should rise up & what ladies she should salute' and instructing her to 'kiss the sons of the Duchess of Cleaveland'. In this way the duke was clearly demonstrating to his wife, but most importantly to the assembled company, the high level of respect which he considered to be appropriate to the illegitimate children of the king. Requiring his new wife, daughter of the duke of Modena, to kiss Barbara Castlemaine's children was a powerful ritual act of inclusion.⁵⁴²

f. SIGNIFICANCE

Having considered some of the specifics of the queen's drawing room or circle, it still remains to inquire a little more closely into the question of why this occasion in the queen's apartments was accorded such importance. Apart from the fact that a gathering in the queen's apartments could include the women of court while one in the king's could not, there is not an immediately clear answer to the question of why this occasion came to be so central to the daily life of the king and his court in more than purely recreational terms.

Attending the queen's drawing room was not the only way in which Charles II made use of the rooms of his wife's apartments. In fact, he was regularly to be found, transacting affairs both political and social, in all manner of spaces in the queen's apartments. In September 1666 John Evelyn came to court with a survey of the charred city of London and proposals for rebuilding to show to the king; in due course the king called for him 'into the Queenes Bed-chamber' where, with the duke of York, he pored over the drawings '& discoursd upon them for neere a full houre'.⁵⁴³ On 19 May 1669, Pepys, loitering in the gallery at court, met the duke of York, who recounted an extraordinary story which the duke of Buckingham had just been telling the king in the queen's bedchamber in the presence of 'much mixed company'; while there was sympathy with Catherine of Braganza having to pause

⁵⁴⁰ PRO, LC5/2, p. 51.

⁵⁴¹ Ailesbury, *Memoirs*, I, pp. 82-3.

⁵⁴² PRO, LC5/2, p. 51; BL, Stowe MS 203, fol. 209r.

⁵⁴³ Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 463.

before entering her own dressing room 'till she know whether the king be there, for fear he should be, as she has sometimes taken him, with Mrs Stuart'.⁵⁴⁴

It is perhaps worth noting, too, the king's use of the apartments of his mistress, Louise de K roualle, in the light of this discussion of his use of his wife's apartments. Created duchess of Portsmouth in 1673, Louise had been the king's favoured mistress for some six years before her apartments were to serve as an extension to the queen's for meetings and assemblies which brought the king into contact with his favoured subjects.⁵⁴⁵ However, from 1677 the apartments of the duchess of Portsmouth came, like the queen's apartments, to be the location of much of the gathering and discussing between the king and his courtiers. In March 1677 Sir John Reresby 'entertained the King in the Duchess of Portsmouth's chamber with the Marquis of Worcester', and from then on meetings and assemblies in her rooms are regularly to be found in the diaries and journals of the day. In the eighteen months which followed Reresby found himself 'waiting upon the King at the Duchess of Portsmouth's' at the end of the stone gallery at Whitehall on several occasions.⁵⁴⁶ The gatherings in Portsmouth's lodgings were not simply attended by the king and his boon companions: in the spring months of 1678 the king and the French and Dutch ambassadors were to be found 'often very merry and intimate at the Duchesse of Portsmouth's lodgeings', while on 3 August 1679 Barillon wrote to Louis XIV that the king had given him 'a long audience in Lady Portsmouth's apartment at Windsor'.⁵⁴⁷ In January 1682 the Moroccan ambassador, whom the king was at some pains to please was 'invited to a splendid entertainment at the Duchess of Portsmouth's lodgings' also attended by the king.⁵⁴⁸ The king was to some extent exercising control over who attended him there; when the earl of Halifax was reconciled to the duchess of Portsmouth in 1681, it was indicated by the fact that he would 'visit her and attend y^e king in her lodgings w^{ch} formerly he never would, and this too, they say, by y^e King's possitive demand'.⁵⁴⁹

Unfortunately there simply is not enough evidence in the material gathered here to prove or even to posit a really compelling hypothesis about some of the questions raised on the subject of these social-ceremonial gatherings. It does, though, seem probable that the king made use of the apartments of his wife both (and most extensively) as a frequent attendee of her drawing room, and in general terms, as a way of exploiting the greater freedom this allowed him than when conducting meetings in his own

⁵⁴⁴ Pepys, *Diary*, V, p. 40; IX, pp. 557-8.

⁵⁴⁵ Miller, *Charles II*, p. 207; Hutton, *Charles II*, pp. 279-80; Nancy Klein Maguire, 'The duchess of Portsmouth: English royal consort and French politician, 1670-85', in Cruickshanks, ed., *The Stuart Courts*, pp. 259-61.

⁵⁴⁶ Reresby, *Memoirs*, pp. 115, 133, 135.

⁵⁴⁷ Sir John Dalrymple, *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland from the Dissolution of the last Parliament of Charles II till the Capture of the French and Spanish Fleets at Vigo*, 3 vols, (London, 1790), I, p. 316; Reresby, *Memoirs*, pp. 141, 149.

⁵⁴⁸ CSPD, 1682, p. 43.

⁵⁴⁹ *The Correspondence of the Family of Hatton*, II, p. 11.

apartments. When Cosmo III, to whose secretary we owe much of our knowledge of the detail of Catherine of Braganza's drawing rooms, visited England, he was travelling as an unofficial visitor. Though he refused to take part in any of the ceremonial events of the outer state apartments, he appeared every evening in the circles hosted by the queen. The explanation he gave for this was that it enabled him to meet with the great company of court without jeopardising the unofficial, or incognito, status of his visit. Just as he was able to meet foreign diplomats so long as it was in a ceremonially neutral space (such as the lodgings of a third party), 'his highness appeared at different times [in the queen's circle] as in the *third place*'. That is, because the queen's drawing room was neither part of the king's apartments nor one of the queen's outer rooms of state, he was able to appear here without needing to insist on the great gestures of respect and status which would necessarily have been insisted on had it been a more state-like space.

It seems, therefore, that the queen's drawing room was regarded as the room of those in the royal apartments designed for receptions where the sovereign could operate with most freedom. Here, according to Magalotti, more than in any other of these receiving rooms, the king and duke could be found 'divesting themselves awhile of the restraint of royalty'.⁵⁵⁰ Here too, the king was not the host, he did not need to spend the entire evening seated with a circle of courtiers standing around him, or patiently playing cards – all of which was left to his wife. Instead the king could saunter in at the time which suited him, tell amusing stories, whisper promises in the ears of aspirant courtiers and hold political discussions in a window embrasure, before sloping off elsewhere. All of this must have seemed much more appealing than being the conductor of the event, trapped on the chair of state, caged by the circle of courtiers and bound by the conventions of the occasion. For the king to have this freedom of movement it was necessary that he should not be the host. By attending his wife's gathering he could leave the formalities largely to her without leaving the walls of his own palaces.

In this respect, and again acknowledging that it can be no more than simply a suggestion, it is perhaps worth recalling the change of location of the queen's circle which took place in Catherine's first years as queen; as has been explained above, the circle had traditionally happened in the queen's presence chamber, the most formal room of the apartments, with the queen seated beneath its great canopy of state. However in c1664 Catherine of Braganza's circle moved two rooms along the enfilade of the queen's royal apartments into her withdrawing room, the first space in the sequence which was technically outside the control of her lord chamberlain's officers and the state ceremonial over which they presided. By moving this formal event of the circle into the technically 'privy' space of the withdrawing room, Catherine of Braganza's 'drawing rooms' (as the circle then became known), were a notably hybrid occasion, combining the old formality of the circle with the relative informality of

activities, such as card-playing, which had always been conducted in the withdrawing room. This hybrid creation has a direct parallel in the king's use of his own privy apartments, notably his bedchamber, into which he 'moved' a whole range of ceremonial events, among them many of the formal audiences which had previously been conducted in the king's state apartments. If Catherine of Braganza had conducted her circles in the highly formal presence chamber as her mother-in-law had done, it seems unlikely the king would have been able to saunter in and out and disappear into corners as he was to do in the withdrawing room, and it is quite certain that the 'incognito' Cosmo III would have considered himself unable to appear there. But by using the withdrawing room a flexibility was immediately introduced which would never have pertained in the presence chamber.

We do not know the sequence of events which led Catherine to move her circle into her withdrawing room. However, the freedom, flexibility, and perhaps even fun, which were introduced into the occasion by holding it beyond the outer state rooms rendered it the ideal occasion for Charles II to fraternise with his court while preserving the useful and powerful aspects of a formal court assembly. The parallels between this and the way in which the king used his privy apartments for events which had previously happened in the outer rooms is striking and suggests strongly the king's own hand in this alteration to the assemblies of his wife's apartment.

⁵⁵⁰ Magalotti, *Travels*, p. 178.

2. IV. TOUCHING FOR THE KING'S EVIL

Touching for the king's evil has probably been more written about than any of the other rituals of the Restoration court. The great appeal to students of the *ancien régime* of the French and English practice of the royal touch has meant that this, almost alone, of the regular ceremonial activities of the 17th-century English court has consistently received attention. Most of the better studies of the royal touch have been concerned with charting its broad development over time. Some have done so with particular concern for the numismatic aspect of the ceremony (essentially coming to the subject through an interest in the gold coins or tokens)⁵⁵¹ and others have been anxious to explain how it was that people considered themselves to be cured by the royal touch, in Marc Bloch's words, to 'find a rational explanation for cures long attributed by the popular mind to the hand of kings'.⁵⁵² Here, the concern is neither to invoke the 'psychology of the miraculous' to solve a medicinal riddle, nor to take a particular interest in the minted currency dispensed at healings, but to investigate how the ceremony operated during the reign of Charles II, and to do so in the context of this study of the ceremonial world of Charles II's court as a whole.

a. OBTAINING AND ORGANISING THE ROYAL TOUCH

As was the case with the other ceremonial activities of the state apartments, touching for the king's evil was ultimately the responsibility of the lord chamberlain, who might himself participate in its performance. However – other than when they acted in his stead – his officials, the gentlemen ushers of the privy and presence chambers did not take an active part in its organisation. Instead two groups of officers, both part of the lord chamberlain's department, oversaw the ceremony: the three serjeant surgeons and the clerk of the closet with his staff. The former, as men of medicine, were responsible for vetting and admitting the sick, the latter, as men of God, for administering the readings and prayers which accompanied the royal touch.⁵⁵³ The yeomen of the guard attended to keep the proceedings in order. Though he occasionally stepped in to settle disputes and assert order, the lord chamberlain seems to have left the day-to-day running of the healings very much in his juniors' hands, while trying to ensure communication with the king about the subject of the touch was conducted through him.⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁵¹ Helen Farquhar, 'Royal charities. Part I' and idem, 'Royal charities. Part II'; Robinson, *Silver Pennies and Linen Towels*.

⁵⁵² Bloch, *The Royal Touch*; see also Crawford, *The King's Evil*. For a modern reassessment see Sturdy, 'The Royal Touch in England'; see also Frank Barlow, 'The King's Evil', and Carole Levin, "'Would I could give you help and succour": Elizabeth I and the Politics of Touch'.

⁵⁵³ *The Present State of Great Britain*, p. 49; Sainty and Bucholz, *Officials of the Royal Household*, pp. 48-9, 56-7.

⁵⁵⁴ PRO, LC5/141, p. 33; LC5/140, pp. 493-4; SP29/379, no. 1.

During the reign of Charles I, as part of his general desire that 'order is to be observed' in the conduct of English court life, the process for gaining access to the ceremony of the king's cure was elaborated and defined.⁵⁵⁵ On 18 June 1625 a proclamation was issued which declared that the king would touch only at Easter and Michaelmas, and requiring everyone who came to receive the cure to carry 'certificates' from their parish officials testifying that they had never before received the king's touch. JPs were strictly admonished not to allow the passage of anyone to London for the cure who was not in possession of such a certificate, while the proclamation was to be posted up in all market towns. The requirement for this sort of verification was joined by another by 1638, that the sufferer should have 'been viewed by one physician and one Surgeon at least' and carry a second certificate signed by him confirming that the bearer was indeed infected with the king's evil. These proclamations were, from 1635, to be posted in parish churches as well as in market towns.⁵⁵⁶

At the Restoration, the requirement that those seeking the cure needed to provide proof that they had not been touched before was reinstated, and was the first step which anyone hopeful of securing the touch was required to take. The printed proclamation regarding healing issued by Charles II from Hampton Court on 4 July 1662, followed that of his father in requiring that the sufferer bring a certificate 'testifying according to the truth that they have not at any time before been touched by his Ma^{ty} to the intent to be Healed of that Disease'.⁵⁵⁷ This requirement continued to be reiterated throughout Charles II's reign; in the orders to the royal surgeons for the conduct of the healings of the mid-1670s, it was again emphasised that 'all persons that shall come to be healed shall bring a Certificate und^r the hands of the Minister & Churchwardens of the parish where they lived that they were never touched by his Ma^{te} for the Evill'.⁵⁵⁸

These certificates were required to proceed to the next stage in the process of procuring the touch, and there is evidence that the rules were followed as prescribed. A copy of such a certificate in Grasmere Church, Oxfordshire, dated 4 February 1684 signed by the rector and churchwardens, declared 'That David Harrison of the s^d Parish aged about ffourteen years is afflicted as wee are credibly informed with the disease comonly called the King's Evill & (to the best of o^r knowledge) hath not heretofore

⁵⁵⁵ Only one Jacobean proclamation regarding the king's evil survives, dated 25 March 1616, which declares that the king would not be touching in the summer months between Easter and Michaelmas; James F. Larkin and Paul L. Hughes eds, *Stuart Royal Proclamations. Volume I: Royal Proclamations of King James I 1603-1625* (Oxford, 1973), 159 (25 March 1616).

⁵⁵⁶ James F. Larkin, ed., *Stuart Royal Proclamations. Volume II: Royal Proclamations of King Charles I 1625-1646* (Oxford, 1983), 17 (18 June 1625); 201 (28 July 1635); 267 (15 July 1638). Crawford, *The King's Evil*, Appendix. See also Judith Richards, "'His Nowe Majestie" and the English Monarchy', pp. 70-96; Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, pp. 217, 630-1.

⁵⁵⁷ PRO, SP45/11, p. 123; PC2/70, pp. 97-8; *The Kingdom's Intelligencer*, 28, 14 July 1662.

⁵⁵⁸ PRO, LC5/140, pp. 493-4, (4); LC/144, p. 195; SP29/379, 1 (4).

been Touched by His Majesty for y^e s^d Desease'.⁵⁵⁹ The fact that unscrupulous types forged certificates further demonstrates that these documents were required to gain admission to the ceremony of touch; John Browne, one of Charles II's surgeons, noted that extra vigilance was required by all concerned against the 'Cheats by counterfeit Certificates and the like', and recommended that printed certificates be introduced to prevent their activities.⁵⁶⁰ However, the fact remains that people were still able to gain the touch more than once: one Mrs Astley and her son were both touched for a second time at Windsor in 1681, while William Vickers, who developed his own medical cure for the disease after failing to find relief in the royal touch, recorded 'I was stroaked twice by King Charles II and thrice by King James II'.⁵⁶¹

Having acquired a certificate those seeking the cure would then make their way to court to try and gain admission to the ceremony itself. There were several stages to this: first the ailing person was supposed to obtain official verification that he or she was indeed suffering from the king's evil and not some other disease. The proper person to make this diagnosis was either one of the king's surgeons, who effectively ran the healing ceremonies, or one of the royal physicians. As the lord chamberlain put it in a memorandum to the serjeant surgeon, Richard Pyle, in February 1682 no-one was to be allowed admission 'but those person themselves that you shall examine and find they have the disease of the Evill or bring a Certificate that they have been viewed and examined by one of his Ma^{ty}s Physitians in ordinary to His person or Houshold'.⁵⁶² So it was, in April 1675 that Dr William Denton, one of the physicians in ordinary to the royal household, wrote to his kinsman Ralph Verney that he had put several people forward for the touch, one of whom 'returned and gave me most wonderful thanks, and would have given me a quart of sack'.⁵⁶³

Having acquired the necessary certificates confirming his eligibility for the touch, the cure-seeker would then need to obtain a ticket of admission to the touching ceremony. The dispensing of the tickets was the job of the serjeant surgeon in waiting, who was 'to take in Certificates, and deliver out Tickets in order to a Healing or Healings'.⁵⁶⁴ This was very deliberately not to take place at Whitehall; instead the serjeant surgeons had at their disposal a house in Covent Garden to which those who

⁵⁵⁹ *The Flemings in Oxford being Documents Selected from the Rydal Papers in illustration of the Lives and Ways of Oxford Men 1650-1700*, John Richard Magrath, ed., 3 vols (Oxford, 1904), I, p. 453, n. When healing was suspended during the summer months, the parish clergy were sometimes asked to stop issuing certificates to prevent people from flocking to court regardless; see, e.g., *London Gazette*, 1828, 24 May 1683; *The Letters of Sir Thomas Browne*, Geoffrey Keynes, ed., (London, 1931), p. 151.

⁵⁶⁰ John Browne, *Adenochoiradelogia: or An Anatomick-Chirurgicall Treatise of Glandules & Strumaes or King's Evil Swellings*, 3 vols, (London, 1684), III, p. 85.

⁵⁶¹ *The Letters of Sir Thomas Browne*, p. 222; William Vickers, *An Easie and Safe Method for Curing the King's Evil* (fifth edition, London 1711), p. 5.

⁵⁶² PRO, LC5/144, p. 195; LC5/140, p. 493-4.

⁵⁶³ *HMC Verney*, p. 492.

⁵⁶⁴ Browne, *Adenochoiradelogia*, III, p. 84. Helen Farquhar suggested the base-metal coin or token known as the 'Soli Deo Gloria Halfpenny' which bears a ship on one side and a George and dragon on the other was one of the specially-made

wished to be healed were to apply for a ticket; as was explained in *Mercurius Publicus* only a month after the king's return from exile they were 'to repair to Mr Knight his Majesties Chirurgion, living at the Cross guns in Russel-street, Covent-garden, over against the Rose Tavern, for their tickets'.⁵⁶⁵ The three sergeant surgeons waited a month each in rotation, during which time they issued out the tickets for those healings which were to take place during their time of waiting; they were forbidden from issuing tickets for future healings.⁵⁶⁶ The times during which those seeking the cure would be received by the sergeant surgeon in waiting (Wednesdays and Thursdays from two till six in the afternoon), were also published in the press. The surgeon was to dispense tickets to all those attendees who could demonstrate, with the necessary certificates, their worthiness for the touch; this was strictly to be done without any exchange of money, as the lord chamberlain's order commanded 'That nothing be demanded of the people by the Surgeon as his fee'.⁵⁶⁷

Predictably, these apparently orderly arrangements belie the confusion and disorder which frequently attended the business of procuring a ticket for a touching.⁵⁶⁸ In reality, according to John Browne, writing towards the end of the reign 'as the case is now, it is harder to approach the Chirurgion, than obtain a Touch'.⁵⁶⁹ Endless waiting at the house of the surgeon was usually the fate of anyone seeking the cure, which won the surgeons a very poor name, even Browne himself referring to the 'ill opinion the Chirurgion goes under at the continual and tedious waitings at his House'. When the surgeon was present and dispensing tickets, boredom gave way to frenzied anxiety, to potentially disastrous effect: on one occasion in 1684 'There was so greate & eager a concourse of people with their children, to be touch'd of the *Evil*, that 6 or 7: were crush'd to *death* by pressing at the *Chirurgions* doore for Tickets'.⁵⁷⁰ No doubt partly because of the unappealing prospect of endless waiting in Russell Street, ways were found of obtaining a ticket without having to do so. One of these was to send someone to wait in your stead to obtain a ticket on your behalf. This was certainly frowned upon by the lord chamberlain, but admonitions against the practice indicate that it continued to happen.⁵⁷¹ Alternatively, any 'person of Quality' could, theoretically, send for the sergeant surgeon, who, with reasonable notice, would 'wait upon them at their lodgings'.⁵⁷² It is also clear that there were ways of easing the process of procuring a ticket, and sometimes it seems of bypassing it altogether, by

admission tickets to Restoration healings; Farquhar, 'Royal charities. Part II', p. 123.

⁵⁶⁵ CSPD, 1661-2, p. 428; *Mercurius Publicus*, 28 June-5 July 1660, pp. 430-1; *The Parliamentary Intelligencer*, 28, 27 June 1660.

⁵⁶⁶ PRO, LC5/140, pp. 493-4 (7); SP12/379 no. 1 (7).

⁵⁶⁷ PRO, SP29/57, no. 16; LC5/140, pp. 493-4 (5); SP29/379 no 1 (5).

⁵⁶⁸ *Mercurius Publicus*, 28 June-5 July 1660, pp. 430-1; *The Parliamentary Intelligencer*, 28, 27 June 1660.

⁵⁶⁹ Browne, *Adenochoiradelogia*, III, p. 89.

⁵⁷⁰ Evelyn, *Diary*, IV, p. 374.

⁵⁷¹ The lord chamberlain ordered Richard Pyle 'not to deliver any Ticketts whatsoever but unto persons themselves', PRO, LC5/144, p. 195; PRO, SP29/57, no. 16.

⁵⁷² *Mercurius Publicus*, 28 June-5 July 1660, p. 431.

persuading some prominent courtier to speak to the surgeon, or one of the other presiding officers, on your behalf. So Marmaduke Ling of Somerset wrote to his old school friend, Mr Stephens, who was employed at the king's backstairs, asking him 'to procure a Ticket (from Mr. Serjeant *Paynter* then chief Chirurgeon in waiting)'; while Stephens's help was again enlisted in securing a ticket for a healing by a gunsmith from Winchester.⁵⁷³ Secretary Williamson was asked by one of his relatives to help a neighbour's daughter to secure a place at a healing, while the clerk and keeper of the closet, who were closely involved in the healing ceremony itself, were also frequently asked to 'get a touch' for those who with whom they had often the most tenuous connection.⁵⁷⁴ Although the sergeant surgeon was in charge of dispensing the tickets during his month in waiting, he was to give to his colleagues the surgeon of the person and surgeon of the household a small allowance of tickets for them to dispense directly, which were doubtless also the target of many requests and petitions.⁵⁷⁵

Having eventually secured a ticket there still remained the hurdle of there being a healing to attend; it was the job of the sergeant surgeon to inform those to whom he had issued tickets of the day appointed. Immediately he set foot in England, the king had been inundated with the scrofulous seeking a cure: in his first months he touched, by everyone's reckoning, 'multitudes'; healing several times a week, with hundreds in every sitting.⁵⁷⁶ In the last week of June 1660 the king announced his intended healing days in the newspapers: 'His Majesty hath for the future appointed every Friday for the cure; and which time Two hundred, and no more are to be presented to him'.⁵⁷⁷ Sunday was the day traditionally associated with touching, though it was generally agreed that the most auspicious day of all on which to be touched was Good Friday, and it may have been this which caused Fridays to be assigned for healings in 1660.⁵⁷⁸ The appointment of Friday as the touching day was adhered to and, Charles II conducted most of his public healings on Fridays for the rest of his reign (see appendix 3).⁵⁷⁹

The formal proclamation regarding healing which the king issued in July 1662 stipulated that the two seasons for public healing would be: 1 November to a week before Christmas and the month before Easter; his second public proclamation on the subject, twenty years later, confirmed the autumn

⁵⁷³ Browne, *Adenochoiradelogia*, III, pp. 172, 174; Bod. Lib., Rawl. MS A 194, fos. 247v-8r.

⁵⁷⁴ *CSPD*, 1668-9, p. 239; PRO, SP29/152, no. 10. When one ailing visitor to Charles II's exiled court was refused a ticket to the touching on the basis that he was suffering not from scrofula but small-pox, his friend – one of the officers of the Chapel Royal – spoke to the clerk of the closet and persuaded him to arrange for the unfortunate visitor be touched, Browne, *Adenochoiradelogia*, III, 156-7, 171, 172.

⁵⁷⁵ PRO, LC5/140, pp. 493-4 (8).

⁵⁷⁶ Browne, *Adenochoiradelogia*, III, p. 161, appendix; *The Diurnal of Thomas Rugg*, p. 93; Pepys, *Diary*, I, p. 182.

⁵⁷⁷ *Mercurius Publicus*, 28 June-5 July, p. 431; *The Parliamentary Intelligencer*, 28, 27 June 1660. Between May and December 1660 Charles II healed almost 7,000 people.

⁵⁷⁸ Bloch, *The Royal Touch*, pp. 184-5; Wicquefort, *A Relation in form of Journal*, p. 74; Browne, *Adenochoiradelogia*, III, pp. 95, 106; *The Loyal Protestant*, 142, 14 April 1682.

⁵⁷⁹ Magalotti, *Travels*, p. 214.

period, but extended the Spring period to immediately after Christmas until the first of March, and then for a short spell during the week before Easter.⁵⁸⁰ In reality, the king always touched outside these times. A slightly more realistic note of healing times is in the lord chamberlain's orders for the surgeons, which puts the autumn season as starting on 1 September and running to the end of November, and the spring season as starting on Ash Wednesday and finishing at the end of May. Notices were frequently issued in April or May declaring that there would be no more touching until the autumn. However, the monthly figures published by Browne from the registers of the keeper of the closet, and the manuscript records which survive, indicate that in reality the king touched all year round, and though there was a definite drop-off in numbers over the summer months, and peaks in the autumn and early spring, of the twenty-one years covered by the published registers, there were only four in which a month passed without the king healing.⁵⁸¹ (Appendix 2) April was consistently the month of the year in which the largest number of people received the touch, reflecting no doubt the recognised efficacy of an Easter touch and the fact that April was frequently the last month of regular public healing before the summer.

As was acknowledged by the lord chamberlain's note that any changes to the times 'by His Ma^{ty} Especiall Comand' would be publicised, the timings of the healings were actually decided by the sovereign, who touched as 'frequently as He pleaseth', though the lord chamberlain might 'move His Ma^{ty} for Healing'.⁵⁸² This meant there was always considerable uncertainty about when, precisely, the king would heal; many letters passed from the country to the court on the subject, like that from Richard Sherlock to Robert Francis, in April 1669 requesting information about healing times for his ailing son so he could bring him down from Oxford to London.⁵⁸³ Even the physicians of the royal household were often unsure when the next session would be and sometimes only ascertained its date from reading news of it in the *Gazette*; as Dr William Denton wrote to Ralph Verney on 11 November 1675: 'It is impossible to know a set time of healing; they must take their fortune'.⁵⁸⁴ This uncertainty about timing entailed even more waiting around for many of the cure-seekers, often leaving them in financial straits: one Joseph Jackson, who travelled the 200 miles from Cumberland to be touched by the king, found himself detained in the capital unable to support himself and had to petition the governors of St Bartholomew's hospital for succour; another who had travelled 110 miles had to

⁵⁸⁰ *The Kingdom's Intelligencer*, 28, 14 July 1662; PRO, SP45/11, p. 123; BL, Egerton MS 806, fos. 59r-60r; Fielding H. Garrison, 'A relic of the King's Evil in the Surgeon General's Library (Washington D.C.)', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 7, 1914, pp. 227-34.

⁵⁸¹ For declarations of the cessation of public healing during the summer in 1660, 1661, 1664, 1665, 1670, 1676, 1679, 1682 and 1683 see *The Parliamentary Intelligencer*, 28; *The Kingdoms Intelligencer*, 18; *The Newes*, 38; *The Intelligencer*, 32; *London Gazette*, 461, 1091, 1403, 1723, 1828; Browne, *Adenochoiradelogia*, III, Appendix.

⁵⁸² Browne, *Adenochoiradelogia*, III, p. 83; PRO, LC5/141, p. 33.

⁵⁸³ *CSPD*, 1668-9, p. 285.

⁵⁸⁴ *HMC Verney*, p. 493, 11 November 1675; 'The Gazette tells us the King will touch no more after this month till April', 18 November 1675.

borrow 20 shillings from one of the physicians to pay for a passage home. As Browne put it these unfortunate people were 'kept so long in Town till both their Money and Credit is gone'.⁵⁸⁵

The numbers of people who were touched varied greatly. Healings in the first years of the reign were clearly especially well attended; one source puts the numbers touched in one sitting at over 250, another as 600. While some allowance must be made for exaggeration, that numbers might reach 200 is supported by the declaration of 1660 which stipulated 'Two hundred, and no more are to be presented to him'.⁵⁸⁶ After the first flush of attendance, the numbers at the best attended royal healings seem to have remained at or just under 200. From the officially recorded figures which we have of the numbers touched at individual healings, the range of numbers healed on a single day stretched from one to over 200. The numbers for specific days tend either to be below twenty or above eighty, reflecting, I would suggest, the distinction between private and public healing sessions; this is further suggested by the fact that most of the days on which over 80 people were healed were Fridays, the declared day for public healings.⁵⁸⁷

The evidence about who came to be healed in the public touching ceremonies is almost all incidental. The surviving information of the clerks of the closet's records does not include names, ages, sex or status of the healed. John Browne's suggestion for 'a Register-Book, where every Parties Name is to be kept Alphabetically therein, and their Certificates fill'd up' was sadly not effected and the most we know of these many thousands of men women and children from the official records is simply how many they were and when they came.⁵⁸⁸ However, it is possible to draw some general conclusions from the chance information which survives about those who came to court to be cured. As has been mentioned above, people came many hundreds of miles to be healed, from places as far afield as Cumberland, Winchester, Cambridge, Somerset and Plymouth, some travelling in organised groups to receive the cure.⁵⁸⁹ That people of all social strata and all parts of the kingdom were touched is strongly suggested by what evidence there is; a poor seaman, a servant maid from Enfield, the daughter of the king's builder from Portsmouth, 'a poor Girl who came out of the North', all came for the cure, as did the wife of John Hebden Esq, the daughter of Captain Wilkes, the son of the mayor of Wycombe and the son of the earl of Stirling.⁵⁹⁰ This aspect of the royal touch was much played upon, that in his healing the king 'never makes any exceptions of Persons, being either Young or Old, Rich

⁵⁸⁵ CSPD, Dec 1671-May 1672, p. 58; Browne, *Adenochoiradelogia*, III, p. 31; *HMC Verney*, p. 493.

⁵⁸⁶ *Mercurius Publicus*, 28 June-5 July, p. 431.

⁵⁸⁷ BL, Egerton MS 806, fol. 59r; Garrison, 'A relic of the King's Evil', pp. 229-30; *True Protestant Mercury*, 88, 6 November 1681.

⁵⁸⁸ Browne, *Adenochoiradelogia*, III, p. 87.

⁵⁸⁹ CSPD, 1671-2, p. 58; 1675-6, p. 411; *HMC Verney*, p. 493; Browne, *Adenochoiradelogia*, III, pp. 170, 172, 174, 176.

⁵⁹⁰ CSPD, 1668-9, p. 239; Browne, *Adenochoiradelogia*, III, pp. 165, 166-7, 168, 179.

or Poor, Beautiful or Deformed'.⁵⁹¹ What is not clear is whether these people were attending a public or a private healing. The poorest people were doubtless attending public healings, but some if not all of the more socially elevated must have been those being touched in groups of 5 or 10 rather than 50 or 100.

In his account of the royal touch, John Browne explained that the English king's ability to touch was all the more marvellous as it was performed not 'in corners, but in the publick view of all His Subjects, in his Royal Palace, and in places appointed for Divine Worship, and in the Holy Sanctuary'.⁵⁹² In the case of healing within the royal palaces, public healings were staged in the largest of the available state rooms; so at Whitehall the banqueting house was invariably used, while at Hampton Court the king touched in the great hall and at Newmarket in one of the outer rooms of the king's apartment.⁵⁹³ Just as Browne describes, though, when outside his own palaces, Charles II seems always to have touched for the king's evil in a church or chapel of some description. When at The Hague in 1660 preparing for his voyage back to England, the king touched after attending chapel on Sunday 30 May, and conducted the ceremony in his sister's chapel there.⁵⁹⁴ When visiting Oxford in September 1663, Charles similarly healed after having attended chapel, performing the cure in the choir of Christ Church chapel; while during his stay at Winchester in September 1682, the king healed around sixty Hampshire residents 'in the Church of that place'.⁵⁹⁵

The one exception to the rule regarding the location of touching was Windsor Castle. Charles certainly touched at Windsor Castle, but it is not entirely clear where.⁵⁹⁶ The obvious location would have been St George's Hall. However, little, if any, evidence for the use of this room for healing survives. John Browne described the first time he attended the king at a healing ceremony as being 'at his Chappel Royal at Windsor'.⁵⁹⁷ Browne entered royal service as a surgeon in 1677, just as the reconstructed royal apartments at Windsor were nearing completion, but three years before work was to begin on the second phase of reconstruction which included the chapel and St George's Hall; the king and queen occupied the new rooms for the first time when the court came to Windsor in the summer of 1678. The reason why the chapel was used, on this one occasion at least, is unclear. It may simply have been a case of space; the chapel royal at Windsor was the largest of those in any of the

⁵⁹¹ Browne, *Adenochoiradelogia*, III, pp. 84, 103-4.

⁵⁹² Browne, *Adenochoiradelogia*, III, p. 103.

⁵⁹³ Pepys, *Diary*, I, p. 182; Browne, *Adenochoiradelogia*, III, p. 168-9; *Mercurius Publicus*, 28 June-5 July, p. 431; Schellinks, *Journal*, pp. 91, 177; PRO, LC5/2, p. 55; Magalotti, *Travels*, p. 214.

⁵⁹⁴ Wicquefort, *A Relation in form of Journal*, p. 75.

⁵⁹⁵ *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695, Described by Himself*, Andrew Clark, ed., 5 vols (Oxford, 1891-1900), I, pp. 496, 497; *True Protestant Mercury*, 174, 2 September 1682; *Historical Manuscripts Commission. Seventh Report* (London, 1879), 'Manuscripts of the House of Lords', pp. 1-182, p. 493.

⁵⁹⁶ For touching at Windsor see: *True Protestant Mercury*, 1723, 2 May 1682; *London Gazette*, 1828, 24 May 1683; Browne, *Adenochoiradelogia*, III, pp. 165-6.

palaces regularly used by Charles II: the internal dimensions were around 75 feet by 35 feet, larger than both the Whitehall chapel (about 65 feet long and 33 feet broad) and Hampton Court chapel. (Figure 33) If this was the reason why the Windsor Chapel was used, it raises the possibility that the ideal arrangement for the king continued to be to hold the healing ceremony in a chapel but that given the huge numbers who sometimes attended the ceremony, in most of his palaces a large secular space was thought better than a restricted ecclesiastical one.

Whatever the answer it is tempting to see a connection between the use of the Windsor chapel for the ceremony of touch in the late 1670s, and the decorative scheme of the chapel when renovated in 1680-2 (see chapter three for a more detailed consideration of the chapel). The painted walls featured, on the altarpiece the Last Supper, on the ceiling the Resurrection of Christ and on the long north wall Christ healing the sick, seen through a screen of twisted columns.⁵⁹⁸ (Figure 34) This last scene was based on Raphael's cartoon for 'St Peter Healing the Lame man at the Beautiful Gate' (Acts III. 2), but the subject was changed to show Christ healing instead (Figure 35). While both the Resurrection and Last Supper are, of course, Easter scenes, the image of Christ healing is not obviously connected with New Testament accounts of Easter or part of a coherent Easter-based iconographic scheme. However, healing the sick was very much part of the Stuart court's celebration of Easter: as has been mentioned, Good Friday was generally believed to be the best possible day on which to be touched, and March and April were the two months in which the largest number of scrofula-sufferers came to be healed. The crucial piece of text read aloud at the moment the king healed was from Mark, chapter 16, verse 18, in which the risen Christ appeared for the first time to the eleven disciples and charged them to go forth into the world, where true believers would be able to heal the sick. Thus it may have been that the image of Christ healing the sick was (like the rest of the chapel imagery) an indirect reference to Easter week celebrations, during which Charles II exercised in the Windsor chapel just those powers which Christ had described to his followers after the Resurrection, in laying on hands and healing the sick.

At the Restoration Charles II did not re-institute the minting of the angel, the active currency distributed at healings before the civil war, but from 1665 gold medals were minted for this purpose instead.⁵⁹⁹ The provision of the medals for healing was the responsibility of the clerk of the closet and his assistant the closet keeper (see chapter three for a full consideration of these posts).⁶⁰⁰ The form of accounting for the touch pieces they distributed was formalised in early 1667; it was noted that the

⁵⁹⁷ Browne, *Adenochoiradelogia*, III, p. 176.

⁵⁹⁸ Colvin, *King's Works*, V, p. 316-22; Croft Murray, *Decorative Painting in England*, p. 241; Gibson, 'The decoration of St George's Hall, Windsor, for Charles II', pp. 30-40; Simon Thurley, 'The Stuart Kings, Oliver Cromwell and the Chapel Royal 1618-1685', *Architectural History*, 45, 2002, pp. 238-74.

⁵⁹⁹ Farquhar, 'Royal Charities Part II', pp. 95-108; Weber, *Paper Bullets*, p. 65.

amounts of money spent on healing gold were vastly higher than they had been historically, and the Treasury therefore resolved to 'settle a method for the business that an account may be made, whereas in the Privy Purse no account is to be made'. It was accordingly resolved in early March that the clerk of the closet and the surgeon in waiting were to make a detailed account of how many were healed each day and deliver it to Sir Robert Long, auditor of the receipts.⁶⁰¹ So it was that from then on the closet keeper kept an official record of the number of medals distributed at each healing, each month's account was verified by the sergeant surgeon in waiting for that month, and the whole account signed off by the clerk of the closet himself.⁶⁰² The money for the provision of the medals was issued by the Treasury to the keeper of the Privy Purse, and then the medals themselves were struck by the Royal Mint.⁶⁰³

b. PUBLIC HEALINGS: THE CEREMONY

The ceremony of public healing itself followed the following form. The day and place appointed, the sick, armed with their tickets, would assemble outside the relevant building to be called in for the commencement of the ceremony, which was usually held after the king had attended morning prayers.⁶⁰⁴ The gentlemen ushers prepared the room, ensuring that the apothecaries had supplied the necessary 'Odoriferous parcels' to keep the air sweet and rosewater for the king to wash his hands.⁶⁰⁵ The crowd brought in, the yeomen of the Guard would marshal them into the order in which they were to be taken to the king.⁶⁰⁶ The sovereign then entered and seated himself on a chair of state; the chair was that which normally stood on the dais beneath the canopy of state if within one of the royal palaces, or one specially placed in the choir if being performed in a church.⁶⁰⁷ Here the king would sit, without his hat, with the clerk of the closet on one side of the chair, attended by the closet keeper with the ready-strung touch-pieces on his arm, and one of the royal chaplains on the other side. (Figures 36 and 37) Nearby was the prayer book, from which the service would be read, placed on a cushion.⁶⁰⁸ Two royal surgeons would wait with the assembled sick some distance from the throne

⁶⁰⁰ Browne, *Adenochoiradelogia*, III, p. 94.

⁶⁰¹ *Calender of Treasury Books preserved in the Public Record Office 1660-1685*, William A. Shaw, ed., 7 vols, (London, 1904-16), 1667-8, pp. 230, 246, 265, 531.

⁶⁰² BL, Egerton MS 806, fos 59r-60r; Garrison, 'A relic of the King's Evil', pp. 229-30; Browne, *Adenochoiradelogia*, III, p. 32, Appendix.

⁶⁰³ See, e.g. *Calender of Treasury Books*, 1667-8, pp. 275, 315, 370, 428, 430, 443, 503, 538; 1669-72, pp. 16, 185, 187, 397, 417.

⁶⁰⁴ Pepys, *Diary*, I, p. 182.; Bloch, *The Royal Touch*, p. 188; Wicquefort, *A Relation in form of Journal*, pp. 74-5.

⁶⁰⁵ PRO, LC5/200, unfoliated.

⁶⁰⁶ Browne, *Adenochoiradelogia*, III, p. 96.

⁶⁰⁷ The best accounts of procedure at Charles II's healing are the following sources, from which this account is largely taken, other sources are mentioned in the following notes where relevant. Evelyn, *Diary*, III, pp. 250-1; Schellinks, *Journal*, p. 73; Magalotti, *Travels*, pp. 214-16; Browne, *Adenochoiradelogia*, III, pp. 95-101; Wicquefort, *A Relation in form of Journal*, pp. 74-8.

⁶⁰⁸ MacDonald Ross, 'The royal rouch and the Book of Common Prayer', *Notes and Queries*, October, 1983, pp. 433-5.

keeping them in order and poised to bring them up to the king in sequence; this was to reflect how far they had travelled, those who had come the furthest being brought up first.⁶⁰⁹

Everyone assembled, the surgeon in waiting would come forward with the first person to be touched, make three obeisances to the king, and then lead him or her up to the throne by the hand. Here both the surgeon and the patient kneeled before the king. This procedure must have been made more complicated by the fact that many of those who came to be healed needed considerable assistance to move; the contemporary engravings of the occasion show people on crutches, being supported and even carried forward, while written account describe among those who came to be cured people variously wrapped in bandages, completely blind, so incapacitated that they had to be 'brought in a chair' to their sovereign.⁶¹⁰ It is clear, too, that there was, on occasion, squabbling between the surgeons about the conduct of the ceremony. The lord chamberlain rebuked the surgeons on several occasions for the 'many inconveniencies & disorders have happened at publique & private Healings by reason of Differences & disagreeem^{ts}' between them which had 'made a disturance in His Ma^{ty} P^rsence at y^e tyme of Healinge'.⁶¹¹

The surgeon having brought the sick person to kneel before the king, the chaplain, also kneeling, would then read from Mark 16.14, telling of Jesus's appearance to the Apostles after he had risen, and at the moment the words: 'They shall lay their hands on the sick and they shall recover' were read, the king stroked the scrofula-sufferer under the chin with both hands.⁶¹² This done, the second surgeon led the touched person away, and the next person to be healed was brought forward and the procedure was repeated. Once all the sick had been touched, they were each brought forward a second time to be presented with the touch piece. Again the surgeon in waiting accompanied each person forward, making three obeisances, and kneeling down before the king. The chaplain then read aloud from John 1.1-13, and at the words (verse 9) 'That Light was the true Light which lighteth every man which cometh into the World', the king placed over the head of the ailing person the piece of gold on a ribbon which had been handed to him by the clerk of the closet, also on his knees. The chaplain continued to repeat this verse as every person was presented, and then, once all had been touched, finished the reading. Everyone being then in the positions in which they had started the ceremony, the chaplain concluded with prayers, during which everyone other than the king knelt, finishing with a

⁶⁰⁹ CSPD, 1661-2, p. 428; PRO, SP29/57, no. 16.

⁶¹⁰ Browne, *Adenochoiradelogia*, III, pp. 165-6, 168.

⁶¹¹ PRO, LC4/140, p. 493.

⁶¹² W. Sparrow Simpson, 'On the forms of prayer recited 'at the healing' or touching for the King's Evil', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, XXVII, 1871, pp. 282-307; Hamon L'Estrange, *Alliance of Divine Offices, exhibiting all the Liturgies of the Church of England since the Reformation, as also the late Scotch Service-Book, with all their respective variations, and upon them all Annotations vindicating the Book of Common Prayer from the objections of its adversaries, etc* (Oxford, 1846), pp. 559-61.

prayer asking God's blessing for the ceremony.⁶¹³ The ceremony proper over, the lord chamberlain and two other noblemen came forward holding between them linen, a ewer and basin. Kneeling before the king, one held the basin, one poured the water over the king's hands and the third proffered the towel. They then made their obeisances and withdrew.⁶¹⁴ The king then withdrew and the ceremony was complete.

The public touching ceremonies were often attended by significant numbers who were there solely as spectators of the event. The lord chamberlain was careful to ensure that the dates of healings were announced 'that the nobility may have timely notice to attend'. They were clearly responsive: as Browne put it, and as the engravings show, the king was 'all the while ... surrounded by his Nobles, and many other Spectators'.⁶¹⁵ The most important royal visitors to England were taken to watch the king heal, though in such a way as to ensure they were not part of the event in any official manner. In 1673 the duchess of Modena and her brother came with the queen and her almoner 'incognito' to observe the ceremony; entering the room from the door behind the state, they were 'placed where the Queen sits when she is not in publick, near the King in the banqueting house'.⁶¹⁶ In 1669 Cosmo III of Tuscany was taken to watch the king heal at Newmarket, viewing the proceedings from 'the side of a door which led into the room'.⁶¹⁷ Ambassadors, too, were encouraged to attend, and on 29 January 1682 the Moroccan ambassador watched the king conduct a 'general touch' at Whitehall.⁶¹⁸ As well as these visitors, who were effectively the king's own guests, many others seem to have been able to crowd into the banqueting house, or elsewhere, with relative ease. Thus Samuel Pepys and his friend Tom Guy watched the healing on 23 June 1660 and Pepys attended again in 1667 with Sir George Carteret, while William Schellinks watched three healings in the course of his visit in 1662: two at Whitehall and another at Hampton Court.⁶¹⁹

c. PRIVATE HEALINGS

As with many other areas of the king's ceremonial activities, his ritual healings were also performed 'privately'. Only a few references to these survive, so it is certainly not possible to put together a general account of any sort of these occasions. These healings were still the responsibility of the clerk of the closet, who at times, at least, presided over them in person as he did with public healings, while the royal surgeons also attended. It appears, though, that the full complement of medical and clerical

⁶¹³ *Anglia Notitia* (1671), pp. 107-8.

⁶¹⁴ *The Kingdom's Intelligencer*, 13, 27 March 1662; 'I held y^e bason after at healing', BL, Add MS 40860, fos 15v, 34v; LC5/200, unfoliated.

⁶¹⁵ Browne, *Adenochoiradelogia*, III, p. 96; PRO, LC5/141, p. 33.

⁶¹⁶ PRO, LC5/2, p. 55; *Letters Addressed from London to Sir Joseph Williamson*, II, pp. 103-4.

⁶¹⁷ Magalotti, *Travels*, pp. 214-6.

⁶¹⁸ *The Loyal Protestant*, 111, 29 January 1681/2.

⁶¹⁹ Pepys, *Diary*, I, p. 182; VIII, p. 161; Schellinks, *Journal*, pp. 73, 91, 177.

officials were not required for the touch to be given; at one private healing at Whitehall, only one royal surgeon attended. Gold touch medals strung on ribbons were also distributed on these occasions. However they were obviously much reduced events in their scale.⁶²⁰

Although there were occasions when one person alone was healed, as is attested by the records of the clerk of the closet, private touchings seem generally to have been attended by a small group of people, as was the case on 21 November 1677, when the king touched six people at a private healing.⁶²¹ As has been mentioned the clerk of the closet's figures for healings do not distinguish between private and public healings so it is not possible to be in any way precise about numbers. (Appendix 3) However, some conjecture may be useful: in the period August to December 1671, for example, there were twelve healing sessions: four of these, attended by over a hundred people each, on a Friday and held in the official healing season (after 1 November) can be assumed to have been public healings. Four more, attended by fewer than twenty people, held on various days of the week, and falling before All Saints' would appear to have been private healings. This balance is generally borne out by the rest of the very fragmentary numbers we have for individual healing sessions; suggesting that private healings took place on no specific day of the week and occurred very roughly the same number of times throughout a year as public, but were more frequent during the months when there was no public healing. One of the functions of private healings seems to have been to allow people access to the touch at times when there were no public healings; in October 1669, for example, one of the royal surgeons reported 'I do not think the King hath healed since summer but privately'.⁶²² This is also suggested by the enquiry made of Secretary Williamson in March 1666 asking whether it would be possible to obtain a private touch if there were to be no public healings.⁶²³

d. MEANINGS: CHARLES II AND THE TOUCH

Harold Weber has recently made much of the 'bureaucratisation of healing' in the reign of Charles II, but it is important to remember that much of the apparatus which ordered the healing of the sick was in place before the civil war. Charles I had introduced the system of certificates testifying that the ailing person had not previously received the king's touch and had appointed healing seasons during which periods alone the king would be expected to perform the public ceremony of touch.⁶²⁴ However, it is certainly true that in the reign of Charles II there was an increased emphasis on the

⁶²⁰ PRO, LC4/140, p. 493; Browne, *Adenochoradologia*, III, pp. 94, 177-8.

⁶²¹ See, e.g., BL, Egerton MS 806, fol. 59r, which shows that a lone person was touched on the 6th and another on the 14th of September 1668. *HMC Verney*, p. 494; Browne attended at one private healing to which came a child of Mr Bradley of Charing Cross 'amongst some others', Browne, *Adenochoradologia*, III, pp. 177-8.

⁶²² *HMC Verney*, p. 488.

⁶²³ PRO, SP29/152, no. 10.

⁶²⁴ Weber, *Paper Bullets*, p. 63.

need for the ceremony to be ordered: both in the way in which it was actually conducted, which was to be more dignified, and the way in which it was administrated, the recording and accounting of which was to be more carefully regulated. In the case of the former, successive lord chamberlains issued orders for the performance of royal healings, aimed at ensuring that the event was conducted with order and dignity: sets of regulations survive from 4 July 1662, 1 May 1674 and 1 February 1676.⁶²⁵

The evidence which there is of the sick coming to receive the touch suggests that the prescribed procedures for securing the touch were normally followed, with all the waiting around which they entailed. Similarly in the accounts which survive of Charles II conducting healing ceremonies, there is no mention of the king doing anything other than assiduously following the rubric: during the healing he did not, as far as we know, refuse to remain seated, hurry the chaplains through their offices or bend the rules in any way. Unlike some other areas of royal ceremonial activity, there are no complaints from the officials of the king being averse to the traditional form of the ceremony, or to his having learned a different manner of doing things in exile. Instead he seems to have conducted the ceremony with care, patience and even enthusiasm. The sheer numbers who were healed during the reign are themselves testimony to the king's diligence. In the words of one contemporary, Charles 'cureth more in any one year, than all the Chirurgeons of London have done in an age'.⁶²⁶ According to the figures which survive it appears that the king touched somewhere in the region of 100,000 people from the Restoration to his death; with an English population of a little under five million, that figure amounts to two percent of the entire population.⁶²⁷ (Appendix 1) Only very seldom, perhaps once every three years, did a month pass in which the king failed to heal, while he touched well over a thousand people in one month alone almost every year of his life as restored king. Even if the presentation and touching of each sufferer took less than one minute, then a session in which just 100 people were being healed, bearing in mind that every sufferer was presented twice, must have lasted for three or four hours at the very least.

It is worth noting, in this context that Charles II had healed the sick on many occasions before his restoration to the throne in 1660. One of the most detailed surviving accounts of Charles touching for the king's evil describes the proceedings in The Hague on a Sunday in mid-May 1660 and refers to the 'many others he had touched Friday and Saturday'.⁶²⁸ It is clear though, that the king did not touch just on the eve of his restoration, but did so throughout the 1650s. As the author of the account explains 'the King hath very often touched the sick': 260 between 17 April and 23 May and 'at

⁶²⁵ *CSPD*, 1661-2, p. 428; *PRO*, SP29/57, no. 16; LC5/140, pp. 493-4; SP29/379, no 1.

⁶²⁶ Wiseman, *Severall Chirurgical Treastises*, p. 247.

⁶²⁷ E. A. Wrigley and R. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (London, 1981).

Bruges and Brussels, during the residence he made there', while in 1652 it was reported that 'our king had of late healed a ppasent [peasant] which was most desperusly roten with the evell'.⁶²⁹ The king's own household accounts for the period bear out this evidence, with payments, for example, in the autumn of 1659 for 'Gold & Ribon to five poore persons that his ma^{tie} touched' and to household officials for attending 'his ma^{ties} Healing' on the journey to London in May 1660.⁶³⁰

During the 1650s substantial numbers of British people travelled to Charles II's court specifically to be touched by the exiled prince; one of his surgeons would later note that 'His Majesty that now is having exercised that faculty with wonderful success, not only here, but beyond the seas in Flanders, Holland and France it self'.⁶³¹ Single travellers came to receive the cure: among them the daughter of Sir Richard Atkins who was advised by London's most eminent physicians 'to go to the King then at Breda or Brussels to be cured', and a poor man with a hideously swollen neck who 'came out of *England to Bruges to be touch'd in Flanders for the Evil*'.⁶³² Group expeditions to the exiled king for scrofula sufferers were also organised by enterprising merchants: John Browne noted that 'There was a Scotch Merchant, who made it his business every Spring and Fall to bring People from Scotland and Newcastle, troubled with the Evil, to the King where ever he was in his Troubles'.⁶³³ Despite being staged by an outcast prince at a banished court, these were highly organised occasions. One of the king's surgeons would examine the patient; if the evil were diagnosed he 'appoints them a day and an hour to be at the Chappel, where the King is to touch them' and if not they were advised to present themselves at a hospital instead. The ceremony itself took place in an available church or chapel, was presided over by the clerk of the closet and involved the distribution of healing medals; not having the royal mint at his disposal, Charles instead presented the sufferers either with ten shilling pieces or with coins of the sufferers' own providing, 'they bringing their own Gold with them'.⁶³⁴

The king's energetic, sustained and conscientious performance of the ritual of the royal touch has been viewed by some historians as something of an anomaly. Ronald Hutton has remarked that Charles II's 'love of purely symbolic functions, such as touching for the King's Evil, imposed a further burden upon his time unusual for an English monarch'.⁶³⁵ However, to see Charles II and the

⁶²⁸ Wicquefort, *A Relation in form of Journal*, pp. 74-6.

⁶²⁹ Wicquefort, *A Relation in form of Journal*, p. 78; Wiseman, *Severall Chirurgical Treastises*, p. 247; *Memoirs of the Verney Family during the Civil War*, Frances Parthenope Verney, ed., 4 vols (London, 1892-9), III, p. 78.

⁶³⁰ DRO, D/FSI, Box 268, General Household Accounts, 1658-9, October 1659; Box 273, Daily Receipts and Payments, 1660-2, May 1660.

⁶³¹ Wiseman, *Severall Chirurgical Treastises*, p. 245.

⁶³² Browne, *Adenochoiradelogia*, III, pp. 153-4, 159-60.

⁶³³ Browne, *Adenochoiradelogia*, III, p. 156.

⁶³⁴ Wicquefort, *A Relation in form of Journal*, pp. 75-6; Browne, *Adenochoiradelogia*, III, pp. 156-7. Browne even refers to tickets being distributed for healings during the king's exile.

⁶³⁵ Hutton, *Charles II*, p. 453; Neil Cuddy ignores touching altogether in his account of the 'pre-war round of display' which

touch in these terms is, I would suggest, strangely reductive. The fact that Charles healed during the 1650s is surely indicative of the desire of an exiled king to continue to assert his royalty and legitimacy. Contrary to the view of one of his biographer that 'Charles had spent too many years as King with "nothing but the name"' to care about the rituals of royalty, his exile reinforced rather than reduced their importance.⁶³⁶ Whether or not Charles II 'believed in' the touch is almost impossible to say, but it would seem unwise to assume that he did not without evidence to support that assertion. Indeed, the fact that he touched so many outside the formal public healing ceremonies might suggest that he believed in the efficacy of the touch well beyond its role as 'a purely symbolic function'.⁶³⁷

Putting to one side the question of Charles II's faith or otherwise in his own ability to heal the sick, there is no doubt that he considered healing one of the activities of royal life which ought to be taken seriously. This is not, I would suggest, in the least bit surprising, and is entirely in keeping with the king's punctilious performance of the first public audiences of extraordinary ambassadors or of his steely maintenance of English privileges abroad; these were the occasions which the earl of Ailesbury would have had in mind when he remarked of the king that 'when he would, he could keep up majesty to the height of his great countenance'.⁶³⁸ They were the events at which the king's majesty was asserted, exercised and celebrated. Foreign dignitaries were taken to watch, doubtless in the hope that they would all react as the Moroccan ambassador did in 1682, who after seeing the Charles II heal begged forgiveness for the modesty of his present, 'he being mis-inform'd by the Jews as if His Majesty has been a petty Prince, but now he found him to be the greatest monarch in Europe'.⁶³⁹

In the light of this it is interesting to look briefly at the years of the end of the king's reign. Following the revelations about the popish plot, there was an understandable drop in numbers admitted for the touch, in line with the tightening up of security and access arrangements in all areas (Appendices 1 and 3). In 1676 and 1677 around 4,500 people per year had been touched; in 1678 the numbers for the year dropped suddenly by around a thousand, and in December 1678 and February 1679 neither public nor private healings were held. Though the following two years saw numbers increase slightly, they remained under 4,000 per year. However, from 1681 there was a dramatic recovery in the numbers (who were admitted to the touch: in 1681 6,000 people were touched, more than in any year since 1660, while in 1682 nearly 8,500 were healed by far the greatest number since the Restoration,

in Charles II's reign was 'allowed to lapse', 'Reinventing a monarchy', p. 70.

⁶³⁶ Fraser, *Charles II*, p. 226.

⁶³⁷ It was certainly the case that the royal touch was being questioned by some contemporaries; Pepys discussed the subjects at length with his friend the surgeon Mr Holliard who 'doth deny altogether any effect at all', Pepys, *Diary*, I, p. 281 and one contemporary commentator acknowledged that it 'is ascribed by some malignant Non-Conformists, to the power of Fancy, and exalted Imagination', Chamberlayne, *Angliae Notitia* (1671), p. 107. However it was far from being discredited as is demonstrated by the numbers who sought it and the widely-acknowledged evidence of its efficacy.

⁶³⁸ Ailesbury, *Memoirs*, I, pp. 93-4.

⁶³⁹ *Loyal Protestant*, 111, 29 January 1681/2.

with around double the numbers of most years of the 1660s and 1670s. In April 1682 alone the king touched 2,471 of his subjects, a thousand more than the mean average for that month over the course of the reign.⁶⁴⁰

It was at precisely this time that the second phase of the renovation of Windsor Castle was being executed, as part of which St George's Hall was decorated with scenes relevant to the history of the order of the Garter. In the chapel, which, as has been mentioned, was the only royal chapel we know to have been used for healing after the Restoration, an enormous scene of 'Christ Healing the Sick' was executed by Antonio Verrio, alongside scenes of the Last Supper and the Resurrection. This should be seen, I would suggest, as part of an exuberant attitude towards royal healing, and the institution of monarchy as a whole, which followed the king's weathering of the exclusion crisis. It is also interesting to note that following the dismissal of the duke of Monmouth from court, claims were to emerge of the duke's own ability to heal.⁶⁴¹ Uncomfortable as it must have been to some Whigs to be using the miracle of the royal touch as a means to assert the legitimacy of their leader, it is eloquent testimony to the continued power of the touch as a tool of contemporary politics.

⁶⁴⁰ NUL, Portland PW V 95, fol. 17v.

⁶⁴¹ 'Some confidently report that James D. of Monmouth did it; quaere', John Aubrey, *Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme*, James Britten, ed., (London, 1881), p. 241; *The Gentlemens Magazine*, 81 (1811), p. 125; *An Answer to a Scoffing and Lying Lybell put forth and Privately Dispersed under the Title of a Wonderful Account of the Cureing the Kings-Evil by Madam Fanshaw the Duke of Monmouth's Sister* (London, 1681). The duke was reported to have touched for the king's evil at Crewkerne in 1680 and at Wallasey in 1682, R. Clifton, *The Last Popular Rebellion* (London, 1984), pp. 127, 136.

3: THE CEREMONIES OF THE CHAPEL ROYAL

i. STRUCTURE

The chapel royal in the English royal household fell, like the secular rooms which adjoined it, under the authority of the lord chamberlain. The men who ran and manned the chapel formed a discrete sub-department of the lord chamberlain's department; at its head was the dean of the Chapel Royal who was appointed directly by the king. The Chapel Royal was as a 'royal peculiar', entirely exempt from any episcopal or archepiscopal authority.⁶⁴² While the dean was a direct royal appointment (chosen always from the episcopate, though not in the 17th century from any particular diocese), it was through the lord chamberlain's office that the appointment was made or terminated and it was the lord chamberlain who swore the dean into post.⁶⁴³

The dean of the Chapel Royal was responsible for all aspects of the liturgical arrangements of the chapel royal, though some of the less spiritually sensitive aspects of the operation of the chapel – such as which courtiers were entitled to sit where within the chapel – were overseen by the lord chamberlain himself.⁶⁴⁴ Five men filled this position during Charles II's reign; the first was Gilbert Sheldon, who had met the king at Canterbury on his return and fast became his trusted adviser, being given immediately afterwards the posts of dean of the Chapel Royal and then bishop of London. One of the architects of the 'Clarendon Code' he disapproved vociferously of the king's adultery, reputedly refusing him communion on one occasion.⁶⁴⁵ On Sheldon's elevation to Juxon's old see of Canterbury in 1663, he was succeeded as dean by George Morley, bishop of Winchester since 1662, who had been a chaplain to Charles I and participated in services at Richard Browne's chapel in Paris during the 1650s. He was a close associate of Clarendon and fell with him, removed from the position of dean of the Chapel Royal rather ignominiously in 1668. Herbert Croft, bishop of Hereford, held the post for barely a year and in 1669 Walter Blandford, bishop of Oxford was promoted from clerk of the closet to dean of the Chapel. Blandford remained in post until his death in 1675, when Henry Compton, bishop of Oxford and then London (Figure 38), was appointed to succeed him; he would hold the position until after Charles II's death. The work of running the Chapel Royal was in reality undertaken by the dean's staff, whom he had direct responsibility for appointing, the most senior of

⁶⁴² 'Chapel Royal' is used to describe the institution and 'chapel royal' the room(s). David Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal: Ancient and Modern* (London, 1990), pp. 225-47; *Angliae Notitia*, 1669, pp. 234-5; Magalotti, *Travels*, p. 365; *The Present State of the British Court*, p. 48; Peter McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 1-10.

⁶⁴³ PRO, LC5/201, pp. 52, 57.

⁶⁴⁴ 'y^e Deane of the Chappell hath Authority onely to order & direct the Service', PRO, LC5/201, p. 57; see also *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal with Additional Material from the Manuscripts of William Lovegrove and Marmaduke Alford*, Andrew Ashbee and John Harley, eds, 2 vols (Aldershot, 2000), I, p. 123.

⁶⁴⁵ *Burnet's History of my Own Time*, I, p. 453, n. 2.

whom was the sub-dean.⁶⁴⁶ Under the authority of the dean and sub-dean were the three sections of the Chapel Royal: the chapel, the vestry and the closet.⁶⁴⁷

The bulk of the numerical strength of the Chapel Royal was represented by the gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, also known as clerks of the Chapel. Of the thirty-two gentlemen, twelve were ordained priests, while the remaining twenty were laymen who assisted in the performance of chapel services, though all were dressed in surplices regardless of this distinction.⁶⁴⁸ The gentlemen of the Chapel Royal as a group (sometimes called the 'singing-men') supplied the adult voices for the sung as well as spoken elements of chapel services, and therefore were required to pass muster 'for maners skill and voyce' before taking up the position; as the orders for the regulation of the Chapel Royal of 1663 expressed it, they were 'to use their Bookes and voyces in the Psalmodies and Responsalls according to the Order of y^e Rubricke and in y^e Hymnes of y^e Church in the time of Divine service, and answer the Amen in a loud voice'.⁶⁴⁹ In addition to this collective responsibility, the gentlemen filled various specific positions from among their number. One of the priests acted as confessor of the household and was responsible for reading the prayers in the morning service held for the staff of the king's household and for otherwise ministering to their spiritual needs.⁶⁵⁰ Another held the post of clerk of the check, keeping records of the attendance of the gentlemen at chapel and administering the fines for absence.⁶⁵¹ The posts of epistler and gospeller brought an extra salary of around £50 a year each and were held by gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, while it was also from their ranks that the senior figures responsible for the music of the chapel royal came. There were several specific musical positions, including organist and lutenist, but the most influential position was that of master of children, responsible for the choristers and much of the musical programme of the Chapel Royal.⁶⁵²

The children of the Chapel Royal, also called the 'singing boys', were twelve in number and were 'brought up for the Service of the Chapel ... instructed in Musick, and other Learning ...[and] are in

⁶⁴⁶ *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, I, pp. 34-5; Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, pp. 248-59.

⁶⁴⁷ PRO, LC5/201, pp. 165-6.

⁶⁴⁸ *The Present State of the British Court*, pp. 50-1; *Angliae Notitia*, 1669, p. 234; *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, I, p. 124. A proposal to reduce their number to twenty-five in 1663 seems not to have been acted upon, though a substantial increase in their wages was effected, *CSPD*, 1663-4, pp. 278, 304, 384; *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, I, p. 127; Magalotti, *Travels*, p. 365; Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 347.

⁶⁴⁹ Pepys, *Diary*, I, p. 195; *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, I, pp. 124-5; the importance of the choral element of the gentlemen of the Chapel's duties is indicated by the great concern to ensure that before taking up post they would 'first quit all Interest in other Quires', *ibid*, p. 123.

⁶⁵⁰ The Confessor of the Household was to 'read Prayers every Morning to the Family, to visit the Sick, to examine and prepare Communicants, to inform such as desire advice in any Case of Conscience or Point of Religion, &c.', *Angliae Notitia*, 1669, p. 235; *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, I, p. 34; II, p. 285; Magalotti, *Travels*, p. 365.

⁶⁵¹ Usually 2 shillings a services, *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, I, pp. 34, 120, 124-6.

⁶⁵² PRO, LC5/201, p. 165; *The Present State of the British Court*, pp. 50-1; *CSPD*, 1660-1, p. 25; *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, I, p. 121; the post of master of the children was sometimes combined with that of first organist, and there were frequently several other organists. There were also a fixed number of different vocal parts: basses, tenors, counter-tenors etc., *ibid*, I, pp. 35-6. Henry Purcell was a gentleman of the Chapel Royal.

the Disposal of the first Organist, who has the principal Care of them'.⁶⁵³ Responsible for their training and upbringing in general was the master of the children, a post held until 1672 by Captain Henry Cooke and thereafter by Pelham Humfrey and John Blow. The master of the children received an allowance for providing for his charges and advised the dean or sub-dean on the anthems to be performed during chapel services.⁶⁵⁴

Responsibility for the physical rather than spiritual aspects of the Chapel Royal lay with the staff of the vestry. The officers of the vestry comprised the sergeant, two yeomen and a groom; their responsibilities centred around the procurement and care of all the equipment necessary for the operation of the chapel royal.⁶⁵⁵ As well as providing and looking after the copes and surplices worn by the staff of the Chapel, they were responsible for the diaper cloths for the altar, the towels used at communion and for taking delivery of all the soft furnishings of the chapel itself; in the rooms of the vestry at Whitehall were the numerous large trunks in which much of this material was stored.⁶⁵⁶ (Figure 39) To them came the prayer books, musical scores and Bibles for services and the allowances of necessaries from other household offices, including the regular supply of tapers for the altar from the chandry and of the communion hosts: bread from the bakehouse and claret from the cellar. In addition to acting as receivers for all these goods, the staff of the vestry were also responsible for setting up the chapel with the appropriate equipment for services, including hanging it in Lent and the regular preparation of the altar, and for enforcing the lord chamberlain's regulations regarding access to the chapel and spaces within it.⁶⁵⁷ There were various junior employees of the vestry, including the bellringer and a servant who set out the extra seating in the chapel, helped the gentlemen on with their gowns and performed various other minor tasks.⁶⁵⁸

Just as the chapel closet, the partly enclosed tribune gallery from which the king viewed services, was a distinct space within the chapel, so the closet officers – the clerk of the closet and the closet keeper – were a distinct cell of the chapel staff.⁶⁵⁹ The clerk of the closet was always a senior cleric 'extraordinary esteemed by His Majesty' appointed directly by the king (the post being itself 'a sure track to preferment in the church'), who had oversight of the spiritual aspects of the use of the chapel

⁶⁵³ *The Present State of the British Court*, p. 52; *CSPD*, 1660-1, p. 560; 1663-4, pp. 278, 304

⁶⁵⁴ PRO LC5/120, no 51; LC5/201, p. 165; *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, I, pp. 36, 124; *CSPD*, 1660-1, p. 497; 1665-6, p. 143; 1670, p. 306.

⁶⁵⁵ *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, I, pp. 121, 125-6; PRO, LC5/201, p. 165.

⁶⁵⁶ *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, I, p. 134.

⁶⁵⁷ PRO, LC5/39, p5; LC5/137, pp. 30, 43; LC5/201, pp. 165-6; LC5/120, no 63; *CSPD*, 1661-2, p. 113; LC5/141, p. 297; *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, I, pp. 134-5; II, 'Marmaduke Alford's Notes', pp. 277-94, *passim*, esp. pp. 281, 282; a pair of altar candles was delivered every week during the winter and every month in the summer.

⁶⁵⁸ *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, I, pp. 134, 136.

⁶⁵⁹ This had been known as the 'holy day closet' in the early 16th century but was generally known in the 17th century as the king's chapel closet.

closet. He had the weighty responsibility of acting as the king's personal 'confessor', attending 'at the Kings right hand during Divine Service, to resolve all doubts concerning spiritual matters &c'., and also for various other duties such as saying grace for the king before his meals.⁶⁶⁰ At the Restoration, John Earle, the king's erstwhile tutor, who would become bishop of Worcester then Salisbury, was appointed to the position, 'the man of all the clergy for whom the king had the greatest esteem'.⁶⁶¹ He held it for almost five years, his successor John Dolben was a Clarendonite and – like Morely as dean of the Chapel Royal – lost his post in 1668, though he would later return to favour as lord high almoner in 1675. Nathaniel Crew, who would be bishop of Oxford and then Durham, held the position of clerk of the Closet from 1669 until the king's death. Crew prospered greatly throughout his career from the patronage of the duke of York; on James's succession he was elevated to the post of dean of the Chapel Royal and is best remembered for the part he played in the turbulent religious politics of James's reign.⁶⁶²

The closet keeper, usually also a yeoman of the vestry, had oversight of the physical aspects of the royal closet including the enforcement of regulations regarding access to it.⁶⁶³ Perhaps because of the importance of the equipage supplied for the king's own worship, the clerk of the closet, rather than the closet keeper, was responsible for receiving all the furnishings for the closet from the master of the Wardrobe.⁶⁶⁴ In addition to the royal closet in the chapel itself, the chapel closet officers were also responsible for the king's oratory, or 'private closet of prayers', which lay between the presence and privy chambers (figure 5).⁶⁶⁵

Outside the direct authority of the dean of the Chapel Royal were the forty-eight chaplains, men 'of considerable reputation and Doctors of Divinity', who preached before the king and court in the chapel on various occasions throughout the year, while continuing to hold other clerical positions in the church. Appointed by the lord chamberlain directly, the chaplains waited in fours for a month at a time, during which period (except in Lent when different arrangements applied) they preached at all

⁶⁶⁰ *Angliae Notitia*, 1669, p. 242; *The Present State of the British Court*, p. 49; *The Lives of the Norths*, II, pp. 300-1; see also note to R. North, *General Preface & Life of Dr John North*, pp. 123-4; LC5/120, no. 51; 'Memoirs of Nathaniel, Lord Crewe', p. 20.

⁶⁶¹ *Burnet's History of my Own Time*, I, p. 401.

⁶⁶² BL, Add. MS 36916, fos 51v, 54v, 56r, 135r; 'Memoirs of Nathaniel, Lord Crewe', *passim*.

⁶⁶³ PRO, LC5/201, pp. 165-6; LC5/140, p. 452; LC5/141, p. 296; LC5/144, p. 567; *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, I, pp. 122, 123.

⁶⁶⁴ PRO, LC5/39, p. 2; LC5/137, pp. 174, 180; LC5/61, p. 108; LC5/61, p. 243; LC5/138, p. 72; LC5/64, fol 64r; LC5/201, p. 53. The post of keeper of the chapel closet should not to be confused with that of keeper of the king's cabinet closet, the latter post being responsible for the secular closet in the king's privy lodgings and held by one of the grooms of the king's Bedchamber.

⁶⁶⁵ PRO, LC5/201, p. 53; LC5/66, fol. 69r; Thurley, *Whitehall Palace*, p. 113, fig. 119; *The Present State of the British Court*, p. 49.

the court services: before the royal household every morning, before the king and court on Sundays, and before the king in his private oratory.⁶⁶⁶

All the main royal residences were equipped with a dedicated chapel, of which the most-used and best documented was the chapel at Whitehall. This was a large oblong building, measuring some 33 by 65 feet, divided into four bays but without transepts or a structurally separate chancel and nave (figure 39).⁶⁶⁷ In use since the days of Henry VIII, though considerably altered over the decades, it was swiftly set up for Charles II at the Restoration, and was first used by the king just over a fortnight after his arrival in London.⁶⁶⁸ Interestingly, this was one of the few primary areas of Whitehall which was not ready, at least in some rudimentary form, for the king's arrival; on 30 May, having received the houses of Parliament in the banqueting house, the king 'made his oblations unto God in the Presence Chamber ... because the Chappel was not in readiness for His Majesties Reception'.⁶⁶⁹ This presumably reflects the fact that while the other secular spaces of the royal apartments could be set up essentially as they had been before the civil war without much controversy, the precise configuration of the chapel was something which needed the king's personal direction.

Unfortunately no detailed views of the Whitehall chapel survive; however the accounts of the office of Works give a reasonably full picture of its configuration. In the June 1660 joiners constructed 'a large table with a degree on it' for an altar, which was placed on a raised step and set apart by a wooden balustrade rail fixed into the paving.⁶⁷⁰ Though a tantalising account in the lord chamberlain's papers refers to the provision of diaper cloth for 'the communion table *in the Body* of the said Chappell' in December 1660, all the other evidence suggests that this was in fact a classic Laudian arrangement, with the communion table set against the liturgical east end of the chapel, surrounded on three sides by 'y^e rayles a bout y^e Alter'.⁶⁷¹

⁶⁶⁶ Magalotti, *Travels*, p. 365; *The Present State of the British Court*, p. 49; *Angliae Notitia*, 1669, pp. 238-9; Evelyn, *Diary*, III, pp. 347-8; IV, p. 5; *HMC Fleming*, p. 114; Pepys, *Diary*, IV, p. 636; VI, p. 87; VII, pp. 382-3; *HMC Ormonde*, VII, p. 198; *CSPD*, 1668-9, pp. 4, 9-10; PRO, LC5/143, pp. 27, 69; LC5/66, fol. 69r. The dean was explicitly excluded from having 'anything to doe with, or comand the Chaplaines who are onely under y^e Lord Chamberlaines Nomination & Direction', though they or their episcopal colleagues might be allowed to proffer advice on appointments, LC5/201, pp. 52, 57. The lord chamberlain's authority over the appointment of chaplains had been much weaker in Charles I's reign, see Milton, "'That Sacred Oratory': religion and the Chapel Royal during the personal rule of Charles I', pp. 78-9 and Fincham, 'William Laud and the exercise of Caroline ecclesiastical patronage', p. 73ff.

⁶⁶⁷ Thurley, *Whitehall Palace*, pp. 29, 30-1, 76, 116-17.

⁶⁶⁸ *The Diurnal of Thomas Rugg*, p. 93; BL, Add. MS, 10116, fol. 103r.

⁶⁶⁹ *The Parliamentary Intelligencer*, 23, 30 May 1660.

⁶⁷⁰ PRO, WORK5/1, fos 17v, 22r, 41v, 48r, 140r; WORK5/2, fol. 54v. The degree or step on the altar was presumably the long raised block at the back of the altar on which candlesticks could be stood, or against which plate or books could be leant, see figure 43 and, e.g., G. W. O. Addleshaw and Frederick Etchells, *The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship: an Inquiry into the Arrangements for Public Worship in the Church of England from the Reformation to the Present Day* (London, 1948), plate IX.

⁶⁷¹ My italics. PRO, LC5/39, p. 5; WORK5/1, fol. 140r; Bod. Lib., Rawl. MS B 58, pp. 139-41; see Kenneth Fincham, "'According to ancient custom": the return of altars in the Restoration church of England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 13 (2002), pp. 26-54, for Charles II insisting on a traditional 'Laudian' arrangement of furniture, p. 48.

The royal chapel closets at Whitehall which Charles II had known in his youth were, as was traditional for Tudor chapel closets, part of a raised tribune gallery divided into two principal spaces, designed to function as the king's and queen's chapel closets. What exactly had happened to the chapel royal during the Commonwealth and Protectorate is not entirely clear; though Cromwell had certainly heard services from the royal closet, by 1660 it was unusable, and at the Restoration immediate attention was given to making the Whitehall chapel serviceable for royal worship.⁶⁷² The carpenters and joiners were hard at work in the building in June 1660, the floor of the tribune gallery had to be completely re-erected, cantilevered out from the walls, while the screen which formed the back of the two closets had to be re-built. The resulting rooms, assembled in a matter of weeks, must have been comparatively simple: a mixture of existing and new woodwork stained and varnished by Emanuel de Critz with very little new decorative embellishment. Perhaps as a result of the haste which was required, a firm partition was not erected between the two closets, but instead a curtain was hung to separate them. When the closet was altered fifteen years later it was noted that it had 'before had onely had loose hangings ... the closet haveing not beene made up, as in other of His Ma^{es} Houses which in the late Warre had not been changed'.⁶⁷³

Following the structural work each of the two closets was provided with a communion table, covered with white diaper and a cloth of gold pall, but other than that all the attention was (for obvious reasons) lavished on the king's closet.⁶⁷⁴ Until the mid 1670s, the king used his closet while the queen's closet – left untouched by Catherine Braganza – was used by ladies of court.⁶⁷⁵ Cushions to kneel upon were provided: gold for the king and twelve smaller crimson cushions for the use of others, as well as Bibles and service books.⁶⁷⁶ Within the king's closet a chair of state – as stood in the presence or privy chambers – was set up, upholstered in crimson velvet with accompanying furniture – a stool on either side, a footstool and cushions. From a rail above the chair hung a crimson taffeta curtain, suspended from copper rings. Over the open window looking down into the body of the chapel lay a crimson velvet carpet.⁶⁷⁷

In 1675 this arrangement was fundamentally altered; having produced a model of the king's preferred configuration, Christopher Wren was ordered in July 1675 to 'alter His Ma^{ties} Closett in the Chappell

⁶⁷² Thurley, 'The Stuart Kings, Oliver Cromwell and the Chapel Royal', pp. 254-5.

⁶⁷³ Pepys, *Diary*, I, p. 266; LC5/201, p. 53; WORK5/1, fol. 22r; LC5/201, p. 53.

⁶⁷⁴ PRO, WORK 5/1, fol. 23v.

⁶⁷⁵ PRO, LC5/137, pp. 174, 180; Pepys, *Diary*, I, p. 266.

⁶⁷⁶ PRO, LC5/39, p. 2; LC5/40, p. 69. As the same staff were responsible for both the chapel closet and the private oratory, it is sometimes unclear for which space a consignment of fabric or furnishing was intended; it does, though, seem to have been the case that both these spaces had communion tables.

⁶⁷⁷ PRO, LC5/64, fos. 64r, 79r; LC5/140, p. 347.

& make both sides of it Open'.⁶⁷⁸ The resulting works saw the creation of a grand central closet for the king, with an ancillary space on either side for members of the royal family and specific senior courtiers to sit: ladies on the king's right and gentlemen on the left, the spaces divided by walls and doors rather than fabric.⁶⁷⁹ The decorative simplicity which had probably been a feature of the tribune before the alterations was gone; the king's closet had a great open arch above it which was surrounded by carved woodwork featuring gilded and painted heraldic beasts.⁶⁸⁰ There would be further minor physical modifications to these space over the following years (discussed below) to accommodate the complex hierarchy of seating arrangements, but the basic tripartite form of the closet was to remain.⁶⁸¹

The alterations to the closet in 1675 saw the abolition of the queen's chapel closet, marking the king's recognition that there would not for the foreseeable future be a Protestant queen of England. The timing of the abolition of the queen's closet is significant: in November 1673 the duke of York had married the fifteen-year-old Catholic Mary Beatrice d'Este and in January 1675 she gave birth to an apparently healthy daughter all of which made the prospect of a Protestant queen even more remote. As is discussed below, it may also have formed part of a wider reform of chapel practices precipitated by the duke of York's conversion. It was to set the pattern for all the chapels for the rest of the reign: the new chapels built at Windsor and Winchester in the following decade were to conform to this arrangement.

Other than the building of a new organ loft, which had taken place in 1663, and this reconstruction of the chapel closets, the only other major alteration to the chapel came in 1676, when the liturgical east end was reordered and a new altar and reredos arrangement installed.⁶⁸² This undertaking was of sufficient scale to necessitate the complete relocation of chapel services for several weeks in the autumn to the chaplains' eating room and, during the king's absence, the privy chamber.⁶⁸³ The works undertaken between October and December 1676, involved 'new wanescotting ye East End of ye Kings Chappell and ye Walls of Each Side of ye Alter'; that is, boarding up the old Tudor window which had dominated the altar end and the erection of a great Baroque reredos, into which nestled a specially modified altar, surrounded by an altar rail.⁶⁸⁴ The renovations were completed in December 1676 and seem to have conformed to the arrangement shown in a drawing by Christopher Wren. (Figure 40) Alterations were then required to the furnishings 'as y^e Chappell is now new waynscoted'

⁶⁷⁸ PRO, LC5/141, p. 229; LC5/201, p. 53.

⁶⁷⁹ Thurley, *Whitehall Palace*, p. 117; PRO, LC5/141, p. 245; LC5/41, fol. 123r; WORK5/26, fos. 58v, 60r; LC5/201, p. 53.

⁶⁸⁰ PRO, WORK5/26, fos. 58v, 60r.

⁶⁸¹ PRO, LC5/141, pp. 317, 362, 363, 366, 471; LC5/64, fol. 148v.

⁶⁸² PRO, LC5/137, p. 292; WORK5/5, fos. 43r, 53r, 54r.

⁶⁸³ *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, II, p. 283.

⁶⁸⁴ PRO, WORK5/28, fos. 82r, 93r, 103r-107v, 112r, 308r-309v; Thurley, 'The Stuart Kings, Oliver Cromwell and the Chapel Royal', p. 263; idem, *Whitehall Palace*, p. 117.

in the winter months, including to the frontals which were taken away 'to be made fitt for y^e Alter as is now is'. The new altar rail, measuring 47 foot with 46 balusters, carved by Henry Phillips just two years previously, was adapted for the new arrangement and re-used.⁶⁸⁵

A brief description of the other internal features of the chapel royal is perhaps useful. The chapel pulpit was an oak structure built, like the altar, by the royal joiners in June 1660, and incorporating various cupboards at a lower level; the reading desk is not mentioned in this account but certainly one existed (also called the 'great desk') in the chapel, while the litany desk was probably brought in only occasionally, as it seldom features in the lord chamberlain's accounts.⁶⁸⁶ The king's seat was also only an occasional feature of the chapel furniture; it was used on just a handful of occasions every year, when the king descended into the chapel to take communion and was probably set out specifically for him on those days. Erected by the seats on the right hand side at the front of the chapel, towards the altar, it consisted of an upholstered chair with arms set under a crimson velvet canopy and encircled by a high rail six-foot square from which hung a curtain or traverse that could be drawn around the king between the ceremonies of offering and receiving.⁶⁸⁷ At the south end, near the entrance to the building, stood the seat of the dean of the Chapel Royal with its reading desk, surmounted by a red velvet canopy of state.⁶⁸⁸ Much of the rest of the body of the chapel was taken up by the seats or pews into which the staff of the royal household and officers of state crowded to hear the services; these were of the boxed variety separated from one another by five-foot high wooden partitions with doors, some, at least, fitted with locks for which those who were entitled to use them held the keys.⁶⁸⁹

A detailed account of the equipping of the altar survives in the notebook of Marmaduke Alford, yeoman and briefly sergeant of the vestry to Charles II. On holy days the altar was hung and covered over with a 'carpet' of red or purple velvet with white and gold satin. On top stood a collection of plate: a large plate or charger, three basins, six flagons (four of the 16th-century 'feathered' variety); two candlesticks and the Bible and Book of Common Prayer in handsome multi-volume editions laid on velvet cushions. Chalices and patens were brought out on days when the communion was taken. During these feast periods, it was not simply the altar which was elaborately dressed. Rich red and

⁶⁸⁵ PRO, LC5/141, p. 490, 529; LC5/62, fol. 123v; WORK5/23, fos. 67r, 73r; WORK5/28, fos. 308r-309v, 112r.

⁶⁸⁶ WORK5/1, fol. 44r; WORK5/23, fol. 68r; LC5/137, pp. 30, 43; LC5/66, fol. 44r-v; LC5/120, no. 118; Pepys, *Diary*, III, p. 67.

⁶⁸⁷ PRO, LC5/62, fol. 77; LC5/41, fol. 123r; LC5/39, p. 2; LC5/64, fol. 64r; WORK5/2, fol. 54v; Bod. Lib., Rawl. MS B 58, p. 139; WORK5/2, fol. 54v.

⁶⁸⁸ Bod. Lib., Rawl. MS B 58, p. 140; BL, Stowe MS 562, fol. 8r; PRO, LC5/137, pp. 30, 184; LC5/60, p. 408; LC5/120, no. 118; the dean's seat was similarly grandly treated at Sir Richard Browne's chapel in Paris during the Interregnum, Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 633.

⁶⁸⁹ PRO, WORK5/1, fol. 44v; WORK5/2, fol. 54v; WORK5/28, fos. 98r, 115v; Nigel Yates, 'Unity in diversity: attitudes to the liturgical arrangement of church buildings between the late seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries', in W.M. Jacob and Nigel Yates, *Crown and Mitre: Religion and Society in Northern Europe since the Reformation* (Woodbridge, 1993), pp. 45-63.

purple velvet fabrics were hung before the pulpit and covered the reading desk. On all other days the chapel was much more simply dressed: instead of satin and velvet, plain white diaper covered the table, and the plate comprised simply a large basin and two candlesticks (figures 40 and 41).⁶⁹⁰

Other than the usual decking out for feast days, the chapel was also specially dressed for the fast days of Lent and of the martyrdom of Charles I. On these occasions the room was draped throughout in black. On the walls of the chapel great swathes of black serge were hung, the organ loft was given a black curtain, and the altar rail and step were also black-clad. The altar, pulpit and reading desk were hung with black velvet, while the cushions on which the chapel books sat, and even the books themselves, were given black velvet covers. In addition to these particular arrangements for fast days, less elaborate special arrangements existed from Christmas Eve to Epiphany, when the altar was adorned with hangings featuring images of the nativity.⁶⁹¹

There are signs that some restraint was shown in equipping the chapel in the crucial first years of the reign, before the Act of Uniformity was passed and the revised Book of Common Prayer issued. During this period the Wardrobe accounts include orders for diaper for the altar, cushions for kneeling and even a carpet to cover the altar, but not until 1662 (three months after the Act of Uniformity received royal assent) would a great Bible 'Clasped and Bossed' be placed upon the altar, or hangings be set up about it, and not until then were Books of Common Prayer (as opposed to orders of service for particular occasions) again used in the chapel royal.⁶⁹² Whatever the subtleties of the arrangements in the chapel royal before 1662, the chapel's form and function throughout for the rest of the reign remained largely constant, with the usual annual cycle of dressing the space and with the occasional bout of activity on the building itself.

In addition to the chapel itself, and the royal closet within it, there was one other dedicated place for the sovereign's worship within Whitehall Palace, the king's private oratory or closet of prayers.⁶⁹³ This room, located immediately off the main ceremonial route, between the presence and privy chambers, was set up for the king in 1660, as part of which a rail and baluster were provided,

pp. 54-9.

⁶⁹⁰ *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, II, p. 282; PRO, LC5/137, p. 30; LC5/120, no. 118; LC5/61, p. 250; LC5/141, p. 501. Arrangements in the chapel royal were essentially those of major cathedrals of the period; for example, the high altar at Salisbury Cathedral was dressed in very much the same way, see R. Beddard, 'Cathedral furnishings of the Restoration period: a Salisbury Inventory of 1685', *The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 66 (1971), part B, pp. 147-155.

⁶⁹¹ PRO, LC5/39, pp. 106, 116, 228, 242; LC5/40, p. 59; LC5/60, p. 408; LC5/61, p. 335; LC5/137, p. 184; LC5/141, p. 529; *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, II, p. 282.

⁶⁹² PRO, LC5/137, pp. 30, 165; black hangings were always erected for Lent, but compare the account for ordering these of February 1661 with that of February 1663 for an indication of how much more elaborate the normal dressings of the chapel had become in the intervening years: LC5/137, p. 43; LC5/60, p. 408.

⁶⁹³ McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, p. 16; for other oratories of the period see L. J. Wickham Legg, *English Church Life*

presumably setting the altar apart from the rest of the room.⁶⁹⁴ At the time of the rebuilding of part of the privy lodgings in 1682, the king's private oratory was also altered, though it is not clear precisely what was done. Within the private oratory stood a chair with arms for the king, with two stools and a footstool, while a reading desk was set up for the chaplain on which was set a 'greate Bible'. The furnishing accounts for the room following its alteration indicate that in the part of the room where the king's chair stood, but only there, the walls were hung with crimson damask, and three crimson damask curtains were erected in such a way as they could be drawn before the king.⁶⁹⁵ The room was probably always rather dark, and the special supply of candles to allow prayers to be read in poor light may still have been necessary after the alterations, even with the sconces which hung on the walls.⁶⁹⁶ During the summer of 1682 when the works were taking place, the king heard prayers in the adjoining presence chamber, presumably in an area temporarily partitioned off for that purpose.⁶⁹⁷

There were, of course, chapels in most of the other palaces where the king lodged, which deserve consideration as physical spaces, though they were less frequently used than that at Whitehall itself and there is no evidence that any of the other royal palaces had a private oratory used by Charles II. The chapel at Hampton Court was worked upon in 1662 in preparation for the summer which the court would spend there following the king's marriage. Here, as at Whitehall, the Tudor chapel was set up for Anglican worship, a platform was erected for the altar, a rail supplied to separate it from the rest of the room, and a new organ loft erected. The royal closets were refurbished; while the queen's was simply repaired (a Catholic oratory was set up for her elsewhere in the palace), the king's was supplied with a chair of state, attendant furniture and a traverse curtain. Beyond this, though, the rest of the reign saw no significant structural alterations to these spaces.⁶⁹⁸ The other palace to which Charles II turned his attention in the 1660s was Greenwich; here a chapel was to have formed the focus of the great east range of the king's planned new palace, but as this part of the building was never built we can only have the most vague idea as to how it would actually have been constructed or used.⁶⁹⁹ Newmarket Palace, unusually for a building so frequently used by the king, was not equipped with a chapel of its own, and instead the king attended services at the town's parish church.⁷⁰⁰

By far the most substantial programme of works to a royal chapel during Charles II's reign was the renovation of the chapel royal at Windsor Castle. The building which Charles II inherited (Figure 42)

from *the Restoration to the Tractarian Movement* (London, 1914), pp. 156-9.

⁶⁹⁴ Thurley, *Whitehall Palace*, figs. 72, 114; PRO, WORK5/1, fol. 23v.

⁶⁹⁵ PRO, LC5/40, p. 55; LC5/66, fol. 67r; LC5/144, p. 295; LC5/121, no. 15; Evelyn, *Diary*, IV, pp. 129-30.

⁶⁹⁶ PRO, LS13/171, p. 97; LC5/144, p. 514.

⁶⁹⁷ *Loyal Protestant*, 174, 25 June 1682.

⁶⁹⁸ Colvin, *King's Works*, V, p. 153; Simon Thurley, *Hampton Court: a Social and Architectural History* (New Haven and London, 2003), p. 132.

⁶⁹⁹ Thurley, 'A country seat fit for a King', pp. 214-39.

was essentially the structure erected by Edward III, remodelled for Elizabeth I in 1570-1. It had, like the Whitehall chapel in 1660, raised closets at the west end, closed off from the body of the chapel with glazing, from which the sovereign could hear services.⁷⁰¹ The renovation of the chapel took place between 1680 and 1683 as part of the second phase (after the royal lodgings themselves) of major works at the great castle.⁷⁰² The alterations did not substantially change the structure of the chapel, but reversed its orientation, saw the closets rebuilt and the introduction of a radically different decorative scheme. (Figure 33) Here Antonio Verrio painted a series of scenes on the walls and ceiling.⁷⁰³ As has been discussed above (chapter 2. iv), the long north wall featured an image of 'Christ Healing the Sick', in the depiction of which Verrio borrowed heavily from the Raphael cartoon of 'St Peter Healing the Lame Man at the Beautiful Gate', while the west (liturgical east) end had a great altarpiece of the Last Supper. (Figures 34 and 35) The ceiling was adorned with a glorification of Christ described as either the Resurrection or the Ascension; Evelyn refers, confusingly, to the 'figure of the Ascention' in the 'Chapell of the Resurrection'. As the surviving 19th-century drawing of this scheme shows the empty tomb attended by angels in the cove above the altar, it seems highly likely it was indeed a scene of the Resurrection. The whole scheme was ornate, exuberant and iconographically rich to a degree which must have startled low-church contemporaries, though interestingly few expressions of alarm are recorded. John Evelyn found it 'stupendious, & beyond all description' and Fiennes 'exceeding beautiful'.⁷⁰⁴ The body of the chapel was furnished very much as the Whitehall chapel with an altar three foot high, with a raised step at the back to support plate, a pulpit and reading desk, numerous pews and a seat for the dean of the chapel.⁷⁰⁵

The chapel closet at Windsor was rebuilt in the form, as usual, of a raised gallery which faced the altar and from which a staircase gave direct access into the body of the chapel; it was given great decorative flourish by the pillars which supported it, made in the form of 'four Brass Gyants'.⁷⁰⁶ As at Whitehall after 1675, a single central closet was constructed for the king replacing the bi-partite Tudor arrangement, with a room on 'each side without' the closet itself. Unlike Whitehall, though, the new Windsor closet was not glazed at the front, but instead two velvet curtains hung either side of the opening on to the body of the chapel, which could be 'tyed back or drawne as Occasion shall

⁷⁰⁰ PRO, WORK 5/27, fol. 344; WORK5/28, fol. 320; North, *The Lives of the Norths*, II, p. 292-3.

⁷⁰¹ Colvin, *History of the King's Works*, IV, p. 322.

⁷⁰² St. John Hope, *Windsor Castle*, I, pp. 318-322.

⁷⁰³ Verrio had been excluded from the terms of the second Test Act in 1678, along with various of his assistants, as he was in the middle of painting the royal apartments at Windsor, see J. P. Kenyon, *The Popish Plot* (London, 1972), p. 120.

⁷⁰⁴ Evelyn, *Diary*, IV, p. 316-7; *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, Christopher Morris, ed., (London, 1947), pp. 278-9; Colvin, *King's Works*, V, p. 326; Croft Murray, *Decorative Painting in England*, p. 241; Thurley, 'The Stuart kings, Oliver Cromwell and the Chapel Royal', pp. 265-8. A modello for the long wall survives in the Royal Collection, Oliver Millar, *The Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, 2 vols (London, 1977), I, p. 133, II, plate 122.

⁷⁰⁵ PRO, LC5/66, fol. 44r-v; LC5/66, fol. 45r.

⁷⁰⁶ *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, p. 278; PRO, LC5/144, p. 567.

require'.⁷⁰⁷ All this was done with unusually careful attention from the king; he travelled to the castle specifically to inspect the chapel on at least one occasion (in October 1681), and even the arid Wardrobe accounts record that their instructions were 'according to His Ma^{ty}'s particular direction'.⁷⁰⁸ After two years' work (during which time St George's Chapel was used for regular services), the chapel was ready for use; John Evelyn heard a service there for the first time on Sunday 16 June 1683, when one of the chaplains preached before the king.⁷⁰⁹

The unfinished Winchester Palace, on which the roof was just being laid as Charles II's life ended, would, it seems, have completed the process of the previous decade, in which the separation of the king and queen's worship was given ever clearer architectural expression. (Figure 13) Here not only was the king's chapel to be configured to accommodate the sovereign but not the consort (as at Whitehall and Windsor) but there were to be two chapels as part of the royal apartments: one for the king and one for the queen. The king's chapel, which had an antechapel, a closet for the king and a staircase leading up to it, was almost certainly to have followed the form of chapel and closet which was created by the alterations at Whitehall in 1675-6 and at Windsor in 1680-2.⁷¹⁰ About the configuration of the queen's chapel we know almost nothing, but that it was incorporated into the structure of her state apartments is significant, representing a clear statement that the king and queen of England worshiped apart, as members of quite separate – though legitimate – churches.

b. HOW THE CHAPEL ROYAL WORKED

Evidence for the ritual of the Chapel Royal during the king's exile is substantial compared to that for other areas of court ceremonial, and is worth some consideration before the Restoration Chapel Royal is discussed. Though still patchy, this evidence suggests that at the banished court a broadly Laudian form of Anglican worship prevailed, presided over by a pared-down Chapel Royal staff.⁷¹¹

Throughout the Interregnum a skeleton Chapel Royal staff continued to operate; for the first years of exile, Richard Stewart, who had been dean of the Chapel Royal to Charles I and then his son, continued to perform this role for the new king. After his death in 1651, various senior clerics who had also followed the king into exile in effect took over from him, notably John Earle, who would be confirmed in his post as the king's clerk of the closet in 1660, and John Cosin, who continued his role

⁷⁰⁷ These curtains may have been what Fiennes saw in 1702, which she described as the 'cloth which hung before over it all', *ibid*, and just possibly served the function of a separate traverse which was drawn before the king when he received.

⁷⁰⁸ PRO, LC5/144, p. 213; LC5/66, fol 45v; *HMC Ormonde*, VI, p. 207.

⁷⁰⁹ *HMC Ormonde*, VI, p. 376; Evelyn, *Diary*, IV, p. 317; *The London Gazette*, 1792, Thursday 18 January 1682/3.

⁷¹⁰ Thurley, 'A country seat fit for a King', p. 234.

⁷¹¹ This is consistent with the view expressed for the earliest years of Charles II's exile by N. A. C. Reynolds, 'The Stuart Court and Courtiers in Exile 1644-1654', unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Cambridge, 1996, p. 103: 'It is clear that up to June 1650 Charles was still attending communion according to the English rite, using Anglican ceremonial'.

of overseeing Protestant worship in Henrietta Maria's household until the Restoration, when he was created bishop of Durham.⁷¹² In addition to these divines, various junior chapel officials oversaw the practical aspects of running the Chapel Royal, among them Thomas Haines, formally sworn serjeant of the vestry in 1660, who carried out the duties of that post throughout the 1650s and oversaw the provision of all the physical equipment necessary for royal worship, while others, among them John Harding, a gentleman of Charles I's Chapel Royal, carried out various other tasks including dispensing money for the king's offering.⁷¹³

While Charles II was lodged at the Louvre in the first years of the 1650s, John Cosin, installed there to attend to the Queen Mother's servants and consequently assigned a room 'decently furnished and kept' in the palace, attended him at worship. Cosin's lodgings were not, though, used for the celebration of communion; instead on holy days the king travelled to the house of the Stuart resident in Paris, Sir Richard Browne, where a chapel was set up at which Cosin, Earle and Stewart celebrated the sacraments with the king and his family.⁷¹⁴ After his departure from Paris in 1654, the king continued to maintain a room of worship within the various lodgings he occupied, either a 'chapel' or a 'prayer room', or to have the use of an appropriate ecclesiastical building outside his lodgings.⁷¹⁵

What evidence there is for the appearance and equipage of these places of worship indicates a continuation of the practice of Charles I's Chapel Royal. The chapel at Browne's house in Paris was evidently decked out in Laudian splendour, and the indication is that this was echoed in the chapels used by the king in the Low Countries.⁷¹⁶ Payments were made in November 1654 for chalices, patens and plates for the communion table, and in September 1655, May 1658 and September 1659 for wine to be used in the celebration of communion. The chapel staff dressed in surplices, bearing out Charles II's remark to the Presbyterian deputation of May 1660 that this item of liturgical dress 'constantly practiced in England till these late ill times ... had been still retained by him' in exile.⁷¹⁷ Thomas

⁷¹² *The Correspondence of John Cosin D. D.*, George Ormsby, ed., 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1869, 1872), I, esp. p. 286; Evelyn, *Diary*, III, pp. 20, 633-4; *Calendar of Clarendon State Papers*, II, p. 113; *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, I, p. 34; DRO, D/FSI, Box 268, Household accounts 1654-5, pp. 58, 98; General Household accounts of the King in exile 1658-9, unfoliated, April 1658, May 1658, September 1659; Sainty and Bucholz, *Officials of the Royal Household*, p. 56; CSPD, 1661-2, p. 113.

⁷¹³ Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, p. 423; *The Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal*, I, pp. 120, 126; II, pp. 204, 284; DRO, D/FSI, Box 268, *passim*, see, e.g., Kitchen Accounts of Charles II in exile, 1656-9, pp. 73, 98; General Household Accounts of the King in exile 1658-9, entries for June 1658 and September 1659.

⁷¹⁴ Evelyn, *Diary*, III, pp. 51, 53, 633; *Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers*, II, p. 110.

⁷¹⁵ A 'Prayer Roome' is referred to in March 1656 (which must have been either in the king's lodgings at Cologne, or his new residence in Brussels) and again in May 1658 (which was certainly in Brussels), DRO, D/FSI, Box 268, Kitchen accounts of Charles II in exile 1656-9, p. 45; General Household accounts of the King in exile 1658-9, unfoliated, May 1658. See also Wicquefort, *A Relation in form of Journal*, p. 74.

⁷¹⁶ Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 633; Robert S. Bosher, *The Making of the Restoration Settlement: the Influence of the Laudians 1649-1662* (London, 1951), p. 59.

⁷¹⁷ DRO, D/FSI, Box 268, Household Accounts 1654-5, pp. 49, 98; General Household Accounts of the King in exile 1658-9, unfoliated, May 1658, September 1659; Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion*, VI, p. 232.

Haines was responsible for washing and mending these surplices as well as for providing furniture, candles and service books for the chapel.⁷¹⁸ Again, Charles's conversation with the Presbyterians in 1660, in which he defended the Book of Common Prayer – protesting 'he had always used that form of service' – makes it reasonable to assume that the 'servis bookes' Haines supplied were Books of Common Prayer. Some of the ancillary activities associated with the calendar of the chapel royal also continued: the kitchen accounts for the late 1650s demonstrate that fish was always served on Fridays, while payments were made – or at least incurred – for the distribution of alms on key festival days.⁷¹⁹

Though the Chapel Royal, both as a institution and a series of physical spaces, was reduced in the 1650s to the bare bones of what it had been before and would be again, Charles II seems to have been prepared to countenance no reduction in the form and regularity of his own participation in the public liturgy of the chapel royal; following the spirit of his governor's maxim that regardless of the physical conditions of the space it was critical that 'your Ma^{tie} muste see thatt all desente seremonye be kept upp'.⁷²⁰ Although Walter Gostelowe's claim that exiled king attended 'publick devotions, which are twice every daye' may be an exaggeration, it is clear that throughout the interregnum Charles II was at pains to worship in the manner of a reigning king, and continued to offer and receive on the occasions traditional for English sovereigns to do so.⁷²¹ He took holy communion at Christmas, Easter and Whitsun; in December 1651, John Evelyn witnessed this event in Paris, almost certainly at Sir Richard Browne's chapel, while the household account books which survive include allowances of money for the king to offer before taking communion on Easter Sunday and Whit Sunday 1658, Twelfth Night 1659 and Easter Sunday 1659.⁷²² Not only was the English royal calendar of receiving and offering adhered to, but so was the particular royal manner of receiving communion, which served to separate and elevate the sovereign. So the king continued to receive on his knees after the senior clergy but before the other communicants, while the practice whereby two noblemen held a towel before the king as he received was also maintained. The 'infinite Crowde of people' who came to watch the devotions at Browne's house in Paris no doubt made a dignified and regal performance of such ceremonies especially worthwhile.⁷²³

⁷¹⁸ DRO, D/FSI, Box 268, General Household Accounts of the King in exile 1658-9, unfoliated, May 1658.

⁷¹⁹ DRO, D/FSI, Box 268, Kitchen Accounts of Charles II in exile 1656-9, *passim*; General Household Accounts 1658-9, unfoliated, June 1658.

⁷²⁰ *A Catalogue of Letters*, Strong, ed., p. 189.

⁷²¹ *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, Esq., Secretary, First to the Council of State and afterwards to the two Protectors, Oliver and Richard Cromwell*, Thomas Birch, ed., 7 vols (London, 1742), V, pp. 673-4.

⁷²² Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 51; DRO, D/FSI, Box 268, General Household Accounts of the King in exile 1658-9, unfoliated, April 1658, June 1658, January 1659, April 1659. The king and duke of York offered at Epiphany 1652, Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 53.

⁷²³ Evelyn, *Diary*, III, pp. 53, 128; DRO, D/FSI, , Box 268, Household Accounts 1654-5, p. 98; *Calendar of Clarendon State Papers*, II, p. 62.

It was, then, against this backdrop of a decade of the continuation of high Anglican worship, under often very difficult financial and political conditions, that the Chapel Royal was reconstituted in 1660 and the royal chapels brought back into commission. The reinstatement of the full Anglican religious calendar, Charles II's assiduous participation in its feasts and festivals, and the elaboration of the sensory richness of the services, all testify to the place which proper performance of religious ritual held in the king's idea of his own majesty.

The religious calendar in the Restoration Chapel Royal was defined by three cycles of celebration, broadly: the principal events of Christ's life, the feast days of the Apostles and the Evangelists and English royal anniversaries. There was a clearly defined hierarchy of celebration of the annual feasts, denoted by a scale of the king's active participation: running from whether or not he attended, to whether he attended wearing the collar of the order of the Garter, offered at the altar or received communion. (Appendix 5)

The greatest ceremonial expression was given to the festivals which commemorated the crucial events in the life of Christ. Christmas day, Easter Sunday and Whitsun, celebrating the nativity, the resurrection, and the descent of the holy spirit upon the Apostles, respectively, were accorded the highest status. On these occasions the king came down from the chapel closet and participated actively in the offertory and took holy communion itself. The second tier of ceremonial days were those on which other Christological events were celebrated: Circumcision, Epiphany, Candlemas, Annunciation, Ascension, Trinity Sunday, All Hallows and the feast days of St John the Baptist and St Michael the Archangel. On these occasions the king descended into the chapel royal and offered at the altar, but did not receive communion. The third category of ceremonial days comprised the feast days of the Apostles and Evangelists and the commemoration days for the Stuart anniversaries of the Restoration and king's birthday and the coronation (St George's day). These were denoted 'collar days' when the king would normally attend the chapel royal wearing the insignia of the order of the Garter, accompanied by other Garter Knights similarly attired, but would not descend into the body of the chapel. On all other feast days, including the anniversary of the death of Charles I and all Sundays in the calendar year, the king's attendance at the chapel royal was expected.⁷²⁴

Special liturgical arrangements applied in the chapel royal throughout the period of Lent. As the draping of the room in black fabric must have so visibly demonstrated, during this time 'Divine Service and Preaching is performed in a more solemn manner'.⁷²⁵ From Ash Wednesday to Easter Sunday sermons were preached on every Wednesday, Friday and Sunday by specially appointed

⁷²⁴ Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 67r-68r; PRO, LC5/139, p. 23b.

⁷²⁵ *Angliae Notitia*, 1669, p. 239.

senior clerics nominated by the lord chamberlain. The first Lent sermon on Ash Wednesday was preached by the dean of the Chapel Royal and the last, on Easter Sunday, by the Lord Almoner.⁷²⁶ The celebrated violin music (see below) ceased throughout Lent, while sung anthems after the sermon were omitted from the Sunday services, at least, during that period; an order of 1675 declared that two anthems were to be sung after the sermons on weekdays in Lent.⁷²⁷

The chapel royal functioned as the parish church of the court. Though the king himself attended public chapel only on Sundays and feast days, the daily round of worship continued for the benefit of the royal household. As was prescribed for parish churches, there were daily morning and evening prayers, or matins and evensong, in the Restoration chapel royal, normally starting at ten o'clock in the morning and four in the afternoon. Regardless of the king's absence from these services the gentlemen of the chapel royal were required to attend.⁷²⁸

On Sundays and other sermon days (i.e. Wednesdays and Fridays during Lent), the morning service was held an hour earlier at 9am and the afternoon service at 4pm as usual.⁷²⁹ On the days when the king was expected to attend public worship, there was a separation of purpose of the services: the morning service was for the household, and the afternoon service for the king and the more senior court officers. Members of the household were nonetheless allowed to attend both, but were not permitted to sit in the pews at the second service and had to 'be contented wth such other Places as they can gett'. The two services were of the same basic form; in both the morning and afternoon, sermons were delivered on Sundays and holy communion celebrated monthly and on the appropriate feast days.⁷³⁰

Generally speaking the chapel at Whitehall continued to function when the king was absent at another palace or on progress, though during prolonged absences, including 'such times in y^e summer or othertimes when we ar pleasd to spare it', it might cease to operate altogether.⁷³¹ One such summer was that of 1682, when the court was absent for almost four months while works were carried out to the royal apartments at Whitehall; on this occasion the lord chamberlain was prevailed upon to ask the bishop of London for the assistance of some of the metropolitan ministers to conduct morning and

⁷²⁶ PRO, LC5/63, pp. 340, 341; LC5/41, p. 101; LC5/137, p. 359; LC5/138, pp. 454, 455, 456; LC5/140, pp. 161, 403; LC5/143, pp. 249, 433; CSPD, 1668-9, p. 243; Magalotti, *Travels*, p. 366.

⁷²⁷ *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, II, p. 284; Pepys, *Diary*, IV, p. 69.

⁷²⁸ Schellinks, *Journal*, p. 61; Evelyn, *Diary*, IV, p. 208; Magalotti, *Travels*, p. 365. During the winter the afternoon prayers were sometimes brought forward to 3.30pm, presumably to catch the last hour or so of winter day-light, *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, I, p. 124; II, p. 284.

⁷²⁹ *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, I, p. 124.

⁷³⁰ PRO, LC5/137, p. 165; Evelyn, *Diary*, IV, pp. 29, 192; *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, I, p.124; II, p. 281; LC5/201, p. 51; Pepys, *Diary*, III, pp. 292-3.

⁷³¹ *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, II, pp. 280, 283.

evening prayers at Whitehall, 'severall persons of quality remaininge in their Lodgings in Whitehall being very desirous to have prayers & sermons in the kings Chappell'.⁷³² Perhaps mindful of this, the king was careful to leave a functioning chapel in London on his trip to Newmarket the following spring.⁷³³

Unfortunately no official, or even unofficial, records of the regularity of Charles II's attendance at the chapel royal, survive. Not only this, but there is no consistent record of his attendance for even a short period of the reign in either the lord chamberlain's papers or contemporary newspapers (in the way that there is for the occasions of touching for the king's evil) which would allow tentative extrapolation for the rest of the reign. What information there is on the subject is painfully partial, turning simply on the presence in the congregation of someone who then recorded the king's attendance in a letter or diary, which itself happens to survive. With the notable exception of John Evelyn – whose diary is much the best source of information for the attendance of the king at court services – few contemporaries made a point of recording details of the weekly cycle in the chapel royal. Nonetheless, from this very limited information, it is possible to suggest a number of things about Charles II and the Chapel Royal.

Charles II normally only ever attended the chapel royal on holy days: either Sundays, the feast days of the chapel royal calendar, or on the principal preaching days during Lent. (See appendices 4 and 5) There is good reason to believe, though, that he did not attend just on the primary feast days but also on Sundays throughout the year: in 1677, for example, there is evidence for the king's attendance at the chapel royal on six Sundays, none of which was also otherwise a holy day.⁷³⁴ There is good evidence too that the king frequently attended the thrice-weekly sermons given in the chapel royal during Lent; in 1665 he heard at least two Wednesday Lenten sermons while the following year he was present at the Lent sermons on Friday 2 March, Friday 16 March and Wednesday 11 April.⁷³⁵ There is in contemporary sources a positive record of the king's attendance at the chapel royal on several separate occasions for almost every year of his reign; his attendance is positively recorded on an average of about six occasions a year for each year after the Restoration. Making the reasonable assumption that the information on which this is based represents only a portion of the days when the king actually attended chapel, the indication is that he was regularly to be found there and did not shirk the traditional royal duty of periodic participation in collective court worship. This concurs with

⁷³² PRO, LC5/44, p. 246.

⁷³³ *HMC Ormonde*, VII, p. 198; NUL, Portland MS, PW V 95, fol. 68r.

⁷³⁴ Evelyn, *Diary*, IV, pp. 105, 106, 107, 123, 125.

⁷³⁵ Evelyn, *Diary*, III, pp. 401, 403, 432, 434; LC5/63, p. 340; Dalrymple, *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, I, p. 88.

Lorenzo Magalotti's remark that at the Charles II's court the king was to be found 'observing with the most exact attention the rites of the Anglican Church'.⁷³⁶

Charles I's orders for the royal household set out clearly the seating arrangements which were to apply to the pews in the chapel royal. Broadly the left hand side of the chapel (looking towards the altar) was reserved for peers and the most senior officials of the royal household. The right hand side was divided between the ladies – wives and daughters of the nobility, and the ladies of the royal household – at the back, and mid-ranking household and state officials actively in waiting, at the front. Thus something of the separation of men and women frequently found in parish churches was reflected in the chapel royal.⁷³⁷ As far as the royal closets went the orders simply stipulated that no-one under the status of a baron was to enter the king's closet unless he was a privy councillor or gentleman of the Bedchamber.⁷³⁸

Charles II almost certainly used his father's household regulations to govern procedure in the Restoration Chapel Royal for the fifteen years following his return to England. The wording of the Charles I regulations is repeated in the notebook of the yeoman of the vestry, Marmaduke Alford, as 'Orders for his Maj^{ties} Chapell Royall', and these were also presumably the same orders that Samuel Pepys referred to, hanging from the wall of the chapel royal, in 1664.⁷³⁹ However the reality of access arrangements clearly differed significantly, in places, from the theory.

As far as the body of the chapel itself was concerned, there was occasional complaint about the presence of 'debauched persons' and Pepys bemoaned the 'company of sad idle people' who attended.⁷⁴⁰ Nonetheless the evidence suggests that on the whole the seating and access arrangements worked reasonably effectively. The chapel regulations were not ignored, but actively referred to for the rules on who was allowed to sit where, and though there were places, such as the organ loft, from which those who did not have a seat viewed the service, this was not in contradiction of the regulations, which allowed for the presence of such people, so long as they did not occupy the main pews themselves.⁷⁴¹ In fact the subdean of the chapel specifically permitted the temporary setting-out of stools and forms for members of the king's household who did not have a fixed seat, so long as

⁷³⁶ Magalotti, *Travels*, p. 456.

⁷³⁷ Nigel Yates, *Buildings, Faith and Worship: The Liturgical Arrangement of Anglican Churches 1600-1900* (Oxford, 2000), p. 37.

⁷³⁸ PRO, LC5/180, fos 16v-21r; see also LC5/135.

⁷³⁹ Pepys, *Diary*, V, p. 96 '...so they turned to the orders of the chapel which hung behind upon the wall'; *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, II, pp. 278-80. See also PRO, LC5/141, p. 297 for a 1670s reference to the 'orders of his Maj^{ties} Chappell Royal under his Ma^{ty} Royall signature now hanging up in the Chappell'.

⁷⁴⁰ Pepys, *Diary*, V, pp. 96, 155.

⁷⁴¹ PRO, LC5/180, fol. 19r; LC5/141, p. 297; Pepys, *Diary*, VI, p. 87.

they were not placed too near the pulpit or reading desk and did not obstruct the passage to the altar.⁷⁴²

It was, though, in the royal closets that arrangements were much less orderly. Before 1675, there were two closets, the king's and queen's; the sovereign himself occupied the king's closet, while various women occupied the queen's closet. There is no clear statement before 1675 of which ladies were entitled to sit in the queen's closet; it was certainly being used well before the arrival of Catherine of Braganza, by – among others – the king's mistress Lady Castlemaine, indicating that access was not restricted to those who held specific court positions.⁷⁴³ Nonetheless that the arrangement was to some extent official is indicated by the issuing of warrants for the provision of books of Common Prayer for the use of 'the Ladyes' in the closet.⁷⁴⁴ The lack of clarity about who precisely was allowed to occupy this highly important place in the chapel was to cause confusion. In March 1674 the lord chamberlain wrote sternly to the closet keeper on the subject, having received complaints that 'the place on the left hand the Kings Clossett in y^e Chappell is ever so thronged & possessed by strangers and servants' that those who were 'allowed to sitt there cannot have roome to sitt in their places'.⁷⁴⁵

In the king's closet, on the right hand side, sat the duke of York and other members of the immediate royal family as well as the sovereign himself.⁷⁴⁶ Though a position actually within the sovereign's closet was difficult to gain, a considerable crowd of people assembled just outside the closet when the king attended there; on 29 May 1664 Pepys struggled to hear the sermon from his position 'behind' the royal closet, while at Easter 1666, he took the opportunity with many others to crowd into the king's closet itself to watch from above as Charles II received holy communion in the chapel below.⁷⁴⁷ The disarray which resulted from the arrangements of the first half of the reign was described in the household ordinances of c.1678, which complained that 'a very great Indecence and Irreverance hath been committed of late by a Throng of Persons that assemble there, and talk aloud, and Walke in time of Divine Service to the great Dishonor: of Religion and the Government of Our House'.⁷⁴⁸

⁷⁴² *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, I, pp. 134-5.

⁷⁴³ Pepys, *Diary*, I, p. 266; PRO, LC5/137, p. 180.

⁷⁴⁴ PRO, LC5/137, p. 180.

⁷⁴⁵ PRO, LC5/140, p. 452.

⁷⁴⁶ PRO, LC5/40, pp. 122-3; LC5/201, p. 53. *HMC Verney*, p. 490; *Letters Addressed from London to Sir Joseph Williamson*, I, p.106.

⁷⁴⁷ Pepys, *Diary*, V, p. 96; VII, pp. 99, 409. It was also from the crowd gathered outside the king's closet that Pepys's news of the great fire of London was taken into the king on 2 September 1666; *ibid*, VII, p. 269.

⁷⁴⁸ BL, Stowe MS 562, fol 7v. Though these household regulations were based on Charles I's ordinances, the section covering disorder in the chapel is an addition of the Charles II version; cf LC5/180.

So it was that access arrangements in the royal chapel closets, both king's and queen's, were distinctly unsatisfactory by the early 1670s, with a *mêlée* of people, trying to gain access to a place or a person, clamouring around these supposedly calm and orderly spaces. This disorderliness in the chapel closets was addressed explicitly in the reconfiguration of the chapel closets of 1675 and in the new regulations regarding access to them which followed later that year.

In the new configuration of the tribune, the king's closet was placed in the centre of the gallery, with an ancillary closet on either side. In September 1675 the lord chamberlain issued orders about who was to occupy these spaces: the left-hand side was to be used by 'Gentlemen who attend his Ma^{ties} Chappell' and the right-hand side by various high-status women, namely peeresses, the wives of the chief officers of the household, and the female attendants of the queen and royal princesses. These written orders were hung up in the body of the chapel to resolve any doubts as to the new arrangement.⁷⁴⁹ The seating arrangements for the right-hand side were modified two months later, when a revised list was issued stipulating that now only the junior women on the original list were to occupy the closet (maids of honour, dressers and ladies of the privy chamber to the queen and duchess of York).⁷⁵⁰ The highest status women, the 'ladies of quality' (peeresses, wives of court officers, and ladies of the Bedchamber) were to resume their traditional pews on the right hand side of the body of the chapel next to the dean of the Chapel Royal's seat.⁷⁵¹ In December 1675 the king re-issued the long-standing regulation that no-one below the status of a baron was to enter his own closet unless he was a privy councillor or gentleman of the Bedchamber. This neat arrangement lasted for only a few months; something was clearly awry, for in Spring 1676 Wren erected a partition in the left hand closet, creating space at the front of the closet which was to be used only by the ladies of the queen's Bedchamber.⁷⁵²

It seems likely that the logic that informed this rearrangement was as follows: with the creation of the left-hand closet, the members of the king's household who attended him to chapel, the mid-ranking officers of the royal apartments, rather than standing in a crush outside the king's closet during the service, were now given a space in which to hear the service in an orderly manner.⁷⁵³ In the first instance (September 1675) the mixture of noble and household ladies who had hitherto used the queen's closet were simply allocated the right-hand ancillary closet. However, as the two ancillary

⁷⁴⁹ The 'orders of his Maj^{ties} Chappell Royal under his Ma^{ties} Royall signature now hanging up in the Chappell', PRO, LC5/141, p. 297.

⁷⁵⁰ PRO, LC5/141, pp. 245, 296.

⁷⁵¹ PRO, LC5/64, fol. 144v; LC5/121, no. 13; LC5/141, p. 297; *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, II, p. 281.

⁷⁵² PRO, LC5/141, pp. 317, 362, 363, 366, 471; LC5/64, fol. 148v. In October Wren erected a similar partition in the right-hand closet, but as this is not referred to in the seating arrangements described by the 1678 ordinances, it may have been only a temporary arrangement; WORK5/28, fol. 93r.

⁷⁵³ The 1678 household ordinances describe the occupants of the left-hand closet as 'Our Servants that are to attend Us to

closets had parity of status in their physical configuration, it is likely that the senior ladies objected to being equated, spatially, with middling officials of the king's household (rather than, as before, with the sovereign himself). Therefore it was decided that they would reoccupy their traditional spaces within the body of the chapel royal, for which purpose various improvements were made to these seats in October and November 1675, and in late November orders were issued reflecting this arrangement. The re-configuration in the Spring of 1676 was perhaps prompted by access arrangements within the king's own closet; the king's order of December 1675 stated that gentlemen of the Bedchamber and privy councillors would be permitted access into the king's own closet. The king attended chapel frequently during February and March 1676, hearing both Sunday and weekday Lent sermons, and was presumably joined on these occasions by gentlemen of the Bedchamber.⁷⁵⁴ It may be that the ladies of the queen's Bedchamber were thereby confronted with what they considered to be a further affront to their status, their male equivalents listening to the service at the king's side in the closet, while they languished in the nave. Clearly they could not sit in the male preserve of the king's closet, so instead a compromise arrangement was reached, and within a fortnight of the commencement of the Lent preaching season the office of Works was ordered to create a separate space for them at the fore of the left-hand closet, given quite separate access and physically partitioned off from the household servants behind.

The configuration of seating fixed on in 1676 was to remain; and it was this arrangement which was recorded in the ordinances for the king's entire household which were issued in the early months of 1678.⁷⁵⁵ The full regulations for the chapel which the c.1678 ordinances contained were, in essence, a partially modified version of the regulations issued by Charles I. These were concerned almost exclusively with the allocation of seats and did not make any reference to the performance of religious ritual within the chapel. Despite all the changes to the royal pew, only very small alterations to the early Stuart seating arrangements in the body of the chapel are reflected in the 1678 ordinances.⁷⁵⁶ The reconfiguration of the royal closet notwithstanding, the seats allocated to the ladies of the Bedchamber within the chapel itself remained so, while the left-hand side of the chapel continued to be reserved for the male nobility and senior household officials, and the forward pews on the right hand to the mid-ranking household officials who were in waiting, except those who actually participated in the procession to chapel.

Chappell...in wayting on Us', BL, Stowe MS 562, fol. 7r.

⁷⁵⁴ Evelyn, *Diary*, IV, pp. 82, 83, 85, 86.

⁷⁵⁵ BL, Stowe MS 562, fos 7v-9r.

⁷⁵⁶ The only official changes to the seating arrangements in the body of the chapel were the swapping of pews between the gentlemen pensioners and the pages and grooms of the Bedchamber (perhaps to allow the former easier access and egress to and from the royal procession) and the addition of the Gentlemen of the Wardrobe to the seats adjoining the privy councillors' seats BL, Stowe MS 562, fol. 8v; *Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, II, p. 280.

Overseeing the enforcement of the access rules on the ground was the job, in the body of the chapel, of the yeomen of the vestry and in the tribune of the closet keeper. Ultimately the lord chamberlain was responsible for their all matters of access, but the vestry and closet staff usually referred to the gentlemen usher daily waiters on matters of dispute.⁷⁵⁷

Having described the seating and access arrangements for the chapel royal, it is perhaps worthwhile considering the limited evidence for what it was like attending service in the chapel royal. The descriptions of contemporaries indicate that the chapel royal was generally speaking well attended. The king's presence was, understandably, a draw in itself; on Sunday 6 April 1662 when the king was present the chapel was 'crowded' with people, and again on Sunday 22 May 1664 a 'throng of people' appeared at Whitehall to 'attend the King to Chapel'.⁷⁵⁸ Feast days when the king would both be present and take a greater active role in the proceedings were a particular draw; on the anniversary of the death of Charles I in 1667 'the Chappell was so crowded' wrote Evelyn, 'that I could not possibly approach to heare', while people were certainly keen to be present when the king offered and received.⁷⁵⁹ In addition to the draw of seeing the king, the quality of the preaching in the chapels royal was often high, and people would come specially to hear a particular cleric. In January 1662 Evelyn accompanied a great number of senior courtiers to hear a renowned French Protestant preacher at St James's; later that year Pepys was anxious to get to court in time to hear Dr South, 'the famous preacher and Orator of Oxford', while in 1664 he had almost to fight his way into chapel which was 'most infinite full to hear Dr. Critton'.⁷⁶⁰ The combination of the king's attendance and the quality and frequency of sermons seem to have made Lent and Easter the times at which the chapel royal was busiest; on 3 April 1663, for example, the chapel was so 'monstrous full' that Pepys could not reach his pew but had to squeeze in among the choir.⁷⁶¹ As a result it was often impossible actually to hear much of the proceedings from the body of the chapel; on 28 April 1661 Evelyn 'could heare nothing' of the sermon, while in 1663 only those who sat right at the front could catch more than the occasional word of William Lewis's sermon.⁷⁶²

As well as the draw of seeing the services themselves, people attended the chapel royal because of the opportunities it presented to talk to other attendees or even the king himself. The gathering of people before and after the service presented an excellent moment for those connected with the court to

⁷⁵⁷ *Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, II, p. 280, 281; BL, Stowe MS 562, fol. 9r; PRO, LC5/140, p. 452; LC5/141, p. 296; LC5/201, p. 57.

⁷⁵⁸ *Memoirs of Mary, Queen of England (1689-1693) together with her Letters and those of James II and William III to the Electress of Hanover*, R. Doebner, ed., (Leipzig, 1886), pp. 11-12; Pepys, *Diary*, I, p. 266; II, p. 60; V, p. 155.

⁷⁵⁹ Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 474; IV, pp. 374-5; Pepys, *Diary*, VII, p. 99.

⁷⁶⁰ Pepys, *Diary*, III, p. 67; V, p. 96; Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 311; Dr 'Critton' is probably Robert Creighton, later bishop of Bath and Wells.

⁷⁶¹ Schellinks, *Journal*, p. 76; Pepys, *Diary*, IV, p. 93.

snatch a word with one another, transact a piece of business or share news. So in January 1667 Pepys attended chapel and having heard the anthem ‘discoursed with several people here about business’; in 1680, the earl of Ossory called over his friend John Evelyn in the privy gallery after the service, to acquaint him of his intended movements; and in December 1681 the earl of Longford was at chapel waiting for the king to enter when the lord privy seal came to complain to him of his treatment by the duke of Ormond. In the words of Roger North, Sundays at Whitehall were worth attending as ‘the great variety of persons coming together always made a diversion’.⁷⁶³ In addition to taking the opportunity to speak to one another, Sundays and other feast days provided a good opportunity – if you were able to take it – to speak to the king himself. The earl of Anglesey was at chapel on 2 July 1671, but was frustrated that he ‘got not an oportunity to speak wth the King for iustice about my office’ there; a week later, when in the procession to the chapel, he seized the moment to speak ‘wth him [the king] of my businesse who said he was resolved to be very kind to me, and would speak wth Lord Arlington to dispatch my warrant’.⁷⁶⁴ The end of the service, as the king left the chapel, was also an opportune time to speak to the king; on 11 April 1666 he called John Evelyn aside as ‘he came from Chappell’ to discuss his appointment as a justice of the peace, while on 8 December 1679 a crowd of peers stood waiting to catch the king as he passed through the vane room, on his return from chapel, to raise with him a sensitive political matter.⁷⁶⁵

4. THE CHAPEL ROYAL AND ROYAL WORSHIP

The chapel royal was one of the public rooms of the state apartments, and the ceremonial splendour of the king’s participation in public worship began with his procession from his privy apartments to the chapel, a procession which passed from the privy chamber, through the presence and guard chambers to the door to the first-floor chapel closet.⁷⁶⁶

The full ceremonial procession involved the participation of the heralds and pursuivants of the office of Arms and took place on the primary feast days of Easter, Whitsun, and Christmas, as well as at New Year, Epiphany, All Hallows and the feast of St George. The gentlemen of the privy chamber led the procession, after them came the ranks of officers at arms (dressed in their heraldic uniforms) interspersed between the various groups of the nobility, in ascending order of status. The sergeants at arms, carrying their great maces, processed after the most senior officers of the kingdom, separating out the nobility from the royal party; after the sergeants at arms, directly in front of the king, walked

⁷⁶² Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 285; Pepys, *Diary*, IV, p. 63

⁷⁶³ *HMC Ormonde*, VI, pp. 258-9; *The Lives of the Norths*, III, p. 170; Pepys, *Diary*, VIII, p. 32; Evelyn, *Diary*, IV, p. 208; BL, Add. MS 40860, fol. 15r.

⁷⁶⁴ BL, Add. MS 40860, fos 10v, 11r; *A Catalogue of Letters*, Strong, ed., p. 223.

⁷⁶⁵ *HMC Verney*, p. 496; Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 434.

⁷⁶⁶ *The Parliamentary Intelligencer*, 27, Thursday 28 July; in the passage between the guard chamber and the chapel was the cupboard where the maces of the sergeants at arms were stored *CSPD*, 1677-78, p. 256.

the bearer of the sword of state (always a nobleman) flanked by the lord chamberlain and vice chamberlain, while after the king status decreased backwards, with the principal male members of the royal family behind the sovereign, followed – as the procession passed through the presence chamber – by all the members of the band of gentlemen pensioners, the guard of that room, taking up the rear.⁷⁶⁷ The form of the procession was the subject of some discussion during the reign and the officers of arms tried on two occasions, in 1665 and 1673, to make it ‘more regular’. On the latter occasion, in June 1673, they were asked by the king himself ‘to meete together and draw up a Ceremoniall of such proceeding, and they to observe therein as much as may be the practise of former times’, because ‘his Ma^{tie}: intending to have his proceedings to Chapell at such time as the Sword of State is to be carryed before him settled for the future’.⁷⁶⁸

The days of the second and third tier of ceremonial hierarchy – the other religious festivals (on some of which the king would offer at the altar) and the anniversaries of the restoration and coronation – were known as ‘collar days’. On these days the procession to chapel involved members of the nobility but not the officers of arms (on offering days, the participation was expected of all the peers resident at court) and the sword of state was borne by a knight of the Garter.⁷⁶⁹ The king dressed in purple and, like the other knights of the Garter, wore the Greater George, the collar of the order, about his neck, and the garter itself on his left leg.⁷⁷⁰ On all other days when the king attended chapel, generally Sundays which were not feast days, the king did not wear special clothing, but a procession still bore him there, with four sergeants of arms marching at the front and the sword of state carried before the king in the hands of a member of nobility.⁷⁷¹

As the procession passed on-lookers lined the route, waiting to see or speak to the king. On these ceremonial occasions the sergeants at arms and gentlemen pensioners still had an active role in securing the person of the king. Only two months after Charles II’s return to England, one of the sergeants at arms walking in the chapel procession spied ‘the glittering of the Sword’ among the

⁷⁶⁷ College of Arms, MS I 25, Earl Marshal’s Book, fol 127v; Bod. Lib., Rawl. MS B 58, pp. 139-40; PRO, LC5/201, pp. 355-62, 363, 366, 370; BL, Stowe MS 562, fol 6v; Add MS 40860, fol. 8v; *Elias Ashmole*, II, pp. 806-7; Pepys, *Diary*, V, pp. 161; *The Parliamentary Intelligencer*, 27, Thursday 28 July.

⁷⁶⁸ BL, Add. MS 38140, fol. 107r; College of Arms, MS I 25, Earl Marshal’s Book, fol 127v; PRO, LC5/201, pp. 355-62, 363, 366, 370.

⁷⁶⁹ Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 67r; LC5/139, p. 23b; College of Arms, MS I 25, Earl Marshal’s Book, fol 127v; Maglotti, *Travels*, p. 365-6; BL, Add. MS 40,860, fol. 8v; *Angliae Notitia*, 1669, pp. 237, 289; Schellinks, *Journal*, p.72; Pepys, *Diary*, III, pp. 207-8; IV, p 401.

⁷⁷⁰ Schellinks, *Journal*, p. 84. The remnants of the crown wearings of the Middle Ages can be seen in these processions: in the presence of the treasurer of the the chamber and master of the Jewel House (who historically attended the regalia which was once worn on these occasions) and the colour of the king’s clothing, a survivor from the days of ‘wearing the purple’, see F. Kisby, “When the King Goeth a Procession”: chapel ceremonies and services, the ritual year and religious reforms at the early Tudor court, 1485-1547’, pp. 44-75.

⁷⁷¹ BL, Stowe MS 562, fol 6v; Add MS 40860, fos 18r, 21v, 33r, 35r.

crowd in the passage between the guard chamber and the chapel closet, and apprehended a man with a drawn weapon concealed under his cloak.⁷⁷²

As the procession reached the door of the chapel closet, those who walked before the king lined up on either side to allow the king to pass through, which he did still preceded by the bearer of the sword of state; once the king had passed into the closet, those who were so entitled filed down into the body of the chapel to take their seats for the service.⁷⁷³ After the alteration of the chapel closets in 1675, members of the yeomen of the guard were stationed there to keep the closets empty until the procession arrived. Only once the king had taken his seat were the rest of the congregation permitted to take theirs.⁷⁷⁴

Once the sovereign was settled in his chair of state, the sword was taken out of the closet and held at the door for the duration of the service by one of the lord chamberlain's senior officials, usually the gentleman usher daily waiter. It is clear that, in addition to any members of the royal family, there was normally a number of others in the chapel closet with the king throughout the service. Technically anyone not a member of the nobility (other than privy councillors and gentlemen of the Bedchamber) was excluded from entering the king's chapel closet; excepted from this were the captain of the guard and the master of Requests. The latter claimed, and was granted, this right on the basis that this was traditionally a time when masters of Requests would 'procure the King's hand to bills'.⁷⁷⁵ Various members of the lord chamberlain's department also, in reality, remained in the closet throughout the service: it was the lord chamberlain's privilege to 'turne the Kinges chaire', exercised in his absence by the vice chamberlain or senior member of their department, and then to stand behind it during the service.⁷⁷⁶ Privileged visitors to court might, on occasion, be allowed to watch the service from the tribune, but even the Moroccan ambassador, who attended chapel in February 1682, was taken to one of the ancillary closets rather than the king's own closet to view the proceedings.⁷⁷⁷

The sermon, delivered except in Lent by one of the king's chaplains, was a feature of all the services attended by the king. Charles II occasionally voiced his approval or otherwise of the preaching in his chapel. He liked Dr Tillotson's sermons delivered in the Spring of 1672, discussing one, of which he 'was pleased to say it was a good sermon', on the subject of various aspects of Catholicism, at length

⁷⁷² *The Parliamentary Intelligencer*, 27, Thursday 28 July. The participants in the procession might also take the opportunity to raise questions with the king during the procession, the duke of Newcastle referred to the lords that 'carrye the Sorde before your Ma^{tie} to the Chapell in their turnes, theye woulde take Itt as Itt is for a Greate dell off Honor, & your Ma^{tie} to Speake to them sometimes as theye Goe', *A Catalogue of Letters*, Strong, ed., p. 223.

⁷⁷³ Bod. Lib., Rawl. MS B 58, pp. 138-9.

⁷⁷⁴ BL, Stowe MS 562, fol. 7v-8r; *Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, II, p. 279.

⁷⁷⁵ *CSPD*, 1661-2, p. 453; *PRO*, LC5/201, p. 53.

⁷⁷⁶ *PRO*, LC5/201, p. 53.

with the earl of Anglesey, though refusing to authorise its publication for fear 'it would occasion heats and disputes'.⁷⁷⁸ However there is little evidence that the king had a genuine spiritual or even intellectual interest in sermons. In a letter to his sister, Henriette Anne, written in February 1664, Charles II sympathised with her dislike of sermons, remarking that 'We have the same disease of sermons that you complaine of there, but I hope you have the same convenience that the rest of the family has, of sleeping out most of the time'. Doubtless this was an advantage to a king who considered his duty of attendance to be unquestionable, being, like his sister, one of 'those who are bounde to heare them'.⁷⁷⁹ Those sermons which contained a clear or opaque rebuke to the ways of the king and his court were either ignored or derided; when George Morley preached against the form of the Christmas celebrations at court, 'they all laughed in the chapel' while to the sermon by a canon of Christ Church delivered weeks before the king's marriage on the sinfulness of adultery the king made no response.⁷⁸⁰ Nonetheless, Charles II took his chaplains with him on his progresses and they delivered their sermons in whichever parish church was appointed for the purpose; he regularly attended chapel on weekdays during Lent to hear the preaching and agreed with the lord chamberlain the list of clerics who were to preach on these days.⁷⁸¹

In contrast to Charles II's relative lack of enthusiasm for sermons, there is good evidence of his enjoyment of the musical components of the liturgy of the chapel royal. As was the case with cathedrals throughout England after the Restoration, at the chapel royal full choral services were sung on weekdays and on Sundays and festivals; these involved the normal sung parts of the prescribed services, the responses and canticles (sung to fully composed settings), the singing of the psalms of the day and the inclusion of two or more anthems.⁷⁸² Music was re-introduced into the chapel royal immediately after the king's return: organs were reinstated in the chapel buildings, while sackbutists were appointed to accompany them.⁷⁸³ At first the standard seems to have been patchy, the anthem was so badly sung on 14 October 1660 that the king burst out laughing, but this was not to last: Henry Cooke, appointed master of the children in January 1661 drilled the choir intensively and the quality of the singing improved significantly.⁷⁸⁴ In August 1662 a new sophistication was introduced to the music of the chapel royal when the royal strings (who normally played during secular ceremonies such as when the king dined in state (see chapter 2.ii, above)) were ordered to attend Sunday and

⁷⁷⁷ *Loyal Protestant*, 113, 2 February 1682.

⁷⁷⁸ BL, Add MS 40,860, fol. 27r, see also fos 61r, 82v; BL, Add MS 18,730, fol. 69r; *HMC Fleming*, p. 92.

⁷⁷⁹ Hartmann, *Charles II and Madame*, p. 95.

⁷⁸⁰ Pepys, *Diary*, III, pp. 60, 292-3.

⁷⁸¹ PRO, LC5/201, p. 48; CSPD, 1668-9, p. 9; *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, I, p. 445; II, pp. 531, 532.

⁷⁸² Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England*, 3 vols, combined edition (Michigan, 1996), II (*From Andrewes to Baxter and Fox 1603-1690*), pp. 258-64.

⁷⁸³ CSPD, 1660-1, p. 598; LC5/137, pp. 64, 88; Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, pp. 394-5; *Angliae Notitia*, 1669, p. 236.

⁷⁸⁴ Pepys, *Diary*, I, p. 266; II, pp. 41, 84-5; IV, p. 428.

feast-day services in the chapel royal where they played ‘a Symphony’ between the verses of the anthem.⁷⁸⁵ This struck contemporaries greatly. Some disapproved; John Evelyn recorded in his diary in December of that year: ‘instead of the antient grave and solemn wind musique accompanying the *Organ* was introduced a Consort of 24 Violins between every pause, after the *French* fantastical light way, better suiting a Tavern or Play-house than a Church’. Samuel Pepys, less conservative about such matters, thought the effect ‘very fine’ and before long the music to be heard in the chapel at Whitehall was regarded by many as among the best in the land; one informed commentator, who bemoaned the poor quality of contemporary music in general, conceded just two exceptions: ‘I grant in Italy and the Royal Chapel here it hath been extraordinary good’.⁷⁸⁶

The elaboration of the musical part of chapel royal services was probably done at the behest of the king himself. The attendance of the royal musicians at Windsor chapel royal for all 109 days of the summer residence of 1674 was required ‘by His Ma^{ties} perticular comand to my L^d Chamberlaine’ while with the addition of the strings to the chapel, it was conceded that the king was in fact ‘a little Musical’ – as he listened attentively and tapped his hand in time to the anthem.⁷⁸⁷ The full musical effect was to be heard on Sundays and feast days, which were also the occasions on which the king’s attendance might be expected. During Lent and on the 30 January, the violins were absent and some of the solemnity which Evelyn craved returned to the services.⁷⁸⁸

On communion Sundays the first part of the service was followed by the celebration of the eucharist. Though the king only took communion in public on a handful of occasions during the year, he was expected to participate in the service by performing the priestly function of offering alms at the altar (reintroduced by the 1662 prayer book) on the twelve feast days during the year which were designated offering days.⁷⁸⁹ On these occasions at the appropriate moment the procession reconvened, with the participants returning to the closet to accompany the king; the sovereign then walked down into the chapel proper with the sword of state carried before him. Passing to the liturgical east end of the room the king was handed a silver gilt dish by the dean of the Chapel Royal on which was placed

⁷⁸⁵ ‘Robert Strong and Edward Strong to attend with their double Curtolls in his Ma^{ties} Chappell Royall at Whitehall and Thomas Bates and William Gregory with their violls very Sunday and Holyday and all the rest to wayte in their Turnes’, PRO, LC5/137, p. 352; Henry Carte de Lafontaine, *The King’s Music: a Transcript of Records Relating to Music and Musicians (1460-1700)* (London, 1909), pp. 118, 114; Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, pp. 395-400.

⁷⁸⁶ Evelyn, *Diary*, III, pp. 347-8; Pepys, *Diary*, III, pp. 191, 197, 293; *The Lives of the Norths*, III, p. 69; Schellinks, *Journal*, pp. 84, 89.

⁷⁸⁷ Pepys, *Diary*, IV, p. 394; Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, p. 281; PRO, LC5/141, p. 124.

⁷⁸⁸ *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, II, pp. 282, 284.

⁷⁸⁹ Francis Proctor and Walter Howard Frere, *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer with a Rationale of its Offices* (London, 1902), p. 197; Davies, *Worship and Theology in England*, II, p. 381. In the revised prayer book the deacons and churchwardens were to collect the alms from the congregation and then to pass it ‘reverently’ to the priest, who then ‘humbly’ placed it on the altar. For examples of the king offering on these feast days see Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 53 (Epiphany 1652); Schellinks, *Journal*, p. 72 (Candlemas 1662); Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 501 (All Souls 1667); Evelyn, *Diary*, IV, p. 171 (feast of St Peter the Apostle 1679).

twenty-five pounds worth of gold (or, if it was Epiphany, gold, frankincense and myrrh); he then knelt down on cushions and carpets specially set out on the steps, and offered it before the altar.⁷⁹⁰

On days when the king was also to take communion the offering ceremony was slightly different, most notably in that on these principal feast days (Christmas, Easter and Whitsun) the alms dish was passed to the king by the lord steward or one of the other most senior household officers. If the king was just offering, he then rose and processed back to the closet for the remainder of the service, but on the principal annual feast days, the king would remain in the chancel to receive holy communion.⁷⁹¹ On these occasions the royal seat was set up in the chapel on the right hand side at the liturgical east end of the building, placed within a traverse curtain, which was drawn in front of him while the preparations for communion took place and where he remained 'till he returne to receive'; this drawing of the curtain had been a ceremonial feature of public royal worship since before the Reformation.⁷⁹² The senior clergy, kneeling at the north and south ends of the altar, then proceeded to take communion; once they had done so the king emerged from his traverse. He took his position directly in front of the altar but – in the early part of the reign at least – outside the rail, where 'Carpets & Cushions' were laid out for him and, having made his obeisance to the altar, he kneeled. Meanwhile the most senior members of the royal family took up their positions, to the north and south of the altar, where the clergy had received. The lord chamberlain and lord steward, also kneeling, then took either end of a towel and held it beneath the sovereign's chin as the dean administered the sacrament to him, and then to the royal family. This done, the king returned to his canopied seat near the altar and remained there for the rest of the communion service and blessing, and then left the chapel at the end of the service without returning to the closet.⁷⁹³

In addition to the main altar in the body of the chapel royal, the chapel closet was also provided with an altar, for the king to receive communion there if he so chose, though there is no evidence that he ever did so. It is clear, however, that in addition to his regular attendance at the chapel royal, the king also heard prayers in his private oratory. Just as morning and evening prayers were said in the chapel royal, so the king's chaplains were 'to read Divine Service before the King out of the Chapel daily

⁷⁹⁰ Schellinks, *Journal*, p. 72; Pepys, *Diary*, III, p. 84; PRO, LC5/137, p. 90; *Angliae Notitia*, 1669, p. 236; see Elias Ashmole, *The Institutions, Laws and Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (London, 1672), pp. 580-2, for a detailed description of offering at the Garter feast, at which time the 'Ceremony is one and the same, having not anything peculiarly local to Windsor'.

⁷⁹¹ PRO, LC5/139, p. 23b; *Angliae Notitia*, 1669, pp. 236-8; Bod. Lib., Rawl. MS B 58, pp. 139-40.

⁷⁹² Bod. Lib., Rawl. MS B 58, p. 139; PRO, LC5/62, fol 77r; LC5/66, fol 26r; LC5/144, p. 126. For the traverse before the Reformation see, e.g., BL, Add. MS 71,009, fol. 22r.

⁷⁹³ *HMC Verney*, p. 490; Bod. Lib., Rawl. MS B 58, p. 139; Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 53; IV, pp. 374-5; *Memoirs of Mary, Queen of England*, pp. 13, 19; Pepys, *Diary*, III, p. 84; 'Diary of Dr. Edward Lake', p. 29. The king would only receive communion with his immediate relations; generally speaking this meant his siblings and Prince Rupert (whose brother had received communion with Charles I on Christmas Day 1635, *The Works of the most Reverend Father in God, William Laud, D. D., Sometime Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*, James Bliss, ed., 7 vols (Oxford, 1853), III, p. 225). Interestingly, come

twice in the Kings Private Oratory'.⁷⁹⁴ It is not clear how regularly the king attended the daily prayers in this room, although he certainly did so on occasion; the earl of Ailesbury ruefully remembered how those in attendance there would 'laugh outright to hear the Chaplain in waiting read at evening service some chapters of Saint Paul's Epistles relating to marriage and constancy'.⁷⁹⁵ In 1674 the lord chamberlain reprimanded the chaplains for their poor attendance 'whereby His Ma^{ty} service hath beene neglected and His Ma^{ty} hath wanted that service and attendance that is due' and in the difficult early months of 1679, at least, the king was to be found at prayers every morning without fail.⁷⁹⁶

The Royal Maundy

As has been shown, the religious calendar continued to be marked at the Restoration court with a hierarchy of royal participation, culminating in the king's public celebration of communion on the three great annual feast days. The specific feast-day activities (especially during Lent and at Easter) which had been such a distinctive feature of royal worship before the Reformation, among them the taking of ashes on Ash Wednesday, the palm ceremony on Palm Sunday and creeping to the cross on Good Friday, were dispensed with in the mid 16th century with only one exception, the pediluvium performed by the sovereign on Maundy Thursday, which was to survive until the end of the 17th century (while a ceremonial celebration, without the pediluvium, continues to this day).⁷⁹⁷ (Figure 46) At the pre-Reformation court, the Maundy Thursday celebrations broadly fell into three parts: the washing of the altars in the chapel royal by the king, the pediluvium and distribution of alms, and the royal mortification known as 'receiving discipline'.⁷⁹⁸ Only the second of these three was to survive the Reformation, and by the 17th century it was largely separated from its wider liturgical context. As such it is arguably not strictly speaking a ceremony of the chapel royal, but is nonetheless considered here because it originated in the cycle of Lent and Easter ceremonies of the pre-Reformation chapel royal, and took the form of a service.

At the Restoration, therefore, the Maundy ceremony was composed of two elements: the pediluvium itself and the distribution of alms, largely in kind, to the poor. As had long been the case, these ritual activities were considered the domain of the lord almoner. Like the dean of the chapel royal, the lord almoner was usually a senior bishop, and headed a small sub-department of the lord chamberlain's department, responsible for all aspects of royal alms-giving.⁷⁹⁹ In Charles II's reign Brian Duppa,

the 1680s, the king received with his illegitimate children, Evelyn, *Diary*, IV, p. 374.

⁷⁹⁴ Magalotti, *Travels*, p. 366; *Angliae Notitia*, 1669, p. 239.

⁷⁹⁵ Ailesbury, *Memoirs*, I, pp. 93-4; Evelyn, *Diary*, IV, pp. 129-30.

⁷⁹⁶ PRO, LC5/140, p. 495; BL, Add MS 29577, fol. 180r.

⁷⁹⁷ Kisby, 'When the King Goeth a Procession', *passim*.

⁷⁹⁸ BL, Add. MS 71009, fol. 23r; Robinson, *Silver Pennies and Linen Towels*, pp. 26-7.

⁷⁹⁹ *Angliae Notitia*, 1669, pp. 241-2; Lawrence E. Tanner, 'Lord High Almoners and Sub-Almoners 1100-1957', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, third series, XX (1957-8), pp. 72-83; *The Present State of The British Court*, pp. 47-

bishop of Winchester, held the post until 1662, and was succeeded by Humphrey Henchman, bishop of Salisbury and then London; John Dolben bishop of Rochester and Archbishop of York (who had been clerk of the closet in the 1660s); and Francis Turner, dean of Windsor and bishop of Rochester.⁸⁰⁰ The lord almoner was responsible for organising the ceremony, while the subdean of the chapel royal conducted the prayers and anthems with which it was punctuated. It was the former who received the funds for the alms from the treasurer of the chamber, and was responsible for selecting those who would receive them.⁸⁰¹ The men, and it was always men, who were chosen to receive, were, it seems, genuinely impoverished (often through some sort of loyal service) and frequently aged. To gain a place as a Maundy man was usually possible only with the support of some senior courtier, and the lord chamberlain, lord treasurer and various bishops were frequently prevailed upon to write to the lord almoner recommending deserving candidates.⁸⁰²

The ceremony took place on Maundy Thursday itself in either the great hall or the banqueting house.⁸⁰³ The rooms were unabashedly secular and, unlike his brother who would have an altar erected beneath the canopy of state in the banqueting house for the Maundy ceremony, Charles II made no attempt to make them any less so.⁸⁰⁴ The king entered the hall, already wearing the linen apron, preceded by the sword of state and flanked by gentlemen pensioners, and took his seat in the chair of state. The sub-dean then began the service, with psalm 41 ('Blessed is he that considereth the poor and needy...') and the lesson, St John, 13, verses 1-18 (Christ washing the apostles' feet and exhorting them to do likewise to one another). At the end of the lesson, the king rose and the pediluvium began. The king passed down the ranks of poor men, the same in number as the years of his life, attended by the lord almoner and other senior household officials, washing their feet: this he did by sprinkling them with scented water with a sprig of hyssop, wiping them with a towel, and then kissing them. Having done this to all the Maundy men the king returned to his chair of state, washed his hands and the service continued. There followed four anthems, after each of which the lord almoner distributed goods to the Maundy men: shoes and stockings after the first, wool and linen clothes after the second, purses of money after the third and fish and bread after the fourth. The gospel was then read, a last anthem sung and the Maundy prayer said, following the form of the end of the

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⁸⁰⁰ Tanner, 'Lord High Almoners and Sub-Almoners 1100-1957', pp. 78-9.

⁸⁰¹ *CSPD*, 1660-1, p. 560; 1668-9, pp. 222, 223; *Calendar of Treasury Books*, 1660-7, p. 594; 1667-8, pp. 256, 257, 604; PRO, LC5/141, p. 128; *The Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal*, I, p. 164.

⁸⁰² *Calendar of Treasury Books*, 1672-5, p. 648; 1680-5, p. 552; PRO, LC5/141, p. 128; LC5/140, p. 142; *CSPD*, 1673, p. 561; *True Protestant Mercury*, 133, 13 April 1682.

⁸⁰³ *The Diurnal of Thomas Rugge*, p. 165; *The Kingdom's Intelligencer*, 27 March 1662; BL, Harl. MS 829, fol. 174r; *The Rawdon Papers*, pp. 175-7.

⁸⁰⁴ PRO, LC5/201, pp. 94-5.

evening service. Finally, the lord almoner called for wine and drank the king's health, the Maundy men also drinking the king's health with claret, after which the king departed.⁸⁰⁵

There is no evidence that Charles II made any significant changes to the Maundy service during his reign; indeed, he seems not to have been especially interested in the ceremony. In the 1660s he was conscientious about participating personally in the pediluvium, which he certainly did in 1661, 1662, 1663 and 1665.⁸⁰⁶ Thereafter, though, his enthusiasm waned, in 1667 and 1671 the bishop of London performed it on his behalf, and there is evidence for Charles II undertaking the pediluvium on only a very small number of occasions during the 1670s and '80s.⁸⁰⁷ The fact that there is very little in the way of contemporary comment on the Maundy service, compared, for example, to touching for the king's evil, would further suggest that Charles II did not frequently participate. That a ceremony which emphasised the king's humility – albeit in a Christ-like context – rather than his power and authority did not appeal to Charles II is very telling.

V. EVOLUTION THROUGH THE REIGN

a. The conversion of the Duke of York and the reform of the Chapel Royal, 1673-6

The opening preamble of the household regulations issued by Charles I and reissued with minor alterations by Charles II explained that their purpose was 'to establish government & order in our Court wch from thence may spread with more honor thorough all partes of our Kingdomes'.⁸⁰⁸ In previous reigns considerable attention had been afforded to the liturgy of the chapel royal, as a window on royal religious worship and therefore the likely future of religious policy.⁸⁰⁹ Interestingly, despite the restoration of Anglican liturgy and a Laudian configuration of furniture to the chapel royal in 1660, there is little evidence that this provoked any great reaction during the period when the religious settlement was being formulated. There is a reference in Zachary Crofton's *Altar Worshsip* to Chapel Royal practice, in which he describes the folly of bowing to the altar 'especially in that order in which it was of late (and beginnethafresh [sic] to be) used among us, in his Majeties Royal

⁸⁰⁵ PRO, LC5/201, p. 93; *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, I, p. 165; II, p. 287; BL, Harl. MS, fol. 174r; *The Diurnal of Thomas Rugg*, p. 165; *Angliae Notitia*, 1669, pp. 297-8; Henri de Valbourg, *Memoires et Observations faites par un Voyager en Angleterre*, François Misson, ed., (The Hague, 1698), pp. 343-4. The annual accounts for supplying the fabrics for the maundy are to be found in the lord chamberlain's papers for almost every year of the reign, see, e.g., PRO, LC5/39, p. 193, LC5/139, p. 3.

⁸⁰⁶ *The Diurnal of Thomas Rugg*, p. 165; *The Kingdom's Intelligencer*, 13, 27 March 1662; BL, Harl. MS, fol. 174r; *The Rawdon Papers*, pp. 175-7.

⁸⁰⁷ Pepys, *Diary*, VIII, p. 150; *HMC Fleming*, p. 77; *The Loyal Protestant*, 9, 2 April 1681; *True Protestant Mercury*, 133, 13 April 1682.

⁸⁰⁸ PRO, LC5/180, fol 1r; BL, Stowe MS 562, fol. 1r.

⁸⁰⁹ That Laud was dean of the Chapel Royal made this virtually inevitable in Charles I's reign; see, Thurley, 'The Stuart Kings, Oliver Cromwell and the Chapel Royal', *passim*; Anthony Milton, "'That Sacred Oratory': religion and the Chapel Royal during the personal rule of Charles I", in A. Ashbee, ed., *William Lawes (1602-1645): Essays on his Life, Times and*

Chappel, Lambeth Chappell, the Cathedral and many Parish Churches' where 'the table must be made in the frame of an Altar, Railed in, and advanced as an holy inclosure; fixed at the East end of the Church; and furnished with altar furniture, and Coverings, and Candlesticks with Candles in them...' ⁸¹⁰

However, despite such references in polemical works, there are very few notices of the form of worship in the chapel royal in contemporary diaries and correspondence. Perhaps the strongly conciliatory note which the king struck on the question of toleration in the Declaration of Breda, and his handing over to Parliament the resolution of the religious settlement, left contemporaries untroubled that what took place within the chapels royal was going to materially affect the national religious settlement. So it was that individual aspects of services were remarked upon, be they the introduction of strings or the construction of the organ loft, but these were not viewed as signalling any sort of national policy change, while the mundane questions of who played well or badly, how good the sermon was, or who sat next to whom, seem to have interested contemporaries most.

This relative lack of concern with the performance of Chapel Royal liturgy was to change in the early 1670s, with growing anti-Catholic feeling, the passage of the Test acts and the conversion of the duke of York. Suddenly, with the dawning news of the heir to the throne's conversion to Catholicism, and the Protestantism of the king and court as a whole under scrutiny, precisely what was happening at the chapel royal became a matter of national political importance: it was in effect the barometer which would foretell the coming of confessional, and therefore political, change in the country as a whole.

The duke of York had privately converted to Catholicism in early 1669, though Samuel Pepys had noted the 'silly Devotions' performed by the duke and duchess at their 'little pretty chapel' in April 1668.⁸¹¹ The best part of a decade would pass before he publicly acknowledged his conversion. In 1673, needing Parliament to grant financial support for his second war against the Dutch, Charles II agreed to the withdrawal of the Declaration of Indulgence of the previous year, and acquiesced to the passage of the Test Act, which required all civil office holders and military officers to take Anglican communion publicly and to take the 'test' formally denying transubstantiation.⁸¹²

Works (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 74-6, 82; and, e.g., *The Works of William Laud*, III, p. 197.

⁸¹⁰ Zachary Crofton, *Altar Worship, or Bowing to the Communion Table Considered* (London, 1661), p. 114. I am grateful to Kenneth Fincham for this reference. See also E. Hiceringill, *The Ceremony Monger* (London, 1698), p. 18.

⁸¹¹ John Miller, *James II* (New Haven and London, 1978; second edition, 2000) pp. 58-64; Pepys, *Diary*, IX, pp. 163-4; 'Memoirs of Nathaniel, Lord Crewe', pp. 12-13.

⁸¹² Andrew Browning, *Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds, 1632-1712*, 3 vols (Glasgow, 1944), I, pp. 96-102.

The Test Act was passed in mid March 1673 and on the 29th of that month Parliament was adjourned. The following day was Easter Sunday, and all eyes were trained on the afternoon service at the Whitehall chapel, one of the three times in the year when the king led the whole court in the reception of holy communion. The crowd of attendees was huge, all anxious to see who would receive. In the words of John Evelyn: 'I staid to see whither (according to custome) the *Duke of York* did Receive the Communion, with the *King*, but he did not, to the amazement of every body; This being the second yeare he had forborn & put it off, & this being within a day of the *Parliaments* sitting, who had Lately made so severe an *Act* against the increase of *Poperie*, gave exceeding grieffe & scandal to the whole Nation; That the heyre of it, & the sonn of a Martyr for the *Protestant Religion*, should apostatize: What the Consequence of this will be God onely knows, & Wise men dread.'⁸¹³ The duke of York had attended the service alongside his brother in the chapel closet but at the crucial moment when the king and Prince Rupert descended into the chapel to take communion, he slipped away to his lodgings.⁸¹⁴

The seal was set on the scandal of the duke's withdrawal from the chapel at the moment of communion when he resigned the admiralty, an act which was as close to a public declaration of his Catholicism as the duke could go without actually making one. It is clear that in the light of his brother's barely-veiled Catholicism, Charles II was anxious to ensure that all his Protestant courtiers should abide by the stipulations of the act to demonstrate that the vast majority of those to be found at court were Anglicans. Unusually, on the Sunday after Easter – 6 April – the principal officers of state and almost all members of the royal household below stairs took communion in the chapel royal. Thomas Lamplugh, dean of Rochester, wrote to friends that the duke of Monmouth, Ormond the lord steward, Bath the groom of the stool, various other senior officials, all the officers of the Greencloth and the whole of the below-stairs household took communion, and in so doing 'came up all decently to the rails before the Communion Table'.⁸¹⁵ The following Sunday, 13 April, it was the turn of the household above stairs, and the earl of St Albans, the lord chamberlain, led his department to chapel, 'though he had himself received there on Easter Sunday, resolved to receive againe, with all the Privy-chamber men and officers above staires; so carefull the King is that all the court observe the late Act of Parliament to that purpose'. All this was not, however, necessary for the conditions of the Test Act to be met, which only required annual communion, but in the light of his brother's conversion, the king clearly considered it crucially important to demonstrate the Protestantism of his court. To this end also, it would appear, various key court figures were dispatched out of court to receive communion in parish churches, so on 20 April Prince Rupert and a variety of senior lords received

⁸¹³ Evelyn, *Diary*, IV, p. 7.

⁸¹⁴ PRO, PRO31/3/128, fol. 58v; *HMC Verney*, p. 490.

⁸¹⁵ *HMC Fleming*, pp. 100-1.

communion at St Martin's in the Fields, which was followed a few days later by Rupert's swearing the oaths required by the act at the King's Bench bar.⁸¹⁶

The absence of the lord treasurer from the communion services in the chapel royal during the months after the passage of the Test Act was particularly noted, 'the Lord Treasurer has not yet received in public' wrote Dr Thomas Smith to his correspondent in April 1673, while in June 'All people continue in great expectation to see what my Lord Treasurer and some other great men will doe at Court, in relation to receiving the Sacrament'.⁸¹⁷ Clifford finally resigned his offices on 19 June and three months later was found dead, probably by his own hand. Political pressure continued to mount and on 14 November 1673 the king, keen 'to let all his subjects see that no Care can be greater then His Owne in ye effectuall suppressing of Popery', ordered the lord chamberlain and lord steward to ensure 'That no Person who is a Roman Catholique or is reputed to be of ye Roman Catholique Religion do presume after the 18th day of this instant November to come into his Mats Royall Presence or to his Palace or to the Place where his Court shall be'.⁸¹⁸ Though the duke of York had also resigned his offices (on 15 June), he stopped short of making a public declaration of Catholicism, and continued to attend chapel but without taking part in any of the liturgical ceremonies. The goings-on in the chapel royal were watched closely and with great concern: at Christmas 1673 Sir Gilbert Talbot wrote to Williamson 'The Duke doth not declare himself, but leaveth it much suspected by waiting on the King to the Chappell on Christmas day, and leaving his Majesty when he went down to receive', going on to point out that this 'will be the greatest occasion of complaint, because the Government is left in apparent danger whensoever God shall take the King from us'.⁸¹⁹ This state of affairs was to continue for another two years, with the duke appearing in the chapel royal but not receiving, until in March 1676 when finally he publicly declared his conversion by announcing 'he would never more come under the roof of Whitehall Chapel'; he was consequently absent from the chapel royal on Easter Sunday a few days later, of which Evelyn noted 'this was the first time the Duke appeared no more in the Chappell' an act which the French ambassador described as 'La Profession ouverte qu'il a fait de la religion Catholique'.⁸²⁰

⁸¹⁶ *HMC Fleming*, pp. 100, 101.

⁸¹⁷ *Letters Addressed from London to Sir Joseph Williamson*, I, p. 21; *HMC Fleming*, VII, p. 100; PRO, PRO31/3/127, fol. 62v.

⁸¹⁸ *London Gazette*, 834, Friday 14 November 1673; PRO, PC2/64, p. 132.

⁸¹⁹ *Letters Addressed from London to Sir Joseph Williamson*, I, p. 106; this is also recorded by the earl of Anglesey: 'The morning and afternoon I was at Whitehall Chappell the King & pr. Rupert received the comunion but y^e Duke of Yorke went away as soone as the Bishop of Chester had done his sermon', BL, Add 40860, fol. 62v. Browning, *Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby*, I, p. 102.

⁸²⁰ Evelyn, *Diary*, IV, pp. 34, 87; *HMC Verney*, p. 467; PRO, PRO31/3/132, fol. 137r.

This anxiety, that England was about to have its first Catholic king since the Reformation, was the major political issue in the five years following the passage of the Test Act.⁸²¹ During this time, especially from 1673 to 1676 the confessional status of the duke of York and the strength of the Anglicanism of the king and his senior officers was a matter of national concern, and as a result proceedings at the Whitehall chapel came under intense and detailed scrutiny. It is surely no coincidence that during this three-year period the way the chapel looked and the way it was organised was substantially altered. Most of these changes have been touched on above, but it may be useful to consider them briefly again, together. In June 1673 the College of Arms was asked to 'draw up a Ceremoniall' to formalise the procession which bore the king to chapel every Sunday, which was to 'observe therein as much as may be the practise of former times'.⁸²² The following Spring the lord chamberlain reprimanded the closet keeper and the chaplains for the sloppiness of their behaviour: the negligence of their attendance and the disorder which they permitted in the conduct of religious services.⁸²³ That summer improvements were made to the body of the chapel: the pulpit was mended, pew doors replaced and a new rail supplied for the altar.⁸²⁴ In 1675 the rather ad-hoc way in which the Tudor layout of the chapel closets was used by the Restoration court was no longer considered acceptable, and they were rebuilt to reflect political reality, dispensing with the consort's closet and making the Protestant king in his single closet the sole focus of the liturgical west end of the chapel. At the same time new regulations governing access were issued to impose order on attendance in these new spaces.⁸²⁵

Finally in the summer of 1676 the liturgical east end of the chapel was reordered and a new altar and reredos installed; there was nothing dramatically new about the elements of the arrangement, which comprised an altar raised on a step set against the liturgical east wall encircled by a rail – all features of the chapel royal since the Restoration. It was, though, architecturally quite different from what went before: it was modern in form, grand and statuesque. Even if only in its great Tudor window, the previous arrangement must inevitably have still had had tones of 16th-century forms of worship, while the new work was articulated entirely in the architectural language of the Restoration and was broadly of a form which would be adopted in the London churches rebuilt and decorated during the 1670s and 80s.⁸²⁶ (Figures 44 and 45)

⁸²¹ Miller, *James II*, pp. 66-7.

⁸²² College of Arms, MS I 25, Earl Marshal's Book, fol 127. When the household regulations were re-issued in 1678 they included the new stipulation that 'all Men keepe their Rankes orderley and distinctly, and not break them with pretence of Speaking one with another, or for any other occasion whatsoever', BL, Stowe MS 562, fol. 8r; *CSPD*, 1661-2, p. 453.

⁸²³ PRO, LC5/140, p. 452; LC5/140, p. 495.

⁸²⁴ PRO, WORK5/23, fos 67r, 68r, 73r.

⁸²⁵ PRO, LC5/141, pp. 245, 296, 297, 317.

⁸²⁶ Thurley, 'The Stuart Kings, Oliver Cromwell and the Chapel Royal', pp. 263-5; *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, II, p. 283; PRO, WORK5/27, fos. 103r-107v, 112r-116v, 308r-309v. See also, Kenneth Fincham, "'According to ancient custom": the return of altars in the Restoration church of England', pp. 26-54.

It is suggested, then, that the years 1673-6 saw very significant change in the Chapel Royal. For the first decade of the reign the details of royal worship were not of great interest to the nation; the religious settlement was being determined by Parliament not the king, and there was no significant sense of national anxiety about the confessional status of the royal family. However as the rumours began to emerge of the conversion of the duke of York things started to change; and from the passage of the Test Act in March 1673 to the duke of York's public conversion in 1676 the Chapel Royal was right at the centre of public attention, it was here that the greatest question of the day – would there again be a Catholic king of England? – would be answered. Charles II was clearly anxious in the months following the passage of the Test Act that the Anglicanism of his court should be plainly demonstrated in the attendance of its members at the chapel royal and their full participation in Anglican communion. This desire for exemplary performance of Anglican ritual at the chapel royal would appear to have been behind the series of changes to the chapel royal in the following next three years, all of which enhanced the stateliness and order of the chapel and of the sovereign's own participation in its liturgy.

It may well be relevant that during these crucial three years there were new appointments to the two most senior positions responsible for the chapel royal. In September 1674 the earl of St Albans, widely believed to be Catholic, relinquished the position of lord chamberlain. The earl of Arlington who was appointed in his stead had played a crucial part in arguing the king round to acceptance of the Test Act and would participate actively in purging Catholics from court later in the year.⁸²⁷ The following summer when the dean of the Chapel, Walter Blandford, died, the relatively junior bishop of Oxford, Henry Compton, was appointed to succeed him. Compton, a staunch Anglican known for his uncompromising opposition to Catholicism, could hardly have been less associated with Popery and the duke of York – according to Burnet 'the Duke hated him'.⁸²⁸

The duke of York publicly declared that he would no longer attend chapel in March 1676. Given that he had been pressing the king to allow him to make this announcement for more than five years, the timing must have some significance.⁸²⁹ In this context it is interesting that the declaration took place hot on the heels of two other notable events of early 1676: the completion of the newly rebuilt chapel closets and the confirmation in the Protestant faith, at the Whitehall chapel royal, of the duke of York's two daughters, Princess Mary and Princess Anne, at the end of January.⁸³⁰ It must also be

⁸²⁷ Barbour, *Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington*, pp. 242-3; Miller, *Charles II*, p. 212; Kenyon, *The Popish Plot*, pp. 310-11.

⁸²⁸ *Burnet's History of my Own Time*, II, pp. 99-100. See also Andrew Barclay, 'The rise of Edward Colman', *Historical Journal*, 41, I, (1999), pp. 127-8. Compton was also, significantly, tutor to Princesses Anne and Mary.

⁸²⁹ Cavelli, *Les Derniers Stuarts*, I, 'Documents', p. 166; PRO 31/3/132, fol. 137r.

⁸³⁰ *London Gazette*, 1065, 23 January 1676.

significant that it took place just days before the Easter Sunday service at which the court would appear in full: accompanying the king to chapel in the newly ordered procession, taking their seats in the newly re-arranged chapel pews, and at the crucial moment turning to watch the king descend from the new chapel closet – now focussed architecturally entirely on the monarch regnant – to lead the congregation in the reception of Anglican communion. It could hardly compensate for the crushing blow of the duke's conversion, but it must have been a powerful demonstration of the strength and majesty of the Anglican monarch who was still head of church and state.

b. Charles II and the Chapel Royal

That Charles II was, compared to his immediate predecessor and successor, a man not remarkable for his personal religious conviction has been often noted, and even with the comings and goings of modern historiography is a view which has not been substantially challenged.⁸³¹ There is little to contradict this in a study of his Chapel Royal; there is no evidence of his ever being, or appearing to be, spiritually affected in the course of public worship in the chapel or in private prayers in the closet or private oratory. Indeed he was more likely to be moved to laughter than to tears by the experience of divine service.⁸³² However, this should never be taken to indicate that he did not treat the question of religion, and his own participation in it, seriously.

Though he was an impatient man, with no love of sitting still, Charles II attended public worship in the chapel royal frequently (see appendix 4). It is clear that he did much more than attend solely on the great religious feasts and, though the information is not complete enough to say that he attended public service every Sunday, he was, like his father, often to be found in the chapel royal on Sundays throughout the reign.⁸³³ The regularity of his attendance is further indicated by the fact that when he was on progress he was accompanied by the chaplains in waiting, who would travel with the king to the nearest parish church to preach the Sunday sermon before him.⁸³⁴ Even ill-health did not deter him; on Sunday 27 May 1682 the king attended chapel at Windsor despite having spent the morning throwing up and though he was clearly still unwell – as was vividly demonstrated when he started shivering so violently that he had to be taken out half way through the sermon.⁸³⁵

In a much-quoted letter of 2 April 1663, the French ambassador wrote to his masters of the English king's views on Catholicism: 'je le trouve persuadé que aucune autre n'est si propre pour l'autorité

⁸³¹ Most recently, Ronald Hutton, 'The religion of Charles II', in Smuts, ed., *The Stuart Courts and Europe*, pp. 228-246; Hutton, *Charles II*, pp. 455-7; Miller, *Charles II*, pp. 56-7, 161-3, 381-3; Jones, *Charles II*, p. 189.

⁸³² Pepys, *Diary*, I, p. 266; II, pp. 292-3.

⁸³³ Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, p. 281.

⁸³⁴ CSPD, 1668-9, pp. 4, 9-10; Ailesbury, *Memoirs*, I, p. 54.

absolue, outre qu'il a en particulaire quelque recognoissance pour l'assistance et les faveurs qu'il a receues des Catholiques Romains'.⁸³⁶ What exactly this tells us about Charles II's Catholicism or otherwise remains, despite much discussion of the question, opaque; however what it tells us about his attitude to the relationship between religion and monarchy is clear: there was, and should be, a reinforcing connection between religion and 'the absolute dignity' of kings. It was this which underpinned his approach to religious ceremonial and the liturgy of the chapel royal. The grandeur, pomp and sensual richness of royal religious practice appealed to Charles II, and he carried it off with panache; Pepys was greatly impressed by the spectacle of the king descending to receive the sacrament on Whitsunday 1662, a 'sight very well worth seeing', and was struck by the 'ceremoniousness' of the proceedings there.⁸³⁷ The king may have laughed off chiding sermons by disapproving clerics, but in performing his own part in the ceremonies of the Chapel Royal there is no evidence Charles II was anything other than dignified and majestic. He seems to have followed the advice of his old governor, Newcastle, who warned him to remember that 'seremonye In the church It Is as necesarye as anye thinge for ... Itt doth Everye thinge Itt kepes upp Gods house, the kinges & the Comon wealth', 'or Else the church will faule to nothings as Itt hath Latlye dun'.⁸³⁸ It is interesting to note that while the king happily participated in the dignified processions and sacraments of the chapel, which placed him so clearly at the head of his subjects and within touching distance of divinity, the ritual humility of the pediluvium appealed to him far less, and he let it quietly slip from his own ritual year. The chapel royal was a ceremonial arena which lent itself particularly well to the aggrandisement of the king; as the household ordinances issued by Charles I and II stated, the procession to the chapel was 'one of the Most Eminent and frequent occasions whereby Mens Ranks in Precedency are distinguished and discerned', while the direct correlation between the holiness of the occasion and the extent of the king's active participation in the rituals of the chapel could only have reflected well on a monarchy which still claimed to rule by divine appointment.⁸³⁹

Though the first half of the 1670s saw considerable anxiety about the confessional status of the duke of York, the greatest crisis of the reign came in 1678-81 when the revelations about a popish plot, and the exclusion crisis which resulted, saw anxiety about the malign intentions of Catholics at court hit fever-pitch. In November 1680, the House of Commons passed a bill to exclude the duke of York from the succession; it passed to the Lords who, with the king standing firm and in constant attendance, rejected it by 63 votes to 30. The defeat of the exclusion bill and the dismissal of Parliament for the final time in the reign saw Charles return to London in a mood of triumph,

⁸³⁵ *HMC Ormonde*, VI, p. 376.

⁸³⁶ PRO, PRO31/3/111, fol. 94r.

⁸³⁷ Pepys, *Diary*, I, p. 210; II, pp. 84-5; VII, pp. 99, 107.

⁸³⁸ *A Catalogue of Letters*, Strong, ed., p. 189.

⁸³⁹ PRO, LC5/180, fol. 16v; BL, Stowe MS, 562, fol. 8r; *Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, II, p. 278.

instituting 'sweeping changes in court and council', and begin to rule with new confidence and authority.⁸⁴⁰ He cracked down on Dissent, became 'firmly and unequivocally attached to the Church', and reasserted royal authority over the corporations. As he had removed his Parliament robes for the last time, he turned to the earl of Ailesbury and remarked with verve 'I am now a better man than you were a quarter of an hour since; you had better have one king than five hundred'.⁸⁴¹

As has been seen in previous chapters, the period 1680-5 saw the king participating in the rituals of royalty with new vigour, touching thousands for the king's evil and using the ceremonial conventions of audiences to great effect to demonstrate his power over his subjects. This new confidence in his own majesty after the exclusion crisis was also to be seen in the sphere of royal worship. The king was reported to be hearing prayers more frequently than ever, 'every morning' in early 1679, and in 1682 his private oratory at Whitehall was remodelled; meanwhile his frequent attendance at the chapel royal on holy days continued unabated.⁸⁴² In 1684 John Evelyn recorded that the king now passed within the rails of the altar to receive the host, that incense burned about him, and that the king's illegitimate sons took communion at his side.⁸⁴³

It was also at precisely the moment that the exclusion bill was defeated that Antonio Verrio began to turn his attention to the painting of the partially rebuilt chapel royal at Windsor Castle. The king's scheme to renovate the castle for regular royal occupation had been conceived in 1674, in the tense period between the passage of the first Test Act and the duke of York's public conversion, and may have been a deliberate move to create a principal court residence outside London. However the king's mood was very different in 1681. Gone was the conciliatory spirit of a decade earlier, and it is in this context that the later Windsor work must be seen. Almost all the work to the interior of the chapel was undertaken between October 1680 and October 1682, and it was first used in the spring of 1683.⁸⁴⁴ The finished chapel did not feature a different liturgical arrangement from what went before (other than in reversing its orientation), but it represented a new departure in the decoration of church interiors. Not covered in wainscot or fabric, the building's interior was instead painted from floor to ceilings with rich religious imagery; though this was restricted to New Testament, firmly Christological, scenes, it was highly dramatic. The Whitehall chapel had had an oval frame installed above the altar when remodelled in 1676 but a canvas was probably never fitted, while at Windsor by 1683 not only did a scene of the Last Supper sit over the altar, but the great healing scene and

⁸⁴⁰ There are many accounts of this, see, e.g. Miller, *Charles II*, pp. 337-45.

⁸⁴¹ Ailesbury, *Memoirs*, I, p. 57; see also, I, p. 22 and *HMC Ormonde*, VI, pp. 143-4.

⁸⁴² *CSPD*, 1679-80, pp. 25-6; BL, Add MS 29,577, fol. 180r; see appendix 4.

⁸⁴³ Evelyn, *Diary*, IV, pp. 374-5; this is the only reference I have so far found to the king receiving within the rails, so I am not clear about the frequency with which it happened.

⁸⁴⁴ PRO, LC5/66, fos. 45r-v; LC5/144, p. 213, 220, 225; Evelyn, *Diary*, IV, pp. 216-17; St John Hope, *Windsor Castle*, I, pp. 318-22.

Resurrection paintings covered the ceiling and north wall. The contrast between this interior, with its vivid figurative painting, and the London churches being decorated at the same moment, in which the written word formed the decorative focus (e.g. figure 44), is striking. The glazed windows of the two closets were replaced by a central closet with an open balcony, from which the sovereign looking down on proceedings could be plainly seen. This was a triumphalist scheme, overseen personally by a king who believed that royal religious practice was fundamentally linked to royal authority. The results were 'stupendous', a chapel interior so glorious and majestic that it left visitors speechless. No longer was Charles anxiously corralling his courtiers to conform to his Parliament's religious legislation, as had been the case in 1673, but now, in boldly confident mood, was finally creating a setting for royal worship which was truly in keeping with his own majesty.

In the leap year of 1676 a debate arose over the question of when St Matthias's day ought to be celebrated. The king was consulted, who in turn asked the sub-dean of the Chapel Royal to look into the matter; the sub-dean reported back that in the chapel royal it had in the past been observed on the 25th. The king declared that it would, then, be celebrated on the 25th, with the words 'I'll have no Innovations in y^e Church'.⁸⁴⁵ This attitude underpinned his approach to the practice in the chapel royal; he followed the same form of worship from exile to his death and showed no desire to make substantial changes to the liturgical arrangements; continuity was all-important and personal spirituality had little to do with anything. There were, though, changes of a different kind and during the reign the experience of attending the chapel royal became richer and grander: the rooms became more magnificent, the sounds and smells more elaborate and sophisticated, and the focus on the king tighter. The result was, at Charles II's death, a Chapel Royal perhaps as orderly and regal as it had been since the Reformation; an arrangement which suited him very well, but which his niece Mary was to describe neatly and damningly as composed of 'so much formality and so little devotion'.⁸⁴⁶

⁸⁴⁵ *Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal*, II, p. 283; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 67r.

⁸⁴⁶ *Memoirs of Mary, Queen of England*, p. 12.

CONCLUSION

The first decade or so of the restored king's reign saw the reinstatement of the full ceremonial calendar of the English monarchy. Within two months of his return he was regularly healing the sick, dining in state, attending the chapel royal, and receiving foreign and domestic visitors in a variety of ceremonial contexts according to their status. However this period also saw some of the annual round of rituals adapted by the new king to suit him better: both to suit the way he was accustomed to performing them and to suit his own personality. So, probably because it was what he had grown accustomed to in France, he used his privy apartments, and specifically his bedchamber, as a reception room. Soon after 1660 he introduced something of the distinction between the *chambre de parade* and the *chambre à coucher* that he had known in France into his own palaces. He chose to alter some of the existing etiquette of receptions, frustrating his master of the Ceremonies, who noted in the mid-1660s that while Charles I had received foreign residents seated and hatted, the new king had 'adopted a custom of more peculiar converse while he was out of England' and was 'thereby grown an Enemy to formality, & seldom keeping his hat on, or sitting down in those rooms He receives them as they find Him, standing, & his hat in his hand'. Nonetheless, Cotterell himself acknowledged that he did this without making any alterations to the precedent books, and that he did not take kindly to anyone expecting to be treated with undue honour.⁸⁴⁷ This period also saw the reinstatement of the court circle, first held by Henrietta Maria but continued by Catherine of Braganza. In the mid 1660s, though, the queen's circle moved from the consort's state apartments into her privy apartments, thereby allowing greater flexibility in the way they operated. The king was indeed more 'accessible' in these years than his father had ever been and than he would be thereafter; courtiers and diplomats would be found in his company from dawn to dusk. In May 1669 the French ambassador Colbert would write to Louis XIV describing with obvious horror how the king was surrounded from five in the morning until he went to bed by his subjects, and not just his immediate courtiers but noblemen from far and wide.⁸⁴⁸

The largely ad-hoc adaptation of the ceremonies of the court in the 1660s, gave way to a rather different approach in the early years of the 1670s. As has been discussed in chapter three, the passage of the Test Act in March 1673, and the great attention which was subsequently directed to the confessional status of courtiers, marked something of a water-shed. That year saw the rituals and procedure of the Chapel Royal tighten-up substantially, something which would be continued over the following two years. Also that year, during the critical three month period (March-June) in which

⁸⁴⁷ PRO, LC5/2, pp. 37, this account is undated, but is datable by the identification of Coventry and Arlington as the secretaries of the state at the time. See also p. 141.

⁸⁴⁸ PRO, PRO31/3/122, fol. 7r.

office-holders had to take communion according to the provision of the act, the staff of the state apartments were ordered to make significant changes to the way in which access to the privy gallery was managed and to the general orderliness of their domain. 'His Ma^{tie} having discerned the Undecencies likely to arise more & more in his house by Not regulateing the Entries & Passages in his Privy Gallery', the gentlemen ushers of the privy chamber were to alter the locks on the doors into the gallery, to ensure their staff manned the doors and monitored those seeking access, and – crucially – to remind them that the proper route into the royal apartments was 'to be by his Guard Chamber p'sence & privy Chamber'.⁸⁴⁹ On the same day the lord chamberlain wrote to the staff of the presence chamber emphasising the king's desire to remove the 'inconvenience & undecensie of y^e Avenues to His House' by reinforcing 'the Auntient forme as nere as may be, without much Alteracon'. The presence chamber staff were now to stand constantly at the door of the room, ensuring that 'all things passe there according to y^e Dignity of His Ma^{ties} House'. The guard chamber was to be better maintained: the smell of beer and smoke 'or any thing else for the inconvenience of the passage' created by the night guard was to be cleared in the mornings by airing and perfuming, and the practice of allowing footmen to wait there, which was against the regulations, was to be stamped out.⁸⁵⁰

The changes to the Chapel Royal over the course of the year after the passage of the Test Act have been described in detail in the previous chapter. Other areas of royal ritual activity were also made more orderly during that year. In December 1673 the Bedchamber orders were re-issued, with the complaint that the 1661 orders had been 'of late neglected and discontinued' and were therefore to be 'revived and confirmed'. These were adjusted to take account of the new configuration of the king's privy apartments and set out in more detail the respective responsibilities of the lord chamberlain and groom of the stool. There is some evidence that the orders were more rigorously enforced thereafter, and it was in those ensuing two or three years that the admission of courtiers to the king's presence in the early mornings and late evenings came to have the status of regular events, known, by 1678 at least, by the French terms 'lever' and 'coucher'. May 1674 saw the issuing of orders for the better regulation of healing ceremonies, which complained of the 'many inconveniencies & disorders' in their past performance. That year witnessed the numbers healed by the king exceed 5,000 for the first time since the crowds had flocked to Whitehall in his restoration year.⁸⁵¹

The second watershed came in the crisis years following the popish plot. In the immediate aftermath of the revelations about the plot, there was a great clamping down on access to the king: new stricter Bedchamber orders were issued, freedom of movement in the household as a whole was restricted,

⁸⁴⁹ PRO, LC5/140, fos. 248, 249.

⁸⁵⁰ PRO, LC5/140, fol. 249.

⁸⁵¹ NUL, Portland MS, PW V 93, fos. 1-13; PRO, LC5/140, pp. 493-4

and there was a dramatic reduction in the numbers healed, only 19 people being touched between December 1678 and February 1679.⁸⁵² As the king weathered the exclusion crisis of 1679-81, he gained a new strength of purpose and assurance in his own monarchy. As he had turned on his heel out of the House of Lords, having dramatically dissolved Parliament, he tarried for one purpose: to dine in public, complete with musicians playing, before entering the royal coach and making for London.⁸⁵³ Thereafter the king showed greater confidence in his performance of the rituals of royalty, the numbers touched increasing annually from 1679: nearly 4,000 were healed in 1680, over 6,000 in 1681 and the largest ever number, over 8,000, in 1682. In receiving his subjects – petitioners for a Parliament or civic deputations – the king started making dramatic use of the ancient formalities of these occasions to demonstrate his own sovereignty, sometimes refusing even to speak directly to the petitioners. Meanwhile his lever and coucher became more formal, with musicians being found playing as the king dressed, long a feature of the French king's lever. In the great dispute which arose between the lord chamberlain and groom of the stool, the king refused to see any alteration in the ancient division of jurisdiction between the two officers, thereby both maintaining the historic separation of his apartments and ensuring he continued to exercise personal authority over the ways things were done in his own rooms. The rituals of the chapel royal took on new magnificence, the chapel royal at Windsor was decorated in a dramatically bold and exuberant style, making it 'probably the finest Baroque interior ever assembled in England', and the king started to receive within the altar rails with incense burning about him.⁸⁵⁴

The new focus on his own majesty which Charles II displayed after the exclusion crisis can be seen through his building projects in those years. This was a busy time for the staff of the office of Works; at Whitehall in 1682 they were busy with the extension and reconstruction of the king's privy lodgings, making those rooms more commodious and better configured for the extensive use they received, while at Windsor they were overseeing the completion of the chapel royal and St George's Hall. In August 1682 the king made his first stay at Winchester, and fixed upon the scheme that was to occupy him much in the last couple of years of his life, and which would be the most ambitious building project he ever undertook. It was to be a great palace, built on a site not used by English sovereigns since the Middle Ages, which the king wanted to see completed with enormous speed.⁸⁵⁵ This entirely new palace, with its great projecting wings, clearly resembled Louis Le Vau's rebuilding of Versailles for Louis XIV, and was ambitiously equipped with five suites of royal apartments and

⁸⁵² The Rye House plot saw the strict rules of access further emphasised, the staff of the privy gallery being told in July 1683 to ensure 'more care may be had of the Galleryes dureing this tyme of Danger', PRO, LC5/144, p. 641.

⁸⁵³ Ailesbury, *Memoirs*, I, p. 57.

⁸⁵⁴ David Watkin, *The Royal Interiors of Regency England* (London and Melbourne, 1984), p. 30.

⁸⁵⁵ The king was anxious that Wren should built the palace with all imaginable speed, remarking "if it be possible to be done in one year, I will have it so; for a year is a great deal in my life.", *Lives of the Norths*, II, p. 207.

extensive courtier lodgings.⁸⁵⁶ (Figure 46) The king did not live to see it completed. As the earl of Ailesbury waited in the bedchamber in January 1685, he sat a while listening to Charles talk excitedly about his project, 'that noble Castle and his favourite one that he was building at Winchester', in Ailesbury's words: "I shall be most happy this week" remarked the king, "for my building will be covered with lead". This was Sunday night, and the Saturday following he was embalmed'.⁸⁵⁷ (Figure 47)

What was the king's intention for this great palace? The Winchester project is well-known, and the possible reasons for his choice of site – the hunting, its distance from the Whig strongholds around Newmarket, its antiquity and its proximity to the coast – have all been discussed. Until recently it was generally considered to have been intended as an elaborate autumn retreat, but Simon Thurley has shown that it was in fact to have been a 'standing house' to which the whole court could move, and has characterised his intention as to have an alternative standing suburban residence to Hampton Court and Greenwich.⁸⁵⁸ Might it have been more than this still? The palace which Wren planned for his eager master was indeed unusual. In English royal residences, the architecture normally reflected the assumption that the king and queen would worship together and hence a great shared chapel royal was included, but here for the first time the plan both recognised the confessional difference between king and queen, and unashamedly gave parity of status to the chapel in the queen's apartments and that in the king's.⁸⁵⁹ More than this, the palace was to be provided with extensive courtier lodgings, eight kitchens to feed the court, and, unlike Windsor, with a council chamber and extensive subsidiary rooms for the administrative machinery of the council. In the year Charles II first came to Winchester and asked Wren to make preparatory surveys of the site, his cousin, Louis XIV, moved his court from the ancient urban seat of the Louvre to his great baroque palace of Versailles. Perhaps this had planted a seed in Charles II's mind; maybe the palace he swiftly set about constructing, which was so recognisably architecturally inspired by Versailles, was not to be simply a summer stopping-off point, or even a favoured suburban house, but rather a new seat for the English monarchy, conceived and hurried-on by a king who had finally taken charge of his own affairs. Had he lived, perhaps the king would have abandoned Whitehall for this building which would have provided a fitting stage for the ritual performances of a king enjoying new confidence in his ancient office and personal authority. Winchester Palace would be sited in a loyal town where his court could lodge and his council could meet, it would be a house in which his wife could worship freely and which was equipped with rooms

⁸⁵⁶ Colvin, *King's Works*, V, pp. 304-13.

⁸⁵⁷ Ailesbury, *Memoirs*, I, p. 22-23.

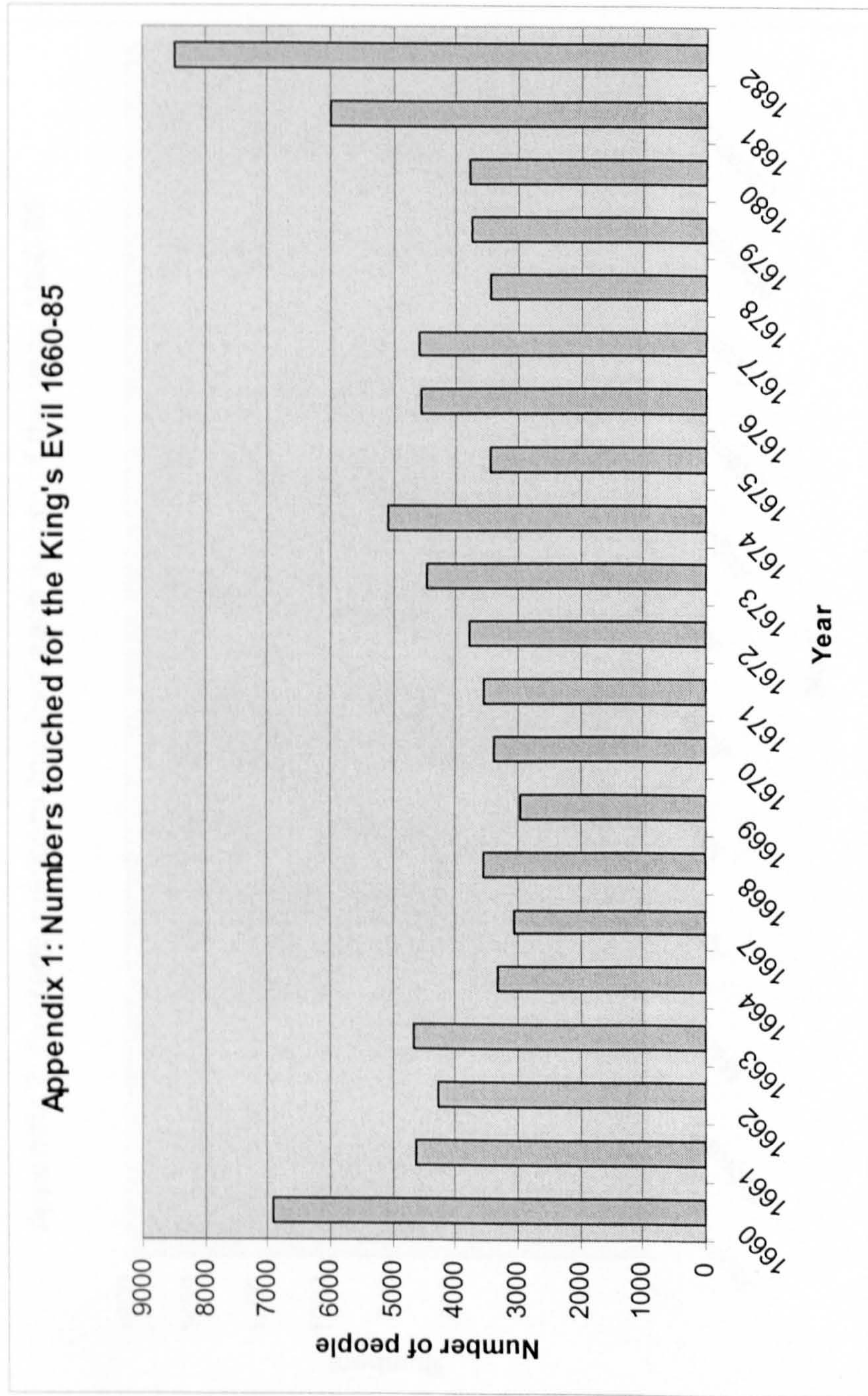
⁸⁵⁸ Thurley, 'A country seat fit for a king', pp. 226-35. See Miller, *Charles II*, p. 351; Fraser, *Charles II*, pp. 431-2; Hutton, *Charles II*, p. 441; Colvin, *King's Works*, V, p. 305.

⁸⁵⁹ Extra spaces had of course been constructed or set aside for Henrietta Maria and Catherine of Braganza to worship in, but Catholic chapels had never before received the sort of parity of status with Anglican as the Winchester plan allowed for; compare it, for example, with the new lodgings at Windsor of the 1670s.

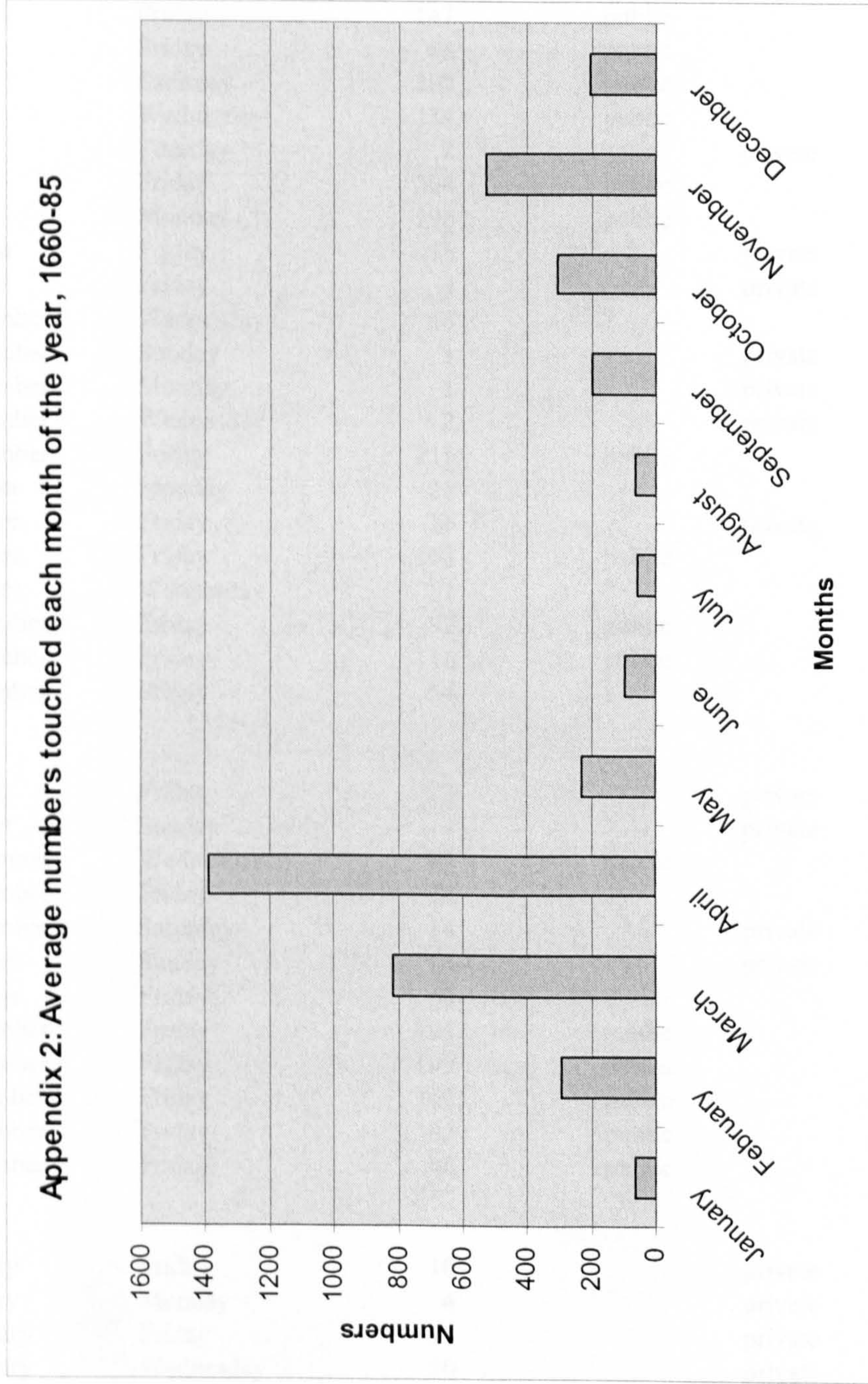
specifically suited to the king's own performance of the ritual cycle. Though this building was articulated in the most handsome modern style, its axis was firmly fixed on Winchester cathedral, the location of the Conqueror's coronation and the resting place of the bones of the Anglo Saxon kings. More than this, it was built on the foundations of the castle that had been home to the court of the most ancient and magnificent sovereign of them all, King Arthur.⁸⁶⁰

⁸⁶⁰ Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Through the whole Island of Great Britain*, Pat Rogers, ed., (London, 1971), p. 188.

Appendix 1: Compiled from John Browne's *Adenochoiradelogia: or An Anatomick-Chirurgical Treatise of Glandules & Strumaes or King's Evil Swellings* (London, 1684), pp. 197-207



Appendix 2: Compiled from John Browne's *Adenochoiradologia: or An Anatomick-Chirurgicall Treatise of Glandules & Strumaes or King's Evil Swellings* (London, 1684), pp. 197-207



Appendix 3: Numbers healed on recorded occasions in 1668, 1671, 1672, 1679.

Compiled from the surviving accounts of the clerk of the closet, to be found in F. H. Garrison 'A relic of the King's Evil' and BL, Egerton MS 806, fos 59r-60r.

Year	Date	Month	Day	Number	Suggested status of event	
1668						
1668	10	April	Friday	147	public	
1668	17	April	Friday	88	public	
1668	25	April	Saturday	202	public	
1668	29	April	Wednesday	134	public	
1668	5	May	Tuesday	2		private
1668	8	May	Friday	204	public	
1668	11	May	Monday	196	public	
1668	14	August	Friday	15		private
1668	21	August	Friday	4		private
1668	2	September	Wednesday	48	?	
1668	6	September	Sunday	1		private
1668	14	September	Monday	1		private
1668	16	September	Wednesday	2		private
1668	25	September	Friday	211	public	
1668	12	October	Monday	21		
1668	16	October	Friday	16		private
1668	23	October	Friday	103	public	
1668	28	October	Wednesday	51	?	
1668	6	November	Friday	92	public	
1668	13	November	Friday	116	public	
1668	20	November	Friday	54	?	
1671						
1671	25	August	Friday	3		private
1671	27	August	Sunday	7		private
1671	20	September	Wednesday	83	public	
1671	29	September	Friday	22		
1671	30	September	Saturday	14		private
1671	1	October	Sunday	4		private
1671	13	October	Friday	63	?	
1671	3	November	Friday	191	public	
1671	17	November	Friday	199	public	
1671	1	December	Friday	152	public	
1671	8	December	Friday	102	public	
1671	15	December	Friday	64	public	
1672						
1672	12	January	Friday	10		private
1672	22	January	Monday	4		private
1672	2	February	Friday	15		private
1672	7	February	Wednesday	10		private
1672	23	February	Friday	99	public	
1679						
1679	8	June	Sunday	21		private
1679	29	June	Sunday	43	?	
1679	12	July	Sunday	5		private
1679	16	July	Wednesday	4		private

1679	19 July	Sunday	7		private
1679	25 July	Friday	35	?	
1679	15 August	Friday	9		private
1679	17 August	Sunday	4		private
1679	11 September	Thursday	5		private
1679	14 September	Sunday	78	?	
1679	22 September	Monday	5		private
1679	8 October	Wednesday	77	?	
1679	9 October	Thursday	2		private
1679	24 October	Friday	4		
1679	1 November	Saturday	7		private
1679	12 November	Wednesday	154	public	
1679	26 November	Wednesday	172	public	
1679	9 December	Tuesday	1		private
1679	12 December	Friday	90	public	

Appendix 4: Primary records of Charles II attending the Chapel Royal, 1660-85

Year	Date	Month	Day	Feast	Receiving	Offering	Source
1660	29 May	May	Tuesday	Restoration			<i>The Parliamentary Intelligencer</i> , 23, 29 May 1660
	17 June	June	Sunday	~			<i>Diurnal of Thomas Rugg</i> , p. 93
	28 July	July	Thursday	[thanksgiving]			<i>The Parliamentary Intelligencer</i> , 27, 28 July 1660
	14 Oct	Oct	Sunday	~			Pepys, <i>Diary</i> , I, p. 266
	25 Dec	Dec	Tuesday	Christmas			<i>Elias Ashmole</i> , II, p. 807
1662	12 Jan	Jan	Sunday	~			Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , III, p. 311
	2 Feb	Feb	Sunday	Candlemas		yes	Schellinks, <i>Journal</i> , p. 72
	2 March	March	Sunday	[Lent]			Schellinks, <i>Journal</i> , p. 75
	9 March	March	Sunday	[Lent]			Pepys, <i>Diary</i> , III, p. 42
	6 April	April	Sunday	[Lent]			Pepys, <i>Diary</i> , III, p. 60
	30 April	April	Sunday	Easter	yes		Bod. Lib., Rawl. MS B 58, p.139
	1 May	May	Tuesday	St Philip			Schellinks, <i>Journal</i> , p. 84
	25 Dec	Dec	Thursday	Christmas	yes		Pepys, <i>Diary</i> , III, p. 292
1663	2 Feb	Feb	Monday	Candlemas			Pepys, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 31
	22 Nov	Nov	Sunday	~			Pepys, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 394
1664	22 May	May	Sunday	~			Pepys, <i>Diary</i> , V, p. 155
	29 May	May	Sunday	Whitsun			Pepys, <i>Diary</i> , V, p. 161
	16 Oct	Oct	Sunday	~			
1665	1 March	March	Wed	[Lent]			Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , III, p. 401
	22 March	March	Wed	[Lent]			Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , III, p. 403
	23 April	April	Sunday	Coronation			Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , III, p. 407
	21 June	June	Weds	[thanksgiving]			<i>The Newes</i> , 48, 21 June 1665
	23 July	July	Sunday	~			Pepys, <i>Diary</i> , VI, p. 166
1666	2 March	March	Friday	[Lent]			Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , III, p. 432
	16 March	March	Friday	[Lent]			Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , III, p. 432
	11 April	April	Weds	[Lent]			Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , III, p. 433
	15 April	April	Sunday	Easter	yes		Pepys, <i>Diary</i> , VII, p. 99
	5 June	June	Tuesday	[fast]			Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , III, p. 439; Pepys, <i>Diary</i> , VII, p. 151
	25 July	July	Weds	St James			Pepys, <i>Diary</i> , VII, p. 217.
	2 Sept	Sept	Sunday	~			Pepys, <i>Diary</i> , VII, p. 269
1667	30 Jan	Jan	Weds	Regicide			Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , III, p. 474
	1 Nov	Nov	Friday	All Souls		yes	Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , III, p. 501
1668	4 Oct	Oct	Sunday	~			<i>CSPD</i> , 1668-9, pp. 9-10
	27 Dec	Dec	Sunday	~			Pepys, <i>Diary</i> , IX, p. 400
1669	29 May	May	Saturday	~			Magalotti, <i>Travels</i> , p. 364
1671	18 June	June	Sunday	~			BL, Add. MS 40860, fol. 8v
	2 July	July	Sunday	~			BL, Add. MS 40860, fol. 10v
	9 July	July	Sunday	~			BL, Add. MS 40860, fol. 11r
	8 Oct	Oct	Sunday	~			North, <i>General Preface</i> , p. 115
1672	21 March	March	Thursday	[Lent]			BL, Add MS. 40860, fol. 27r
	21 April	April	Sunday	~			<i>HMC 12th Report</i> , Fleming Papers, VII, p. 92

	4 Aug	Sunday	~		BL, Add. MS 40860, fol. 33r
1673	30 March	Sunday	Easter	yes	Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 7; <i>HMC 7th Rep</i> , Verney, p. 490
	18 Oct	Saturday	St Luke		BL, Add. MS 40860, fol. 57r
	1 Nov	Saturday	All Saints		BL, Add. MS 40860, fol. 57v
	21 Dec	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 29
	24 Dec	Weds	~		BL, Add 40860, fol. 62r
	25 Dec	Thurs	Christmas	yes	BL, Add. MS 40860, fol. 62v
	27 Dec	Saturday	~		BL, Add. MS 40860, fol. 62v
1674	1 Jan	Thurs	New Year		BL, Add. MS 40860, fol. 63r
	17 April	Friday	Good Friday		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 34
	19 April	Sunday	Easter	yes	BL, Add. MS 40860, fol. 68r
	25 Dec	Friday	Christmas		BL, Add. MS 40860, fol. 80r
	26 Dec	Saturday	~		BL, Add. MS 40860, fol. 80v
	28 Dec	Monday	~		BL, Add. MS 40860, fol. 80v
1675	1 Jan	Friday	New Year		BL, Add. MS 40860, fol. 81r
	2 Feb	Tuesday	Candlemas		BL, Add. MS 40860, fol. 83r
1676	31 Jan	Monday	Regicide		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 82
	6 Jan	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 83
	18 Feb	Friday	[Lent]		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 83
	10 March	Friday	[Lent]		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 85
	12 March	Sunday	[Lent]		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, pp. 85-6
	24 March	Friday	Good Friday		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 87.
	14 May	Sunday	Whitsun	yes	BL, Add. MS 18730, fol 10v
	15 May	Monday	~		BL, Add. MS 18730, fol 11r
	4 June	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 93
	29 June	Thursday	St Peter		BL, Add 18730, fol. 12v
	16 July	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 94
	3 Sept	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 97
	22 Oct	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 100
	3 Dec	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 103
1677	4 Feb	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 105
	25 Feb	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 106
	4 March	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 106
	18 March	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 107
	18 Oct	Thurs	St Luke		BL, Add. MS 18730, fol. 30r.
	1 Nov	Thurs	All Hallows		BL, Add. MS 18730, fol. 31r
	5 Nov	Monday	[Gunpowder]		BL, Add. MS 18730, fol. 31r
	11 Nov	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 123
	2 Dec	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 125
	23 Dec	Sunday	~		BL, Add. MS 18730, fol. 31r.
	25 Dec	Tuesday	Christmas	yes	BL, Add. MS 18730, fol. 33r.
1678	21 April	Sunday	Sunday		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 134
	28 April	Sunday	Sunday		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 134
	12 May	Sunday	Sunday		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 134
	26 May	Sunday	Trinity Sunday		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 135
	16 May	Thursday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 136
	21 July	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 138
	4 August	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 140
	20 Oct	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 155
	10 Nov	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 157

	17 Nov	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 157
	24 Nov	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 158
	25 Dec	Monday	Christmas	yes	BL, Add 18730, fol 50r
	1 Dec	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 160
1679	30 Jan	Thurs	Regicide		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 163
	2 Feb	Sunday	Candlemas		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 164
	16 Feb	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 164
	23 Feb	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 164
	16 March	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 165
	4 April	Friday	[Lent]		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 166
	6 April	Sunday	[Lent]		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 166
	18 April	Friday	Good Friday		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 167
	20 April	Sunday	Easter	yes	BL, Add MS 18730, fol. 53v
	4 May	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 167
	29 June	Sunday	St Peter	yes	Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 171
	14 Sept	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 181
	19 Oct	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 182
	9 Nov	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 185
	16 Nov	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 185
	23 Nov	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 187
	7 Dec	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, pp. 190-1
	21 Dec	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 191
	25 Dec	Thurs	Christmas	yes	BL, Add. MS 18730, fol. 64r
1680	25 Jan	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 192
	1 Feb	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 193
	25 Feb	Weds	Ash Wed		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 195
	7 April	Weds	[Lent]		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 198
	11 April	Sunday	Easter	yes	BL, Add. MS 18730, fol. 69v
	10 Oct	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 222
	18 Oct	Monday	St Luke		BL, Add. MS 18730, fol. 76v
1681	31 Jan	Monday	Regicide		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 237
	13 Feb	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 238
	9 March	Weds	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 239
	1 April	Friday	Good Friday		Ailesbury, <i>Mem</i> , I, p. 54; Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 240
	5 April	Tuesday	~		<i>True Protestant Mercury</i> , 29 5 April 1681
	7 April	Thurs	[Garter]		<i>Loyal Protestant</i> , 10, 7 April 1681
	10 April	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 240
	24 April	Sunday	Sunday		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 242
	5 Nov	Saturday	[Gunpowder]		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 260
	6 Nov	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 260
	27 Nov	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 263
1682	2 Feb	Thursday	Candlemas	yes	<i>Loyal Protestant</i> , 113, 2 February 1682
	5 Feb	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 271
	12 April	Weds	[Passion wk]		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, pp. 277-8
	28 May	Sunday	~		<i>HMC Ormonde</i> , VI, p. 376
	25 July	Sunday	St James		<i>Loyal Protestant</i> , 174, 25 June 1682
	19 Nov	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 295
1683	1 Jan	Monday	New Year	yes	NUL, Portland Pw V 95, fol. 44r.
	30 Jan	Tuesday	Regicide		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 300
	6 April	Friday	Good Friday		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 309
	17 June	Sunday	~		Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, pp. 317-18

	23 Dec	Sunday	~			Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 357
1684	30 March	Sunday	Easter	yes	yes	Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, pp. 374-5
	7 Dec	Sunday	~			Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 397
1685	25 Jan	Sunday	~			Evelyn, <i>Diary</i> , IV, p. 403

Appendix 5: The principal feast days of the Restoration Chapel Royal

The 'yes' designation indicates that there is contemporary evidence for the given day being designated as indicated in the reign of Charles II. When the 'yes' is in bold, this indicates there is also a first-hand account of Charles II actually doing so. Not every reference is recorded, as many simply duplicate information in the references cited.

Date	Occasion	King offers	King receives	King wears collar
1 January	Circumcision / New Year's day	yes ¹	-	yes ²
6 January	Epiphany	yes ³	-	yes ⁴
30 January	Anniversary of Charles I's death	-	-	-
2 February	Candlemas	yes ⁵	-	yes ⁶
24 February	St Mathias's day	-	-	yes ⁷
25 March	Annunciation	yes ⁸	-	yes ⁹
-	Easter Sunday	yes ¹⁰	yes ¹¹	yes ¹²
23 April	St George's day	-	-	yes ¹³
25 April	St Mark's day	-	-	yes ¹⁴
1 May	St Philip and St James's days	-	-	yes ¹⁵
-	Ascension	yes ¹⁶	-	yes ¹⁷
29 May	Anniversary of Restoration	-	-	yes ¹⁸
-	Whitsun	yes ¹⁹	yes ²⁰	yes ²¹
-	Trinity Sunday	yes ²²	-	yes ²³
24 June	St John the Baptist's day	yes ²⁴	-	yes ²⁵
29 June	St Peter the Apostle's day	[yes] ²⁶	-	yes ²⁷
25 July	St James the Apostle's day	-	-	yes ²⁸
24 August	St Bartholomew's day	-	-	yes ²⁹
21 September	St Matthew's day	-	-	yes ³⁰
29 September	St Michael the Archangel's day	yes ³¹	-	yes ³²
18 October	St Luke's day	-	-	yes ³³
28 October	St Simon and St Judes's days	-	-	yes ³⁴
1 November	All Hallow's day	yes ³⁵	-	yes ³⁶
5 November	Gunpowder plot anniversary	-	-	yes ³⁷
16 November	Queen's birthday	-	-	yes ³⁸
30 November	St Andrew's day	-	-	yes ³⁹
21 December	St Thomas's day	-	-	yes ⁴⁰
25 December	Christmas day	yes ⁴¹	yes ⁴²	yes ⁴³
31 December	New year's eve	-	-	yes ⁴⁴

¹ PRO, LCS/139, p. 23b; *Angliae Notitia*, 1669, p. 106; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 68r.

² PRO, LCS/139, p. 23b; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 67r.

³ Magalotti, *Travels*, pp. 366-7; PRO, LCS/139, p. 23b; Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 53; *Angliae Notitia*, 1669, p. 106; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 68r.

⁴ PRO, LCS/139, p. 23b; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 67r.

⁵ Schellinks, *Journal*, p. 72; PRO, LCS/139, p. 23b; *The Loyal Protestant*, 113, 2 February 1682; *Angliae Notitia*, 1669, p. 106; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 68r.

⁶ PRO, LCS/139, p. 23b; Pepys, *Diary*, IV, p. 31; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 67r.

⁷ PRO, LCS/139, p. 23b; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 67r.

⁸ PRO, LCS/139, p. 23b; *Angliae Notitia*, 1669, p. 106; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 68r.

⁹ PRO, LCS/139, p. 23b; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 67r.

¹⁰ *Angliae Notitia*, 1669, p. 106; Bod. Lib., Rawl. MS B 58, p. 139; Pepys, *Diary*, VII, p. 241; Magalotti, *Travels*, pp. 365-6; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 68r.

¹¹ Magalotti, *Travels*, p. 366; Bod. Lib., Rawl. MS B 58, p. 139; Pepys, *Diary*, VII, p. 241.

¹² PRO, LCS/139, p. 23b; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 67r.

¹³ PRO, LCS/139, p. 23b; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 67r.

¹⁴ PRO, LCS/139, p. 23b; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 67r.

¹⁵ Schellinks, *Travels*, p. 84; PRO, LCS/139, p. 23b; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 67r.

¹⁶ PRO, LCS/139, p. 23b; Magalotti, *Travels*, pp. 365-6; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 68r.

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- ¹⁷ PRO, LC5/139, p. 23b; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 67r.
- ¹⁸ PRO, LC5/139, p. 23b.
- ¹⁹ Pepys, *Diary*, III, pp. 84-5; Magalotti, *Travels*, pp. 365-66; PRO, LC5/139, p. 23b; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 68r.
- ²⁰ Pepys, *Diary*, III, pp. 84-5; Magalotti, *Travels*, pp. 365-6.
- ²¹ PRO, LC5/139, p. 23b; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 67r.
- ²² PRO, LC5/139, p. 23b; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 68r.
- ²³ PRO, LC5/139, p. 23b; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 67r.
- ²⁴ PRO, LC5/139, p. 23b; Magalotti, *Travels*, pp. 365-6; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 68r.
- ²⁵ PRO, LC5/139, p. 23b; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 67r.
- ²⁶ Evelyn, *Diary*, IV, p. 171; this reference is to the king offering on this day in 1679, this seems to have been an exception, as this was not normally an offering day. De Beer suggests the ceremony may have been transferred from St John the Baptist's day. PRO, LC5/139, p. 23b.
- ²⁷ PRO, LC5/139, p. 23b; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 67r.
- ²⁸ PRO, LC5/139, p. 23b; see also Pepys, *Diary*, VII, p. 217; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 67r.
- ²⁹ PRO, LC5/139, p. 23b; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 67r.
- ³⁰ PRO, LC5/139, p. 23b; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 67r.
- ³¹ PRO, LC5/139, p. 23b; Magalotti, *Travels*, pp. 365-6; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 68r.
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- ³³ PRO, LC5/139, p. 23b; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 67r.
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- ³⁶ Magalotti, *Travels*, p. 365-6; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 67r.
- ³⁷ PRO, LC5/139, p. 23b; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 67r.
- ³⁸ Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 67r. This does not appear in PRO, LC5/139, p. 23b.
- ³⁹ Pepys, *Diary*, IV, p. 401; PRO, LC5/139, p. 23b; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 67r (which has it on 29 November).
- ⁴⁰ PRO, LC5/139, p. 23b; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 67r.
- ⁴¹ PRO, LC5/139, p. 23b; Magalotti, *Travels*, pp. 365-6; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 68r.
- ⁴² Evelyn, *Diary*, III, p. 51.
- ⁴³ PRO, LC5/139, p. 23b; Magalotti, *Travels*, pp. 365-6; Bod. Lib., Carte MS 60, fol. 67r.
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119-122 Lord Chamberlain's warrants
137-144 Warrant books, general
179 Prince Charles's Household regulations
180 Charles I's Household regulations
193 Feasts of the order of St George
196 Orders for lodgings and household regulations
200 Precedents, fees and oaths.
201 Lord Chamberlain's precedence book

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105 'The Accompt of the Right honourable Edward Earle of Sandwich Master of his ma^{ties}
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Lord Steward's Papers

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 Household accounts, 1680-1

Box 273 Daily receipts and payments, 1660-2

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Portland Collection

Pw V 51 Letters from William Blathwayt to Sir Robert Southwell
Pw V 92 Orders for Charles II's Bedchamber, 1661
Pw V 93 Orders for Charles II's Bedchamber, 1673
 Additional Bedchamber Ordinances, 1678
Pw V 95 'A London Journal'

WORCESTERSHIRE RECORD OFFICE

Caspar Frederic Henning Papers

705:366 Papers relating to Charles II's Bedchamber (BA 2252/5)

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MS I 25 Earl Marshal's Book; order of the king's proceeding to Chapel
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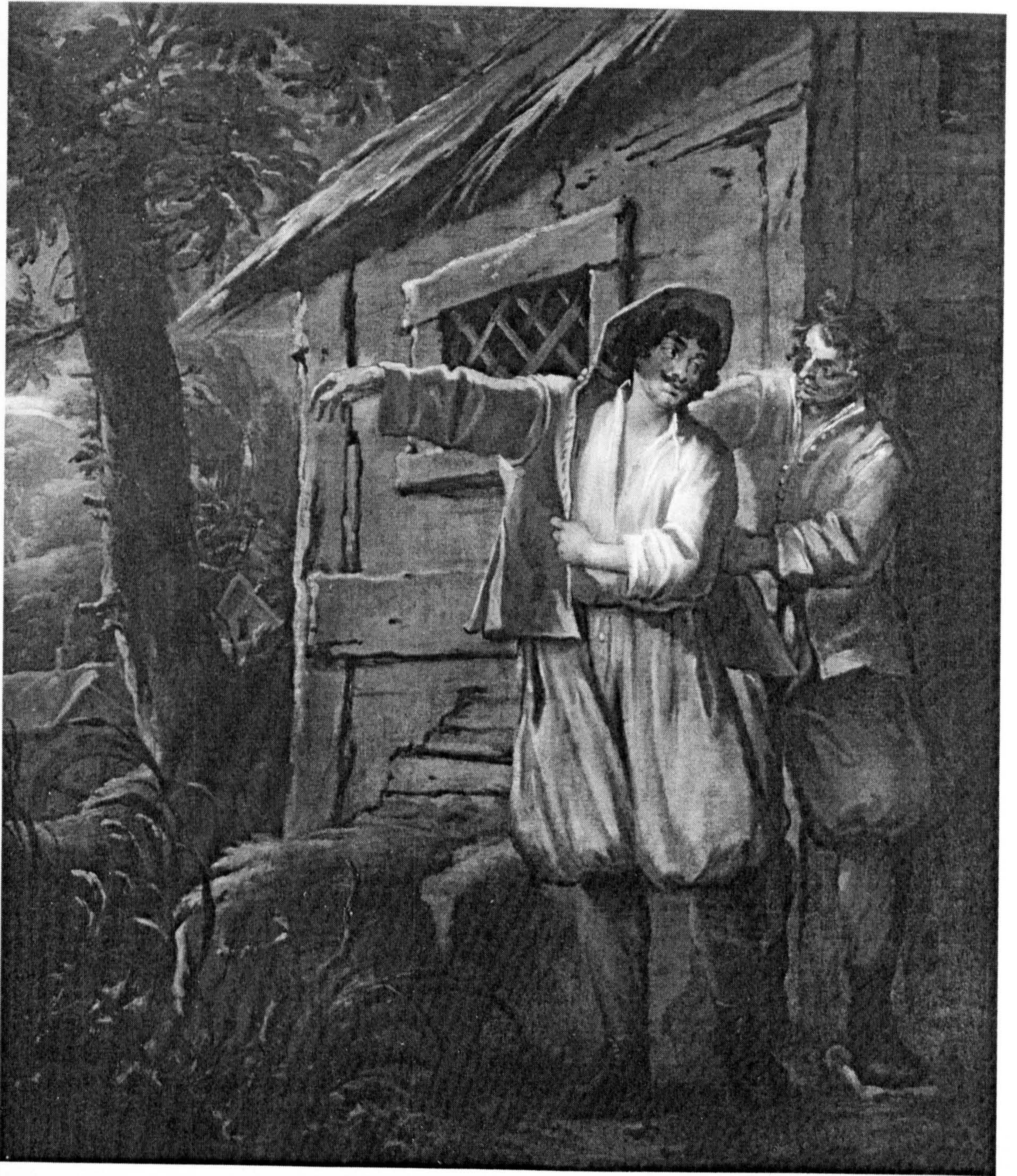


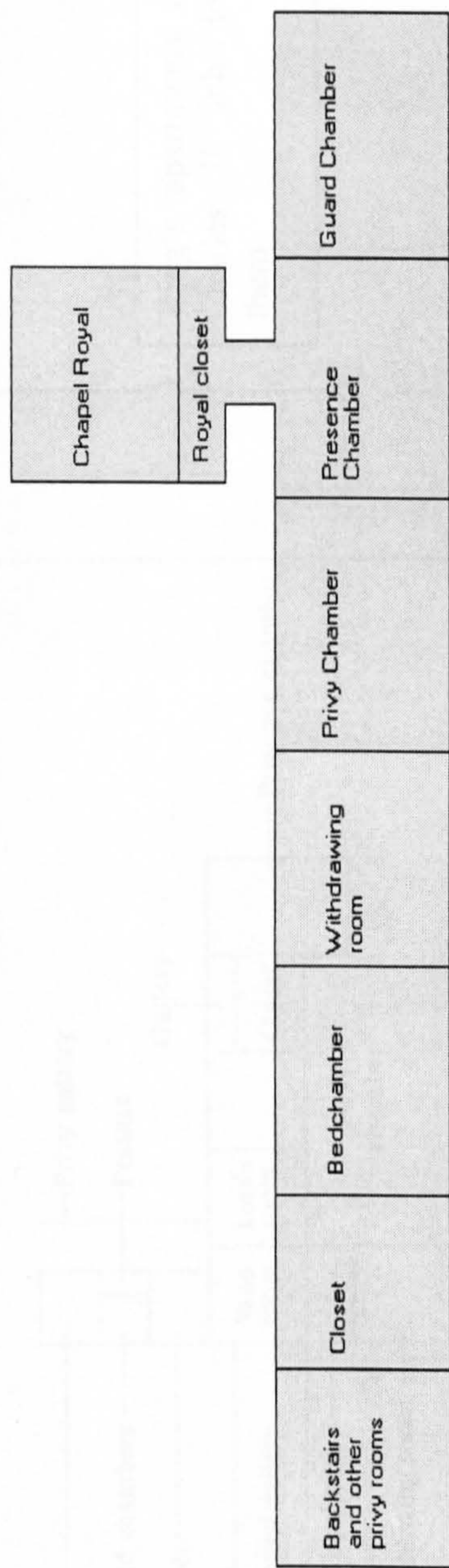
Figure 1: *Charles II with Richard Penderell at Whiteladies* by Isaac Fuller; one of a series of paintings dating to shortly after the Restoration and probably commissioned by the king himself. (National Portrait Gallery)



Figure 2: Charles II in Bruges in the later 1650s. This painting, which probably dates to shortly after the Restoration, shows the exiled Charles behaving with all the dignity of royalty. The king's chair is placed under a canopy of state and while the king is hatted and standing, his visitor (to whom the king is presenting a key) is hatless and kneeling. (Gruuthuse Museum, Bruges)



Figure 3: *The Life and Death of the Duke of Buckingham* (part one) by Augustus Egg, 1853-5. This view of a dissolute Restoration court is typical of the Victorians' attitude to Charles II. (Yale Centre for British Art)



The privy lodgings under the authority of the groom of the stool

The state apartments under the authority of the lord chamberlain

Figure 4: Diagrammatic plan of the sovereign's apartments in royal palaces in the 17th century. Further rules of access applied to the closet within the privy lodgings, and to the chapel within the state apartments, but these rooms were still technically under the command of the groom of the stool and lord chamberlain respectively.

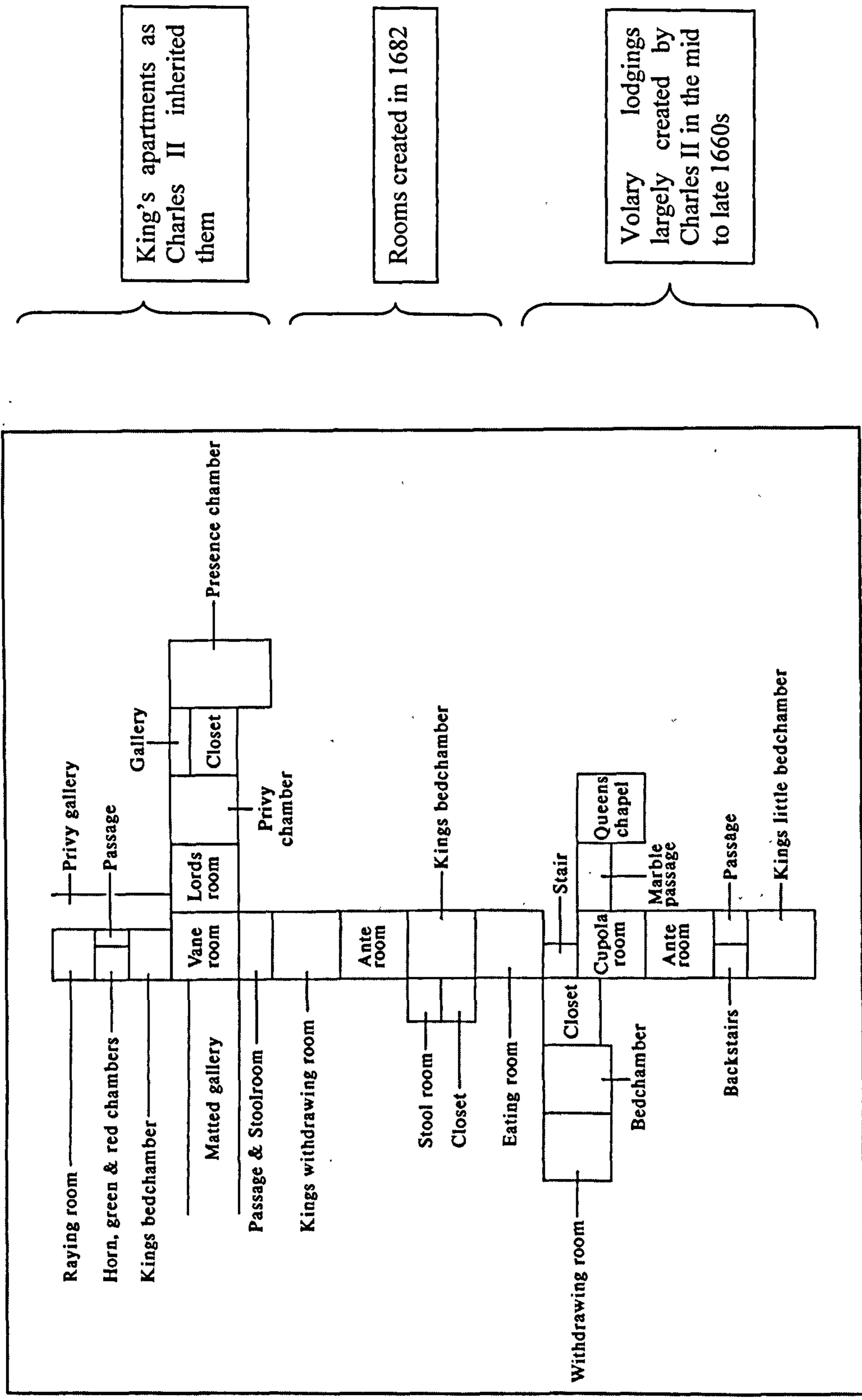
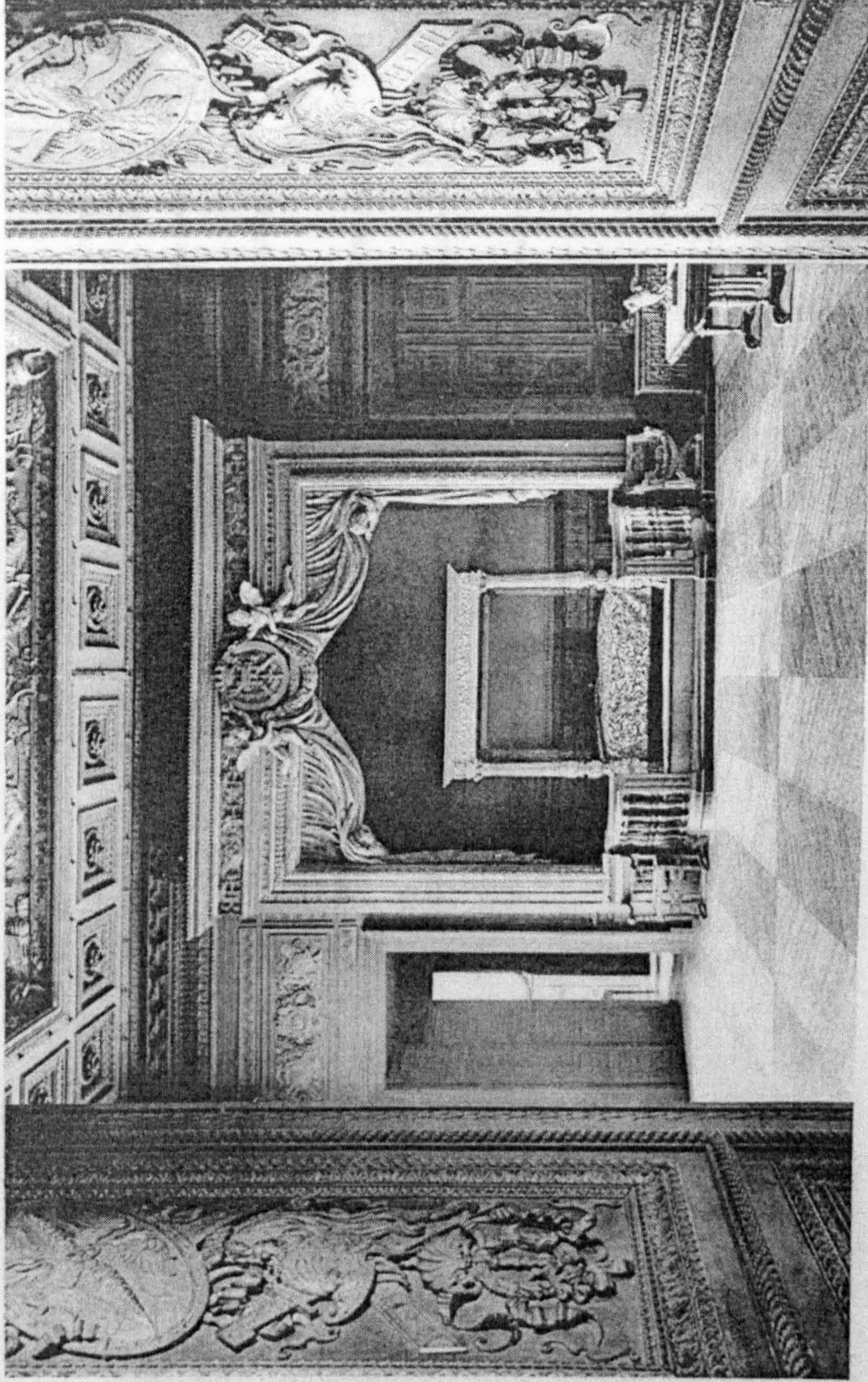


Figure 5: Diagrammatic plan of the king's apartments at Whitehall as they were by 1683. Charles II inherited the rooms at the top of the diagram and extended these in two main phases.



Figure 6: The royal bedchamber at Powys Castle, constructed *c.*1669, the most complete alcove bedchamber to survive from the Restoration period. (The National Trust)



Cl. J. Eoldo, Paris.

Figure 7: The alcove from the king's chambre à coucher in the royal pavilion of the Louvre. The alcove was built for Henri IV and used by Louis XIV in the 1650s. It was saved when the room was later reconstructed and is shown here with an unrelated bed and later bed rail. (Batiffol, *The Louvre*)

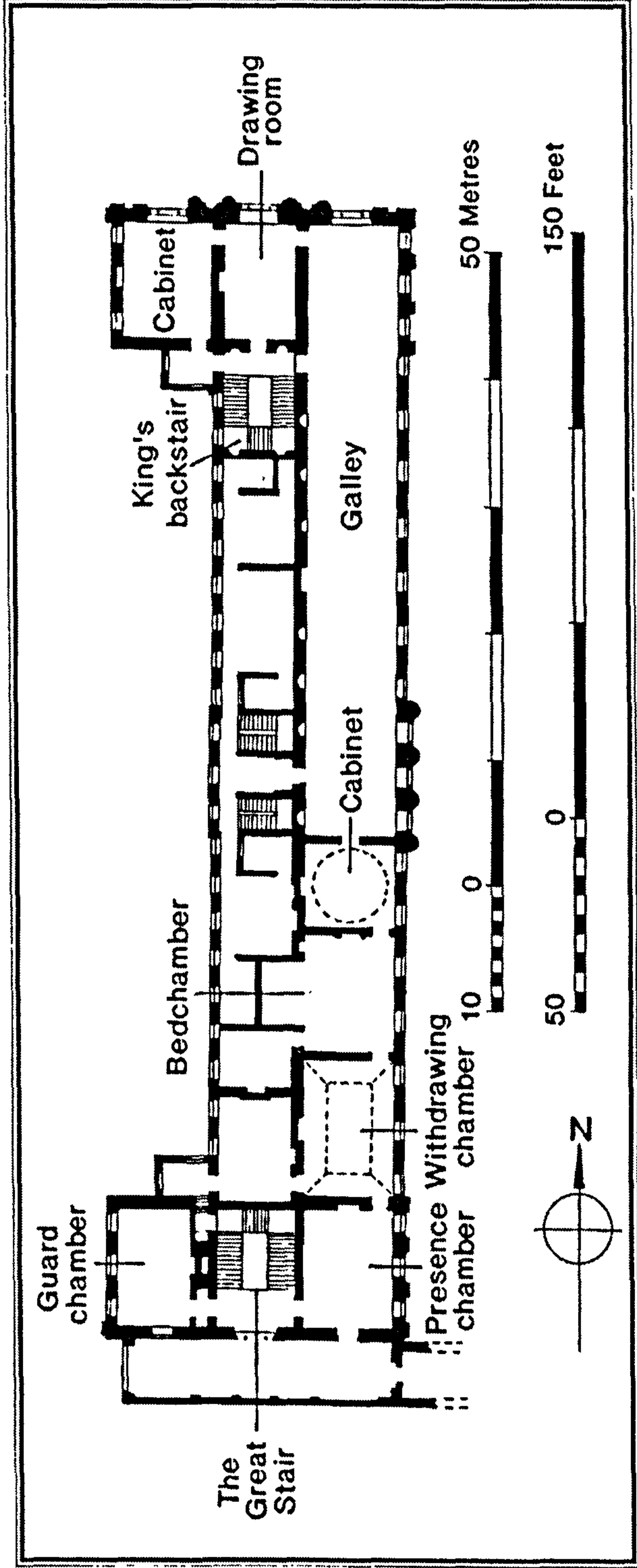


Figure 8: Plan of the royal apartments as they were to be set up on the first floor of Charles II's new building at Greenwich.

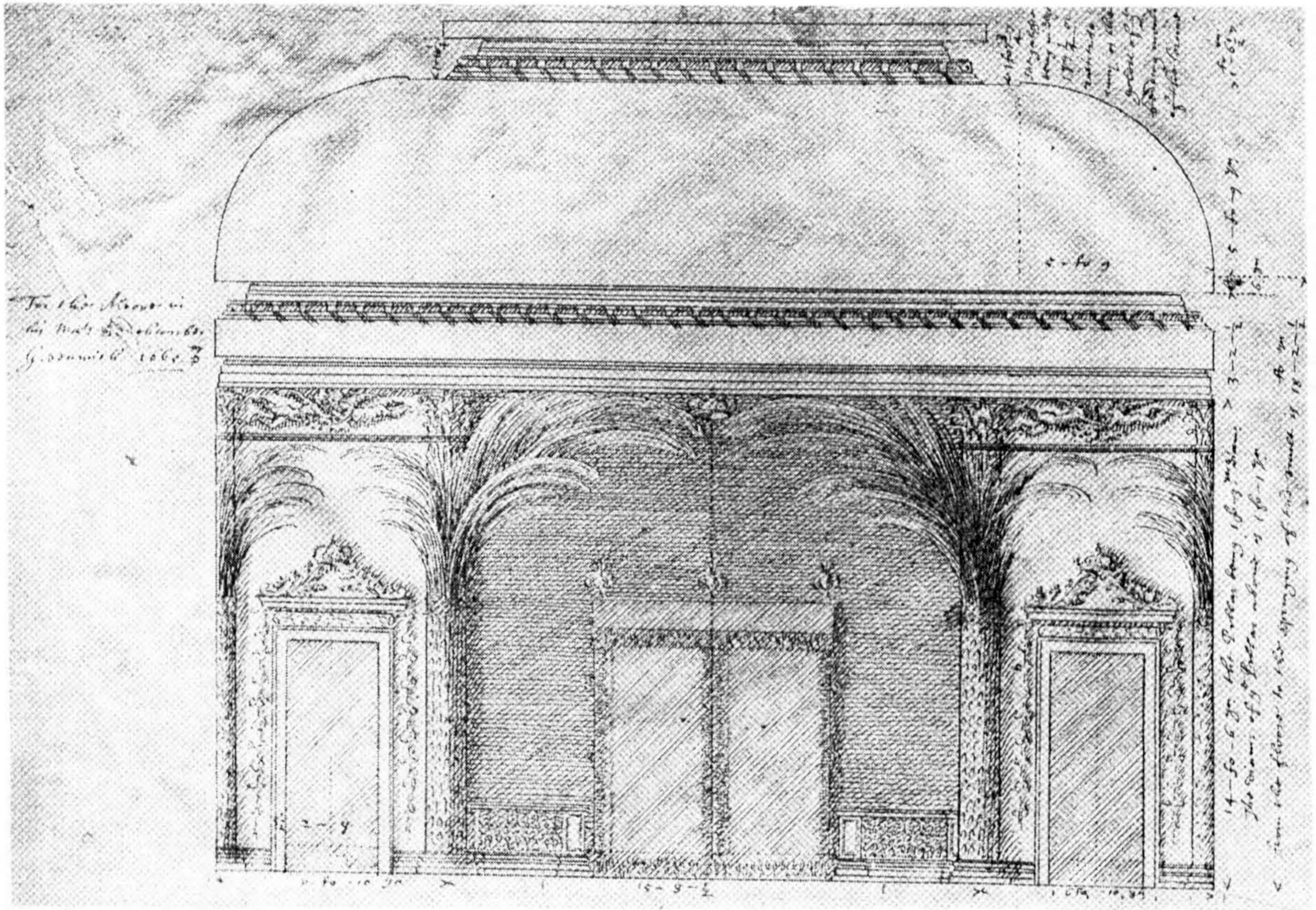


Figure 9: 'For the Alcove in his Ma^{ty} Bedchamber Greenwich 1665', John Webb. Worked stopped before this design for the king's bedchamber in Charles II's new building at Greenwich could be executed. (RIBA)



Figure 10: The only surviving English royal bedrail, made for Charles II and adapted (with the addition of wooden fillets to turn the Cs to Gs) for George I or II. The rail is shown erected around William III's state bed in the great bedchamber at Hampton Court (it is currently in store at Hampton Court).



Figure 11: A royal bed with bedrail from a late 17th century playing card, illustrating the 'warming-pan' birth. (The British Museum)

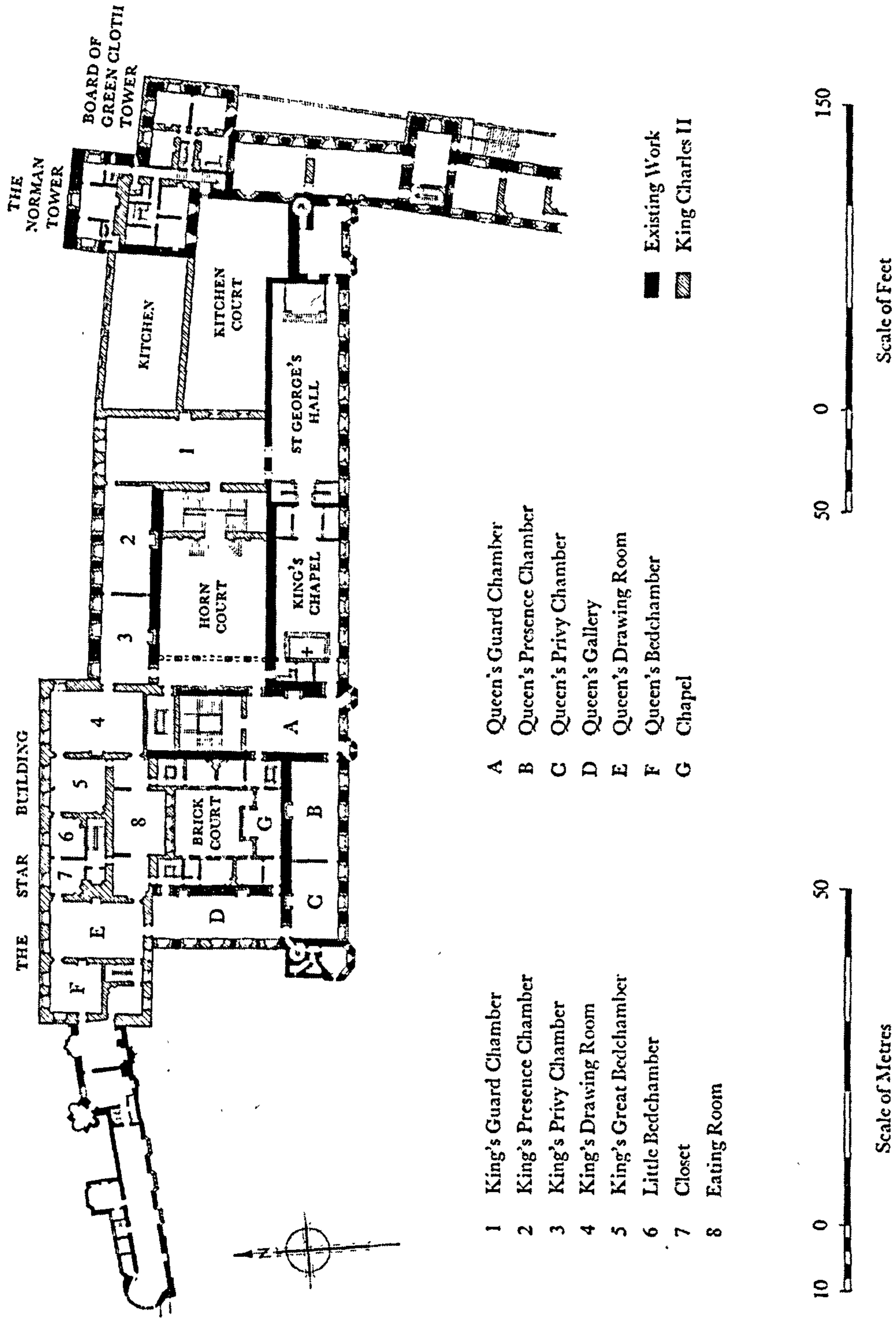


Figure 12: The royal apartments at Windsor Castle as reconstructed for Charles II, 1674-82.

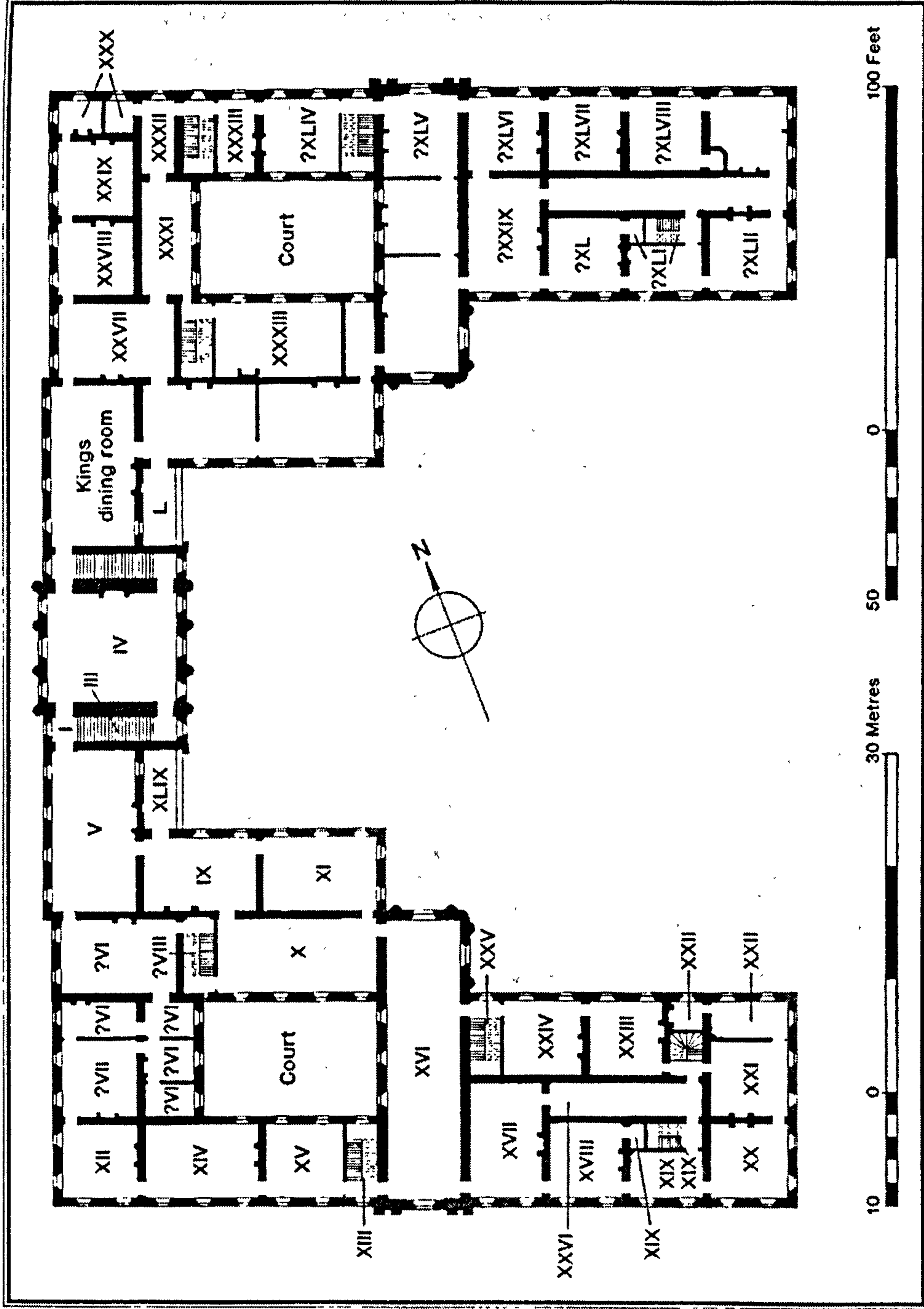


Figure 13: The first-floor of Winchester Palace built, but never completed, for Charles II 1683-5. The room names are based on the identification in Thurlley, 'A country seat fit for a King', pp. 230. The king's apartments are: V: presence chamber; IX: privy chamber; X: withdrawing room; XI: dining room; XVI: privy gallery; XVII: ante-room; XVIII: bedchamber; XIX: lobby, stool room and privy stairs; XX: cabinet or closet; XXI: inner bedchamber. The queen's apartments include: XXVII: presence chamber; XXVIII drawing room; XXIX bedchamber, and XXXIII chapel.

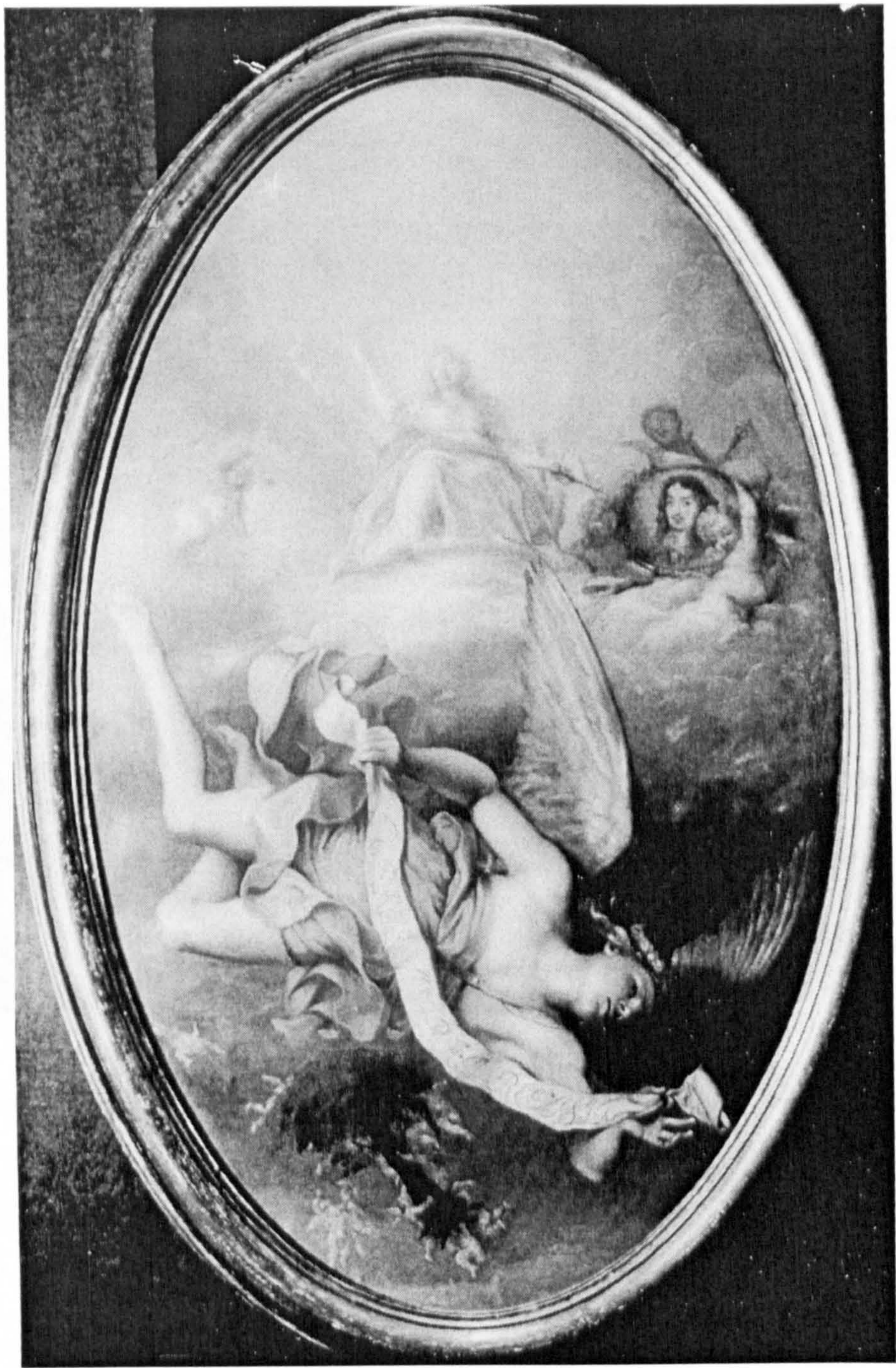


Figure 14: The ceiling of Charles II's bedchamber, probably from the alcove bedchamber at Whitehall, painted by John Michael Wright *c.*1660. (Nottingham Castle Museum)

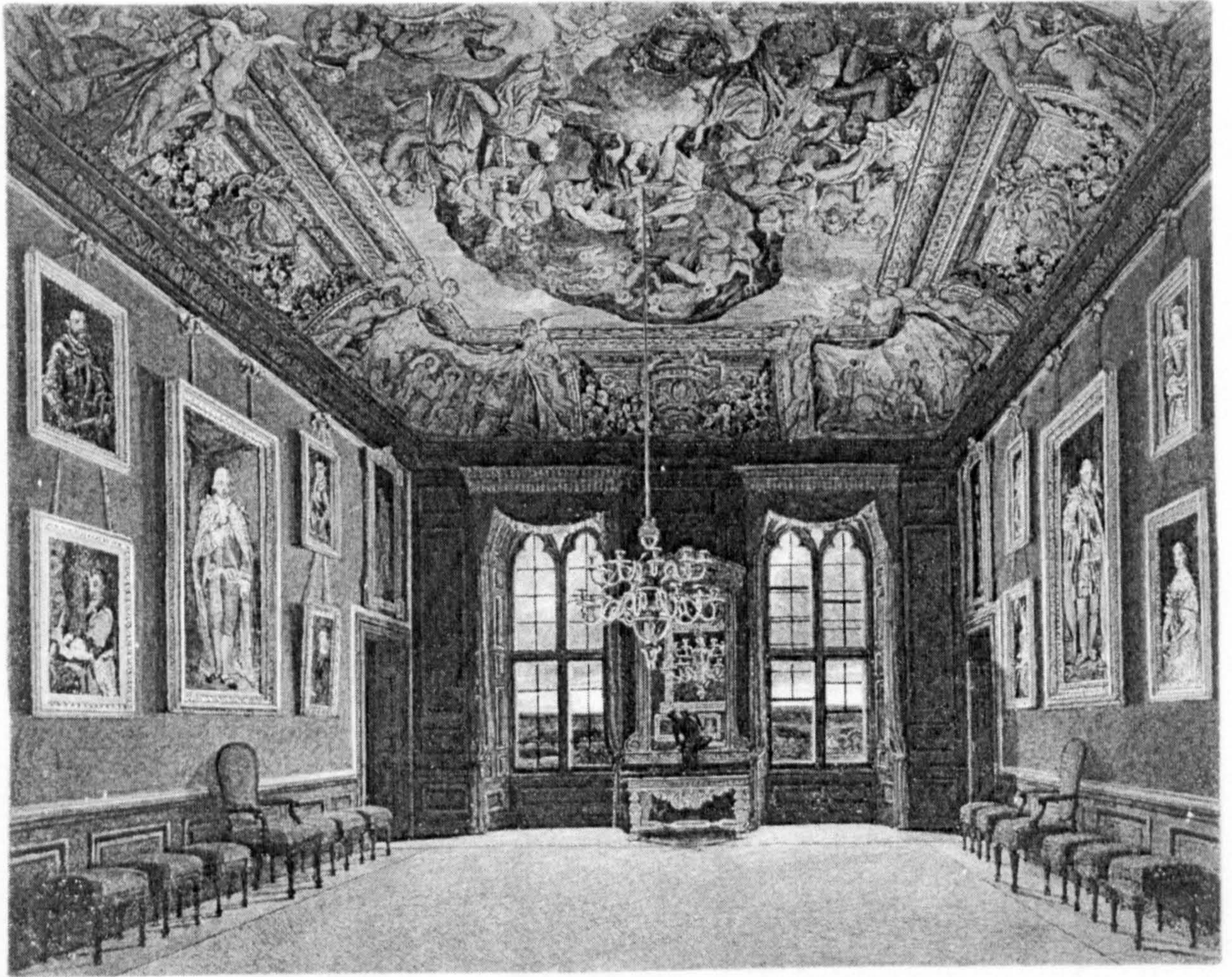
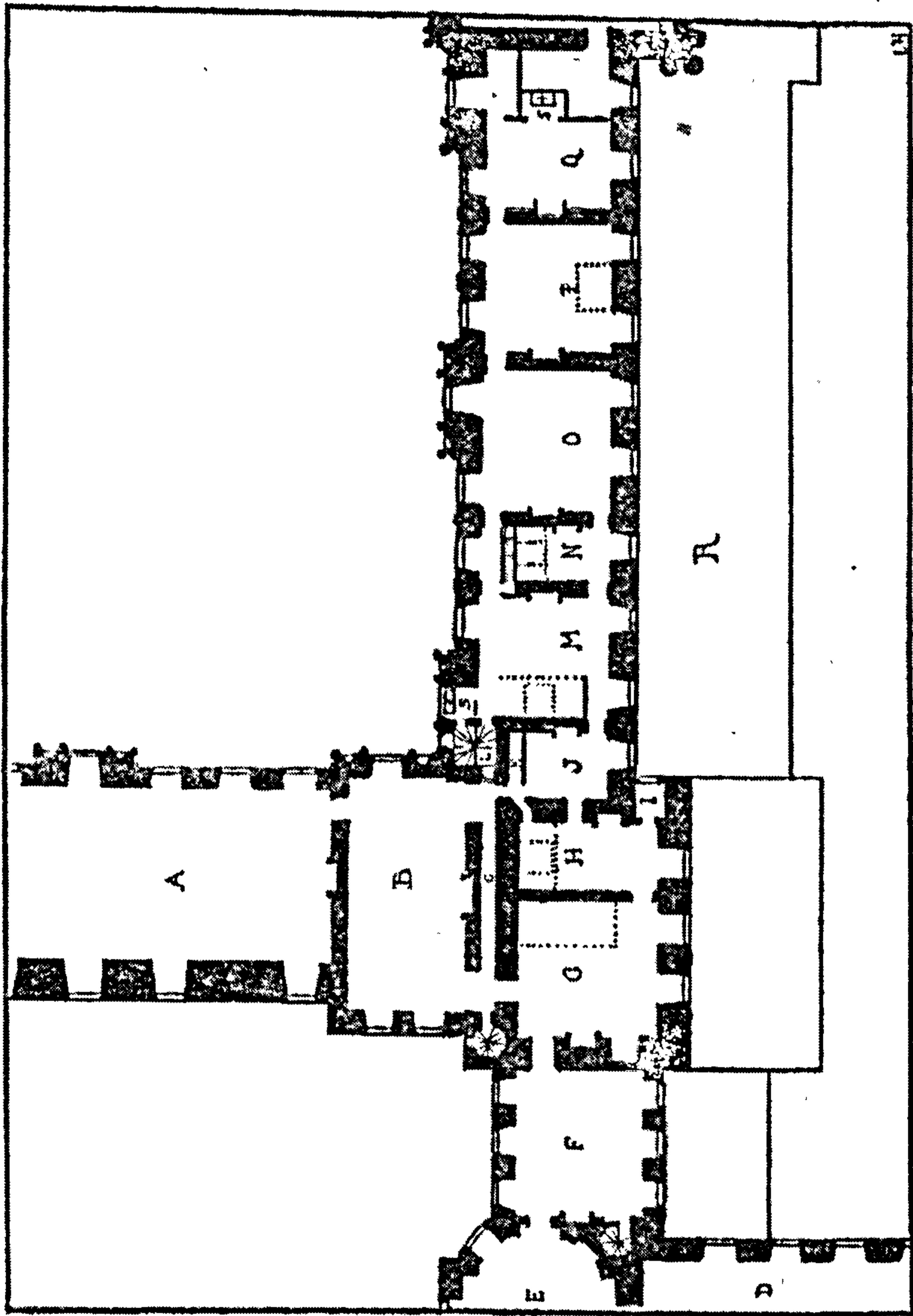


Figure 15: The king's great bedchamber at Windsor Castle, by Charles Wild, *c.* 1810. The room, built for Charles II in the mid 1670s, was much altered in the 18th and 19th centuries, but Verrio's allegorical ceiling (now destroyed) can be seen still in situ in this view. (The Royal Collection)



PLAN 3. — Appartement du Roi et de la Reine.

A, Salle des gardes du Roi (Salle La Case); — B, Antichambre du Roi (Salle Henri II); — C, Dégagement; — D, Galerie d'Apollon; — E, Salle du Dôme (Retonde d'Apollon); — F, Grand cabinet du Roi (Salle des bijoux antiques); — G, Chambre de parade du Roi; H, Chambre à coucher du Roi (Partie nord de la Salle des Sept Cheminées); — I, Oratoire du Roi; — J, Petit cabinet du Roi; K, Garde-robe du Roi (passage au Musée Charles X et débarras); — L, Escalier (escalier de la Conservation); — M, Chambre à coucher de la Reine (Salle Clarac); — N, Petite chambre à coucher de la Reine; O, Grand cabinet de la Reine (Salle K de la céramique antique); — P, Chambre de parade de la Reine (Salle L); — Q, Antichambre de la Reine (partie de la Salle M); — R, Corps de logis double sur la rivière, construit en 1668 par Perrault, mais non aménagé (Salle A, B, C, D, de la Céramique antique); — S, Oratoires.

Figure 16: The royal apartments of the French monarch in the royal pavilion at the Louvre as Charles II would have known them during his exile.

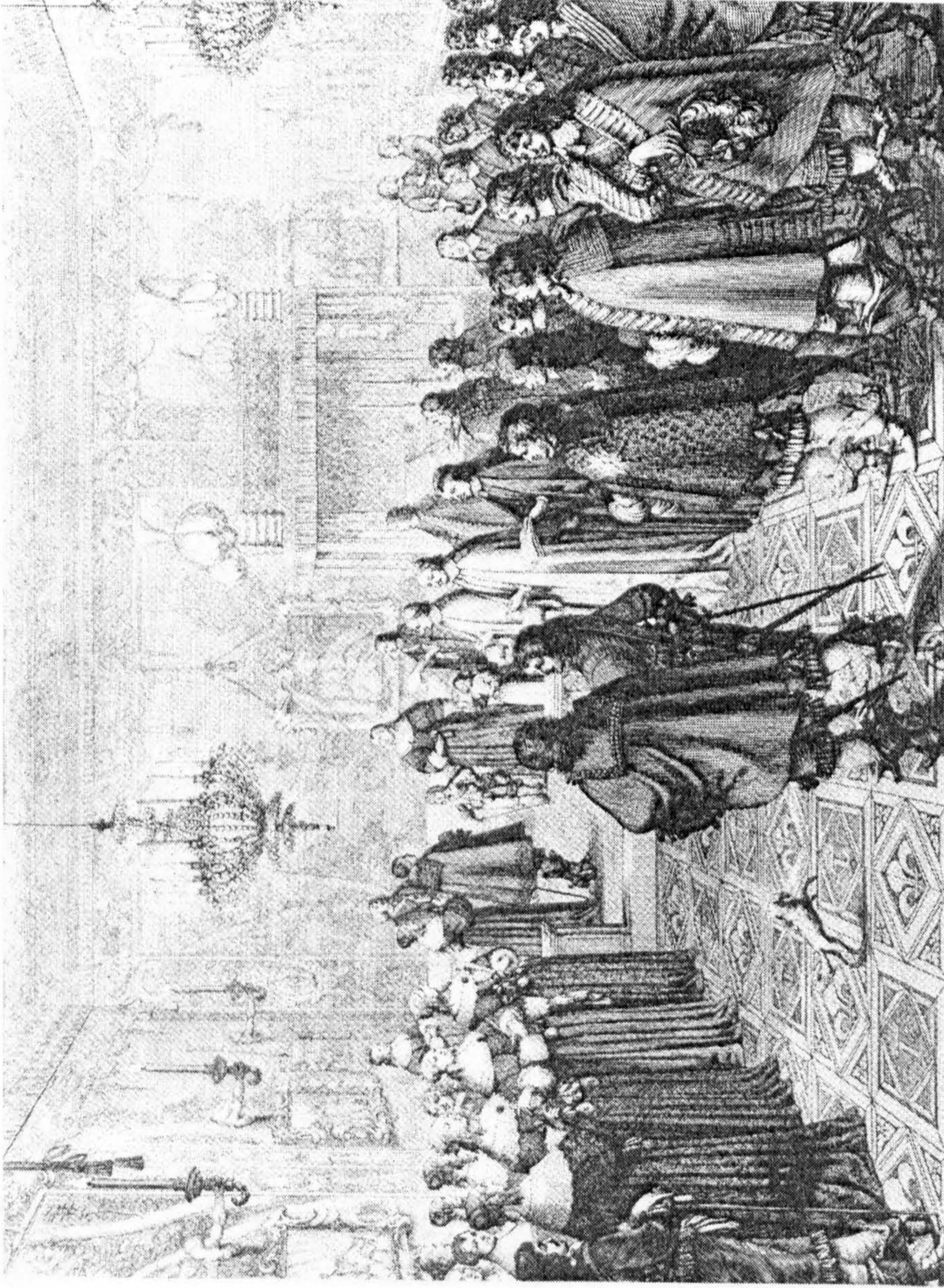
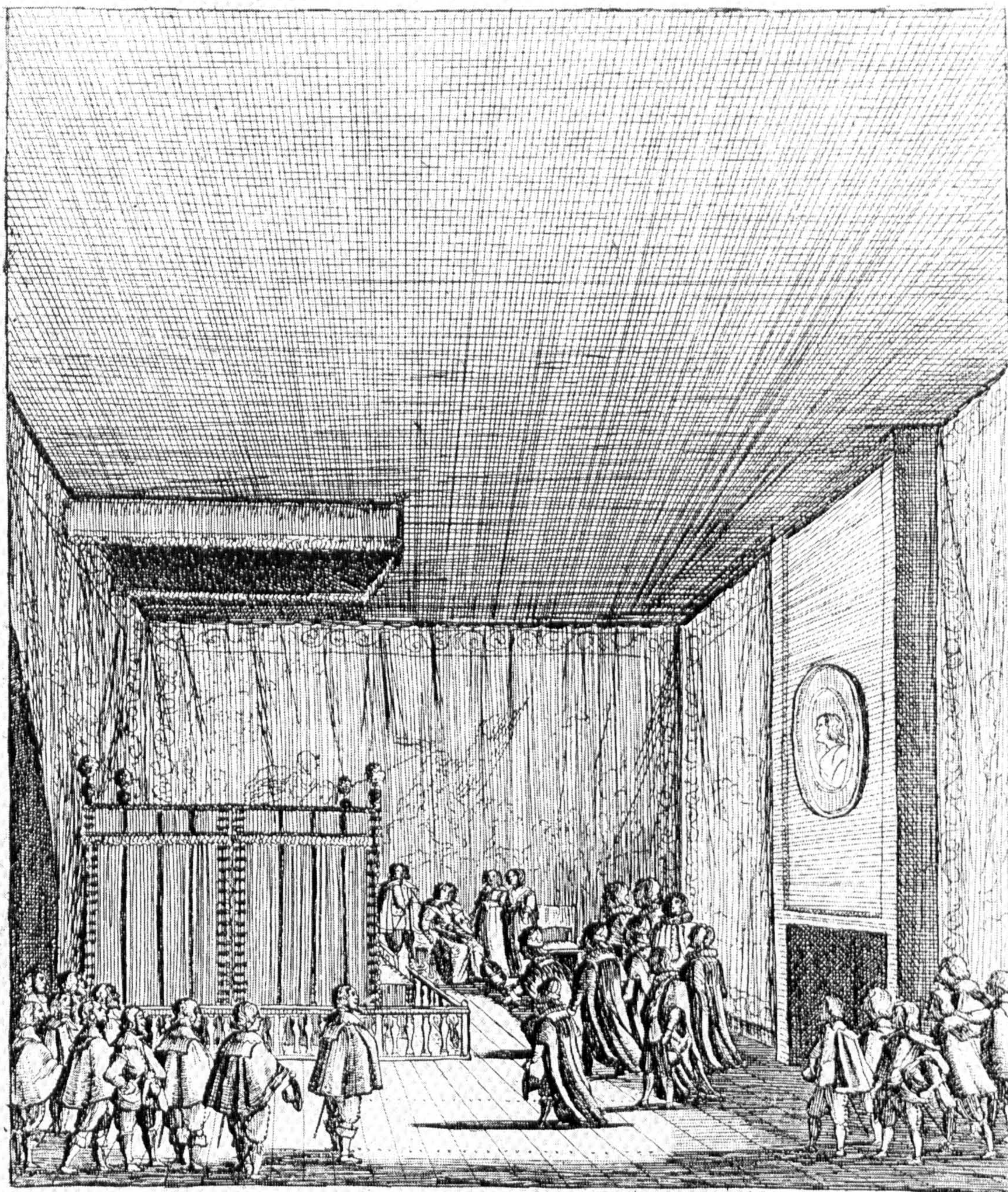


Figure 17: A reception in the chambre de parade at Fontainebleau in 1645. The royal party stand on the raised parquet next to the state bed, while the spectators look on from the other side of the balustrade. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)



COMME LE MY LORD MAIOR ACOMPAGNEDE SES COLLEGVES
VIENT SALVER LA REYNE LVY FAIRE SES PRESENS

Figure 18: Marie de Medici receiving the lord mayor of London in her bedchamber at St James's Palace in 1638. This French form of conduct, which was not English practice before the civil war, was used by both Charles II and Henrietta Maria at the Restoration. (The British Library)



Figure 19: Edward Montagu, second earl of Manchester, by Sir Peter Lely. Manchester is shown with the wand and key, emblems of his office. (National Portrait Gallery)



Figure 20: Henry Bennet, first earl of Arlington, by Sir Peter Lely. Arlington holds his wand while his key of office can be seen nestling among the folds of his Garter robes. (Christ Church, Oxford)



Figure 21: Charles II by an unknown artist, a contemporary painting at Petworth House. The king is shown seated in the state apartments, with officers of the guard and courtiers in a guard chamber behind. The interiors are imaginary in their form. (The National Trust)

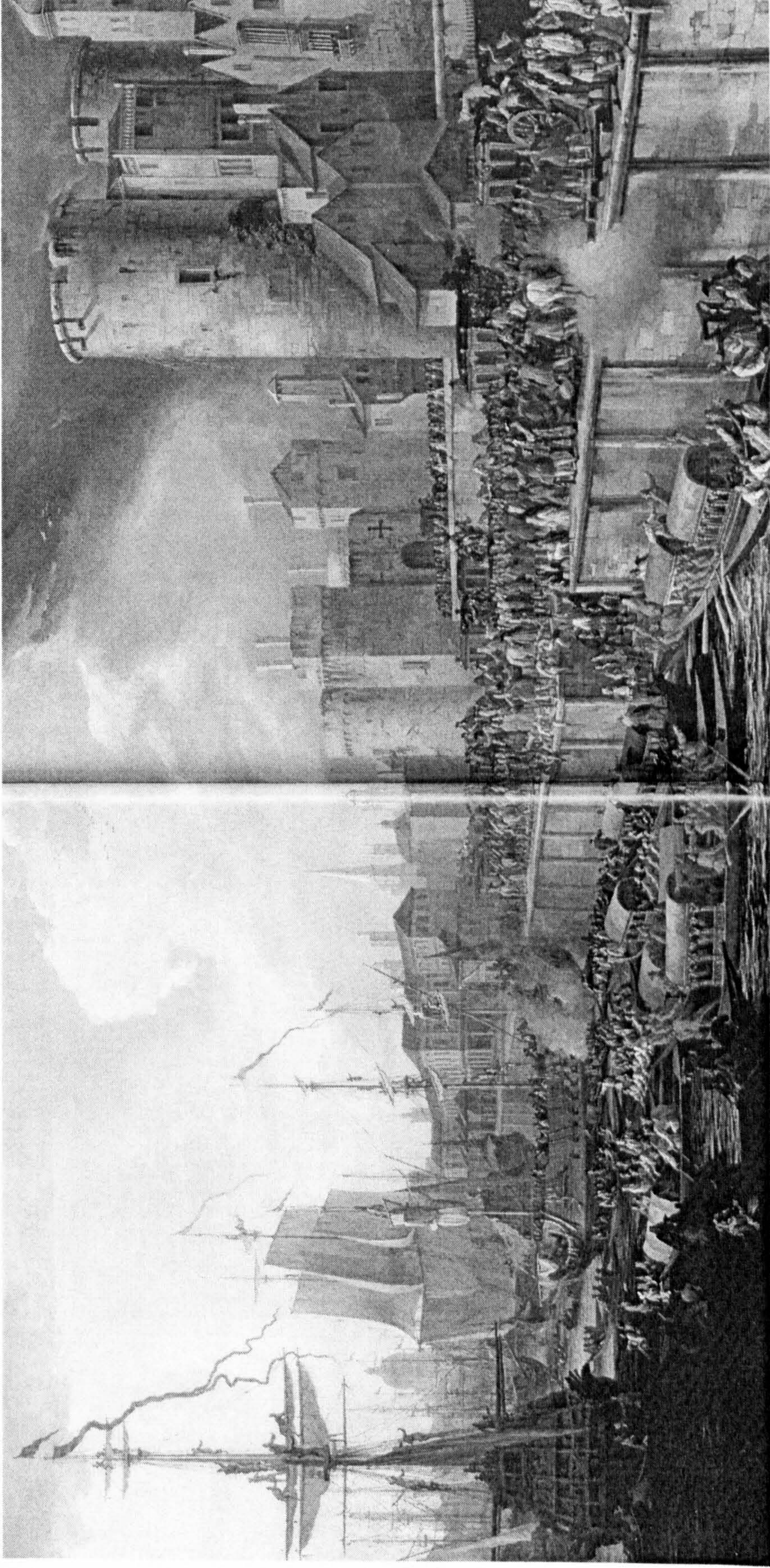


Figure 22: The arrival of the Venetian ambassador at the Tower of London in 1707 by Luca Carlavaris. The gilded royal barge, in which the ambassador had been brought up the Thames is shown moored at the steps on the Tower wharf, while the royal coach stands (on the far right) waiting to conduct him to Whitehall. This pattern of reception was followed for extraordinary ambassadors throughout Charles II's reign.

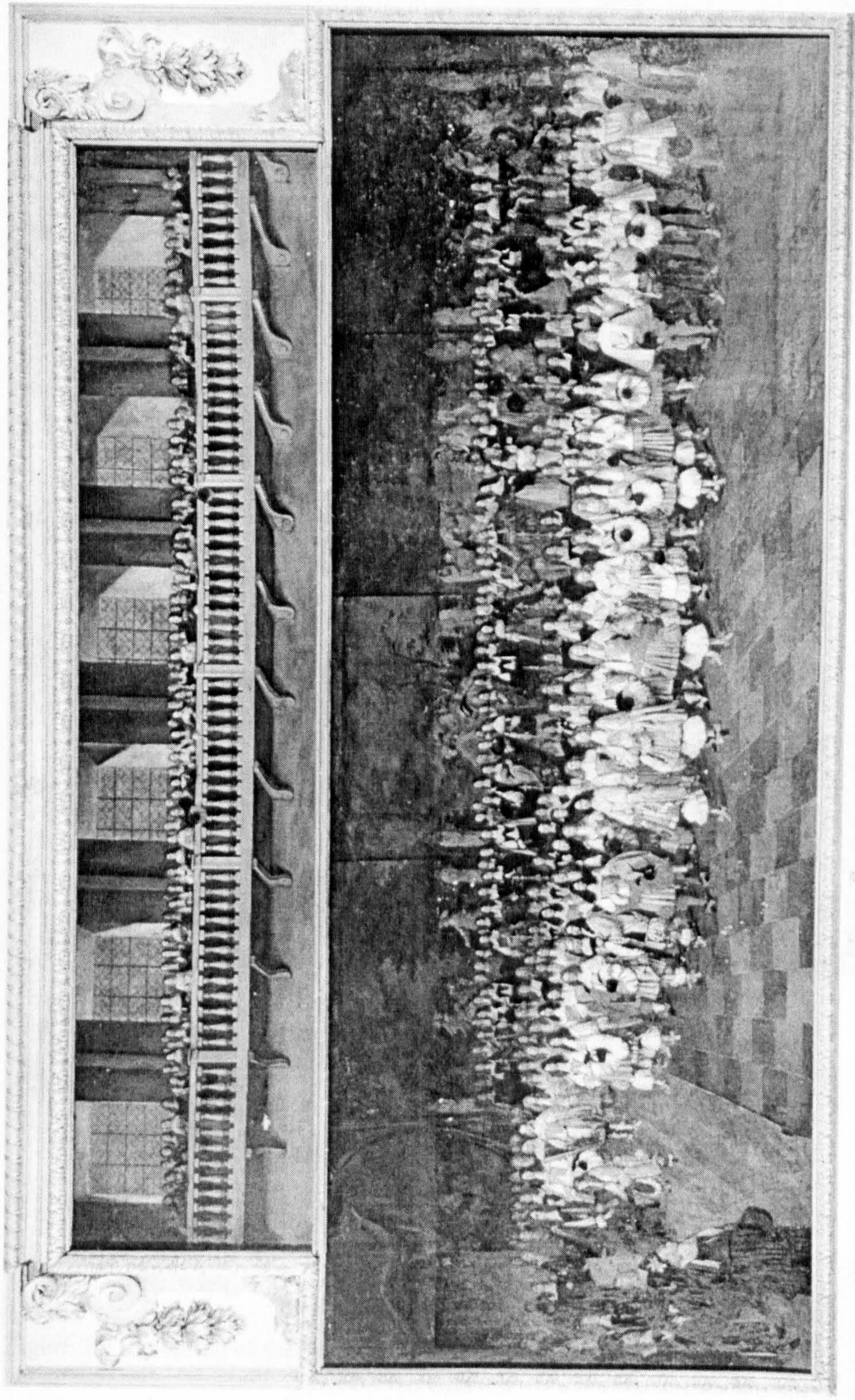


Figure 23: The first public audience of the prince de Ligne, September 1660. The king and his courtiers (shown on the far left) are dressed in black mourning for the death of the duke of Gloucester. (The Prince de Ligne)



Figure 24: Reception of the Prince de Ligne (detail)



Figure 25: Sketch by Antonion Verrio for the paintings for Christ's Hospital School, c. 1682. This scene (much dramatised), shows the Royal Society being received by Charles II. The king sits on a raised dais under a canopy and receives his visitors, who kneel before him. (The Victoria and Albert Museum)



Figure 26: James I dining in state with the prince of Wales and the Spanish ambassador. Though this shows a meal held for a particular purpose (the Spanish match), this sort of state dining was a regular occurrence at James I's court. Note the canopy of state, the hierarchy of seating, the service 'on the knee' and the many spectators. (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid)



Figure 27: Charles I and Henrietta Maria dining in public by G. Houckgeest, 1635. Although the setting is fantasy, the form of dining is representative of state meals before the civil war. (The Royal Collection)

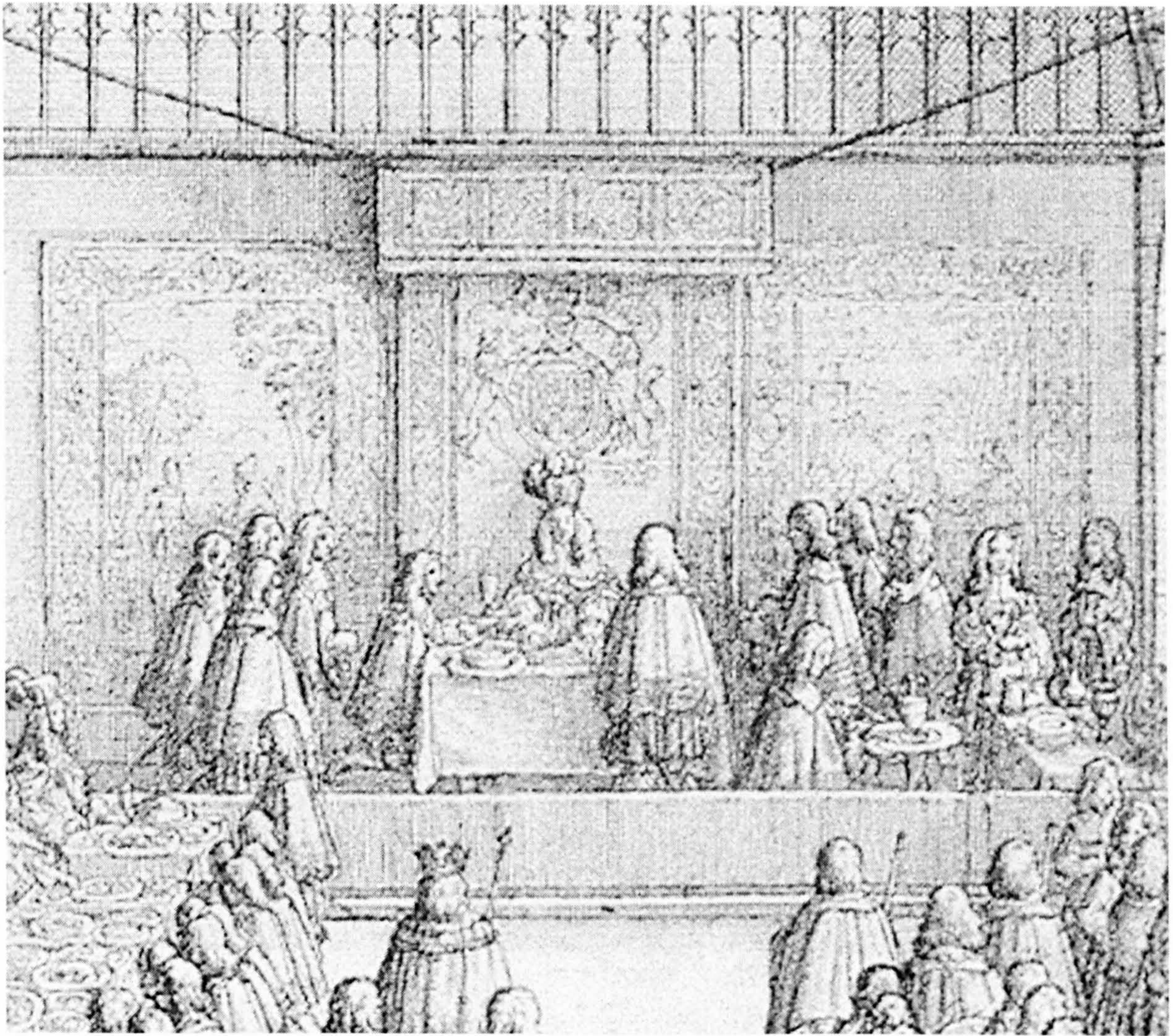


Figure 28: Charles II and the Knight of the Garter dining in St George's Hall, Wenceslaus Hollar, c.1670. The king is served as he would have been at all state meals: sitting under a canopy and behind a rail and being served by courtiers on bended knee. The king is hatted and dines alone.

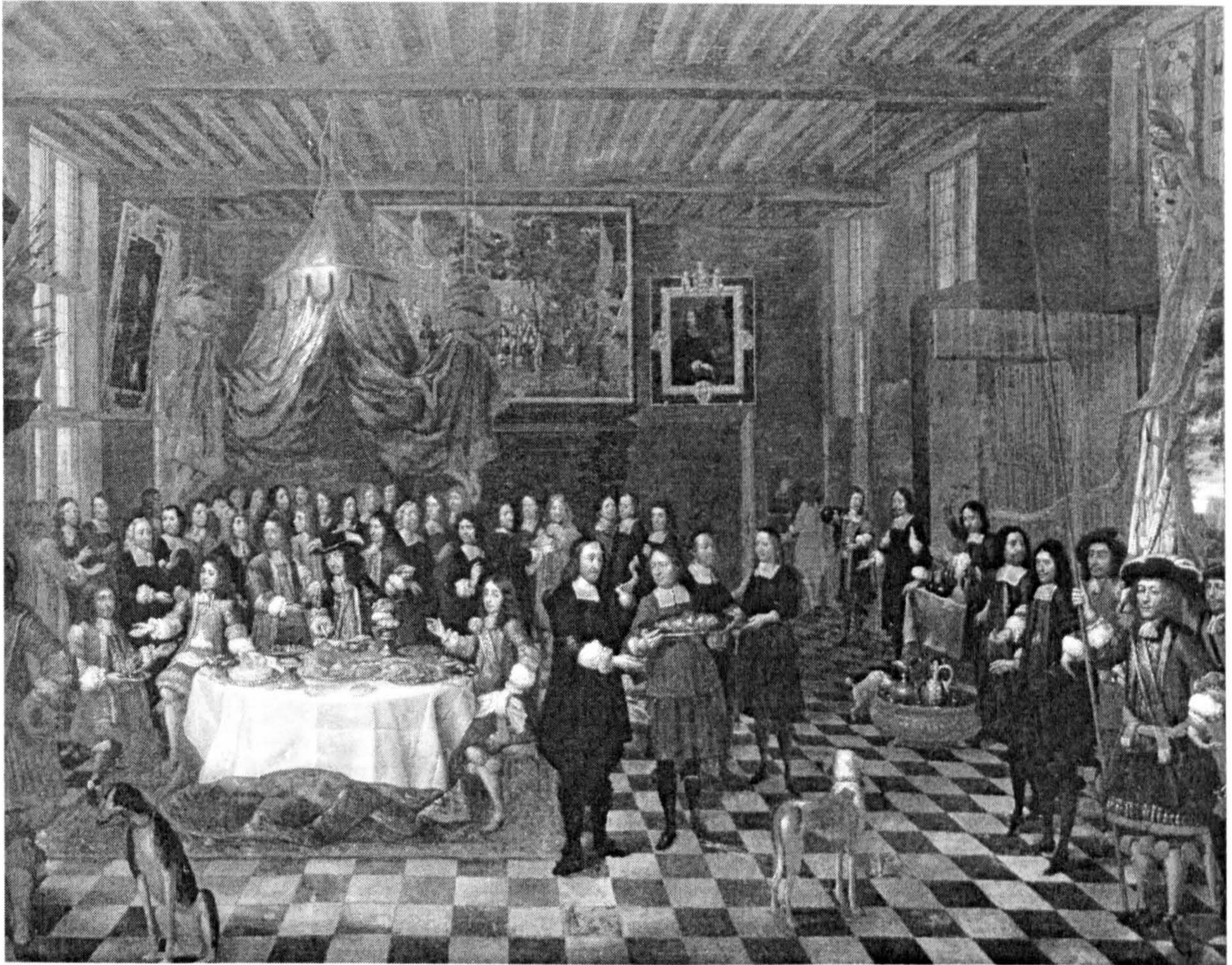


Figure 29: Charles II and his brothers dining in Bruges in the late 1650s. Although this picture was probably painted after the Restoration, it shows the king dining in state in exile. the table is placed beneath a canopy, the royal party is served on the knee and the king alone is hatted. (Gruuthuse Museum, Bruges)

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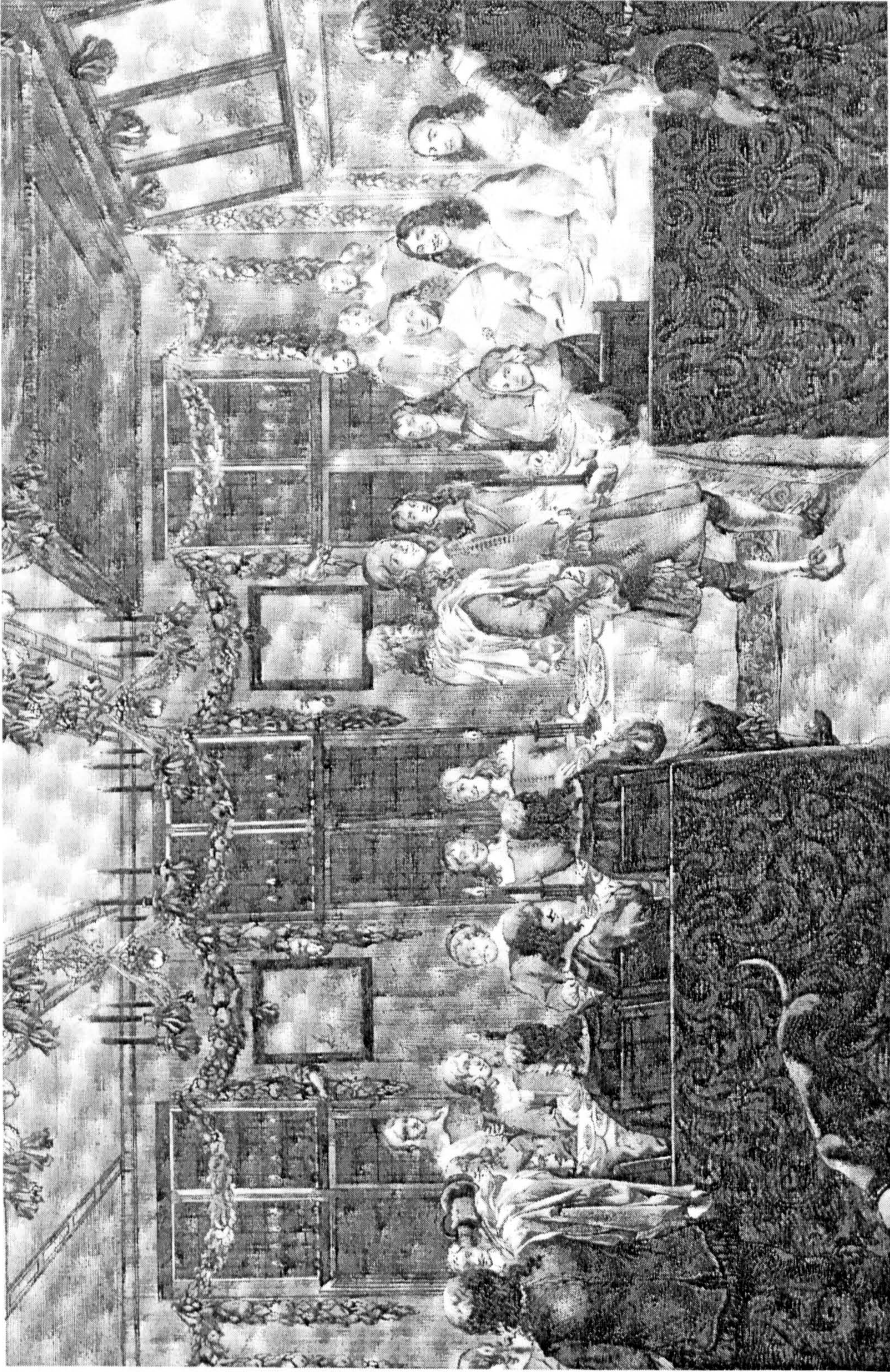
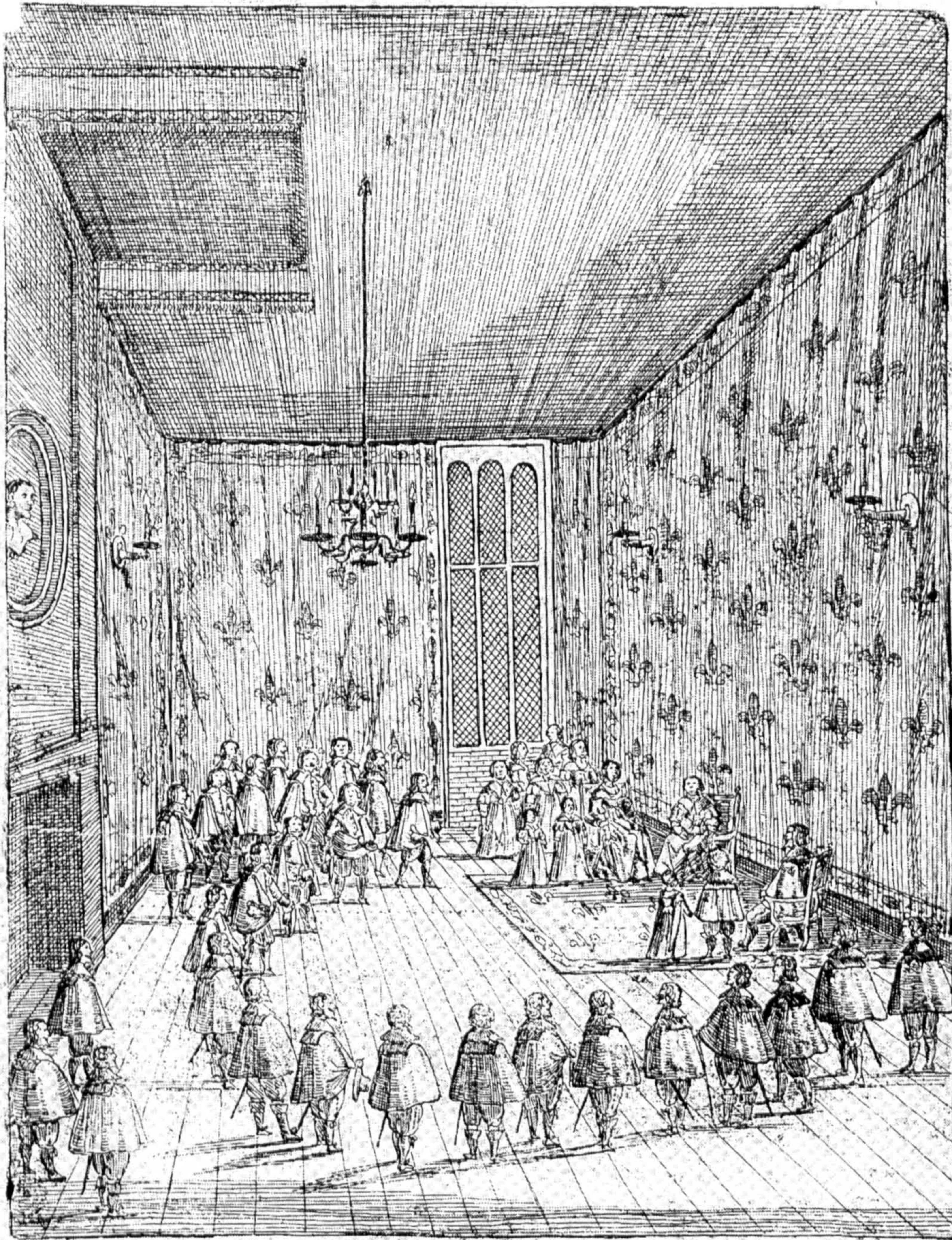


Figure 30: Charles II dining in state in the Hague. The king is shown with his aunt, the queen of Bohemia, on his right and his sister, Mary, princess of Orange on his left. The dukes of York and Gloucester are seated at the far end of the table and the young William of Orange is seated at the near end, turning towards the artist. Because of the peculiar nature of sovereignty in Holland, the deputies of the States of Holland were seated, in strict order of precedence, on the long table set at right angles to that of the royal party. (The British Library)



Figure 31: The eating room at Windsor Castle, by Charles Wild, *c.*1810. Built 1674-6 and painted by Antonio Verrio, this room, with its decorative scheme of food and drink, was used for private, not state, dining. In this much later view an 18th-century bed occupies the doorway to the queen's drawing room, while the view of the room is from the doorway to the king's apartments. (The Royal Collection)



LE CERCLE DE LEVRS MAGESTES DANS LA CHAMBRE DE
PRESENCE: A. S. JAMES

Figure 32: The circle in the presence chamber at St James's Palace hosted by Marie de Medici, Henrietta Maria and Charles I in 1638. The 8-year-old Charles II, as prince of Wales, stands on his father's left hand. (The British Library)

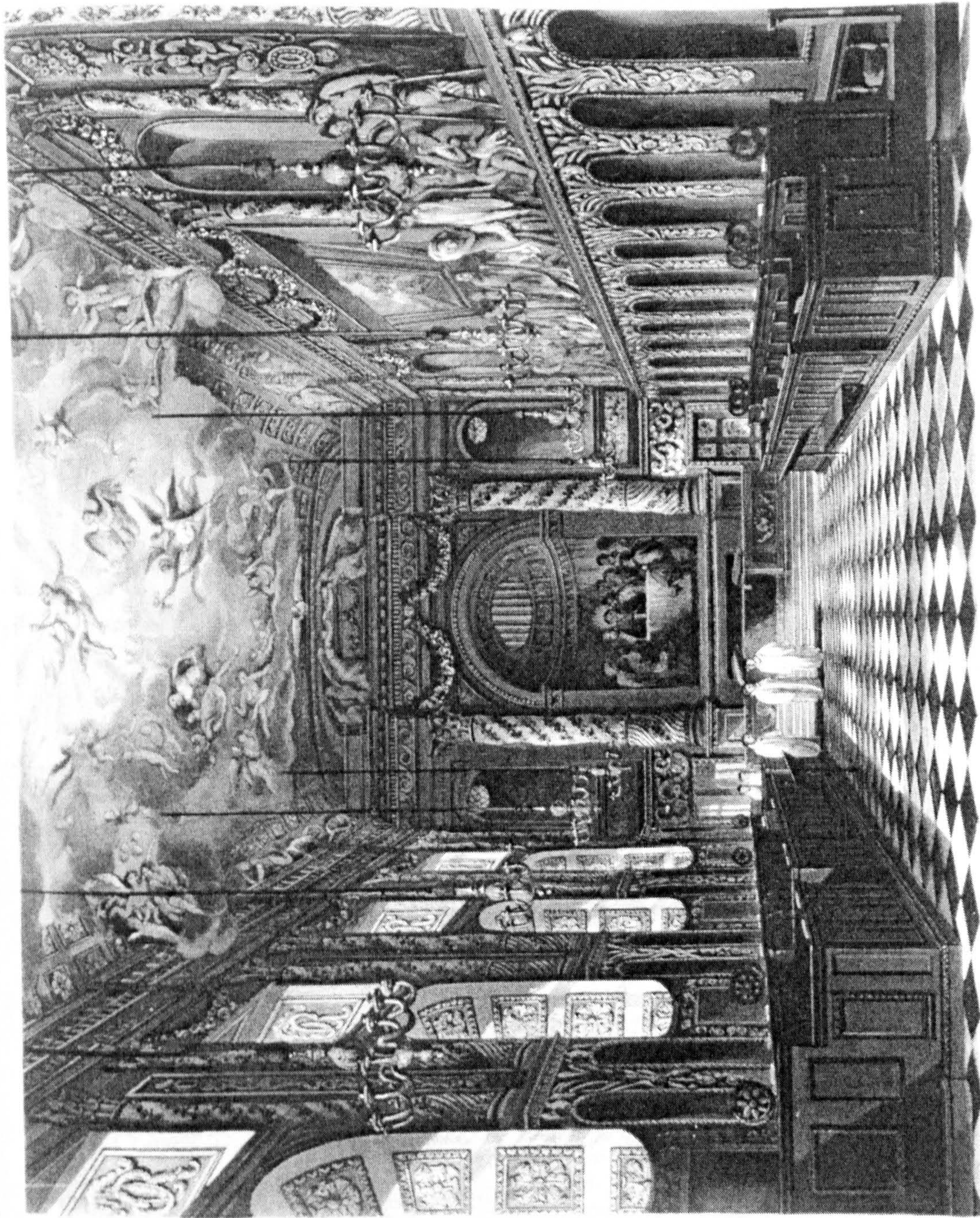


Figure 33: The chapel royal at Windsor Castle painted by Charles Wild in the early nineteenth century. This image shows the decorative scheme of the chapel as it was altered for Charles II in 1680-2. (The Royal Collection)



Figure 34: Study by Antonio Verrio for the north wall of the Windsor Castle chapel, showing Christ healing the sick. (The Victoria and Albert Museum)

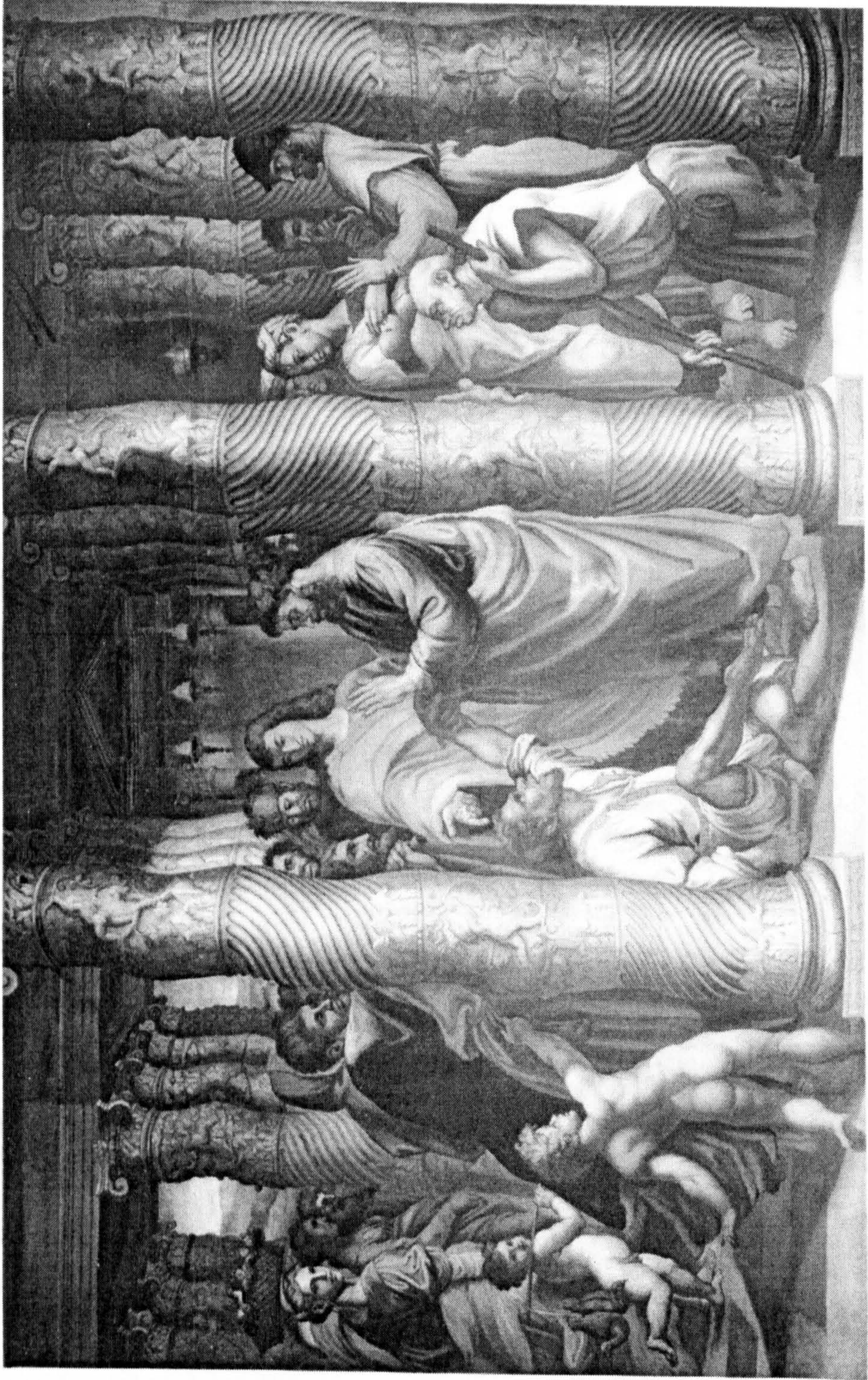


Figure 35: St Peter healing the Lame Man at the Beautiful Gate, cartoon by Raphael. Early 19th-century copy now at Hampton Court Palace.

KINGSGEVI.

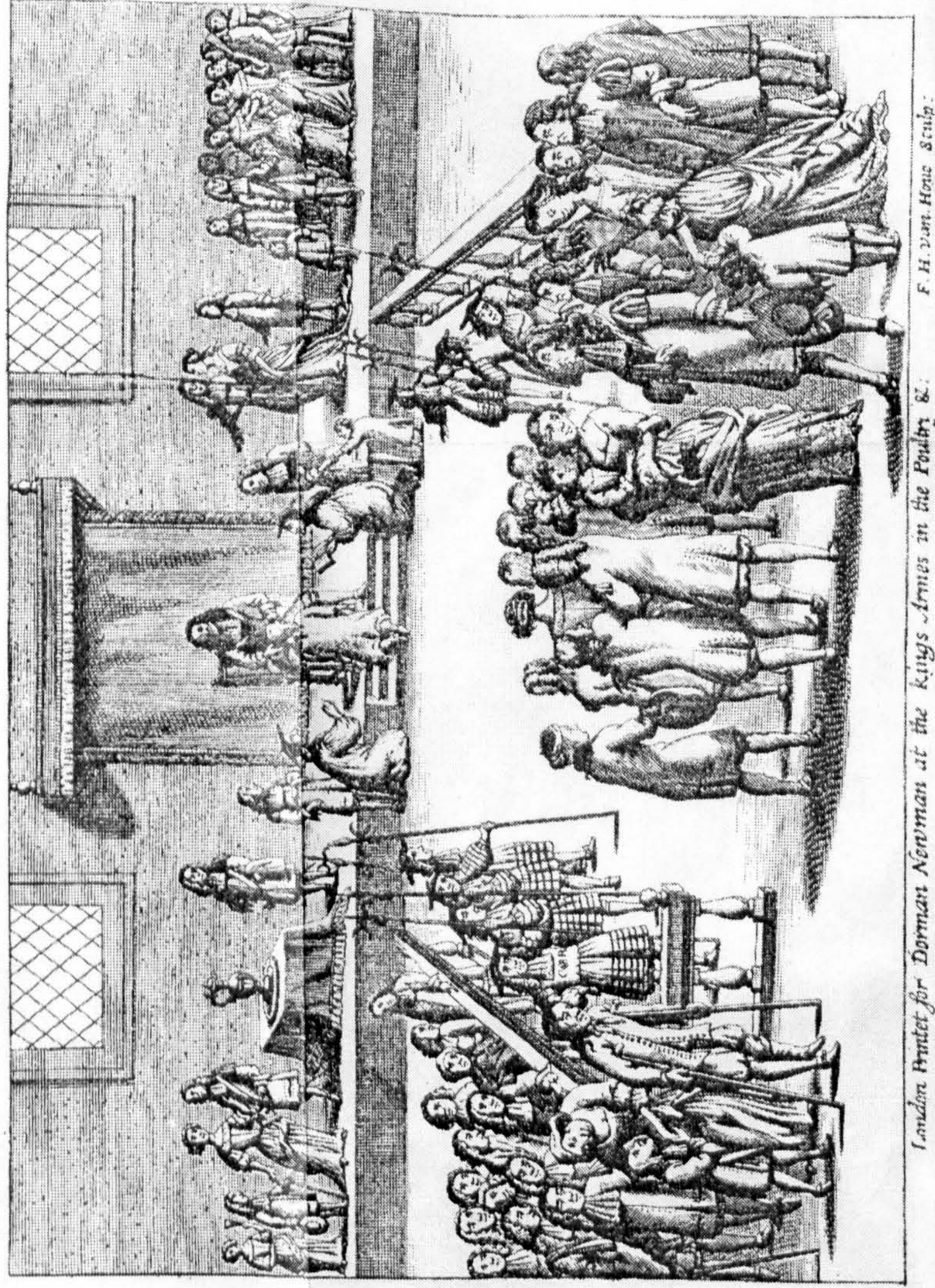


Figure 36: Charles II touching for the king's evil, from a proclamation on the subject of 1662. As the scrofula-sufferer kneels before the king to be healed, the clerk of the closet kneels on his right, reading from the Bible, with the closet keeper standing beside him, holding the gold touchpieces. On the left knees one of the king's chaplains. (The British Library)



Figure 37: Charles II healing the sick, frontispiece to John Browne *Adenochoiradelogia* (London, 1684). Browne was one of the king's surgeons, and here two royal surgeons are shown presenting the sufferer to the king.

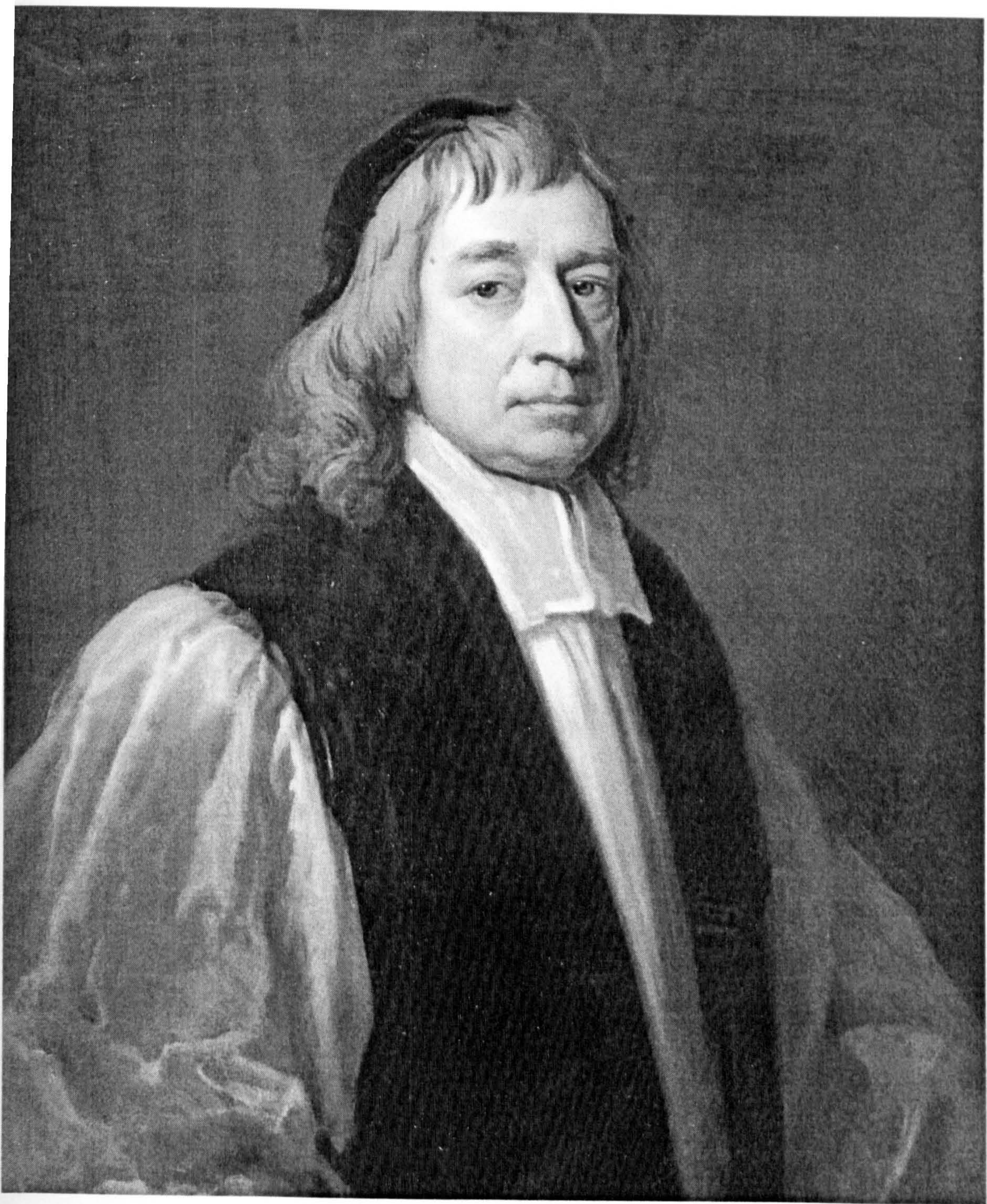


Figure 38: Henry Compton, bishop of London and dean of the Chapel Royal 1675-85. (The National Portrait Gallery)

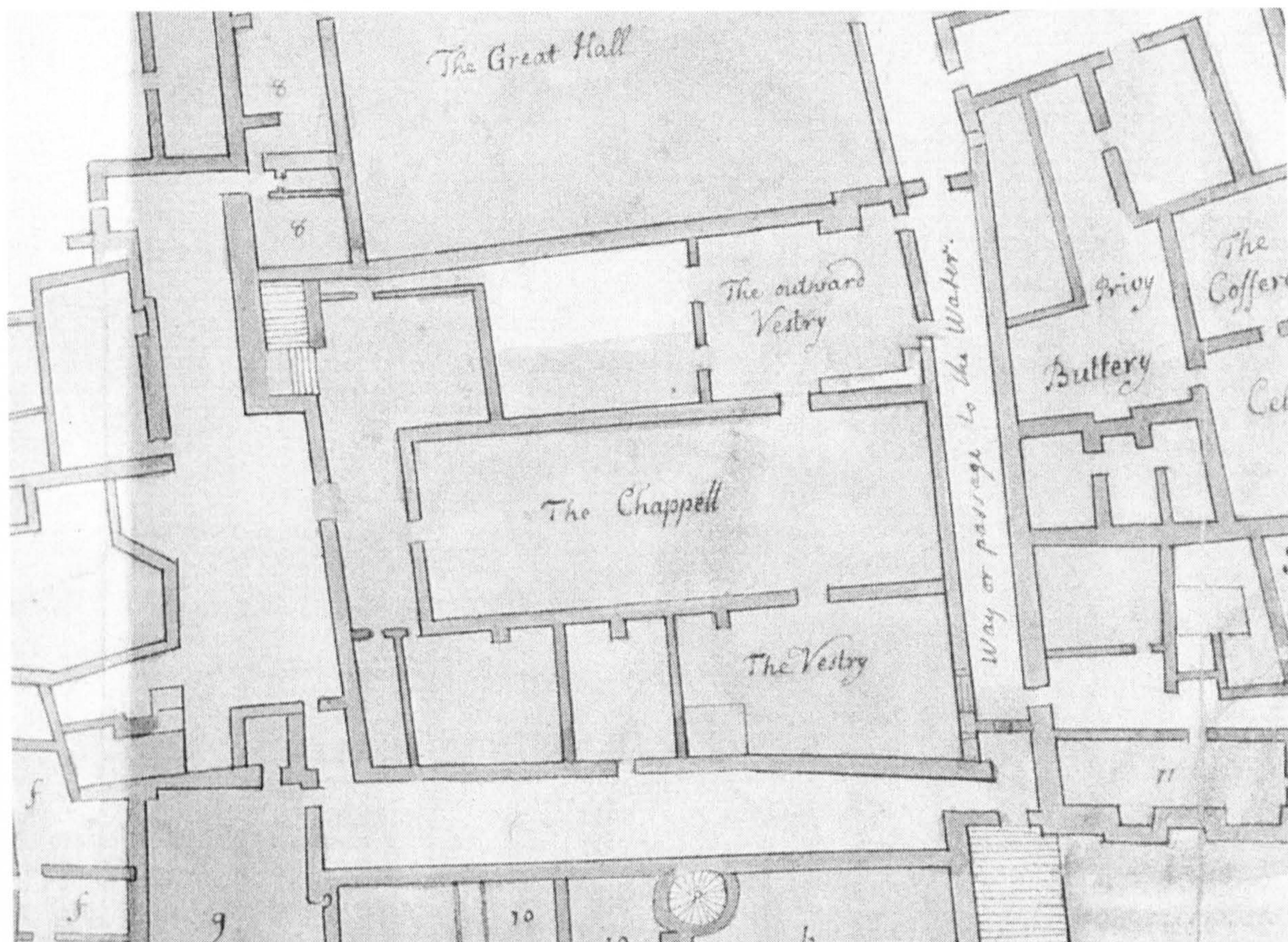


Figure 39: The chapel royal at Whitehall, ground-floor plan of c.1670. (The Society of Antiquaries)

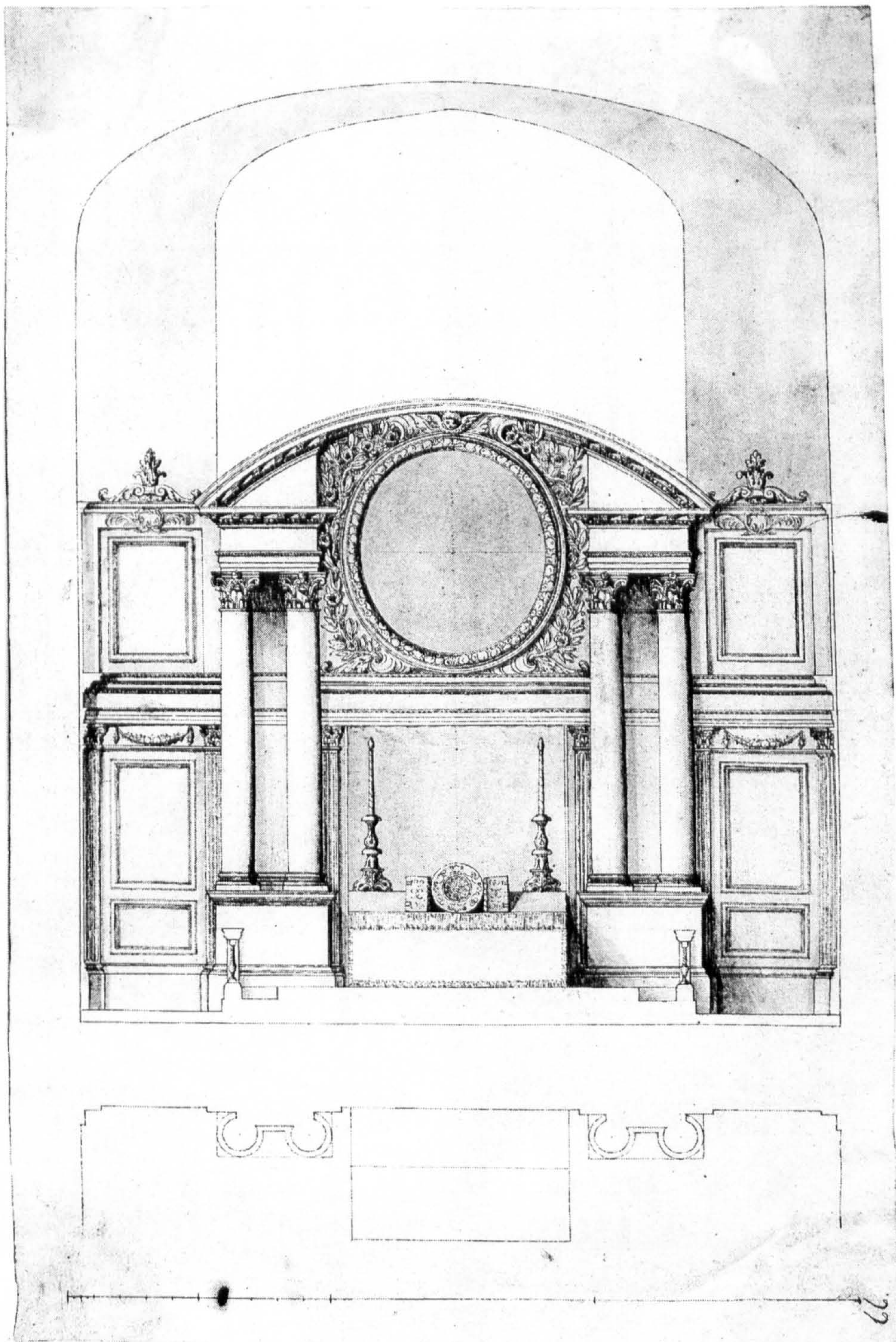


Figure 40: Presentation drawing for the east end of the chapel royal at Whitehall, Christopher Wren, c.1676. The drawing shows the altar dressed for ordinary (non-feast) days, with two candlesticks, a basin and the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer. The candlesticks sit on the raised step (or 'degree') at the back of the altar. (All's Souls, Oxford)

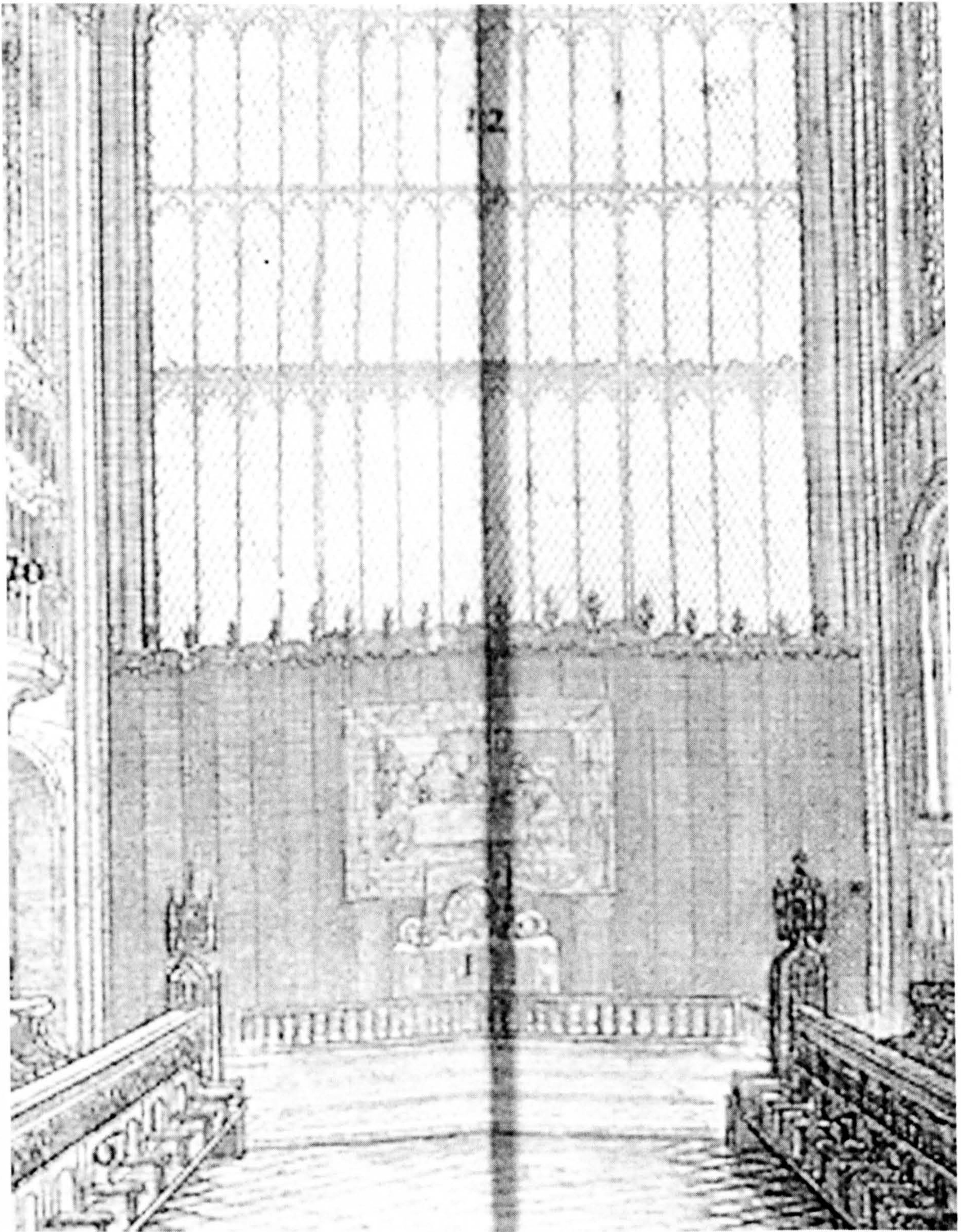
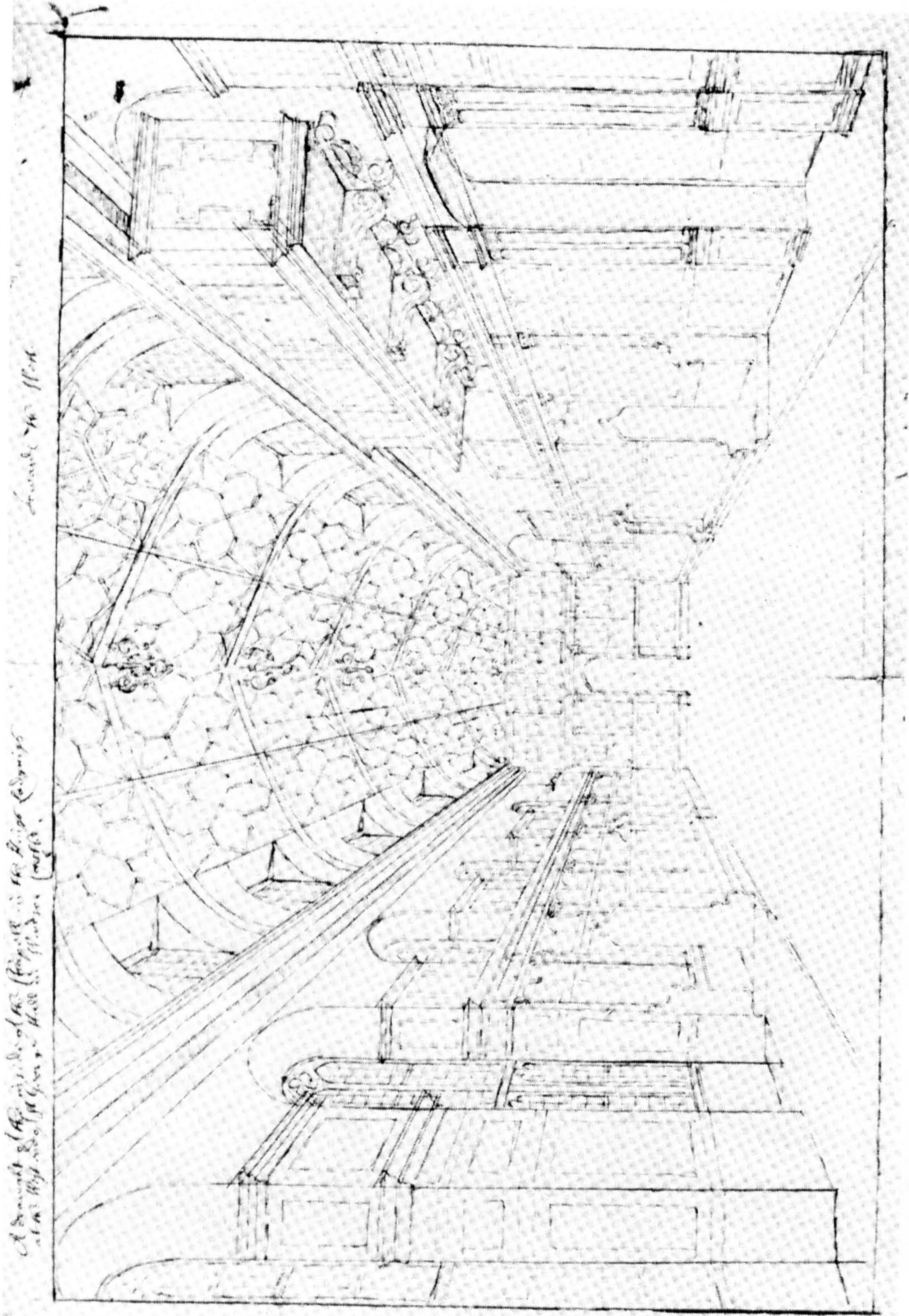


Figure 41: The east end of St George's Chapel, Windsor engraved by Wenceslaus Hollar for Ashmole's *Order of the Garter*. Although this chapel falls outside the main scope of this chapter (not technically being a chapel royal), this engraving shows the altar here arranged in the same fashion as in the chapels royal: raised, set apart by a rail and adorned with plate. Interestingly a hanging of the last supper is suspended above it.



A drawing of the chapel royal at Windsor before its renovation in 1682-3. The drawing shows a perspective view of the interior, looking west towards the main entrance. The space is divided into two side-by-side areas for the king and the queen. The drawing features a vaulted ceiling with a complex rib structure, including a large central dome and smaller domes over the side spaces. The walls are decorated with windows and doorways. The drawing is a detailed line drawing with some shading to indicate depth and texture.

Looking West

Figure 42: The chapel royal at Windsor before its renovation in 1682-3. This view looks west towards royal closet, over the main entrance. The closet was divided into two spaces side by side, one for the king and one for the queen. The closet was closed in, with glazed windows that the sovereign could open to hear the service. (Reprinted from Colvin, *King's Works*, IV)



Figure 43: Christ washing the feet of his disciples. This late-15th century manuscript illustration, from a book of hours probably created for the young Edward V, shows the biblical event merging with the English royal maundy ceremony, with Christ administering to his disciples in a northern European great hall. (The British Library)

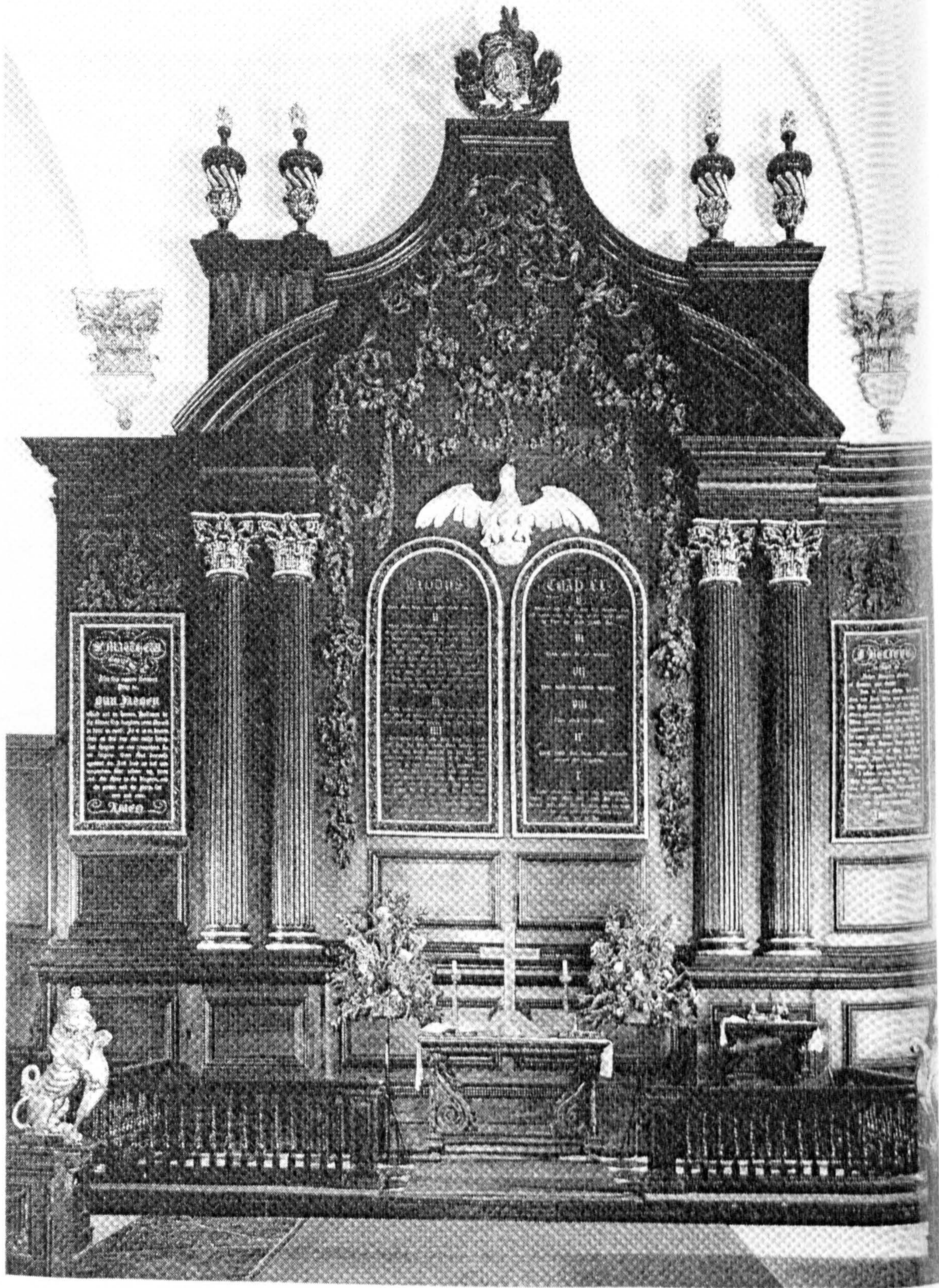


Figure 44: St Mary's Abchurch, London. The reredos and altar are part of the furnishings of the church provided by Grinling Gibbons in *c.*1682.



Figure 45: The chapel of St Peter ad Vincula in the Tower of London, with the baroque reredos supplied in the late 1670s, photographed shortly before its removal in the 1870s. (Historic Royal Palaces)

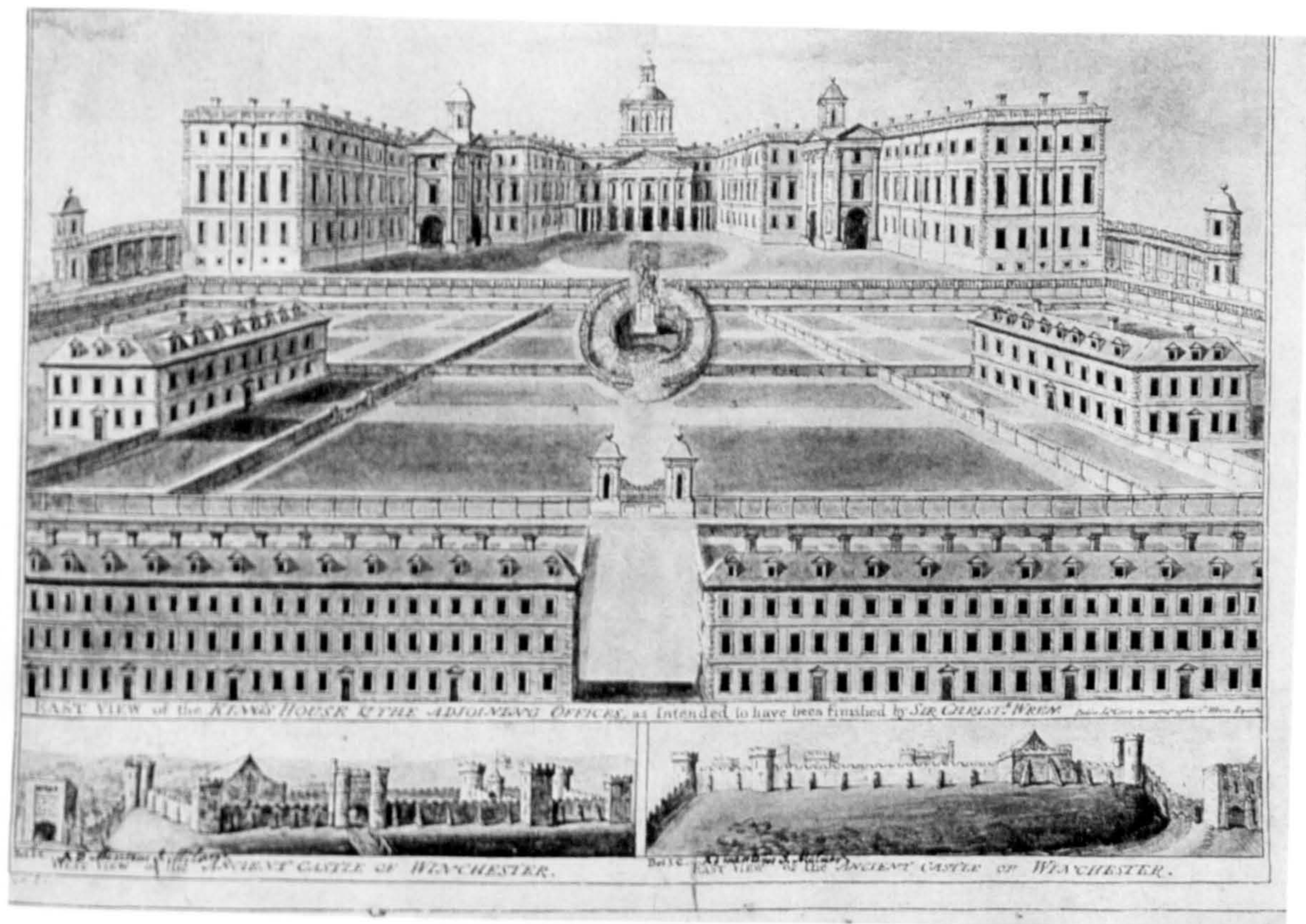


Figure 46: Elevation of Winchester Palace as planned. (Winchester Museum Service)



Figure 47: Winchester Palace in the early 20th century. The shell of the building, never completed for Charles II, remained the responsibility of the office of Works throughout the 18th century, and even in the early years of George III's reign the possibility of its completion was still being discussed. In 1796 it passed into the permanent care of the Board of Ordnance, who repaired the structure in a sympathetic manner, and who used it until its eventual demolition shortly after this photograph was taken.