

'THAT MEMORABLE SCENE':
THE IMAGE OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST
IN SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LITERATURE

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to chart the evolution of the posthumous image of Charles I in polemical and imaginative English literature, beginning from the fall of the axe in 1649 and concluding just after the inauguration of the Hanoverian Dynasty. It demonstrates that the image of Charles proved to be something of a double-edged sword, and throughout this period writers on both sides struggled to reconcile political necessity and personal conviction with the understanding that the example of the martyred King was one which was too hot to handle.

Chapter one examines the Interregnum texts which formed the foundation of the Royal Martyr's mythology: the Eikon Basilike; Milton's Eikonoklastes; the funeral elegies lamenting Charles's death; the hostile portraits from Parliamentary newspapers and biographies.

Chapter two focuses on the references to the late King which appear in the literature celebrating the joyful return of the Stuarts and the monarchy, demonstrating how sober eulogies and glowing comparisons in the work of court poets like Dryden and Cowley quickly give way to an awkward silence.

The next chapter explores the role played by the Church in developing and disseminating the portrait of King Charles as the Royal Martyr, as clerics and lay supporters used this image as a means of strengthening an ambivalent Crown, in order to enhance the security of the Church's own position.

Chapter four concentrates on the use of the late King's image in the literature of party propaganda during the second half of the reign of Charles II, and includes the study of satirical poetry of the 1670s and popular ballads of the 1680s.

Chapter five follows the developments in the historical reputation of Charles during the reign of William III, through the outbreak of the controversy over the authorship of the Eikon Basilike, and the eruptions of the radical revisions of Civil War history occurring at the beginning and end of that decade.

Chapter six establishes how Charles I's memory was deployed by the High Church party as part of its efforts to silence its opponents and tighten its grip on the reins of government in the first decade of the new century, as the Martyr featured prominently in a variety of texts, from Clarendon's History to polemical pamphlets, newspapers, doggerel verse, and even an 'opera'.

The final chapter focuses on the writings of Jonathan Swift and Daniel Defoe, who were engaged in the great political controversies of their day, and who offer a unique perspective on the problematic relationships between Charles's historical reputation, party loyalties, individual circumstances and personal conviction.

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INTRODUCTION

When beggars die, there are no comets seen;
The heavens themselves blaze forth the deaths of princes.
Julius Caesar II, ii, 29-30.

The truth of this statement would be contested by neither Royalist nor Roundhead in 1649; the debate would center around whether the glow reflected the fires of God's Unquenchable Wrath, or the beams of His smiling Approbation. With each faction believing that it had God on its side, the regicide led to a protracted argument over variant readings of Divine Providence. 'The death of the King was either a holy martyrdom...or it was the righteous deposition of a tyrant, a divine act', wrote A. N. Wilson, '...either the fulfillment of Divine Will, or blasphemy, depending on your point of view.'¹

It is not surprising that a King who exerted such control over the projection of the royal image during his lifetime should take what steps he could to shape his posthumous image as well. Throughout his reign, Charles had exploited the arts more effectively than any of his predecessors ever had,² commissioning paintings, sculpture, and literary works (especially in the masques) to present a coordinated portrait of power and grace, piety and supreme majesty. In a very real sense the execution, and the literature describing it, allowed him to reclaim those qualities (or the appearance of their possession) which recent events had taken from him.

For many years after Charles's death, the history of his posthumous image is, to a large degree, the story of the Eikon Basilike. Regardless of the changing fashions in historical scholarship, the King's Book continued to define Charles in the High-Anglican consciousness for over 200 years, and for

at least three-quarters of that period exerted influence over other writers working with a number of different literary forms and genres. The Eikon can also be said to have left its mark on those early revisionist historians, political radicals, and religious reformers who expressed their contempt for it, but who, in their efforts to deface its image of deified royalty, were placed in the unenviable position of a reactive role.

The purpose of this study is to chart the evolution of the posthumous image of Charles I in polemical and imaginative English literature, beginning from the fall of the axe in 1649 and concluding just after the inauguration of the Hanoverian Dynasty. I hope to show that the Royal Martyr became a powerful symbol employed by the forces of conservatism, during very turbulent times, to slow the pace of change or reform within the existing political or religious institutions. It is my contention, however, that the image of Charles proved to be something of a double-edged sword, so that while Royalist/Tories had met with considerable success both in monopolizing Charles and preventing the Whigs from developing a history of the Rebellion with which they could be comfortable, there were considerable and long-lived misgivings within the Tory camp over the implementation of the iconography of the 'Personal Monarch'. Throughout this period writers on both sides struggled to reconcile political necessity and personal conviction with the understanding that the example of the martyred king was one which was too hot to handle.

My thesis begins with an examination in chapter one of the Eikon Basilike and its impact upon the literature of the Interregnum period. These years are important to the study

of Charles's iconography not only because the King's Book would form the foundation of the Royalist vision of Charles I for generations, but also because the objections to this book and the cult it inspired which are expressed in Milton's Eikonoklastes, though presumably rejected out of hand by readers in 1649, eventually formed the backbone of the attacks launched by the Whig radicals in the 1690s against the Eikon and the royal portrait it projected.

The next three chapters deal with different aspects of the iconography of Charles I during the Restoration period and later reign of Charles II. Chapter two focuses on the references to the late King which appear in the literature celebrating the joyful return of the Stuarts and the monarchy. In chapter three I explore the role played by the Church in developing and disseminating the portrait of Charles as the Royal Martyr (possibly against the unarticulated wishes of the Court). I concentrate in the next chapter on how the figure of Charles was used in the cut-and-thrust of party political debate, when disaffection with the son began to influence the father's reputation, and the controversy over the succession to the throne first dawned on the British political horizon.

Chapter five follows the developments in the historical reputation of Charles in the decade after the Revolution of 1688: the outbreak of the controversy over the authorship of the Eikon; the first rumblings of discontent over the way the ritual of the anniversary commemoration had evolved; the eruptions of radical readings of history at the beginning and end of the decade which challenged the received version of events. And the next chapter examines how Charles was deployed

in polemical and imaginative literature during the reign of Queen Anne, when the High Church party used the martyr and the Civil War to press its political advantage, and the Whigs moved to endorse the 'Royalist' view of Charles--as represented by Clarendon--in an attempt to avoid being tarred with the brush of regicide.

Finally, I focus in chapter seven on the writings of Jonathan Swift and Daniel Defoe, as two authors whose careers roughly span the period covered by the two previous chapters, who were engaged in the great political controversies of their day, and who I believe offer a unique perspective on the complex and problematic relationships between Charles's historical reputation, party loyalties, individual circumstance and personal conviction.

CHAPTER 1

REMEMBER!: THE IMPACT OF THE EIKON BASILIKE
ON THE LITERATURE OF THE INTERREGNUM.

Between two and three o'clock in the afternoon on a bitterly cold 30th of January 1649, Charles I stepped through one of the windows of the Banqueting House and out onto the pall-draped scaffold. As he prepared to speak, he saw that a guard of mounted soldiers bordered the scaffold on three sides, acting as a buffer between the crowd and the platform. Because the crowd could not hear the King, Charles directed his comments to those with him on the scaffold, and so it was to Bishop Juxon, Colonel Tomlinson, the executioner and two shorthand writers that he declared himself innocent of the responsibility for the bloodshed occasioned by the two civil wars, announced his 'certainty' that Parliament, too, could not shoulder all of the blame, and then went on to say of his accusers:

I hope there is a good man that will bear me witness, that I have forgiven all the world, and even those in particular that have been the chief causers of my death... I pray God forgive them...I pray God, with St. Stephen, that this be not laid to their charge.

Denying his style of government had ever involved 'giving way to an arbitrary way', Charles insisted that he had ever worked to preserve the 'Liberty and Freedom' of his subjects, '...and therefore I tell you...that I am a Martyr of the People'. A few minutes later, the King lay down, placed his head upon the block, and it was severed from his head by a single blow. By all accounts, he faced death with dignity and grace.

In spite of the adverse conditions, Charles's claim to a martyr's halo found immediate acceptance, as spectators evaded the soldiers' efforts to clear the area at least long enough to secure precious relics by dipping handkerchiefs in the blood, tearing off bits of the stained pall, or even scraping up bits

of frozen earth underneath the scaffold.² The news of the execution spread quickly, and was said to have triggered fatal heart attacks in several men, while Clarendon reports that a pregnant woman at the Hague 'of middling rank' went into labour after learning of the event and subsequently died.³

The full effect of the King's stylish exit (and whenever a willingness to 'forgive all the world' is expressed, some question of style must be involved) might have been limited to Juxon and the others on the platform, had the government not given Charles the means of not only recapturing his audience but expanding it beyond the number of actual witnesses to include the entire nation. By printing transcripts of the speech the authorities had compounded their earlier mistake of publishing the text of the trial proceedings. Both became powerful pieces of propaganda for the Royalists, portraying as they did the sympathetic figure of a great ruler brought low by misfortune, standing bravely and alone before a host of foes, and facing death nobly, with courage.

These documents served to complement the Eikon Basilike (as did the occasions they described): they allowed the English to 'see' the Royal Martyr as an actual person in a verifiable historical context. They testified to the accuracy of historical events which forced him to demonstrate the qualities of nobility, piety, and self-denial which are expressed in Charles's book.

If the spontaneous reaction of the crowd suggests that the idea of the King's death as a martyrdom predates the Eikon Basilike, this does not deny the book's ultimate responsibility for the mythological figure which cast such a long shadow over the second half of the seventeenth century. If the Eikon did

not 'invent' the notion of associating Charles's death with religious martyrdom and Christ-like self-sacrifice for the nation's sins, it gave these notions their fullest and most emotive expression. From the moment of its first appearance the Eikon Basilike had a powerful effect on contemporary literatures, exerting influence over poets, preachers, dramatists, biographers, and polemicists. It played a significant role in determining how the King would be portrayed in anti-Royalist literature during the Interregnum (in that its widespread popularity forced these authors into an awkward silence on the subject, or else backed them into a reactive position, whereby they felt obliged to expend their energies refuting it). And regardless of the waxing and waning fortunes of the monarchy after the Restoration, the central pillar of the Eikon--the portrayal of Charles as the Royal Martyr--defined Charles Stuart in the English consciousness for more than two generations, and continued to exert a considerable presence in religious and political debate right up to the time of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715. This chapter attempts to account for the book's appeal and its success in the face of Milton's strenuous if futile opposition, and examines some of the ways in which its influence is made manifest throughout Commonwealth and Protectorate literature.

1. The 'Eikon Basilike'

Advance copies of the first edition of the Eikon Basilike were circulating within hours of the King's death; the general public could probably purchase a copy from street hawkers as

early as 3 or 4 February, while the book's first appearance in bookstalls on 9 February⁴ may or may not have been orchestrated to coincide with the King's burial on that day. The immediate insatiable demand for the 'King's Book' indicates just how emotionally shattered most people were by the regicide. By the 15 March twenty English editions had been printed, and by year's end the English market alone had consumed thirty-five. A more vigorous enforcement of existing censorship laws from May 1649, and new strictures appearing in September, succeeded in stemming most of the flow of Royalist literature, but even these measures could not prevent the publication of four more editions of the Eikon before the Restoration in 1660. International appetite for the book was also voracious: twenty-five editions were printed in Ireland in 1649, and another twenty translated into foreign languages on the continent between 1649 and 1660.⁵ Demand seems to have cut across the social strata, with a wide range available in the quality and price of editions, and although the Eikon may well have been a 'phenomenal success...with the seventeenth-century equivalent of the "Daily Mail" public',⁶ the survival of sumptuously-bound folios produced after 1662 suggests a special place was provided for it in the libraries of the aristocracy.⁷

The runaway popularity of the Eikon--an enthusiasm so strong that the Commonwealth government felt compelled to find grounds for releasing from custody the first printer bold enough to attach his name to his work--must testify to the widespread acceptance of Charles as the genuine author of the book. That this belief was not quite universally held we know from at least one attack upon the idea (other than Milton's) and several

defences of the document, each of which appeared within the eight months following the Eikon, and each of which addressed the subject of authorship. Many of the Independents must have shared the opinions of the anonymous Eikon Alethine or 'The Image of Truth'--the only significant attack upon the King's Book before Milton's own--in which it was asserted that the work must surely be a clerical forgery.⁸ But early sceptics could not name the culprit and most readers chose to ignore the question, preferring to believe that the Eikon truly represented the private thoughts, historical reflections, and fervent devotions of England's fallen king: the authorship issue, which came so completely to dominate any literary discussion of the book, was still two generations away in 1649.

Modern readers, of course, need no longer struggle with the question of authorship, thanks to Francis F. Madan, who has proven beyond reasonable doubt that Dr. John Gauden did indeed write the Eikon Basilike from material composed by the King, and that Charles then read and corrected Gauden's document before it was published.⁹ Educated at Cambridge and Oxford, Gauden became chaplain to the redoubtable Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, in 1640. A highly visible opponent of Charles throughout his reign, Warwick was a fervent supporter of the Commons both from his seat in the Lords and later on the battlefield, and it may be due to his patron's influence that Gauden himself came to sympathise with Parliament at the outbreak of the Civil War. Certainly it was through Warwick's support that Gauden was summoned to preach before the Commons on 29 November 1640, and subsequently received the deanery at Bocking, Essex in 1641, a position he was to retain until the

Restoration.¹⁰ Throughout his career Gauden seems to have been extremely successful at striking a balance between opposing political tensions, reconciling antithetical loyalties. Though receiving a preferment from the vehemently anti-Laudian Warwick, Gauden sought and obtained a confirmation of the appointment from the unfortunate Laud, imprisoned in the Tower. Such an endorsement validates Gauden's explanation of his eventual exclusion from the Presbyterian-dominated Westminster Assembly of Divines which he had joined in 1643: apparently he could only countenance the reformation, not the actual 'rooting out' of episcopacy.¹¹ He published treatises questioning the integrity of the Solemn League and Covenant (though he may have submitted to it earlier), abandoned the Common Prayer sometime during the 1640's (though he claimed to be one of the last to do so), and consistently published books and pamphlets during the Protectorate which championed the Church of England, its forbidden texts and rituals, its impoverished clergy--even its episcopal form of administration--somehow without being turned out of his living.

Somewhere along the way Gauden began to lean toward the embattled King. The seizure of Charles's letters at Naseby and their subsequent publication certainly played a role in determining his loyalties, though what role is difficult to say. Perhaps his recent disillusionment with the Presbyterians had coloured his political views, in which case Florence Sandler's observation that these events 'confirmed his sympathy for Charles' is accurate;¹² then again, maybe this incident itself prompted him to re-evaluate his position (as it did for many). At any rate, by 1648 he was firmly committed to

supporting the King and testified to this fact by publishing a tract, 'The Religious and Loyal Protestations of John Gauden...', just two weeks before the commencement of the King's trial, in which he denied the legality of the proceedings, and anticipated their fatal outcome. Gauden was obviously trying to prevent the trial and execution from taking place; indeed, if the title page is to be believed, a copy of the text was sent to Fairfax personally.¹³

Of course, by the time this pamphlet was published (5 January, 1649), the completed manuscript of the Eikon Basilike already existed. Publisher Richard Royston had received the work on 23 December, just after the King's final relocation to Hurst Castle.¹⁴ No one knows when the text received its present shape, but the Christmas dating, together with the existence of this other tract by Gauden, are enough to invite us to question the author's immediate goals in writing the book. Was the Eikon always intended as a posthumous defence of monarch and monarchy or, as Sandler suggests of the 'Religious and Loyal Protestations',¹⁵ could it, too, have been designed to act as a catalyst to stimulate readers' imaginations, forcing them to see the enormity of the crime being contemplated, in the hope that a regicide visualised is a regicide avoided? This possibility opens up a whole new dimension of the text, as the persistent attempts to portray Charles as a sympathetic, even pitiable figure suddenly take on an imperative tone, while the careful construction of patterns of allusion and imagery linking the King to a powerful concept of Christian martyrdom--what modern readers have taken to represent the Royalists' imaginative and politic version of recent history--on another level becomes

a guide or martyr's manual--a prompt book which allowed Charles to keep the outline of his last role clearly defined as he prepared for his final and greatest role.

Regardless of whether the book was written with some hope of preventing catastrophe or merely to eulogize a dead king, the Eikon's main task in presenting the figure of the Royal Martyr was to portray Charles as the most pious of men, uniquely deserving of the sympathies of all feeling people: a ruler who, through his own mildness and the great love which he bears for his people, is sacrificed for the sins of his ungrateful subjects. In doing so, of course, it was introducing little which was new. William Davenant's Salmacida Spolia, the last of the masques to be performed before Charles's court (and one in whose composition the King is thought to have played a collaborative role),¹⁶ depicts the King in much the same light: with his patience and fortitude emphasised above all other royal virtues; a careworn, beleaguered figure who achieves heroism through suffering rather than great deeds; the personification of Christian forgiveness rather than Implacable Justice.

But the Eikon's roots stretch back further than the traditions of Caroline iconography, and one work to which it was no doubt indebted, Foxe's Acts and Monuments, was itself experiencing something of a revival in the 1640s. Long considered one of the sacred books of English Protestantism, and a work regularly in print from 1563 until 1632, it had been given a new topicality in 1637, when Laud used the powers of the Court of the Star Chamber to prevent its further publication. (Among other things, he felt Foxe glorified the nonconformists' belief in the sanctity of the individual's conscience, and placed

too much stress upon the role of the English monarch as the Church's spearhead in the fight against the forces of Antichrist, relegating the clergy to a subordinate role in Church affairs and matters spiritual.)¹⁷ The Acts became one of the first banned books to be reprinted when censorship collapsed and, ironically, when the plight of the Anglican clergy and its flock--indeed, Laud's own execution in 1645--had placed persecution and martyrdom back on the agenda, a widespread familiarity with Foxe provided a foundation which helped ensure the Eikon's enthusiastic reception. The emphasis on pathos and images of self-sacrifice and martyrdom which arouse suspicion in modern readers, would lend it a distinct air of authenticity,¹⁸ and the King's stature would appear all the more colossal in this context, as Charles's sacrifice assumes the significance of a culminating act fulfilling the long history of the Church's struggle against the ungodly--an interpretation which appealed to the millenarian expectations so common at this time.

Indebted as Gauden may have been to Foxe for some share of the Eikon's phenomenal success with the public, there is no stylistic link between the two works. In fact, to my knowledge, the Eikon Basilike has no direct literary precursors, but seems to represent a unique effort, fashioned in haste and designed to satisfy a particular need. The result is a book which purports to be part personal defence/political history, part polemical pamphlet, part prayerbook (with overtones of prison writing as well). There is no narrative flow, no eyewitness testimony or documentary evidence such as that which Foxe provided, but nonetheless, the Eikon itself served as the

testimony of a martyr. What Gauden does is to employ the very structure of the individual chapters as a means of engaging the reader's sympathy while heightening his or her impression of the King's piety. Of the twenty-eight chapters comprising the Eikon, twenty-seven are split neatly into two sections. The first is devoted to exposition, in which 'Charles' tells his side of the story regarding the issue in question, and in which he channels all his energies into justifying his actions and his cause, dispensing 'factual' information and virtually denying his share in any portion of the blame for the country's misfortunes (with the exception of his remorse over his own role in Strafford's death). The second half consists of the King's prayers or meditations, delivered in an unmistakably psalm-like tone--expressing the same sense of weariness, vulnerability, repentance and a resignation to God's will which characterises many of the Biblical originals. With a studied vagueness which excuses the author from identifying individual opponents in the former sections, and an aloofness toward detail in the latter which allows the King to be seen begging his Maker's forgiveness for the sins and errors he is never forced to reveal (while in turn freely ladling out his own absolution until everyone's cup runneth over), Charles is presented as the embodiment of magnanimity, piety, and nobility. The copious expressions of contrition, acknowledgements of unworthiness, and admissions of frailty or inadequacy are confined wholly to the prayers, detached from the topical issues and safely relegated to secure and isolated compartments within the text, where they can do his reputation and cause no harm. Thus in the Eikon Charles claims the best of both worlds.

The portrait of Charles presented in the Eikon--a likeness which dominated the popular conception of the King for some two hundred years--proved to be so emotionally powerful that it seems to have left most contemporary readers unaware or at least unconcerned about the version of history which they encountered. Faced with the spectre of the Royal Martyr, the flagrant distortions and omissions appearing in the King's accounts of events and disputes well within the nation's collective memory simply did not matter (much to Milton's fury): a response which is all the more remarkable to the modern reader when one looks closely at the portrait itself.

The picture consists of very conventional figures and images which fall into three loosely defined groups: those symbols taken from the traditional iconography of monarchy; those springing from the variety of identities Charles assumes during the rhetorical cut-and-thrust of political debate; and the ubiquitous scriptural allusions. (Of course the second and third groups in a sense are subsections of the first.) Along with the standard royal symbols of stately oaks, pilots, shepherds, etc., some were included which had been adapted slightly to fit Charles's unfortunate circumstances: thus suns are shown in eclipse, obscured by cloud or contending for pre-eminence with the moon or stars; stags are sacrificed for the sake of the herd; trees struggle to avoid being pulled down by the levelling efforts of brambles and thorns.¹⁹

The penchant for role-playing--a trait which one shrewd observer at court believed a fundamental characteristic of the King's (apart from his activities in the court masques)²⁰--surfaces in the Eikon in the polemical passages of the chapters,

where a dramatic posture is frequently offered as a substitute for the rational presentation of the King's position on a given issue. In chapter xxi, for example, when confronted with the damning evidence of conspiracies and intrigues contained in the letters seized at Naseby, Charles assumes the shape of the injured gentleman, the victim of the basest intrusion--a figure of great nobility, made more rather than less noble by this barbarous violation. Later, instead of defending the Queen from charges of exerting disruptive and unconstitutional influence over the King and plotting with England's natural enemies to the detriment of the English people and their Protestant religion (ch. vii), Charles presents himself as the unfortunate lover, doomed to endure separation from his beloved, willing to suffer any fate--even unto death--for her sake.

I am content to be tossed, weather-beaten, and shipwrecked, so as she may be in safe harbour...This comfort I shall enjoy by her safety in the midst of my personal dangers, that I can perish but half if she be preserved...Her sympathy with me in my afflictions will make her virtues shine with greater lustre, as stars in the darkest nights, and assure the envious world that she loves me, not my fortune.²¹

Later the King appears as anxious father sharing a dearly-bought wisdom with his son and eventual successor (ch.xxvii). (The impression of Charles as tender-hearted family man was enhanced in March 1649 with the appearance of William Dugard's edition--the twenty-second--with its addenda featuring an account of Charles's last meeting with his children, etc.). Throughout the Eikon many parts are played: star-crossed lover, lonely family man, Jeremiah-styled prophet, the common man's Champion, the indulgent Father of a nation heartbroken by his children's ingratitude--with every pose replacing straightforward

explanation, every gesture suggesting an attitude or sentiment which adds a little lustre to the Royal Martyr's halo.

In the seventeenth century, of course, Biblical allusion represented an essential component of vernacular English prose. The Old Testament was considered public property, and writers on both sides laboured to identify their own leaders with the scriptural heroes and their foes with the ungodly. The Eikon contains three separate references to the story of Ahab and Naboth from I Kings, its author(s) confident that the connection between Charles and the dispossessed and foully murdered vineyard owner will be self-evident, while those who wrote in support of Parliament earlier in the decade were equally certain that the resemblance was strongest between the rapacious king of old and his Stuart counterpart.²² (That connection was reaffirmed by Charles's prosecutor John Cook in his pamphlet published five days after hawkers first sold the Eikon Basilike, and in which Cook pushed the analogy a step further by finding a strong resemblance between Henrietta Maria and Ahab's notorious wife Jezebel.)²³ The Book of Kings, I and II, fascinated both sides, with its stories of Israel's struggles with tyrannical kings, but interest was not restricted to those stories, as Charles is linked one way or another with many Old Testament figures, including Noah, Job, Moses, and even his father's favourite--Solomon.

Of all of these associations, however, the two most important by far are the figures of David and Christ. Neither was a new symbol to royal iconographers, and at a time when English Protestants of all sects commonly looked upon England as God's new Elect Nation, comparisons between David and their

own monarch were quite frequent. One Royalist work, a collection of psalms translated from Italian by Robert Ashley entitled David Persecuted and published in 1645, features a William Marshall frontispiece in which Charles appears in the guise of David.²⁴ And yet, even though that image predates the King's Book, until the Eikon nowhere is the link between the two expressed so emphatically. Explicit references to David appear in ten separate instances (more than any other figure except Christ), and this is apart from the meditations of each chapter, which as I have indicated are so indebted to the psalms. In several places in the text these references take the form of open comparison made by a voice that, we must remember, the reader was intended to believe was the King's:

I come far short of David's piety; yet since I may equal David's afflictions, give me also the comforts and the sure mercies of David.²⁵

At first glance David and Charles do not seem to have much in common: it is easier to see the similarities between the careers of David and Charles II (both driven into exile before ascending the throne themselves, both using their position as king to enjoy sexual license, both troubled with a rebellious son, etc.). Perhaps the association was founded upon the recognition of David's faithfulness through long periods of hardship (I Samuel 18-31; II Samuel 1-5), his identification with the idea of the sanctity of divine right kingship, due to his refusal to kill the anointed Saul (I Samuel 24), or the fact that David was thought to have been a direct ancestor of Christ. At any rate, Royalists eager to present Charles as he saw himself (and

especially those poets writing funeral elegies of the Royal Martyr) continued to link the two, though noticeably unencumbered by the requisite tone of humility which forced the King (or his surrogate voice) to declare himself less than David's equal.

The Christ imagery which pervades the Eikon left an even greater impression on its readers--both admirers and detractors. Several Royalists able to anticipate the King's fate had invoked the Saviour's example as the ultimate model of Charles's martyrdom: as early as the late autumn of 1647 Edward Symmons or Simmons, Anglican clergyman and sometime agent of the King's, had added to his already copious defence of the King a lengthy postscript in which he drew extensive (and often quite tortured) parallels between his King's sufferings and those described in the Gospels, and in the November preceding the execution broadsides appeared which depicted Charles sacrificed for the sins of his people.²⁶ A rather morbid series of coincidences involving the circumstances surrounding the execution itself allowed the King's more fervent supporters to identify (or manufacture) parallels between the events at Calvary and those outside the Banqueting House, finding it significant that both died at 3:00 PM, that both refused to defend themselves before their accusers, etc.

Chance also exerted an odd influence over the way in which the text of the Eikon was read in relation to the New Testament. All four of the Gospels are incorporated into the King's Book, but special emphasis throughout is placed upon Matthew's account of the Passion; oddly enough, the same twenty-seventh chapter of Matthew was the appropriate text for the 30 January as specified in the Book of Common Prayer--a coincidence neither

Gauden nor Charles could have foreseen when the text was completed months before, and one from which Charles and others took considerable comfort, as indicative of a special Providence at work.²⁷ In trying to demonstrate how the Eikon grew out of the wider context of traditional exegesis and seventeenth-century commentary in particular, Sandler reveals another, less mystical source for this special interest in this particular text in Matthew. She finds in James's Works of 1616 a tract which was written for Charles, entitled 'A Patterne for a King's Inauguration', in which this depiction of the Passion is set out as an example for all Christian men to follow, but one particularly suited as a pattern for the Christian King. The text had a special significance for James because it portrayed Christ being mocked by the Roman soldiers with their parody of a coronation: decking him in the purple robe, putting the crown of thorns on his head and in his hand a reed in place of a sceptre. The scene pointed out 'the supreme instance of his [Christ's] passive obedience to temporal authority', but also revealed how there was something inherently regal in a king which demands acknowledgement, even from those who think they are dishonouring the office or the man. Then, too, it symbolises how the king continues to perform the duties of his office, even unto death.²⁸

The idea of 'holy dying', of the importance for a Christian to embrace his/her sufferings as a means of entering into the sacrifice of the Crucifixion, had been expressed for centuries, and had been expressed with renewed force earlier in the century, through James's work, in the sermons of John Donne, in the religious poetry of George Herbert (and particularly in 'The

Sacrifice' from The Temple), etc., but it is much easier to see these sources as contributing toward the portrait of Charles as a second Christ which we find in the Eikon, than it is to credit them with the direct responsibility for the widespread proliferation of this image in the literature published after the execution. Though they may have appeared in the iconography of Charles before 1649, the figures of David and Christ were merely two in a crowd of characters; that they should feature so prominently thereafter--and Christ much more so--is due to the powerful influence of the Eikon Basilike.

2. Milton and 'Eikonoklastes'

The Eikon's influence was well and truly at its height by the time Milton's response appeared in October 1649,²⁹ and perhaps the seven-months-period during which the book held the field virtually unchallenged was itself a significant factor in the subsequent failure of Eikonoklastes. Certainly the fact that, at the time of the latter's publication, the King's Book was well on its way toward the **sixtieth** edition had a profound impact upon Milton's style and tone (the most notable effect being a poorly-disguised contempt for the intellectual capacity of his readers). If Milton was not actually the first to attack the Eikon in print, he was the first to do so openly, under his own name. The Eikon Alethine (which first questioned the idea of Charles's authorship) had appeared in August. A month later, Eikon E Piste (the Faithful Portraiture) quickly defended the authenticity of the King's Book,³⁰ though from the inclusion of similarly supportive statements in The Princely Pellican

we can infer that as early as late May or June 1649 doubts about the authorship were circulating (though not necessarily in print).

The Pellican is a unique effort, functioning as both literary criticism and advertisement as it defends the style and content of the Eikon. Its author claims to have been an intimate friend to the King, and he offers us a behind-the-scenes verification of the circumstances in which the Eikon was composed, featuring the King's own justification of certain elements of the text (i.e., the inclusion of prayers, the chapter on Strafford's death). Part of his method of authentication includes reproducing large chunks of the King's conversation, presumably designed to show that Charles spoke as he wrote; thus we are asked to believe that the following represents the King speaking in the garden at Theobalds:

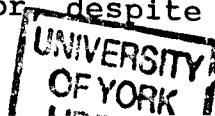
For my part, this shall be my constant Resolve...that my sinnes may be ever before me. For there is such a precious Eye-salve in a pious teare (being properly called the Wine of the Angells) as it allayes the distempers of an afflicted Spirit.

Despite the currency of doubts and criticisms which these efforts suggest, it had become apparent that the government needed to combat the success of the Eikon. Milton, who had held the government post of Secretary of Foreign Tongues since the previous March, was asked to write against it, and so Eikonoklastes represented the new Commonwealth's official reply to this irksome document.

Milton had argued eight months earlier in The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates for the 'revocability of the supreme civil power' and the inherent right of a people to overthrow and punish any tyrant who disregarded the laws of God and man which he

had sworn to uphold, and he had done so without mentioning Charles by name, hoping to construct a case relevant to all modern societies by concentrating on general principles.³² Now the obvious need to refute the Eikon Basilike gave Milton the opportunity to discredit Charles personally--as a man and as the source of the authority of the late regime. He judged that the best way to defeat both the Book and Author was to concede the question of authenticity (despite his own scepticism) and thus hold Charles directly responsible for everything in the work that he found reprehensible. Eikonoklastes becomes Milton's line-by-line response to the Eikon, in the course of which he conducts a vigorous exercise in literary criticism, in the hope that by revealing the book's deficiencies in both content and style he will demonstrate the central image of the Royal Martyr to be a complete fiction; expose the true nature of the King's seriously-flawed character, as revealed in his book; and establish along the way that the disintegration of government and England's slide into civil war were disasters for which Charles bore full responsibility, and that this King, because of the type of man he was, embodied the single most serious threat to the peace and safety of the realm.

From a twentieth-century perspective, far removed from the emotional trauma which a regicide must have occasioned in a society where the concept of divine right monarchy was--if not universally upheld--still widely believed in, it is surprising that Eikonoklastes could have had so little effect on the popularity of the Eikon or its power to shape so completely the perception of the King in the minds of the overwhelming majority of its readers. For despite its own



imperfections, Eikonoklastes does build a strong case against the Eikon, with Milton scoring a few stunning victories in the course of debate. If the main goal of the tract was truly to 'break the image' presented in the book, to undermine the claim that that text functions as an artifact or holy relic which testifies to the genuine piety, nobility of spirit, and unimpeachable integrity possessed by the late King, one would think that the famous discovery of the notorious 'Pamela's Prayer' in the supplementary material added by William Dugard should have seriously damaged the credibility of book and author. Dugard had published the twenty-second edition on or about 15 March 1649, adding four prayers supposedly composed by the King during his captivity and several personal documents, including the last letter received by the King from the Prince of Wales, and an account of Charles's final interview with his children. Milton's revelation that one of these prayers was in fact a word-for-word plagiarism from Sidney's Arcadia proved irrefutable. (It was not until thirty years later that the King's defenders first thought to hold Milton responsible for the insertion of the passage.)³³ Though he notes that the theft indicates a latent streak of duplicity in the King, Milton emphasizes how the passage documents a scandalous disrespect for the solemn rites of communication with his Maker, and by pillaging from 'a Heathen fiction' he has in effect 'unhallow'd, and unchrist'nd the very duty of prayer itself, by borrowing to a Christian use Prayers offer'd to a Heathen God'. He claims that this irreverence runs throughout the book and, in the course of scrutinising every image and allusion in turn, in the end devotes a great deal of space in Eikonoklastes to criticism

of Charles's use of scripture. Citing the habitual use of Old Testament allusion which is often ambiguous, misleading, or even extremely ill-advised for achieving his own ends (as with the repeated references to Ahab and Naboth), and the impertinent manner in which the New Testament is regularly plundered in order to invest Charles with the words and stature of his Saviour, Milton poses real questions about the degree of skill and integrity with which the Bible is incorporated into the Eikon, and does so in an age when competent use of scripture was so much a part of an effective argument.³⁴ As we shall see, however, in several instances scripture is used in the Eikon very skilfully indeed, and regardless of the merits of Milton's queries, they were questions his audience chose to ignore.

The prevailing tone of the Eikon was one of the aspects of the book which exasperated Milton most, and did so in part because he felt that so many of his countrymen were being completely taken in by it. Ironically, it is in the course of taking Charles to task for the style and tone of his book, as well as for the content of the message which it delivers that Milton commits his own mistakes. Having 'spoken' repeatedly and forcefully upon the excessive reverence with which the English regard their monarchs, of the dangers associated with this type of 'civil idolatry', and the particular difficulties he himself was faced with in combating the popular prejudices which were attached to this king's book, Milton seems haunted by the sounds of widespread acclaim with which the Eikon was greeted, and argues as though he hoped to effect a general conversion of his audience through the raucousness of his

protests, a highly energetic prose style, and the sheer force of his formidable will. With a determination to 'let nothing by' (which could itself stem from Milton's sense that he had much ground to make up if the Eikon was to be overtaken in the race for the hearts and minds of the readers), Milton adopts a strident, pedantic tone which does not serve him well. The carping over the validity of scriptural interpretations or the inconsistencies/contradictions in the King's logic, can be repetitious and occasionally degenerates into quibbling.

Milton's response to a particular section of Charles's chapter xxvii, 'To the Prince of Wales', provides a case in point. Despite its appearance in so public a work, this chapter does manage in places to communicate a genuine sense of a father's anxiety for his son's future, and nowhere more strongly than in Charles's admonitions concerning how important it will be for the young prince to learn from his experiences, both the good times and bad.

But this advantage of wisdom you have above most princes, that you have begun and now spent some years of discretion in the experience of troubles and exercise of patience; wherein piety and all virtues, both moral and political, are commonly better planted to a thriving, as trees set in winter, than in the warmth and serenity of times or amidst those delights which usually attend princes' courts in times of peace and plenty...The evidence of which different education the Holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of David and Rehoboam, the one prepared by many afflictions for a flourishing Kingdom, the other softened by the unparalleled prosperity of Solomon's court and so corrupted to the great diminution both for peace, honor, and kingdom by those flatteries which are as unseparable from prosperous princes as flies are from fruit in the summer...

I had rather ³⁵ you should be Charles le Bon than le Grand, good than great.

Buried beneath the encrusting of affectation and pious posing lies a kernel of genuine feeling: of real concern for

a son who must shoulder alone the most crushing of responsibilities; and fear, lest he should fall victim to one of the many traps which he must surely encounter. That the father should himself have become ensnared by the very enticements against which he cautions his son merely introduces the possibility that a sense of regret underlies the whole, and adds a note of poignancy.

But Milton can admit no trace of authenticity to reside in the Eikon, and rejects the entire chapter out of hand when he opens, 'What the King wrote to his son, as a Father, concerns not us; what he wrote to him, as a King of England, concerns not him...'. Yet in spite of this dismissal he goes on to examine the passage in question, and uses an awkward bit of sophistry to discount the entire situation:

[it] presents him still in his own words another Rehoboam, soft'nd by a farr wors Court then Salomons, and so corrupted by flatteries, which he affirmes to be unseparable...That he came therefore thus bredd up and nurtur'd to the Throne, far wors then Rehoboam,...we have heer his own confession.³⁶

By leaping upon the fact that James was frequently referred to throughout his reign as the English Solomon, and insisting therefore upon a fixed, one-to-one correspondence which must forever identify Charles as Solomon's son Rehoboam, Milton looks ridiculous in being so wilfully narrow and literal-minded, and succeeds only in reducing the dialogue here to the level of a schoolboy's exercise in rhetoric.

This is not to say that Milton remains dispassionate in his approach to the King's Book, for at times the Eikon drags him down from the lectern and wrests an impassioned response from him, regardless of how he tries to dress it up. I believe it is Milton's anger over the boldness of the bluffing which

characterizes some of the history in the Eikon, and his frustration over the weakness of the collective memory of the nation which allows it to encounter such fictions with credulity intact, that drives him at times into little short of a state of frenzy. A good example of this type of reaction is found in a four-full-sized-paragraphs response to the opening sentence of the Eikon (which professes the constancy of Charles's confidence in and respect for the integrity of Parliament).³⁷ When Charles comments, 'It is a sad fate for any man to have his enemies to be accusers, parties, and judges...',³⁸ there is more in Milton's answer than reason can account for.

Sad indeed, but no sufficient Plea to acquitt him from being so judged. For what Malefactor might not plead the like? If his own crimes³⁹ have made all men his Enemies, who els can judge him?

The chill we feel comes not from the calm, cool logic Milton applies, but the frost of the complete and utter contempt in which Milton holds both the King and his cause: a hatred so strong that it partially blinds Milton and allows him to underestimate the power of the subject he is handling at this point in the text. Few of his readers would not have experienced a dread of finding themselves in a situation similar to the one the King describes; few in London would have so quickly forgotten Pride's Purge and the pains taken by the Army to ensure the King's conviction (an instance of Milton's own selective amnesia). It seems to be more than a simple lack of generosity, but an emotional reaction of his own which compels Milton to deny Charles the credit for having faced death with courage and dignity, declaring that to be a standard part of the royal performances (as it was with his grandmother before him), and

as such, a 'good death' was merely a snare with which an already too-admiring public may be trapped.⁴⁰ Many of the King's enemies were willing to concede Charles a noble death, and there must have been many like Andrew Marvell who--despite grave misgivings about the King and his cause--were moved to admire the manner in which he faced his end. Even allowing for the contentious style of seventeenth-century debate, such harshness makes Milton seem not only petty, but spiteful, as though he had aimed a vicious, unchivalrous kick at the corpse.

The reason for these emotional lapses in what indeed remains a predominantly rational, closely-argued rebuttal of the Eikon Basilike lies close to the heart of Eikonoklastes. Recent studies of Milton's tract have suffered from a general neglect of an important aspect of the Eikon which I think helps us to understand how Milton came to write the type of document we have today, and why it was received as coldly as it obviously was. For I believe modern scholars (of whom Lois Potter is merely the most recent) have seriously underestimated the degree to which the Gospels were used in the Eikon to shape the King's features and capture its readers' hearts. Though Potter acknowledges the existence of an implicit comparison between Christ and Charles, and in doing so, hints at the appropriation of direct quotations, emblems, and attitudes upon which this comparison is based, she seems to attribute much of the consciousness of the relationship between the texts to a twentieth-century perspective. She uses Milton as a type of barometer of contemporary reader reaction, finding in his Eikonoklastes no more than a moderate exasperation over William Marshall's emblematic frontispiece, and no emphatic expressions

of abhorrence over the blasphemous use of the New Testament which a close identification of anyone with Christ would be likely to generate from such an opponent. From this relative silence Potter seems to deduce that early readers could have gleaned no overwhelming impression of the resemblances between Charles's character or circumstance and Christ's from the Eikon and perhaps in consequence sees a more gradual development of the reliance on Christ-imagery in the poetry eulogising the Royal Martyr.⁴¹

In identifying the main thrust of Eikonoklastes as Milton's indictment of the King as a perpetual actor, I believe Potter has got half of it right. Milton does make much of Charles's propensities for role-playing: devoting much space to documenting the hypocrisy which lay behind the frequent discrepancies between royal words and actions; tirelessly (tiresomely?) exposing each instance of manipulation or distortion of scripture, as though each analogy or prayerful utterance revealed a 'mere formal mouthpiece', an amateur player mangling lines which were not his own, which had meanings beyond his grasp; condemning the 'effeminate puppet...controlled by women modelling his language and behaviour on theirs'. But to view this aspect of the royal character as the main target of Milton's attack is to ignore how Milton attempts to highlight these qualities in order to portray Charles as guilty of a far greater crime. Throughout the tract Milton communicates a judgment which he reiterates powerfully in his later poetry: that idolatry--the rejection of the true God for one of our own choosing--was the most serious transgression which men and women could commit; was the most seductive of evils, posing the greatest threat to our moral

and spiritual well being; and that kings were particularly dangerous beings since they thrived through the encouragement of the enslavement of their fellow creatures, through their own effective deification.⁴² Charles's theatricality and fascination with false images, in itself reprehensible, enables him (through the Eikon) to enthrall the English people, who Milton repeatedly tells us were ever particularly susceptible to a kind of 'civil idolatry'. The role-playing or acting became an odious means to a more offensive end, and the tract moves from censure of impersonation to emphasise the malignity behind the choice of 'parts' which featured in the Eikon: the presumption of assuming the mantle of the second Christ is presented as the culminating outrage. Charles's thespian interests, his domination by women, his indulgence of Roman Catholics and preference for Popish practices and rituals in his own worship--all these testified to the King's own susceptibility to the temptation. But it was his proficiency in enticing others into sin which aroused Milton's strongest hatred. Thus, Milton did note the various appearances of Christ in the Eikon and feared the effect they might have on the public.

In chapter xxvi of the Eikon we see an illustration of how skilfully Charles (or Gauden) was able to incorporate material from the Gospels into his text, and what a difficult task Milton faced in trying to counteract this tactic. In the latter part of the work, in the course of dealing with the Army's snatching of the King from Parliament's custody at Holmby House, Charles once again uses Matthew to reiterate the comparison between himself and Christ, and in so doing enhances the emotional power of his text on a number of levels.

I cannot but observe this divine justice, yet with sorrow and pity; for I always wished so well to Parliament and city that I was sorry to see them do or suffer anything unworthy such great and considerable bodies in this kingdom...

I pray God the storm be yet wholly passed over them; upon whom I look, as Christ did sometime over Jerusalem, as objects of my prayers and tears, with compassionate grief, foreseeing those severer scatterings which will certainly befall such as wantonly refuse to be gathered to their duty, fatal blindness...so that men shall not be able at last to prevent their sorrows who would not timely repent of their sins...

p. 155

The reference to Matthew 23: 37-39 recalls the incident shortly before his crucifixion when Christ, confronted with a view of Jerusalem, foresaw the awful death which awaited him there, and prophesied the city's subsequent destruction. What is truly impressive about this passage is the manner in which it must have pulled the contemporary reader in a number of different directions simultaneously. In addition to the association with Christ which by this point in the work has become a well-established claim, the author continues in his habit of referring to the injuries which the King may have suffered as 'sins' instead of crimes, a subtle distinction which nonetheless reinforces Charles's point that the person of the King--like the office itself--is sacred and subordinate only to the Supreme Being. A powerful appeal to the sense of national guilt results from the King's selfless offer of forgiveness and tender sympathies to his subjects, in spite of the intense suffering which they have inflicted upon him. His own stature as a sympathetic figure looms to tragic proportions as we are invited to imagine the King preparing for death in the heart of the city which had served as his own capital in happier times. And finally, with the allusion to Jerusalem itself, Charles

plays on anxieties which must have gripped the nation regarding the significance of what had taken place: having publicly executed her King, where was England to go from here? If, as many expected, the Apocalypse was near, what would become of her?

Milton responds to this by attacking the arrogance and pride which would allow a man to think he could impersonate his God.

Nor is he only content to suborn Divine Justice in his censure of what is past, but he assumes the person of Christ himself to prognosticate over us what he wishes would come. So little is any thing or person sacred from him, no not in Heav'n, which he will not use, and put on, if it may serve him plausibly to wreck his spleen, or ease his mind upon the Parliament...Wherein as his Charity can be no way comparable to that of Christ, so neither can his assurance that they whom he seems to pray for, in doing what they did against him, 'knew not what they did'.

p. 568

Disgusted by what he views as merely the latest expression of a scandalous irreverence toward God, Holy Scripture, and the religious sensibilities of all pious people, Milton mounts another assault on the King's sincerity, suggesting this must be seen as yet another performance from the Royal Actor through his references to devices which are 'put on' and praises or absolutions which 'smell of craft'. Yet, though these censures are no doubt rooted in a genuine sense of moral outrage and a deep concern over the dangers to which these idolatrous delusions exposed his countrymen, it becomes clear in comparing the two that Milton's logical reply could not hope to compete with the Charles/Gauden passage. The latter probes feelings too deeply and commonly held, speaks too plainly of the concerns for the future which preoccupied so many, so that Milton's

sensible reminders that this man was not Christ, and his sceptical refusal to ignore the political and rhetorical motives for proffering prayers and forgiveness willy-nilly, were almost destined to fall flat.

It is difficult to say how many English men and women actually read Eikonoklastes; we do know that comparatively few purchased it. Demand for Milton's tract was small, with a mere two editions published in 1649 and 1650, and a lone translation into French of the second edition appearing in 1652 (while the Eikon had been translated into twenty foreign-language editions by 1660).⁴³ Though John Shawcross in his generally helpful survey of Milton's prose mentions the existence of numerous (unspecified) allusions to Eikonoklastes, only two responses of significant length appeared before the Restoration of Charles II.⁴⁴ Certainly some of this rejection was due to the success Milton enjoyed in revealing the Eikon's weaknesses, as Eikonoklastes--together with Tenure and Defensio Prima--earned him 'an undying infamy', and for the duration of the seventeenth century Milton's name became inalienably associated with the regicide and the extremist tendencies in Commonwealth politics.⁴⁵

In the end Milton's tract overtook the King's Book, as the slow-but-steady growth of his fame as a great poet after his death in 1674 eventually led scholars back to Milton's prose. Throughout the eighteenth century, however, approval of the poet often co-existed with disdain for the regicide within many a breast, as a horror of the deed he had justified survived long after the death of the last witness. And though Sandler rejects out-of-hand the suggestion that the basis of the Eikon's initial victory over Milton rests in the triumph of an emotional

appeal over rational argument (for this, she says, would be setting the Basilike's value at Milton's assessment),⁴⁶ I feel the evidence supports just such a conclusion. Even if we remain sceptical about exactly what the 'sales figures' for the King's Book are actually telling us (i.e., if we consider that each Eikon purchased is not necessarily an Eikon read), the very fact that so many Englishmen felt the need to obtain their own copy of Charles's own book must surely testify to a widespread determination to cherish the Royal Image, which remained the dominant portrayal of Charles even after 1690 and the outbreak of the controversies over the Eikon's authorship. Both the tenacious grip of the Eikon Basilike over the imaginations of readers and the efforts people were willing to make to separate Milton's poetry from his prose--admiring his epic while deploring his politics--might indicate how the events of the 30 January affected the fates of these two works in opposite ways. Perhaps the King's Book was revered (and Milton's rejected) as long as the deed which prompted it needed to be strenuously deplored.

3. The Funeral Elegies

Notwithstanding the example set by the Eikon Basilike, the literature which depicted--let alone lamented--the death of the King was fiercely suppressed in the months following the execution. The growing rift between the Army and Parliament had resulted in the strengthening of existing censorship laws as early as March 1648, as the predominantly Presbyterian legislature tried to silence disgruntled Independents as well as Royalists: Charles's trial and execution intensified these

feelings of vulnerability. The main targets of the government's censorship campaign were the news-sheets, newsbooks and pamphlets which were flooding London in an attempt by printers to keep up with the public's insatiable demand for information. These had rapidly replaced ballads and broadsheets as the more popular and effective forms of political expression, and though the Royalist presses could not be completely silenced during the course of 1649, there is no denying that the Army was both vigilant and efficient in its efforts to hunt down and destroy dangerous material, with ballads appearing to have been particularly hard-hit (only two or three on the execution finding their way into the Thomason collection).⁴⁷ Other forms of literature--such as the broadsides and collections of funeral elegies--did survive, and it is in these, and particularly in the elegies, that we can see the Eikon exerting an immediate and powerful literary influence.

Joseph Frank's description in Hobbled Pegasus of one elegist as 'violent in his anger, hyperbolic in his praise'⁴⁸ is actually an appropriate pronouncement on the overwhelming majority of the funeral elegies. They form such a homogeneous body of work that it is possible to point to one or two collections as being representative of the whole. Monumentum Regale, a collection of anonymous poems published in June 1649, reflects the recurring attitudes and dominant themes which characterize the outpouring of verse lamenting the King's passing. Among the dozen poems found here, at least two had been published separately earlier in the spring: one written by John Cleveland and another attributed to Henry King.

The Regale provides us with an interesting perspective

for viewing the ideas which the elegies emphasise, both in the way these pieces compare with each other and how they reflect on other contemporary works dealing with Charles's death. Together they demonstrate how strong feelings of religious confusion run through this literature, as the poets join their contemporaries in trying to reconcile recent events with their ideas of a universe ordered by the daily intervention of Providence, and come to terms with an overwhelming sense of national guilt. Several poems in the Regale also celebrate the King using theatrical imagery, and finding in those last moments outside the Banqueting House Charles's finest performance:

His Scaffold, like mount Tabor, will in story,
Become the proudest Theatre of His Glory...⁴⁹

In addition to revealing the author unconcerned about the type of criticisms Milton was to level at both King and Eikon in five months time, these glimpses also provide an interesting context for Marvell's 'Horatian Ode', confirming that stage metaphors continued to be standard tools of royal iconographers, as they had been since at least James's reign, and supporting those reluctant to find muted criticism in Marvell's reference to a 'Royal Actor born'.⁵⁰

It is interesting to note how the poems in the volume generally divide into two camps: those which emphasize a tremendous sense of grief, and those expressing anger and the need for revenge. This represents a departure from the customary form of the elegy, which traditionally chronicles the speaker's movement through various stages of sorrow, denial, and anger to consolation and some kind of acceptance.

Nevertheless, King's elegy, 'A Deepe Groane...', provides one of the best examples of these poems which approach Charles's death as a crushing loss, both in a personal and national sense, but with a decidedly understated sense of outrage. Cleveland's 'An Elegie upon King Charles the First...', on the other hand, rages against the King's enemies, and attempts to rouse his countrymen with a call to rebellion by employing the Josias convention so popular with like-minded authors, wherein Charles is likened to that virtuous Old Testament king who was undeservedly murdered. As poets and preachers frequently pointed out, the correspondence between the two would never be complete until a loyal subject of Charles stepped up and avenged his lord's death, as Jeremy had Josias's. This dichotomy between the two emotional reactions--grief and anger--results in a psychological conflict which possibly transcends the Royalist literature, as the image of Royal Martyr became such a powerful object of sympathy that other emotional responses were precluded, thus affecting the Royalists' ability to function politically and mount an effective resistance to the new government.⁵¹

As far as the elegies are concerned, the authors often give an indication as to which of these emotions is dominant through their choice of a substitute object of devotion, a process of withdrawal and reattachment of affections which permits consolation and eventual healing.⁵² Grief-orientated elegies of Charles generally cling to the Eikon and the undying fame it offers him; those advocating vengeance seek direct political change, and pin their hopes explicitly or implicitly upon Charles II.

One way in which the dominance of the Eikon is made manifest

throughout these elegies is found in the form of tributes paid by the poets explicitly to the King's Book. Virtually without exception, each elegist declares the Eikon Basilike to be the most powerful of all witnesses to the virtuous character and patient sufferings of the late King; it serves as a kind of Muse, as each emphasises his/her own concept of the role which the Book will play in preserving Charles's legacy to his subjects. Henry King, for instance, celebrates the King's memory and the achievement of the Eikon as the means of keeping the lustre on his historical reputation:

Wonder of Men and Goodnesse³ Stamp'd to be
The Pride, and Flourish of all History.
Thou hast undone the Annals, and engross'd
All th' Heroes' Glory which the Earth e're lost.
Thy Priviledge 'tis onely to commence
Laureate in Sufferings, and in Patience.

'A Deepe Groane, fetch'd
at the Funerall of...
Charles I', ll. 135-40.⁵³

King's relatively brief reference hints at the book's mythologizing power and foresees a very personal fame in store for the King. The anonymous author of another elegy in Monumentum Regale uses an image of husbandry to describe the circumstances whereby Charles was driven to defend his faith from attack by the Puritans ('the revolted Cassocks.../ With crooked sophistry's perverted arts') and, in the process, nurtured into bloom a spiritual guide which would prove second only to the Bible in directing the Christian conscience. The following represents an excerpt from a lengthy twenty-six line reference:

When warmer onsets, like the searching ploughs,
More fertile wounds on natures yielding brows;
Were not the scar, but tillage of his heart,
Cares thriving husbandry, and fruitfull smart,

Where what was sown a Crosse, sprung upon a sheef,
And Virtue, Harvest, though the Furrow grief.
His glorious own record gave this presage,
Which next to hallowed writ, and sacred page,
Shall busie pious wonder, and abide
To Christian pilgrimage the second guid...

'An Elegie on the Meekest
of Men...Charles I'.⁵⁴

Here the Eikon contains more than just Charles's 'side of the story'; it serves as a testament to his wisdom and piety, will allow succeeding generations to reap the benefit from it, and--most interestingly--suggests the competitiveness which existed between the religious communities in seventeenth-century England. The poet concludes with an implicit swipe at his Dissenting countrymen when he insists that at least the Eikon is 'Not spun in scanty half-denying prayers/ But Legacie obliging to His Heirs'. An echo is succinctly sounded in 'Caroli', which declares 'his Charles's Soul's best Interpreter, His Book/ ...will Henceforth be/ The Church of England's best Apologie'.⁵⁵

A final example of these open endorsements, from Alexander Brome's 'On the death of King Charles' (1649?), weds the ideas of perpetual fame and religious prophecy to the notion of the moral and political accountability of the King's enemies, thinly-veiled behind the prospect of divine retribution:

Now since you'r gone, great Prince, this care we'l have,
Your book shall never find a death, or grave,...
A piece like some rare picture, at remove,
Shews one side Eagle, and the other Dove...
Whose leafs shall like the cybels be ador'd,
When time shall open each prophetick word
And shall like scripture be the rule of good
To those that shall survive the flaming flame.⁵⁶

Though obviously embittered over recent events, and one who clearly proclaims himself no friend to the present administration in his poetry (though his legal practice certainly thrived while it remained in power), Brome in his two elegies stresses

England's unworthiness and the stain of a nation's guilt. Punishment comes from Above: rebellion does not seem to be on the agenda.

The Eikon functioned as a kind of repository of images and symbols which, though not original, were so carefully chosen and impressively framed in the King's Book that its central image of the Royal Martyr was one successive Royalist authors sought to perpetuate. Sometimes the elegists tried to go one better than the Eikon's author. Brome, noted for the cynicism of his drink-and-be-damned Cavalier ballads, used the figure of David to further enhance Charles's reputation for piety, thus contradicting the King's modest denial of his own worthiness to be linked with such a hero:

...we no difference knew
Between the old Davids spirit and the new...
And had he lived in King Davids time,
H' had equal'd him in all things but his crime.⁵⁷
 'On the death of King
 Charles', ll.23-4,27-8

Of course the Eikon exerted influence far afield from the realm of poetry, as I think we see in the allusion to the Ahab/Naboth motif in a Proclamation condemning the execution which was issued by the members of the abolished House of Lords. (By murdering his subject Naboth in order to gain his vineyard Ahab had become an instantly recognisable symbol for arbitrary government and the threat which an absolute monarch presented to the property of his people. In his notes to the Yale edition of Eikonoklastes Merritt Hughes describes how Ahab became a fixture in attacks on the King from Presbyterian pulpits throughout the 1640s, as people came to identify the Biblical story with Charles's economic policies in the 1630s.)⁵⁸ The

Old and New Testaments were considered common property and much which appears there could and did end up in the rhetoric of either side, but the King's supporters seem to have steered clear of Ahab. His inclusion in this Proclamation, which was published five days after the street hawkers began selling the Eikon, could well be due to Charles's/Gauden's curious incorporation of this controversial figure into the Basilike.⁵⁹ Contemporary sermons also show how clergymen worked in 1649 (and with renewed passionate intensity after 1660) to sustain this saintly portrait of the dead King. And journalists who struggled to keep Royalist newsbooks before the public in the eighteen months between the execution and the final issue of the longest-lived of these (Mercurius Pragmaticus), also did their part to perpetuate the mythology of the Royal Martyr. However, in as much as the image of Charles as the suffering Christ dominates the Eikon and came to define the character of the Royal Martyr, so these funeral elegies and contemporary sermons played a leading role in reinforcing the association between these two figures and in keeping the legend fresh in the minds of the public.

The use of Christ as a symbol for the dead king runs so consistently through the elegies that they actually confirm Milton's fears concerning England's attitude toward her King and the impact of Charles's book upon her people.⁶⁰ Few of Henry King's contemporaries scrupled as King did over the propriety of making such comparisons; he feared that readers would find his parallels between Charles and David to be 'bold presumption', and his two elegies are notable for the relatively cautious manner in which the Sovereign was linked to his

Saviour.⁶¹ Most were eager to push back the frontiers of idolatry, as though competing with one another to demonstrate their loyalty by seeing who could affirm the lessons of the Eikon most fervently. The anonymous author of 'Caroli' provides us with an example of how closely to the right hand of the Almighty contemporaries were willing to place the martyred king:

Now Charles as King, and as a good King too
Being Christs adopted self, was both to do
And suffer like him; both to live and die
So much more humble, as he was more high
Then his own subjects. He was thus to tread
In the same footsteps, and submit his Head
To the same Thorns...

Since then our Sovereign, by just account,
Liv'd o're our Saviours Sermon on the Mount,...
Posterity will say, he should have dy'd
No other Death, then by being Crucified.
And their renownedst Epocha will be
Great Charles his Death, next Christ's Nativity.⁶²

The reference to the King's crown of thorns invites us to connect this part of the poem with Marshall's frontispiece to the Eikon, which depicts Charles clutching the same.

Meantime other poets like Sir John Birkenhead were happy to declare in verse what many clergymen sought to demonstrate in their sermons: that Charles could not have died more appropriately; that in the circumstances surrounding the King's trial and execution and through his own conduct throughout his ordeal, Charles could not have achieved a more perfect recreation of Christ's sacrifice.⁶³ Birkenhead, the gifted author of Mercurius Aulicus and occasional agent for the King, would remain staunchly loyal to Charles and his son. His elegy displays the anger and bitterness which characterized so many of these works, and though his attempts to plant in his fellows a thirst for revenge may well reveal that his own temperament was an

'aggressive rather than reflective' one,⁶⁴ many others who were probably less courageous and certainly less politically active were nonetheless quite eager to echo this vitriolic tone.

Focusing on the events which dominated the King's last weeks, Birkenhead drew powerful parallels between Bradshaw and Pilate, Westminster Hall and the Praetorium, etc., and--in short--did everything in his power to promote the sort of 'civil idolatry' which Milton warned England would lavish on the King's memory (thanks in part to the Eikon Basilike):

...For though Charles might not speak, His Blood will crie,
It cries, and feares not Guns, no trumpets Throats...
A stronger Realms Militia it awakes,
Than He was robb'd of here...
Thus through the People-cheating Pageantry
Of specious formal Court and Judge and Barre,
(That He might mock'd, as well's oppressed die),
He convoy'd is to his last Theatre...
...yet with his Pen,
Doth...how much more than his Brittain win³
For all the world now bowes down to the look
Of his illustrious most triumphant Book.⁶⁵

Oblivious of Milton's criticism, Royalist poets both recognized and revelled in the unique emotive power which the myth of the Royal Martyr drew from the New Testament, and acclaimed the Eikon as the source of this energising 'truth': that Charles was the second Christ.

The widespread identification of Charles in this way, in contemporary poetry and sermons alike, had various consequences for the future development of the King's mythology. Historian Helen Randall comments perceptively upon the strategically vague characterizations of Charles which emanated from the pulpits, as Jesus (and Old Testament figures as well) were allowed to eclipse the person of the dead King, until Charles could only be dimly perceived behind a luminous cloud of 'generalized

innocence' and the various virtues associated with Christianity and traditionally attributed to the historical Christ.⁶⁶ These remarks are complemented by Potter's conjecture that there may have been an 'intuitive decision' arrived at by the Royalists to preserve the distance which separated the Royal Martyr from his admirers: that the apparent existence of some strong opposition within Royalist ranks to the inclusion of some very private papers in later editions of the Eikon (Dugard's addenda) suggests the belief that the less specific were the references to details of Charles's life which gained currency, the easier it would be to defend him from his detractors.⁶⁷ This may be too much to infer from Potter's single source (The Princely Pellican), but if this was a significant reaction, then certainly the New Testament material helped to fill the void, and thus contributed to the decidedly ahistorical squint in the funeral elegies.

Having said this, there was a fascination with scenes depicting the family shattered by the execution. A proliferation of Tearful Farewells and grieving loved ones in contemporary poetry does not necessarily belie Potter's theory (although once the sensitive material had appeared in Dugard's Eikon it was rarely--if ever--omitted from subsequent editions), for these depictions are steeped in sentimentality and serve as a substitute for--rather than a means to--an intimate portrait of Charles's personal existence. And now these authors suddenly focused attention upon the Queen--a controversial figure throughout Charles's reign, rendered more so after the revelation of incriminating material in the letters seized at Naseby, and the once-and-future favourite target of the

Roundhead/Common-wealth presses. Long disliked by the English people for her French origins, Catholicism, and the unrivalled influence which she exerted over her husband, Henrietta Maria had become something of a rhetorical liability for the Royalist propagandists in the 1640s, but now the elegists, eager to stir up a nation's darker emotions, seized an opportunity by compelling it 'to see a Father dye,/ And his half-self, and Orphans weeping by'.⁶⁸ In a piece which is at once flagrantly sentimental and explicitly political, the anonymous author of 'The Weeping Widdow, or, the Sorrowfull Ladies Letter to her beloved Children', assumes the voice of the Queen in weeping pathetic memories of her beloved, mixed with despair over her present situation and pointed advice to her son the exiled King (all of which must have been intended to function upon affected readers as a goad to action).⁶⁹

Most memorable of all of these emotional exercises was John Quarles's somewhat eccentric Regale Lectum Miseriae, or a Kingly Bed of Miserie, a volume of poetry featuring elegies and epitaphs on Charles and Lord Capel, and which includes a lengthy dedication to the Princess Elizabeth, 'the sorrowfull daughter to our late martyred Sovereigne', and upon whose account of her last interview with Charles (which leads us, again, back to the Eikon and specifically to the allegedly objectionable appendix) Quarles had based his own rendition in verse. In the lengthiest portion of this work entitled 'A Dream', Quarles presents himself as drifting in and out of a series of visionary experiences, during one of which he sees the King at prayer, and in another overhears a dialogue occasioned by a visitation from the Queen. As the two souls prepare to part, Charles is

heard to console his grief-stricken wife:

But know, my dearest, Heaven will be
A fitter Husband for thee far than me.
Thou need'st not fear thy foes contriving harms,
They cannot keep you from his folding arms,
As they have done from mine; oh, may we meet,
I dare not say, within a winding sheet,...
But when my Husband Heav'n unites us in his quire.

The sentimentality here, which verges on the morbid, presents an image of the King tormented after death, in that his humiliating ordeal continues for as long as the present government is in power (and it is increased by the fact that Charles lay alone in an unmarked grave). In the course of heightening the pathos and perhaps trying to intensify the sense of urgent need for political action as well, Quarles also demonstrates how the King's sexuality was occasionally portrayed ambiguously--in this case with Charles and the Queen sharing a Heavenly bridegroom (traditionally Christ). Potter reveals how such descriptions were not isolated oddities, but represented part of a sustained tendency to portray the King as excessively yielding, meek, and effeminately passive, and which found expression in several prose romances written by Royalist sympathisers during the Interregnum⁷⁰--a development which may not represent the mainstream of Royal Martyr iconography, yet which appears to have grown out of the widespread poetic preoccupation with the Christ-like attributes of mildness and persecuted, passive innocence, a new fascination with the Queen, and the eventual recollection of pre-execution suspicions about the role her influence had played in his downfall.

If the King's personal experience remained a mystery to readers, so were details about his public life and career difficult to come by. As far as the poets were concerned in

the months following the execution, a concerted effort seems to have been made to avoid delving into the details of the historical record in any real way. I was struck by a general reluctance among the elegists to refer to specific events--even if only to pass along the Royalist version of the story. Most, like Quarles, were content to retreat no further into the past than the specifics of the King's tragedy upon which the Royal Martyr's mythology was based--that of imprisonment, trial, and execution.⁷¹ Very occasionally an author journeys back as far as the outbreak of hostilities between the King and Parliament to conduct a brief, highly selective review of the conflict; Henry King's 'An Elegy...', for instance, attempts to place some events in their proper Royalist perspective, explaining just how faultless was Charles's conduct in the episodes of Strafford's death, his own flight from London, raising his standard at Nottingham, etc., spending more time and energy on the religious differences which fuelled the mutual hatred and distrust. Virtually no one, however, ventures past 1640 to rhapsodise about the preceding fifteen years of Charles's reign--the Halcyon Days, the peace and plenty which were said to characterize the years of personal rule. Only one anonymous elegy in Monumentum Regale makes the rare foray into the nostalgic twilight, in tones which echo the Caroline masques, in an effort to recapture the Personal Monarch and a time when loyal subjects could believe that the King's reputation for self-control was a reflection of the firmness and justness of his rule over the nation:

Who set His Scepter first ore his owne breast:
And that His Crowns be in full square combin'd;
He made His fourth Dominion be His Mind.⁷²

4. The Parliamentary Image of the King, and Charles during the Protectorate

Thus far I have concentrated almost exclusively on the Royalist projections of the Royal Image. Certainly it would be useful to consider how the King's opponents portrayed him after the 30 January 1649, and what was their response when they were confronted with this figure of the Royal Martyr.

It was not until July 1645 and the publication of the King's letters seized at Naseby that the person of the King began to feature heavily in Parliamentary propaganda; prior to that those opposing the crown were satisfied to place the blame for both deficiencies in pre-war policy and the subsequent outbreak of war on the wickedness of ministers and advisors who had gained Charles's confidence. It was through the Queen and her presentation as a plausible villain that the King personally begins to be drawn into the line of fire, as pamphlets such as 'The Great Eclipse of the Sun, or, Charles his Waine overclouded by the Evil influences of the Moon' (1644) implied that a potentially fatal weakness allowed Charles to be dominated by his wife. In many minds the hesitancy to implicate the King and contemplate the presence of a seriously flawed character on the throne was swept away only once they were faced with The Kings Cabinet Opened and its evidence of Charles's own complicity in the intrigues and duplicities which characterized the Cavalier war effort.

pressed the case against Charles, becoming more vituperative as 1648 wore on and the impasse between King and Army looked increasingly threatening. Attacks on Charles in verse remained rare, though (as does pro-Parliament verse in general), and after the execution became almost non-existent as the authorities and their apologists seemed to realise how many of their own supporters they had shocked by satisfying 'cruel necessity'. Pieces like 'The King's Last Farewell', a Parliament-licensed broadside published on 1 February, offers a Puritan assessment of Charles and his career (though in the King's own voice), yet treats him very gently, crediting him with feelings of genuine remorse for his mistakes (openly acknowledged), blaming him for the conflict which destroyed his reign and realm, but in allowing him some semblance of piety also permitting him a considerable amount of sympathy as well:

Because that I have gone astray,
and cherisht war and strife,
My days are now cut off, and I
am quite bereft of life.
Oh, cast my sins behind thy backe,
good God, I humbly pray,
And my offences with the blood
of Christ wash clean away.

The most notable example of pro-Commonwealth poetry written after the regicide, yet condemning the deceased, is 'Somnium Cantabrigiense, or a poem Upon the Death of the late King, By a Post to the Muses', a six-part work which first appeared in March 1650, and in which the anonymous poet parodies Quarles's Regale Lectum Miseriae and the whole Cavalier ethos. In the first section, a forty-line dedication entitled 'To the Famous Dreamer, John Quarles, Ordinarie Poet to Charles the Second', the author invokes the other's name, asking to be invested with

his patron's fantasy-laden powers of sleep, and inviting readers to recall the earlier work. 'The Apologie', a second section comprised of a mere twelve lines, allows the poet to distance himself from the work and any consequences resulting from it: by informing the reader that if the ideas which follow appear to be treasonous, he/she must remember this is merely the transcript of a dream, and that if it be possible to judge dreams as treasonous, this represents another's dream, as told to the writer. By explaining himself thus, and in so doing denying that he bears any responsibility for the work or any mischief which may result from it, the poet seems to be ridiculing the Cavaliers for a lack of commitment to their Holy Cause, a taunt which perhaps was prompted by the relative lack of concerted Royalist resistance to the authority of the new government outside of Ireland (this being published the month before Montrose's defeat at Carbisdale). Certainly the third and fourth sections satirize that strain of Cavalier song which calls for grief and care to be drowned in strong drink, for the former describes the pious and loyal character of the Cavalier Dreamer, while the latter purports to represent the record of his wine-induced fantasies.

'The Dreame', which constitutes more than half the work, delivers the ironic thrust of the whole, as the liberating influence of wine is shown to free the fettered imagination of this devout Royalist, enabling him to compose a pro-Parliament, fiercely anti-Stuart argument which contests every supposition upon which the mythology of the Royal Martyr is based. Included in the barrage of damaging details are the types of references to specific events in the earlier part of

the reign (as well as to the war) which are so scarce in Royalist efforts, reviving such issues as the compulsive proroguing of Parliaments, the unreasonable dependence upon the unworthy Buckingham, the military disasters at Rhé and Cadiz--even the rumour attributing James's death to poisoning by his son was resurrected.

The strongest rhetoric is directed at subverting Charles's claim to the martyr's halo and his identification as the champion of a genuine Christian faith. Thus Charles is linked repeatedly with the Papist heresy and is accused in quite explicit terms of constructing in his preferred form of Anglicanism a system of religious beliefs and practices which was designed specifically to exploit and perpetuate the ignorance of a superstitious people:

O for a Cloud! 'tis ignorance only can
Preserve devotion in the English Man.
This light of truth quite spoyles the trade of Rome,
And robs Charles of the Crowne of Martyrdome.⁷⁴
ll. 183-86

Charles is portrayed here from first to last as a charlatan whose claims to real sovereignty--like his pretensions toward sainthood--were never more than empty fictions. The author may also be suggesting that, although the King's vanity made him a willing participant in his own downfall, he remains in a sense the victim of his own propaganda. Though doubtless a tyrant who with Salmoncus, mythical king of Elis, invited a heavenly response to his boastful posturing when-

...from's Chariot throwne
By the revengefull bolt, nor could the Crowne
Of statelie Elis free him from his fate
Who proudlie durst the Thunderer imitate...
'Nor can the Harpe enchant which Poets say
Made the unbridled Destinies obey...

-the poet considers the possibility that Charles may have been slow to recognize the problems of relying on art in a very dangerous world. The reference to pretty but beguiling pastoral fictions (the harpe charming the Destinies must belong to Orpheus) could easily be interpreted as an allusion to the Caroline masques (and remember that in Carew's Coelum Britannicum Jove strives to imitate Charles). If no one else was charmed by the court poets, this author tells us, it seems they had cast their spell over Charles.

But such attempts at royal portraiture by the late King's opponents were rare, as those who wrote in support of the Commonwealth and Protectorate governments seldom sought to summon up Charles's ghost. Proof of this is found in Mercurius Politicus, the newsbook edited by Marchamont Nedham and John Canne, which virtually spanned the Interregnum (published from June 1650 through April 1660), and which had become the official voice of the government--in all its various forms. Here Charles makes very few appearances indeed, with the future Charles II representing a much more tangible threat and therefore attracting most of the enemy's fire. The habitual use of the term 'young Tarquin' as a sobriquet for the exiled king actually emerges as the most common (if not the most explicit) expression of censure levelled at the Royal Martyr. Though seemingly reluctant to challenge the sincerity of the late King's religious faith or the validity of his claim to have died for the Anglican Church, Politicus sneers at the Royalists' tendency to canonize their dead leaders, reporting how the recently-executed Montrose had become the latest to be dubbed 'the Royal Martyr' (6 June-13 June 1650)--an observation we see confirmed in Clarendon's

History by the author's homage to Montrose's patience, piety, and fortitude in tones which encourage comparisons with Charles I.⁷⁵ In another jibe nine months later monarchy itself is attacked (along with a thinly-veiled assault on Charles's own ability to rule) as Politicus seems to be responding to a perception among some contemporaries that a diminishment has occurred with the loss of the monarch; 'Majesty' is re-defined, and no longer refers to a description of a lifestyle or mere personal deportment, but is used more aptly now to characterize government competence, efficient administration and the wielding of 'real' power:

The Majesty of England...is the same as it was, when in the hands of one; and is indeed much more majestick now, than it hath been for many hunded years past, being regulated and supported by the Arm of Heaven, as also by wise Counsels, and victorious Armies, free from the check of any single Tyrant.

27 Feb.-6 March 1651

The most direct references to the regicide in Politicus occur while the author(s) is pursuing different prey. In an issue which reveals a continuing fascination with the Queen, chronicling the comings and goings of her envoys to Rome ('where the Pope...received her Propositions...that her eldest Son should become "an obedient Son to the church"'), feelings of relief over the passing of a narrowly-avoided Papist threat (and a nagging fear of a future confrontation) are latent in the lone acknowledgement of Charles's second anniversary, in the form of a report by a foreign correspondent from Charles II's court in exile at The Hague:

Your thirtieth of January, which was your Thanksgiving, was by the Courts and Royal Kindred appointed for a solemn fast, for the old King's death, but was comically disappointed; for, when they all met in the French church (where your English missals also are performed) the great

Hall sent one to command them silence, and to depart; they disdainfully refused. The Messenger told them he had command to turn the key and shut them in, if he could not shut them out: upon which they departed, yet it turn'd to a lesser conventicle in the Pr. Royals Presence-Chamber; truly this was an unparallell'd affront.

13 Feb.-20 Feb. 1651

The supporters of the Commonwealth obviously take a vicarious delight in the insult which circumstance had denied the government an opportunity to deliver itself. But this pleasure was short-lived, for less than a month later one discerns a distinct uneasiness over the presence of the newly-crowned Charles in Scotland and his ongoing efforts to amass arms and troops in preparation for an invasion. As the spring progressed, anxieties mounted until the divisive cracks in the anti-Royalist coalition grew more apparent, and the fear of counter-revolution and the retribution which would 'inevitably' follow led to recriminations over what had happened on that January afternoon two years earlier. By April the Independents were eager to impress a sense of culpability upon the Presbyterians, lest they forgot that they had 'put such Courses into practice, as tended to the King's ruin...and are as guilty as others'. 'Nor is it likely he [Charles II] will forget', the author insists quite graphically, '[that] the Presbytery held his Father by the hair, while others cut off his Head'. So tense was the mood that the author is moved to a remarkable bit of revisionist history, in that he claims the execution was not a regicide at all:

...they reduced him...into the condition of a captive they destroyed him as a King before that others executed him as a **private person** [their emphasis].

10 April-17 April 1651

This claim that Charles had been deposed before his death is

not borne out by the existing documents,⁷⁶ and it is interesting to note how in a subsequent issue, in the course of justifying 'that heroick and most Noble act of Justice', that care is taken to remind the world that in executing the King the Army and those Independents who supported it were but completing a course of action conceived and set in motion by the Scots. Before they were through purging themselves of these misgivings, the editors of the Politicus had also stumbled into reinforcing the Royalists' efforts to promote Charles as Martyr: by conceding that Charles's death had been a sacrificial one, an expiation by the blood of a single person for the sake of 'many hundred thousands' (8 May-15 May 1651); and through a clumsy piece of rationalization which argued that the scene outside the Banqueting House offered a more humane alternative to the Presbyterians' plan which would have left Charles to rot in prison, in that the Army permitted him to claim a heavenly crown to replace the earthly one he had lost (10 April-17 April 1651)-- a weak effort, and possibly a satiric swipe at the Eikon Basilike (with its frontispiece depicting just such an exchange), but one which many readers would have been only too pleased to accept without troubling themselves with the ironic undertones.

With the eventual renewal of confidence in Cromwell's military prowess and the collapse of Scottish resistance, some full-scale studies of Charles were published later in 1651. The most memorable of these, the anonymous Life and Reigne of King Charles, or, the Pseudo-Martyr Discovered, mounts a sustained, aggressively personal attack upon the King, 'not for common faults and frailties (incident to human nature) but presumptuous sins...wilfully perpetrated in the face of god

and man...without any remorse'. Though in most cases common decency would seem to require the living to bury the weaknesses of the dead in a silent grave, in Charles's case this consideration is impossible due to 'that madness of his defeated party by their indefatigable instigations, [to] give frequent occasions of raking over the ashes of him...who living...rather than have failed in the accomplishing of his designs...would have set the World on fire'.⁷⁷ The Pseudo-Martyr was written, the author tells us, in answer to the Eikon Basilike, which 'canonises him for a Saint and innocent Martyr, an imposture without other parallel than that of Mahomet'.⁷⁸

Besides the obvious religious motives for challenging the central fiction of Charles's saintly character and martyrdom, the work must also have been intended to refresh the national memory concerning the turmoil of the 1640s and the abuses of Charles's reign: to steady the nerves and strengthen the resolve of those who supported the Commonwealth. Along these lines the contentious issues which had dominated the pamphlet literature of the preceding decade were warmed up and served to war-weary readers. Old grievances such as the King's inability to work with Parliament, the reliance on corrupt or incompetent advisors, the lax enforcement or outright repeal of anti-Catholic legislation, all these were resurrected to remind England why she had overthrown her monarch. The Naseby letters, however, received the greatest share of attention, as the Pseudo-Martyr reiterates the major arguments and interpretations which appeared in The King's Cabinet Opened,⁷⁹ and uses these to launch a scathing indictment of the Queen as the engineer of her husband's downfall (which was, of course,

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one of the great themes of that earlier work):⁸⁰

[We see in Charles] a king governed by the directions and documents of a woman, a strong Papist, and of the house of Medici by the Mother...a dangerous generation of women, and fatal to all places wheresoever they came... a wife, but such a one as ruled and overruled that stiffnesse of his constellation, and effected more with him than either himself could doe, or the most inward of his Counsel of State durst attempt.

p.129

Thus the King is made to appear the shabbiest of saints and poorest of rulers: one whose religious posturing is mere pantomime, and whose oppressive, tyrannical reign paradoxically concealed the weakness of a man who could not govern his wife. This portrait is based upon another found in The None-Such Charles, his Character, also appearing in 1651, and which presents similar arguments and points of emphasis. Subsequently, as the circumstances surrounding the events at Worcester faded into the past, along with the attendant feelings of anxiety, fear, and ultimate relief, the newsbooks settled back to their characteristic reticence on the subject of Charles I.

Throughout the 1650's the Royalists were effectively silenced. The Commonwealth and Protectorate governments, which had striven for and more or less achieved religious toleration, nevertheless retained tight control of the presses. And other, more violent expressions of rebellion were also successfully suppressed. The persistent inability of the Royalist activists to mount a serious threat to the establishment after 1650 (apart from the Worcester campaign) revealed the emptiness of the vengeful threats of the elegists, thus rendering unique Montrose's poetic pledge to write Charles's 'epitaph with blood and wounds' (which he honoured in the end through his willingness to use his own blood to spread the Stuart legend). The

activities of underground organisations such as the Sealed Knot (a small group of aristocratic young men--mostly the younger sons of noblemen--'empowered' by Charles to develop and coordinate the Royalist resistance movement in Britain) were hopelessly ineffective, reflecting a lack of leadership and decisiveness which can be traced right back to The Hague and the exiled king himself.⁸¹ Yet one 'accomplishment' of their sporadic, underprepared, poorly-coordinated efforts was that they kept Cromwell and his military on their toes, and convinced the authorities of the need to keep a vigilant eye on the bookstalls. Thus the Printing Act of September 1649, the most detailed and stringent censorship legislation of the seventeenth century, was supplemented with additional measures in 1653 and again in 1655, after the Penruddock rebellion,⁸² and vigorous enforcement ensured that dissident opinion was successfully suppressed until the Protectorate unravelled in 1659.

Of course Royalists constantly sought ways to get around these restrictions. Many authors simply decided not to risk publication, but continued to write and settled for circulating their work among friends in manuscript form: both Brome and King elected to do this, publishing only after Charles II was safely on the throne. Recently several scholars, most notably Potter and Annabel Patterson, have begun to explore the ways in which censorship and the need for secrecy shaped the literature of the 1640s and Interregnum. Writers developed their own rules and languages of encoded symbols which allowed them to pass oblique commentary on public figures and current events with the minimum risk of exposing themselves to detection and persecution from the authorities. By the mid-1650s several

authors sympathetic to the Royalists' cause had begun to use the genres of tragicomedy and the pastoral prose romance as vehicles for expressing their opinions on the late King's reign, the current regime, and the conflicts which had swallowed up so much of the previous decade. These works culminated with Richard Brathwaite's Panthalia, or, the Royal Romance (1659) and his portrayal of King Rosicles (Charles) as 'malleable of character, smooth, graceful, sweet of temper,...but common of his affections,...who darkened the splendour of all his actions' by moving from strength to mild weakness through concessions of his own power to his wife and Senate.⁸³ The pieces represent a movement by some monarchists away from the highly idealized figure of the Royal Martyr towards a more 'balanced and not uncritical account of Caroline history, of Charles's behaviour', and one which may have been designed to win over those of moderate political views, 'to reground the nation's loyalty to the Stuarts, by admitting their mistakes and by separating those from the deeper questions of their legitimacy'.⁸⁴

More explicit questions regarding Charles's historical reputation were posed in a series of works in the style of the ancient literary form of the dialogues of the dead, which featured a discussion overheard between two or more characters from history, legend, and/or mythology. Seventeenth-century English innovations on the often lighthearted, satirical traditions behind the classical genre had shaped the dialogues into vehicles which furthered political and religious controversy.⁸⁵ In 1658 a pamphlet appeared, translated from a Latin work published a year earlier (and attributed by some to Richard Perrinchief),⁸⁶ which featured a 'Conference' between

the ghosts of Henry VIII and Charles in St. George's Chapel at Windsor, where the monarchs are buried side-by-side. In its unflattering depiction of these two rulers, 'A Messenger from the Dead' represents a straightforward indictment of one hundred and fifty years of monarchical government. (The suggestion that Perrinchief may have been the author is a provocative one, for as I will show in chapter three, the clergyman advanced rapidly in the Church on the strength of his writings supporting royal prerogative and a saintly portrait of Charles.) In the course of a candid exchange of confessions, Henry--who by his own admission was the far more accomplished sinner of the two--identifies his own transgressions, and the cumulative weight of the misrule of successive generations of his descendants, as the major causes of Charles's woes.

Neither do I believe it is without providence of God, that so direful a revenge hath fallen on you, the most moderate, and most innocent of them all [Henry, Edward, Mary and James--with Elizabeth an honourable exception], that so all might understand that not so much your sins, as the hereditary Evils and the wickedness annexed to your Crown and your titles, are taken vengeance of in your person.

Charles's guilt, then, is mitigated, and he is portrayed as an essentially sincere and honest man, whose spirit will ultimately take its place among the saved, but he is also recognized as a very flawed individual whose imperfections rendered him a poor leader. Thus, Henry is heard to offer Charles the consolation of his own history, as proof that strength and vigour--had Charles possessed them--could not have spared him the suffering he had endured. Charles goes on to express regret over the isolation which engulfs most monarchs, and the mistakes which result from a belief in the semi-divine

status of kings, as well as a dependence upon courtiers which seems to have plagued princes throughout history (evils from which, it is implied, Charles suffered more than most).

I would to God that flattery had never been heard of in the Courts of Princes, would to God that I had never heard that we are above the Law, and are to give an account to God onely for what we have committed upon earth.

p. 17

Later Charles repudiates the excesses of the Eikon Basilike, lamenting its emphasis on his own personal sorrows and injuries, at the expense of a more substantial analysis of great national issues.⁸⁸

Three more dialogues appeared in the year following Cromwell's death, each of which featured a confrontation between the Lord Protector and the martyred King. The first two are essentially very predictable Royalist efforts, depicting a righteously triumphant Charles conversing with a repentant but nonetheless damned Cromwell.⁸⁹ The last of these, however, published in July 1659, finds that the two figures had more in common than they had differences separating them. In 'A New Conference Between the Ghosts of King Charles and Cromwell', Charles admits to having 'played the fool' throughout his reign, while Cromwell confesses to having clothed his actions in conscious religious pretence, thus 'playing the knave'.⁹⁰ Each is represented as the opposite side of the same kind of political extremism which prevents the achievement of a lasting and prosperous peace in England by thwarting the honest endeavours of a free Parliament to perform its ancient and rightful duties as the sovereign governing power in the land.

But many Royalists remained unwilling to abandon this comforting construction of a deified Charles I. When Hamon

L'Estrange and Peter Heylyn became embroiled in a personal feud between the years 1655 and 1658 (over their respective levels of commitment to episcopacy), and used their biographies of Charles to further hostilities, the 'main' points of contention were discrepancies in the presentation of trivial details (such as which was the wall upon which a notice was posted and past which Strafford walked to his execution, the date James I was buried, etc.); neither thought to challenge the other's hagiographic portrait of Charles, despite the loud claims of impartiality both made.⁹¹ One of the most conservative of these guardians of the royal reputation was Thomas Stanley. Born into a wealthy family which was unhurt by the Civil Wars, Stanley was a highly respected classical scholar who was able to prevent the political turmoils from interfering with his literary pursuits. After graduating from Oxford he retired to lodgings in Middle Temple to write, eventually escaping to France when dangers grew too great, or distractions overwhelming.⁹² He enjoyed lasting friendships with many Royalist writers, including James Shirley, Richard Lovelace, and Katherine Philips, and formed the society of the Black Ribband, one of the most exclusive of the Cavalier/Royalist literary circles which the harsh climate of the Interregnum had inadvertently fostered. In this role of literary mentor Stanley encouraged others to employ themselves in translating ancient literatures and to experiment with different literary genres, such as pastorals, romances, tragedies, etc., and it may well be due in part to his influence that these more oblique but politically relevant forms of expression which Patterson and others have identified were developed.⁹³

Ironically, he provides some of the best evidence that the cult of the Royal Martyr was still alive and well in 1657. In that year he published his 'Psalterium Carolinum', which was a versification of the prayers which concluded twenty-seven of the twenty-eight chapters which formed the Eikon Basilike. As poetry, it is remarkable only for the precision with which it preserves the sense and substance of its original: Stanley is painstakingly scrupulous to make sure that he neither omits anything, nor adds anything of his own. It is almost as though he felt he was working with a sacred text:

Let me not so much consider either what they have done
or I have suffered (chiefly at first by them) as to forget
to imitate my crucified Redeemer, to plead their ignorance
for their pardon, and in my dying extremities to pray to
thee, O Father, to forgive them, for they knew not what
they did.

Eikon, p. 157

Let me not so much debate,
What they do, or what I bear;
As my Saviour imitate,
And their Advocate appear.

That when longer Me to live,
These extremities forbid;
Pray, Father them forgive³
For they knew not what they did.

Ode XXVI⁹⁴

Stanley's willingness to torture the syntax of his verse in order to preserve intact the scriptural allusions which had enraged the king's opponents illustrates how important these associations with Christ were to the Royalist faithful, and how far they were from being offended by them as blasephemies. And by focusing entirely on the meditations, thus eliminating any trace of the political turmoils, Stanley is able to offer his readers a Charles who is reassuringly consistent, invariably pious, and blissfully uncompromised by circumstance.

It is interesting to remember that when 'Psalterium' was published, it had been six years since the last edition of the Eikon Basilike had appeared (under a false 'Hague' imprint). Stanley seems to have been filling a need which the authorities had created through the censorship codes. Within a year, the sixty-fourth edition of the Eikon was in the bookstalls, and promptly ran to three issues.⁹⁵ But some of the literature of the late Interregnum suggests that this wish to venerate may have co-existed with some grave reservations concerning the standard 'Royalist' version of the past and expectations for the future. Patterson and Potter have demonstrated how the defeated supporters of the King, writing in the 1650s under the constraints imposed by the censor, managed to deal with recent historical events from a Royalist perspective, yet nevertheless included in the oblique criticism of the current administration some serious doubts concerning the actions and policies of the late King. And although the more distinctive of the four dialogues mentioned are too radical in their anti-monarchism to be grouped with these subtler, more conservative works, both 'A Messenger from the Dead' and 'A New Conference' offer evidence of the revisionist's hand at work. Both authors attempt to steer a course between the two extremes embodied in the figures of Charles I and Cromwell, and join with their more sophisticated contemporaries in testifying to the existence of a desire for a movement towards a more temperate, realistic assessment of recent events and their participants. By May 1660, however, all the anxieties which had prompted some to question the images of royalty contained in the Eikon Basilike, seemed to disappear.

CHAPTER 2

CHARLES IN THE RESTORATION:
AN OLD KING IN THE NEW COURT.

With the return of Charles II to English soil, the doubts concerning Charles I which had begun to surface during the Interregnum were apparently swept away. Early Restoration literature records how writers and publishers eagerly turned back the clock to 1649, reverting to the images of Charles which were promulgated by the funeral elegies (and which were themselves, of course, largely derived from the Eikon Basilike). And initially, it was a time, too, for lavishing wildly idealized praise upon Charles II which often revelled in the glittering heritage of the royal ancestry. But this was soon followed by a sustained period in which court propagandists were asked to avert their eyes from the recent past--to provide 'artificial and comforting versions of things' without venturing to examine, to question, or 'to explore the world freely'. A form of 'literary escapism' was required which precluded any wish to look too intently at recent events.¹ But although the new monarchy imposed heavy restrictions on would-be publishers which effectively silenced dissident voices, those doubts over the dangerous lessons to be learned from history found subtle expression in the fact that the appetite for such references to the glorious father was soon sated in the son's Court, with hyperbolic comparisons quickly giving way to awkward silence.

In one sense, the return of Charles II in May of 1660 was achieved with breathtaking speed. As late as the preceding March a fierce debate still raged between republicans and those favouring a return to some form of monarchy, with the army threatening to tear itself to pieces over the issue. By May 8th Monck had restored order, Parliament had proclaimed a new king, and less than three weeks later Charles received the

welcome of the hysterical crowds at Dover.² In the last decade historians have begun to re-assess theories explaining precisely why the King was restored to his throne and how he went about holding onto it. In the course of rejecting the old notions of a triumphant, unified upper class which manipulated political structures and events to protect its own interests, in favour of an account which allows for both more diversity of opinion to have existed within the political and social groups of the day, as well as the existence of less rigid barriers between their respective members, these scholars have revealed that the process of restoring the King was neither as smooth nor as effortless as it may have once appeared. These 'new' historians wish to redirect attention away from the perceived preoccupation with 'high politics' or 'politics from above'--the concentration upon courtiers, landed nobles, Members of Parliament, and other members of the ruling elite--to focus instead (among other things) upon the more widespread views and influences circulating in the society as a whole, both in remote rural communities and among the lower classes of the cities.³ It is difficult to imagine this revisionist trend carrying scholars so far that a significant number should credit the London commoner with bringing back Charles Stuart; few would challenge Ronald Hutton's observation that 'public opinion only mattered because it was permitted to do so'. But Hutton and others have made it quite clear that the England which was moved to call back her exiled King was a nation 'propelled by fear', and that the anxieties which had prompted the rich and powerful to seek relief--worries over the expanding role of the military in government and the threatening implications to the British

Constitution, dissatisfaction with the crippling levels of taxation, a deep concern for the future of the Interregnum Church, etc.--that these and other fears were shared by those at the bottom levels of the social hierarchy as well, and that a change which promised improvement would not be unwelcome.⁴

The traditional picture of a euphoric nation which shouted with one voice for Charles Stuart as soon as the intimidating presence of the Army had been removed was challenged by Christopher Hill, who argued that significant opposition to the restoration of monarchy survived throughout 1660, and that even the public demonstrations of support which grew in number and intensity as that spring progressed, were examples of mob manipulation sponsored by the elite.⁵ Though most historians, with the notable exception of Hill, accept that Charles did indeed enjoy widespread popular support in May 1660, it now seems that the English people were essentially (and gratefully) surprised by the prospect of the King's return. In the midst of the general chaos of 1659, during which time the executive branch of government appeared to have been abolished, the Rump again dissolved, and factions within the army at one another's throats, polemicists who had been freed from the constraints imposed by any meaningful censorship code were pushing for political reform, but as late as November/December were extremely ambiguous in their demands, preferring to limit themselves to calls for the return of 'ancient rights and liberties', or 'free Parliaments'. Not until February 1660 was support for a free Parliament generally linked to an expression of loyalty for Charles II in contemporary rhetoric. Support for the royalist cause, Nicholas Jose observes, 'did not become vigorous or

widespread until the very last minute', at which point England embraced Charles as though he represented the 'answer' to a desperate situation.⁶

Of course, the enthusiasm and sincere expressions of joy which characterized the popular demonstrations supporting Charles are well documented, thanks in large part to the two great diarists of the period, Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn. Pepys records an early effort to right a most impolitic wrong when he reports on the boisterous pro-monarchist mood of the crowd which assembled in the Royal Exchange on 16 March 1660 to cheer the removal of the motto 'Exit tyrannus, regum ultimus...' which had been gilded over the niche where the late king's statue had stood. (A broadside entitled 'An Exit to the Exit Tyrannus' was published soon after to celebrate the occasion, and concluded by urging General Monck to continue to work for restoration.) After the slogan had been obliterated, bonfires were lit and the crowd chanted, 'God bless Charles the Second'. (Later, on 7 May--the day before Parliament legally proclaimed Charles King, Pepys mentions people discussing plans to return Le Sueur's statue to the Exchange.)⁷ Both men appear at a loss for words adequate to describe the tumultuous scenes of exuberant excitement which accompanied the King's landing at Dover on 25 May and his arrival in London four days later; references to 'Infinite...Crowd[s] of people', 'shouting and joy...past imagination', the 'unexpressable joy' of 'myriads of people flocking in the streets' to the sounds of 'bells ringing,... trumpets, Musick,...brandish[ed] swords' and 'ways strew'd with flowers', all testify to an intensely emotional national response, but which, given the events of the previous twelve

years, cannot be thought one of unmitigated joy.⁸

Certainly on his return the King encountered a people who harboured dangerously high expectations of what he could and would do to improve their lot. The 'magical aura of kingship' (which Hill claims had virtually awed many people out of their rational motives for opposing restoration) had survived the Interregnum intact, so that as early as 7 July 1660 Charles was performing the monarch's traditional duty of touching for the King's Evil.⁹ The first stanza of the poem mentioned above, 'Exit to the Exit Tyrannus', demonstrates just how high were the hopes with which so many invested him:

After curs'd traitors damned rage,
At length is come that happy age
Wherein our hopes are crown'd,
Our griefs are turn'd to joys, and all
Our miseries and sorrowes shall
Be in Canary drown'd.¹⁰

But, alas for Charles, these expectations were not long to remain so undemandingly vague. In his study of Restoration London and the impact of propaganda and popular culture upon the political events of the period, Tim Harris stresses that in London (and elsewhere) widespread support of Charles had been largely conditional upon his ability to solve some very specific religious, economic, and constitutional grievances. His failure to redress these grievances, seen most dramatically in his substantial increase of taxes rather than their reduction, and the Church settlement which gratified none of the many parties placing antithetical demands upon him, led to a disillusionment with the monarchy which was heightened beyond the usual deflation of spirits which inevitably follows any government's honeymoon period.¹¹ The respective limitations

of the new king and his government were not immediately apparent, however, and for at least the first six months of his reign Charles II had created 'a universally favourable impression' upon his subjects--and one which somehow included a reputation for industriousness among some court observers.¹²

One aspect of the welcoming frenzy which initially worked almost exclusively in Charles's favour, but which survived the topical enthusiasm to become more of a mixed blessing, concerns the memory of his father and the various ways in which it was employed in the literature throughout the course of his reign. As we have seen, Charles I had been unofficially canonized as saint and martyr for his Church at the very outset of the Commonwealth period, had been lamented and celebrated in elegies and biographies during the Interregnum, often at great risk to the lives and fortunes of the authors and their publishers. Although there were signs during the Protectorate that some writers who were essentially sympathetic to the late King and the royalist cause had begun to move away from blindly hagiographical portraiture toward a more balanced assessment of Charles's person and achievements,¹³ this tendency was obliterated by the events of 1660. The torrent of literature celebrating the return of Charles II swept all away with it, and attendant with the revival of royalists' fortunes came a resurgence of poetry commemorating Charles I. Funeral elegies which first appeared anonymously in 1649 were reprinted, while others which had remained in manuscript form for circulation among a select group of friends were published for the first time; Alexander Brome was not the only one who attempted to seize opportunity by the forelock by unveiling no less than

three elegies in the 1661 edition of his collected works.¹⁴

Charles I was also incorporated into the new work written to commemorate his son's triumph or-- in the case of Robert Wild's 'Iter Boreale' (or 'the Northern Journey')--composed to celebrate General Monck's march to London, before the outcome of his intervention was assured, in an attempt to bring about a happy conclusion to the royal odyssey. The poem, published on 23 April 1660, lampoons the expelled Rump Parliament and the machinations of those determined to thwart Monck and prevent restoration. It was a work which George deF. Lord tells us had an 'extraordinary impact' upon its London readers, and is interesting to anyone studying royal iconography, and that of the Royal Martyr in particular, because in it Wild refers explicitly to the complex mixture of emotions which also must have gripped the revellers at Dover and in London a month later. The poem's speaker adopts the posture of an ancient bard chronicling the downfall of a lost civilisation, and uses graphic imagery to invest the King's murder with a mythological grandeur:

I he who whilom sat and sung in cage
My King's and country's ruin by the rage
Of a rebellious rout; who weeping saw
Three goodly Kingdoms, drunk with fury, draw
And sheathe their swords, like three enraged brothers,
In one another's sides, ripping their mother's
Belly, and tearing out her bleeding heart;
Then, jealous that their father fain would part
Their bloody fray and let them fight no more,
Fell foul on him and slew him at his door.

'Iter Boreale', ll. 23-32¹⁵

Lurking in the description of a grisly murder lies a clever bit of revisionist history which casts Charles in the role of peacemaker, neatly absolved from even partial responsibility for the hostilities as initiator/participant. The tale of parricide Wild has to tell is too horrible to fade from memory,

but throughout twelve years of censorship he has been unable to share his distress: to lament that great loss or those of the loyal men who followed their master; to speak out against the principles and policies of the usurping government.

I that have only dar'd to whisper verses,
And drop a tear by stealth on loyal hearses;
I that enraged at the times and Rump,
Had gnaw'd my goose-quill to the very stump,
And flung that in the fire, no more to write...

ll. 33-37

Along with the feelings of joy which the poet anticipates will result from the restoration of monarchy, Wild expresses the sense of relief which must follow after years of worry over what kind of future the nation could look forward to, while at the same time he manages to suggest the new anxieties which will arise in many breasts now that the King is back--fears for personal safety and well-being excited by the knowledge that many promises had been broken and principles compromised since the last Stuart sat on the throne.

May we all live more loyal and more true,
To give to Caesar and to God their due.
We'll make his father's tomb with tears to swim,
And for the son, we'll shed our blood for him.
England her penitential song shall sing,
And take heed how she quarrels with her king.
If for our sins our Prince shall be misled,
We'll bite our nails rather than scratch our head.

ll. 382-89

Declarations of national guilt, passionate expressions of contrition, and assurances (like the one above) that passive obedience was now the law of the land, could well have been motivated by the fear of royal retribution--an apprehension which must have played a significant role in shaping the early image of Charles II, as the syrupy praise of the new king's generous, forgiving nature--which dominates the early Restoration

poetry, and was eventually justified by the King's remarkable restraint in dealing with old enemies--remained for most of 1660 just so much wishful thinking. Portrayals picturing Charles II as possessing the saintly virtues of patience, forbearance, fortitude, and forgiveness, etc., in divine quantities tended to invite a natural comparison with Christ and the figure with whom the Saviour had been so recently and successfully identified--Charles I. Scholars have long recognised the extent to which Christ had become a staple of royal iconographers: Steven Zwicker and Florence Sandler are among the more recent to explore how 'the typological relationship between the king and Christ is...a basic component in seventeenth-century political typology'.¹⁶ Zwicker convincingly demonstrates how Dryden drew on a tradition of typological imagery, scriptural and classical allusion to build an association between Charles II and the figure of the Christian Hero, relying on the symbols of Christ and David in much the same way as Charles the First's supporters had done earlier.

One way of drawing the figure of Charles I into the discussion of his son's excellences was to link the latter's promises of a general pardon in the Declaration of Breda with the former's reputation for mildness and resigned fortitude which appears to date from late in the former king's reign, in works like Davenant's Salmacida Spolia (1640), as royal apologists sought to present the Crown's obvious weakness as a dignified tolerance and paternal indulgence. It was common for poets celebrating Charles's return to include a reminder of his father's patience and magnanimity, and Dryden's in 'Astraea Redux' represents the smoothest attempt to anticipate

the revelation of the mercy he so desperately needed to the new king to possess:

As you meet it, the land approacheth you.
The land returns, and in the white it wears
The marks of penitence and sorrow bears.
But you, whose goodness your descent doth show,
Your heav'nly parentage and earthly too,
By that same mildness which your father's crown
Before did ravish, shall secure your own.
Not tied to rules of policy, you find
Revenge less sweet than a forgiving mind.

ll. 253-61.¹⁷

The gentleness which undid the father will not threaten the son, Dryden is quick to point out, since Charles II has the **strength** to be mild, and that strength is seated in the kingdom's laws, and in the new King's presumed determination to be governed--as well as to govern--by them.

Thus when Almighty would to Moses give
A sight of all he could behold and live;
A voice before his entry did proclaim
Long-Suff'ring, Goodness, Mercy in his Name;
Your Power to Justice doth submit your Cause,
Your Goodness only is above the Laws...

ll. 262-67

At first glance these lines appear to contain some veiled criticism of Charles I for the powers he assumed at the expense of constitutional government during the long years of personal rule. But Cowley makes this interpretation appear less likely in his ode 'Upon His Majestie's Restoration and Return',¹⁸ where he also picks up this theme of establishing a power based upon justice and 'Truth', and makes it clear that we are not to judge the achievements or circumstances of father and son separately, but as part of one long continuous process of Providential history:

The martyr's blood was said of old to be
The seed from whence the church did grow.
The royal blood which dying Charles did sow
Becomes no less the seed of royalty.

'Twas in dishonour sown;
 We find it now in glory grown:
 The grave could but the dross of it devour;
 'Twas sown in weakness and 'tis raised in power.
 We now the question well-decided see...
 As 'tis proved by Heaven at length,
 The King and Truth have greatest strength;
 When they their sacred force unite,
 And twine into one Right
 No Frantick Common-wealths or Tyrannies,
 No Towns, no Fleet by Sea, or Troops by Land,
 No deeply entrenched Islands can withstand...
 Against the naked Truth, and the unarmed King.
 stanza 9

The poet appears to be trying desperately to rationalise the experience of the previous twelve years, to find some point behind the suffering and confusion. His solution is to assert the almighty power of God to turn all things--even the evil of Charles's murder--to advantage and Good. The 'strength' of the monarch has nothing to do with armies, or civic codes, or matters temporal: the power has more to do with the mystical relationship between an Omnipotent God and his anointed King. In arguing thus he announces (somewhat hollowly) that Marvell's problem of reconciling Might and Right no longer exists; these now co-exist in perfect harmony in Charles II, who need only do good, and trust in God, to ensure that all will come right in the end (the way his father did before him).

By presenting the Restoration as a redemption, a second Resurrection, the poets who celebrated Charles's return were able to link him more firmly with Christ, while alluding to the memory of the Royal Martyr in a subtle but powerful way. The Resurrection motif appears in many of these poems,¹⁹ and it complements the legend surrounding Charles's trial and execution; by juxtaposing the 'glorious', mystical renewal effected at Dover and the Calvary which had been re-enacted

outside the Banqueting House, Charles II was seen to validate his father's sacrifice, fulfilling his claims from the scaffold of dying to save his Church, and forgiving all his enemies. Through the Gospels, then, the son is tied more closely to the father in the national imagination, as the identities of sacrificial victim and the victor rising from the tomb are fused, and the restored Charles II is portrayed as the resurrected or reincarnated Charles I.²⁰

Sometimes we find this idea given an almost-literal expression--in prose we see it in David Lloyd's Eikon Basilike, or, the True Pourtraiture of his Sacred Majesty Charles II (1660), a biographical study of the new King (and his younger brothers) which, as its title suggests, reveals Charles II to be the embodiment of his dead father's virtues and, as such, his country's new saviour. Most often, though, the association between Charles I and Charles II, through the figure of the resurrected Christ, is made rather obliquely, through the use of language and imagery which was traditionally employed to portray majesty and regal splendour on the one hand, and spiritual redemption/rebirth on the other. Dryden gives us an example in 'Astraea Redux' of how references to a 'great Sin', royal sufferings, and self-sacrifice could be used to describe the present King's ordeals during his prolonged exile, while alluding at the same time to his father's more fatal destiny and his Saviour's tribulations:

How Great were then Our Charles His Woes, who thus
Was forc'd to suffer for Himself and us.
He, tossed by Fate, and hurried up and down,
Heir to his father's sorrows, with his crown,
Could taste no sweets of youth's desired age,
But found his life too true a pilgrimage...
As souls reach Heav'n while yet in bodies pent,

So did he live above his banishment...

ll. 49-54, 59-60.

A pervading sense of allusion to the Gospels and the career of Christ (also set apart from other men by his ministry and His own Divinely mortal nature) is heightened with the description of the recent Stuart tragedy as a 'felix culpa' or happy fall, in language which prompts us to remember the Passion as well as Genesis, but which also calls to mind the twenty-seventh chapter of the Eikon Basilike, in which the Prince is urged to learn from his experiences and use his trials as preparation for a Christian kingship. (If this was Dryden's intention, he was not alone in pointing to the Eikon as an instrument which enabled young Charles to reach his present level of perfection.)²¹

How shall I then my doubtful thoughts express
That must his suff'rings both regret and bless?...
Forced into exile from his rightful throne,
He made all countries where he came his own;...
Nor is he only by afflictions shown
To conquer others' realms, but rule his own:
Recov'ring hardly what he lost before,
His right endears it much, his purchase more.
Inured to suffer ere he came to reign...
In such adversities to sceptres trained...

ll. 71-2,76-7,83-7,97.

In Cowley's ode we encounter a lengthy passage in which he paints Charles's return as a resurrection, using the conventional tropes of celestial and seasonal imagery to depict the experiences of Interregnum nightmare and trauma, of tragedy and bloody downfall, in language so ambiguous as to unite all parties--Charles II, Royal Martyr, and the hapless English people--in a cyclical tale of shared suffering, despair, and triumphant renewal of hope which in the end exalts all as high as they had previously been brought low.

suggested--the Royal Martyr's inclusion had become something of a prerequisite in the verse celebrating Charles's return, most of these references amount to little more than cameo appearances: the more 'revealing' glimpses of Charles I were implicit, and lay embedded in the religious associations we have examined. Men like the young Dryden, eager to please their new master and atone for past indiscretions, could be expected to have attempted to distinguish themselves through a persistent torrent of praise for a beloved father; that they did not, neither in poetry nor in drama, suggests the possibility that the Court was not displeased to see a curtain discreetly drawn over the events of the recent past.²³

In his poem of 1661 entitled 'To His Sacred Majesty, A Panegyrick on His Coronation', Dryden manages to conjure up the memory of the upheaval of the preceding twenty years, using typological language to liken England's survival of those tumultuous times to the story of Noah's deliverance from the Great Flood, yet in the course of referring to 'that wild Deluge where the World was drown'd', he carefully omits all direct mention of that flood's foremost victim:

Kind Heav'n so rare a temper did provide
That guilt repenting might in it confide.
Among our crimes oblivion may be set,
But 'tis our King's perfection to forget.
ll. 85-88.

This is as close as Dryden comes in the poem to mentioning Charles I. With one notable exception which I will return to later, it represents what to my knowledge amounts to Dryden's last reference to Charles until the coded (and briefest of) allusions in 'Absalom and Achitophel'. This reticence could be explained as a consequence of a purely personal sense of

prudence on Dryden's part (i.e., by neglecting to mention the murdered man one avoids calling attention to the services one may have performed for his murderer?), but another explanation is also possible. With the publication of 'Annus Mirabilis' in 1667, Dryden develops an idea which he had introduced in the earlier Restoration poems, when he emphasizes Charles II's own excellent fatherly qualities and the importance of the peace and security England derived under the new King's paternal care-- ideas which became one of the great themes of his public poetry thereafter.²⁴ Perhaps the poet's elevation to the positions of Poet Laureate and Historiographer Royal before the end of the decade was not unrelated to his ability to recognize that the son was eager to move out of his father's shadow and away from any suggestion that the Royal Martyr's career or ultimate fate could taint the institution of monarchy and his own crown.

Certainly the path of Dryden's own career contrasts sharply with that of Cowley's, who like Dryden had faced the prospect of restoration with good reason to be anxious over royal interpretation of some of his relationships and activities during the Interregnum, but who suffered comparative neglect after Charles's return until his own death in 1667. If we return once again to his ode 'Upon His Majesty's Restoration', we see him actually confront the issue of how we acknowledge the past and the role which history should play in shaping our definition of the present and future. He tackles the problem of the Royal Martyr's ghost head-on, and argues that, far from proving a source of distress, the old king's fate should provide a kind of comfort:

Such are the years (great Charles) which now we see

Begin their glorious March with Thee...

Now thou art gotten once before,
Ill Fortune never shall o're take thee more.
To see't again, and pleasure in it find,
Cast a disdainful look behind,
Things which offend, when present, and affright,
In **Memory**, well painted, move delight.
Enjoy then all thy afflictions now;
Thy Royal Father's came at last:
Thy Martyrdom's already past.

stanza 12

Cowley's 'confidence' in the controlling hand of Providence (a faith which several scholars believe was seriously shaken by the Interregnum)²⁵ allows him to assure his readers that the past has indeed passed, never to return--an assumption many at Court could not share wholeheartedly. He seems to have been attempting to reassure such sceptics in the concluding lines of the stanza, which offer bittersweet consolation in the acknowledgement of two acts of sacrifice: by recognizing the intensity of the new King's sufferings during his years in exile, while alluding at the same time to the fact that his father's royal blood has already been spilt for his sake ('Enjoy then all thy afflictions now;/ Thy Royal Father's came at last:/ Thy Martyrdom's already past.')

The poet reiterates his theme of power and piety which we saw in stanza nine: of gaining the might of an omnipotent god through the pursuit of Truth and Virtue, thereby eliminating the potential for tensions to arise between the forces of Right and Might within a political state. There is little doubt that this argument could never succeed with someone possessing Charles's reputation for scepticism and cynical self-interest, and it would appear from the body of contemporary literature which has survived that others, too, found it difficult to gain a sense of security concerning the future of the nation and

its monarchy by contemplating the misfortunes of a king who had been deposed and executed. It would be foolish to suggest that the reason for the difference in fortunes between Dryden and Cowley rested on their respective abilities to handle the touchy subject of the King's father; nevertheless, the variation in their approaches may indicate that Dryden was a quick and reliable student of royal attitudes, as well as demonstrate how much those attached to the Court continued to feel threatened by the images of Civil War, regicide, and the subsequent social and economic chaos which were so closely associated with it.

If the Court reacted ambiguously to the memory of Charles I once the novelty of restoration had dissipated, there were some--both in and outside Court--who recognised how valuable the figure of a venerated King would be to the crown and those who supported it. This becomes most obvious through Charles's association with the Church of England. Once the celebrating had stopped and the actual business of re-establishing monarchical government began in earnest, many of those in a position to make their opinions 'count' found that one of the few points upon which they agreed was that a strong Anglican church was necessary to ensure the future security of the monarchy. Naturally this institution was presented as a legacy from the Royal Martyr, made more precious because it had been purchased with his blood (an impression too important to be entrusted to the unaided memory of the average Englishman, and therefore reinforced through the reissuing of the Eikon Basilike and printed texts of Charles's scaffold speech). In addition to the influence of these texts, Parliament had also issued a declaration on 29 December 1660 that the anniversary of

Charles's death should henceforth become a day of fasting and national mourning, and subsequently authorized a special service to be added to the new edition of the Prayerbook (1662). Five new churches were also dedicated to his memory at this time: three between 1662-64 (while the rose of euphoric royalism was still in bloom), at Falmouth, Plymouth, and Newtown in Shropshire, with the last one erected in 1680, at Royal Tunbridge Wells, through the subscriptions of wealthy visitors who had travelled there for the therapeutic waters.²⁶ By the end of the first decade of the reign of Charles II, the Martyr's position as a bulwark of the Anglican establishment was so firmly cemented that it would take some 200 years to subvert it.

Historians now suggest that, far from representing Charles II's premeditated plan of gradual retreat from early promises of religious freedom and tolerance, the resurgence of strong Anglican feeling and the legislative re-imposition of a 'Laudian' episcopal church through the Clarendon Code reflected the successful efforts of a deeply conservative Parliament and gentry class to impose their will upon a comparatively liberal King. Certainly there is still a great deal of truth in the old explanation that an episcopal Church of England was restored with the help of an aristocracy and gentry eager to re-assert the old social order and political stability which had broken down along with royal control in the 1640s. But High Church Anglicanism was more than a convenient tool for the powerful elite, and actually satisfied a widespread yearning for the revival of traditional religious, cultural and recreational activities (such as Christmas, maypoles, festivals, Anglican services and Prayerbook, etc.)

which had been prohibited under the repressive negativist approach of the Puritans during the Interregnum.²⁷

This idea that nostalgia as much as ideology fuelled the nation's movement back towards an authoritarian Church presents interesting possibilities concerning the degree of inconvenience which Charles II may have suffered through contemporary devotion to his father's reputation. Having identified the Church as a key element in any programme for recapturing the old order, the Parliamentary representatives of a formidable coalition of conservative forces (including a significant percentage of the nobility, gentry, and the rising middle classes) were faced with the prospect of a king who was less eager to re-sculpt the old face of Anglicanism. Evidence exists which certainly suggests that Charles was sincere in his promises of religious toleration, and the point of contention in the current debate among historians centres around whether the King's failure to achieve this for dissenting Protestants and Catholics was actually due to the fact that Charles's government was in a hopeless muddle, that it lacked coherent policies on every issue, and that its efforts on the religious question, despite their counterproductive confusion, actually reflect the single most well-defined endeavour of an inept and precariously-situated administration.²⁸

Though during the last eleven years of his reign Charles II found it expedient to identify himself strongly with the Church establishment, and sought to make an attack on either the equivalent of an assault on the other, throughout the first half of his rule religious debates were shadowed by the realisation that the King's personal wishes were for religious

toleration and comprehension of as many sects as possible within the perimeters of the Anglican faith. The Declaration of Breda and the Declaration of Indulgence (with the latter attempted in 1662 and again a decade later) demonstrated to many the King's willingness to make a personal commitment--through the use of royal prerogative--to achieve these ends, and dissenters generally recognized Charles as the last great hope of their cause and directed their appeals to him accordingly.²⁹ As their confidence in Charles waxed and waned, so, too, did the anxieties of Anglican enthusiasts, who greatly feared that the Church was not safe left in the King's hands. Some of this feeling was rooted in the bitterness felt by many Cavaliers who deeply resented the government's efforts to win the allegiance of its potential enemies by using the powers of patronage and appointment to accommodate leading Presbyterians and other prominent figures of the Protectorate governments; they joked bitterly 'that the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion mean indemnity for rebels and oblivion for loyalists', and some compiled lists of faithful Royalists ruined for their loyalty and rebels who had prospered because they were permitted to keep their spoils.³⁰ Expressing one's fears for the future safety of the Church often became a coded means of voicing the disappointments of economic dispossession and political disillusionment.

The job of reconciling these tensions between tradition and reform, principle and expediency, fell, of course, on the shoulders of Clarendon, who recognized the present dangers which confronted the new King, his government, and his Church. And it was because of these responsibilities that the Chancellor was also struggling with his own deeply-rooted personal conflict,

torn between an awareness of the need to compromise and to embrace old enemies, however detested, and his own devotion to certain conventions and principles which may have been threatened by these same political necessities. A man who was closely associated with the momentous events of the 1640s, who owed his pre-eminent position in the new King's administration in large part to the services which he had rendered to the old one, Clarendon was identified--and identified himself--as a member of the 'old guard'. His deep attachment to the Church was surely intensified by his devotion to the Sovereign who had sacrificed his life for it, and it appears that these two loyalties may have contributed significantly towards his failure to retain the King's favour. The following section explores the role which Clarendon played in re-establishing the old Anglican Church, without which the Cult of the Royal Martyr could not have survived--as the rest of this thesis will demonstrate.

The responsibility for these frustrations and tensions could not, of course, be attached explicitly to the King. Clarendon provided the easiest target, and became the latest in a centuries-long series of advisors and ministers who were allegedly misleading their infallible monarch. He bore the blame for the perceived neglect of loyal Cavaliers and systematic accommodation of the Royal Martyr's old opponents, a necessary move prompted by the Chancellor's recognition of the shakiness of the monarchy's position throughout the early 1660s, as Cromwell's army, which did not actually disband until late in 1661, posed a continuous threat to the new administration. The Cavalier Parliament which professed its wish to see a Crown

with its traditional powers of prerogative restored, was--as Clarendon well knew--composed of a number of members who had either served on the Parliamentary side during the Civil Wars, or had worn the uniforms of both sides. The simple fact of the Crown's desperate financial condition, or the vivid memory of the rebellion in the minds of almost everyone, was enough to weaken the King's position.³¹ It was Clarendon's fate to be despised by those on both sides of the religious debate over the future of the Church in England. When he fell in disgrace in 1667, a sacrifice to the government's conduct of the Dutch War, leading Dissenters and Church of England supporters alike (including Archbishop of Canterbury Sheldon) cheered what all took to be an unexpected improvement in their fortunes.³²

It was partly for his efforts to implement the policies of the King, to slow down the pace and scope of Anglican re-establishment while manoeuvring to bring about the Church's inclusion of Presbyterians and toleration for other sects, that Clarendon was vilified. Through careful attention to pertinent passages in his autobiography The Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon, in his letters, state papers, and the earlier History of the Great Rebellion, I. M. Green has established that any measures designed to temper Anglican zeal were very much the King's, and contradictory to Clarendon's own inclinations.³³ Ironically, his labours to carry out his master's wishes against the dictates of his conscience (or, more accurately, his half-hearted commitment to a policy for which he had so little taste, and given these conditions, his inevitable failure) earned Clarendon the displeasure of his Sovereign while he accrued the enmity of many of his fellow churchmen. Clarendon's papers

reveal a man continually forced to compromise himself in acting against the Church and it is here that he discloses a deep-seated loathing of the Presbyterians with whom he was so often forced to do business—an antipathy no doubt grounded on his recollections of the 1640s and experiences in exile, but which was due more than anything else to the cherished memory of Charles I. Despite the recognition of royal weaknesses which appears in the History, the execution of Charles had 'sanctified' both that King and his Church in Clarendon's mind, and many felt along with Hyde that a serious remodelling of Church structure would have amounted to a betrayal of the Royal Martyr, a rejection of his sacrifice.³⁴

Speculation that Clarendon's strong sense of loyalty to Charles I provided the motivation for the prolonged fence-sitting on the questions of religious settlement, and may have driven him to continue in the service of Charles II, despite ill health and continual talk of resigning, is fuelled by the Dryden poem 'To My Lord Chancellor', written in 1662 to defend the harried Chancellor from his opponents on both ends of the political and religious spectrums. In this work, Hyde's faithful service to the late monarch and the Martyr's obvious faith in him are presented as the best reasons for contemporary Englishmen to also offer him their support:

Our setting Sun from his declining seat
Shot beames of kindnesse on you, not of heat:
And when his love was bounded in a few,
That were unhappy that they might be true;
Made you the favo'rite of his last sad times
That is a suff'rer in his Subjects crimes:
Thus those first favours you receiv'd were sent
Like Heav'ns rewards, in earthly punishment.
11.87-94³⁵

The poem reflects the religious and political tensions

of the times, as we see Dryden cautioning his countrymen about the dangerous places that resistance to authority can lead them, and sanctioning Hyde in the strongest manner possible, by underscoring his close relationship with Charles I. Yet the poet also appears to be urging the Chancellor to be more firm with the King's critics (i.e., the Presbyterians and other dissenting sects), using Charles I to remind his readers that gentleness alone cannot secure lasting peace ('...who too late did find,/ All mercy vain, but what with power was joyn'd'-- ll. 57-8).

The poem illustrates Clarendon's difficult position, caught between the present and past, castigated for being too much the Anglican and an inattentive son to the Church, a minister envied and distrusted for being too close to the King, who fell because he could not get close enough to that sovereign - in part because he clung to attitudes and policies which allowed him to stand in the shadow of the Royal Martyr. And while Charles II's rejection of his Chancellor cannot be attributed directly or exclusively to the latter's failure to shape religious policy to the King's satisfaction, it seems likely that Clarendon's efforts to resurrect the Anglican establishment in something close to its pre-1641 form enhanced the degree to which the elder statesman had become a man out of step with those within the inner circle of the new court. At any rate, Clarendon had enabled the Church to resume the shape which some hoped had been cast off forever, and this time she intended to take an active part in preserving her position and privileges.

CHAPTER 3

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND MARTYR

At the time when politics and religion were inextricably intertwined, and with the fortunes of the new monarchy and the restored Church seemingly bound even more firmly together than they were before the war, the Anglican establishment appears to have expended considerable effort in order to keep the figure of Charles I visible, for the sake of its own security and that of its less-enthusiastic mainstay. For much of the first decade of the new King's reign, the Church enjoyed a near-monopoly on the Royal Martyr's memory. With the passage of legislation naming the 30th of January as a day of fasting and national mourning, the anniversary sermon was established as the most effective means of keeping the late King's image before the public eye. In fact, I would suggest that the Church used these sermons, the texts of the prayer services themselves, and the 'secular' literary efforts of key clergymen and lay supporters to promote the Royal Martyr as a symbol of ideal kingship, and thus, to associate him more closely with the administration of his son than many members of the Court would have wished.

1. The Anniversary Service

Of course the ritualized commemoration of the anniversary established by Act of Parliament in December 1660 and formalized in 1662 contributed greatly toward the perpetuation of the King's mythology. Pepys shows us that the fast day was conscientiously observed throughout London in the 1660s (so scrupulously that in 1663 his servants could not find a single shop opened, forcing master and mistress to do without their supper that evening),

and one scholar's survey of personal diaries contemporary to the times found that fifty-one out of the fifty-three consulted contain references to strict observance of the fast day.¹

The legislation passed on 29 December 1660 merely established the fast on the 30th January; a special prayer service for the day was not designated until the following month, with the more 'permanent' form appended to the Book of Common Prayer printed in 1662. These services appear to have been well attended, and men like John Evelyn (out of a sense of piety and/or keen political interest) paid great attention to the content of the sermons delivered on this occasion, often making detailed notes on what they had heard.² Several scholars have pointed out how these sermons quickly evolved into routine diatribes against the folly of resisting the will of a lawful and divinely sanctioned monarch, and as such served as useful weapons against reformism and those who threatened to impose radical change upon the Church or State. In the first years after the inception of the holiday the preachers seemed content to simply reiterate and embellish the themes which dominated Royalist literature of 1649--with its emphasis on martyrdom, lamentation, and indignant outrage, and the attendant imagery of Old and New Testament parallels. As Helen Randall and J. P. Kenyon have revealed, however, these homilies gradually came to be characterized by a rational, reasoned rhetorical style, and to rely less and less upon emotional torrents of grief and anger, as the clergy grew more aware of the pedagogical opportunities with which these sermons presented them, and actively sought to transform their lessons from exercises in chastisement into 'instruments of political education'.³ This

movement from the simple emphasis upon a sense of sinfulness and guilt, with a reliance on the traditional stock of scriptural analogies, toward the more ambitious task of indoctrinating the congregation with a particular political philosophy, was one which gained momentum after the Popish Plot and is a subject I will return to when discussing the memory of Charles I during the reign of William and Mary.

Though the sermons have received some scholarly attention, the other components of the commemorative sermon have virtually escaped notice. The wording of the prayers, selection of the various readings from Scripture, even the alteration of the service in 1685 and the significant effect these changes had on tone and emphasis--all these have been ignored by historians in this century, and yet they provided a context for the sermons and helped to shape the congregation's impressions of the Royal Martyr and the meaning of the events which led to his death and eventual deification.

The service which became an annual event in the lives of all practising Anglicans had been carefully and thoughtfully composed, and was handed down to the clergy and their congregations with the sanction of the highest possible authority. Church historian Arthur P. Perceval describes the process by which it and the other holiday services were authorized, noting that the new edition of the Book of Common Prayer, completed in 1661 by Convocation at the King's request, and after formal ratification by Parliament and the Crown, would thus have acquired the force of both ecclesiastical and statute law. The services, also designed by Convocation with the approval of the Crown, were composed in 1662, and though

Parliament was not consulted, were duly appended to the Prayerbook by Royal Proclamation, thereby gaining the authority of genuine ecclesiastical law.⁴

Throughout the 1662 service, in the prayers and collects, in the epistles and lessons, we find expressed the recurring themes of divine right kingship, national guilt, political and religious persecution, divine justice and less perfect reversals of fortune; some represent the themes which the memory of the murdered Charles had always inspired, some would rise to the forefront of political debate much later, and some would become the dominant subject matter of the anniversary sermons at the turn of the next century, but all lie latent here in the service itself, in its text, in the scriptural texts it prescribes. The lessons specified for Morning Prayer, for instance, are highly emotive selections from the Old and New Testaments which reiterate the old allusions, recalling the associations of the passionate 1649-50 royalist literature and touching some still-raw nerves in the process. The first lesson, 2 Samuel 1, describes how David reacts to the news of the murders of Saul and Jonathan--how he ordered the murderer of God's anointed to be killed, initiated a general state of mourning in Israel, and led the mourners with his own copious lamentations; the reference reminds us of similar allusions to the text which appeared in the funeral elegies of 1649, and of rather routine incorporations of the David/Saul relationship in the sermons of the early 1660s which identify sections of the First and Second Books of Samuel as conventional texts to use in writing about Charles I.⁵ The second lesson, Matthew 27, coincided with the text appointed for 30th January in the 1603 Book of

Common Prayer. Dealing as it does with the trial and cruxification of Christ, much had already been made of this coincidence by Royalists before 1662, and it is not surprising that those responsible for formulating the anniversary service should have decided to capitalize on this happy coincidence. Certainly the first collect following the prayer for the King in Morning Prayer reinforces the great theme common to the elegies, sermons, and Eikon Basilike itself: that one had to look to the Gospels and the life of Jesus Christ to find the closest parallel with the Martyred King.

Blessed Lord...we magnify Thy name for that abundant grace bestowed upon our late martyred Sovereign; by which he was enabled so cheerfully to follow the steps of his blessed Master and Saviour, in a constant meek suffering of all barbarous indignities, and at last resisting unto blood; and even then, according to the same pattern, praying for his murderers...⁶

It was a message which the Princes of the Church felt was important enough to emphasize over and over again, referring in the service for Evening Prayer to those virtues which make the memory of Charles most Christ-like: that 'eminent measure of exemplary patience, meekness, and charity, before the face of his cruel enemies', praising his example of 'humility and self-denial, charity and constant perseverance unto the end'.⁷

Elsewhere other political themes connected with the regicide are highlighted as well, and some of these represent distinct departures from the conventional expressions of hero-worship or beratings of a nation for collective sinfulness and gross ingratitude. The epistle read at Morning Prayer, for instance--
-1 Peter 2: 13-23--stresses how important it is for the salvation of the soul of each individual Christian that he/she respects and obeys all the earthly forms of authority which God has placed

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above him for his own good:

Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake; whether it be to the King as supreme; or unto Governors,...Honour all men...Fear god. Honour the King. Servants, be subject unto your masters with all fear, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward. For this is thankworthy, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully.⁸

At such times the architects of the service reveal themselves to have been well ahead of many of their fellow clergymen in recognizing the significance of the anniversary and the opportunity it offered them to further the cause of Church and Crown. For as Randall has successfully demonstrated, the anniversary sermons written during the decade following the Restoration 'simply repeated and embellished [the themes and techniques of 1649]', with preachers apparently content to recall the horror of the crime and the wickedness of the blood-guilty. It was not until the second decade of the reign of Charles II that the process of 'translat[ing] the 30th-of-January sermon into an instrument of political education' can be said to have begun in earnest and, indeed, this 'very gradual shift' in the predominant form of the sermon, 'from an indirect to a direct method of propaganda', with 'the appeal to tears...giv[ing] way before a more or less rational appeal to political conscience', did not gain real momentum until well into the 1680s.⁹

Particular care seems to have been taken in the selection of the Psalms (those chosen for both Morning and Evening services) to strike a balance between the various responses to the painful memories stirred by the anniversary. The text of the Morning service indicates that Psalms VII, IX, X, and XI were to be read. Psalms VII and IX describe the terrible

power of God's vengeance upon the wicked and the certainty of the protection and security he offers to the righteous, though in doing so Psalm IX seems to be more concerned with a sense of collective guilt and national sinfulness, focusing on the crimes and wickedness of an entire people: 'The wicked shall be turned into Hell, and all nations that forget God...Put them in fear, O Lord: that the nations may know themselves to be but men' (Psalm IX: 17, 20). As a whole Psalm IX admonishes the sinner while comforting the virtuous and victimized, but in the context of Charles's memorial and the specific crime of his murder, the implication points toward national responsibility and an expression of hope that the English can avoid further punishment which would afflict them all.

This is juxtaposed with Psalm X which, instead of national guilt and shared responsibility, can be interpreted as concerning itself with the identification of the wicked, with recognizing the guilty and their works, and weeding them out from the God-fearing supporters of the social order. In the 1662 service this psalm also served to introduce the issue of economic deprivation and dispossession which so many loyal Royalists had suffered for their principles; by painting 'the wicked man' as one who invariably victimizes those whom changing circumstance has left weakest and most vulnerable, these verses were remarkably well suited to appeal to the vivid memories of the excesses of greed and opportunism which were the shared experiences of English men and women across the land, in city and countryside:

The wicked in his pride doth persecute the poor:
let them be taken in the devices that they have imagined.
For the wicked boasteth of his heart's desire, and blesseth

the covetous, whom the Lord abhorreth...He sitteth in the lurking places of the village: in the secret places doth he murder the innocent: his eyes are privily set against the poor...Lord, thou hast heard the desire of the humble: thou wilt prepare their heart, thou wilt cause thine ear to hear: To judge the fatherless and the oppressed, that the man of the earth may no more oppress.

Psalm X: 2-3, 8, 17-18.

As Psalm IX draws members of the congregation together to chastise an ungrateful and unworthy nation, Psalm X seems most notable for its divisive capabilities, challenging the individual listener to identify him or herself with the virtuous victims, fostering in him or her the anger, resentment, and righteous indignation so naturally a part of the victim's response. It may also have been intended to encourage that antipathy toward the Dissenters, republicans, and other designated foes of the Church which those closely associated with both it and the Crown would certainly have welcomed, believing a fresh sense of outrage over crimes past would insure a vigilance conducive to the prevention of their recurrence in the future.

Of course at the time of the incorporation of the holiday service into the Anglican calendar all four of the Psalms selected for Morning Prayer (and each of three at Evening service) would be read, as the celebrant cast his net very wide indeed, presumably--in part--in order to impress a sense of the true gravity of the occasion (and an awareness of the continued threat they faced?) upon as many members of the congregation as possible. (Not until the eighteenth century would it become common practice for the presiding clergyman to choose one or more from among the texts prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer.) What is not generally known--or at least often acknowledged--is that the service instituted for

the commemoration of 30th January was significantly altered by James II in the first year of his reign, 1685, without formal consultation with or assistance from either Convocation or Parliament.¹⁰ The result was the form of prayer which became the standard for the duration of the 'life' of the holiday, appearing as it did in all subsequent editions of the Prayerbook from 1685 until the anniversary's removal from the calendar in 1859.

Though allegedly dethroned for his efforts to supplant the Church of England with the re-introduction of Catholicism, James was very conscious of how useful a tool Anglican ritual could be in both manipulating the attitudes of the common citizenry and re-affirming one's position of authority. On 30 July 1685, two weeks after the execution of the rebellious Monmouth, a thanksgiving service celebrating the nation's deliverance was ordered and a book of prayers published. Similarly, in December of that same year, James announced his intention to establish the sixth of February--the date of his accession--as a national holiday, complete with its own church service.¹¹

The 1685 version of the 30th January services--Morning and Evening--attempts to deliver a more pointed political message than its predecessor. This is apparent from the opening prayer, which incorporates part of the twenty-five-years-old act by which 30th January was established as a state holiday (12 Caroli II. c. 30), an allusion which perhaps was intended to lend the text an authority which some conservatives may have felt lacking in a royal proclamation devoid of traditional ecclesiastical or parliamentary support:

To implore the mercy of God, that neither the guilt of that sacred and innocent blood, nor those other sins, by which God was provoked to deliver up both us and our King into the hands of cruel and unreasonable men, may at any time¹² hereafter be visited upon us, or our posterity.

Though it is an extremely short passage, only a few phrases long, it reveals two prime concerns which must have played a part in prompting the alterations to the service: a desire to reaffirm a belief in the existence of the special bond which united a legitimate king with the Supreme Being, and a pervasive fear that the upheavals the holiday commemorates were not safely relegated exclusively to the past, but could become a very tragic part of their future, and 'at any time hereafter...'.¹²

The most obvious difference between the two versions centres around the concerted effort evident in the later text to 'play down' the idea of national guilt and the culpability of all Englishmen for the murder of Charles I. Readings were substituted, prayers omitted or added in order, it seems, to promote a sense of anger at a crime for which one need not necessarily accept responsibility. In the first major section of the morning service, for instance, the litany of verses sung or recited in the original 1662 form, which emphasizes collective guilt and the need for universal repentance, is transformed in 1685 to a collection of quotations from Scripture focusing upon the historical events commemorated by the anniversary, forcing listeners to visualize the outrageous crime through the use of the Old Testament texts which depict the sacrificial offering of a victim who could easily be said to foreshadow the suffering Christ and by extension the late King. Line after line (often taken from the Psalms) in the earlier version uses

the first person plural to identify general wrongdoers and--by implication--moral regicides:

Let us repent and turn from our wickedness; and our sins shall be forgiven us--Acts III, 19.

Let us turn every one from his evil way...--Jonah III, 8,
We have provoked thine anger, O Lord...--Lam. III, 42.¹³

The compiler(s) of the 1685 service omitted these verses, substituting those re-written into the third person, so that Psalm LI: 3. which appears in the original ('We acknowledge our faults, and our sins are ever before us'.) is replaced with, 'For why? I was grieved at the wicked; I did also see the ungodly in such prosperity' (Psalm LXXIII: 2.). The wicked are removed to the more comfortable (but still threatening) distance of the third person ('They cast their heads together with one consent; and were confederate against him'--Psalm LXXXIII: 5.), and where the 1662 service hammers away relentlessly at the listeners' consciences with a series of consecutive verses referring to 'our sin', '[our] bloodguiltiness', 'our misdeeds', etc., its successor prefers an appeal to the imagination, dramatizing the King's ordeal in order to present his figure in the most heroic, most pious, most Christ-like light possible. The following represent prayers from the Morning service as specified in the original 1662 form, along with the corresponding material substituted in the 'Crown Service'.

1662

For thy name's sake be merciful to **our sin**; for it is great. Psalm XXV: 10.

Turn your face from **our sins**, and put out all our misdeeds. Psalm LI: 9.

(* The emphasis is mine.)

1685

They spoke against him with false tongues, and compass him about with words of hatred, and fought against him without a cause. Psalm CIX: 2.

Yea, his own familiar friends whom he trusted: they that eat of his

bread, laid great wait for
him. Psalm XLI: 9.

O deliver us and be merci-
ful to our sins: for thy
name's sake. Psalm LXXIX: 9.

They rewarded his evil
for good: to the great
discomfort of his soul.
Psalm XXXV: 12.

- - -
The breath of our
nostrils, the anointed of
the Lord was taken in their
pits; of whom we said, under
his shadow we shall be safe.
Lam. IV: 20.¹⁴

This first section of the 1685 service, longer than the original
by about 40%, continues along in this vein, weighting the first
part with verses that encourage the finger-pointing which will
be reiterated in Psalm X, and relegating a token few of those
lines from 1662 dealing with personal guilt and shared
responsibility to the end of the litany.

One possible reason for this shift in emphasis amounts
to nothing more than the passage of twenty-three years since
the composition of the last text and the rise of a new generation
which felt a genuine sense of distance from a series of events
which had culminated in an extremely regrettable act of
violence--but one perpetrated some thirty-six years before.
But this explanation is too simple, for while some of this
feeling was no doubt gaining in currency with each passing year,
the themes of national guilt and the importance of the
individual's recognition of his/her own sinfulness continued
to feature prominently in anniversary sermons during the
remainder of the seventeenth century and throughout the
eighteenth. In 1685 there were still plenty of Englishmen
in positions of power who were old enough to have distinguished
themselves through their wartime activities or Interregnum

allegiances. In fact, the tone of the service reflects the recent advent of political parties in the 1680s, and reverberates with echoes of the animosities exchanged between Whigs and Tories during the hysteria generated by the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis--taunting which on the Tories' side amounted to a fairly successful campaign to tar all Whigs and Dissenters with the same brush, equating such disparate ideas as religious toleration, the 'restoration' to Parliament of its constitutional powers, and indeed any proposals of reform in Church or monarchy with sedition, the Good Old Cause, and the very goal which the Whigs were claiming to oppose: the return of Catholicism to Britain.¹⁵

We can see other signs of the commemorative service being shaped to meet James's particular needs. Although the sermons delivered on this occasion had already begun by the late 1670s to evolve into lectures through which congregations were tutored on the nature of the dutiful subject's responsibilities to his monarch, the new service leaves nothing to chance and contains an instruction to the officiating minister **requiring** him to preach 'against disobedience and wilful rebellion'.¹⁶ Against the backdrop of the Monmouth Rebellion and the threat of a more general uprising, it would not do to have James appear to be anything less than impregnable; it became necessary, then, to 'tone down' some aspects of the King's association with the Royal Martyr persona, and specifically that reputation for passivity, and an ethereal, other-worldly contempt for temporal matters which was of course an integral part of the comparisons with Christ. In terms of the commemorative service this meant that Psalm VII alone of the four designated readings was dropped

from Morning Prayer, with its message that vengeance is the Lord's, and unmerited suffering in this world a pathway to reward in the next ('Let the enemy persecute my soul, and take it; yea, let him tread down my life upon the earth, and lay mine honour in the dust'--VII: 5). Similarly, Psalm CXLIII which appears in Evening Prayer in 1662 (and presents a righteous speaker addressing God from a position of complete helplessness, beseeching his Maker to deliver him from an enemy whom he flees, at whose hands--but for the intervention of the Almighty--he would be completely vanquished) is replaced by Psalm XCIV, with its verses on defiance in the face of persecution and cruel oppression:

Lord, how long shall the wicked, how long
shall the wicked triumph?
How long shall they utter and speak hard things?
and all the workers of iniquity boast themselves?
They break in pieces thy people, O Lord, and
afflict thine heritage.
They slay the widow and the stranger, and murder
the fatherless.

verses 3-6.

The theme of dispossession and severe economic repression, conjuring images of instant poverty and deprivation calculated to recall the most dire of Interregnum experiences, would be reiterated in choice of Jeremiah XII for one of the new Evening Prayer lessons, as churchgoers were encouraged to recognize that it was not only their government and their Church which would be threatened in any future upheaval, but their homes, livelihoods, and any possessions or privileges which they currently called their own:

Many pastors have destroyed my vineyard, they have
trodden my portion under foot, they have made my pleasant
portion a desolate wilderness.
They have made it desolate, and being desolate it
mourneth unto me; the whole land is made desolate, because

no man layeth it to heart.

The spoilers are come upon all high places through the wilderness...

verses 10-12.

The emphasis upon position and property, touching widely-shared fears for the peaceful continuance of order and stability, echoed the nervous ballads and broadsheets written to support the Crown between 1681 and 1685. The commemorative service, then, indicates how the spectre of King Charles I and the memory of his times could be employed to communicate the threat of personal ruin and widespread economic disaster--ideas which were developed during the years of Hanoverian rule into the rhetoric promoting the non-partisan ideal of a steadfast, stable society, but which in 1685 were grist for the mill of political polemic.

2. Other Texts

The Church did not limit its focus on the production of 'sacred' texts featuring the story of the Royal Martyr to the Prayerbook alone. And as the first decade of the new King's reign wore on, clergymen and lay supporters began to publish more 'secular' texts, in the forms of histories, biographies, and martyrologies, which eventually began to suggest contemporary anxieties concerning the immorality of the new court and Charles II's own failure to live up to his father's illustrious example.

Even with Clarendon fulfilling the role of official scapegoat, Charles II could not completely escape some taint from the failures which plagued his government, though steps were certainly taken to protect the royal image. If we can be confident Charles was 'universally' celebrated in the spring

of 1660, there is also reason to believe that that favourable first impression dissipated very quickly. The growing public awareness of the King's personal morals and the debauched lifestyle he encouraged at Court began to find its way into the historical record within the first two years of the new reign. Pepys regularly records the declining spiral of moral standards at Court, and Clarendon (in retrospect) ascribed responsibility for these developments to the King himself. These observations were not limited to the confines of the Court, as the Venetian Ambassador remarks that ordinary Londoners could be overheard saying that their monarch only 'hunts and lusts', and as early as the middle of 1662 a ballad opposing the unpopular hearth tax was circulating in London, in which Lady Castlemaine was depicted as distracting the King from his proper business.¹⁷ Under the circumstances one would think that the memory of some of the more euphoric panegyric from 1660 in which Charles II was portrayed as the reincarnation of his virtuous father must have caused some embarrassment, and the chaste example of the Royal Martyr must have heightened the disappointment of a good many pious people.

Criticism aimed directly at the King was, however, a rarity at this time, thanks to the re-imposition of strict censorship between 1660-70, with the Licensing Act of 1662 and Roger L'Estrange's appointment as surveyor of the press later that same year. There was more than a negative, repressive censorship code imposed from above at work here, though, as many people seemed determined to wilfully ignore anything they saw or heard which might seriously challenge their faith in divine right kingship. Despite all that had happened during the Civil Wars,

contemporary literature testifies to the continued willingness of the faithful to seek refuge in blaming the King's advisors for everything that went awry. Throughout the 1660s, even when the depravity at court or Charles's own moral lapses were alluded to, the issue of royal fault was never confronted directly; from the anti-hearth tax rhetoric of the 'Chimney Shuffle' mentioned above, through to the satirical 'Painter' poems appearing up to the eve of Clarendon's fall from grace, the royal mistresses and sycophantic hangers-on are presented as corrupting forces, clustering around to distract, ensnare, and mislead His Majesty, while Charles himself somehow escapes censure for having abandoned all pretense of self-government. Political pamphlets written at this time reveal that even among the men who recognized the limitations of monarchy and who had rejected the idea of restoring a pre-1641 'absolute' ruler to the throne, these men were also so anxious to discourage any form of disruptive or subversive behaviour that in the course of constructing a political philosophy they uniformly shrank away from dealing with the question of how the nation should deal with an evil king.¹⁸ Men like L'Estrange who argued that England's greatest security lay in the supremacy of Common Law, and that a prince subservient to the established laws had the best chance of keeping both his throne and his head, would also respond to the awkward question of what should be done 'if the King proved to be no respecter of the laws and constitution' by insisting that the consequences of resistance to the Crown were 'worse than the tyranny itself', and that subjects must risk enduring tyranny if they will enjoy order and stability. Though monarchy had been severely compromised by the Civil War

and Interregnum in the minds of many who were in a position to recognise the flaws in the person and policies of Charles II, these men--as represented by Cavalier Parliament and Clarendon--were prepared to protect the monarchy from the monarch, believing that in monarchical government rested England's best hopes of preserving the traditional social and political structures through which order and stability had historically been maintained.¹⁹

Part of this effort of preserving the Crown's lustre involved not only a blinkered approach to the activities of the present King, but a robust polishing of the royal past which, as we saw, seems to have been at odds with the preferences which dominated at Court. The precarious position of the regime necessitated the strict censorship of the press, which in turn allowed the government to enforce an official refusal to deal with the past and the more awkward issues and questions that recent historical events had raised. Mark Goldie speculates that bishops and pious gentlemen were concerned that deep reflection on past events would reveal the uncomfortable truth that Charles I was not the martyr to Anglicanism he was professed to be--pointing out that it was within the living memories of many that Charles had earned the mistrust of churchmen in the early 1640s by agreeing with disconcerting ease to exclude the bishops from Parliament (and eventually from the structure of the Scottish Church altogether), and that in negotiations at the Isle of Wight and Uxbridge he had come 'within an ace of accepting a presbyterian church' as a price worth paying for keeping his crown. Knowledge of the son's own record fostered little confidence either, once one recalled that Charles II

had taken the Covenant in 1650, and had led a Presbyterian army into England the following year.²⁰

If it was true that the 'immediate past of the nation exerted the greatest fascination' for Englishmen at this time, it was certainly the case that '...it could be considered freely only by writers with a thoroughly monarchist, Stuart bias'. In considering the literature of the 1660s, Jose writes perceptively about the 'tendency towards escapism and towards abdication from critical thought or responsibility' which characterized the panegyrical celebrations of Charles's return and his synthesis of all the princely virtues--a kind of literary escapism prompted by the general uncertainty over the present political situation and a fear of the future which was based on an awareness of the 'terror of history'.²¹ With this idealization of the present--so well documented by the poets at Court²²--came a concerted effort on the part of some staunch Anglicans to sanitize the historical record of the Civil War, the personal story of the martyred King and the cause for which he died.

A series of prose works published between 1661 and 1668 attempted to present the stories of Charles I and his followers, and to do so in such a way that would aid those who struggled to strengthen the Church and government. The anonymous Faithful, yet Imperfect, Character of a Glorious King, a full scale biography of Charles, had appeared in 1660, in which the author found 'imperfection' only in his own work, not in the royal character he endeavoured to describe. Charles appears as that 'Fleshly Angel', in the full glow of his 1649 beatification,²³ and the studies which followed generally echoed this assessment,

with subsequent 'histories' placing the King (very prominently) among the many Englishmen who were willing to pay the ultimate price to preserve the authority of the Crown and the pre-eminence of the One True Faith. One of these, an anonymous work entitled England's Black Tribunal, achieved some popularity, running to three editions between its initial publication in 1660 and 1680, with timely reappearances in 1700, 1710, and a final, sixth edition printed in 1737. The book seems to have been the author's attempt to provide the Royalists with a short devotional work--a new Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs' on a much smaller scale. The Tribunal contains portraits of twenty Royalist nobles, each consisting of a primitive woodcut likeness, a short paragraph descriptive of the subject's impeccable character and intense sufferings, and an epitaph of emotive verse. Though most of those eulogised were sacrificed during the conflicts of the Civil Wars, several of the victims selected for 'enrollment among the Royal Martyrs of England' died in the service of Charles II during the Interregnum, and even the epitaph included for Charles I, credited as coming from his own hand, complements the kind of forward-looking perspective which pervades this effort to unite past and present in a new mythology:

...Scatter my ashes, strew them in the Air;
Lord, since thou knowest where all these Atoms are:
I'm hopeful thou'lt recover once my Dust,
And confident thou'lt raise me with the Just.²⁴

In similar works of acknowledged authorship we see men of various social standing taking up cudgels to defend Church and King, by celebrating the heroes who had preceded them in that worthy task. William Winstanley represents the type of

man whom Harris and Seaward insist was a far-from-rare commodity: the common London citizen who passionately proclaimed a desire to see a pre-eminent Anglican Church restored to her old position of power and privilege. The onetime London barber eventually took up his pen to earn his living, and no evidence exists which contradicts the assumption that throughout his career as a hack journalist and 'scribbler' he remained without connections with the Court. Winstanley had a reputation among his contemporaries for being a 'compiler', a chronicler of the 'lower class' who used highly partisan texts as sources for his histories, relying on newsbooks and polemical tracts (to the point of blatant plagiarism) to create his own biased account of Royalist history. In 1663, in the second edition of his England's Worthies: Select Lives of the Most Eminent Persons of the English Nation (1659) Winstanley sets Charles I and his followers among the most illustrious names in English history, linking the Royal Martyr and the Royalists with Arthur, Edward the Confessor, William the Conqueror, Thomas Cranmer, Thomas More, etc., but in that eclectic group of figures the contemporary far outnumber the sum total of those from the preceding millennium of English history, and among these heroes of England's most recent conflict, the clerical champions of Anglicanism are given at least as much attention as (and probably more than) the more glamorous battlefield exploits of dashing soldiers. Charles I received the lion's share of print space in the volume, as was almost always the case in these works, and it should not surprise us to find that in the work of a notorious plagiarist like Winstanley we encounter the same two-dimensional, saintly Charles. Quite unusual, however, was

the inclusion, buried deeply within the luminous hagiography, of a candid description of the political situation of the early 1640s, along with a quotation from John Cleveland which alludes to the King's weakness in dealing with his subjects, thereby adding the merest suggestion of a blemish in an otherwise highly idealized portrait:

The King being at home in no good condition, used all means he could to pacifie his Enemies abroad;...but also rather encouraged them to proceed as they had begun: For as Cleveland hath it:

'Nor Gold, not acts of Grace, 'tis Steel must Tame
The stubborn Scot; a Prince that would reclaim
Rebels by yielding, doth like him, (or worse),²⁵
Who saddled his own back to shame his horse.'

Of course it is very possible that these lines were meant to serve more than anything else as a caution to the new King to abandon any notions of dealing leniently with political malcontents and those dissenting from the Church of England. A final point regarding this text, and one which illustrates just how difficult and potentially treacherous a place to govern England truly was in 1660, concerns the fact that--for all the zealous Anglicanism and passionate denunciations of Commonwealthmen and Presbyterians--the original 1659 edition of England's Worthies apparently contains a 'fairly impartial' description of the life of Oliver Cromwell: a section which was prudently dropped from subsequent editions of 1663 and 1684.²⁶ As confident as Winstanley is of his convictions in 1663, he was (like so many of his countrymen) trying to hedge his bets less than four years earlier. Small wonder if the King, his ministers, and all English men and women who yearned for peace, should anxiously conjecture on which future situation or combination of circumstances could prompt such individuals

to change allegiance again.

James Heath and David Lloyd appear more likely champions of Anglicanism and traditional hierarchy. Heath, the son of the King's cutler, was a distinguished scholar who had been educated at Westminster School before entering Christ Church, Oxford in 1646. Turned out of Oxford in 1648 by parliamentary committee, Heath joined the exiled court of Charles II at The Hague in 1649 and stayed until he had exhausted his patrimony. He contrived to earn a living with his pen, writing and correcting for the press, and appears to have suffered financially for his refusal to adapt his political opinions to the times.²⁷ Known chiefly as a historian, Heath relied heavily on contemporary newsbooks and polemical pamphlets for his sources, so it is not surprising if his own texts present an extremely biased version of events and participants. He, too, gives Charles I pride of place in his study A New Book of Loyal English Martyrs and Confessors (1663), and limits his focus carefully so that he need only deal with the King's activities after 1640. Like Winstanley's, Heath's portrait of Charles I is largely compiled from other authors, and contains little which merits mention here; two points which may be noteworthy concern the development of the question of the religious settlement. Heath absolves the Presbyterians of all blame for the events of the 30th January 1649, and may be settling an old score when he places responsibility for the rebellion and subsequent regicide squarely on the shoulders of Parliament and its collection of ambitious republicans and commonwealthmen. Though this appears to sanction implicitly the new King's inclinations toward toleration and religious

reconciliation (and at the very time when Clarendon and the Commons were agonizing over the legislation which constitutes the Clarendon Code), the other resonant motif of the section devoted to the Royal Martyr (besides his obvious personal integrity and spiritual perfection) concerns the strenuous rejection of the ideas that Catholicism held any attraction for Charles I, or that Popery could have any place in a peaceful English society.²⁸

David Lloyd was the son of Hugh Lloyd, Bishop of Llandaff and staunchest of Royalists who had been sequestered during the wars and Interregnum for his loyalty. Having seen how his father had suffered, Lloyd could not join in this talk of comprehension and accommodation, and the introduction to his tome Memoires of the Lives, Actions, Sufferings, and Deaths of those Noble, Reverend, and Excellent Personages that suffered...for the Protestant Religion... (1668) makes it clear that one of his aims in writing the work was to enable his contemporaries 'upon a view, to make a judgment what Families and Persons are fit to be employed and entrusted, what deserving men have been neglected, and who may be encouraged and rewarded' -thereby proving that as late as 1668, with the 'obstructive' Clarendon newly gone, Arlington--to whom the book was dedicated--and the Crown were still under pressure from Royalists who felt they had been unjustly ignored since the 1660 Restoration).²⁹

A clergyman himself, Lloyd championed the Church of England even more vigorously than Heath or Winstanley, placing an even greater emphasis on the religious significance of historical events and controversial political issues, to the point where

he presents William Laud with such care and tender sympathy that the Archbishop is permitted to vie with Charles I for the accolade of the Church's most cherished martyr. Besides lavishing upon his subject an attention to detail reserved in previous studies for royal portraits, as evidenced by the reproduction of sections of trial transcript and scaffold speeches, Lloyd provides his readers with three elegies lamenting Laud's demise, and to complement this emotional appeal adds a closely-reasoned, point-by-point refutation of the twenty-eight faults or charges levelled at the Archbishop by his opponents.³⁰ The reader is reminded that Laud's 'Answer to Fisher' was recommended by Charles I to his daughter Elizabeth during their last meeting as the best means of protecting herself against popery, and speaking for himself, Lloyd sums up Laud's character as the best example of 'the Lion and the Lamb dwelling in the same breast', and one whose admitted roughness of manner would occasionally put-off the faint-hearted, but who must ultimately be loved for being 'Ever watchful...of opportunities to advance the Churches honour'.³¹

Memoires apparently revealed Lloyd's scholarly deficiencies to his contemporaries. Wood insists it harmed Lloyd's reputation, exposing him as a plagiarist and 'mere scribbler'; Wood himself seems most disgusted by its historical inaccuracies, declaring it to be 'of slight historical or biographical value', and containing 'as many errors as lines'.³² Certainly its organization suggests a shaping-hand of some eccentricity; John Suckling is included in this chronicle of martyrs for Protestantism, for instance, though he died in 1640 (probably a suicide) before the conflict which ultimately threatened the

religion, and the 'great principle' named in Lloyd's complete title, had taken shape. There may have been method behind some of this madness--at least occasionally--as when it necessitates an explanatory note which provides the author with an opportunity to reinforce the link between the King's inviolable person and his equally sacrosanct position atop the political hierarchy. Here Lloyd explains why Charles's inclusion in the volume between one Samuel Ward (died 1644) and Laud (executed 1645) does not violate the book's rough chronological pattern:

Here...comes in the King himself, not the exact time he was beheaded on, but yet the very minute he suffered; for though Charles was Martyred in 1648 [i.e., Old Style], the King was killed **June 14, 1644**. For it is not the last blow that fells the Oak; besides, that the lifting up of some hands in the Covenant now enforced, was to strike at his Life...His Person was in danger when they aimed at his Prerogative.

p. 168.

The expressions of anti-Presbyterian, anti-Catholic sentiment in Memoires are especially fierce, and could not have endeared Lloyd to his sovereign (if, indeed, the King had read it). But one wonders whether the author had grown disillusioned with his King by the time Memoires was written. In 1660 Lloyd had rushed to publish a biography of Charles II and the royal princes which presented the new king as the reincarnation of his exceptionally virtuous father.³³ Now, eight years later, Charles II is not even numbered among the great heroes, living and dead, who saved the Church of England from anti-Christ. Perhaps a clue to Lloyd's change of heart is to be found in the text of Memoires, in which we see the Royal Martyr praised for the fervency and sincerity of his faith as evidenced in his habits of prayer and comportment during services, for 'where his eye was in the beginning of Sermon, there it was in the

end'. Such an unusual compliment reminds us of Pepys' famous account of Archbishop Sheldon castigating the Court (and implicitly the King, who was present) from the pulpit for its disgraceful behaviour, only to have the congregation burst into laughter.³⁴ Whether or not this is an early example of an unfavourable comparison between the morals of father and son, such analogies would become both more frequent and more explicit as the second decade of the new King's reign wore on.

As a biography of Charles I, Memoires contributes little more that is new or different than Heath or Winstanley. The standard images of a personification of humility, self-sacrifice, patience and paternalism are duplicated; toward this end, whole chunks of the Eikon Basilike are reproduced, including 'Upon the various events of the War' (chapter 19), and Dugard's evocative addenda (pp.215-17). Lloyd proves himself to be just as biased in his delivery of the royalist version of history, and if anything is actually more wilfully unrealistic than the other two in serving as Charles's advocate. Where others might tiptoe around controversial issues which are hard to explain, Lloyd refuses to accept that any basis for dispute exists, and bulls his way through, relying on his headstrong approach to simply trample any suggestion of royal weakness underfoot. He sees no need to hide behind the platitude that a wise and benevolent King had been misled by the bungling or malevolent advice of wicked counsellors, pronouncing Charles to have been 'excellent in himself, and choice in his council' without feeling any need to elaborate. The fiasco of the Spanish Marriage, source of profound embarrassment to both Charles and Buckingham, is transformed into a clever plan executed to expose the latent

treachery of Spain, and the whole question of the role played by Henrietta Maria in the personal life and political career of the King is obliterated by the author's refusal to consider her as anything other than 'that most excellent Lady' with whom Charles was fortunate enough to build a blissfully happy, fruitful marriage. In short, Lloyd credits Charles with a perfection of character, clearness of vision, sureness of purpose, and mastery of the reins of control over his government which Clarendon (writing his History in exile at this time) could not confirm. The rebellion and the regicide which followed it were, for Lloyd, first and last religious catastrophes, perpetrated by the Papists (with the help of ambitious and deluded Puritan factions) as part of their ongoing plan to destroy the Anglican Church, the last bastion of the true Christian religion.³⁵

In what must have been the most widely circulated of these biographical studies of Charles I, Richard Perrinchief's effort at chronicling the House of Stuart was incorporated into a volume of Charles's own writings published in 1662. A royalist divine educated at Magdalene College, Cambridge, Perrinchief--like Heath--suffered at the hands of a parliamentary commission, losing his Cambridge fellowship in 1646, but unlike some, saw his career flourish after 1660 through a series of preferments bestowed at regular intervals between 1663 and his death in 1673.³⁶

It is difficult not to attribute (at least in part) his steady rise to his advocacy of High Church Anglicanism and outspoken opposition to any movement toward religious toleration or any innovation in the traditional establishment of the Church

of England. Perrinchief expressed these views in treatises such as 'Indulgence not justified,...in answer to the argument of a late Book entitled a Peace offering or Plea for Indulgence' (1668) and through his involvement in the publication of The Works of King Charles the Martyr (1662), a collection of Charles's letters, declarations and speeches (including the sixty-fifth edition of the Eikon Basilike) which was initially compiled and edited by William Fulman, completed by Perrinchief after Fulman's sudden death, and published by the eminent Royalist printer, Richard Royston. Perrinchief added to the manuscript his own 'Life of Charles I', which was republished separately in 1676 and 1684 as The Royal Martyr, or the Life and Death of King Charles I, and was included in subsequent editions of the Eikon and/or Charles's general 'Works' in 1681, 1685, 1687, and (after exclusion from a 1706 Eikon) which again re-surfaced in a 1727 edition of the King's Book.³⁷

Perrinchief's portrait of the King serves in many ways as the standard for the would-be biographers of Charles who followed later in the decade. As he reiterates the panegyric celebrations of the Stuart Saint which had been circulating in one form or another since 1649, Perrinchief even provides an index of the royal virtues which are laboriously ascribed to Charles throughout the text. Like Heath, Winstanley, and Lloyd, he makes an effort to establish a circle of heroes surrounding Charles, sharing his religious ideals (and often his fate). He apparently shared Lloyd's admiration of Laud, (and ended up contributing some of the very phrases Lloyd used to express that homage).³⁸ And with Perrinchief, too, it is the religious aspect of the great conflict of the 1640s which

dominates his attention.³⁹ Though he does not feign obliviousness of the political context of his subject (arguing, for example, that the Naseby letters do not discredit the King, and should be disregarded--pp. 128-9), Perrinchief's Charles is first and foremost the premier Anglican. One of the ways the author conveys this impression is to describe the King's execution, recasting the event to fit the familiar images in the Marshall engraving which fronted almost all of the various editions of the Eikon Basilike in one form or another. From the text of Charles's speech upon the scaffold Perrinchief pulls a single quotation which has the King verbalizing the choice whose visual dramatisation occupies the centre of the frontispiece:

I have a good cause and a Gracious God on my side;
I go from a Corruptible to an Incorruptible Crown, where
no disturbance can be, no disturbance in the world.

Perrinchief reinforces the parallel with the addition of a few details which do not appear in any other account of the execution which I have read: he assures us that in his final moments Charles 'after having Eyes and Hands like forerunners lifted up to Heaven,...kneeled down before the Block as at a Desk of Prayer...'.⁴⁰

Another unique touch in Perrinchief's biography focuses on the King's body and its handling after the grisly deed was done, relating how doctors who embalmed the corpse were commanded by Army officials to conduct an extensive examination of the body to determine 'whether they could not find in it symptomes of the French disease, or some evidences of frigidity or natural impotency'. The implications of this directive are more numerous than might first appear, for not only is the old King's virility

and/or reputation for chastity being questioned, but also the present King's claim to rule by line of succession, as Charles's legitimate heir. These aspersions also reflect the enthusiasm with which many contemporary Englishmen pursued what amounted to a national pastime--hatred of all things papist and a contemptuous fear of the French-born, Catholic Queen Henrietta Maria (now Queen Mother and in 1662 still a figure inspiring little confidence). Perrinchief's account of the findings of the examiners seems calculated to do considerably more than dispel some long-lived rumours, providing 'scientific' testimony consistent with the idea of divine right kingship and the belief that the King's special gifts (spiritual and physical) pointed to the existence of a unique relationship between God and His anointed prince.

...the same physician also published that Nature had tempered the Royal Body to a longer life than is commonly granted to other men. And as His Soul was fitted by Heroick Virtues to Eternity, so his body by a Temperment almost ad pondus made as near an approach to it as the present Condition of Mortality would permit.

p. 207

Throughout Perrinchief's 'Life' Charles I receives glowing praise for the excellences of his own person; however, one feels here that the 'Heroick Virtues', along with his physical perfections, are less his own achievements than they are part of the trappings of the office.

It is not difficult, then, to see why Perrinchief was able to advance so steadily during the 1660s. The King's own reaction to Perrinchief and his work--if he was even aware of either--remains a mystery. Though Charles II would have appreciated the support 'Life of Charles I' gave to the Crown, he would not have been pleased with Perrinchief's consistent and vocal

opposition to the ideas of religious toleration, comprehension, and leniency to Catholics. Whatever his own feelings may have been, it is difficult to imagine how Charles could have afforded to be seen refusing to honour a man who had so ably defended the institutions which were deemed so important by the conservative members of the government, nobility, gentry, and rising middle classes, whose combined power he could not resist.

CHAPTER 4

THE KING AS PAWN:
CHARLES IN THE GAME OF PARTY POLITICS.

Faced with mounting evidence of the inadequacy of the new monarch and his government during the first decade of the reign of Charles II, and in spite of the formidable censorship laws in place at the time, the disappointed and the disillusioned found ways in the late 1660s and 1670s of voicing their criticism of the King, and sometimes employing the image of Charles I to do so. This development is represented in the satirical poetry of the period, where the poetic depictions of the Martyr can be seen to evolve from conventional portrayals of the virtuous paragon (after whom the new King would do well to pattern himself), into characterizations designed to castigate the son with a father's disappointment, or the outright vilification of the Martyr and the entire Stuart line. This chapter will first examine the efforts of the King's critics to use the illustrious figure of Charles I against Charles II, before going on to explore how the Crown reacted to this by mounting a belated and somewhat half-hearted attempt to reclaim the Royal Martyr as the symbol of a divinely-ordained monarchy.

Back in the mid-1660s Andrew Marvell had proven himself capable of using his verse to ask questions about the important issues which preoccupied his countrymen, including the government's disastrous handling of the Second Dutch War, and the King's deplorable taste in counsellors and ministers, etc. Friendships of his youth and early lyric poetry revealed some strong royalist sympathies which appear to be contradicted by Marvell's years of service for the Protectorate government, his close ties to Milton and Fairfax, and the loyalties evident in the public poems celebrating Cromwell's leadership. A lack of evidence concerning the details of his personal life, coupled

with a cautious reticence characterizing both poetry and correspondence, makes it difficult to assert with much confidence precisely what Marvell's own views were on a great many of the issues and controversies which preoccupied his countrymen.¹ But one feels that part of the mystery is due to the poet's integrity, to his ability to see any figure or historical event from more than one perspective, and if he was often unwilling to trumpet his interpretations (and of course only a few of his poems were published in his lifetime), so too did he refuse to respond simplistically, comfortably, according to prescription. In the measured responses of the 'Painter' poems and other satirical pieces, Marvell demonstrates both the ability and willingness to examine the world around him, to test assumptions and values, to recognize the distances separating the idealized pictures of the panegyrists from the reality behind historical events and characters. It is an indication of his own growing maturity, as well as a sign of the changing times, that the poet who in 1650 produced the most famous portrait of Charles I in those carefully balanced lines of the 'Horatian Ode'--a poem which functions as a study in 'qualified praise' for both the King and Cromwell--should employ Charles I so effectively in constructing a series of works which attempt to place a 'qualified blame' on Charles II.²

We cannot be absolutely certain what connection Marvell had with the 'Painter' poems which so devastatingly parodied Edmund Waller's celebration of the British victory at Lowestoft (1665); scholarly consensus suggests that Marvell probably did write all three between early 1666 and autumn 1667, though no evidence exists to prove this one way or the other.³ It is

in 'Last Instructions to a Painter' that the figure of the Royal Martyr appears, and it is this poem which has the strongest claim to Marvell's name.⁴

'Last Instructions' was written in response to both England's humiliation at Chatham (June 1667) and the general problem of the venality at court which had caused (or greatly contributed to) the nation's deplorable performance in the Second Dutch War. It attacks the King's advisors at court--and particularly Clarendon--for the corrupt and incompetent manner in which they have led the King astray, and identifies Parliament as the best constitutionally sanctioned safeguard against the encroachments of arbitrary power and absolutism. Yet like the earlier poems 'Second Advice' and 'Third Advice', and indeed the Account of the Growth of Popery treatise which followed ten years later, 'Last Instructions' concludes with an appeal to the King, and looks towards the throne as the source from which solutions to the nation's problems must inevitably come. Even in opposition, the M.P. from Hull clearly recognized how important the flawed Charles II still was to England's hopes for the future, and if the poet 'is holding up a standard against which shameful reality can be measured', it is for the benefit of the Royal Reader as well as the rest of his audience, based on the assumption that Charles is yet 'capable of recognizing the truth when it is shown him and of acting in a manner suitable to a prince'.⁵

It was probably with this goal in mind that Marvell brings Charles I into the dramatic action of the poem. The work's final scene depicts Charles II in his bed, suffering through a wakeful night, when he is presented with a vision of a naked

virgin, who is blindfolded and has her arms bound with her own long tresses, and is obviously distressed at the helplessness of her condition. Charles later identifies the maiden as 'England', and we are told:

The Object strange in him no Terrour mov'd:
He wonder'd first, then piti'd, then he lov'd
And with kind hand does the coy Vision press
Whose Beauty greater seem'd by her distress;
But soon shrunk back, chill'd with her touch so cold,
And th' airy Picture vanisht from his hold.
ll. 899-904⁶

The depiction of Regal Majesty willing to take advantage of a vulnerable innocent is quite far removed from images of nuptial purity which one encountered at the beginning of the decade, as we find, for instance, in Dryden's 'Astraea Redux', where Charles is seen to lead England his virgin (if somewhat 'unequal') bride to the blissful and undoubtedly fruitful sanctuary of a marriage bed (ll. 19-20, 232). Charles has suddenly metamorphosed from the chaste and protective bridegroom into the rake who would ravage Britannia for the sake of satisfying his own sexual appetite.

The contrast between these two personas--the idealisation and the more accurate antithesis--is heightened by the immediate appearance of Charles I, in whose chaste memory many of the excesses of Restoration panegyric had been committed. The ghastly sights of Charles II's father and maternal grandfather (Henry IV of France), both murdered while still in possession of their thrones, drives home the sense of imminent threat to the King's person and political position which never completely disappears.

...While the pale ghosts his eye does fix'd admire
Of grandsire Harry and of Charles his sire.
Harry sits down, and in his open side

The grisly wound reveals of which he di'd,
And ghastly Charles, turning his collar low,
The purple thread about his neck does show...

ll. 917-22

Worth noting, too, is the mention of a message communicated from father to son, and one in which we are not permitted to share--at least not right away:

Then whisp'ring to his son in words unheard,
Through the lock'd door both of them disappear'd.
The wondrous night the pensive King revolves,
And rising straight on Hyde's disgrace resolves.

ll. 923-26.

By keeping us in the dark as to the nature of whatever passed between them, we are left wondering whether Charles II is acting out his father's instructions when he determines to rid himself of Clarendon (itself another interesting reversal of a Dryden conceit, when in 'To My Lord Chancellor' Hyde's closeness to Charles I was presented as a justification for his occupying his current position). A few lines later other influential members of the court--Castlemaine, Arlington, and Coventry--propose the same solution before the King can announce his decision. Bearing in mind that Marvell blamed Clarendon's greed and ambition for much of the mess in which England found herself mired, but knowing, too, of the poet's almost equally low opinion of these three individuals (as expressed repeatedly here throughout 'Last Instructions' and in other poems attributed to Marvell),⁷ it is difficult to determine how the reader is meant to regard the wisdom of this political move (i.e., dismissing Hyde). The problem is compounded by the revelation of Charles I's parting warning: 'That who does cut his Purse will cut his Throat' (l. 938)--an admonishment which could well have been delivered with the three rapacious survivors

in mind (on whom the King is now more dependent than ever) as easily as it could refer to the discredited Hyde. Then, too, we must not forget the speaker's original description of this message as 'words unheard'; were they inaudible to us alone, or did the King fail to catch them as well? And if he heard, will he heed them? Despite the sense of qualified optimism in the concluding address to the King, in which the poet expresses confidence in Charles's ability to shape his own destiny and define both his own character ('Himself the painter and the poet too.'--l. 948), we are left fearful of what the future holds for a nation whose 'common Prince' has allowed himself to be 'enclosed' by grasping courtiers, and who seems likely to become an 'isle...from his isle' (ll. 969, 971) while these individuals remain at court.

The note of criticism detectable in 'Last Instructions' and the other 'Painter' poems is certainly one of qualified blame, and one which is most preoccupied with the question of the King's morals; his fault (one must infer) lies in the neglect of his duties and in providing the untrustworthy with great power, while his advisors alone are held responsible for government policy. By 1671 these fears about the King's moral fibre were more imperative, raising deep concern among some people who saw real problems ahead if things continued to proceed along the same path. The occasion of services on 30 January 1671 prompted Evelyn to record his own anxieties on the subject. He had been moved by Robert Breton's sermon, in which the vicar of Deptford had characterized the regicide as a 'sin of the whole Nation, which has yet to expiate it by serious Repentance, to prevent the ruine threatened...in the leudnesse of our

greatest ones and universal luxurie'-- comments which led Evelyn to confide to his diary his own fears of some 'yet more dreadful vengeance' likely to follow recent incidents of war, plague, and fire, attributable in some degree to decadence at court and the pervading corruption it encouraged.⁸

As the decade progressed the fears of cataclysmic repercussions gave way to a sense of the constitutional consequences potentially posed by the current administration. Many suspected a discernible drift toward absolutism in the government's policies: in the development of a foreign policy which established ever-closer ties to the French in the face of overwhelming opposition; in the threat posed to the Protestant establishment by the re-assertion of Catholicism as represented by the recent Declaration of Indulgence (1672) and the fears concerning the succession following the revelation of the Duke of York's religious sympathies; in Danby's use of bribery and patronage to manage Parliament; in the very fact that Parliament was meeting less frequently as the King seemed intent on governing without it, as long as an alternative source of revenue could be found (in this case, the treasury of Louis XIV).⁹

Indeed, when 'The Dream of the Cabal' appeared in the early autumn of 1672, almost eighteen months had already passed since Parliament had last assembled, and the King would not allow it to reconvene until February of 1673.¹⁰ The poem, probably written by satirist John Ayloffe, a Whig activist and the author of a bitter attack on Charles II entitled 'Marvell's Ghost' (1678), who ultimately ended up on a gallows before the gate of Inner Temple, possibly for his support of Monmouth at the Battle of Sedgemoor.¹¹ 'The Dream' depicts a typical meeting

of the King's ministers, during which the advisors discuss how royal prerogative can best be extended while keeping Parliament marginalised. It is impossible to consider this scene without recalling the efforts of Charles I and his ministers to achieve broadly similar goals during the eleven years of personal rule, and the Royal Martyr's name is mentioned during the course of the debate. When James Butler, Duke of Ormonde and Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury verbally duel for the King's confidence, they each use Charles I as a model whose example is best avoided rather than imitated--though oddly enough for opposite reasons. In championing the need for the King to accept the sovereignty of English law and the necessity of working with the Commons, Ormonde uses the late King's experience to illustrate for Charles II the dangers of acting too hastily--especially where the existence of a standing army is at issue:

But why of armies now, great Sir, must we
So fond just now all on the sudden be?...
Your father 'gainst the Scots an army rear'd,
But soon that army more than Scot he fear'd.
He was in haste to raise them, as we are,
But to disband them was far more his care...
Your father's block and judges the same troops
Did guard; same tongues at death of both made whoops.
11. 301-02, 304-08, 317-18¹²

Shaftesbury had previously argued that--far from any sense of impetuosity-- it was his indecision and procrastination which proved to be the Royal Martyr's undoing, and that though he recognized the desirability of absolute monarchy rather than any 'mixed' or constitutional alternative, Charles I had lost his chance to establish his own by failing to act quickly, as was demonstrated by his failure to dissolve the Long Parliament at the first signs of its insolence, and his reluctance to exert

the power behind his royal authority.

A mix'd hodge-podge will now no longer do,
Caesar or nothing you are brought unto...
Remember your great father lost the game
By slow proceedings. Mayn't you do the same?

ll. 121-22, 139-40.

The poem dramatizes for us how, at the beginning of the era which saw the advent of the modern political party system in the form of the developing court/country animosities, the memory of Charles I could and would feature in political debate. But despite the mild censure expressed during cabinet haggling, 'The Dream of the Cabal' still manages to present the Royal Martyr through the flattering haze of a gentle nostalgic mist, thanks to the character of the steadfast Ormonde. The commander of Charles's Irish forces during the Civil War, and in 1672 the once and future Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Ormonde represented the last member of Charles II's circle who had also been a trusted minister and confidant of the late King. For this reason, he was thought to embody the values and standards of a more honourable time, the valedictorian of 'a nobler generation',¹³ and is intended by the poet to be recognized as such, pitted as he is against the furtive Shaftesbury, who had exchanged a position on Cromwell's Council of State for an appointment in 1661 as Chancellor of the Exchequer (and who would change hats again after 1672). That Ormonde's counsels are ultimately rejected in the poem indicates the passage of time and the fall from the high standards of those halcyon days; the failure of Charles II to value properly such an advisor, and his inability to uphold those ideals of honour and integrity in his personal life, are no more than implied. The real force of the poet's criticism is still directed at Shaftesbury and

those colleagues who supply the type of advice which pollutes the royal conscience and distracts him from more important matters.

Within a few years, the King himself had become the target of some very pointed criticism. It must have become increasingly difficult to invent plausible excuses for Charles as scandals and failed policies tainted one minister after another and the government's reputation for financial incompetency seemed to go from bad to worse. When the then Lord High Treasurer and de facto Prime Minister Danby sought to bolster public confidence in the floundering administration by erecting Le Sueur's bronze statue of Charles I in Charing Cross in 1675, the government soon lost any benefit it may have derived from so powerful a symbol, as the project suffered an embarrassing delay due to lack of funding, and Marvell was quick to expose the emptiness of the bungled gesture by turning the image against the iconographers.¹⁴ In 'The Statue at Charing Cross' (written in [July?] 1675), Marvell treats with contempt the suggestion that a mere statue will drive from people's memories the troubling awareness that the Exchequer remained closed, the government was dependent on subsidies from France, and the question of the country's future religious identity seemed more unsettled than ever.

Does the Treasurer think men so loyally tame,
When their pensions are stopp'd, to be fool'd with a sight?
And 'tis forty to one, if he play the old game,
He'll reduce us ere long to forty and eight.
stanza six¹⁵

Here we see one of the first uses of the phrase 'forty and eight' to stand as a cryptic reference to the regicide and ensuing social and political chaos--a device often repeated in the

ballads during the Popish Plot and Exclusion controversies, and which frequently featured dire predictions that any opposition to the Royal Will would inevitably lead to the repetition of those infamous events which had occurred in 'forty-one' and 'forty-eight'.¹⁶ It is difficult to say precisely who the poet believes it was who had first played the 'the old game' of substituting shadows for substance, but it is clear that some of the approbation which Marvell expressed for Charles I in 'Horatian Ode' still remains, and that it is no longer automatically extended to his son:

So the statue will up after this delay,
 But to turn the face to Whitehall you must shun;
 Though of brass, yet with grief it would melt him away,
 To behold ev'ry day such a court, such a son.
stanza fourteen

Other poems published at this time treated the King much more harshly--poems of unknown authorship, some of which have been credited to Marvell at one time or another. In some of these works a change in the form of government is recommended along with a change in kings. Now, despite a keen awareness of the political scene and all the shortcomings of the present administration, Marvell had always been careful to preserve the idea that constitutional monarchy offered England the best chance for a government which provided the benefits of peace and prosperity without endangering the liberty of her individual subjects. Even in his last attributable work, An Account of the Growth of Popery (1677), Marvell still insists that the King's person must be considered 'most sacred and inviolable', and that regardless of what should befall the nation as a result of his government's policies, '...nothing of them all is imputed to him, ...but his ministers only are accountable for all...'.¹⁷

But neither these sentiments, nor the admiration for Charles I which shapes the portrait dominating the 'Horatian Ode', should necessarily be taken as reasons for disqualifying Marvell as the author of some of these more vitriolic pieces--such as, for instance, 'A Dialogue between Two Horses'.¹⁸ It seems quite possible that after years of frustration watching their government stumble from one example of its ineptitude to another, with seemingly no end in sight to a procession of ministers dismissed for incompetence or corruption, regardless of how widespread the outcry for the King to step in and institute meaningful reform--it appears quite possible that men more conservative than Marvell, with ideas on history and political philosophy more comfortably mainstream, could be driven to voice their frustrations on subjects more dangerous, in tones more contentious, than they might have dreamt of in earlier, more prudent moments.

Whoever did write 'A Dialogue between Two Horses' (sometime between 29 December 1675 and 10 January 1676) obviously drew upon the two earlier 'Statue' poems,¹⁹ both of which had begun the task of removing the shine from the public image of Charles II. In this work, though, rather than using the memory of Charles I as a stick with which to scourge the King (which was the pattern apparently emerging in poems like 'Last Instructions', 'Statue at Charing Cross', and perhaps 'Dream of the Cabal'), the current reputation of the Crown was such that it effectively pulled the Royal Martyr's down to its own lamentable level. The poem features a fanciful conversation between the mounts from the equestrian statues of Charles I and Charles II, who meet after their respective riders have

left them for the night. Their chat focuses on the merits of their wandering masters, and the beasts may have assumed some aspects of their riders' characters, with 'W' (Charles II's white marble charge) appearing far more irreverent and uninhibited than the more nice 'C' (his Charing Cross equivalent).

- C. Pause, Brother, a while, and calmly consider,
What hast thou to say of my Royal Rider?
W. Thy Priest-ridden King turn'd desperate Fighter
For the Surplice, Lawn-Sleeves, the Cross, and the mitre,
Till at last on a Scaffold he was left in the lurch
By the Knaves that cri'd up themselves for the Church,
Arch-Bishops and Bishops, Arch-Deacons and Deans
C. Thy King will ne're fight unless't be for Queans.
W. He that dyes for Ceremonies dyes like a fool.
C. The King on thy Back is a Lamentable Tool.
11. 115-24.²⁰

In this double-barrelled attack the father is presented as a fool, the son as a cynical, cowardly debauchee. Indeed, their respective absences are explained in terms of their vices, with Charles II locked in the adulterous embrace of one of his lovers, and Charles I off to pay court to Archbishop Laud--each indulging in his peculiar personal weakness, for the sake of which he has ruined the nation. The poem was just the latest of many to have painted England as the ultimate victim of the King's sexual excesses, but as far as I know the first since the Interregnum to present the Royal Martyr as a royal dupe, manoeuvred through his own idealism and naivete to die for the political advantage of a Machiavellian clergy. The headstrong Stocks-Market horse goes on to state the case most explicitly, declaring both Kings to be but different sides of the same worthless Stuart coin, and echoes the line which drifts ominously through 'Last Instructions'.

- W. The Goat and the Lyon I Equally hate,
140

And Free men alike value life and Estate.
Tho Father and Sonne are different Rodds,
Between the two Scourges wee find little odds.
Both Infamous Stand in three Kingdoms votes:
This for picking our Pockets, that for cutting
our Throats...
One of the two Tyrants must still be our case
Under all that shall reign of the false Scottish race.
ll. 125-30, 135-36.

The indictment of the entire House of Stuart forced an immediate, appropriate adjustment in historical perspective, so that now the glow of nostalgic idealization was reserved for the reign of Queen Elizabeth, as a time when monarchs were regal and Protestantism secure.

...Wee must all to the Stake, or be Converts to Rome.
A Tudor a Tudor! Wee've had Stuarts enough.
None ever Reign'd like old Bess in the Ruff.
ll. 148-50.

Other poets were willing to take this rebellious spirit further than Marvell (and, if they be not one and the same, the 'Dialogue' author). Whoever wrote 'The History of Insipids' in 1674 (some pointing to the dissolute Rochester, others to the Shaftesburian Whig John Freke)²¹ chastized Charles II for neglecting his father's friends and loyal servants and refused to attack Charles I personally, but launched a scathing assault on monarchy itself and the idea of divine right kingship in particular ('If such Kings be by God appointed,/ The Devil is then the Lord's anointed'--ll. 155-56).²² And in 'Britannia and Rawleigh' (1674), attributed to Marvell (probably mistakenly) but characterized by a radicalism not unlike that of John Ayloffe, we find an antipathy to both the entire Stuart line and the monarchical form of government in general, expressed with a bitterness and explicitness which the King's Surveyor of the Press successfully eliminated from the prose literature

of the time. Here, near the end of the allegorical poem, an exasperated Britannia confesses the depth of her despair to the ghost of Raleigh--the illustrious fixture in Elizabeth's court, himself a victim of Stuart envy and insecurity. He pleads with her to try just once more to save the King from himself--perhaps by reminding him of his noble origins:

In his deaf ear sound his dead Fathers name;
Perhaps that spell may his Erring soul reclaim.
Who knows what good effects from thence may spring...
ll. 137-39.²³

She rejects this out of hand.

Rawleigh, noe more; too long in vain I've try'd
The Stuart from the Tyrant to devide...
If this Imperiall oyl once taint the Blood,
It's by noe Potent Antidote withstood.
Tyrants like Leprous Kings for publick weal
Must be immur'd, lest their contagion steal
Over the whole: the elect Jessean line
To this firm Law their scepter did resign:
And shall this stinking Scottish brood evade
Eternall Laws by God for mankind made?
ll. 141-42, 147-54.

Far from signifying the monarch's semi-divine status exalting him or her above the reach of fellow mortals, the oil with which the new ruler is anointed is revealed here to be a contaminant, infecting leaders with the ideas of their own unaccountability and the sanctity of their own desires. The poem suggests that the Stuarts--all of the Stuarts--shared an immunity system which left them particularly vulnerable to this type of virus.

Throughout this period the sermons which identified the 30th January as an occasion of national humiliation continued to thunder forth from pulpits across the land, emphasizing with one voice the close parallels between recent events and Holy Scripture in the course of delivering an extremely emotional message on the sanctity of kingship and the need for absolute

obedience from the subject.²⁴ However, from the relatively small number of such sermons which were subsequently published (and have survived) we can find evidence that the turbulent political atmosphere of the mid-1670s appears to have influenced at least one individual to depart ever so cautiously from what looks like a rigidly constructed tradition.

Gilbert Burnet, the prominent Whig/Low Church clergyman who despite his outspoken criticism of the Anglican establishment was eventually elevated to Bishop of Salisbury, composed 'The Royal Martyr and the Dutiful Subject' for 30th January 1675. In this sermon the author is careful to make many of the conventional noises which he knows will be expected of him, but seems to draw back slightly from the type of commitment required for the whole-hearted, enthusiastic harangue which was still so common. Burnet begins with references to the regicide as 'that never-enough-lamented Villany', a clear 'evidence of the degeneracy of the age we live in', when a king can be publicly slaughtered in his own capital. He dutifully stresses the idea of a pervasive sense of national guilt which the crime betokened, signifying the sinfulness of the people's attitudes toward God, His Church, and the forms of worship she prescribed. The author avoids reciting the conventional litany of the virtues allegedly attributable to Charles's person, reasoning that they are at once both too numerous and too familiar to require repetition.²⁵ And though the sermon is noted for introducing a historical approach to the subject in question by using some of Charles's own letters,²⁶ to present his own words as the best proof of his piety, I think the work is equally remarkable for what Burnet simply cannot bring himself to say--and

especially when he knows these omissions are likely to disappoint.

Having selected 2 Samuel 1:12 as the sermon's text ('And they mourned, and wept, and fasted until even, for Saul, and for Jonathan his son...'), Burnet's self-appointed task was to illustrate how England's loss compared with Israel's, how David and Charles II faced similar problems of grieving while endeavouring to lead their people forward, and to consider whether it were possible--then as now--for a nation to derive some good out of an extended period of mourning. It is quite interesting to note that, at a time when favourable comparisons between Charles and Saul had been quite commonplace for over twenty-five years, and when the late king was still holding his own in studies which placed the experiences of Charles I and Christ side-by-side to gain a sense of relative achievement and intensity of suffering,²⁷ Burnet should back away from making any comparison between Charles and Saul which accorded the former the status of mythological hero. In likening Charles I's willingness to expose himself to danger in order to protect his subjects to a similar trait of Saul's, Burnet feels compelled to add that he is limiting his remarks solely to the late King's record on domestic issues, and he probably qualified his praise quite significantly in the eyes of a great many Protestants when he declares, 'I speak not of his case in Protecting the oppressed Protestants in Germany and France, which I leave to the Historians'. The implied criticism of Charles's foreign policies and consistent lack of commitment to the causes of international Protestantism is quickly followed by the more pointed mention of the hapless Strafford as a notable instance

of Charles's failure to rise to Saul's standards. Later in the sermon Burnet pauses to indicate a change in direction:

And now I advance...to consider what this [Old Testament] mourning was, and what ours should be; they upon so sad news and so great a loss, were both so tenderly affected for the Death of a King that had so many good qualities, **that he being dead, they had reason to forget his bad ones** [my emphasis]....

From here the author launches into a description of the plight of the Israelite nation after Saul's death, and carefully reveals how each detail in the portrait corresponds to an aspect of the situation facing post-1649 England--with the **single** exception of this instance of selective amnesia, which apparently has no seventeenth-century equivalent, and yet the inclusion of which mars the symmetry of the comparison, serving as it does as the **first** item in the description of the biblical nation.²⁸

Taken by themselves these phrases may seem inconsequential, but when viewed against the backdrop of a genre of contemporary literature characterized by praise so lavish and comparison so extreme that succeeding generations would condemn the 'heat' which prompted such flagrant acts of blasphemy, any reluctance to deal in similar superlatives--let alone a text in which the reservations of a moderate Whig appear to be peeking through--would have earned the speaker/author a distinct identity. Of course, Burnet's temperance could be said to reflect his own blighted fortunes at court in 1675 more accurately than it mirrors any sense of widespread political disaffection. By 1674 the author's vocal opposition to the government's policies in Scotland, his close friendship with James Douglas, Duke of Hamilton, and his good relationship with the King had earned him the enmity of the redoubtable Duke of Lauderdale--now one

of the most powerful members of the court. Lauderdale jealously guarded his pre-eminent position in the King's confidence with the same ruthlessness that he used in oppressing and plundering the Scots, and by November 1674 he had no trouble in securing Charles's consent to the removal of Burnet from the list of royal chaplains, forbidding him access to the court, and actually banishing him to the distance of not less than twenty miles from London. This last stricture was obviously illegal and never enforced, and nothing was done to prevent Burnet from preaching at a number of churches in London between November and the following spring of 1675 (and to great effect if Burnet and Evelyn are to be believed), during which time the sermon above was delivered. From this position of political exile, and no doubt feeling his humiliation very keenly, Burnet can be seen as seizing an opportunity to express understandable disappointment with the present monarch and his administration by suggesting (albeit very obliquely, through the unusual reference to Strafford) that the royal tendency to abandon both innocent subjects and artless courtiers to the schemes and machinations of his more avaricious ministers, may in fact be a hereditary flaw. Under the circumstances, Burnet's remarks seem exceptionally mild, and--coming as they do from an individual whom a sympathetic contemporary characterized as 'a man of the most surprising imprudence that can be imagined', and of whom a biographer could say that 'whatever the heart conceived the tongue seemed compelled to utter or the pen to write'--they do seem to signify a circumspection which reveals more about the author's times than it does about either the writer or his royal subject.²⁹

Around this time, the old issue of erecting a proper monument to the late King was resurrected. Both Marvell and Burnet record that the occasion of the statue going up in Charing Cross gave currency to the idea of exhuming the body of Charles I and laying it to rest with great ceremony. Burnet goes so far as to claim that the idea was revived by the government as a means of mollifying or at least distracting the disgruntled Cavaliers who were still pressing Charles to compensate those of his father's friends and his own faithful supporters who had suffered during the years of war and Commonwealth.³⁰ The matter was allowed to drop, presumably because of Charles's troubles with an intractable Parliament preoccupied with attaining Lauderdale's removal from office, and also because a continued reliance on French subsidies left the King with very little money available for the funding of such a project.

In 1678 the idea surfaced again, this time riding the crest of a wave of Anglican loyalism apparently inspired by the marriage of the King's niece Mary to the Prince of Orange and the lift this match gave to hopes for the Anglican Church and English Protestantism as a whole. A sermon preached before the Commons on 30 January 1678 by Cowley's friend Thomas Sprat spurred MPs to act quickly, and by 18 March the Commons had concluded the second reading of a bill appropriating approximately £70,000. for the re-interment of the late King and the construction of a magnificent tomb, with all decisions concerning the form and location of the monument deferred to the King's better judgment. Charles was delighted with the prospect of so grand a gesture which would reflect so well on him personally, without costing him anything. He immediately

requested his Surveyor-General Sir Christopher Wren to prepare designs for a lavish mausoleum, to be situated at Windsor, and Wren in turn solicited plans from Grinling Gibbons for the statuary. The result was a proposal for a splendid two-storeyed, domed structure on such a scale that it could not be contained within the confines of St. George's Chapel.³¹

Besides the enthusiasm for the mythology of Charles's martyrdom which Parliament displayed in this generous grant, these designs also reveal which aspects of that mythology were most highly valued--or at least, which it was thought most useful to emphasize at this time. Gibbons' drawings depict an upright, 'animated' Charles instead of a recumbent one, clad in the modern armour he would have worn during the recent wars--'a stern reminder to friend and foe alike' of the conflict which had haunted domestic and foreign politics for the past thirty years. With an open right hand held up in a gesture of peace, while the left--also open--extends down and out toward the spectator, as though imploringly, the King is made to embody the qualities of mildness and charity which are prerequisites to any concept of Christian saintliness. Standing on a shield which rests on the shoulders of a group of allegorical figures representing the 'Heroick Virtues', (Prudence, Temperance, Justice and Fortitude), the King is portrayed in a manner consistent with the images of Charles I commonly projected in the art and literature of the 1630s, and this particular section of the sculpture is particularly reminiscent of the kind of iconography which repeatedly featured so prominently in the Caroline masques. These familiar representations are literally supported in the sculpture by the group of four prostrate figures who are crushed

under the pedestal upon which the others are perched: the inclusion of these vanquished characters, representing the vices of Heresy and Hypocrisy, Envy and Rebellion, addresses the very topical fears for the future of the Church and Monarchy entertained by so many and--as R. A. Beddard points out--echoes the warnings against the latent forces of 'Schismatical Designs' and 'Antimonarchical Principles' which appeared in Sprat's sermon.³²

In the end all these plans came to nothing. Animosities between the King and the Commons were quickly renewed later that spring, and the project was forgotten during those politically tumultuous times, with the explosion of the Popish Plot controversy in October 1678, followed by the Exclusion debates, crisis, and after repeated elections and prorogations, the King's subsequent, effective 'decision' to adjourn Parliament more or less permanently by March 1681. It is interesting to note that while the scheme was still being discussed seriously, no mention seems to have been made of any difficulties which may have been encountered in trying to recover the Royal Martyr's body. The recent developments had moved Edmund Waller in March 1678 to visit Charles's resting place, guided by an old sexton. Pepys and Evelyn each found his way to the graveside to pay his respects--the latter as early as 1654. And Charles's servant Sir Thomas Herbert was alive in 1678 and in the process of publishing his Threnodia Carolina (reprinted in 1702, with the new title of Memoirs of the Last Two Years of the Reign of King Charles I), and which contains a very detailed and accurate account of the King's burial.³³

It is worth pausing for a moment to consider Herbert and

his contribution to the historical reputation of Charles I. A distant kinsman of the Lord General Thomas Fairfax, Herbert had been appointed by the Parliamentary commissioners to attend the King during his confinement, and spent the last two years of Charles's captivity as a groom of the bedchamber. After serving as Secretary of the Council in Ireland under the Lord Deputy, Henry Cromwell (for which he was knighted in 1658), Herbert resurfaced after the Restoration emphasizing the years of devoted service and valued friendship which he had given the late King.³⁴ It was on the strength of his account that Charles II granted him a baronetcy in July 1660, and it is not surprising that his reminiscences of those years from 1647-1649 should focus so relentlessly on his own loyalty and solicitude.

Despite the healthy scepticism with which modern historians tend to regard Herbert's memoir,³⁵ there is no avoiding the fact that Herbert's appointment left him uniquely situated to observe Charles in his final days, and it is on him that we depend for some of the most famous details concerning the King's last moments. Herbert, for instance, is the only source for the familiar incident of the King's request for two shirts on the morning of the execution, that observers should not mistake a reaction to the cold weather for the effects of fear.³⁶ And although the author's penchant for self-aggrandizement undoubtedly leads him to proffer various distortions and exaggerations (as we see in his account of the King's burial, in which the four noblemen in attendance--including the Duke of Richmond and Earl of Southampton--are depicted as acquiescing to the wishes of the King's groom),³⁷ Herbert never elevates himself at his Sovereign's expense, but throughout the text

strives to present a portrait of Charles in which the King appears consistently pious, magnanimous, and courageous in the face of death.

Nothing of the Fear of Death, or Indignities offered, seem'd a Terror, or provok'd him to Impatience, nor utter'd he a reproachful Word reflecting upon any of his Judges...or against any Member of the House, or Officer of the Army; so wonderful was his Patience, though his Spirit was great, and might otherwise have expressed his Resentments upon several Occasions. It was a true Christian-Fortitude to have the Mastery of his Passion, and Submission to the Will of God under such Temptations.

pp. 168-69

Taken as a whole, Herbert's memoir can be interpreted as supporting Birrell's description of the author as a man 'constitutionally incapable of telling a direct truth'.³⁸

Herbert was, however, both forthright and absolutely correct about the burial place of Charles I: 'in the middle of the Chaire, over against the Eleventh stall, upon the Sovereigns side'.³⁹

All of this belies the narrative composed by Clarendon less than ten years earlier in his History of the Rebellion, in which he explains how Charles II's intentions to have honoured his father in this elaborate manner at the very beginning of his reign had been frustrated by the inability of anyone to locate the corpse. Descriptions of the King's burial more contemporary with the event, such as the one written by Gilbert Mabbot for 'The Moderate', indicate that the precise whereabouts of the tomb were known from the moment it was closed. And yet Clarendon, living in exile and with little hope of ever again being admitted into the King's good opinion, felt it prudent to protect Charles II with this fiction of a father misplaced or forgotten (a version of reality which mirrored what the

writers at court had been practising figuratively since soon after the King's return), rather than reveal that the son was too poor, or too indifferent, to mount an appropriate effort. It is impossible to say whether the King ever approved of this explanation of Clarendon's, but eleven years after their last encounter, when Secretary of State Henry Coventry rose in the Commons during the initial discussion of the late King's monument and announced that it would have been done long ago but for 'the great charge, and the wars we have been in almost ever since the King's Restoration', he was presumably speaking on the King's behalf.⁴⁰ Curious, too, is the fact that despite the existence of plenty of testimony to the contrary, Clarendon's account of the matter is the one which ultimately shaped general belief on the subject for generations after the first appearance of the last volume of the History in 1704, a misapprehension we see perpetuated in Pope's 'Windsor-Forest' (1713), in which the poet exhorts the Muses to:

Make sacred Charles's Tomb for ever known,
Obscure the Place and uninscrib'd the Stone.
11. 319-20.⁴¹

The series of political crises (starting with the Popish Plot) which paralyzed Charles's government did more to arrest the development of the historical image of Charles I than simply to derail the movement to erect a monument to the Royal Martyr. After those first coarse indications appearing in the satirical poetry of the mid-1670s that a reassessment of recent history (and the House of Stuart in particular) might be about to begin, the prospect of renewed threats to the crown from the ubiquitous agents of Catholicism on the one hand, and from the opportunistic Dissenters eager to revive the Good Old Cause on the other,

made attempts at such revision extremely foolhardy. Tim Harris demonstrates convincingly in London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II how during the various stages of acrimonious debate between Whigs and Tories from 1678 through 1684, it served the purposes of each political party to accuse the other of crypto-Catholicism (with the associated sins of godlessness and sedition). During a volatile period punctuated by the Popish and Rye House Plots, with its ongoing controversy over Parliament's claim to the right to secure a Protestant line of succession to the throne, and the attendant fears of assassination and rebellion, each party sought to identify itself as the last, best guardian of the institutions of Monarchy and Anglican Church--the foundations upon which political stability and social order rested. (The Whigs did periodically style themselves as the protectors of the dissenting sects, especially when elections were imminent, and this inevitably involved some criticism of High Church zeal and rigidity, but both parties fell over each other to affirm the security of the Church of England in its position of pre-eminence.)

Strict enforcement of the government's censorship codes ensured that any pamphlet battles between supporters of the administration and its critics would be one-sided contests, and indeed, a veritable torrent of literature defending the existence and practices of Restoration monarchy swamped the London bookstalls. A considerable number of works which had been written during the Civil Wars to defend the policies and person of Charles I or to secure the restoration of Charles II in the early 1660s were reprinted now, such as Bishop Ussher's 'The Power Communicated by God to the Prince' (composed around

1644, but first published in 1661 before publication in 1683 and 1688), or materials old and new from the prolific pen of Roger L'Estrange, Charles's Surveyor of the Press. At this time (1680) Sir Robert Filmer's Patriarcha made its first appearance in print some twenty-seven years after the author's death, championing the ideas of the King's absolute powers over his subjects, and a patriarchal theory of government which utterly dismisses any concept of Parliamentary privilege or the notion of constitutional limitations being imposed upon the monarch's authority. Filmer insisted that the dutiful, law-abiding subject owed unhesitating obedience to the King in all matters of religion as well as statecraft, and a wealth of literature old and new was published by the authorities and their retainers to complement or reiterate his views perfectly. It is clear that Filmer's book was not anomalous: many people had good reason to wish that the doctrine of divine right monarchy remained alive and kicking.⁴²

As far as the iconography of Charles I is concerned, very little develops during the last six years of Charles II's reign following the Popish Plot. It has already been mentioned that from 1679 the sermons delivered on 30 January were characterized by a new emphasis on political philosophy and on finding both the biblical and constitutional precedents for cherishing the current form of monarchy, though the emotional harangue which placed the personality of the Royal Martyr at the forefront of any discussion certainly did not disappear overnight.⁴³ Outside church precincts, it must be said that those who aligned themselves with the government seemed more reluctant to revive the memories of old grievances and forgotten crimes, while those

in opposition could not afford to risk playing into the hands of Tory propagandists through the slip of a reference to either royal--father or son-- which could be construed as conveying the slightest personal criticism. Therefore, at the height of the Exclusion controversy in November 1681, as London braced itself for the trial of Shaftesbury on charges of high treason, John Dryden, Poet Laureate and Historiographer Royal, shies away from making any significant allusion to the King's glorious parent in his famous allegorical account of the efforts of Shaftesbury and Monmouth to force Charles II to designate the latter as his successor. The poet limits his use of Charles in 'Absalom and Achitophel' to two of the briefest of references, the first of which appears during one of the unctuous Achitophel's counselling sessions with the rebellious Absalom:

All Empire is no more than Pow'r in Trust,
Which when resum'd, can be no longer Just.
Succession, for the general Good design'd,
In its own wrong a Nation cannot bind:...
The Jews well knew their power: e'r Saul they chose,
God was their King, and God they durst Depose.
ll. 411-14, 417-18.⁴⁴

Here the Arch-villain is made to espouse the tenets of the 'social contract' theory of government (which Locke advocates in the 'Second' of his Two Treatises of Government, a work he was writing when Dryden's poem appeared, though the political climate prevented him from publishing it until 1690). Saul is understood to stand for Cromwell, and the deposition of God refers to the overthrow of the divinely-appointed Charles I. Later the poet's narrator speaks authoritatively about the dangers posed to national security and personal property alike when sovereignty is thought to reside in the hands of the 'fickle rout'.

For who can be secure of private Right,
 If Sovereign sway may be dissolv'd by might?
 Nor is the Peoples Judgment always true:
 The most may err as grosly as the few,
 And faultless Kings run down, by Common Cry,
 For Vice, Oppression, and for Tyranny...
 Nor only Crowds, but Sanhedrins may be
 Infected with this publick Lunacy:
 And Share the madness of Rebellious times,
 To Murder Monarchs for Imagin'd crimes.
 If they may Give and Take when e'r they please,
 Not Kings alone, (the Godhead's images,)

But Government it self at length must fall
 To Nature's state, where all have Right to all.
 ll. 779-84, 787-94.

Charles I still represents martyred innocence, a model king
 butchered for 'Imagin'd crimes', and though Dryden's poem is
 designed in part to highlight the threats to life, liberty,
 and property which the Englishman faced in 1681, one of the
 most effective and economical ways to do this was to remind
 the reader of the violence and deprivation which touched so
 many lives during the 1640s and 1650s. But it is evident, too,
 that Dryden had judged that a cursory glimpse into this chapter
 of the past would suffice--perhaps out of an awareness that
 the actual record of the dead King's reign was seriously
 tarnished, and that his present Master's vulnerabilities could
 be exposed if in the course of jogging people's memories a
 collective sense of injury or outrage was inadvertently inflamed?
 Perhaps, too, the painful rhetoric of the commemorative sermons
 delivered every January left the powerful imaginations of Dryden
 and his fellow poets unwilling or unable to take up the theme
 in their own work. At any rate, the poet was surely aware of
 the persuasive power available to him through the emotive figure
 of the Royal Martyr, who came complete with his own mythology,
 and his decision not to use that particular weapon (not in
 'Absalom', nor his other works) must have been a conscious one.

Artists further removed from the King than Dryden, yet with the best interests of the Court/Tory party at heart, also appear to have been reluctant to play the 'martyr card'. Those publishing broadside ballads imitated the pamphleteers in occasionally resurrecting old Civil War material to draw the obvious unpleasant parallels. 'On the Martyrdom of King Charles I: A Pindaric Ode', originally printed in 1648, and which laments the contemporary 'times of Lawless lust and impious Rage', was one such work which was reprinted in the very early 1680s with some later additions to the text (added then or when the King was first restored) to heighten its relevance to current times:

If it be true
That from the Martyrs Blood the Churches Greatness grew,
That for one slain
Out of his dust many should rise again;
We see the mighty Sentence prov'd divine,
What God-like Heroes sprang from Charles his Line,
What God-like P[hoenix?] did re-aspire
From out their Royal Father's Funeral Pyre...

Clearly the poem was chosen for reprinting because it reaffirms the doctrine of divine right and the integrity of the Stuart line which had been denigrated in the satires of the previous decade. Charles II's relationship to Charles I is offered as the best justification for the analogy that, as the sun is seen to mount in the morning sky to glorious noon, so is the King 'Too high for factious policies'.

Another, bolder ballad deals with the comparison between the revolution and the current conflicts more explicitly, employing Charles I's execution in a relentless refrain to attack 'Fanaticks' (i.e., Dissenters) and social climbers.

No Fanatick shall bear the sway,
In Court, City, or Town,
Three good Kingdoms to betray,
And cry the Right Line down.

Let them cry, 'They love the King':
Yet if they hate his Brother,
Remember Charles they murdered
And so they would the other.

'The Downfall of the
Good Old Cause'⁴⁵

This ballad goes on to reveal the fears of economic displacement which run like an undercurrent beneath these dark forecasts of religious and political chaos, vilifying the idea that 'Weavers and such like fellows/...Of Fortunes both disperst and low" should be allowed to reshape English government and society to their own advantage. It is very much a desire to avoid the upheavals subsequent to any deposition, rather than an overwhelming concern for the King's personal safety, which prompts the poet to take up his pen. Nevertheless, Charles I's grisly end is used to reinforce the point that the 'levelling' Dissenters, not the Papists, represent the gravest threat to society, for although the Catholics had plotted against the King's life at least three times thus far that century, they had always failed, whereas the 'Fanaticks' got the job done the first time ('The Papists they would kill the King,/ But the Fanaticks did...').⁴⁶

These poems, along with a few others,⁴⁷ represent exceptions to the general practice of minimizing the role which Charles I was allowed to play in the rhetoric of the 1680s. More frequently, when the Royal Martyr's experiences are referred to at all, the authors can bear to come no closer to a royal portrait than the cryptic inclusion of numbers representing the years of key events. Thus, we are told of Parliaments bent on 'driving Eighty back to Forty Eight', and how 'Eighty-three smells rank of Forty-one', etc.⁴⁸ In a poem entitled 'The Badger

in the Fox-Trap', the characters in the allegory actually debate the advisability of openly acknowledging one's sins--even when seeking absolution. Here the Badger (Shaftesbury) is discovered in the trap by the Doctor, or 'Chief of the Synod', the spiritual leader of the Dissenters, who promises their alleged political champion forgiveness if he confesses ('All sorts of Rebels, Hypocrites and Atheists,/ I pardon all, but Cavaliers and Papists...'):

B.-Some of my sins are Forty years of Age.

Must I bring those again upon the Stage?

D.-Yes, those to choose, they are old, and now
grown Hory,

Shake out the Bag, and make end o' the Story...

Not like Papists with a Bleer'd Contrition;

Speak boldly, with Conscience like a Tanner

Make every sin a Trophy of your Honour.

B.-Why in Forty-one, and two, and three, and Four,
I then began to love a handsom Whore.

We see the mutual impulse to discredit the Catholics, which very much constituted the middle ground shared by the political combatants of every 'party' or religious group in the 1680s, and the Doctor is pleased, but presses the penitent for more difficult revelations.

D.- Very good, sir, well, and how much more?

B.- The rest are State-Affairs, not to be disclosed,

And by Malignants, are too-much supposed.

And so all that may well be thus Excused;

I own I have, both Church and King abus'd.

D.- But you must Specify each dubious Query.

B.- Nay then 'twill last from June till January.

The Badger/Shaftesburian Whig resists the pressure to identify his crimes precisely, but admits to having followed in whichever direction his interests lay, supporting Cromwell (as indeed Shaftesbury actually had done), and declaring, 'I fell on, 'gainst Church, and King, and Heaven,/ And Still my Conscience with times kept Even'. Is it coincidence that a

list of crimes would stretch until January? At any rate, this is as far as the Badger is willing to go in his confession; the regicide seems to hover at the back of the reader's mind-- and on the tip of the creature's tongue.

Of course there were others like the good Doctor who would have answers to their awkward questions, and not everyone could be deterred from contemplating the past and trying to formulate his/her own interpretation of history. By far the most significant attempts in the 1680s to return Charles I to the harsh glare of public scrutiny were due to the efforts of Parliamentarian/Whig John Rushworth. Rushworth had enjoyed a long and varied career in government work, serving as clerk to the Commons from April 1640 and appointed Parliament's sole licenser of pamphlets between April 1644 and March 1647. He earned the trust of Thomas Fairfax during his tenure as the General's secretary, and he accompanied Fairfax on campaigns in 1648. Throughout his career Rushworth's work had placed him in a position to witness (and often make official records of) many historically significant events (like the sieges of Colchester and Maidstone, the negotiations at Berwick ending the first Scottish war, the King's attempt to arrest the five MPs, etc), and he apparently amassed a substantial collection of documents of some political importance, especially during the extended period of Charles's personal rule.⁵⁰

His publication of Historical Collections (1659-1701), and particularly of the two-volume second part covering the years 1629-40 and published in 1680, marked the first such public exposure of authentic documents chronicling the inner workings of government during Charles's reign. Rushworth's Collections

contain many revelations which could be interpreted as damaging to the dignity and integrity of Charles I, and particularly in those materials which concern secret negotiations and confidential correspondence, and reveal the royal propensity for indecision, contradiction, and blatant duplicity. (These impressions are all too easy to come by in documents relating to the Spanish marriage, the Royalists' dealings with any hostile group--the Scots, Irish, New Model Army, etc.--and especially for contemporaries in the letters exchanged between the King and Queen whenever circumstance or war had separated them.) In producing this dangerous work, Rushworth's protection from persecution lay in his ability to abstain from supplying critical commentary which would have incriminated him. Rather, he believed that the material would speak for itself, and limited his own interpretive contribution to his editorial powers of selection.

The Royal Martyr was not abandoned by the court in the face of such an 'attack', and a suitable champion was chosen to defend the dead King's honour. John Nalson was one of the new generation of royalists eager to win preferment from the Crown with their pens. The partisan historian was rector of Doddington and eventual prebend of Ely, whose treatise 'The Countermine' (1677) on the sanctity of royal prerogative had led to his arrest and formal reprimand before the Commons in May 1678,⁵¹ but who remained undaunted by the experience, continuing to produce polemical literature supporting the King and divine right kingship until his death in 1686.

Nalson was commissioned to answer Rushworth's Collections, which he dismissed as a compilation of misrepresentations and

half-truths carefully designed to destroy the late King's reputation. He operated under the special patronage of Charles II, who allowed Nalson unusually free access to state papers, parliamentary records, private archives, etc.--a significant advantage over Rushworth--and the result was An Impartial Collection of the Great Affairs of State, itself a two-volume collection of political documents published in consecutive years from 1682. Intended to cover the entire period of the civil unrest from the outbreak of the Scottish rebellion in 1639 until the final act of regicide, the second volume concludes with the King's flight from London in 1642, and the work was left unfinished at the time of the author's death.

We can be sure the work was undertaken (in part) with the defense of Charles I specifically in mind from the lengthy seventy-nine page introduction to the first volume in which Charles is piously praised; Rushworth's deficiencies are enumerated; the Whigs, Dissenters, and Papists--ostensibly one and the same--are all given short shrift; and absolute monarchy is advocated with enthusiasm. Harris also draws our attention to the remarkable frontispiece, which features a disconsolate Britannia weeping copiously before a burning church, with a broken sceptre, crown, bishop's mitre, and blood-stained axe among the objects strewn in the dirt at her feet.⁵² Opposite this Nalson prints a poem entitled 'Mind of the Frontispiece' in which he cautions the reader to 'Look on that Axe embru'd with Royal Gore,/ A Crime Unknown to Pagans Heretofore'(11.8-9). If royalists found Rushworth's sins to be principally those of omission, Nalson leaves no doubts concerning his political views thanks to a highly partisan narrative which places the

materials he is presenting firmly in the context of a Cavalier version of history. He tends to rely more upon royal declarations and speeches than does Rushworth, which he sees as constituting self-evident proof of administrative intention and royal integrity. Perhaps most telling of all, however, is the author's decision--in spite of his predecessor's 'false accounts' and 'prevailing Detractions'--to focus his study on a period of time which commences where his rival's left off (i.e., 1640), rather than attempt to refute Rushworth's 'libels' directly or supply those missing documents which would clear up any misrepresentations.

And yet this choice of Nalson's may well represent something other than a simple refusal to support the allegations made against Rushworth in his introduction. It reflects a habit of response which--consciously or not--became the preferred Tory method of dealing with any question concerning the life, career, or identity of Charles Stuart. After 1681, with the Popish Plot followed by the escalating Exclusion Crisis and the repeated riots it inspired in London, complete with ritualised burnings of effigies of Cromwell or the Pope, and wild expressions of support for Monmouth--often at the expense of the Catholic Duke of York--it was still desirable to leave the ghost of the Royal Martyr undisturbed; but, in the wake of Rushworth, when this option proved impractical, the alternative required that, in pro-royalist literature, Charles should be confined as closely to the shadow of the scaffold as possible--a device which had served the clergy so well for so long.

It is difficult to define succinctly the significance of the period covering the last fifteen years of Charles II's reign to the development of the legend of Charles I. Certainly the abrupt departure from the Anglican orthodoxy which we see in the satirical poetry of the 1670s (where the stoical saint appears first as scourge, then as scoundrel) is not indicative of a widespread deterioration in the reputation of the late King, but more reflective of the growing dissatisfaction with Charles II. At the same time, the attempts by the Crown (or those closely aligned with it) to use the iconography of Charles to its advantage can be described as lacklustre at best, with the half-finished statue in Charing Cross an embarrassment to the bankrupt government, and the very brief discussion of the erection of a monument to the Royal Martyr generating little more than questions concerning why that had not been taken care of long ago. Actually, the serious attempts made during this period to re-introduce Charles into royalist propaganda (e.g., the commissioning of Nalson's texts, and the appearance of Charles in pro-government satires and popular ballads) were prompted by the political turbulence which plagued England from the winter of 1678/79 until the end of reign of Charles II. This marks the beginning of what was to become a discernible pattern, in which the Tory reticence on the subject of the martyred King gave way in times of crisis, when regicide could be a powerful weapon against the encroachments of the reformers/usurpers.

CHAPTER 5

POST-REVOLUTIONARY CHARLES:
THE REVOLT AGAINST THE LEGEND.

The next period of significant development in the mythology of Charles I begins around 1690, with the outpouring of literature which flowed in the aftermath of the Revolution of 1688/89. The reign of William and Mary was characterized by a greater freedom of the press than England had known for a long time, and two of the consequences of a more outspoken nonconformist faction were the explosion of the controversy over the authorship of the Eikon Basilike, and the beginning of the long-running debate over the wisdom of continuing the anniversary commemoration. The regicide and the story of the conflict which led to it continued to be a difficult subject for a great many, however, and the recent Revolution had merely exacerbated this, as all but the tiny minority of Jacobites and Non-jurors were loath to make the uncomfortable comparisons between 1649 and 1689. Mainstream Tories and Whigs, both implicated in the settlement of the new regime, were too prudent to summon such dangerous spirits lightly. But by the end of the decade, Charles would become something of a symbol for radical authors on both sides of the political spectrum, as the High Church faction within the Tory party began to use him as an emblem of the threat which they perceived a Whig government would always pose to Church and Crown, while John Toland and those who followed him came to identify the Cult of the Royal Martyr as the clearest example of the need for a more rational, demystified approach on the part of the English people toward their rulers and their political principles. I will explore these issues in this chapter, after a full--but I believe necessary--description of the political climate following the Revolution.

Charles II was barely cold before the nation found itself confronting the absolutism of his brother. The aggressive Catholicism of James II presented English Protestants with what was arguably a more tangible threat to their religious freedom than they had ever encountered from either his brother or his father, with the former's covert French alliances, and the alleged Papist leanings and Laudian 'reforms' of the latter. James succeeded in alienating almost everyone during his short reign, and appeared determined to establish quite clearly that he possessed none of that weakness, that 'yielding temper' which James himself felt '...had proven so dangerous to his brother and fatal to the King his father'.¹ When confronted with a monarch who combined an inability to tolerate any form of opposition with the old Stuart unwillingness to work with Parliament, interest groups normally separated by disparate religious beliefs, political views and economic needs, suddenly found themselves united by fears for their faith, property, and constitutional liberties. If they agreed on little else, the British people generally agreed--if not to actually participate in expelling James--at least to do nothing to obstruct his departure.

Consensus seems to have been short-lived. Though the ready acceptance of the throne by William of Orange and his wife Mary Stuart in one sense offered a most convenient escape from a very dangerous situation, this neat substitution presented analysts of all persuasions with the problems of explaining what exactly had happened in 1688 and what **should** happen as a result. Both Tories and Whigs were clearly implicated in the manoeuvring which led to James's deposition and--despite

its necessity--had trouble in justifying it: the Tories were at a loss as to how it should be explained for years afterward, while the Whigs were plagued by an embarrassment of interpretations.

Recent studies of the Revolution and the years immediately following it have noted that from the very outset, propagandists on both sides of the political debate were determined to work back from the conclusion that the changes wrought in '89 had been necessary. Few were willing to take on the messy task of genuinely challenging the assumptions of the Jacobite/Non-juror--those thorny and uncompromising principles of infeasible hereditary right of succession and the inviolability of the codes of non-resistance and passive obedience--but focused instead on the controversy over how best to justify those actions and the agents of those events whose vindication was nothing less than a foregone conclusion.² James II declared that he had been deposed, compelled to flee the country when faced with an invading army and the acquiescence of his subjects in an unlawful display of resistance to his royal authority. Having identified themselves as the party of monarchy, royal prerogative, and the importance of the subject's absolute obedience to his sovereign and his government, the Tories were forced to deny outright that any deposition of James, or indeed, any illegal use of force, had ever taken place, but that the King had effectively abdicated with his flight, and Mary had simply moved to accept the throne she had rightfully inherited. Whigs, too, had to be careful here, with the experience of the Exclusion Crisis and the memory of Tory propaganda identifying them as revolutionaries and potential

regicides still fresh in their minds. While they were more ready to admit that the transfer of power effected in 1688/89 had involved some resistance being offered to the King from his subjects, Whigs were careful to stress the extreme circumstances under which this course of action took place (i.e., that James's repeated and widespread encroachments upon the individual's fundamental liberties had absolved the subject from his traditional obligations of obedience and fidelity), and to deny the implication that 1688 had established any precedent sanctioning the public's right to exercise a power of deposition in the future.³

A number of historians in the last fifteen years have successfully challenged the traditional notion that the new king and queen were swept into power with the tenets of 'Whiggish' liberalism and Lockean principles of 'contractual' government ringing in their ears, and that the credibility of divine right monarchy set sail with James, with neither ever to return. Kenyon's analysis of the debates in Parliament reveals that while references to ideas similar to those we associate with Locke's (yet unpublished) Two Treatises of Government were made in the Commons during the interregnum between James's escape and the accession of the new rulers, during the course of conferring with an uneasy House of Lords these allusions to the existence of an 'Original Contract' between a monarch and his/her people, with its mutual responsibilities and rights, gradually grew fewer and fewer, until there is no mention of them whatsoever in the ambiguous draft of a joint statement on the matter--a Declaration of Right which was presented to William and Mary for their acceptance

prior to assuming power.⁴ This prudence was also reflected in the subsequent Whig pamphlet literature, which had also circulated some of the more radically liberal ideas concerning the constitutional foundations of government and monarchy in December and January when the throne was vacant. But as Kenyon points out, even the works of the radical authors--the Treatises of Locke, for one, Algernon Sidney's posthumous 'Discourses concerning Government' (1698), and Benjamin Hoadly's 'The Original and Institution of Civil Government Discussed' (1709)--actually reveal the persistent conservatism which continued to dominate English political thought at this time. All three authors felt compelled to devote half of their tracts to the refutation of absolutism epitomized by Robert Filmer's Patriarcha (1680), a work written during the 1640s but brought to light by the court of Charles II during the Exclusion Crisis because of its timely arguments for divinely-ordained monarchy and sacrosanct royal prerogative.⁵ Until recently historians had underestimated the impact of Filmer upon his contemporaries, and a growing number of scholars are inclined to see the lasting influence of patriarchalism as indicative of a more widespread, deeply-ingrained conservatism which was remarkably pervasive both inside Parliament and throughout the nation as a whole (a conclusion which some of their colleagues have also arrived at after studying the Restoration and the reign of Charles II).⁶

Gone, too, is the long-received truth that belief in divine right monarchy had expired neatly and permanently with James's authority in all but a few recalcitrant hearts. In retrospect, it seems curious that we could have assumed that a belief which had played such a vital role in shaping a nation's political,

philosophical, and religious ideas, could have been abandoned overnight. J. C. D. Clark argues very persuasively that, far from being rendered suddenly irrelevant by the events which culminated in February 1689, the doctrine continued to function as a major feature in political debate until the early years of the Hanoverian Dynasty, and survived as an important characteristic of religious thought and cultural identity until well into the latter half of the nineteenth century. Of course, it provided the philosophical platform from which Jacobites and Non-jurors championed the descent of the title to the Crown by indefeasible hereditary right alone, but also remained a recurring theme for the overwhelming majority of the Anglican clergy.⁷ In fact, the doctrine of divine right kingship was so well entrenched, within and without the Church, that all but the most marginalized of republican radicals were forced to express themselves in terms which were compatible with the vision of a king who was answerable--most of the time--to the Almighty alone. Surely it was an awareness of the general strength of this belief, coupled with the politicians' knowledge that they were wholly committed to ensuring the future safety of the Church of England and had to be seen to be so, which helped to reduce much of the rhetoric concerning the Revolution of both Whigs and Tories during the 1690s to such confused and ineffective exercises. The Whigs were left struggling to minimize any specific discussions of 'Original Contract' and to avoid identifying the circumstances under which a future king could face justifiable opposition. References to Locke and 'Lockean' radicalism were eliminated as authors resorted to what Kenyon has accurately described as the 'blunderbuss technique', whereby

the advocate bombards his reader/listener with every argument he can lay his hands on, in the hope that one of them will serve.⁸ The Tories fared even worse, trying frantically to transform the current distinctions of de jure/de facto kingship into something they could believe in, while insisting upon a version of history--that James had abdicated without coercion--which made them sound ridiculous.

At this time when the Church had established herself as 'the most effective apologist for government policy and royalist political theory',⁹ while necessity seemed to insist that she become more adept at using old ideas to justify some radical innovations, the figure of Charles I comes to assume an unexpected and peculiar kind of significance. Much of this is due to the institution of the anniversary commemoration, which regularly forced the clergy to summon up the ghost of the Royal Martyr, of course, but also placed Charles directly in the thick of the political fray. The tenets of non-resistance and passive obedience--which with indefeasible hereditary right formed the three great pillars upon which the ponderous structure of divine right monarchy rested--were not only hammered into the minds of the faithful through the texts of the prayers and readings, but had been the traditional themes of the sermons which thundered forth from pulpits on this date throughout the land during the reign of Charles II (and which now were a requisite part of the service as modified in 1685 in accordance with James's instructions).¹⁰ Clergymen throughout Britain were obliged to continue to deliver this message, to uphold these principles which were so difficult to discard because they were at once so ancient and so familiar, and yet which--if

they were valid-- served as an annual rebuke to the Church, her bishops, her clergy, and anyone else in and outside government who had sworn allegiance to the new King and Queen. It was a duty which some of the more zealous Jacobite clergy may have welcomed, but it filled many of their brethren with anxiety and acute embarrassment.

Besides requiring the clergy to reconcile recent and controversial events with the old political theories, the 30th of January obviously presented them with the problem of using the story of Charles to illustrate the anticipated lesson on the obligations and responsibilities of the dutiful subject.¹¹ The thought of comparing the circumstances of the Great Rebellion with those of the Glorious Revolution was one from which most authors fled.¹² Only those extremists closest to the poles of the political spectrum (i.e., republicans and militant Jacobites) could dare to confront the obvious similarities in either the administrative practices of, or, the less-than-gentle treatment received by, these two unfortunate monarchs.¹³ The idea that any parallel should be drawn between the cases of the King they themselves had so openly canonized, and the son against whom they had conspired, was too abhorrent for the overwhelming number of Tories to contemplate. As far as the Church is concerned, one way in which this kind of pressure manifests itself in the surviving sermons of 30th of January is through a retreat on the part of the high-flying clergy--not in any sense away from an enthusiastic defence of the Royal Martyr's sanctity--but, with some, back toward a reliance on the emotive conventions afforded by extensive comparisons between Charles and the heroes of the Old Testament, and Christ in the

The Whigs were just as eager that all the slanderous suggestions equating them with the regicides and Commonwealthmen of old should not be proved true at last. And despite the fact that many who had been eager to settle old scores with the previous Royalist administrations were suddenly confronted with the relative freedom from constraint and a new sense of opportunity--either for reform or personal gain--very few ventured so far as to make the dangerous connection between '49 and '89 which could shatter the obviously fragile coalition. A good illustration of the sensitivity of this subject matter is found in a contemporary pamphlet of Daniel Defoe, who in 1689 was a young man of twenty-eight, and who was apparently so possessed by the feelings of relief and exuberance at the departure of James and [he assumed] authoritarian oppression, that he joined the regiment of horse which rode out to greet the Prince of Orange at Henley and escort him into London.¹⁵ Here in 'Reflections upon the Late Great Revolution' Defoe also characteristically rushes in where angels feared to tread, though in this case with a sense of prudence which he seldom exhibited in later life.

...certainly no body that can either consider, or compare, can think the cases of 1648 and 1688 Parallel. For the great (I had almost said the only) fault of that good king, and true Martyr, was his complying too much with his People, (and yielding that to their importunity which both Law and Conscience told him he should not have consented to) a fault that I dare say his son James would never have been guilty of...Whoever will please to compare the Cases, will find full as great difference between the Causes, as the Persons. For in the former, it was the most open and notorious Rebellion that was ever recorded in Story; whereas all the Fault that the generality of the English can now be charged with is (if it be a Fault) the Complying with the Necessity that King James himself laid on them, of submitting to the Power he left in

Possession.¹⁶

Later in his career Defoe would express very different views on this topic, as I shall demonstrate in the next chapter. Here I would suggest that the nature of the subject matter is so sensitive in the years from 1689 to 1692-93 as to drive a brash young Defoe--as yet untamed by his future experiences with prison, pillory, and the patronage of Robert Harley--to a politic conclusion and one which he would utterly renounce within ten years.

Although the number of surviving works published immediately after the Revolution in which Charles becomes an issue are relatively few, when they did appear they seem to have created quite a storm. One of these was the publication in 1690 of John Milton's Eikonoklastes, only the third edition to appear in English, and the first since 1650. As the work of the most infamous of the 'regicides' (with the exceptions perhaps of Cromwell and Bradshaw--who had worked to bring about the execution rather than merely justifying it), and itself a detailed refutation of the Eikon Basilike, this tract when it made a reappearance might have caused a significant stir regardless of any inclusion of new material. However, its anonymous editor added to the text a printed copy of what came to be known as the Anglesey Memorandum: a note written by Arthur Annesley (first Earl of Anglesey and former Keeper of the Privy Seal under Charles II) into his copy of the Eikon Basilike, in which he alleges that both Charles II and the Duke of York admitted to him that John Gauden was the true author of the 'King's Book'. The conversation took place in 1675, and this record of it was discovered by an auctioneer during the sale

of the late Earl's library in October 1686. The manuscript note must have been copied before being torn from the book and forwarded to Whitehall, where it disappeared. Its publication in Eikonoklastes touched off an explosive controversy over the authorship which raged throughout the decade, almost to the exclusion of all other discussion concerning Charles.

Because much of this literature concentrates on the scrutiny of the testimonies of minor witnesses and the exchange of questions over personal qualifications between combatants, I shall not recount the details of the controversy here,¹⁷ except to note that a reply refuting this claim for Gauden appeared almost immediately with Samuel Keble's 'Restitution to the Royal Author...' (May 1691), and that no less than a dozen more works on the subject would appear during the next two years.¹⁸ On the whole (and notwithstanding the genuine anger and outrage expressed by many) the issue seemed to offer a welcome diversion from the stonier ground of contemporary party politics, and it is interesting to see how passionately these clergymen clung to the idea that the Eikon was Charles's. They were obviously devoted to the image of the pious, patient, self-sacrificing martyr which is presented in that book, and equated any doubts about authenticity with the basest form of insult to their Master, as though any duplicity in the matter had to be laid directly at Charles's door.

The other outstanding example of radical polemic concerning Charles appeared in 1691 under the name of a famous republican and signatory of the King's death warrant, rendered all the more controversial because he was still alive and unpunished and--for a brief time very recently--present on English soil.

'A Letter from Major-General Ludlow to Sir E[dward] S[eymour]...', which falsely used the old soldier's name (and the Amsterdam imprint), was highly inflammatory and probably intentionally so, as the rest of the title would indicate: '...Comparing the Tyranny of the First Four Years of King Charles the Martyr with the Tyranny of the Four Years Reign of the Late Abdicated King'. Ludlow was detested (and revered) for his political views, and had become something of an inspirational symbol for those radicals who remembered him as a loyal republican who had risked all for the Good Old Cause and who had remained true to his principles of Parliamentary government, opposing Cromwell and the idea of the Protectorate as staunchly as he had resisted the tyranny of absolute monarchy. The provocative use of Ludlow's name was complemented perfectly by addressing the 'letter' to Seymour, who was an MP since 1661 and Speaker of the Commons from 1673 until 1679; a staunch Tory and High Churchman; a fixture in the court of Charles II, presently a member of the Privy Council and treasurer of the navy, who nonetheless greeted William of Orange at Exeter before the Prince marched on to meet James II; a master in the pursuit of self-interest, who called for Ludlow's arrest in 1689 when the latter returned briefly from his exile, and who headed a deputation organized to bring this about, no doubt motivated by the fact that the Crown had rewarded Seymour with lands and properties derived from Ludlow's confiscated estate.¹⁹

No one can be sure who was the author of the Ludlow letter, though two names which have been suggested are Slingsby Bethel (onetime sheriff of London and key radical figure in Shaftesbury's early Whig party) and also the notorious Whig

polemicist and Deist John Toland, on the basis of work attributable to him which appeared at the end of the decade.²⁰ As I will demonstrate later, the straightforward declaration of a controversial thesis--such as we find in the Ludlow tract--is stylistically consistent with Toland's work, and the thesis itself is one of which Toland would have been proud: to demonstrate 'That King Charles the First did equal (I might justly say transcend) his son (whom ye have deservedly Abdicated) in all his acts of Tyranny'. Whoever the author was, he or she mounts an attack on Charles's public and private personas, relying on Rushworth's first Historical Collections (1659) to resurrect the old rumours that Charles and Buckingham had murdered James I, and that while negotiating the agreement leading to his marriage with Henrietta Maria--and then under her dominating influence throughout his reign--he continually exposed himself and the country to the creeping corruption of Popery. He makes specific accusations regarding the abuses which characterized the years of Charles's 'personal rule', reciting a litany of offences including the imposition of ship-money and forced loans, the exploitation of the judiciary, and his supine collusion with a grasping episcopate. In short, he attempts to drive home the point that Charles was every bit the threat to his subjects' peace and happiness that James II had been, for 'he took our Goods against our wills, and our Liberties against our Laws,...plucking up the root of all Property'.²¹

In retrospect, we can now see that the Ludlow Letter served as a prospectus for the kinds of challenges which the determined admirers of Charles I were destined to face with sporadic

intensity over the next twenty to twenty-five years. As I have shown, it contained a crude form of historical reappraisal, with the harsh, highly partisan criticism of Charles's rule which featured references to specific policies and actual events, and also claimed to be grounded on the solid foundation of reputable historical studies. It expressed serious doubts about Charles's authorship of the Eikon Basilike, and went on to question the efficacy of the commemoration of the anniversary, referring to it as the 'General Madding-Day', during which it had long been the custom for many 'lewd Harangues' to be delivered in the name of Christianity. And finally, it revealed a sense of irreverence in its attitude toward Charles which one feels had been long-suppressed, allowing an impertinent, mocking tone to break through after the many years of patient silence and frustration which the successive Stuart reigns had demanded. We see an example of this in the section which features the attack on Edward Pelling and his vituperative fast-day sermons. Seizing on a phrase from Pelling's effort for 30 January 1690, in which the clergyman assured his congregation that 'his most noble Martyr "Being Dead Yet Speaketh"', and somehow connecting this in his mind (with help from Rushworth) with the King's admonishment to Parliament to 'Remember that Parliaments are altogether in my Power; therefore as I have the Fruits of them, good or evil, They are to continue, or not to be', the author inserts tongue firmly in cheek to deliver what is actually a very serious message about Charles and the fate awaiting all overconfident kings who might regard Parliaments as things created for their own personal convenience.

I do put in a request to him [Pelling], on behalf of

the Commons of England, that he would oblige them upon the next Madding-Day in letting them know what his 'Matchless Saint' now speaks, and in particular what he says about their Right to Annual Parliaments, for 'tis to be hoped that by this Time, if he be kept apart from Archbishop Laud, he may²² be set right in this great point of English Parliament.

The portrait of Charles which emerges here is one of a proud fool, undone by his exalted estimate of his own power; of a King so priest-ridden that he is dominated by his Archbishop after death; of a 'saint' who is as prone to error and uncertainty in the next life as he was in this one. There is a sarcastic quality in the tone, a sense of relief mingled with the scorn, and more than a trace of the triumphancy of one long accustomed to the role of the loser, who suddenly and quite improbably finds him or herself a 'winner' and cannot resist the opportunity to gloat. The irony with which the author introduces his postscript--a side-by-side printing of one of Charles's alleged meditations from the Eikon and the identically-worded 'Pamela's Prayer' from Sidney's Arcadia--as proof that 'though King Charles hated nothing more than to Govern by Precedent, yet he would not pray without it',²³ foreshadows the work of satirists and revisionist historians at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and with them the rapidly-approaching end of the era in which the image of the Royal Martyr had enjoyed the status of an Anglican sacred cow.

In the early 1690s the Ludlow letter was certainly to be regarded as an aberration, but both the content and manner of the assault on the image of the sainted figure--along with the rites and sacred texts which helped to sanctify the shrine--had angered and alarmed those Churchmen who saw this as the latest threat to English Protestantism and the Anglican establishment

in particular.

Dr. Richard Hollingworth of St. Botolph's, Aldgate, the son of Presbyterian parents who became a High Church Anglican and one of the chaplains to the King, leapt to Charles's defence and became the self-appointed champion of the idea of the royal authenticity of the Eikon Basilike, generating no less than four works in a twelve month period commencing in the spring of 1692 devoted in whole or in part to refuting the arguments favouring Gauden's claim.²⁴ In his first contribution to the debate, 'A Defence of King Charles I' (which quickly ran to three editions), Hollingworth limited his response to the 'libels' concerning the Eikon to a postscript, concentrating instead upon 'Ludlow's' aspersions against Charles's conduct during his reign and his ability to govern justly. It is interesting to note that the author makes a perfunctory attempt at acknowledging the existence of mistakes on the part of government during the Martyr's reign. With a sweeping concession on the dubious merits of the levying of ship-money, the wisdom of complying with Parliament's demands regarding the Triennial Bill, and the excesses practised by the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission, Hollingworth was hoping to demonstrate his own conscientiousness and impartiality, and these indiscretions were quickly attributed to the King's ministers.²⁵ Even this kind of admission, however, is rare in the contemporary compositions of a High Churchman, and it is remarkable that Hollingworth felt it was advisable to make this pretence of moderation. Certainly the portrait of Charles which emerges from the body of Hollingworth's writings was derived from the hagiographic representations of the Royal Martyr which abounded

in the wake of 1649, returned with monarchy in the 1660s, and which were themselves hugely indebted to the Eikon Basilike.

By 1693 the torch had passed from Hollingworth to Thomas Wagstaffe, the Non-juror clergyman whom the exiled James had newly appointed the 'shadow' bishop of Ipswich. Wagstaffe would defend the King's authorship of the Eikon Basilike with considerable energy and success right up until the year before his death in 1712.²⁶ Meanwhile those who had become disenchanted with the commemoration of the anniversary began to grow more vocal. This was not a new issue, for in 1691 in the Ludlow letter the author had christened the 30th of January 'the General Madding-Day', a name which gained currency over the next twenty-five years. He also expressed his contempt for the anniversary sermon as it had evolved since 1661, with its tendency to '...paint forth King Charles the First more like a God than a Man, talking of him at this rate,...[as] that Great Monarch and Martyr, of whom the World was not worthy,...that Mirror of Princes,..."the Wonder of Ages"', etc.²⁷ However, opposition to the fast day and/or the manner in which it was kept may have surfaced much earlier. Gilbert Burnet in his sermon on 30 January 1681 began with a lengthy justification of the appropriateness of the continued observance of the anniversary by establishing the existence of parallel rituals of annual mourning and fasting undertaken by the Jews in captivity which continued long after their affliction had ended (2 Kings 7:5; 2 Kings 21: 1-25). The explanation suggests that Burnet was responding to specific criticism of the holy day (though as far as I know, nothing in print has survived)--and it is interesting to note that Burnet begs off describing Charles

as being 'a task beyond my strength', and pointless after so many had portrayed him already, but adding that perhaps '...the strains of panegyrick do not agree so well with the solemnities of a fast'.²⁸

At any rate, in 1694 the wisdom of perpetuating the observance of the anniversary began to be challenged openly. In that year an author identified only as 'J. G. G.' stated his case for the radical modification if not the outright abolition of the anniversary in a tract entitled 'Some Observations upon the Keeping [of] the Thirtieth of January...'. In this work he is quick to establish the political correctness of his own views concerning the actual act of regicide, announcing, 'I agree, the Fact was an horrid Murther, execrable, as black as Words can make it...', though he goes on to add that forty-five years was enough time through which the guilty should suffer for it. The basic themes of the tract are relatively mild and as apolitical as the author can make them in the seventeenth century; he insists that the anniversary--or the way in which it was most often observed--was doing profound harm to the Protestant sensibilities of the churchmen/women who were meant to benefit from it. He sees it as fostering a dangerous kind of superstition in the people which was so similar to Popery--and one which manifested itself in this case of Charles I in the magical powers which his admirers were eager to attribute to handkerchiefs stained with his blood. In deploring the tendency which reduced these sermons to little more than exercises in blasphemy and idolatry, he is, of course, reiterating the main themes of Eikonoklastes, and even goes so far as to offer Hollingworth and his colleagues the Miltonic

rebuke of charging that they have misguidedly elevated the Eikon Basilike to the level of a sacred text through the excessively passionate manner in which they had contested the issue of Charles's authorship. In fact, it is obvious from the tract that its author had read Eikonoklastes and incorporated some of Milton's arguments into his own text,²⁹ and although the author can only go so far as to mention the regicidal Secretary of Foreign Tongues in the form of a backhanded recommendation (as one whose views on the authorship of Eikon--while less palatably expressed than the similar scepticism of Gauden's curate--were not necessarily invalid), even this, along with the material which appeared at the end of the decade, testifies to the growing influence of Milton's prose.³⁰

Except for the vigor with which the author discusses the recent literature pertaining to the Eikon, 'Observations' is most notable for the manner in which he flirts with acknowledging the validity of some of the existing criticisms of the King's rule. Initially the author feels compelled to question the official recognition of Charles's death as a martyrdom, but unlike Milton undertakes to do this in a way which will not offend:

...it is not the **Manner**, but the Cause of Death makes one a Martyr...but for us, the Martyr who suffers for the Testimony of the Lord Jesus, he is the True Martyr... for the sake of Christ, for his Person, for his Attributes, for his Offices, for his Faith...But for Charles I, he must be a Saint and Martyr of new coining, but rather no Martyr among true Christians...

The author is struggling to make the point that Charles was killed for political reasons, not religious ones, and he is visibly uncomfortable in moving from the discussion of the purely spiritual to the temporal, historical context of personalities

and specific events. He does, however, press on.

Let those who took away his Life be as wicked as can be imagined, [yet they were not professed Infidels]... his being a Christian was not the Cause or Pretence of his being put to Death, the Pretence was, (how true or false I dive not into it) his following evil Council, encroaching upon Liberties, carrying on Designs for Arbitrariness, casting into Prison Men for refusing to lend him Money, raising Money without Parliament, as in the case of Ship-Money, for designing to bring in Popery, and such other Things as the Whole Nation knows...³¹

Through means of the parenthetical disclaimer we are informed that these crimes are not necessarily attributed to Charles by the author: only that their association with the King was enough to bring about his death. However, the length of the litany of alleged transgressions alone--not to mention the failure to dismiss them instantaneously as obvious libels--would have been enough to arouse both the suspicions and anger of the high-flying members of the Church.

These tracts, which suggest sincere but somewhat cautiously-expressed doubts about the usefulness of the anniversary and the development of aspects of royal history,³² contrast dramatically with Thomas Comber's defence of the state holy-days. The Dean of Durham published 'A Discourse on the Offices for the... Thirtieth of January' (1696), a pamphlet defending the institution of the anniversary service in terms every bit as vitriolic as the worst of the sermons he was justifying. In a blistering attack on the regicides and all those who collaborated in that heinous crime through their inactivity, Comber uses phrases which encouraged easy connection between the rebels of long ago and those who might be arguing for a new understanding of a constitutional government authorized by popular consent. His descriptions of the usurpers as

'Demagogues soured with evil Principles', and as a 'bold Rabble...[who] broke Religion into so many petty and ridiculous Sects,...the Dunghills and Dregs of the People (who are commonly the worst of Oppressors)', who sacrificed a nation to their own envies and ambitions, seem calculated to tar both the Dissenters and Whig extremists with the old brushes of patricide and anarchism.³³ But actually Comber was an enthusiastic supporter of the Revolution and a vocal advocate for the new King and Queen. His High-Church opposition to William's efforts to secure toleration of Dissenters and religious comprehension, and a belief that the nation's interests were better protected by a Crown with strong powers of prerogative than by the supremacy of a wholly independent Parliament, did not prevent him from proclaiming the necessity of '89 or affirming both the legitimacy and justness of William's rule.³⁴

In 1696 Comber was writing on the eve of an Anglican revival which in the new century would ultimately see large numbers of the High Church extremists absorbed into the mainstream of the Tory party. The reversal of Anglican fortunes occurred after a series of setbacks which had begun almost as soon as England's new rulers had accepted Parliament's Declaration of Right. As early as February 1689 William's fervent Dutch Calvinism had motivated the first of his multiple (and bitterly resented) efforts to push through Parliament legislation securing liberal terms of comprehension for the majority of English Protestants, and toleration for the rest. By the mid-1690s an explosion in the number of dissenting conventicles and meeting houses had taken place, now that these alternative places of worship were protected by the government for the price of a

license and an oath of loyalty to the current administration. In addition to this prospect of legitimate competition, the Church faced a more insidious threat in the form of crippling levels of taxation imposed upon the ordinary parish clergy--rates which by 1697 demanded between twenty-five to thirty-three per cent of the modest income of the average country parson, and which reduced a significant proportion of them to a bleak existence.³⁵

Against this kind of backdrop, the impact made by the mere criticism of Church ritual may be thought to have been very small indeed, but the offensives against the 30th of January and the Eikon Basilike--those assaults upon the honour and integrity of the Church's self-proclaimed Champion--must have been taken for menaces pointing toward the existence of a much larger, more sinister design. Hollingworth, Wagstaffe, Comber and others felt they were defending more than the King's Book, his anniversary, or even the reputation of Charles I, but the Anglican faith itself. Their writings in defence of those very texts and rituals which the Church herself seemed to cherish as being quintessentially 'Anglican' must have helped to fuel the movement which propelled the High Church party and a defiant Church of England back into the centre of English politics.

If Anglican Tories felt particularly embattled in the latter half of the 1690s, a substantial number of Whigs also deemed themselves to have been marginalized during the years of the Whig ascendancy from 1695 to 1700. William's disaffection towards the Tories in 1695 ushered in Sunderland and the Whig Junto, but the small group ensconced at Court and wielding oligarchic powers appeared to betray the 'Revolution principles'

which the Whig party had espoused. Out of these disgruntled Whigs and embittered Tories Robert Harley was able to fashion a loosely-bound, bipartisan 'Country' or opposition coalition which dogged the government's every move after 1695. But even in this atmosphere the voice of Whig radicalism was effectively suppressed,³⁶ as 'Court' Whigs disowned the notions of political reform which had looked so attractive before they entered government, and those orchestrating the opposition's campaign could not afford to have the rhetoric of republican political theory, or Commonwealth revisionist history, breaking up a fragile centrist alliance.

Between 1698 and 1700 this code of silence was shattered by a series of works which were arguably from the pen of a single author. At a time when few dared to handle such volatile themes, John Toland vaunted his willingness to share his views (or edit the worthy opinions of others) on such taboo subjects as: republicanism; the need for structural and doctrinal reform in the Church of England; the similarities in temperament, government, and denouement between Charles I and James II; and the anachronistic irrelevance of the mythology of the Royal Martyr.

Toland was a maverick who had learned at a very early age how to challenge authority, and how to survive outside society's 'mainstream'. Born in Londonderry in 1660, probably the illegitimate son of a Catholic priest, Toland grew up in a Catholic community but had converted to Protestantism by the age of fourteen. An eager student who soon attracted attention with the quality of his scholarship, Toland won sponsorship for his studies in Glasgow and then Edinburgh (where he was

awarded an M.A. in 1690) before winning a scholarship which enabled him to study at the universities of Utrecht and Leiden from the summer of 1692 to the following summer. Here he enjoyed the liberalism of the academic regime and developed a lasting admiration of the Dutch for the intellectual freedom and generous toleration with which they seemed to approach the subject of religion. And it was here in the Netherlands that he made his first contacts with members of John Locke's intellectual and social circles--men like Jean Le Clerc and Philip Van Limborch, with whom Toland was to remain in contact after returning to England and arriving at Oxford in the autumn of 1693, where he found another prominent Whig patron in White Kennett, future Bishop of Peterborough.³⁷

Toland had already earned himself a reputation for intellectual pride and flamboyant recklessness during his short stay at Oxford, where he was remembered for burning the Book of Common Prayer and indulging a lifelong-passion for imprudent coffeehouse/tavern conversation (a penchant which allowed others to hear him 'condemning' the Bible, denouncing monarchy, and 'justifying the murder of Charles I').³⁸ His rashness first attracted national attention in December 1695 with the appearance of 'Christianity not Mysterious', an anonymously published tract which was 'universally' regarded as heretical for its unorthodox suggestions concerning the impersonal nature of God, the existence of the Trinity, and true identity of Christ (and for which its author was labelled a Unitarian, Socinian, Deist, etc., by various readers).³⁹ Although the Licensing Act had been permitted to lapse earlier that same year, the tract was considered to be so offensive that when Toland could not resist

broadcasting his identity as its author during the following summer he found himself the target of such hatred that it was necessary for some Whig friends at Court to secure him a position in the office of the chancellor of Ireland, and necessary again for him to flee Dublin in turn in the autumn of that year when his notoriety caught up with him and he was threatened with prosecution there.⁴⁰

Remarkably enough, Toland arrived back in England relatively unchastened by his experiences, for he immediately began preparing other material for the press which would prevent the storm of controversy from blowing itself out. In 1698 he edited Milton's prose works, to which he had prefixed a laudatory biography. He could well have been responsible for getting two more Commonwealthmen into print, as the reputed editor of Algernon Sidney's 'Discourses concerning Government', and the editor--if not the author--of The Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, both of which also appeared in 1698.⁴¹ The following year his Life of John Milton was re-published with 'Amyntor', a defence of his opinions concerning the authorship of the Eikon Basilike and a clarification of his allegations concerning the history of the canon of sayings attributed to Jesus Christ. In 1699 Toland also edited The Memoirs of Denzil Holles, the noted Parliamentarian and one of the 'birds' whom Charles was hoping to cage when he invaded the Commons to disastrous effect in January 1642. And then in 1700 (with surreptitious encouragement from Harley) he brought out an edition of James Harrington's works, including his republican manifesto 'Oceana'.

Blair Worden has demonstrated from the surviving fragment of the original manuscript that whoever edited Ludlow's Memoirs

(and he argues persuasively for Toland) carried out a full-scale revision of the text, eliminating all but the barest trace of the zealous millenarian whose literary style had relied so heavily on Biblical quotation and allusion, and who routinely attributed everything to the workings of Providence.⁴² Whether Toland played a part in the production of the Memoirs or not, its appearance in 1698 is significant in the history of the image of Charles I, representing the first major non-Royalist treatment of the Civil War years to be published since the Interregnum (including Rushworth's Collections, the last volume of which would not be published until 1701, and which were devoid of a forceful, interpretative narrative anyway). Ludlow died in 1692, and C. H. Firth believed he had written the Memoirs while in exile sometime between 1662 and 1674. It reads from start to finish as a justification of the Good Old Cause, and as such deals harshly with any of its opponents, abhorring the military dictatorship of the Protectorate as vehemently as the absolute monarchy which it ultimately superseded. The author reduced the great conflict to a single, straightforward consideration which certainly has a Tolandesque ring to it:

The question in dispute between the King's party and us, being, as I apprehended, whether the King should govern as a god by his will, and the nation be governed by force like beasts: or whether the people should be governed by laws made by themselves, and live under a government derived from their own consent.

I, p. 206.

The Charles Stuart of Ludlow's history is a tyrant and apostate to the true Christian faith. In five tightly-packed pages the author prefaces his narration of rebellion, interregnum, and restoration with an account of the King's reign before 1639, in which he bombards the anxious Royalist reader

with details concerning Charles's misdeeds (as did the original Ludlow pamphlet in 1691), and on the whole resurrects a couple of interesting points which those writing afterwards were careful to include. The author alludes to the serious damage done to the Royalist cause by the publication of the letters between King and Queen which were seized at Naseby, a subject routinely glossed over in Royalist literature since the event occurred, and in the pages devoted to a summary of the injustices inflicted during Charles's reign a quarter of that space is lavished upon an account of the Rochelle debacle, whereby England established her lack of commitment to the plight of beleaguered Protestants on the Continent.⁴³ The overwhelming impression of Charles conveyed in the work is that of a very deceitful man whose dealings with his fellow creatures unmistakably reveal him to be bereft of any sense of honour or integrity--a portrait which represents the complete antithesis of that image which is projected in the Eikon. Predictably the book provoked (alone or in concert) some loud and impassioned denials, with at least two long works intended to repair the reputation of Charles, and a third designed to vindicate Cromwell.⁴⁴

The Ludlow Memoirs is memorable because it presents an undiluted if less-than-comprehensive version of the events and circumstances surrounding the Great Rebellion from an uncompromisingly anti-Royalist perspective; however, the picture of Charles it communicates was a facsimile of the 'Man of Blood' which can be found in various publications of the Parliamentary press between 1648 and 1652.⁴⁵ New ground was broken in 1698 in Toland's companion pieces--his Life of John Milton and six months later with 'Amyntor' in March 1699.

As far as the image of Charles I is concerned, 'Amyntor' is much the more important of the two. The Life is remembered by literary historians as a milestone on Milton's road to redemption. In the course of lionizing the Commonwealth's Apologist Toland applauds Milton's performance in Eikonoklastes, repeats the old claims for Gauden's authorship of the Eikon, and likens the enthusiasm with which the English allowed themselves to be duped into believing the Eikon to be Charles's book to the gullibility of earlier generations of Christians who accepted many forged texts as the authentic teachings of Jesus. His only truly notable reference to Charles in this first work takes the form of a curious suggestion concerning the nature of the King's religious faith, in which Toland claims that the Royal Martyr's closest associates suspected '...that he [Charles] was really of neither Church [Papist or Anglican], but believed the pretences of both to be credulity or craft, and that the transactions of his last minutes were only the effects of a weak mind in a distempered body'. Though the events of ten years before had made it possible for others (as we have seen) to reiterate the rumours of Charles's Catholicism or even to question whether his death was indeed a martyrdom, this is the first suggestion that Charles withheld his allegiance from any organized religious denomination. It is a difficult observation to explain, for even if Kenyon goes too far in identifying this revelation as Toland's attempt to claim Charles as a Deist,⁴⁶ it does seem that in an effort to cut through the sentimental cloud which he felt had obscured the historical scene which transpired upon that scaffold before the Banqueting House, Toland appears to have appropriated the King to swell

the ranks of the Dissenters. It gives Charles credit for the kind of independence of mind which Toland himself valued so highly. I am not aware of another instance in Toland's works where the author expresses a wish to stand so near to the King.

'Amyntor' was written in response to a sermon of Offspring Blackall's preached to the Commons on the 30th of January and subsequently published, in which he upheld the authenticity of the Eikon and declared Toland's views on God and scripture to be atheistical. He had understood Toland's mention of some fraudulent works which had been attributed to Christ to be a heretical reference to the four received Gospels.⁴⁷ Toland moved quickly to deny that this was what he had meant. His haste may have been due to an awareness that the last convicted heretic to be burned at the stake in Britain was a young medical student executed in Edinburgh as recently as 1697 for blasphemies against the Trinity and the Bible (crimes which many thought Toland already guilty of before the publication of Milton's Life).⁴⁸ On the other hand, the chance to embarrass Blackall may have proved enough motivation, and either way, Toland's choice of title is certainly cheeky, as Amyntor is identified in Greek mythology as the father of Phoenix. Anyway, Toland was able to clear himself of this suspicion (and expose Blackall's alleged ignorance of scriptural history) by including in the tract a long catalogue of titles which 'in primitive times' had been naively attributed to Christ, the Virgin Mary, Judas Iscariot, and even Eve. Almost half of 'Amyntor', however, was devoted to the 'complete history' of the Eikon Basilike, which provided Toland with a vehicle for some very perceptive commentary on Charles and the phenomenon of the Cult which his

death and this unusual book had inspired.

One of the most striking aspects of Toland's treatment of Charles in 'Amyntor' concerns the triumph of his tone, which tended to be a calm, dispassionate review of his royal subject, and contrasts sharply with the bitter harangues and frenzied protestations characterizing the literary contributions of the High Church supporters. Of course, some of these displays of mild temperament were only so much strategic manoeuvring--adopting the sound and posture of a Moderate Man to highlight the violence which charged the emotional discourse of the Tory extremists. We see a good example in Toland's response to Blackall's charges that he had disparaged 'a modern Saint' by doubting the authenticity of 'that excellent book [which] will...be an everlasting evidence of his profiting under his sufferings to after ages'.

Whether this book was compos'd by himself is our business at present to enquire, and shall be quickly determined: for as to his improving by his sufferings I will not deny what I hope, and charity commands me to believe...⁴⁹

In the best tradition of eighteenth-century political polemic, Toland sets himself above the fray of party wrangling and claims a philosopher's desire to see truth made known for its own sake.

...I have not undertaken this work [reviewing the case of the Eikon's authorship] out of affection or opposition to any party, nor to reflect on the memory of that unfortunate prince, whose officious friends are much more concern'd; but, to clear myself from a public charge, and to discover a pious fraud, which deserves not to be exempted [sic] from censure for being the contrivance of a modern bishop, no more than those of the ancient fathers of the Church.

pp. 201-02

Like any true party propagandist, Toland is seldom more partisan than when he is claiming impartiality. There is no doubt, however, that while clothed in the garb of detached sage

Toland does indeed contribute some insights which had eluded preceding commentators for fifty years. To my knowledge, he is the first to separate the issue of the forgery of the Eikon Basilike from the question of the King's integrity. Until now, no Anglican royalist seemed capable of handling the questions of Gauden's authorial role or the obvious plagiarism of the 'Pamela prayer' without implicitly equating the inquiries with slurs on Charles's honour, as though he had to be thought responsible for the way the Eikon was marketed, or for any material which was first appended to the text in the twenty-second edition. And yet neither does Toland liken Charles's failure to participate in this fraud to blameless innocency, for although at first glance he seems to be asserting an hypothesis which offers Charles an escape through the old route of bungling friends or malevolent advisors, in actuality Toland presents Charles as posthumous dupe, and insists that his version of the Eikon's history serves as a logical epilogue to Charles's own story, perfectly consistent with the way he obviously lived and ruled.

There was never any poor prince more notoriously abus'd by many of those he took for his best friends than Charles the First. They put him on all those unhappy measures which prov'd his ruin in the end. And as they made use of his temper to serve their own purposes when he was alive, so they did of his name for the same reason after his death. They were not concern'd so much for his honour, as their own interest; and having contriv'd this forgery to carry their cause, they thought themselves afterwards oblig'd to support it.

p. 209

There is a certain amount of coyness involved in this approach, for later in the tract the author is only too willing to place responsibility for the blackest injustices of his reign firmly on the King's headless shoulders. Here, though, the Eikon is

presented as a living monument to the ministerings of an army of courtly parasites, who used the King's Book and the other aspects of the mythology which sprang up from the circumstances surrounding his death to fill their own plates--in 1689 as well as in 1649.

Careful study of 'Amyntor', however, reveals that many of Toland's opinions regarding Charles and his relationship with the Eikon were not very original in nature. In fact, Toland seems heavily indebted to Eikonoklastes for many of his ideas, but part of his achievement in the tract lies in his ability to eliminate the splenetic strain which so often crept into Milton's voice and rendered his prose less effective. Here, for example, we see Toland communicate the kind of scepticism which Milton had expressed concerning the folly of taking the pious tone of the Eikon text as a mark of its royal authenticity, when it was obviously that very tone which lay at the heart of the book's success with the public, and won it what Milton described as a 'worthles approbation of an inconstant, irrational, and Image-doting Rabble'.⁵⁰

As for the plausible accounts given in that book of the King's secret intentions, his particular troubles, his remorse of conscience...it is very ridiculous to alledge 'em as an argument of authenticity, when the book was written for that very end. For the design of the author was to give such a colour to all the King's actions, and to tell such fine things of his gracious purposes, as would beget a better opinion of him in the reader's mind and move his indignation against the parliament, or compassion of his misfortunes.

p. 210 [212].

Toland's success in achieving the dispassionate tone which Milton could only strive for when discussing Charles, is attributable to his willingness to attempt to minimize the role he allowed religion to play in the political debate.

Milton's objections to Charles's book, his court, and monarchy itself were essentially religious; he felt that they all promoted idolatry in an undereducated, vulnerable populace, and he expressed his opposition in terms which inevitably reflected the anger, frustration, and revulsion which such a sin inspired within him. Toland on the other hand seems comparatively clinical in his description of traditional political attitudes, juxtaposed with the recent historical examples offered by the Stuarts, which amounts to an effective indictment of the uses and abuses of royal iconography. He is worth quoting at length

Have not princes in all ages, as well as other men, bin allow'd to keep things secret which it was not in their interest should be known, and which are commonly call'd by the name of state mysteries? How many juggles are us'd by the eastern princes to beget an extraordinary opinion of their persons in the minds of their subjects, who, by the force of such fantastical stories, carry their respect to adoration? But what need I go out of England for examples? When our own Kings have for so many ages pretended to cure the King's Evil, by merely touching the affected part; and this power of healing is said to be communicated to them by the blessing of King Edward the Confessor, one of the weakest and most priest-ridden princes that ever wore a crown. All the monkish historians ...have given us a large catalogue of his miracles... If I did persuade myself that King Charles the Second (who is said to have cured many) was a saint, it should be the greatest miracle I could believe.

p. 225 [227]

Where Milton attacked the English for the sinfulness behind their peculiar susceptibility to the practice of a kind of 'civil idolatry',⁵¹ Toland tries to show his readers how foolish the ideas of divine right kingship and royal touching really are, by placing the contemporary English political scene in context-- the context of English history, the context of foreign cultures, the context of their own memories. By comparing ancient and modern, Toland is promising that future generations will surely be forced to deal with the 'monkish historians' of Charles II,

and is asking unsettling questions about the writing of history as well as the function of royal iconography.

This might seem to have little direct relevance to the subject of the memory of Charles I, but Toland goes on to make his case for the excellence of the present ruler William III, and does so basically at the expense of the Royal Martyr. Noting that William's refusal to touch for the King's Evil was an obvious sign of his integrity, the author launches into a long catalogue of offences committed during Charles's reign (and this time without a mention of the mitigating influence of ministerial malice), and argues that William's undisputed innocence of any similar crimes should logically earn that good prince a better place in the affections of the English people than that which was reserved for the memory of Charles I. That this was obviously not the case in 1699 caused Toland to push for a rational assessment of England's situation which could not fail to end with a greater appreciation of William, and which would not happen while the nation was held a hostage to the nostalgia of its own quasi-religious historical mythology.

For these are only a few instances, not to blacken that prince [Charles], but to shew how little some sort of people seem to value his present majesty for generously restoring the Constitution, and for so willingly passing many excellent laws for enlarging and securing the liberty of his subjects...In short, if King Charles the First was the best of Kings, the late King James is not half so bad as I think him: Nor is there any doubt, if a second restoration (which God and all freemen forbid) should ever happen, but that abdication-day would be appointed as a perpetual fast.

p. 255 [257]

In the 'Amyntor' Toland argues implicitly for the establishment of a more secularized political system. His identification of Charles as the quintessential symbol of an

outmoded philosophy grew naturally out of the recent criticism of the anniversary sermons and their place in contemporary politics, and he encapsulates much of the topical controversy surrounding Charles - even employing the story of Gauden's later career as an emblem of the true 'legacy' which Charles I left to his son, and his people.⁵² But Toland goes much further in attempting to set the cult firmly in the context of English history and the tradition of Christian scholasticism, using the received royalist version of the Civil War, the conventions of the carefully-scripted Anglican rituals connected with the anniversary, and the text of the Eikon to show his readers the most recent evidence that those in authority have always used scripture, religious enthusiasm, history, and superstition to manipulate and oppress an ignorant people. He sought to demonstrate the need for demystification of the English monarchy, by demythologizing King Charles I. In the end, both the argument and the strategy he used to express it proved to be too radical for the English people, who continued to cherish the idea that the English monarch was strengthened by a special bond uniting him/her with the Supreme Being. Though some of Toland's ideas would reappear in the pamphlet literature of the next decade (influencing Defoe in 'Royal Religion'-1704- and reverberating through 'High-Church Politicks' in 1710), nevertheless, for the duration of the reign of Queen Anne (1702-14), the High Church faction of the Tory party remained a powerful force in British politics, and their standard bore the image of Charles I.

CHAPTER 6

QUEEN ANNE'S REIGN:
SACRED COW OR CALVES-HEAD JEST?

As the seventeenth century drew to a close, so, too, did a decade of significant political change. England had participated in a continental war to preserve the balance of power in Europe (and, according to many, Protestantism), the King--who sympathized openly with the Dissenters--had pushed through legislation safeguarding the principle of religious toleration, and Parliament had won a degree of independence from the executive in form of the Triennial Bill. It had been a difficult period for the Church of England, though the challenges to its preeminence (in form of hostile tax laws and the competition for souls posed by the rapidly growing number of licensed conventicles) seem to have inspired the rejuvenation of the High Church party.

And William's reign had also featured a nervous exchange of views on the subject of Charles I and the Rebellion--a dialogue initiated by the outbreak of long-deferred criticism of the King and his cause (as represented by the 'Ludlow' letters), and propelled through the decade by the debate over the authorship of the Eikon Basilike and the future of the anniversary commemoration. And although the century ended with the publication of the blatantly revisionist histories we attribute to John Toland (or possibly to other authors with similarly radical views), the voices of Whiggish historians were not permitted the last word. Though High Church enthusiasts never gained the degree of control over government which they had hoped for or expected when Anne ascended the throne, for the duration of the Queen's reign they were virtually the undisputed masters of the realm of Civil War history, so that in many respects the most interesting questions concerning the

developments in the Royal Martyr's literary image during Queen Anne's reign focus not on the interplay between High Anglicans and Whig radicals, but rather, concentrate on the differences which distinguish the views of the moderates from those of the extremists within the Tories' own camp.

As the new century dawned, however, the voice of radicalism had not yet been silenced on the subject of Charles. If Toland's opinions on Charles helped to make him a controversial figure (and we know from William Baron and Blackall that there were High Churchmen ready and eager to challenge Toland over his treatment of the King),¹ there are signs in 1700 that others were beginning to reconsider the proper function of the anniversary observation and, in doing so, to express ideas which were not all that far away from Toland's.

Sometimes these individuals encountered the hostility with which Toland was familiar. For instance, William Stephens, the rector of Sutton, Surrey, so outraged the Commons with the anniversary sermon he preached to them in 1700 that the next day MPs took the unprecedented step of refusing to thank Stephens or to arrange for the sermon's publication. Modern historians often report the incident and frequently sketch out the main lines of Stephens' sermon, remarking on how he refused to discuss Charles I in any depth, and that he argued strongly that the anniversary sermon should cease to serve as a party-political broadcast, much less as an occasion for the nation to heap unparalleled levels of abuse upon the Dissenters.² This would probably have been enough to incense the Tories, but Stephens--while scrupulously avoiding any explicit censure of the Royal Martyr--went on to hint that it was an inherent

weakness of a monarchical system of government that the ruler should grow increasingly aloof and so far-removed from his subjects as to eventually lose all sense of what their needs were. Though Stephens supplies no examples, irate listeners felt able to guess whom the rector probably had in mind:

I cannot but lament the unhappy fate of those Princes who are born in Purple and bred in Luxury, incompass'd with Flatterers, and so intoxicated with the Gaudy Ornaments or Power, as to forget the end for which they were elevated, and made Gods on Earth.³

Although Stephens gains mention for rocking the boat so noticeably, not many have bothered to record that much of his message overlaps with that of John Sharp, whose anniversary sermon was delivered almost simultaneously with Stephens', but to the House of Lords. Sharp was the Archbishop of York at the time, second only to Canterbury in the Anglican hierarchy, and yet when he attempted to redefine the Church's political role, no one seems to have been very upset. Kenyon offers us a very good summary of Sharp's argument, which can be encapsulated thus: that alongside of a wholehearted acceptance of the Revolution settlement rested the conviction that 'supreme power was granted by God, but the manner of its exercise, whether by one man or many and how, was a matter of earthly concern only...'.⁴ But Stephens and Sharp spoke with one voice on the need to unite a belief in the exigency of passive obedience with the realisation that the Laws offered the subject adequate protection from the tyranny of the monarch's arbitrary pleasure, to which the citizen must never become a slave. Both saw that the best role of the Church was in the support of the civil authority, but that in the modern state there could be no justification for using the Bible as a power authorizing the

selection of any one form of government over another, nor should the clergy be employed in any official capacity to settle points of legal dispute or constitutional controversy. These two clerics, representing entirely different classes within the Anglican Church, together call for the Church to hold itself above the embroilments of party politics, and urge it to withdraw from playing an active part in the running (and 'opposing') of government on either national or local levels.

The Church was actually moving in the other direction, and in 1702 stood poised on the threshold of a dozen years of intense political activism. Between 1700 and 1702 several factors were at work which contributed to the rise of the High Church faction of the Tory party as a powerful political entity, and most of those had to do with the subject of the succession to the throne, now suddenly thrown into question. In 1700--with the Junto ministry in obvious difficulties--came the death of the Duke of Gloucester, Princess Anne's only surviving child and second in line to the throne. This development was followed in quick succession by the death of the exiled James in 1701 and William's sudden demise in March of the following year. The future suddenly looked considerably brighter for those of the High Church party, with their champions Rochester and Nottingham holding places in the new government, and the throne again occupied by a Stuart with a self-professed devotion to High Anglicanism. Even the Act of Settlement, a bill enacted in 1701 by which the crown passed to the House of Hanover and the heirs of Charles I's niece the Electress Sophia, was no cause for gloom, as the legislation also required that all future monarchs belong to the Church of England.

This was also the time when the Church began to benefit from the spread of Jacobite sentiments among members of the 'Country' opposition--Whigs as well as Tories--who had long ago grown disillusioned with William. Throughout the later years of William's reign the Church party had been strengthened in number by the continuous return of Nonjurors to the fold, as more of them became convinced with the passage of time that the changes effected by the Revolution would not be reversed. In 1702, with Anne now on the throne, Jacobitism was virtually subsumed by mainstream Toryism, when 'it appeared that High Church aspirations could be met without a restoration'.⁵

But things were not all rosy for the Church at the beginning of Anne's reign, and the new Tory ministry never did meet High Anglican expectations as the decade wore on. The harmonious recitations of Stephens/Sharp belie the divisions which plagued the Church in 1701-02, when the existing rift between the predominantly-Whiggish bishops and the lower clergy grew wider over the matter of political allegiance, with Archbishop of Canterbury Tenison and the episcopate clinging to Lord Somers and the displaced Whigs for support, and most of the Anglican priesthood pressing the Tories for measures to bring about a reversal of their fortunes, including an end to existing forms of taxation and the 'restoration' of the Church to its pre-eminent position as the official state religion. It quickly became clear that government policy would be directed by the 'moderate and conciliatory' style of Harley and Godolphin rather than by the enthusiastic conservatism of Rochester and Nottingham (witness, for example, the annual contests over Occasional Conformity between 1702-04). The purge of High Tory ministers,

beginning with the resignation of Rochester in 1703 and followed by the removals of Nottingham and Ludlow's old nemesis Sir Edward Seymour in 1704, occurred at a time when the Church party dominated the Commons, ostensibly because of the Queen's personal disapproval of the stridency and factionalism of their religious views. The incidents gave swift indication that the High Church party would not be able to control Anne and her government, and though it enjoyed a broad base of support in and outside of Parliament, 'only the emotional issue of the Church [in danger] had the power to engage the support of the great mass of country M.P.s'.⁶ Thus, attacks on Charles in any shape were seized upon and portrayed as the most visible signs of a treacherous campaign of sedition and heresy.

New publications maintained the pressure upon those who were determined to preserve the glittering memory of the Royal Martyr. Two such works were 'The Pourtraicture of King Charles I' (1700) and 'Animadversions on the Last 30th of January Sermons...' (1702), the one an attack on Charles's reputation as religious model and model ruler, the other another scathing assault on the anniversary and the traditional anniversary sermon. The anonymous author of the 'Pourtraicture' wrote from the perspective of a highly partisan Dissenter, painting a picture of a woefully inadequate ruler whose most serious failings amount to a complete lack of tolerance toward fellow Christians, a shameful incompetence in his dealings with Parliament, and an utter contempt for the traditions of English Common Law and the ancient constitution. 'Pourtraicture' also reflects the influence of the 1691 Ludlow letter, Eikonoklastes, and Ludlow's Memoirs, for passages from each of these are

incorporated into its text.⁷ 'Animadversions' is notable for its opening paragraphs, in which the author argues quite sensibly against the ludicrous encouragement to the impressionable commoner given by High Churchmen in their commemorative sermons, to exaggerate the importance of their neighbours' views on Charles I and the Great Rebellion, until the subject of Charles's death is used as a barometer wherein one can measure an individual's moral integrity and religious faith. The tract was most offensive to High Anglicans, however, because of the author's flat refusal to repudiate the regicide, and in declaring that act to 'have been agreeable to natural Justice, and to the written Law of God',⁸ it went quite a bit further than the other Whig radicals were willing to go at this time (including--to my knowledge--Toland, unless one credits him with writing the Ludlow letter and Memoirs).

This steady (though certainly not overwhelming) sequence of publications which promoted unflattering images of the Royal Martyr goaded the Church party members into a spirited defence of Charles I. Far from taking to heart the criticisms of commemorative sermons, the high-flying Anglican clergymen turned to their anniversary duties with renewed enthusiasm. The British Museum General Catalogue gives us some idea of an increased willingness both to defend Charles and to find a relevance in the events of the 1640s to contemporary political issues. Of the 244 sermons listed in the BMGC as having been published between 1690 and 1800, the smallest number were contributed during the decade stretching from 1691 through 1700, when only eighteen were printed (and of these, twelve were published between 1697 and 1700, the period which saw the revival of the

High Church party). This number contrasts quite sharply with the number which appeared in 1702 alone (twelve), and a total of forty-seven sermons were published between 1701 and 1710, an output which was maintained for each of the first five decades of the eighteenth century.⁹ For Luke Milbourne, self-styled poet with a parish-living in Harwich, the anniversary sermon represented something approaching a cottage industry, as he published five 30th of January sermons between 1707 and 1712, and after his death in 1720 no less than fourteen were collected and sold under the title The Royal Martyr Lamented. In general the sermons which have survived from this period testify to the revival of the abusive, Whig-baiting/Dissenter-damning style particularly characteristic of those lessons delivered during the 1660s and again during the crises of the Popish Plot and the Exclusion controversy.¹⁰ We can, I think, assume that the audience for these established harangues was significant, when older sermons were dusted off and reprinted for their Church-in-danger, Puritans-are-regicides themes.¹¹

And other forms of literature were also used by High Tories to press their political advantage and drive their Whig foes from the field with a barrage of accusations steeped in the old Royalist rhetoric of the 1640s and '50s. Charles Leslie, the uncompromising Non-juror who in August 1704 would begin publishing 'The Rehearsal', the weekly answer to the Whig journals of John Tutchin ('The Observator') and Defoe ('The Review'), brought out 'The New Association' in 1702, a diatribe against the dissenting sects and those 'moderate' Anglicans who advocated toleration for them. Leslie called upon Dissenters and Whigs to prove their good faith (with which the author could

not credit them) by moving to 'Renounce the Principles of Forty-One...Especially the Doctrines of King-Killing and Deposing of Kings'.¹² But in trying to counter some of the recent revisionist histories with the royalist version which places all the blame for the rebellion on Presbyterian bigotry and Parliamentary ambition, Leslie in spite of himself seems to have absorbed the understanding that Charles was not the untainted victim of circumstance and treachery in the 1640s, but had played some role in bringing about his own downfall, and that some vague sense of the King's personal weakness was involved.

King Charles is to be pitt'y'd, and in some manner excus'd, because he was the First that try'd the Experiment, How far Yielding and Condescension would do with this Faction. And, indeed, it would seem impossible (but to those who have Try'd it) that there could be Men upon the Face of the Earth, whom all the Charms of Vertue and Goodness, which Shin'd in that Prince, and Granting to 'em all that they could Desire, should render still more Unreasonable, more Ungrateful.

p. 15

Leslie's allusions to the 'Principles of Forty-One' and the events of Forty-Nine characterize the typical reference to Charles which is found in Jacobite literature of this period, and particularly in the popular ballads and broadsides.¹³ These poetical portrayals are uniformly brief and very shallow, designed to elicit a knee-jerk response to the prospect of a Church under threat from the cyclically-historical forces of anarchy and envy.

A good example of this use of the old themes (which had so effectively marshalled Anglican support in 1660-62 and again in 1679-81) to season the political debate in Anne's reign is found in William Shippen's 'Faction Display'd', a satirical

poem which the author may have begun composing soon after the death of William III in March 1702, well before its publication in April 1704. Shippen, described as a 'Jacobite Parliamentarian' who served long and well as an MP opposing the successive Whig administrations of the Hanoverian era, writes here 'in the style of Dryden' (constructing a political allegory based on the classical model of Sallust's 'Bellum Catilinae') to portray a fictional gathering of Whig leaders, meeting in the early years of Anne's reign to plot the overthrow of her government and the undermining of the Church.¹⁴ In true party-political form, he accuses his dissenting countrymen of factionalism and self-interest as he launches a divisive attack which exploits the contemporary fears of an imminent outbreak of political instability and disorder.

Faction, a restless and repining Fiend,
Curdles their Blood, and gnaws upon their Mind;...
She taught the Giants to attempt the Sky,
And Jove's avenging Thunder to defie;
She rais'd the Hand that struck the Fatal Blow,
Which Martyr'd Jove's Vicegerent here below.
She still pursues him with relentless Hate,¹⁵
Arraigns his Mem'ry, and insults his Fate.
ll. 9-10, 13-18.

The comparisons are at once both retrospective and forward-looking, drawing parallels between the depositions of 1649 and 1689, while openly suggesting that James III would return from St. Germain to enjoy his equivalent of the 1660 restoration.

'Tis She, that wou'd, for ev'ry slight Offence
Depose a True Hereditary Prince;
That would Usurpers for their treason Crown,
Till Time and Vengeance drag them Headlong down,
And Exil'd Monarchs Reassert their rightful Throne.
ll. 19-23.

Such forecasts could carry an author into treacherous waters, of course, for they could be interpreted as associating

the Queen with the usurpers, or at least as implying that, though as a Stuart she had an undeniably stronger claim to the throne than William ever had, she was still the wrong Stuart. So when the mysterious Alexander Fyfe published his opera The Royal Martyr K. Charles I in 1705, after the High Tories had been ejected from government and the Whigs had won parity in the Commons after the new election, he took great care to distance himself from those Church supporters who began to question whether Anne was in fact Anglican enough for them. Thus, in the dedication to the Queen, Fyfe affirms a belief in the bonds of a common blood which tie Anne to her illustrious grandfather, uniting them in 'their zeale for Maintenance of the Rights of God's Church, as well as those of Royal Majesty'.

Fyfe's 'opera' (for which, as far as I know, no music is known to exist) was reprinted as a 'tragedy' in 1709, 1710, and 1712 as a direct result of the Sacheverell affair, and like The Famous Tragedy of King Charles I, Basely Butchered (originally published in 1649, but also reprinted in 1709 and 1710)¹⁶ was most certainly a closet drama. In many ways Fyfe's work offers the reader the standard portrait of Charles as patient victim and saintly martyr so effectively communicated by the Eikon Basilike, and presents a Cromwell every bit as depraved as the satanic figure who dominated the earlier play. Fyfe departs from the well-worn path of 1649 royalism, however: first in crediting the Earl of Essex with both sincerity and integrity, and allowing him to express the Parliamentary cause in a sympathetic manner; and then by couching Cromwell's speech to Charles II defending the regicide in terms which were borrowed from Whig propaganda of the author's own day.

Titles to Crown from Civil Contracts Spring;
Its Law that makes and takes away a King.
It's but in vain a Birth-right to pretend;
For Publick Safety knows no private End...
Though Gaudy Ensigns, stupid Fools did awe;
Impos'd a Divine Right, for human Law,
Yet free-born Man, as such must needs be us'd;
It's Pow'r that makes the Right, when Right's abus'd:
'Gainst mine do ye a forfeit Title bring
Of Pow'r? The People's Voice, is th' only Spring.¹⁷

Fyfe's one 'innovation' to the royal portrait was perhaps inadvertent. In Act III, in trying to dramatise the King's sufferings during his captivity--before he can draw on the authentically dramatic accounts of the trial and scaffold speech--Fyfe crosses the boundary into melodrama with a despondent Charles whom his chaplain Henry Hammond finds inconsolable, who is consumed with self-pity and overwhelmed by ill-fortune.

Tho from the Race of Albions Gods I sprung,
Out of my hands behold the Sceptre's wrung.
What e're by Right of Birth, I may acclaim,
I'm now the shadow of a mighty Name...
No, no, I'm hurld from Helm of State,
And seen as mean, as ever I was Great...
Talk not of that [Restoration] to me, I'm discord all,
Broke by my own, that triumph in my Fall.
Give me but Vertue's Mirrour [Peace] for some hours,
And all the Pageantry of State be yours.
pp. 28-29

The picture of a King severely distressed by his imprisonment at the hands of his own subjects--who is oppressed and almost broken by the ordeal and yet strangely fascinated by his sudden change of state--is strongly reminiscent of Shakespeare's Richard II. Should Hammond have taken him literally and brought him a mirror, one feels Fyfe would have done well to have had Charles dash it to bits. Of course, so much of the iconography of Charles I had followed the examples established by the Eikon and the Psalm-laden text of the anniversary service, in

emphasizing the poignant and pathetic. But despite the obvious existence of these familiar signposts to determine the author's direction, nonetheless it is interesting--if probably fruitless--to ponder the possible significance of the Plantagenet parallel. Had Fyfe meant to suggest that a similarity existed between the Royal Martyr and an ancestor who had also been criticized for his remoteness, his deplorable taste in advisors, and his preoccupation with art and luxury at the expense of the 'real world' matters of politics and the responsibilities of government? A more probable interpretation is the suggestion that, in trying to depict a sympathetic and vulnerable majesty, the author had unconsciously drawn on the Shakespearean model of a poor king who came to a tragic and pitiable end.

Ironically, one of the most successful of the works published at this time to refute the voice of radical Whiggism actually owed its popularity (in large part) to the inclusion of texts so extreme in their expressions of republican and anti-Anglican ideas that their very existence had allegedly been kept a secret. In the anonymously published Secret History of the Calves-Head Club (1703) the author Ned Ward claimed to uncover the existence of a secret society of Dissenters who met every 30th of January in a different place to drink to the memory of Cromwell and the other regicides, and to feast in celebration of the anniversary of that most republican of events. The occasion required the performance of specific rituals which Ward gleefully describes, and these included the ceremonial burning of the Eikon Basilike, a round of healths drunk to the regicide heroes, and then the singing of an irreverent ballad or 'anthem' which reputedly had often been written specially

for that year's festivity. Even the bill of fare was dictated by custom: a large dish of calves' heads, which stood for Charles's 'herding' followers; a large pike served with another smaller one in its mouth, 'as an Emblem of Tyranny'; 'a large Cod's-head, by which they pretended to represent the Person of the King singly' [i.e., Charles's own foolishness]; and the roasted boar's head to symbolize the King's 'Bestiality', or his penchant for preying on the properties and persons of his subjects.¹⁸

Ward was a fanatical High-Church Tory who served his party as a hack journalist, a 'penny-catching poet [and] pamphleteer' in an era when political parties and their white-hot factional disputes exerted a dominant influence over popular literature, when 'The mode of the literary journalist, the pamphleteer, news writer, and the party scribe was abusive and vitriolic'. Throughout his journalistic career Ward remained the passionate and unquestioning spokesman of the High Church position, and in this way his politically-motivated work functions as a 'record of the prejudice, the unreasonable fears, and the violent hatreds' which gripped his readers. The future tavern owner and coffeehouse proprietor targeted an audience which was quite different from the comparatively intellectual readerships of Swift and Defoe, in the sense that Ward catered to the 'growing Tory faction among the lower classes, ... stimulating the rabble to an open expression of their hatreds', and encouraging their efforts with his own portrayals of hypocritical Dissenters, treacherous Low-Church Anglicans, and the socially ambitious, transparently-atheistical Whigs.¹⁹

The Secret History, then, provides us with a good example

of Ward's talents. Immediately after sharing the details of the proceedings, Ward goes on to describe 'The Character of the Calves-Head Clubman', launching into a scathing invective which dredges up every accusation which was ever hissed concerning the lineage, moral nature, and religious seriousness of the average Dissenter/Whig.

He is the spawn of a Regicide, hammer'd out of a rank Anabaptist Hypocrite; his father was enabled to beget him by the Fat of sequestered lands, upon the Bed stolen from an honest Cavalier...His villainous Principles he imbib'd in his Mother's womb, nourished them...with her infectious Milk, and is an incorrigible Rebel by Instinct of Nature,... harden'd in his hatred to Kings and Bishops, beyond the Influence of Grace, or Check of Conscience; and thinks nothing can be a more meritorious Act, than to sacrifice either to the Fury of a mad Rabble...

p. 22

Though crude in its manner of heaping one exaggerated term of abuse on top of another, the work also reveals the shrewd touch of an author who is clever enough to revive the old associations of Puritanism and 'country' politics with regicide by tapping into the old feelings of resentment over economic displacement and unacknowledged sacrifices which poisoned the religious negotiations of the 1660s (hence the reference to the landless, bedless Cavalier). Club membership is used to link Cromwell's colleagues with contemporary Whigs when Toland is identified as a member through his recent allegations concerning the Eikon, while Milton is named as having founded the club to parody the earliest observances of the rituals of prayer and fast performed during the Interregnum by the Royal Martyr's personal chaplains (Juxon, Sanderson, Hammond, etc.).²⁰ And finally, older texts like Samuel Butler's 'The Royal Martyr vindicated' (written at a time roughly contemporary with the execution, in response to prosecuting attorney John Cook's

publication 'The King his Case') and a splenetic poem from the climactic years of the Exclusionist controversy, entitled 'The Character of a Presbyterean' and wrongly attributed to Sir John Denham, were inserted into the editions of the text appearing after 1705. Their inclusion seems intended to re-affirm what amounted to Ward's central themes: the fact of the continuing relevance of 1641 and '49 to topical political issues, and that the knowledge of a man's or woman's attitudes regarding King Charles I imparted an understanding of the political assumptions, the degree of religious sincerity--in short, the individual's entire moral and philosophical systems of belief.

Ward's book found an immediate and lasting audience, running to three editions in that first year of 1703, with a seventh published by 1709, an eighth in 1713, and subsequent editions appearing over the next three decades. And while a dispute over the accuracy of Ward's allegations raged in the press between the Whig 'Observer' of John Tutchin (to whom the Secret History was rather facetiously 'dedicated') and Charles Leslie's 'The Rehearsal', it would seem that Troyer is correct in arguing that by 1705 most Tories accepted the existence of the Calves-Head Club (or at least found it useful to appear to believe in it).²¹ Certainly the club's name had become a commonplace term of derision used in Tory propaganda for many years afterward.

Some historians in this century, however, have expressed doubts about whether such a group ever existed, with at least one inclined to believe that the whole idea was the creation of the 'unbalanced' Ward. J. P. Kenyon bases this opinion in part upon the failure of vigilant and highly motivated Tories

either to infiltrate or interrupt one of these meetings, or to convincingly implicate a prominent opponent as a participant. (This lapse reflected no lack of effort on Ward's part, for the sixth edition in 1707 contains an appendix which tries to tie the club to the Southwark district of London and the aptly-named Bulls-Head Tavern.)²² Kenyon's second point focuses on the quality of the anthems themselves--verses he believes too dreadful to represent lyrics which intelligent adults would actually sing of their own free wills.²³

We know that the Calves-Head Club could not have originated purely as a figment of Ward's opportunistic imagination, for besides the often-cited reference to the club and its rituals by Charles Leslie in his tract 'The New Association' the year before the publication of Secret History, there is William Baron's mention of it two years earlier in 1700.²⁴ That Ward might have fabricated an account of the club to authenticate a rumour is, of course, quite possible, but to the extent that this means he would have had to have forged the outrageously irreverent anthems, the suggestion becomes highly improbable. It is undeniably tempting to suppose that the blatant bad taste which had inspired some of these ballads was more likely to come from someone whose interests were best served by the negative reaction these compositions were bound to provoke. The verse below--labelled the anthem for 30 January 1696--is an example of the kind of doggerel which it is difficult to imagine anyone claiming as his/her own:

...[James I] a Man of muckle Might a,
Was never seen in Battles great,
But greatly he would Sh-- a;
This King begot another King,
Which made the Nation sad a,

Was of the same Religion,
An atheist, like his Dad a:
This Monarch wore a picked Beard,
And seem'd a doughty Heroe,
As Dioclesian Innocent, and as Merciful as Nero...
p. 48

These ballads are a far cry from the hagiographic portraits of Charles in verse which abounded in 1649 and returned in 1660. We would have to go back to the 1670s to find such sneering, sarcastic attacks on Charles I in verse, and even those denunciations seem softer, offset as they were by the more-sharply barbed criticisms directed at Charles II, the Duke of York, and/or the Stuart clan in general. Here in the 'Calves-Head' poems Charles I is cast in a number of unflattering roles, including 'the English Turk', 'Church's darling Implement', 'the haughty Tyrant', etc.--and as rather vague terms of abuse easily attributable to bugbear extremists, one can well imagine a calculating Tory confecting these lyrics with little fear of damaging his own side. But some of these ballads do strike quite skilfully at what must still have been pretty raw Tory nerves. A particularly well-aimed thrust is contained in the anthem for 1690, in which the Tories are reminded that in the light of events of 1688/89, they can ill-afford to question the loyalty of any other group.

Let Prelates now go on,
And rail afresh at Forty-one,
The deposing
They're 'spousing
We the Father, they the Son.
Through the Treason, they did find us.
They, my friends, are not behind us.
p. 28

Comparisons between the Rebellion and Revolution were not yet being made by prudent Whigs, and a staunch high-flyer like Ward would hardly have risked undercutting the Tories' claims to

be the only party which stood for Protestantism under the protection of a strong Monarch. (There is also no evidence to suggest that Ward was a Jacobite--the only other motive he could have had for composing such insensitive verse.) Whether these ballads were actually written for use by the members of a club like the one described in the Secret History will probably never be proven, but I believe they cast far too harsh a light on some uncomfortable truths which the Church and Tories had taken great pains to ignore for them to have come from the pen of anyone other than a 'Whig' or confirmed opponent of High Church policies.

Contemn the lazy Lubbarbs of the Church,
Who mourning one left t'other in the Lurch;
Who to the Sire their Adoration pay,
Yet basely left the Son, to run away...
Their Martyr'd Monarch's grown a senseless Jest
That Fools admire, and all good Men detest.

'Anthem for...1698', p. 77

As to the broader question of whether the Calves-Head Club existed, to this, too, we may never know the answer. But Troyer must be correct when he states that the very fact that it was **thought** to exist was enough to exert considerable influence in shaping political debate at the time. And we can be certain that Ward's book had in one respect an opposite (though not, I suspect, wholly unwelcomed) effect upon its readers to the reaction of righteous indignation he had undoubtedly intended, for as late as 1735 some young men met in a house off Haymarket Street to partake in a 'calves-head' style celebration which provoked an attack upon the revellers by an angry mob, and ended when the King's Guards were called in to break up the ensuing riot.²⁵

Ward's focus on the reputed voice of radicalism, and the

scandalously irreverent perspective from which Whigs or Dissenters allegedly viewed the traumas of recent history, must have been a contributory factor in the silencing of the Whig extremists on the subject of Charles I. Certainly 'mainstream' Whigs--those who followed Marlborough and Godolphin and supported the unofficial coalition with Harley's moderate Tories--worked hard throughout that first decade of the eighteenth century to successfully eliminate the taint of extremism by 1710,²⁶ and this meant a reticence on the subject of Charles after the negative publicity provided by Ward. But of course the reason for the surrender of Charles and the era of the Great Rebellion to the Tories was due most of all to the publication of Clarendon's History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England between 1702 and 1704.

Clarendon's manuscript had been in the possession of the Earl of Rochester since Hyde's death in 1674, and the Tory minister had begun the preparations for its publication back in 1699, when the radicals' movement to re-evaluate Charles and his reign was gaining momentum.²⁷ From the moment of its first appearance the work seems to have established itself as the authority on the causes and events of the Civil War, and scholars are unanimous in recognizing that Clarendon's History dominated intelligent discussion of the period throughout the century, right up until the nineteenth-century appearances of Macaulay and Samuel Gardiner.²⁸

Quite a bit of attention has been focused on Clarendon's History since Hugh Trevor-Roper's assessment in 1965, and Kenyon eloquently sums up the consensus when he explains that a large part of the work's pre-eminence was due to the author's genuine

literary achievements. The general superiority of Hyde's style, the sheer breadth of his scope, the penetration of his analysis, the impartiality informing the character sketches which themselves distinguished his history from other contemporary studies--all this is familiar ground. But much depended on the author's own unique position in history, and in the imaginations of the readers as well, 'as the authentic voice of a man who had walked and talked with all the heroes and villains of a bygone generation'.²⁹

It is not surprising, then, that this voice from within the Caroline Court, a voice which had also participated in the pre-war debates of the Long Parliament, should have shaped the image of the King for subsequent generations. But Clarendon did not so much sculpt a new likeness of the Royal Martyr as define a few of the less-idealised features and effectively etch his name on the base of the existing figure. The Chancellor's portrait of Charles is a 'disappointingly dim' one which presents the embodiment of royal goodness which is 'the featureless picture of a type, not of an individual'.³⁰ Composed during two periods of exile which were separated by almost twenty years, the History reveals how time had invariably played a role in dimming Clarendon's recollections of the King's faults, just as knowledge of Charles's sufferings and death had lessened the author's awareness of the role the King had played in frustrating Clarendon's own attempts to reconcile the monarch with his Parliament (or at least diminished his desire to express that awareness).³¹ Though the work leaves the perceptive reader with an impression of the King's weakness and insecurity, this message is not delivered consistently

throughout the History, nor does it openly concede the existence of flaws in the royal character or lapses in the King's behaviour which the more moderate Tories had been willing to admit since the early 1690s, as we saw in Hollingworth's tract.

Clarendon's miniature of Charles as found in the character sketch is quite famous and often reproduced in modern biographies and histories. It contains the praise of his personal virtues which had always featured so prominently in the funeral elegies and sermons since 1649.

...he was the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best Christian, that the age in which he lived had produced.³²

Such a string of superlatives could as easily have been taken from one of the elegies in Monumentum Regale (1649) or a Restoration sermon. Clarendon departs from the Royalist creed of the early Restoration in his willingness to suggest that, '...if he was not the best King' (my emphasis), then Charles surpassed arguably 'greater' monarchs by possessing so virtuous a character as to have been almost untainted by vice. But this gentle stricture, like the other criticisms of the King featured in the royal sketch which helped to establish Clarendon's reputation for comparative objectivity, is completely compatible with the very first poetical laments that Charles had been 'too good' to have prospered in this wicked world. Admissions that the King lacked the necessary armour of 'a rougher and more imperious nature', or that part of his sufferings had resulted 'from the lenity of his nature and the tenderness of his conscience', hardly functioned as 'startling revelations', but rather served as confirmations of the conventional ideas of

Charles's selflessness, his Christ-like mildness, his victimization at the hands of his ministers and closest friends.³³

There are places in the text, however, where a sharper tone of censure can be detected, suggesting that Clarendon at some point in time had entertained more serious doubts about the blamelessness of the role the King had played in this national tragedy. These glimpses are more likely to appear earlier rather than later in the text, where the work still retains some of the freshness of Clarendon's 1646 outlook, before time and sentiment began to shade his recollections. One of the best examples of this is found in the author's description of how the King came to agree to the removal of the bishops from the House of Lords, despite Charles's original and emphatically-stated refusal to consent to it on the grounds that he did not believe either of the arguments put to him supporting the measure: that the demand was inextricably linked with the issue of royal control of the militia and that concession on the former matter improved his chances of securing the latter power; and that yielding on the question of episcopacy in the upper chamber would help to preserve the Church in the long run.

These insinuations and discourses so far satisfied the Queen, and she the King, that, contrary to his most positive resolution, the King consented, and sent a commission for the enacting that bill...[which] exceedingly weakened the King's party...as it made an impression on others, whose minds were in suspense and shaken, as when **foundations are dissolved** [my emphasis]. Besides, they that were best acquainted with the King's nature, opinions, and revelations, had reason to believe that no exigents could have wrought upon him to have consented to so anti-monarchical an act, and therefore never after retained any confidence that he would deny what was importunately

asked...

I, pp. 567-68

This description reveals a King who is guilty of much more than taking the bad advice of his wicked or stupid ministers. Clarendon's account of the incident portrays a King who lacks any real convictions of his own, who either possesses no strength of will, or no set of principles requiring the protection of his resolution. The dissolving of the 'foundations' to which Clarendon alludes may refer to the damage inflicted upon the constitutional structure of government through the ejection of the Lords Spiritual, but also, I believe, includes the sense that the bonds of respect and trust upon which the relationship between King and subject must be based, had also been significantly weakened. Hyde certainly believes the King had seriously compromised his integrity in the eyes of his advisors, and when he describes the general effect which the affair had on his counsellors--i.e., that many 'either absolutely withdrew themselves from those consultations,...or quietly suffered themselves to be carried by the stream'--he is not only absolving himself from responsibility for what had already transpired by 1646, but also suggesting that in a way the royal character determined the inevitability of an unhappy (if still unforeseen) ending to the whole affair.

But these little revelations are rare and, in the end, largely implicit. For the most part it is difficult in the History to penetrate the thick cloud of reverent piety with which Clarendon envelops Charles, nor is it clear whether that cloud was originally placed there to prohibit us from discerning the King's blemishes and imperfections, or to shield the author

himself from painful disillusionment. For I believe Kenyon overstates his case when he concludes from Hyde's character sketch of the King that 'Clearly Clarendon did not like him [Charles] very much', perhaps because he detects in the ambiguity a reserve on Hyde's part which he seems to attribute to a more developed disapproval of Charles personally, rather than to the wounded pride of an extremely proud man who was hurt by his prince's preference for the opinions of lesser minds. Others have reacted to a similar impression (i.e., that the text suggests some kind of emotional distance may have separated the King from Hyde) by proposing the possibility that the disfavour was more pronounced on the other side of the relationship. This highly plausible theory argues that Charles harboured mixed feelings for his Chancellor, admiring his diligence and finding him indispensable both as a propagandist and as an authority on Common Law, but was ultimately annoyed by his consistent sense of caution and his constitutional inhibitions, and never completely trusted the man who was so committed to the concept of mixed monarchy and who remained a sceptical outsider among other, less-moderate Royalists of Charles's Court.³⁴

But there is very little in the History to indicate that these feelings of remoteness were mutual, or at least, little indication that Clarendon remembered them to be so. It is ironic that the issue of the bishops' right to sit in the Lords should occasion the revelation of the author's apparent displeasure with the King, for--apart from stern disapproval of the influence granted to the ecclesiastical courts in matters of statecraft--it is generally when dealing with matters relating to the Church

and the struggle to maintain its position as the established religion of the realm that Clarendon remembers Charles most warmly and seeks to associate himself closely with the royal point of view. As he demonstrated after the Restoration through his efforts to achieve the resettlement of the Church of England, a powerful emotional tie connected Clarendon to the Anglican faith which was rooted in the sincere belief that Charles had actually been martyred for it.³⁵ To some extent his own exile in 1667 helped him to identify with Charles, as someone else who had sacrificed himself for the sake of the true Protestant faith, and he obviously treasured the memory of standing shoulder-to-shoulder with his King, the only defenders of the Church against the massed might of her foes. In the following long but important passage, the Queen is again seen urging the King to consent to another indignity against the Church, and again colluding with other advisors to obtain her objectives.

...Upon which the Queen, who was never advised by those who either understood or valued his true interest, consulted with those about her and sent Sir William Davenant,...in all respects inferior to such a trust, with a letter of credit to the King,...though the Queen had enough declared her opinion to his majesty he should part with the Church for his peace and security...

When he [Davenant] found his majesty unsatisfied...and not like to consent to what was so earnestly desired by them whose advice he was sent, and who undervalued all those scruples which his majesty himself was strongly possessed with, he took upon him...to induce him [Charles] to yield to what was proposed, and, amongst other things, said, it was the advice and opinion of all his friends... The King asked whether the Chancellor [Hyde] was of that mind? to which he answered, he did not know, for he was not there, and he had deserted the Prince; and thereupon said somewhat from the Queen of the displeasure she had conceived against the Chancellor: to which the King said, the Chancellor was an honest man, and would never desert him, nor the Prince, nor the Church; and that he was sorry he was not with his son, but that his wife was mistaken.

IV, pp. 205-06.

Though there is some characteristic self-aggrandizement

going on here as Clarendon presents himself as one of the very few who not only understood but actually shared with Charles 'all those scruples of conscience', it is obvious, too, that the possession of the King's respect and warm regard meant a great deal to Hyde, and even more so when Charles is portrayed as defying the pleasure of the Queen to honour his Chancellor with so good an opinion.

Modern historians agree that Clarendon presents us with an ambiguous, open-ended statement on the King, and it undoubtedly worked to the advantage of the Church and High Tories to have had a portrait of Charles which in many respects conformed so closely to those vague images of idealized goodness made familiar by the Eikon and the anniversary service, appearing as part of such persuasive testimony as Hyde's memoirs. But it is impossible to say where political calculation ends and sentimentality begins in Clarendon's misty account of the Royal Martyr. The Chancellor's recollection of his own past and the role he had played in opposing the Court in the early months of the Long Parliament prevented him from simply denying the fact that serious abuses of power had taken place during Charles's reign. And yet, although he describes the damage inflicted on the nation by a meddlesome clergy, the trouble which resulted from the compromising of the judiciary, and the unrest caused by illegal taxes, somehow Clarendon never gets around to implicating the King as the one who was ultimately responsible. Open acknowledgments of the dangerous excesses of Buckingham, the divisively high-handed manner of Laud, and even the interference of an overpowering Queen, are not only divorced from any consideration of the King's personality and

fitness to rule, but actually dovetail so well with the age-old political tradition of blaming the King's advisors for the most disastrous policies of his government that the author need not verbalize this assumption, knowing he could rely upon most of his well-conditioned readers to supply it themselves automatically.³⁶

But am I finding fault with Clarendon for suppressing opinions which were never his own? Could Hyde actually have believed that the King's advisors bore final responsibility for his downfall? Yes, he probably did in the late 1660s, by which time he was living in exile, and had returned to work on his manuscript of the History. I feel it is highly unlikely, however, that in the 1640s, before the horrible events outside the Banqueting House had forever coloured his perception of the Martyr, a man as proud as Clarendon obviously was, and who appears to have felt every slight so keenly, would so readily disregard the humiliation of being consistently passed over in favour of men whose talents he valued far, far below his own.³⁷

And then, finally, there is the possibility that the events leading up to the Revolution during the intervening years between the composition of the History and its publication over thirty years later could also have softened the public's reaction to the text in ways the author could never have anticipated. Could the impact of Clarendon's famous comment on the King's lack of confidence, as a man with 'an excellent understanding' who was nonetheless inclined to 'follow the advice of men who did not judge as well as himself', have been mitigated by the readers' memories of their experiences during the reign of James

II? Could the figure of a clever but submissive King have appeared more attractive when juxtaposed with the accomplishments of his stupid and wilfully determined successor?

Although eighteenth-century historians would point to Clarendon's History as the source of the ideas that Charles had been a weak, insecure, unconfident man who had been easily persuaded to abandon beliefs and convictions, Anne's subjects could have heard much the same argument from a work which preceded Hyde's by one year. In his Memoires of the Reigne of King Charles I (1701) Sir Philip Warwick operates on a much more modest scale and uses a far less effective literary style, but in the end presents us with a figure of the King which bears a great deal of resemblance to Clarendon's. Warwick had served as an MP in the Long Parliament and the King's 'mongrel' legislature in Oxford before becoming Charles's personal secretary during his captivity at Hampton Court.³⁸ His experiences had left him, like Clarendon, well qualified to comment on the personal qualities of the King, and Warwick adopts a similar approach of defending Charles's record as King by swearing to the excellence of his character as a man. Warwick's own history of Royalist extremism permitted him the luxury of disregarding the idea of the legitimacy of some of Parliament's grievances with Charles's government which had precipitated the war, and he places the traditional emphasis on the Royal Martyr's personal accomplishments: piety, patience, forbearance, temperance, etc.³⁹

More interesting, however, is the author's description of royal imperfection in terms which could easily be Clarendon's own. Though unwilling to withhold from Charles the title of

'best of Princes' (and therefore reluctant to face the implications of his own comments concerning the King's unsuitability to rule), Warwick acknowledges that Charles did indeed lack 'the rigid policies that are necessary for a good Prince towards contumacious Spirits: (for the spirit of government may require of a Prince the departing from his own good nature)'. He describes (though without any supporting examples) the King's persistent failure to inspire respect in his servants and ministers, recalling that neither the impetuous Prince Rupert nor members of the King's Council were 'in awe of him', until the natural relationships of sovereign and subject were reversed and Charles found himself to be 'a servant to their humour'.⁴⁰ Though he lacked the literary skill and analytical powers to keep up with Clarendon much beyond this point, the similarities between the two portraits are significant, and especially so since they are contained in works written at approximately the same time (largely between 1668-74 for Clarendon's and 1675-77 for Warwick's) and published almost twenty-five to thirty years later, within one year of each other. That they represent early, tentative attempts to candidly, rationally reconsider the historical reputation of the deified Royal Martyr, and were suppressed by different executors for similar lengths of time, graphically illustrates the disruptive force which the Popish/Exclusion crises, and then the rhetorical fallout after the Revolution of 1689, exerted upon the natural processes of historical re-assessment and revision which--if we can judge by the continuing strength of the cult of the Royal Martyr--seem to have been severely hampered for over thirty years.

Clarendon's History was received with rapture by the High-Church Tories, who were thrilled with a work which they felt had reiterated the views that the Rebellion had been a holy war, that the Presbyterians had been largely responsible for it, and that the Royal Martyr's act of self-sacrifice had preserved the Church which must now be protected at all costs. They knew, too, that Hyde's integrity was virtually unassailable, not only through his proximity in time and space to the characters and events in his History, but also in his role as architect of the resettled Church and--far from least important--his identity as maternal grandfather of Queen Anne.⁴¹ The Tories were correct in the sense that, regardless of minor quibbles and corrections, no one would openly challenge or attempt to refute Clarendon until 1727 (a full **thirteen years** after the death of the last Stuart monarch), when Whig propagandist John Oldmixon accused Hyde's editors of tampering with the text and erasing the record of Stuart tyranny.⁴² Controversy did arise almost immediately after the publication of the third and final volume, when Whigs demonstrated how Clarendon had left ample room for interpretation, and that it was perfectly possible to extract information from the History which was damaging to the memory of the Royal Martyr, and therefore embarrassing to High Church supporters.

In 'An Antidote against Rebellion' (1704), an anonymous author of obviously Low Church inclinations effectively turned the tables on the high-flyers, using Clarendon's History to claim a new relevance for the Rebellion to the political problems which the nation currently faced, and to suggest that if we are to learn anything from the tragic tale of Charles I, it

must be the necessity of avoiding the factionalism and bigoted religious enthusiasms which fuelled that horrible conflict, and which feature so prominently in Hyde's work. Far from finding in Clarendon's text the intended cautions against the manifest evils of encouraging the dissenting sects, and predictable admonishment concerning the importance of supporting the power of the monarch as the subject's best means of protecting him-/herself from the chaos resulting from a sovereign Parliament, the author points confidently to Clarendon as the source of his arguments that: first, the history of Charles is the story of the dangers of a King placing too much faith in individual relationships while neglecting his constitutional obligation to collaborate with Parliament; and secondly, that Presbyterianism is not the true danger threatening the Church, but Catholicism, or that change in the succession which would alter the constitutional balance of the government [i.e., Jacobitism].⁴³ The former point is much more easily substantiated in Hyde's text than the latter, but the tract illustrates how the inherent ambiguity in Clarendon's attitude toward Charles enabled those who could not openly disagree with the Chancellor to enlist his support for their own arguments.

But easily the most controversial of the Clarendon-inspired retrospectives was White Kennett's sermon for 31 January 1704 at St. Botolph's, Aldgate. His 'Compassionate Enquiry into the Causes of the Civil War' ran to four editions in that first year and was reprinted again in 1708. It inspired the publication of at least six different responses, most of these hostile (and all of which claimed Clarendon as a source), and earned the Low-Church cleric and protégé of Bishop Burnet the

notoriety which kept him a favourite target of Tory propaganda for many years afterward.

The content of Kennett's sermon and the shape of the subsequent debate is well documented,⁴⁴ and so I will limit my contribution on the subject to a few impressions. The vehemence of the responses belies the relative mildness of the criticisms of Charles found in the sermon, most of which are grounded firmly on Clarendon. Though Kennett is accused of exaggerating the impact of the fear of popery and French influence to promote support for ongoing war on the continent,⁴⁵ it is certainly true that in his indictment of the Queen for the lamentable abuse of her influence over the heart and head of her husband, Kennett was explicitly expressing the conclusions which were left implicit in Hyde's text. His willingness to concede the illegality of Charles's economic policies attracted so much attention that no one seemed to have noticed that the author re-affirmed the King's identity as devout Protestant and an authentic martyr of the Church.⁴⁶

It is clear from the rebuttals which Kennett attracted that supporters of the High Church party, who had been so bitterly disappointed by the present ministry, would have none of the modest concessions regarding Charles which had been allowed earlier by such 'moderate' Tories as Hollingworth and Warwick. In her 'Impartial Enquiry into the Causes of Rebellion', the prominent Church advocate and Non-juror Mary Astell speaks for Kennett's other detractors in demanding what amounts to a return to the royal mythology of old, asserting a blemish-free portrait of Charles I which would not have seemed out of place a generation earlier, as an image far more

compatible with Astell's other themes of the sanctity of royal prerogative and the evils inherent in all forms of resistance offered to an anointed monarch. One can discern a subtle Non-juror/Jacobite undercurrent running through these tracts, surfacing among other places in Astell's condemnation of the Revolution of 1689 as a virtual re-enactment of 1641, and latent, too, in Non-juring bishop Henry Gandy's dismissal of Kennett's arguments regarding British fear of French influence with assurances that popery and the British constitution were quite compatible.⁴⁷ Disillusioned with Anne and increasingly preoccupied with the line of succession and the implications of the Act of Settlement, the high-flyers grew bolder in their rhetoric and fiercely defended their vision of Charles I. Kennett gave every indication of having been intimidated by the onslaught, for subsequent publications from him on the subject of Charles--most notably an anonymously-published self-vindication entitled 'A View of the King's Reign' (1704), an anniversary sermon delivered two years after the 'Compassionate Enquiry', and the third volume of his Compleat History of England (1706)--reveal the future Bishop of Peterborough to have softened dramatically in his attitudes toward Charles, suddenly preferring to explain the old conflict in terms of the ideas of ministerial culpability and Charles's victimization.⁴⁸

It might be useful here to return to Ned Ward and one of his works which uniquely demonstrates how Clarendon was used during the remainder of Anne's reign to promote the cause of the High Church party, through the projection of its vision of Charles and the rebellion which brought him down. Ward

achieved this in his History of the Grand Rebellion by effectively 're-writing' Clarendon in the course of translating the Chancellor's text into verse, working on it intermittently between 1706 and the publication of two of the first three volumes in 1713. As Ward himself indicates in his preface, he was inspired by some impressive engravings of portraits of eminent Royalists by painters like Van Dyck and Dobson, and intended his book to represent a permanent memorial to 'those dead Worthies, whose Images ought...to remain imprinted for ever in the Minds of Posterity', hoping with this description of a Cavalier order of chivalry to distinguish their High Tory descendants, while encouraging a reverence for the Crown and an abhorrence of all its enemies in the hearts of all Anne's loyal subjects.⁴⁹ In adapting Clarendon to his purposes, it was necessary for Ward to eliminate the more embarrassing admissions of Royalist ineptitude found in the original. This meant major omissions in Ward's re-workings of the Chancellor's character sketches of key figures like Buckingham, Strafford, and especially Archbishop Laud.⁵⁰ Even the Queen, who received no concentrated analysis from Clarendon but was the target for his thinly-veiled antipathy throughout his text, is given a rose-coloured tinting in Ward.

But Charles, naturally, was the main beneficiary of this process, and Ward's intentions are reflected in descriptions of individual incidents as well as in the assessment of the King which concludes volume II. His sanitized account of the King's invasion of the Commons to seize the five MPs contrasts sharply with Clarendon's, who despite his circumspection could not hide his fury over this most avoidable of royal blunders;

Strafford's blood also washes off Charles's hands that much more easily. So it should not be surprising that Ward would not only filter out of Clarendon's character sketch all of the latter's very mild criticisms of the royal personality (with the sole exception of his comment on Charles's poor confidence in his own judgment), but also revert to the kind of hero-worship which would have been far more excusable from an old Royalist like the Chancellor. Besides amplifying the 'personal virtues' which Clarendon mentions, Ward also presents Charles in all his post-execution elegiac splendour, as the personified synthesis of the virtues possessed by the Old and New Testament paragons.

No David greater Piety could boast,
Or in a stricter Conscience put his Trust...
With such a Saint-like Warmth and Purity,
That his Devotion shew'd his Heav'nly Mind,
So full of Zeal, so totally resign'd
To God, as if his Eyes, impower'd by Grace,
Amidst his Pray'rs, beheld his Maker's Face;
And that he was not only born to sway
A Sceptre, but to teach the World to pray;
And, by his Meek and Holy Life, to shew;
Like Moses, he was Prince and Prophet too.

II, p. 447

These themes of divine right kingship, and the case for the continuing relevance of religious enthusiasm in the modern political world, were not as outdated as one might expect, owing in part to the deliberate efforts of the High Church faction to keep them alive. Frustrated in their attempts to influence government since 1705, and further marginalized with the fall of Harley and the significant weakening of the Tories in the Commons after the loss of the election of 1708, the High Church advocates were virtually muzzled by the political circumstances in the latter half of that first decade of the century, with

the exception of the regular opportunities seized by militant clergymen to drive home their familiar message of 'Church-in-danger' on the set occasions of 5th November and 30th January. Men like Luke Milbourne, the Bishop of Bristol George Smalridge, Toland's old foe Offspring Blackall and others continued to remind their congregations on the Martyr's anniversary of the scandalous crimes which the Presbyterians had perpetrated against King and Church sixty years earlier. And then Henry Sacheverell's sermon on 5 November 1709 placed non-resistance, passive obedience, and divine right monarchy back at the top of the political agenda.

The Whigs saw in the opportunity to impeach Sacheverell a chance to force the long-postponed debate on the Revolution principles which they felt the hot-headed preacher had condemned. It is generally accepted now that one of the most surprising things to emerge from the proceedings was the high degree of similarity between the positions of the two parties, and the serious divisions within the Tory ranks which the trial exposed. In presenting their case, the cleric's prosecutors were driven to severely mitigate the 'Whig' notion of a contractual basis of government, avoiding the implications of the people's right to resist, or Parliament's power to legitimize a monarch, by preferring to emphasize the extreme nature of the dilemma with which James had presented the nation. The Tories on the other hand could not present a united front on the issues which were raised by the subject of the Revolution. Sacheverell's official defence (as conducted by Sir Simon Harcourt) reflected the influence of Harley and the moderate wing of the party, denying that the sermon had challenged the legality of 1689 or the

legitimacy of governments/sovereigns since James II, and **implying** the defendant's acceptance of many of the assumptions concerning the Revolution which the prosecution proclaimed (including acquiescence in the existence of the subject's very qualified right of resistance: i.e., only in cases of tyranny). At the same time, however, the High Church party conducted a pamphlet campaign on the streets of London, re-affirming the Non-juror tenets of absolute non-resistance and the indefeasible hereditary right of succession which amounted to a challenge to the validity of the Act of Settlement--over 500 pieces of literature were generated in the immediate aftermath of the trial.⁵¹

The controversy sparked a renewal of interest in Charles which continued to be fuelled mainly by High Church rhetoric, and which outlived Queen Anne and the last of the Tory ministries. Denied a voice in Westminster Hall, and outraged by what they saw in Harcourt's arguments as the betrayal of the essential religious and political principles of the Tory party, the High Church faction published a profusion of literature which attempted to counteract the perceived movement in Sacheverell's defence toward the neutral middle ground, by emphatically denying that any use of force/resistance against the King had ever occurred in 1688, thus inviting the kinds of comparison between the fates of Charles I and James II which had been such a taboo subject twenty years earlier. In tracts like 'The Layman's Lamentation' (1710), arguments for divine right monarchy were linked with portraits of a beatified Charles, and they offered accounts of the Civil War which explained the causes of the conflict and regicide in terms of national sin, the consequences of factionalism, and as the inevitable seditious

activities of Presbyterians/Dissenters.⁵² Old hagiographies of Charles were resurrected at this time--Fyfe's eulogistic opera reprinted in 1709 and 1710 and England's Black Tribunal from 1660 re-issued fifty years later, to name but two--and new works like the poems 'Exequiae Carolinae' (1710) and 'The Church of England Martyr' (1714) were written which, regardless of the tentatively-shaded images from Clarendon's History, presented a celestially luminous King locked in a battle with the forces of darkness. The depictions of a monarch of unimpeachable (hereditary) right, besieged by religious factions and a grasping Parliament, lent these works a Jacobite undertone which featured strongly enough in the literature of 1710-14 to leave the entire Tory party highly vulnerable to the Whig rhetoric which tarred them all with the same charges of loyalty to the Pretender and crypto-popery once the time for the Hanoverian succession had actually arrived.

Faction and Schism that ope' the dreadful way
For those to Govern, who could ne'er Obey;
The evil Genii on each Kingdom wait,
To rend its Church, and overturn its State;
These have disturb'd the Peace of ev'ry Age.
But greater Things who might not still presage,
From holy Rebels, and religious Rage?
Rage³ in which, Britons, you yourselves out-do,
And Acts no Annals, but your own, can show.
'Exequiae Carolinae', 11.1-9⁵³

Besides revealing the depth of the divisions within the Tory party, as well as demonstrating how little progress it had made in coming to terms with the questions raised in 1688 concerning justifiable resistance to kings and patriarchal monarchy, the High Church propaganda also succeeded in drawing out the Whig apologists on the subject of Charles I and the nature of the relationship between the Civil War and the

Revolution. Since the last months of William's reign the irreverent voice of the Whig radicals had been silenced, but now the celebration of hardline royalism and the full-scale return of its most infuriating symptom--zealous worship of the Royal Martyr--goaded some into voicing their criticisms of Charles once again, and renewing the opposition to the anniversary commemoration.

The more circumspect of these writers, sensitive to the predictable Tory tactic of equating their opponents with the Presbyterian regicides, sought to dismiss the High Church platform as anachronistic and irrelevant without challenging its image of a saintly Charles. In 'A General View of Our Present Discontents', for example, the anonymous author sneers that 'The Notion of the Divine Right of Monarchy is such an absurdity,...[and] engages one so every step in nonsense...'. But he is also careful in how he refutes Leslie's claim that Charles's execution had met with as much approval by the depraved general public as James II's expulsion, arguing that the King had died because a small group had wrested power away from Parliament (and the People), and in the process citing Clarendon as the source of evidence proving that the Church of England was pulled down by the self-destructive machinations of its own factions.⁵⁴

Others, however, were less timid in their willingness to turn the tables on the Tories and use Charles as a weapon against them. John Toland is credited with writing two pamphlets in 1710, the first of which features letters from James I and Charles I (the latter addressed to the beleaguered Rochellois) in which these monarchs endorse the legality of resisting a

ruler under extreme circumstances, while the second tract identifies the rituals associated with the 30th January as one of the causes of the perpetuation of 'these slavish Notions' of passive obedience and the divine right of all hereditary rulers. 'The Design of that Day of Humiliation', he explains, 'set apart to deprecate God's Judgments for an Action which few alive could approve and none had a hand in, is most scandalously perverted, when 'tis made use of to alienate Peoples Affections from the Present Government and Protestant Succession'. If this pamphlet is indeed Toland's, it serves as a controlled, rational echo of his appeal ten years earlier for the need of the British people to adopt a more temperate, secularized approach to politics. And Defoe--who originally had opposed the idea of prosecuting Sacheverell, but who nevertheless was moved to drop the moderate tone which generally characterized the Review in mounting a series of vehement personal attacks against the accused--was correctly identified by many listening to Harcourt's closing speech at the trial as the source of the provocative statement that the only variation between '49 and '89 was 'the Difference between a Dry and Wet Martyrdom'. 55

'High-Church Politicks', however, remains the period's most provocative and powerfully-phrased attack on Tory extremism. It revived some of the radical ideas which Toland had explored in 'Amyntor', concerning the function of history and the relationship between religion and politics. Though it represents something of an aberration, offering a perspective which is too secular and rationalistic to be representative of the majority of readers in 1710, yet the pamphlet serves as a

precursor of the inexorable movement throughout the eighteenth century towards the secularization of English politics, and marks the beginning of the end of the era in which the image of the Royal Martyr could serve as an effective symbol in the rhetoric of Tory political propaganda.

Sub-titled 'the Abuses of the 30th of January Consider'd', 'High-Church Politicks' was designed, its author tells us, to contest the anniversary sermons which Luke Milbourne had delivered over the previous three years. The tract declares that the anniversary as it had been permitted to develop is a tradition which serves as an affront to all who are truly religious, and the author challenges the integrity of a Church which celebrates the 5th of November and the principles which were thought to have been preserved by the events of the Glorious Revolution, while 'thundering out Anathema's' against the consequences of the same policy (i.e., resistance) which were lamented every 30th January..

All the Distinction which can be imagined, is, that the one is **Church Resistance**, and the other is **Presbyterian**: Indeed, it will be said, (tho falsely) the latter cut off his Head; and the other only drove him out of England... The Causes of these several Proceedings were much the same; King Charles would have set up a Protestant tyranny, and King James a Popish one; Both were subverters of the Laws and Constitution; and tho' they made two different exits, yet the Crime in opposing one is tantamount to the other.

p.4

'High-Church Politicks' does not offer the reader a startling new vision of Charles, but serves as an excellent coda for the uneven literary movement which had pushed for a re-assessment of Charles and the history of his times during the post-Revolution period. In the course of summarizing the issues and marshalling the arguments the author provides valuable

commentary on the shape of the debate as well as reflecting in his own prose the new directions in which public opinion was beginning to move. For example, in attacking the blasphemous tone of the sermons of Milbourne and his colleagues, in which it was customary to ascribe to Charles a level of spiritual perfection little short of that which was properly reserved for Christ, the author is merely reiterating criticisms which appeared in the earliest printed censures of the anniversary--in the 'Ludlow' letters and other pamphlets of the early 1690s--which could themselves have been inspired by Milton's charges of idolatrous excess in Stuart iconography (and particularly in the Eikon Basilike). The same is true of his objections to the clergy's habitual misuse of Biblical text, to 'rather accommodate Scripture to their Opinion, than their Opinions to Scripture'. But the author steps back from the battle momentarily to assess the overall development of public debate, observing that either side can use scripture to support antithetical points of view, before suggesting that quotations from the Bible seemed decidedly old-fashioned, and implying that the identification of convenient Old Testament parallels should be considered an irrelevance in eighteenth-century political discourse.⁵⁶

Having abandoned this traditional source of authority, the author of 'Church Politicks' leaves us in no doubt as to what he will use in its place. He makes extensive and scrupulously documented use of the recent historical studies of the Civil War period which had gone before it. Clarendon, Rushworth, and Kennett's Compleat History of England were all consulted, and the author obviously took great care to establish

an impression of impartiality, balancing his sources with writers from both sides of the religious and political divides, with arch-Laudian Peter Heylyn offsetting the great Presbyterian divine Richard Baxter, and the works of Parliamentarians Ludlow and Whitelocke represented alongside Royalists like Nalson and Hyde. Rushworth's Collections emerge as the dominant source, however, as the author seeks to base his criticisms of Charles's leadership on a detailed account of the crimes and constitutional infringements which were perpetrated by the government during his reign.⁵⁷

One of the author's purposes in writing the tract, he tells us, was to refute Milbourne and his colleagues in the eyes of moderate churchmen, and so he deemed it necessary to conduct a significant portion of the debate on High-Church terms, offering a detailed point-by-point analysis of Milbourne's use of scripture in his recent anniversary sermons, both to expose the weakness of the clergyman's understanding and establish his own commitment to Christianity.

In the end it is in the role of a concerned Anglican that the author directs his strongest appeal for the Church to make the urgently-needed reforms. Under this guise--be it genuine or imagined--it was of course necessary to express some sort of regret over the Royal Martyr's unhappy end, and after enumerating the more notorious of Charles's policies, the author explains that '...it is with a Concern that I mention these mismanagements; and I can't forebear pitying the unhappy Circumstances of that unfortunate Prince who was push'd on by the intoxicating Notions of High Church [to bring about his ruin]'. But regardless of these tender feelings, he goes on

to argue, it will do no good either to the memory of Charles, or the reputation of the Church, to continue to circulate dangerous fictions which fly in the face of learned opinion and render all of the Church's teachings suspect.

I have known the extravagant Praises of the Royal Martyr run men not only upon irreligious rants, but Civil Seditions,...[whereby] many shew a greater zeal in the Cause of Charles I than for any Principle of Religion,... declaim in florid harangues on many imaginary scenes,... [are seen by the people to] frequently trespass against notorious facts, and give false Colours to leading points.

p. 57

Besides failing to halt the inevitable processes of historical re-assessment, the author declares that such sermons had contributed to the current rise of Deism, and were directly responsible for the general contempt for the clergy which was (he insists) then prevalent. English men and women, he argues, were on the threshold of recognizing this emotional hysteria for what it undoubtedly was--an immoral ploy by means of which an allegedly out-dated political philosophy (divine right monarchy) could be sustained, and with it the perpetuation of a sociopolitical order secured which served the Church and a small group of politicians very well.

This is **Enthusiasm** beyond expression, to raze the very foundation of the Christian Religion, to create a Veneration to a poor perishing Mortal, who had nothing to distinguish him from the common frailties of human nature but the Title and Authority of a Monarch...Such Raptures can serve no other End, but to make People either Superstitious or Atheistical...We live in an Age, where the Laity almost vie with the Clergy for Learning: And will this not lead them to think, that the Clergy are ready to sacrifice the Principles of Common Sense as well as Religion to their Interest.

p. 54

At the heart of the argument in 'Church Politicks' lies a belief in the need to place some kind of limitation upon the role which the Church is permitted to play in British politics--

an idea which we saw developing in Toland's 'Amyntor' (1699) and in Archbishop Sharp's sermon to the Lords on 30 January 1700. Indeed, the author appears indebted to Sharp for his observations on the inadequacies of the Bible as a handbook for the structuring of an efficient, just system of government:

It would argue a strange Extravagancy in our thoughts to imagine that ever Christ intended to comprehend the Principles of Policy in the Revelation of the Christian Religion; whereby we might exactly calculate the Measures of Civil Authority, and determine the Right of Princes.

p. 21

The link between absolutism and the anniversary sermons had been there for all to see for quite some time, but all three of these writers (Toland, Sharp, and the anonymous 'High-Church' author) chose Charles I as the appropriate subject through which to address the problems of allowing religious fervour and passionate sympathy so free a hand in shaping our understanding of history, its relationship to the present, and what will be required to bring about a better future.

If by 1710 the time had not yet come when the ideas which constitute the major themes of 'High-Church Politicks' would be acted upon, that time was not far off. Though the Whigs seemed to have self-destructed in the wake of their nominal victory at the Sacheverell trial, the Tories were doomed to increasing division and eventual defeat through their inability to agree on answers to the questions concerning non-resistance, contractual government, and hereditary succession which had been posed by the events of 1688. While Anne and Harley presented a united front in thwarting the ambitions of High Churchmen to play a decisive role in shaping government policy, the pamphlet war which was instigated by the Lord Treasurer,

in an effort to bring the extremists back into line with his own plans for a coalition government dominated by a more moderate Tory party, only exacerbated the differences between the factions of left and right. In the end, by the time Queen Anne had died the Tories were unable to convince the English people that they could be trusted to implement the Act of Settlement or were sufficiently committed to effecting the smooth and peaceful continuation of the Protestant Succession.⁵⁸

The idea of divine right monarchy actually survived the end of the Stuart dynasty in 1714. Despite the obvious difficulty most Englishmen would have had in working up the same mystical enthusiasm for a foreigner on the throne (and a Lutheran one at that), over a period of time the Whigs were able to successfully attach a revised form of the doctrine to the House of Hanover. Gone was the association with the Stuarts, of course, and the principle of indefeasible hereditary succession was replaced by an emphasis upon the 'divine right of Providence' (as it had been made manifest by God's placement of George I on the British throne); insistence upon the subject's obligation of obedience to the Crown, and the prohibition against resistance to authority, continued as before--in tones of religious fervency. Though it lost much of its relevance in political debate through George I's self-evident lack of interest in affairs of state, and the subsequent growth in the role played by the Prime Minister, the doctrine of divine right retained a strong religious and cultural power with the English people for many decades to come.⁵⁹

As for Charles I, his star naturally waned with the fortunes of the High Church faction and the Tory party. In the era of

the Whig ascendancy, those espousing the old Royalist view of Charles as the divinely-anointed Victim, indefensibly opposed and deposed without cause, ran the risk of branding themselves as Jacobites. It is surprising, though, how long it took the Whigs to feel secure enough in their position to begin casting a revisionist eye as far back into the seventeenth century as the Great Rebellion and Charles's reign, as scholars and political hacks waited until virtually the accession of George II before challenging Clarendon's History in earnest. Perhaps some of this caution can be explained by what J. C. D. Clark's study suggests was a decision made by those in the new administration to allow the figure of Charles I to work for them whenever possible: thus Georges I and II attend services every 30 January from 1714 until 1760, when a new monarch, feeling more secure in his claim, ascended the throne.⁶⁰

In spite of the continuing vigour of the anniversary commemoration, however, with the new regime came the inevitable--if slowly paced--alterations in the Church's political role. By 31 March 1717, Benjamin Hoadly, Bishop of Bangor and perhaps the most consistently effective of the Whig crusaders, had taken up this theme of the need for greater secularisation in political debate and government administration. In his sermon of that date on 'The Nature of the Kingdom, or Church of Christ', Hoadly denied that Christ had ever intended his Church to wield any political power or authority in this world. While the publication of the homily provoked an avalanche of outraged response, those in the new ministry saw clearly that, while skillfull manipulation of traditional religious attitudes could only strengthen their hold on the reins of

government, their interests were best served in the long run by a slow but steady movement away from the 'theocratic' excesses which High Churchmen had advocated.

CHAPTER 7

SWIFT AND DEFOE ON THE ROYAL MARTYR.

Despite the obvious differences between them in personal circumstance and outlook which each would have been eager to emphasize, Jonathan Swift and Daniel Defoe actually had a lot more in common than a mutual fascination with the memory of Charles I. Both enjoyed long careers as political journalists across a period spanning from the end of William's reign until well into that of George II. Each identified himself with both the Whigs and Tories at one time or another during this period (with Defoe sometimes writing for both sides simultaneously). Both became key components in Robert Harley's Tory propaganda machine, though each appeared to be genuinely convinced of his own literary and philosophical independence: convinced that--despite services rendered to the ministry--he had remained true to his own principles of moderation. Both men returned to the subject of Charles repeatedly over the course of their careers, at a time when one's attitude toward the Royal Martyr was used by contemporaries to assign the speaker/author a place in the forum of English politics--with Tories or Whigs, Jacobites or Hanoverians. Whether they were writing in support of, or in opposition to, government policy, and speaking either with their 'own voices' or 'in-character'--adopting the identity (and arguments) of an opponent--together Swift and Defoe offer a unique perspective on the image of Charles I: on its function in party propaganda, its problematic ties with deeply-felt personal loyalties, and the evolution of the late King's historical reputation.

1. JONATHAN SWIFT

Of the two, Swift's political views in general--and his own personal attitudes toward Charles and the Civil War in particular--are more easily accessible, thanks mainly to the surreptitious nature of so many of Defoe's literary activities and the present, chaotic state of the author's canon which may be a natural consequence of this furtiveness.¹ But Swift's own network of opinions and allegiances leaves us with a figure of the Dean who is also quite difficult to categorize along the conventional Tory/Whig standard. Though he could boast that he belonged to neither party, he certainly sought preferment to an English bishopric from the leaders of both parties (albeit at different times) in the usual way: by trying to convince them that he served their cause, sharing their goals and more than a few of their opinions. Actually he combined the principles of 'Old Whiggery'--the belief in a mixed or limited monarchy, with a strong Parliament meeting regularly to guarantee that the liberties and property of the subject would be protected by constitutional law--with the conviction that a Crown with strong powers of prerogative offered the English their best chance of enjoying political stability and maintaining social order. Wholehearted approval of the Revolution of 1688 co-existed with his own qualified notions of the duties of passive obedience and non-resistance which the subject owed his/her sovereign. For the first ten years of his involvement in English public affairs, he strove mightily against the common assumptions of his contemporaries by attempting to reconcile his association with the Whigs with a passionate loyalty to

high-flying Anglicanism. Plainly Swift saw no contradiction in his often-cited attempt at self-portraiture, when he described himself as 'much inclined to be what they called a Whig in politics...But as to religion...an High-Churchman'.²

What emerges consistently and unambiguously from the Swift canon is the author's profound conservatism which was squarely rooted in his fierce devotion to the Church of England. One of the most prominent manifestations of this conservatism in his work is found in Swift's various accounts of the Civil War period, and his attitudes toward the era which that conflict had brought to an end. It is clear that he nurtured a nostalgic idealization of an old-world, pre-1640 society in which the King, his Church, the nobility and propertied classes, even the language and literature of the nation were all more secure in their positions. He saw the Great Rebellion's lasting legacy as the decimation of England's ruling class, the subsequent corruption of the surviving members of that group once the Restoration had given them the means, and the rise of fanatical principles and anti-social attitudes which had not died--which she might never be rid of.³ To Swift, the 1640's marked the end of the 'halcyon times when an idyllic, paternalistic society existed under the auspices of a morally-upright land-based nobility'.⁴ In many ways he was haunted by the images of 1641, and motivated in his writing by the fierce desire to see the old traditions restored and preserved, especially in the Church. Swift consistently presented the constitutional and ecclesiastical outrages of '41 and '49 as the work of the Presbyterians and the other godless enemies of the Church, and Charles I naturally loomed large in any imaginative depiction

of those turbulent times. As the patron of the Laudian Church Swift admired, and the martyr whose sacrifice had made that Church's restoration possible, Charles had demonstrated a commitment to Anglicanism which the Dean could not fail to consider heroic. Paradoxically, it was in his role as the victim of Parliament's impertinences--as the ruler whose conciliatory responses to the illegal demands of his inferiors had ushered in an era of anarchy and atheism-- that Charles functions as Swift's 'cautionary model against the folly of under-reaction', as the man whose carelessness with the genie's bottle had doomed subsequent generations to the necessity of cohabiting with Dissenters and other dangerous fanatics.⁵

Several of Swift's modern biographers have suggested that the Dean's regard for Charles was rooted in his own sense of identity. His father had died seven months before the author's birth, and it is significant that, in his autobiographical fragment, of all his relations Swift lavishes the greatest care on the description of his paternal grandfather Thomas Swift, the vicar of Goodrich and rector of Bridstow in Herefordshire. Thomas, who died nine years before Swift was born, may have owed his special place in his grandson's affections (Nokes calls him the Dean's 'first hero') as much to his record of faithful service to King Charles as to his parallel choice of a career in the Church.⁶

This Thomas was more distinguished by his courage, as well as his loyalty to K. Charles the 1st., and the sufferings he underwent for that Prince, more than any person of his condition in England. Some Historians of those times relate several particulars...of what he acted, and what hardships he underwent, for the Person and cause of that blessed Martyred Prince.

The author was obviously proud of this ancestor who had endured

so much for his Sovereign and the One True Faith, remarking that his home had been plundered some thirty-six times by Roundhead troops, and that for his integrity he was turned out of both livings and his estate sequestered. In his comprehensive study of Swift, Irvin Ehrenpreis notes that on his final trip to England in 1727, the melancholy Dean presented the church at Goodrich with his grandfather's chalice, on which Swift had had inscribed both names and an identification of the former as one 'known in history on account of the things he did and suffered for Charles I' (which if nothing else at least indicates his own determination to remember the clergyman in this way). It may also be worth noting that Sir William Temple, the young Swift's patron and surrogate father, could claim even stronger historical ties to the Royal Martyr, since after his mother's death he had been raised by his maternal uncle, Dr. Henry Hammond, private chaplain to Charles I and spiritual comforter to His Majesty during his captivity.⁸

The redoubtable Temple appears to have exerted a strong influence upon Swift, who arrived in London in April 1701 with political opinions similar to those of his recently-deceased mentor, including the inclination to identify himself with the Whig party. It was at precisely this time--in the aftermath of the Tories' victory in the January election--that the capital had been thrown into turmoil over the issue of the impeachment of the four Whig ministers (the Lords Portland, Orford, Halifax, and Somers) for their role in the secret partition treaties of 1698-1700, by which England and France divided the Spanish empire between themselves.⁹ The ambitious young cleric was eager to make himself useful to the powerful men who had

dominated government for most of the last decade or so, but he found the High Church party very much in the ascendant, and very determined to expunge all traces of non-conformity from all levels of public service. Thus, from the very beginning of his career in English politics, Swift was faced with the difficult task of reconciling his hopes for preferment, which would result from yet-to-be-made connections with Low Church grandees, with his own High Church religious beliefs.

Out of this conflict emerged Swift's first political pamphlet, 'A Discourse of the Contests and Dissensions between the Nobles and the Commons in Athens and Rome', a work which was designed to defend the four beleaguered lords--and the integrity of the entire upper chamber and the prerogative of the Crown as well--from the excesses of an overbearing House of Commons. Here he professes a faith in the desirability of 'mixed' or tripartite government, and the need for limitations on the powers of both the monarch and Parliament, expressing constitutional concerns which would characterize his political thinking for the rest of his life. Such thoughts effectively distinguished him from the majority of High Church enthusiasts, who generally linked Swift's type of support for the maintenance of the Church's pre-eminent position, and his kind of wish to see Anglicans granted a monopoly on public office, with an unhealthy attraction to the prospect of a monarch with absolute powers (whom--despite the contradiction offered by James's recent example--they believed would offer the best protection of these privileges).

In 'Contests and Dissensions' Swift uses a technique which has been described as 'parallel history'--a polemical strategy

distinct from satirical allegory in that it allows for a far less literal correspondence with the elements of the source material, but which still 'allowed political criticism to masquerade as historical analysis'.¹⁰ Through this means Swift uses history to establish the 'Revolution principle' of the importance of balanced government, presenting examples from antiquity to illustrate the dangers latent in extremisms of all types. The tract directs arguments at the leaders of both parties, urging them to come to a rational solution, and reminding its readers that historical precedents existed for the establishment of tyrannies by both the legislative and executive branches. But the piece also reveals the author's deeply conservative nature in the sense that it chronicles his fears for the fragility of the constitution, and his anxieties for the prospects of the preservation of an orderly society and the smooth continuation of cultural traditions. Although Swift recognized the potential dangers posed to the status quo from both an arbitrary Crown and an unruly mob, 'Contests and Dissensions' reveals an early determination that the social order was under a significantly greater threat from below than it was from above.¹¹

We can see these themes made manifest in 'Contests' in Swift's coded reference to the fall of Charles I. Constitutional violations of various kinds are said to have occurred in ancient Rome in the years leading up to a similar episode of royal blood-letting, but neither the despotism of tyrannic emperors, nor the usurpation of the privileges of the lower house by the Senate (i.e., the Lords), resulted in catastrophe on quite the same scale as when the Commons attempted to govern without the

participation of the other two branches of government.

The People, having once discovered their own Strength, did soon take Occasion to exert it, and that by very great Degrees. For, at this King's Death, (who was murdered by the Sons of the former), being at a Loss for a Successor, Servius Tullius, a Stranger, and of mean Extraction, was chosen Protector of the Kingdom, by the People, without the Consent of the Senate...¹²

Tarquinius Priscus, Charles's equivalent here, is implicitly presented as bearing some of the responsibility for the national disaster which follows his death, for the subsequent chaos is portrayed as resulting from his over-indulgence of the People, in the form of granting unprecedented concessions to their representatives in the Commons. Ultimately one comes away from Swift's political works with the very real feeling that, as in this the author's first literary reference to the Royal Martyr, the idea of Charles as complicit victim is never far from Swift's mind. This remains true even when he became most closely associated with Harley and the causes of the Tory ministry between 1710-1714, when the need to blacken the Whigs made it desirable to emphasize the spotless victim over the cautionary figure.

It is interesting, too, to examine the language which Swift employs in the passage, in defending the Whig-dominated Lords from the Tory Commons. Swift places the blame for the regicide and the ensuing Protectorate on the nebulous entity of 'the People', a phrase which could be taken to represent the nation at large, but which he also uses to stand for the Commons. He refuses to offer the conventional Whig explanations of the mid-century turmoil (i.e., that the King's death was the work of a tiny, opportunistic faction, or that the Commons could not be held accountable for the post-war mess, having been

altered beyond recognition after the interference of Pride's Purge). It seems as though Swift could not bring himself to authenticate any version of history which minimized the culpability of the Presbyterians/Dissenters for the horrors of genocide and the murder of a lawful sovereign.

Swift's anxieties over the tenability of his position as a High-Church Whig surface in a tract entitled 'The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man with Respect to Religion and Government', which was not published until 1711 but was probably written in 1708 or 1709, during his first experience of intense political lobbying. In November 1707 he had returned to London as the emissary of the Church of Ireland, seeking to obtain for his Irish colleagues the remission of the First Fruits (the traditional fees paid by Anglican clergymen to the Crown out of parish revenues) which the Queen had recently granted to English clerics. Against a backdrop of dramatic transition in Westminster, which saw the resignation of Harley from the cabinet in February 1708 and the winning of a commanding majority in the Commons by the Whigs in the May elections, Swift grew increasingly uneasy during a period of prolonged and ultimately unsuccessful importuning of the Whig leaders. For eighteen months, he balanced their disingenuous excuses and empty promises against the nobility of his cause and his own fond hopes for personal advancement, while agonizing over requests for a display of good faith, before finally writing in support of the continuation of occasional conformity.¹³ Written in the context of profound inner conflict, at a time when High Church apologists were responding to defeat in the strident tones of Non-juror militancy (and particularly on 30 January), 'Sentiments' on

the one hand represents Swift's plea for moderation from the extremists on both sides of the political divide, while on the other, functions as a personal manifesto in which the author defines his own brand of Moderate Anglicanism.

The pamphlet contains some of Swift's most engaging proclamations of his own independence from the influences of either political party. 'Whoever hath examined the Conduct and Proceedings of both Parties for some Years past, whether in or out of Power', he tells his readers, 'cannot well conceive it possible to go far towards the extreams of either, without confirming some Violence to his Integrity or Understanding'. Swift strongly affirms his own commitment to preserving the achievements of the Revolution of 1688, but is quick to assert that all rational Churchmen do so. He attempts to pre-empt the messy debate over the divine right nature of both episcopacy and monarchy with a pragmatic, common-sense reading of history, through which he argues that, even if neither can be said to be directly established by the hand of the Almighty, each is certainly old enough to enjoy the sanctions which can only be imparted by tradition. He concludes that in politics, as in the structuring of churches, many forms of government are lawful in God's eyes, but that monarchy--like episcopacy--appears to be the best, because it is 'fittest of all Others for preserving Order and Purity...for our Civil State'.¹⁴

Throughout the tract Swift insists that his own heterodox blend of liberal politics and conservative Anglicanism is not only more the rule than the exception among modern Churchmen, but is also the only safe way forward for the responsible Englishman. To an extent, this means defending each side from

the calumnies of the other:

...I cannot possibly think so well or so ill of either Party, as they would endeavour to persuade the World of each other, and of themselves. For Instance, I do not charge it upon the Body of the Whigs, or the Tories, that their several Principles lead them to introduce Presbytery, and the Religion of the Church of Rome, or a Commonwealth and arbitrary Power. For, why should any Party be accused of a Principle which they solemnly disown and protest against?¹⁵

But while much of the pamphlet is spent cleansing the Church of the stains of Jacobitism, some effort had to be spent in restoring the lustre to the reputations of his present masters, and Swift is quite harsh in defending the Whigs from that most recurrent of all Tory slurs.

As to the Abdication of King James...I think a Man may observe every Article of the English Church, without being in much Pain about it. It is not unlikely that all Doors were laid open for his Departure, and perhaps not without the Privity of the Prince of Orange...But, to affirm he had any Cause to Apprehend the same Treatment with his Father, is an improbable Scandal flung upon the Nation by a few bigotted French Scribblers, or the invidious Assertion of a ruined Party at home, in the bitterness of their Souls: Not one material Circumstance agreeing with those in 1648; and the greatest Part of the Nation having preserved the utmost Horror for that ignominious Murder.¹⁶

While resisting the pressure to propound the Whig view that James had been deposed by Church-sanctioned force in 1688, Swift appears to be trying to coax his Non-juring colleagues into relinquishing their tenacious grip on the notion of absolute non-resistance, by admitting that James's fall had not been an entirely uncoerced abdication. And though much of the author's efforts in 'Sentiments' are channelled into convincing the readers that a significant Jacobite faction within the Church simply does not exist, that exertion is rather counteracted by Swift's sharp denunciation of comparisons between '49 and '89 as the work of 'bigotted French Scribblers' and/or the

'Assertions of a ruined Party at home'--a reference to the Jacobites, but possibly meant to include the Tories, in lieu of the defeat suffered in the 1708 election. The linking of Tory propaganda with the supporters of the French regime clearly invites (inadvertently or not) an association with the Pretender's court at St. Germain.

At any rate, while he is aspiring to the role of Moderator ('the truest Service a private Man may hope to do his Country'), Swift is willing to challenge some of the key assumptions upon which most High Church propaganda was based: namely, that true Anglicans were identifiable by their unquestioning acceptance of the doctrines of divine right monarchy and passive obedience; that the Whigs were the natural successors of the old Presbyterians who had perpetrated the Civil War and subsequent regicide; and that 1688 stood as proof that rebellion, Commonwealth, and the dismantling of the Church of England remained the goals of this party. With the exception of the first premise, these were ideas Swift was equally content to circulate once he had deserted from the Whig ranks.

It was his eloquent arguments for adopting a middle way, as espoused in tracts like 'Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man', which won Swift the attentions of Robert Harley in the early autumn of 1710. Harley had reaped the rewards of the ill-advised prosecution of Sacheverell, returning to the cabinet the previous April, and, in fact, by the time of Swift's return to London in September of that year, the Tories were barely a month away from regaining control of both the ministry and Commons.

Queen Anne's new Chancellor of the Exchequer entertained

visions of leading a solidly bi-partisan administration and immediately set about the business of mending fences with the enfeebled Whigs (a process which was thwarted by the resignations en masse of the Whig cabinet ministers in September). Confronted with the rising figure of Henry St. John (a charismatic young Tory bitterly opposed to the ideals of a coalition government, and an increasingly emboldened challenger to Harley's leadership of the party and the government), and faced, too, with the task of damping down the fires of High Church rhetoric which had enabled the Tories to capitalize on the Sacheverell affair, Harley was badly in need of the assistance of someone capable of communicating to the public, in a persuasive way, his principles of government by moderation and cooperation. By recruiting Swift and Defoe to work from opposite sides of the political periphery towards the common goal of populating this middle ground, Harley was implementing a plan whereby it was hoped that government policy could be more effectively supported through the manipulation of the press and the shaping of public perceptions, than it would be through the mere suppression of the hostile elements of the press.¹⁷

For his part, Swift arrived in London as a man who was ready to be wooed. Always a very proud man who was extremely conscious of his own sense of dignity, Swift still carried the scars of his indifferent reception at the hands of Somers, Godolphin, Wharton, etc., during his last visit. Now, upon meeting Harley for the first time in October 1710, not only was Swift delighted to receive the minister's virtually immediate acquiescence in his long-outstanding petition regarding the remission of the First Fruits (and Harley's actually taking

the effective steps to bring about the desired remedy), but the vicar of Laracor was also flattered by the great man's regard for his talents, his intimacy, and his obvious interest in soliciting Swift's services. Less than a month after his introduction to Harley on 4 October, Swift had accepted the Chancellor's offer to become the author of The Examiner, which had been launched by St. John the previous August as the official mouthpiece of the Tory party.¹⁸

Once he had decided to change sides, Swift's conversion was a complete one. His friendships with prominent Whigs like Joseph Addison and Richard Steele cooled very rapidly. Indeed, his old party becomes the target of a steady stream of invective. Swift explained this apparently abrupt departure from old allegiances and established principles by insisting that he had undergone no Damascus-type conversion experience, but remained true to the convictions which were most closely associated with the traditional Whig party, before power had corrupted the Junto into abandoning the heritage of its 'country' principles. Indeed, the Examiner declares that there was no 'material Difference' between the great majority of the present Tories and those who called themselves 'Old' Whigs, and insists that his criticisms are aimed only at the modern-day imposters of the same name, who alone are dedicated to transforming the country into 'a common receptacle for all nations, religions, and languages', through the systematic destruction of the Church, constitution, and other sacred traditions which held society together.¹⁹

There are indications, though, which suggest that perhaps Swift threw himself into his new role with too much enthusiasm.

After all, Harley had commissioned Swift to pull The Examiner toward the centre, after its early contributors had veered much further toward the high-flying extremists than the Chancellor could tolerate. And although Swift's initial output is notable for its dispassionate tone and relative willingness to 'consider' opposing views before dismissing them, much of this moderation begins to erode away soon after the the beginning of the new year, as the author grew more confident in his post.²⁰ One possible explanation for this shift in the paper's tone might lie in the author's exuberance after the resolution of a deeply-felt inner conflict, as though Swift's overly-enthusiastic assault on the Whigs grew out of a sense of release from his own doubts concerning his religious obligations, and fears about self-contradiction.

Another possibility focuses on the suggestion, made by both J. A. Downie and David Nokes, that Swift may have fallen under the spell of the seductive St. John, whose passion and flamboyant style contrasted so sharply with the indecisive pragmatism of Harley. Certainly the eight months of Swift's tenure at the helm of The Examiner coincided with the period of most dramatic deterioration in the once-warm relationship between St. John and Harley, and significant evidence exists which may indicate that Swift was not only one of the last to become aware of the growing rift, but that he had also provoked Harley's displeasure in the spring of 1711 through his close association with the Chancellor's bitter rival.²¹ Harley may have attributed The Examiner's unmistakable drift to the right to Swift's dangerous new friendship.

It is important that I do not exaggerate the degree to

which Swift can be said to have 'deviated' from Harley's middle path, or indeed from his own sense of 'Truth'. During his stint as editor Swift did indeed remain true to those tenets which he identified with 'Old Whiggery'; we see this in his rejection of the Tory ideal of absolute monarchy in favour of the sovereignty of the King in Parliament, in his renunciation of unqualified declarations of commitment to the doctrines of non-resistance and passive obedience, and in his unwavering acceptance of the necessity of the Revolution of 1688. Swift's indiscretion, as far as Harley would have been concerned, stemmed from his careless lapses into the exaggerated abuse of the Whigs which characterized the rhetoric of the High Church extremists, and which therefore could conceivably have been interpreted as endorsing their radical views and divisive objectives. In short, it appears that Swift's sympathy with many of the goals of the High Anglicans led him to adopt some of that same rhetoric which could have been used to bring about political changes both he and Harley would have found odious.

Few better examples of the change in Swift's approach are to be seen in The Examiner than in the author's references to the fate of King Charles I and the rebellion which brought him down. His movement on the issue constitutes no major reversal in his thinking concerning the subject of the Great Rebellion; with his cyclical view of history, Swift had always felt that Britain's political leaders ignored the lessons of that conflict at their own peril, and he had never altered in his understanding of the regicide as the malicious act perpetrated by the Presbyterians upon an unwilling nation. It does represent an abrupt departure from his own high-minded code for governing

the debate between the two political parties, as set out in the 'Sentiments of the Church-of-England Man'. In an issue of The Examiner published on 5 April 1711, Swift begins to retreat from the specific arguments he had presented such a short time ago for the rational differentiation of the players and circumstances of the Revolution from their alleged 'counterparts' of forty years before.

I do not take...the Whigs to make up, strictly speaking, a **National Party**; being patched up of heterogeneous, inconsistent Parts, whom nothing served to unite but the common interest of sharing the Spoil and Plunder of the People,...and that general Conspiracy, of endeavouring to overturn the Church and State; which, however, if they could have compassed, they would certainly have fallen out among themselves, and broke in Pieces, as their Predecessors²² did, after they destroyed the Monarchy and Religion.

Gone is even the **pretence** of the political neutrality which had prompted Swift in 'Sentiments' to prescribe his own system of allegiances to his countrymen as a guarantee of harmony in Church and State (when he declared that true patriots would avoid the extremes of the Whigs for the sake of the former, and those of the Tories on account of the latter).²³ Here only a mutual appetite for rapine and anarchy holds the Whigs together as a party, while their lack of discipline and spiritual commitment is all that prevents them from repeating the atrocities of the Presbyterians (who are firmly identified as their moral, if not theological, predecessors). Having said this much, it is not surprising that Swift should then reveal an inclination to undercut his own maxim, that no party 'should...be accused of a Principle which they solemnly disown and protest against'.

I conceive the Whigs would grant, that they have naturally no great Veneration for crowned Heads; that they allow,

the Person of the Prince may, upon many Occasions, be resisted by Arms; and that they do not condemn the War raised against King Charles the First, or own it to be a Rebellion, although they would be thought to blame his Murder.²⁴

It did not take Swift long to distance himself completely from his earlier scruples regarding the exploitation of history for the purposes of discrediting the Whigs (and particularly through the association of '49 with '89). A scant week after the publication of the issue quoted above, in which he is still prepared to believe it possible that a significant number of Whigs repudiated the regicide, Swift argues for the virtual interchangeability of the terms 'Presbyterian' and 'Dissenter', 'Whig' and 'regicide', and declares that for twenty years now the Tories have been alone in their consideration of the execution as a matter of deep regret. In the course of describing a reputed conspiracy in the late 1680s between Dissenters and Papists (instigated by James II) to destroy the Church, Swift unites the identities of modern Whigs and Roundheads, by scorning his opponents' alleged practice of comparing the Royal Martyr with his tyrannical son.

But the Revolution happening soon after served to wash away the Memory of the Rebellion;...the Dissenters were rewarded with an Indulgence by Law; the Rebellion and the King's Murder was now no longer a Reproach; the former was only a Civil War, and whoever durst call it a Rebellion, was a Jacobite and Friend to France.

In a deft piece of rhetorical manoeuvring, Swift manages here to indulge in one of the favourite ploys of High Church propagandists (summoning the spectre of the Spirit of '42), while retaining his reputation as a champion of the Revolution. Less than three weeks later, he was prepared to take matters still further, advocating the crudest of High-Tory positions

in crediting the average Whig with the rabidly anti-monarchist views of a Calves-Head Clubman:

The Regard they bear to our Monarchy, hath appeared by their openly ridiculing the Martyrdom of King Charles the First, in their Calves-Head Clubs, their common Discourses and their Pamphlets; their denying the unnatural War raised against that Prince to have been a Rebellion; their justifying His Murder in the allowed Papers of the Week.²⁵

The Swift who published this paragraph had travelled a long way from the 'Moderator' who appears in the 'Sentiments' tract (which, ironically, had only recently made its first appearance in print, on 27 February 1711).²⁶ And while many of his charges in The Examiner against the Whigs, concerning their level of commitment to the security of the Church, no doubt sprang from some very genuine fears, yet his intimacy with many of the prominent Whigs of the period--including his recent friendships with Addison and Steele--would have left him in little doubt regarding the actually negligible prevalence of Calves-Head sentiments. I fear, too, that his sincerity in claiming to have found justifications of Charles's execution in the 'allowed Papers of the Week', may also be suspect, since the major Whig journals of the day--Defoe's Review, Arthur Mainwaring's The Medley, Steele's Tatler and Spectator, and George Ridpath's The Observator--are all remarkably silent on the subject of King Charles I.

On 14 June 1711, Swift's connection with The Examiner came to a sudden conclusion, and the modern biographers seem divided over exactly why.²⁷ I think it most probable that, upon his return to government and public life after his recovery from an assassination attempt the previous March, Harley--now the Earl of Oxford--removed Swift from his position for expressing

opinions which were far too close to the right-wing radicalism he had been appointed to keep in check.

Although Oxford may have wanted to chastise Swift by removing him from the paper in June, the author was still very much in the Lord Treasurer's plans for achieving a government-managed press, and Swift continued to write for the ministry on individual issues--most notably in 'The Conduct of the Allies' (1711), his highly effective defence of the administration's efforts to bring the war on the continent to a speedy conclusion. In fact, Swift soon proved himself to be quite indispensable to Oxford's propaganda machine, and friendship between the two quickly recovered its old warmth.

In June of the following year Swift had returned to the subject of Charles I, this time using the regicide and the infamous reputation of the Calves-Head Club to Oxford's advantage, as a means of discrediting Harley's old opponent Daniel Finch. The Earl of Nottingham, a leading figure in High Church circles since William's reign, had just revealed himself an apostate through a self-serving deal for high office with the Whig Junto. In his poem 'Toland's Invitation to Dismal to Dine with the Calves' Head Club', Swift elects the notorious Deist to the post of the society's Secretary, and impersonates Toland in order to extend an embarrassing invitation--from a godless rabble of atheist republicans--toward the newest addition to their number.

Toland to you this invitation sends,
To eat the Calves' Head with your trusty friends...
Tomorrow we our mystic feast prepare,
Where thou, our latest proselyte, shalt share:
When we, by proper signs and symbols tell,
How, by brave hands, the royal traitor fell...

At monarchy we nobly show our spite,
And talk what fools call treason all the night.²⁸
ll. 3-4, 7-10, 15-16.

Besides exposing the naked ambition of the hapless Nottingham, this clever parody of Horace's 'Fifth Epistle' also reiterates The Examiner's charge of the general, moral complicity of modern-day Whigs in the republican outrages of their Puritan forefathers. Certainly it is no accident that, of the twenty names he places on the Calves-Head roll, almost three-quarters were actual members of the Kit-Kat Club, that famous society for Whig grandees.

In February of that same year Swift had used Charles I in a pamphlet on a topic which was so close to his heart that he took the very rare step of attaching his name to it. 'A Proposal for Correcting, Improving, and Ascertaining the English Tongue...' contains Swift's arguments for establishing an academy which would work toward the goals of reforming, preserving, and purifying the English language. 'His motivation in that pamphlet was moral, not simply aesthetic,' Nokes tells us. 'Like money, language was a dangerously fluid currency and Swift's explicit aim...was intended to preserve the culture, advance learning, and resist barbarity by controlling the linguistic tap'.²⁹ It is a tract which reveals the overwhelming impact of Swift's conservatism upon his religious, political, and philosophical thought. It also demonstrates how completely Swift believed in the interdependence of the various institutions and cultural traditions upon which civilizations are founded, so that religion, monarchy, constitutional government, language and literature are all interconnected, and the idea of trying to preserve any one of these, without striving to save them

all, is futile.³⁰

The inherent nostalgia informing these attitudes was complemented perfectly by Swift's sense of political history. Thus, the reign of Charles I is depicted as a Golden Age of English language and culture, and along with the detestable innovations of republicanism and Presbyterianism in 1642 came a corruption of the English tongue which went hand-in-glove with the nation's moral decline.

During the usurpation, such an Infusion of Enthusiastick Jargon prevailed in every Writing, as was not shook off many Years after. To this succeeded that Licentiousness which entered with the Restoration, and from infecting our Religion and morals, fell to Corrupt our Language; which last was not like to be much improved by those who at that Time made up the Court of King Charles the Second.³¹

The 'Proposal' allows us a very good glimpse of the authoritarian side of Swift--that part of him which wanted to protect, preserve, control, and dictate standards. In the sense that his concept of the function of this proposed academy was very much to serve as a bulwark guarding against the encroaching cultural rot, the tract highlights the fear of innovation which is found so often in Swift's writings. And in this way the 'Proposal' can be said to be consistent with the tone of many of Swift's contributions to The Examiner, in which Ehrenpreis describes the author as choosing 'judicious conservatism' over 'heroic vitality', by concentrating on schemes for revivifying the past instead of embracing the challenges of the future.³² At any rate, Charles I is placed squarely in the foreground of Swift's backward-looking perspective, as the 'great Patron of Learning' who is presented as not only having halted the spread of moral and cultural decay which characterized his father's court, but also as ushering in a renaissance of artistic

growth and courteous behaviour, through both his generous patronage and the influence of his own refined tastes.³³

Although the 'Proposal' seems to have been ignored by those with enough power to have attempted to implement its suggestions, the tract did provoke at least one hostile response. John Oldmixon, the Whig pamphleteer and soon-to-become fiercely partisan historian, replied with his own tract, in which he questions the Tories' right to lecture anyone on the quality of his/her level of discourse, after having perpetrated such dubious literature as the Eikon Basilike and all of those 30th of January sermons. Oldmixon never challenges Swift's portrayal of Charles as a latter-day Augustus fostering a new Golden Age of British literature, though he does take exception to the author's unusual comparison between the cultural achievements of the Caroline and Restoration Courts (in which the Dean found those of the latter to fall far short of the former's). Oldmixon offers us the more typical contemporary view of the reign of Charles II, as a time of obvious moral and religious deterioration, but also of undeniably stylish and witty literary accomplishment.³⁴

Perhaps Oldmixon's most telling passage is found in his rebuke of Swift for ever raising the issue of the Civil War and its tragic aftermath.

I like it extremely his rejecting the Old Cant of **Forty One**, and giving the **Great Rebellion** its true Name **Forty Two**: But, if I had been he, I would not have named it at all. For there are a great many Men in England, who, tho' they were not concern'd in it themselves, yet they do not love to hear of it, for the sake of those that were; and it clearly was an Error in delicacy to touch upon so tender a Part, no Man of Honour caring to have his Father or Grand-father call'd Rogue and Rebel to his Face...which after so many Acts of Oblivion, and a Revolution besides, can not be a Crime of that Nature,

as to last to the 3rd. and 4th. Generation.

p. 14

The reticence for which Oldmixon argues here, on the subjects of the Civil War and regicide, had been the unofficial modus operandi for the overwhelming majority of Whigs since the accession of Anne and the beginning of that period in which political life was so strongly affected by the shifting tides of High Church fortunes.

The fall of Harley and the ejection of the Tories from government in 1714 signalled Swift's withdrawal from regular activity in English politics, and after 1713 he spent most of his time in Ireland and grew much more involved in Irish political affairs. Though isolated from the corridors of power and resigned to his lot as a clergyman in the Church of Ireland, he retained a general sense of allegiance to the Tory cause throughout the remainder of his life, and maintained a consistent abhorrence of Walpole and his various ministries.

The 'Proposal' and the satirical poem 'Toland's Invitation' mark Swift's last significant references to Charles in published writings, apart from his anniversary sermon of 1726. But it seems emblematic of his attitude toward Charles, the delicacy of his position as a politically prominent, high-flying Anglican with Whiggish instincts, and, indeed, a sign of the times in which he lived, that some of Swift's most explicit statements on the Royal Martyr's character and specific actions should be found scribbled in the margins of his books, intended by the author never to see the publisher's light of day.

It is tempting to believe that the Dean's jealous protection of the dignity of the Church could alone explain Swift's need

to confine his doubts concerning the authenticity and literary merit of the Eikon Basilike to the margins of his copy of Gilbert Burnet's History of his Own Times (1724-34),³⁵ although this-- like so many of his other comments in the good Bishop's memoir-- could represent nothing more than an impulsive show of spleen in response to Burnet's admiration of the King's Book. But no such pettiness informed Swift's responses to Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, which he admired greatly as a work of exceptional skill and lasting historical value, and to which he returned again and again, noting on the inside cover when he had finished it for the fourth time, in April 1741. The jottings reveal the Dean's scepticism concerning the integrity of monarchs, and his unflinching recognition of the considerable personal failings which so many princes carry with them to the throne. Examples are found in the repeated marginal outbursts provoked by the recurrence of one of Clarendon's literary ticks-- in this case the phrase 'the Word of a King'--which prompted Swift to write on the blank sheet facing the title page of the first volume:

THE WORD OF A KING: This Phrase is repeated some hundred times; but is ever foolish, and too often false.

That Swift means it is the **reliance** of others upon the Royal Word which is foolish, and the Word itself which often proves to be 'false', is apparent from reactions to specific passages in the text.³⁶

But it is the Dean's pithy comments on Charles which are the most interesting here. His cryptic pronouncement of 'weak and wrong' regarding the King's acquiescence in Strafford's execution is not startling, and had featured in Royalist accounts

of the period since the King's own admission to that effect on the scaffold. But elsewhere Swift's censure of Charles is delivered in tones so unexpectedly sharp that they clash with the more predictable expressions of sympathy or indignant outrage at the thought of the Martyr's sufferings. He is sufficiently angered by Clarendon's account of Charles's consent to the bill which transferred control of the militia from the Crown to Parliament, to ascribe this to 'the King's Weakness, or Cowardice', and also reacts strongly to the King's attempt to arrest the Five Members in his raid on the Commons--an act Swift never denounces in his published work. He dismisses as 'Great Weakness' and foolishness what Clarendon euphemistically calls the 'Monuments to the King's Princely and Fatherly Affection', when Hyde decries Charles's unconstitutional concession of his powers of prerogative to Parliament. And finally, Swift even goes so far as to suggest that the affection of the King's subjects for him at the time of his death was 'only Common Pity for his Death and the manner of it' (a judgment which, upon reflection, could cause one to question the authenticity of the veneration with which subsequent generations had honoured his memory ever since).³⁷

And in the end, these unpublished, very private comments serve as the missing pieces which complete Swift's portrait of Charles. With them, the Dean's anniversary sermon of 1726 truly functions as a coda for Swift's thoughts on the Rebellion, the regicide, and the questions concerning the current religious and political state of the nation which these events inspired.

Swift's sermon--his only 30th of January sermon to be published in a long career as preacher--should be set in the

context of the utter collapse of the Tory party, after the Jacobite uprising of 1715 and a threatened reprise in 1719 had virtually obliterated any hopes that the High Church party could become a viable political force in Hanoverian Britain. And in light of Walpole's appointment of the zealously-Low Church Edmund Gibson to the bishopric of London, the subsequent elevation of nine of his acolytes to various sees, and the banishment of Francis Atterbury for plotting to bring in the Pretender--all taking place in the year 1723--one must assume that well before the time had come for Swift to deliver his sermon, even the most optimistic of high-flyers had come crashing down to earth. Certainly by then Swift had become resigned to the reality of an entrenched Whig government, and Ehrenpreis actually argues that, after 1724, Swift had lost all but the most basic religious connection with Tory ideology - though he does not specify where in his work or letters the Dean expresses this disaffection, and we are not to assume from this theory that Ehrenpreis is suggesting that any subsequent shift toward Walpole's Whigs took place.³⁸

In fact, the sermon Swift produced is a forceful expression of the moderate viewpoint which characterized his early journalism, and which he could not sustain during his tenure at The Examiner. In terms of the political vision it projects, the sermon shows Swift coming full circle, espousing the justness of the principles associated with 1688--with an emphasis upon the limitations which must be placed upon the subjects' obligations of passive obedience and non-resistance, and the necessity of preserving the constitutional balance of powers between the Crown, Lords, and Commons--while still nursing fears

of mob-rule, and a nostalgic yearning for the old days of graceful aristocracy, before England lost its natural ruling class in fratricidal conflict.³⁹ He remained convinced that the Presbyterians bore the lion's share of responsibility for the Civil Wars, and reiterated his conviction that many of the nation's present spiritual problems were traceable to that infamous period of history--that 'the same spirit of infidelity, so far spread among us at this present, is nothing but the fruit of the seeds sown by those rebellious, hypocritical Saints'.⁴⁰

We can see Swift confronting--in a limited way--some of the judgments concerning Charles and his times which, in his own case, had probably formed an integral part of his understanding of the period all along, but which he found difficult to express during those contentious years as party propagandist. The admission that Charles's approach toward the handling of Parliament in the early 1640s reveals a King who was afflicted with 'the greatest weakness and infatuation that ever possessed any man's spirit', echoes the almost contemptuous tone of the criticisms we find in the margins of Clarendon. And the far more gentle, implicit reproof which lies embedded in the excuse that even 'the best princes we ever had carried their power much farther than...[Charles] offered to do in the most blameable part of his reign', saddles Charles with a level of culpability and a suggestion of mediocrity which, however slight, would have been very difficult for Swift to have countenanced thirteen or fourteen years before.⁴¹

And yet the old rhetoric dies hard, and despite the contradiction, Swift cannot refrain from referring to Charles in the sermon as 'the Best of Kings'. Finally, it is Swift's

certainty that Charles's martyrdom was genuine, and that he did play a unique role in preserving the Church during her darkest hours, which earns the King a special place in the Dean's affections, whatever his personal failings may have been. The exhortation with which he closes the text--'to chuse a middle' between the two extremes--is applied to his recommended approach to history as well: 'Our deliverance was owing to the valour and conduct of the late King; and, therefore, we ought to remember him with gratitude, but not mingled with blasphemy or idolatry'.⁴²

2. DANIEL DEFOE

Daniel Defoe, the principal driving force which powered Harley's propaganda machine, was so many things that Swift was not. Born in the autumn of 1660 to a successful tallow-chandler and prominent Non-conformist from the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, Defoe shared James Foe's fervent 'dissenting' faith, and had actually studied for the ministry as a young man before following his father into trade. Throughout his life he remained a consistent opponent of High Church policies. He possessed none of Swift's aspirations of infiltrating inner court circles, but retained a fascination with all things connected with trade, the workings of a capitalist economy, and the impact of politics upon international and domestic commerce. He was a man of many interests and great creativity, but one whose pursuit of ambitious business schemes frequently left him in serious financial predicaments, with which the modestly-incomed but

reliably prudent Swift would have been unfamiliar: Defoe was bankrupt twice, twice imprisoned for debt, and pursued by angry creditors until the day he died. Unlike the bachelor Swift, he faced a perpetual struggle in his attempts to support his large family, and since for much of the time he was earning their bread with his pen (an arrangement which Swift openly disdained), these financial pressures often played a significant role in determining both the size and content of his literary output.⁴³

This need of Defoe's to serve several masters, and the numerous instances in which he wrote for both sides in the debate over a single issue (and sometimes simultaneously), has left readers in a justifiable state of confusion over what it was exactly that Defoe stood for--if indeed he possessed any principles at all. Defoe's biographers have struggled for nearly two centuries to explain the contradictions and answer the questions which have been raised regarding the author's character and apparent lack of convictions. However, the advent of new scholarship which focuses on the problems of defining the Defoe canon, and questions the authenticity of some of the polemical works attributed to the author by these same early biographers, has gone a long way toward rescuing Defoe's somewhat battered reputation. A consensus seems to be forming among modern scholars which supports James Sutherland's balanced assessment of Defoe's career: 'that he acted honourably when he could, but managed to find a way of justifying his actions when circumstances drove him to equivocate or to betray his principles'; that for him, the ends could and frequently did justify the means he employed to secure them; and that Defoe

did achieve a level of consistency, and a sense of integrity, through a persistent devotion to the cause of promoting moderation in political and religious thought.⁴⁴

But because the strategy he employed in waging this battle against the forces of political extremism so often involved the impersonation of a commentator advocating views which seem unlikely to bear close resemblance to those we have reason to believe were the author's own, in the end it sometimes becomes rather difficult to identify precisely what Defoe's opinions were on a particular subject. This is the problem facing us concerning the author's attitudes toward Charles I. Certainly Defoe recognized how important the Royal Martyr's memory was to the average High Anglican's conceptions of both recent political history and the modern Church's sense of its own identity, and he returns to the powerful images of rebellion and regicide again and again in his pamphlets, but approaches the subject with a curious kind of detachment--similar to that with which we might expect a carpenter to regard a beam, or a tailor a length of cloth. Rarely does Defoe allow us to see any emotional reaction to the subject which Swift and so many of his contemporaries found to be such an emotive one; instead, we encounter the professional journalist who appears to have regarded Charles I as little more than an extremely potent symbol, a literary device useful for placating, provoking, or frightening his readers, depending upon the nature of the audience he had targeted and/or the specific purpose of the tract.

Charles features prominently in Defoe's first published work (as he would--though far less explicitly--in Swift's maiden

publication twelve years later). 'Reflections upon the Late Great Revolution' (1689) was written during the first few months of the reign of William and Mary, and was intended as a justification of the delicate new settlement. Not only does the tract represent Defoe's first publication, but it marks his initial attempt to coax the mainstream-members of the Anglican Church into supporting the new regime, and its programme for effecting political reform and religious toleration, by impersonating one of their own number. By attaching a subtitle which identifies the author as a 'Lay-Hand in the Country', Defoe was freeing his speaker from the 'imputations of self-interest and time-serving' which greeted the numerous tracts penned by an anxious and compromised clergy, while at the same time investing this persona with the reassuring aura of Anglican piety, affluent respectability, and conservatism which was so much a part of the country gentleman's reputation.⁴⁵

A major factor in Defoe's successful construction of this model of 'balanced reasonableness and distanced objectivity', centres around the author's strategic use of the issues of the rebellion against Charles and his execution. He is quick to endorse the Tories' understanding of the events of 1688 (implying that James's flight from London and abandonment of government without appointing any regent or viceroy was tantamount to a resignation, thus sanctioning the High Church 'fiction' of the abdication which Defoe would ridicule so mercilessly later in his career).⁴⁶ And this admission paves the way for an even more obligatory concession: that in no way could the Revolution--which the Tories and the overwhelming number of the Church's rank and file had just passively condoned--be

reasonably thought to resemble the events which had cost Charles I his life and England her national faith.

But whoever will please to compare the Cases, will find full as great difference between the Causes, as the Persons. For in the former, it was the most open and Notorious Rebellion that ever was recorded in Story;...truly the Causes and Occasions of those Two great Revolutions in '48 and '88, were not more distant than their Designs and Ends; the first intending the Subversion, and this latter the Establishment and Preservation, of the Best and Purest Religion in the World.⁴⁷

However pressing the need may have been to present the Tories with a version of history which they could endorse, Defoe cannot resist this early opportunity to educate the less recalcitrant members of his audience. Therefore, a reference to Charles's regrettable and undoubtedly illegal practice of levying ship-money (itself alone mentioned from among the various grievances against the King enumerated by the Long Parliament) co-exists with the formulary descriptions of Charles as 'the Best of Kings, and of Men', and 'that good King, and true Martyr'.⁴⁸ Defoe goes only so far as to suggest that Charles's government made a mistake, and even that is done in such a way that the late King's devoted admirers could easily blame his ministers. The important thing to remember about Defoe's first political tract is that in it, he is impersonating a moderate Anglican (Tory), and so is not necessarily stating his own views when he declares : the Civil War to have been primarily a religious conflict; that Charles's death was a true martyrdom; and above all, that every major aspect of the Martyr's career--from his first troubles with rebellious citizens, to his deposition and death--bore little or no resemblance to the circumstances surrounding his son James's recent experiences. Over the course of his own career, Defoe would retreat from

each of these declarations.

Between 1689 and 1697 Defoe wrote very little, preoccupied as he was with his own financial problems (which included his first bankruptcy in 1692). Influential friends appear to have secured him positions in government service, for he worked as an accountant handling the collection of the duty on bottles and glassware from 1695-99, and he may even have served the Whig ministry (as he would later claim to have done) in some confidential capacity at this time, perhaps conducting the kind of reconnaissance tours which he would perform for Harley between 1706-08.⁴⁹ At any rate, by the late 1690s, when he finally returned to public writing, Defoe was closely identified with the current administration, and actively engaged in defending its policies. His wholehearted support of William III in particular--so consistently reiterated by the author long after the King's death, and continuing throughout Defoe's lifetime--sheds revealing light both on Defoe's own special brand of political moderation, and on his attitude towards the memory of Charles I.

Besides revealing his ties to the Junto and his admiration for William, Defoe's writings at this time (1697-1701) are often cited as an indication of the author's 'modernity' (with the 'Essay upon Projects' of 1697 particularly praised for the number of social improvements it recommends, and for the unorthodoxy of its feminist perspective). And yet for all its radicalism, this sense of Defoe as a progressive reformer and essentially 'modern' thinker--who advocates the establishment of a secularized society, the encouragement of free trade, and the protection of the principles of democratic government--is offered

as the explanation for his promotion of moderation among his contemporaries, as though some anomalously-hyperdeveloped sense of liberalism formed the basis of his opposition to the factionalism which was seen by many contemporaries as an inevitable (and lamentable) consequence of the party-political system. His old-fashioned attachment to William (which is so proudly displayed in 'Essay on Projects', and most spectacularly revealed in the satirical poem 'The True-Born Englishman'-1701), and his defence of some of the King's more 'absolutist' policies--on the issue of the standing army, for instance, or concerning the Crown's right to dispose of portions of the royal demesne as the monarch saw fit--can be shrugged off in a number of ways. They can be interpreted either as exercises in self-serving flattery, as the simple devotion of a conscientious Dissenter who identifies with the Calvinist outsider on the throne, or--as Kenyon suggests--genuine gratitude to the Prince who may indeed have been as aware of Defoe's existence (if not quite as appreciative of his services) as the author was pleased to think.⁵⁰

This portrait of a profoundly radical Defoe is challenged by Manuel Schonhorn, who argues strenuously for the need to restore Defoe to the social and philosophical contexts of the period. Schonhorn asserts that, far from being the model of the quintessential Whig-radical and a herald of modern liberalism, Defoe was very much a creature of his time, whose espousal of 'Lockean' ideas of social contract and natural rights cannot negate his commitment to some very conservative political principles, the chief among these being a belief in a traditional form of royalism which insisted on placing the monarch in a

pre-eminent position at the centre of the political stage. Schonhorn insists that an upbringing in a cohesive Dissenting community, for all its emphasis on the value of scepticism and the importance of the individual conscience, would still have left Defoe with a strong sense of monarchism, and that it is this fundamental faith in the indispensable power of the executive to preserve peace and liberty--the belief that 'the monarch is and always will be the principal component of government'--which Defoe is espousing at this time as much as he is expressing any personal allegiance to William III. He also outlines the development of the author's low opinion of Parliament's ability to function as a safeguard of fair government, and insists that Defoe's defiant outburst in 'Legion's Memorial' (1701) against the Commons' attempts to impeach the Whig ministers at the expense of the integrity of the Crown's prerogative and the Lords, should be regarded as the culmination of a campaign of criticism against the lower chamber which he had begun quietly back in 1697.⁵¹

In his early attempts at defining the nature of Defoe's alleged conservatism, Schonhorn postulated that the source of the author's monarchism sprang from his fascination with the ancient ideal of the soldier-king.⁵² The relationship between this most traditional of notions and Defoe's highly topical political rhetoric posed problems for Schonhorn, who saw the bulk of Defoe's pamphlet literature as expressive of the author's hostility toward the stultifying powers of tradition, and as indicative of his uniquely ahistorical literary style. While his contemporaries scrambled over one another in their search for historical precedents to authenticate a particular opinion

or retrospective vision, we are told that Defoe rarely looked past 1688 to justify his arguments. So how did a man so preoccupied with his contemporary world become so firmly attached to one of the oldest of political concepts?

A convincing resolution was provided by Maximillian Novak, who had been struggling at the same time to define Defoe's attitudes toward history, as expressed in the author's fiction. Novak rejects the conclusions of Schonhorn's initial study-- that Defoe's works deny the idea that history is 'meaningful', nor do they permit a recognizably-Christian interpretation to be placed on the record of human experience--and argues instead that the author consistently demonstrates a strong belief that history was indeed shaped by the hand of the Almighty. He claims that Defoe's journalism is especially illustrative of this Providential perspective, noting that 'He tended to approach history as a "Whig historian", reading the present into the past in terms of the progress of liberty as evidence of the workings of Providence in the world'. While it was true that, in comparison with contemporaries, Defoe often offers a greatly restricted view of the panorama of English history, this reflects both a partiality for 'collecting raw data and documents', and his preference, when dealing with current events, 'to stress socioeconomic analysis'--the aspects of any given issue which generally held the most interest for him. Novak, too, points to Defoe's obvious attraction to the notion of the warrior-king, or what he calls the 'heroic figure', and links this ideal with the concept of a Providentially-directed universe: a belief that 'history...turned on the brilliance of one hero--a Gustavus Adolphus, a William III...But he [Defoe] also believed that

heroic figures were at the service of Providence and would emerge when needed'.⁵³

More work needs to be done on the subject of Defoe's approaches to history and historical texts, but Novak and Schonhorn provide us with a framework which has interesting implications for how we may interpret Defoe's handling of the image of Charles I throughout his literary career. It is remarkable, for instance, given their common cause in the service of Harley, how sharply Defoe's most basic instincts contrast with those of Swift. Defoe's identity as a 'Whig' who nurtured warm feelings for an old-fashioned brand of royalism, is counterbalanced, as we have seen, by Swift's idiosyncratic stance as a High-Church Tory who depended on Parliament to protect the constitutional nature of the government. And I believe Schonhorn is quite correct in declaring that Defoe had little patience with those for whom the subject of history invariably triggered a nostalgic longing for things past, and of course, in this he is quite at odds with Swift. Much of this difference in perspective must be attributable to the educations they had received, with Swift's instilling in him a love of classical literature and a reverence for ancient civilizations, while Defoe's experiences at Charles Morton's academy at Newington Green, where all the lessons were conducted in English and the curriculum featured an unusual emphasis on both the sciences and the art of declamation and dispute, had undoubtedly left the author with a keen eye for the practical, and perhaps a greater inclination to question the assumptions of his predecessors.⁵⁴

I think it is this disparity in outlook between these two

men, in conjunction with the obvious differences in religious sensibility, which shapes their respective attitudes toward Charles I. Defoe shared none of the Dean's romantic ideas concerning pre-1640 English society and the catastrophic effects which the Great Rebellion had wrought. And whatever faith he placed in the capacity of a Soldier-King to impose order on his subjects at home and win honour for them abroad, Defoe harboured no sentimental attachments to the memory of the Cavalier King who had bravely led his forces to defeat in the Civil War. His unwillingness to enroll in the cult of the Martyr appears to have been based on a hard-headed awareness of the susceptibility of princes to the frailties of human nature, coupled with a paradoxical reverence for those handful of divinely-inspired leaders who risked all for the cause of True Protestantism (and his realization that Charles did not belong in this Pantheon).

Eleven years had passed since his last significant reference to Charles when Defoe returned to the subject of the Royal Martyr in 1700. By that time, the High Church party had asserted itself as a powerful force among the Tory rank and file, and was in the process of launching a counter-offensive against the Dissenters (and their perceived representatives, the Whigs), in the teeth of an alleged campaign to discredit the memory of Charles I. (As I have indicated, a small circle of radicals had indeed raised their voices at the turn of the century to break the prudent code of silence on the subject of the martyred King--in such works as Ludlow's Memoirs [1698], Toland's Life of Milton and 'Amyntor' [1698 and 1699 respectively], etc.)

In 'A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty' (1700),

Defoe returns to the subject of the 1640s in the course of defending William and his record from the aspersions of the high-flying Tories. His objective was to refute the assumption informing much of the High Church propaganda of the period: that both King and Church were endangered by the recent success of the Whigs, and that only the Tories were committed to preserve the monarchy and existing social structure. Defoe attacks the High Anglican position head-on, throwing off the disguise which he had used in 'Reflections upon...the Revolution', to deliver a more ingenuous response to the anxious Tory version of recent events which seems truer to what we know of the author's Non-conforming sensibilities.

He begins by declaring that he can see no difference between the two parties, but, rather, finds 'Anglicans' and 'Dissenters' on the whole to be equally loyal to the Crown, and equally plagued with supporters who flaunted their disloyalty. Defoe quickly goes on to challenge the fiction which was central to the High Church rationalizations justifying support of the Revolution settlement: that the circumstances which led to the unseating of James bore no resemblance to those which ended with the toppling of Charles. His first move is to deny that the Civil War was essentially (or even initially) a religious conflict.

The King and Parliament fell out over Matters of Civil Right and an Invasion of the Liberty and Properties of the People,...[First points of contention] did not Respect Religion, but Civil Property; nor were the Majority of the ⁵⁵House Puritans but true Church Protestants, and English men.

Having reminded the High Tories that the significant number of Anglicans who were included in the Long Parliament meant

that the Church must bear some responsibility for that protracted conflict and the 'Crime unpardonable', Defoe confronts them with the idea that the Church's obvious implication in the events of 1689 leaves her advocates in no position to instruct others concerning the nature of their present allegiances or past transgressions.

Nor shall I return to a Repetition of the Ill-Usage the Dissenters have received from the Contrary Party on this Account [the rebellion and regicide] for above thirty years...from those Gentleman, who on all Occasions have (as I hinted before) particularly taken to extol their own unshaken Fidelity to their Prince, 'til at last an Occasion presents to touch them in the same most sensible Part, **their Right and Property**; and alas their Loyalty, what became of it? Truly the **Faithful, passively Obedient, unshaken Loyal Church**, returned to the Original Nature of their Neighbours, and did the same Thing exactly which the Whigs, the **factious Rebellious Whigs**, had done before.

pp. 561-61

Defoe is not satisfied with declaring the causes of the two revolutions to have been identical, but proceeds to equate the moral responsibilities of their respective participants as well. Here he responds to the imagined objections of an Anglican cleric, who argues that the regicide will always distinguish '49 from '89.

No, that's true, but the Lord's Anointed may thank himself for that; for my Part, I think the Difference only lies here; the Whigs in 41. to 48. took up Arms against their King, and having conquered him,...cut off his Head, **because they had him**. King Charles lost his Life, **because he did not run away**; and his Son, King James, saved his Life, **because he did run away**.

p. 562

'A New Test' represents Defoe's dramatic denial of the comforting illusions which High Churchmen entertained in order to reconcile the Church's role in 1689 with their own royalism--illusions Defoe was quite willing to reinforce when prudence demanded. His insistence here that the conflict of the 1640s

was a struggle over the right of the Crown to rule absolutely, clashes with his soothing reassurance of 1689 that the impulse which prompted the Civil War was one 'intending the Subversion...of the Best and purest Religion in the World'.⁵⁶ His assertion that the difference between Charles I and James II, in terms of personal destiny, was almost accidental, could scarcely have been more provocative. The bluntness of Defoe's tone throughout the tract reveals the author's level of confidence in the longevity of the Revolution settlement and the security of William's position--a degree of assurance which was probably short-lived, for within a year the deaths of Princess Anne's only heir and the exiled James would again raise a question mark after the subject of the succession (and initiate a Jacobite revival which survived Anne's reign.) However, there is little sign of circumspection in 'New Test', which was designed to confront the Church with the implications of its own rhetoric. Yes, Defoe appears to say, the Whigs did participate in two revolutions, which were indeed more alike than they were dissimilar, but if they did, they had help, and very few could claim to have been uninvolved.

Defoe reverted again to his old style of impersonation, and to the use of the Caroline mythology, as the battle against the High Church party entered a new phase. By the winter of 1702 William III was dead, Queen Anne had acknowledged her own predilection in favour of the High Anglican vision of the Church, and the new Tory ministers were busy trying to consolidate their hold on power. Toward this end, a bill to discontinue the practice of occasional conformity (the procedure whereby Dissenters could qualify to vote and hold public office by

receiving communion in the Anglican Church once a year) had already passed through the Commons in November, and was about to receive its first reading in the Lords. 'The Shortest-Way with the Dissenters', Defoe's most controversial work in a long and contentious career, was published on 1 December to highlight the intolerance which burned in several members of the new administration, and specifically to prevent the passage of the occasional conformity bill.

Like many devoutly religious people on both sides of this issue, Defoe personally detested the practice of occasional conformity, which he felt was the degradation of the holiest of rituals, and which he feared often worked to undermine the conviction of many Dissenters by encouraging them to believe they had little reason not to 'convert', since they felt they had already compromised their principles. He had condemned the practice on these religious grounds in a pamphlet which appeared long before the issue became topical (1697), but by 1702 had come to view it as an evil made necessary by the far more reprehensible Test Act of 1673, which would otherwise have forced conscientious Protestants to choose between their religious principles on the one hand, and their civil rights and a secure career in public service on the other.⁵⁷

In 'Shortest-Way' Defoe adopts another persona, this time promoting the violent views of the high-flying extremists. His strategy, as in 'A New Test', was 'to carry the arguments of his enemies to their furthest implications', and hope that by putting this 'fanatical' rhetoric of the High Church party into plain language, he could startle the moderates into the recognition of the extreme designs of a significant faction

of the Tories. When Defoe's speaker calls for the Dissenters to be offered the choice of baptism into the Anglican Church or the hangman's rope, he is merely stating in literal terms what many felt some High Church preachers were actually implying in their passionate calls for Nonconformists to be 'rooted out' from among the ranks of the godly and presented with 'the bloody flag of defiance'. By revealing what he believes to be the logical and outrageous implications of their rhetoric, Defoe seeks to mobilise moderate readers into opposing this first objective of the new ministry's agenda. Later Defoe would explain that he modelled the tract after the sermons of specific High Anglican clergymen such as Sacheverell and The Rehearsal's Charles Leslie, whose preaching featured the copious abuse of the Dissenter/Whig, and was also distinctive for the ferocious quality of its defence of the sanctified image of King Charles I.⁵⁸

It is not surprising, then, if Charles should occupy a prominent place in the 'Shortest-Way'. In fact, Charles plays quite an integral part in 'Shortest-Way', which deals not only with the ideas characteristic of the High Church diatribe, but also with the rhetorical style in which these were expressed. And although there has been some debate in the last two decades over the precise nature of Defoe's achievement in the tract, analyzing the way the author uses irony to communicate meaning, or exploring the intricacies of contemporary reaction and its relationship to authorial intention and political context,⁵⁹ no one (to my knowledge) has recognized the extent to which the impersonation hinges upon the duplication of the clerics' preoccupation with Charles's martyrdom and its continuing

relevance to the current political scene.

Defoe clearly recognized the satiric potential of the murdered monarch, and employed him with impunity to create a speaker whom other High Anglicans would identify as genuine. The author uses several devices to undermine the credibility of his speaker and all he represented--to expose the Church's lack of charity, and the blatant opportunism which equated the occasion and the means to do anything it wished, with sufficient justification for following its inclinations. But the haunting presence of Charles in the text greatly facilitated the imitation of what Defoe saw as the impassioned, uncontrolled, almost incoherent tones in which these high-flying preachers more often than not sabotaged their own chances of presenting reasoned, rational argument. The speaker in 'Shortest-Way' is thrown into a frenzy whenever his rambling discourse leads him to a confrontation with the spectre of Charles I. The pattern begins with the opening paragraph of the tract--L'Estrange's enigmatic fable of the cock among the horses--and the application of its moral which follows, in which the speaker argues against the wisdom of granting the Dissenters' pleas for mercy and tolerance. Although this initial section never does attain the level of truly logical discourse, the speaker's modest progress--represented here in a paragraph chronicling the injuries done to the Church and monarchy since 1688--comes to a screeching halt with the first appearance of the Royal Martyr.

You have Butcher'd one King, Depos'd another, and made a mock King of a Third; and yet you cou'd have the Face to expect to be employ'd and trusted by a Fourth; any body that did not know the Temper of your Party, wou'd stand amaz'd at the Impudence, as well as Folly, to think of it.⁶⁰

It is not completely clear why the speaker reverts to '49 and Charles I at this point in his text, so clumsily does the paragraph follow on from the one which precedes it. One possible explanation is that Defoe is satirizing the loosely-constructed rhetorical style of some of his High Anglican targets, or perhaps he is dramatizing what he sees as their fixation with the regicide, suggesting here that in their discussions of the past, all historical roads inevitably lead back to 1649.

Like the persona who delivers Swift's 'Modest Proposal', this High Church spokesman expects to impress his readers with the clarity of his logic and the comprehensiveness of his arguments, but twice more we see him regroup and attempt to establish a calm, unimpassioned tone, only to be interrupted by the unpredictable spirit of Charles I. A sententious exposition on the nature of Authority and Power in the modern state, which is launched immediately after the outburst listed above, comes to naught when a mention of the generous treatment of Puritans during the reign of King James I leads inexorably to a lament of James's 'fatal Lenity' in not crushing that traitorous segment of the populace while it was relatively small: the direct consequence of which oversight was undoubtedly the murder of his son, and the overwhelming of the monarchy. (This point was so important that Defoe's speaker makes it no less than four times in the space of a single page.)⁶¹

Several passages later, the speaker, after charging through an account of the shameful conduct of the Dissenters during each of the reigns of Anne's four predecessors, pauses to catch his breath, adopting a more dispassionate tone. He proposes to list the arguments for toleration which were most frequently

offered by his opponents, and maps out an orderly refutation. His explicitly-labelled, three-part (and contradictory) response to the suggestion that the large number of Non-conformists would prohibit the government from implementing harsh measures, is followed by a rejection of the idea that the current war on the continent required the healing of all divisions on the homefront. The English people, we are told, had endured more risky rites of social purification during times of war, and the speaker provides the chillingly sterile example of this in the recent shift from one form of currency to another during the War of the Grand Alliance.⁶² But what begins as a relatively short trip back to 1695, results in a pilgrimage back to the scaffold outside the Banqueting House, and eventually an emotional outburst which is completely inappropriate to the level of discourse toward which the speaker obviously aspires.

...this Age is wiser than that [i.e., to be frightened off by difficult tasks], by all our own Experience, and **their's too**; King Charles had early suppress this Party if he had took more deliberate Measures. In short, 'tis not worth arguing,...their **Dutch-Sanctuary** is at an end, Heaven has made way for their Destruction, and if we do not close with the Divine occasion, we are to blame our selves, and many remember that we had once an opportunity to serve the Church of England, by extirpating her implacable Enemies, and...let slip the Minute that Heaven presented...

pp. 93-94

The theme of multiple generations burdened by the misplaced charity of their elders, as established by the repetitious handling of James I's legacy to Charles (and the problems created in turn by the Royal Martyr for James II), pervades the tract, and maintains the murdered King's ghostly presence, even when the text is not referring to him explicitly. And as each appearance of Charles is sufficient to drive the speaker back

up into the pulpit of religious fanaticism, we might be forgiven for believing that this political treatise is going the way of one of the 'memorials' composed by David Copperfield's eccentric friend Mr. Dick, who had a similar difficulty in controlling his prose.

The story of Defoe's 'success' in this impersonation is familiar. Many High Tories could not distinguish Defoe's ravings from the violent propaganda of their own ministers, and having first expressed their approbation of the tract, were incensed to learn it was a hoax. Dissenters saw it as another attack against them, and one which had only succeeded in stirring up a great deal of fear and suspicion on both sides. After five months of life as a fugitive, Defoe was arrested, tried and convicted on charges of seditious libel, and suffered the penalties of the pillory, a heavy fine, and imprisonment at Her Majesty's pleasure. He languished in Newgate Prison from May until November 1703, when Harley, seeing an opportunity to secure the services of a talented journalist, obtained his pardon from the Queen, and arranged for the money to pay off his fines.⁶³

Defoe walked out of prison and stepped into a new career in the employment of Harley. Initially he must have felt constrained by the obligation he owed the Tory minister, and oppressed by the need to provide for his family (his brick and tile factory had failed while he was in Newgate), but there is little reason to believe that he had any qualms about working to advance Harley's notions of political moderation, or that he did not enjoy the work which was required of him. In February 1704, three months after his release, Defoe launched A Weekly

Review of the Affairs of France, which became the mouthpiece of the Tory government on many issues, and through which Defoe was able to make a significant contribution to the Tory victory in the election of 1705. Between 1704 and Harley's resignation from government in 1708, Defoe served the Secretary of State in a number of capacities which, besides the production of the thrice-weekly newspaper, included touring around the country as an agent gathering information on public opinion, and also writing pamphlets on individual issues.⁶⁴ Sometimes he delivered what was essentially the government's position on a subject; often he chose to express opinions which opposed government policy, but in a carefully managed way that was designed to pull the extremists on both sides closer to the middle of the debate.

In this new 'official' capacity, Defoe soon found himself drawn into the controversy surrounding White Kennett's anniversary sermon of 30 January 1704, and was in a sense 'compelled' to write upon the subjects of the Rebellion and the career of King Charles. Kennett's sermon, which had been published under the title 'A Compassionate Enquiry into the Causes of the Civil War', was heavily based on Clarendon's History, and the outspoken Low Church clergyman became the target for all of the anger which could not be directed at the Queen's grandfather. In his aptly named tract 'Moderation Maintain'd' (1704), Defoe identifies the present religious controversies as the most dangerous threat to the stability of the existing political system, and he commends Kennett for his 'healing temper', declaring him to be 'a Man of Modern Principles'.⁶⁵

Kennett had been attacked for his suggestion that Charles

had contributed to his own downfall--particularly through his dependence on the Queen and his resulting inability to dispel widespread fears concerning his position on the re-institution of Popery.⁶⁶ Defoe tries to support Kennett's assessment of the internecine conflict (which was relatively generous to Charles), pointing out that the King had indeed been too reliant upon his advisors, of whom Henrietta Maria was one, and he cunningly refers those who would dispute this point to Clarendon's own account. He also points to the reign of James II as indisputable evidence that the combined impact of the French influence and the Queen's Catholic evangelism had indeed harmed Britain.⁶⁷ While conceding that the Puritans bore the lion's share of the responsibility for Charles's death, admitting that they had indeed 'Detruncated a good and pious King', Defoe seems to have decided that 'moderation' in this case was better served by bringing his High Church readers to Dr. Kennett, rather than by coaxing both sides into meeting on neutral ground. Therefore, he argues aggressively that the current rhetoric against the Dissenters is a mere distraction from the Jacobite threat which endangers the Protestant succession to the throne. Nor can Defoe resist scolding one of Kennett's critics for likening the cleric to 'that Milton', insisting that, 'setting aside [his] Republican principles,... 'Tis rather an Honour for the Doctor to be ranked with so great a Man, than a disparagement...'.⁶⁸

In addition to the studied diplomacy of 'Moderation Maintain'd', with its emphasis on how badly served Charles had been by his friends and counsellors, the pamphlet also contains two passages which offer us a glimpse of the aspects of this

subject of the career of Charles I and his historical reputation which interested Defoe personally.

The first concerns the King's failure early in his reign to rescue the Huguenots who had been besieged in La Rochelle by the French Catholics. Defoe departs from both Clarendon and Kennett to identify the fall of that town and the destruction of the French Protestants as one of the most dreadful consequences of the King's unfortunate marriage.

The great Distresses, and heavy Calamities that came upon this good King, proceeded from that Fatal Match, and the endeared Affections he had to his Queen, was doubtless one Reason that hindred effectual Measures to be taken ...[regarding] Rochel...It is he was Guarantee for the Protestants in France; therefore he was under a special Obligation to relieve them, and it seems not that it was his Fault that they were not relieved, but rather the Ministers that he employ'd...

p. 15

Defoe devotes a significant amount of space in the relatively short pamphlet to the discussion of La Rochelle--a topic which he allowed to spill over into the pages of The Review for Saturday 1 July, where he remarked,

'King Charles was ill-served in that Affair; I make no question, but that Prince was very hearty in his own Desires of Relieving Rochel,...and therefore they mistake me very much, who expect I should reflect upon his Memory in this Article...⁶⁹

In both instances Defoe is quick to exonerate Charles of any degree of blame for the tragedy, but he also makes it clear that he believes the incident to constitute an ignominious chapter in the annals of English history, and in the history of European Protestantism as well.

The other section of the tract which undoubtedly held a personal significance for Defoe is found in the two pages which the author sets aside to further the reputation of his own hero.

Defoe's eulogy of William III focuses mainly on that Prince's exemplary commitment to the principles of religious toleration and political moderation, and while the author scrupulously avoids any overt suggestion of a comparison between this figure and Charles I, the reader is left nonetheless with the feeling that Defoe has included William as his personal alternative to the model which the Anglicans had turned into a cult figure.⁷⁰ The aspects of the warrior-king which Defoe identified with William--as the military leader whose strength commanded respect at home and abroad, who used his power to safeguard international Protestantism, and to guarantee the peace and security of his own subjects--were largely left unspoken in 'Moderation Maintain'd'. They contrast sharply, though, with the qualities which compose Defoe's circumspect portrait of Charles I, and the author will return to these themes--the King's bad marriage, La Rochelle, the ideal of the soldier-king--when he writes Memoirs of a Cavalier.

Much of Defoe's attitude toward Charles remains enigmatic, and some of this ambiguity appears to be due to the circumstances surrounding the composition of a few key texts. A period stretching from 1704 to 1706, when Defoe is thought to have been most firmly under the thumb of Secretary Harley,⁷¹ coincides with a time when his writing--both in the Review and individual pamphlets--reflected the fewest signs of partisanship in general, and exhibited impeccable restraint in the handling of the subject of the Royal Martyr. When greater latitude was his after 1706 (initially either as a consequence of his removal from London, or from Harley's own falling out with Whig leaders Godolphin and Marlborough, and later as a result of Harley's resignation

from government), Defoe does speak with greater frankness concerning Charles, and in a way which contradicts earlier, more conventionally-admiring statements made regarding the King.

In 'Royal Religion' (1704), a pamphlet which appeared just nine days before the publication of 'Moderation',⁷² in which Defoe casts a cynical eye over the historical accuracy behind the concept of a Religious Prince, the author is content to appear to regard Charles's death as a genuine martyrdom (as, indeed, he had not acknowledged it since 'Reflections upon the Late Great Revolution'). 'For if a Man can give a greater Demonstration of his Love to Religion, than Dying for the Church', he argues, 'we are mistaken; and therefore we cannot forbear affirming, that certainly we have found the first [example of a truly pious king]...at home'. Not only was Charles's sacrifice enough to earn him a place with William as England's only two indisputably devout monarchs, but Defoe saw fit to defend the Royal Martyr from the unfounded charges of an imaginary Dissenter, dismissing the King's revival of James I's controversial Book of Sports as the handiwork of Archbishop Laud, and denying that Charles had any hand in the inclusion of the plagiarized prayer in the Eikon Basilike.⁷³ However, his mention of Charles is brief, and he gives the impression of tip-toeing around the subject of Charles's piety, making no mention of the more significant challenges to the King's reputation which had been in circulation (e.g., concerning his alleged subordination to the loathed Laud, his crypto-Papism, his record in aiding Protestants on the continent, etc.).

In 1706 Defoe published Jure Divino, a long poem on the history of kingship and the evolution of the idea of divine

right monarchy. Everything about the publication declares Defoe's special pride in it, from its expensive folio format, to the inclusion of his engraved portrait, and the indication on the title page that the writer was also the author of 'The True-Born Englishman'. Surely we can find the author's 'real' opinions in a work which Defoe was so eager to acknowledge as his own, and in its relentless attack on passive obedience and indefeasible hereditary succession, perhaps this is generally true (though as Backscheider points out, there is little in the poem which is very original).⁷⁴ And yet, not only are thoughts on Charles I scarce indeed here, and almost entirely limited to the Preface, but what the author does say amounts to a denial that Charles's death had any special spiritual significance.

Defoe reputedly began to compose Jure Divino while in prison, and the ascription of the poem to the period when Harley allegedly exerted the strictest control over the author (1703-1705) may account for his reticence on the subject of Charles in the body of the text. The remarks on the Royal Martyr contained in the Preface, however, hark back in both content and tone to the provocative sentiments which he had expressed six years earlier in 'A New Test'. In both instances he appears intent upon throwing the High Churchmen back on the defensive by openly equating the act of Rebellion in 1642 with that of Revolution in 1688, while managing to be slightly less forthright concerning the degree of resemblance between the two royal victims of these events. 'If they will prove that one Prince had more Right to impose upon his Subjects than another', Defoe argues, 'and that Subjects then ought to bear what the Subjects

now ought to resent, the Case will alter'.⁷⁵ Here in the 'Preface' we see a repetitive but cloudy comparison between Charles I and James II which focuses primarily on how each's career ended, implying that both rulers lost their thrones through similar kinds of illegal, perhaps tyrannical abuses of power. This is only suggested, however, as the stress is placed on equating the means by which each was deposed, not the relative justness of those revolutions. Defoe seems intent upon silencing the Tories regarding the Civil War, by equating it with the Revolution of 1689 (in which the Tories were implicated), rather than in justifying--or even evaluating--1642 or the regicide.

Oddly enough, though, it was not Defoe's unspecified allusions to Charles's 'Invasions of the [People's] Rights' in the Preface which drew the loudest response from the author's critics, but his suggestion that the late King James had suffered as acutely at the hands of his subjects as had his more-dramatically-victimized father. The comment which inspired the most indignation was Defoe's irreverent assessment of the disparity between the depositions of father and son as 'the Difference between a Dry and Wet Martyrdom'--a phrase he was obliged to defend in the Review almost two years later, and which was repeated after another two years by Sacheverell's attorneys during his trial, as a sign of the depravity of the Doctor's enemies.⁷⁶ However, High Tories like Charles Leslie also objected to Defoe's insistence 'that all the formidable Terrours of the Axe and Scaffold, with their preceding Violences...could not amount to the Balance of Exile, the Insults, the unsufferable Treachery of Friends, and this added

to the length of Time'.⁷⁷ The protest seems to have been rooted in a reaction against the sacrilege of comparing Charles's heroic sacrifice with the ordeal of so notorious a mortal, as a rejection of the validity of Defoe's own declaration that 'he did not, by heighthning [sic] the Guilt of the last [1688], attempt to lessen the Guilt of the first'. Defoe felt compelled to devote the 'Miscellanea' section of two consecutive issues of the Review (12 and 14 February 1708) to defending himself against charges of disrespect to the memory of Charles I, and in both instances he found it necessary to repeat the stipulation from the Preface--that 'my Opinion of King Charles I's Sufferings are [sic] not at all Material in this Case', nor would he be drawn into 'enquiry into the Causes which brought either of these unfortunate Princes into Distress...'.⁷⁸ These pieces mark two of the last significant references to Charles I to appear in the Review. And whether his reticence on this subject thereafter was due to an unconscious sense of resignation which stemmed from the author's obvious exasperation over the need for the second Review treatment of the Charles/James theme (which was, after all, his third statement of the Preface message), or was rooted in a rather uncharacteristic sense of prudence, Defoe steers clear of the Royal Martyr in the later years of Anne's reign, despite the obvious temptations afforded him in the voluminous Sacheverell rhetoric, the post-1708 resurgence of the contentious anniversary sermon, and even in the Whig-baiting references to the Royal Martyr which appeared in Swift's Examiner in the spring of 1711.

Defoe returned to Charles in one of his early experiments with a new literary form. Memoirs of a Cavalier (1720) is an

impersonation in the style of the author's best journalistic efforts. Defoe presented the fictional narrative as the authentic autobiography of a soldier who had fought in the Thirty Years War under the Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus, before serving King Charles in the Civil Wars. The work capitalized on the current interest in the Rebellion which had already consumed histories by Clarendon, Kennett, and Lawrence Echard, and which would provide a market in the next decade for additional studies by Bishop Burnet, John Oldmixon, Thomas Carte, and Paul de Rapin-Thoyras. The secret of the apparent success of Defoe's masquerade with eighteenth-century readers⁷⁹ was based upon two elements. One was the author's ability, here as in Robinson Crusoe and his other novels, to supply an impressive accumulation of imaginative detail which imparted a strong flavour of authenticity. The other was Defoe's use of reputable historical sources to provide his narrative with the foundation of factual information which his audience could recognize as being trustworthy. By balancing these two roles of novelist and editor, Defoe was able to present in Memoirs of a Cavalier a version of history, and a portrait of Charles, which probably comes closer to his own vision than he was able to project during his journalistic career.

The major critical studies of Defoe's fiction have largely ignored the Memoirs, but two scholars in particular offer valuable insights into the work which aid us considerably in interpreting the author's attitude toward Charles.

Arthur W. Secord provides a complete discussion of Defoe's source-material (from which he sometimes 'borrowed' almost verbatim). Secord demonstrates how much Defoe was indebted

to Jean Le Clerc's Life of the Famous Cardinal-Duke de Richlieu (1695) and the Swedish Intelligencer (a history by William Watt chronicling the continental war from 1631-35) for the specific details of the Cavalier's adventures with the army of Adolphus. He argues that Defoe was afforded a freer hand with the historical record in this first half of the narrative, and that in recounting the English Civil Wars he was required to stick much more closely to his chosen authorities of Clarendon's History (1702-04), Ludlow's Memoirs (1698-99), and Bulstrode Whitelocke's Memorials of the English Affairs (1682).⁸⁰

In Realism, Myth, and History in Defoe's Fiction, Maximillian Novak analyzes--among other aspects--the author's developing sense of narrative technique, and is particularly helpful in examining the role of Defoe's narrator, who emerges from the text as a character in his own right. The Cavalier speaks to us from a point of view which is very different from Defoe's own; from his genteel origins, through his relative ambivalence in matters of religious controversy, to his professed lack of interest in the political causes behind the conflicts in which he becomes embroiled, the narrator--despite the author's portrayal of him as a plain-speaking, honest figure--must not be identified too closely with Defoe's own voice. But by endowing this congenital Royalist with observations and opinions which Defoe and other Dissenters would not be ashamed to claim as their own, Defoe has created a persona whose criticism of the King and his cause was taken to be evidence of his objectivity and 'fair-mindedness', when in actuality it allowed the novel's real author to present a perspective which has been described as 'cleverly partisan by eighteenth-century

standards'.⁸¹

If Memoirs was 'cleverly' constructed, it was also cautiously partisan in the alternative viewpoint it offered. This is best illustrated by the fact that there is nothing in Defoe's characterization of Charles which did not have some basis in the likeness of the King presented in Clarendon's History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England. Indeed, early in the second half of the work, Defoe interrupts his narrative, at the point where he explains how the Second Bishops' War led to the summoning of the Long Parliament, to deliver a brief assessment of the King's nature which can be regarded as a reworking of the darker aspects of Hyde's royal character sketch.

I cannot without Regret, look back upon the Misfortune of the King, who, as he was one of the best of Princes in his Personal Conduct that ever reigned in England, had yet some of the greatest Unhappiness in his Conduct as a King, that ever Prince had, and the whole Course of his Life demonstrated it.

1. An impolitick Honesty. His Enemies called it Obstinacy: But as I was perfectly acquainted with his Temper, I cannot but think it was his Judgment, when he thought he was in the right, to adhere to it as a Duty tho' against his Interest.

2. Too much Compliance when he was complying. No Man but himself would have denied what at some times he denied, and have granted what at other times he granted: and this Uncertainty of counsel proceeded from two things:

1. The Heat of the clergy, to whom he was exceedingly devoted, and for whom indeed he ruined himself.

2. The Wisdom of his Nobility.⁸²

Except for the fleeting allusion to his exemplary conduct, Defoe omits the main thrust of Clarendon's description--the exceptional nature of the King's personal qualities (though many of these the author refers to during his account of the war); however, the focus we see here on Charles's submissiveness, his lack of confidence in the soundness of his own judgment

(these moments of 'Obstinacy' are very rare in the Cavalier's own account), and the emphasis upon the lamentable quality of the counsel the King usually received, are all attributable to the Chancellor. Even the Cavalier's reference to Charles's domination by the clergy--a point which becomes a pervasive motif in the Memoirs--could be said to have been corroborated by Hyde's text, where the subject was considered far too sensitive an issue to include in the character sketch of the late King, but which is latent elsewhere in the History, in Clarendon's description of the abuses which corrupted the judiciary and undermined the sovereignty of English Common Law.⁸³

Having made the Cavalier a gentleman who enjoyed access to the King's inner circle of friends and advisors, Defoe created an almost limitless number of opportunities for creating fictional episodes which would reinforce the particular historical 'truths' he chose to emphasize. In terms of Charles I, this could be accomplished quite easily, by simply recording the narrator's personal observations. Here the Cavalier draws on his military experiences to confirm the King's reputation for remoteness and--again--an unhealthy dependence on the clergy.

I was in the first Army at York...and I must confess, had the least Diversion there that ever I found in an Army in my Life; for when I was in Germany with the King of Sweden, we used to see the King with the General Officers every Morning on Horseback, viewing his Men...Here we saw nothing but Courtiers and Clergymen, Bishops and Parsons, as busy as if the Directions of the War had been in them; the King was seldom seen among us, and never without some of them [the clergymen] always about him.

pp. 125-26.

In a similar vein, the Cavalier supplies an anecdotal illustration of Charles's indecisiveness, when he describes

a series of conversations he witnessed between the King and an unnamed young Nobleman (a 'Man of Conduct...and unquestioned Courage [who] afterwards lost his Life for the King', and who may have been intended to stand for one of Clarendon's own heroes: Viscount Falkland?), in which they discussed the possibility of crushing the first Scottish insurrection.

Those few of us that had seen the Wars, and would have made a short End of this for him, began to be very uneasy; and particularly a certain Nobleman took the Freedom to tell the King...he would ha' had the King have immediately marched into Scotland, and put the Matter to the Trial of a Battle; and he urged it every Day; and the King finding his Reasons very good, would often be of his Opinion; but next Morning he would be of another Mind.

p. 126

Even the most trivial of inventions have a kind of historical resonance to them, as when the narrator validates the old Royalist gloss of the '[fatal] lenity of his [Charles's] nature', when he relates how he became so neglectful of his duty as to be absent for an important battle--an offence for which he was never disciplined, though he confides that a leader of Gustavus Adolphus's calibre would have dealt severely with him.⁸⁴

Comparisons between Adolphus and Charles abound in the text. As Novak points out, the binary structure of the book not only invites such an approach, it rather demands it. The two halves of the Memoirs, while chronicling the Cavalier's adventures in two different wars, serving with different armies, form parallel narratives of 'separate experiences, each commenting on the other'.⁸⁵ On one level, the work serves as an introduction to military history, with the Cavalier reliving his education in the art of war for the reader in the first part, so that both narrator and audience will be knowledgeable enough in the second to recognize the serious flaws in the

Royalists' campaign, and perhaps more sensible of the tragic waste of civil war.⁸⁶ But besides enabling us to contrast the respective techniques of fortifying a line or laying siege to a town, Defoe also insists on establishing a far more personal network of correspondences. Virtually every aspect of the Cavalier's glowing portrait of Adolphus points to a deficiency in his royal counterpart which is sometimes described, but more often demonstrated. Thus, the Swedish King's 'Bounty' and general accessibility suggest the Stuart aloofness; the former's ability to recognize talent in others, and to deal firmly with friends and foes when circumstances required this, contrasts sharply with the latter's poor choice in counsellors and habitual weakness with those who had won his affection; in short, the force of Adolphus's character--his resolution, military and political instincts, the sheer power of his will--is repeatedly identified as the single most important reason (besides the inherent justness of his cause) for the military success of the Protestants,⁸⁷ while Charles is depicted as a brave man, who nonetheless dithers away whatever chances for victory the Royalists ever had.

But one of the most damaging of all the imputations made against Charles's reputation--while it appears in a fictional episode occurring early in the first half of the text, before the Cavalier became involved in the continental war--does not refer to Gustavus Adolphus at all, but taps into the patchy tradition of Stuart criticism, to resurrect ideas which were rooted in the pamphlet literature contemporary with the Rebellion, and reiterated by the generation's historians, from whom Defoe was drawing. As Secord has shown,⁸⁸ Defoe took a

brief twenty-five-word reference to the rioting of a Lyons mob which appeared in Le Clerc's Life of Richlieu, out of which he confected an account of the incident in which the Queen Mother confronts the rioters, negotiates with their leaders, and restores order to the city.

I confess this little Adventure gave me an Aversion to Popular Tumults all my Life after...But I must say, that when I called to mind since the Address, the Management, the compliance in shew, and in general the whole Conduct of the Queen Mother with the mutinous People of Lyons, and compared it with the Conduct of my unhappy Master the King of England, I could not but see that the Queen understood much better than King Charles, the Management of Politicks, and the Clamours of the People.

Had this Princess been at the Helm in England, she would have prevented all the Calamities of the Civil War here, and yet not have parted with what that good Prince yielded in order to Peace [sic] neither...

p. 21

The Queen Mother, Marie de Medici, was an extremely difficult and meddlesome person, whose domineering nature had provoked her own son to exile her from France several times, and whose presence in England from 1638 until 1642 made her son-in-law Charles I very unhappy, and the English public deeply suspicious.⁸⁹ The Cavalier's assessment of her superior political skills would have represented more than merely a galling comparison for a contemporary Englishman: it would have confirmed his worst fears that the Caroline Court had fallen under the spell of an unshakeable Popish influence. By describing de Medici as possessing the more forceful personality of the two, the Cavalier was indirectly validating the belief--widespread in Charles's lifetime, documented in the royal correspondence seized at Naseby, and arguably confirmed in as recent a Royalist source as Clarendon's History--that the King had been dominated by his wife (this Queen Mother's

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equally wilful daughter), and that through the influence of Henrietta Maria, English Protestantism had genuinely been placed in jeopardy, and British liberty compromised for the interests of France.

Finally, though, it is the figure of Gustavus Adolphus which serves as the moral centre of the book, and is also central in any discussion of the author's concept of the relevance of his subject to the world of eighteenth-century politics.⁹⁰ Through him the Memoirs function as something of a parallel history, and as such, one feels it intensified Defoe's own interest in Charles I and the dominant issues of the mid-seventeenth century. The inclusion of Adolphus reflects more than a topical interest in his grandson Charles XII, but was also intended to heighten the reader's awareness of the long history behind Protestant Europe's struggle for religious freedom--a message which Defoe felt was particularly important, in light of the persecutions of Protestants which the Elector Palatine had begun in 1719-20, an ominous violation of the Treaty of Westphalia (for which Adolphus had died).⁹¹ Though he was always impressed by successful military leaders who retained their humanity and magnanimity in the hour of victory, Defoe's admiration of the Swedish King stemmed from his commitment to the cause of Protestantism across Europe--a duty which Defoe's other great hero, King William, had also felt keenly. Defoe had praised both men frequently in the pages of the Review, and on at least one occasion linked the two explicitly in his approbation, naming them as the only two exceptions in our histories to the author's own rule that money and economic gain--and neither liberty, religion, nor honour--were the only

things which truly motivated kings to wage war.⁹² In many ways, the paean to Adolphus which we find in Memoirs is just as much a celebration of William's virtues, a parallel which facilitates the compression of time, and underscores the message that history can hold valuable lessons for those who are preoccupied with the problems of the present.

During Charles's reign, of course, the Dissenters had begun to question the King's devotion to Protestantism long before Laud's 'reforms' had provoked confrontation, as it became apparent that even his sister's expulsion from her home in the Palatinate provided insufficient reason for Charles's wholehearted support of the war against the Holy Roman Emperor. For Defoe, this disappointment had been an integral part of the Royal Martyr's story, and he made sure that it was incorporated into the Cavalier's Memoirs, though he was also careful to minimize its impact on the overall portrait. Therefore, mention is made (as it had been in the Review and the early pamphlets) of the King's notorious failure to rescue the Protestants at La Rochelle, although it is an issue which is confined to the first part of the novel, and is communicated in the banter exchanged between the Cavalier and a travelling companion on the road to Lyons--when it was obviously well within the author's powers to allow the narrator to experience the siege first hand. Similarly, the Cavalier offers us his own opinions concerning the irrelevance of true religion to the root causes of the Civil War, though from the position of an unreflective, avowedly apolitical soldier.⁹³

In the end, there is much in the Stuart portrait contained in Memoirs of a Cavalier which is reminiscent of the content

and tone of 'Moderation Maintain'd', and which reinforces the impression of a cyclical shape to the author's collected writings on the subject of Charles and the Rebellion. The reference to the failure at La Rochelle (more or less unique to Ludlow's history among the sources from which Defoe was known to be working), the coded allusion to the negative influence of the Queen through the image of her mother, and even the championing of an alternative hero, are all themes which feature prominently in 'Moderation'. Indeed, this incident of the quelling of the Lyons riots, taken in the context of the late King's future difficulties concerning the suspicions of his Papism and susceptibility to French influence, could be thought to serve as a sinister adumbration of the sequence of the Jacobite schemes and schisms which Defoe had consistently argued--in 'Moderation Maintain'd' as elsewhere--as posing the greatest threat to England, and which had last manifested itself in the failed uprising of 1719. Yet for all its attention to possible examples of royal weakness, the Memoirs, like the earlier pamphlet, nevertheless presents a very mild portrait of the King--one which, if it suggests his infirmities, also mitigates his responsibility for a national tragedy--and which, on the most obvious level, conforms closely enough to the Earl of Clarendon's vision (and therefore, in a very real way, to the Eikon Basilike's picture of victimized majesty) to avoid offending all but the most extreme of High Church advocates. Despite a series of indiscretions and a talent for the controversial, Defoe reveals signs in his writings which point toward a personal commitment to the promotion of political moderation and religious tolerance in the English electorate. To an extent which is

not completely clear, these objectives led him to intimate deep reservations concerning the figure of Charles I which he could only partially express. Memoirs of a Cavalier stands as a testament to the continuing success of the efforts by the High Church movement to turn the dead King into something of a sacred cow, a cultural icon which, by and large, remained sacrosanct in an age when political discourse was so violent that virtually everyone and everything else was fair game. Given his reputation for resilience, and a sense of exuberance which frequently led him toward foolhardiness, it seems remarkable that in 1720--six years after the fall of the last Tory ministry, Daniel Defoe was still holding his fire.

CONCLUSION

For almost seventy years the ghost of Charles the First haunted the British political arena. Thanks in large part to the exertions of the Church, the spectre appeared most often as the saintly figure described in the Eikon Basilike. With the evocative portrait of heroic piety from the King's Book stamped clearly in the national consciousness, Charles could become an emblem employed by the Anglican establishment to symbolize its conception of the ideal relationship between the Church and Crown. But there was a great deal more in Charles's legacy to those seventy years and beyond than can be found in the Eikon Basilike. The story of the Royal Martyr not only had a significant impact upon the tone of polemical discourse and the shape of contemporary historical perceptions, but--as we see in the writings of Swift and Defoe--it also affected many individuals quite deeply, both confronting them with difficult choices between conflicting loyalties and challenging their personal commitment to abstract principles. In this thesis I have attempted to chart the main developments in the legend of Charles I up to 1720, which I summarize here, before going on to indicate some of the changes which occur in the King's mythology after 1720. Those main developments can be identified as follows: a reaction against the orthodoxy established in the Eikon, and the subsequent re-entry of the late King into topical debate, as seen in the use of the image of Charles I in the satirical poetry of the late 1660s and 1670s to express disappointment in Charles II; the ongoing efforts of the Restoration Church to cherish and embellish the legend of the

Martyr; the appearance of a possible discrepancy between the Church's pursuit of its own agenda concerning the memory of Charles I and the largely unarticulated wishes of the Court, which hoped to draw a discreet curtain over a dangerous chapter in recent history; a disinclination on the part of each of the emerging political parties to include the Martyr in its rhetoric, during the period following the political crises and Revolution of the 1680s, though radicals on both sides (and the clergy) refused to let the ghost of Charles rest; and finally, the conservation of the image of the Royal Martyr as a relevant and visible political symbol during the reign of the last Stuart monarch, whereby Charles I served as the embodiment of a corrupt and outmoded philosophy for those Whig extremists who dared to express themselves, and symbolized for the High-Church Tory the latent, ever-present danger to Church and Crown.

While Restoration-induced euphoria was followed by the return of old animosities and the development of new political tensions, the declarations of adulation and reverence gave way to expressions of disappointment and bitter disillusionment. Despite the stringent censorship codes in place at this time, dissidents managed to voice some of their dissatisfaction with Charles II, and along with the deterioration of the new King's literary image came changes in the old King's as well. In the satirical poetry of the later 1660s and 1670s (both the popular ballads and the more polished lampoons often attributed to Marvell), one can trace a certain transformation in the Royal Martyr's image: from a moral standard toward which Charles II should aspire, to a saintly foil setting up the failings of

the dissolute son, to an outright culprit--Charles I as co-criminal dynast: himself the son of a tyrant, and sire of a moral degenerate.

While disgruntled individuals sought publicly to challenge the orthodoxy concerning Charles, the Restoration Church steadfastly burnished the icon which Gauden (and Charles) had entrusted to it. The Anglican establishment saw in the image of the Royal Martyr a powerful, symbolic means of slowing the pace of change or reform within existing religious and political institutions. Convinced that the best hopes for the future security of the Church lay with an utterly secure monarchy, clerics and lay supporters set about the task of embellishing and disseminating the portrait found in the Eikon Basilike by creating texts which both complemented and supplemented the original. In poetry and prose, in the publication of biographies and historical studies, through the construction of prayer services for the commemoration of the anniversary--and of course in the anniversary sermons themselves--the Anglican Church and its adherents did their best to keep the incomparable sacrifice of Charles I ever before the English people.

Yet, as I have shown, in this campaign the Church of England was pursuing an agenda which was somewhat at odds with the inclinations dominant at Court. After appearing in a substantial number of poems celebrating the recent return of his son to the throne of England, Charles I virtually disappears from Court literature for the duration of his son's reign. The lack of significant references to him--coded or otherwise--in Restoration drama generally, and in the work of John Dryden in particular

creates an awkward silence which demands an explanation. These omissions seem especially curious in pieces like 'Absalom and Achitophel' and the heroic dramas, where the Historiographer Royal is working so diligently to construct a mythology for Charles II, and where it is reasonable to expect the Martyr to be mentioned.

I would suggest that to Whitehall, despite the glowing rhetoric of 1660, Charles I may have appeared as a seriously compromised figure, whose memory confronted many at Court with their darkest fears for the future. It is, in fact, the main argument of this thesis that a wish to avoid dwelling on the traumatic events of 1649 was by no means limited to the members of Charles II's Court, nor even thereafter to those whom we could loosely describe as being adherents of a 'Royalist' or 'Tory' philosophy; rather, that at various times over the course of this period (1649-1720), the rhetoric of parties on both sides reveals a decided reluctance to deal with the image of the Royal Martyr and the Rebellion. If the memory of the martyred King represented something of a liability for the Royalists, serving as a constant reminder of a time when, through royal excess and obstinacy, a monarch had allowed the nation to slip into anarchy, the Whigs of course, as the political heirs of the 'Presbyterian' regicides, were far more inhibited in their handling of the topic and, despite outbreaks of satirical attacks on Charles in the 1670s, found themselves without an effective defence against the Tories' attempts to equate any opposition to the Crown during the Exclusion Crisis with rebellion and regicide. Left to their own devices, it suited members on both sides to let Charles rest in peace.

Compliant Tories and Whigs justifying the Revolution of 1689 were happy to avoid the obvious parallels with 1642; John Nalson's eulogistic depictions of Charles in Impartial Collection (1682-83) and 'A True Copy of...the Trial of King Charles I' (1684) were commissioned only after the appearance of the second and third volumes of the aging Rushworth's Historical Collections (1680) had forced the Crown's hand; and after some initial bluster to the contrary in 1678, both parties seemed quite content to leave Charles's grave unmarked. (The alleged confusion over the precise whereabouts of the King's body could be said to constitute the most curious of Charles's 'absences'.)

That Charles's ghost nevertheless was not permitted to rest, but was summoned up so often during this seventy-year period, is due in considerable part to the effect of the annual efforts of the Church on 30 January, as well as to the tendency of the Tories to revert to Charles and the spectacle of 1649 whenever they and the Church felt threatened, as in 1679-81, during the mid-1690s, in 1702, and also in 1709-10. With the anniversary sermons so often serving as a catalyst for political controversy, England seemed perpetually plagued after 1678 with recurring questions concerning hereditary succession, toleration, and the religious settlement, and the subject of Charles's martyrdom and the rebellion which brought him down was used as something of a touchstone, to identify instantly an individual's attitudes toward a complex series of issues: those regarding the person of the monarch and his/her accountability to the law, the nature of the obligations which a subject owes to his sovereign, the proper distribution of power between Crown and the Commons, etc.

So closely was Charles associated with the old doctrines of divine right monarchy and the subject's duty to remain passively obedient, that in 1699, when John Toland was forced to defend the assertion made in his Life of Milton (1698) that the King was not the author of the Eikon Basilike, he seized the opportunity to launch a rationalist indictment of the cult of the Royal Martyr which also functioned as a powerful call for a greater degree of secularization in English politics. In 'Amyntor' he used the received Royalist version of the story of the Rebellion, as well as the conventions of the Anglican literature connected with the anniversary, and the text of the Eikon, to illustrate to his readers how easily those in authority could and did use religious enthusiasm, history, and superstition to manipulate an ignorant and idolatrous people. Toland sought to demonstrate the need for demystification of the English monarchy, by demythologizing King Charles I. This strategy was one which the author of 'High-Church Politicks' also chose to follow eleven years later, but the idea of a more secularized political discourse--and more specifically, the prospect of a Crown completely stripped of its semi-divine aura--was one which was still too radical for many of the English people, who, remaining deeply conservative on the whole, cherished the notion that their sovereign held a special relationship with the Almighty long after this had ceased to represent an effective political argument.¹

In the end, it was not until a change of dynasty had been effected, and the Stuarts permanently replaced by the Hanoverians, that the mythology of the Royal Martyr was eventually neutralized as a force in political debate. Under

the new regime it certainly became easier to criticize Charles in print.

After 1720 the King's reputation began to change considerably, though I would argue that it was not altered quite as dramatically--nor as universally--as some scholars have suggested. What becomes apparent from the body of evidence available to us regarding Charles's status during the eighteenth century is that the Royal Martyr was not entirely dead, nor was his image completely powerless: the discontinuation of his significance in the political arena had relatively little effect on his continued potency as a cultural icon, and one with obvious sentimental appeal. In this concluding section, I will demonstrate the martyred King's enduring influence by providing an overview of what the historians had to say about Charles after 1720, and by examining how he was able to retain his cultural and religious relevance: in the sermon tradition which continued to concern and provoke, in a play which created controversy and stimulated legend, and in the open anxiety of an elder statesman who felt the subject of the murder too sensitive a topic to be discussed outside of a church.

As I indicated earlier, Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, which had dominated the discussion of seventeenth-century history since its first appearance (running to twelve editions between 1704 and 1850), and which remained a text to be reckoned with throughout the century, was finally challenged by a new generation of historians eager to state the Parliamentarians' case. John Oldmixon (A Critical History

of England--1724; History of England during the Reigns of the Royal House of Stuart--1730) and Paul de Rapin-Thoyras (History of England--15 vols., 1726-31) both offered major studies attacking the Royal Martyr of the old Tory orthodoxy, preferring to present the portrait of a Charles who was wholly devoted to the establishment of arbitrary rule, and who lacked a good leader's sense of honour and integrity. Both authors contributed significantly toward the domination of Whiggish versions of history at this time, and we are told that Rapin-Thoyras enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing his work (in English translation) acknowledged as the 'most fashionable history of its vintage'.²

But regardless of the freedom which Whig historians were now enjoying under the Hanoverians, it is still difficult to accept the contention that by the mid-eighteenth century the English people were largely convinced of the unworthiness of King Charles I, or that he was specifically included when and if, as Kenyon claims, the 'Old Whigs and New, and even the Tories,...united to denounce [the Stuart Kings] as tyrants'.³ In fact, Charles did not lack champions to defend his reputation from the aspersions cast by Oldmixon and his followers. First, there were the efforts of men like Zachary Grey, vicar of St. Giles ('An Attempt towards the Character of the Royal Martyr, King Charles I from Authentic Vouchers'--1738), the Jacobite historian Thomas Carte (A General History of England--4 vols., 1747-55), and the eminent philosopher David Hume (The History of Great Britain-- 2 vols., 1754-55), who were ready either to defend the traditional High Tory image of the saintly Royal Martyr, or, in Hume's case, to attempt a nonpartisan account of the Civil War which still treated Charles with genuine respect

and tremendous sympathy. Numerous lesser, often anonymous works appeared in which Oldmixon and/or Rapin-Thoyras were attacked for their revisionist histories.⁴ Even Micaiah Towgood's 'An Essay towards Attaining a True Idea of the Character and Reign of K. Charles the First...' (1748), with its passionately-argued thesis that the Martyr was the worst of tyrants and cruelest of oppressors, concedes so little in the King's favour, and hammers home its argument with such relentless energy, that we must assume Towgood felt many of his readers were unlikely to share his low opinion of the Royal Martyr.

But while the demise of the ruling Stuart line in 1714 seems to have been instrumental in ensuring the decline in the rhetorical potency of the image of the Royal Martyr, there is evidence which suggests that he retained considerable significance as a religious and cultural icon for much of the eighteenth century. The British Museum General Catalogue testifies to the fact that anniversary sermons continued to be published each year in remarkably constant numbers throughout the century, and from remarks contained in the angry responses to hagiographic sermons published during the 1750s, Helen Randall surmises that 'a great many of the sermons being preached, particularly in the universities and in rural parishes', projected portraits which were notable for their sentimentality and nostalgia.⁵ These sermons continued to generate controversy throughout these middle decades,⁶ with records indicating that as late as 1772 the Commons was so enraged by Thomas Nowell's old-style attack on the regicidal nonconformists that a bill was proposed calling for the repeal of the observance of the anniversary.⁷ (It was comfortably defeated.) Both George I

and George II scrupulously observed the anniversary of the martyrdom each year, and insisted that all who appeared in court on that day do so in mourning; only with the accession of George III in 1760 did royal attendance in church on that occasion cease. In the Shetlands in 1838, coins bearing the image of Charles were still being used as medical remedies.⁸ The anniversary itself was not removed from the Anglican calendar until 1859.

This is not to suggest that the memory of Charles I was confined solely within church precincts. And among the more intriguing pieces of evidence which testify to both the continued strength and altered shape of the cult of the Martyr is a work of imaginative literature entitled King Charles the First: An Historical Tragedy, a play written by actor and dramatist William Havard in 1737 and first performed at the Theatre Royal in Lincoln's Inn Fields on 1 March of the same year.⁹ Undoubtedly a minor work, and one which has been ignored by scholars, Havard's play does not by itself constitute proof of Charles's continuing power as a mythological figure. On the other hand, we cannot ignore the implications of this play's history, and the unique way in which it brings together various strands of the tradition of the cult, while seemingly encapsulating the state of the Royal Martyr's legend in mid-eighteenth-century society.

The first thing one notices about Havard's work is the considerable pains the author took to de-politicize his material; he tries to present the subject of the Civil War so as to alienate no one, and wastes no time, declaring his impartiality in the Prologue.

Murder avow'd by Law he boldly paints;
Heroes and Patriots, Hypocrites and Saints:
Rebellion fighting for the publick Good,
And Treason smiling in a Monarch's Blood.
Party, be dumb--in each pathetic scene,
Our Muse tonight asserts an honest Mean;
Shews you a Prince triumphant o'er His Fate,
Glorious in Death, as in Misfortunes Great:
By Nature virtuous, tho' misled by Slaves,
By Tools of Power, by Sycophants and Knaves.¹⁰

The work's neutrality depends on Havard's consistency in depicting Cromwell not as a republican monster but as spokesman for a cause he sincerely believes righteous. Charles emerges primarily as a figure constructed to elicit sympathy, and is portrayed more as the lonely family man and long-suffering victim than as another leader with an ideology to promote. Showing a keen eye for the 'pathetic scene', Havard follows the precedent established by John Quarles in his poem (1649) and Alexander Fyfe in his drama (1705), in confecting dialogue for interviews which never took place, confrontations between Charles and Cromwell, and a tender parting from the Queen, because of the 'pleasing Distress...[and] A Warmth to the Piece' which such depictions imparted.¹¹ Of course, this rich vein of sentimentality has been a part of the legend of the Royal Martyr ever since the publication of the twenty-second edition of the Eikon Basilike in March 1649--with its addenda featuring an account of Charles's last, tearful meeting with his children, as well as private correspondence with his eldest son.

We must guard against the dangers of overestimating the importance of a single piece of literature. But even with that concern in mind, I think we can find significance in the fact that the play was apparently very popular among contemporaries (we are told that the 1737 production was 'extravagantly

praised', and Havard did well touring the country with it), and in the knowledge that the drama enjoyed many revivals after its initial run: in London alone productions were staged in 1740, 1744, 1748, 1779, 1781 and 1785.¹² The text of the play was also republished twice more before the century was out, in 1779 and again in 1793--in the latter case presumably prompted by similarity with the real-life drama of Louis XVI's ordeal.

One production of the play had enough impact on Philip Stanhope, the Fourth Earl of Chesterfield, that in 1737, during a debate in the House of Lords over the Licensing Act, he paused during a speech in which he argued strongly **against** the need for the proposed registering of new plays with the Lord Chamberlain, in order to admit the recollection of an instance in which a work was performed which **did** present a certain risk to public safety. Chesterfield went on to allude to Havard's play, which he described as a piece 'which, one would have thought, should have given the greatest offence,...a most tragical Story,...a Catastrophe too recent, too melancholy, and of too solemn a Nature, to be heard of anywhere but from the pulpit'.¹³ The former Secretary of State and allegedly unreliable patron of Dr. Johnson had a reputation for combining an exquisite aesthetic taste with a considerable liberality of thought: something of this nature which seems to have caused him genuine concern is difficult to dismiss lightly.

It is also worth noting that the death of a female member of the audience during a performance at York should have been attributed to the play itself and the overpowering affect of its 'pathos'.¹⁴ The pathological verdict is unconfirmable: what is important is that as late as 1737, new legends could

still attach themselves to the old mythology.

Through the anniversary sermons, through the additional Anglican rituals of the anniversary commemoration and touching for the 'king's evil', and even through the public reaction to a dramatic work which does not present Charles's death as an event of religious significance (or, for that matter, as a 'tragedy' in anything other than a personal and sentimental sense), the Royal Martyr was able to retain some vestige of his influence long after the machinery which supported Church and State had ceased to array his descendants in the robes of divinity. Ironically, it appears as though Charles's mythological star continued to shine as long as the English people could believe in the majesty of the current ruler, and though that star was significantly dimmed by the efforts of the eighteenth-century Whig historians, it could be argued that the decline in the fortunes of the House of Hanover (and of the role of the monarch in English society ever after) was most responsible for its actual waning. For if, as J. C. D. Clark has demonstrated, the post-1714 Whigs were able to incorporate the theory of divine right monarchy into their own strategy for consolidating power, capitalizing on the end of the association of that belief with the House of Stuart--outside a narrow Jacobite context--and doing so in order to invest the Hanoverians with a convenient aura of unapproachability, there is still every reason to believe that the image of a martyred Charles I continued to stimulate a distinct emotional response long after it had ceased to be relevant to topical political debate.¹⁵

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

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CHAPTER ONE: 'REMEMBER!': THE IMPACT OF THE 'EIKON BASILIKE' ON THE LITERATURE OF THE INTERREGNUM

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 21. Knachel, pp. 30-1.
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40. Ibid. Milton repeated this idea eighteen months later, in Defensio Prima (1651): see CPW, IV, ed. Donald Wolfe (1966), pt. I, 508.
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51. Potter, pp. 190-92.
52. Peter M. Sacks, The English Elegy: Studies in the Genre

- from Spenser to Yeats (Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins UP, 1985), pp. 6-8.
53. Margaret Crum, ed., The Poems of Henry King (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), p. 114.
 54. Monumentum Regale (London, 1649), p. 19.
 55. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
 56. Roman R. Dubinski, ed., Alexander Brome: Poems (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: U Toronto P, 1982), p. 295.
 57. *Ibid.*.
 58. Hughes, CPW, III, 393-94. See also n. 22 above.
 59. Mary Green, ed., Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series: 1649-1660 (London, 1875), I, 2-5.
 60. Potter provides a perceptive examination of instances from contemporary literature in which Charles is linked explicitly with the suffering Christ (see Secret Rites, ch. 5, and especially pp. 156-76), and in which she includes the following couplet from 'Com, com, let's mourne', an elegy to Charles appearing in Vaticinium Votivum (1649):
'This Scene was like the Passion-Tragedie,/ His Saviour's Person none could Act, but Hee' (Potter, p. 189).
 61. 'An Elegy upon...Charles I' in Crum, pp. 110-17.
 62. Regale, p. 26.
 63. Two examples which are representative of this literature are Henry Leslie's 'The Martyrdom of King Charles, or, His Conformity with Christ in His Sufferings' (Hague, 1649), and 'The Devilish Conspiracy, Hellish Treason, Heathenish Condemnation, and damnable Murder, Committed ...by the Jewes...' [by John Warner?] (London, 1649).
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 67. Potter, pp. 177-79.
 68. Dubinski, p. 296.
 69. Rollins, pp. 236-38.

70. Potter, pp. 199-201.
71. Potter is probably correct in declaring that Quarles distinguishes himself through his use of the pamphlet and newsbook literature to create a verse account of the trial proceedings (p.185), though many poets-- including Birkenhead and King--describe specific incidents which also reveal a familiarity with those sources.
72. 'An Elegie on the Meekest of Men...Charles I' in Regale, pp. 12-13.
73. Rollins, pp. 27-31.
74. 'Somnium Cantabrigiense' (London, 1650), p. 9.
75. Clarendon, History, V, 119-22.
76. Contemporary accounts of the trial show that Charles was addressed as King when the sentence was pronounced ('King Charles his Tryal: or, A Perfect Narrative of the Whole Proceedings of the High Court of Justice' [London, 1649], p. 46), and legislation pushed through Commons on the morning of the 30 January preventing anyone from claiming the throne, clearly show that only hours before the end Charles was still considered to be King, was executed as such, and only then--once it was vacant-- was the office to be abolished (Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660, eds. C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait, 3 vols. [London, 1911], I, 1263).
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86. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
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88. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
89. 'A Dialogue betwixt the Ghosts of Charls the I and Oliver, the Late Usurping Protector' (London, 1659), and 'The Court Career,...a Pasquil Dialogue' (London, 1659).
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93. Thomas, Birkenhead, pp. 135-38, 139-41.
94. G. Miller Crump, ed., Poems and Translations of Thomas Stanley (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), p. 314.
95. Madan, pp. 75-8.

CHAPTER TWO: CHARLES IN THE RESTORATION: AN OLD KING IN THE NEW COURT

1. See Nicholas Jose's Ideas of the Restoration in English Literature, 1660-1671 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1984) for his account of how both a sense of the 'precariousness' of the present political settlement and a fear of the future which were prevalent at court manifests itself in the literature of the period: p. 169; chs. 3 and 9.
2. Ronald Hutton, The Restoration (1985; Oxford and New York, et al.: Oxford UP, 1987), pp. 107-18, 125, 120.
3. Three of the growing number of interesting new studies are: Tim Harris, London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration until the Exclusion Crisis (Cambridge, New York, et al.: Cambridge UP, 1987); Paul Seaward, The Cavalier Parliament and the Reconstruction of the Old Regime, 1661-1667 (Cambridge, New York, et al.: Cambridge UP, 1989); Tim Harris, Paul Seaward, and Mark Goldie, eds., The Politics of Religion in Restoration England (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990).

4. Hutton, Restoration, pp. 119-20, 125.
5. Christopher Hill, Some Intellectual Consequences of the English Revolution (Madison, Wisconsin: U Wisconsin P, 1980), pp.13-15, 27.
6. Harris, London Crowds, pp. 45-51; Jose, Ideas of the Restoration, pp. 6-7.
7. The Diary of Samuel Pepys, eds. Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols. (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1970), I, 89, 99.
8. Ibid., p. 158; The Diary of John Evelyn, ed. E. S. De Beer, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), III, 346.
9. Hill, Intellectual Consequences, pp. 13, 27; Evelyn, III, 250.
10. 'An Exit to the Exit Tyrannus, or, Upon Erasing that Ignominious and Scandalous Motto, which was set over the place where King Charles the First Statue Stood, in the Royal Exchange', (London, 1660).
11. Harris, London Crowds, p. 61.
12. Hutton, Restoration, p. 149.
13. Annabel M. Patterson, Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England (London and Madison, Wisconsin: U Wisconsin P, 1984), ch. 5; Lois Potter, Secret Rites and Secret Writing: Royalist Literature 1641-1660 (Cambridge, New York, et al.: Cambridge UP, 1989), chs. 3, 5.
14. Alexander Brome: Poems, ed. Roman R. Dubinski, 2 vols. (Toronto, Buffalo, London: U Toronto P, 1982), II, 27, 107, 108.
15. Poems on Affairs of State, ed. George deF. Lord, et al., 7 vols. (New Haven: Yale UP, 1963-75), I, 3-19.
16. Steven N. Zwicker, Dryden's Political Poetry: The Typology of King and Nation (Providence: Brown UP, 1972), pp. 21, 61-77; Florence Sandler, 'Icon and Iconoclast' in Achievements of the Left Hand: Essays on the Prose of John Milton, eds. Michael Lieb and John T. Shawcross, (Amherst, Mass.: U Massachusetts P, 1974), pp. 172-76.
17. The Poems of John Dryden, ed. James Kinsley, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1958), I, 16-24.
18. Abraham Cowley: Poems, ed. A. R. Waller (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1905), pp. 420-32.
19. For a discussion of how Dryden (and other Restoration poets) used natural imagery, Biblical allusion, and even classical

- Charles I. Basely Butchered... (May 1649), a closet drama which is totally preoccupied with vilifying the regicides, to the complete exclusion of the King; indeed, the work concludes with a messenger's arrival with news of the Martyr's execution--an omission which is not unrelated to the literary conventions of the later period. And in Howard Weinbrot's Eighteenth-Century Satire (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988) the author refers to the willingness of writers at Charles II's court to invoke the memory of the martyred king in their work, but supplies references to five poems (four of which refer indisputably to Charles I) which collectively amount to seven lines of verse (pp. 81-82).
24. Phillip Harth, 'Dryden's Public Voices', in New Homage to John Dryden (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark, 1983), pp. 10-11.
 25. Jose finds evidence in Cowley's poetry to support the opinion that despite the bold statements of faith in God and the eternal rightness of things, after 1649 his was always 'precarious optimism' undermined by recurring doubts and disillusionment. See ch. 5. Also see: Ruth Nevo, The Dial of Virtue (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1963), pp.119-32; Graham Parry, The Seventeenth Century: The Intellectual and Cultural Context of English Literature, 1603-1700 (London and New York: Longman Group, Ltd., 1989), pp. 103-105.
 26. Frances Arnold-Forster, Studies in Church Dedications: or, England's Patron Saints, 3 vols. (London, 1899), II, 346-47.
 27. John S. Morrill, 'The Church in England, 1642-9', in Reactions to the English Civil War, 1642-1649, ed. John S. Morrill (London, Basingstoke, et al: MacMillan, 1982), pp.113-14; Harris, London Crowds, pp.54-55.
 28. Paul Seaward, Cavalier Parliament (Cambridge UP, 1989), 'Introduction'.
 29. Tim Harris, London Crowds (Oxford UP, 1990), pp.76-77.
 30. Mark Goldie, 'Danby, the Bishops, and the Whigs', in The Politics of Religion in Restoration England, eds. Tim Harris, Paul Seaward, Mark Goldie (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), pp.75-6.
 31. I. M. Green, The Re-Establishment of the Church of England, 1660-1662 (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1978), pp. 11-13; Seaward, Cavalier Parliament, pp. 37-8, 55-56, 175-77; Jose, p.32.
 32. Hutton, Restoration, p. 277.
 33. See Green, chapter 10.
 34. Ibid., pp. 209-11, 230-34.

35. 'To My Lord Chancellor, Presented on New-Years Day',
Kinsley, I, 28-32.

CHAPTER THREE: THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND MARTYR

1. Pepys, Diary, IV, 29: VI, 25; Byron S. Stewart, 'The Cult of the Royal Martyr', Church History 38.2 (1969), p. 177.
2. Evelyn, Diary, III, 269, 314, 568-69: IV, 405, 620: V, 165-66, 378.
3. The most comprehensive study of the sermons appears in Helen W. Randall's 'The Rise and Fall of a Martyrology: Sermons on Charles I', The Huntington Library Quarterly X (1946-47): [New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1969] pp.135-167. In Revolution Principles (1977; Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1977) J. P. Kenyon focuses on the contributions made by some of the post-1688 sermons to the political debates and religious controversies which dominated the years 1690-1720 (in particular see ch. 5). See also Stewart, 'Cult of the Royal Martyr', pp. 175-87. Randall, p. 147.
4. Arthur P. Perceval, The Original Services of the State Holidays, with Documents Relating to the Same (London, 1838), p. 8.
5. Randall, pp. 139, 143-44, 146.
6. Perceval, p. 58.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
9. Randall, pp. 144, 146, 147, and 144-51 *passim*. Randall identifies Edward Pelling's effort for 30 January 1679 as a 'turning point' in the evolution of the anniversary sermon, and notes that while most of the published tract serves as a rational exposition of divine right (based on appeals to Scripture, natural law, and classical antiquity), the first three pages 'achieve an almost perfect miniature of the whole tradition...[capturing] in matter and manner the heart of the 30th-of-January' orthodoxy.
'...the Clamour of the World about our ears, the Judgments of God that have alarm'd us even at our doors, that Reproach and Infamy which this Nation lyeth under, those Miseries we have felt, and those we fore-see; but above all the Consciences in our breasts, cannot but storm us into a Confession, that **this day** the Anointed of the Lord was cut off, the Honour of Christians, the Wonder of the Ages, the Mirrour of Kings, the Noblest of Martyrs, and the best of Men. This day that mighty Man fell, by the hands of his own Subjects he fell, by the merciless Ax he fell, before the face of the Sun, and at his own doors he fell; and with him the breath of our Nostrils was taken away, the Joy of the Earth, the Beauty of Sion,

...and the Father of the Church; and all Order, Peace, and Religion followed him, and was buried with him in the same Grave. Be astonished, O ye Heavens, and let the Earth put on her Weeds of mourning; let Rhetorick be silent, and our Thoughts be confounded with horreur; let Christianity hide her Face,...let the Voice of Loyalty be still, and let all Faces gather blackness; for this was a thing never seen, never heard of before...This is such a **Mystery of Iniquity** as no Age can parallel; no History cometh near it, but that which tells us of the Selling and Arraigning, and Condemning and Executing of the Son of God himself.'

Randall, pp. 149-50

10. Perceval, p. 12.
11. Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, James II, Volume I February-December 1685 (London, 1960), 30 July, 23 December.
12. Perceval, pp. 20, 47.
13. Ibid., p. 49.
14. Ibid., p. 50.
15. Harris, London Crowds, pp. 78-80, 92-93, 129, 136-37, chs. 4 and 5.
16. Perceval, p. 61.
17. Pepys, Diary, I, 281; II, 167, 170; III, 245, 292-93; Clarendon, Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon. Being a Continuation of the History of the Great Rebellion from the Restoration to his Banishment in 1667, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1759), I, 420-22; Calendar of State Papers Venetian, eds. H. F. Brown and A. B. Hinds, vols. 10-38 (London, 1867-1947), vol. 24, 205; 'The Chimney Shuffle' (London, 1662).
18. Roger L'Estrange, A Memento: Directed to all those that truly reverence the memory of King Charles the Martyr (London, 1662); Roger Coke, Justice Vindicated (London, 1660). For a discussion of these works, and this particular form of circumspection, see Seaward, Cavalier Parliament, pp. 42-46.
19. Seaward, Cavalier Parliament, pp. 45-46, and chs. 2 and 3 passim.
20. Goldie, The Politics of Religion, pp. 77-78.
21. Nicholas Jose, Ideas of the Restoration in English Literature, 1660-1671 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1984) pp. 32, 43, and ch. 3.
22. Any list of Restoration poets who had flattered Charles II in verse would be prodigious indeed, and would

include Dryden, Cowley, Buckingham, Rochester, Anne Killigrew, Aphra Behn, Robert Wild and Edmund Waller.

23. The Faithful, yet Imperfect, Character of a Glorious King (London, 1660), p. 4.
24. England's Black Tribunal; Being the Characters of King Charles the First and the Nobility that Suffer'd for Him (London, 1660).
25. William Winstanley, England's Worthies: Select Lives of the Most Eminent Persons of the English Nation from Constantine the Great Down to these Times (London, 1684), pp. 451-95, 463.
26. DNB.
27. Ibid.
28. James Heath, A New Book of Loyal English Marytrs and Confessors... (London, 1663), pp. 177-78, 150-51.
29. David Lloyd, Memoires of the Lives, Actions, Sufferings and Deaths of those Noble, Reverend, and Excellent Personages that suffered...for the Protestant Religion and the Great Principle Thereof, Allegiance to Their Sovereigne (London, 1668), p. B₂.
30. Ibid., pp. 256[264]-70.
31. Ibid., pp. 250, 235-39, 265-66.
32. DNB; Anthony a' Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, ed. P. Bliss, 4 vols. (London, 1813-20), IV, 352.
33. David Lloyd, Eikon Basilike, or, The True Pourtaicture of His Sacred Majesty Charles II (London, 1660).
34. Lloyd, Memoires, pp. 180-81; Pepys, Diary, III, 292-93.
35. Lloyd, Memoires, pp. 188, 169-72, 13-16.
36. DNB.
37. Madan, pp. 78-79.
38. Richard Perrinchief, The Royal Martyr: or, the Life and Death of King Charles I (London, 1676), pp. 121-22.
39. Ibid., pp. 239-40.
40. Ibid., p. 205.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE KING AS PAWN: CHARLES IN THE GAME OF PARTY POLITICS

1. J. P. Kenyon, 'Andrew Marvell: Life and Times' in Andrew Marvell: Essays on the Tercentenary of His Death, ed. R. L. Brett (Oxford UP, 1979): pp. 1-35; Graham Parry, Seventeenth-Century Poetry: the Social Context (London, Melbourne, Sydney: Hutchinson, 1985), pp. 221-29.
2. In her book Marvell and the Civic Crown (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1984) Annabel M. Patterson argues persuasively that Marvell's poems must be understood in the context of the entire canon, and that they testify to Marvell's concern with the nature of the writer's proper role in society, and the difficulties of reconciling a belief in the importance of the freedom of speech and literary objectivity with an understanding that the writer possesses a unique power for effecting social and political change. See chapters 1, 3, 4 and passim; p. 112.
3. Ibid., pp. 113-67; Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell, ed. H. M. Margoliouth, 2 vols., 2nd. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1952), I, 310; Warren L. Chernaik, The Poet's Time: Politics and Religion in the Work of Andrew Marvell (Cambridge, New York, et al: Cambridge UP, 1983), ch. 5, appendix.
4. Margoliouth, I, 268-68; Patterson, Civic Crown, pp. 157-58; Patterson, 'The Second and Third Advices-to-the-Painter', Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America 71 (1977), pp. 473-86; Lord, Poems on Affairs of State, I, 97-98.
5. Chernaik, p. 81.
6. Margoliouth, I, 141-65.
7. See 'The Second Advice to a Painter' (1666), 'The Third Advice to a Painter' (1666), 'Upon his Majesty's being made Free of the City (1674), and 'A Dialogue Between the Two Horses' (1676).
8. Evelyn, Diary, III, 568-69.
9. Tim Harris, London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge UP, 1987), ch. 5; Ronald Hutton, Charles II: King of England, Scotland and Ireland (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989) chs. 10 and 11.
10. Hutton, Charles II, p. 286.
11. Ayloffe was executed on 30 October 1685. Lord implies this was done for his part in the Rye House Plot two years earlier (Poems on Affairs of State, I, 284), while the DNB suggests the poet was implicated in Monmouth's uprising.
12. Lord, I, 191-203.
13. DNB.

14. Lord, I, 270.
15. Margoliouth, I, 189-91.
16. The following poems can be found in either of the two volumes edited by Nathaniel Thompson in 1685, and described in greater detail later in this chapter. In A Choice Collection of 180 Loyal Songs appear 'No Protestant-Plot, or, The Whigs Loyalty', pp. 81-82, and 'Advice to the City', pp. 302-03. A Collection of Loyal Poems contains 'The Waking Vision', pp. 6-7, 'The Ghost of the Late Parliament to the New One to Meet at Oxford', pp. 27-29, and 'The Badger in the Fox-Trap, or a Satyr upon Satyrs', p. 67.
17. An Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government in England (London, 1677), p. 4.
18. Lord, I, 274-75; Chernaik, pp. 222, 236; Margoliouth, I, 317.
19. Margoliouth, I, 310. Margoliouth argues that the 'Dialogue', 'Charing Cross', and 'The Statue in Stocks-Market' (written sometime around the May 1672 unveiling of the statue of Charles II, erected by Robert Viner) were almost certainly by one author who was--in his opinion--Marvell, though this cannot be proved.
20. Ibid., pp. 191-96.
21. Lord, I, 243; Chernaik, pp. 224-25; Frank H. Ellis, 'John Freke and the History of Insipids', Philological Quarterly 44 (1965): 472-83.
22. Lord, I, 243-51.
23. Margoliouth, I, 184-89.
24. Randall, pp. 147-48.
25. Gilbert Burnet, 'The Royal Martyr and the Dutiful Subject' (London, 1675), pp. 2, 5-6, 7.
26. Randall, p.148.
27. Ibid. For extensive discussion of the literary tradition linking Charles with Christ, see Lois Potter, Secret Rites and Secret Writing (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge UP, 1989), ch. 5.
28. Burnet, 'Royal Martyr', pp. 11, 15-16, 39.
29. Gilbert Burnet, History of My Own Time, ed. Osmund Airy, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1897), II, 25-26, 58-61; Evelyn, Diary, IV, 48, 282; DNB.
30. Marvell in a letter to nephew William Popple, dated 24 July

1675, and appearing in Poems and Letters, ed H. M. Margoliouth, rev. Pierre Legouis and E. E. Duncan-Jones, 3rd. ed., 2 vols.(Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), II, 341, 342; Burnet, History, II, 61.

31. R. A. Beddard, 'Wren's Mausoleum for Charles I and the Cult of the Royal Martyr', Architectural History XXVII (1984), pp. 36-49.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
33. J. G. Muddiman, The Trial of Charles I (Edinburgh and London: William Hodge, 1928), p. 163; Evelyn, Diary, III, 98-99; Pepys, Diary, VII, 58; Sir Thomas Herbert, Memoirs of the Last Two Years of the Reign of King Charles I (London, 1813), p. 203.
34. T. A. Birrell, English Monarchs and their Books (London: British Library, 1987), p. 46.
35. C. V. Wedgwood, The Trial of Charles I (1964; Harmondsworth, England and New York: Penguin, 1983), p. 70; Charles Carlton, Charles I: The Personal Monarch (1983; London and Boston, Mass.: Ark, 1984), pp. 342, 357; Birrell, p. 46.
36. Herbert, Memoirs, pp. 184-85.
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 195-207.
38. Birrell, p. 46.
39. Herbert, Memoirs, p.203.
40. Clarendon, History of the Rebellion, IV, 493-95; Gilbert Mabbot, 'The Moderate' of 7-13 February, 1648/49.
41. The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope, eds. John Butt and E. Audra, et al, 11 vols. (London: Methuen; New Haven: Yale, 1961-69), I, 145-94.
42. See Mark Goldie, 'John Locke and Anglican Royalism', Political Studies XXXI (1983): 61-85.
43. For a description of Helen Randall's findings on the shape of the development of the anniversary sermons at this time, and an example of the standard 'emotional harangue'--the predominant style for most of the Restoration--see above ch. 3, n. 9.
44. The Poems of John Dryden, ed. Kinsley, I, 215-43.
45. Thompson, Loyal Songs, pp. 12-13.
46. Harris, London Crowds, p. 141.
47. Another notable exception, 'The Success of the Two English Travellers, newly Arrived in London' (Thompson, Loyal

Songs, pp. 346-47) depicts the travails of two expatriate Englishmen who are expelled from one country after another because of the infamous regicide. After a twenty-year odyssey which left the travellers in no doubt that England's shame and guilt had spread to the furthest corners of the globe, the two return home consoled with the realization that with James now on the throne, such crimes are firmly in the past, and that the international reputation of the English will recover now that the peace and stability are assured--by the firm establishment of the powers of the King's royal prerogative.

48. 'The Ghost of the Late Parliament' (1681), Loyal Poems, ed. Thompson, pp. 1-6. See above n. 16 for examples of other contemporary poems in which this device was employed.
49. Thompson, Loyal Poems, pp. 62-78.
50. DNB.
51. Ibid.
52. Harris, London Crowds, pp. 143-44.

CHAPTER FIVE: POST-REVOLUTIONARY CHARLES: THE REVOLT AGAINST THE LEGEND

1. James Macpherson, ed., Original Papers Containing the Secret History of Britain, 2 vols. (London, 1775), I, 152, quoted in G. M. Crump, ed., 'Introduction', Poems on Affairs of State, eds. George def. Lord and G. M. Crump, et al, 7 vols. (New Haven: Yale UP, 1963-75), IV, xxxi.
2. See the following: H. T. Dickinson, 'The Eighteenth-Century Debate on the "Glorious Revolution"', History 61 (1976): pp. 28-45; Dickinson, Geoffrey Holmes, British Politics in the Age of Anne (London and Toronto: MacMillan; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1967), pp. 58-64; J. P. Kenyon, 'The Revolution of 1688: Resistance and Contract', Historical Perspectives, ed. Neil McKendrick (London: Europa 1974), pp. 43-69; Mark Goldie, 'The Revolution of 1689 and the Structure of Political Argument', Bulletin of Research in the Humanities 83 (1980): pp. 473-564.
3. Among the works in which these themes feature are Gilbert Burnet's 'Enquiry into the Measures of Submission to the Supreme Authority' (1688); 'Essay upon the Original and Designe of Magistracie, or, A Modest Vindication of the Late Proceedings in England' (1689); James Welwood, 'Vindication of the Present Great Revolution in England' (1689).

4. J.P. Kenyon, Revolution Principles (1977; Cambridge UP, 1990), pp. 7-8, 11-13.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.
6. For the most complete assessment of Filmer, see J Daly's Sir Robert Filmer and English Political Thought (Toronto: Toronto UP, 1979). Daley argues that Filmer was an extremist whose views supporting the monarch's absolute authority were unrepresentative of mainstream Tory political theory (see ch. 6). For opposition to this point of view and descriptions of Filmer's wider influence, see Mark Goldie, 'John Locke and Anglican Royalism', Political Studies XXXI (1983): pp. 61-62, 64-67; also, J. C. D. Clark, English Society 1688-1832 (1985; Cambridge and New York, et al: Cambridge UP, 1988), pp. 45, 84, 121, 123; also J. P. Kenyon, Revolution Principles, pp. 63-64, 71. In Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788 (Cambridge and New York, et al: Cambridge UP, 1989), Paul Monod rather surprisingly suggests that Filmer exerted minimal influence on Jacobite and Non-juror advocates (pp. 17-18). For studies of the prevailing conservatism in Restoration London and the Cavalier Parliament, see Paul Seaward's Cavalier Parliament and Tim Harris's London Crowds.
7. Clark, English Society, pp. 118-24 and ch. 3 passim. For a discussion of the vitality of divine right doctrine in post-Revolution era, see Mark Goldie, 'Tory Political Thought, 1689-1714', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge University, 1977, chs. 6 and 11; also, Paul Monod, *op. cit.*, chs. 1, 5, and passim.
8. Kenyon, Revolution Principles, p. 22.
9. Goldie, 'John Locke', p. 69.
10. A. P. Perceval, The Original Services for the State Holidays With Documents Relating to the Same (London, 1838), p. 61.
11. At this point I would like to acknowledge an obvious debt to J. P. Kenyon for his excellent discussion of the subject of the cult of Charles I in chapter five of Revolution Principles.
12. James Welwood's 'Vindication of the Present Great Revolution in England' (London, 1689) and the anonymous 'Observations upon the Late Revolution in England', Somers' Tracts [Second Collection] (London, 1750), IV, provide good examples of long, closely-argued treatises which in ignoring the notorious historical precedent only beg an obvious question.
13. In his study of the pamphlet literature on the Revolution of 1689 ('The Revolution of 1689 and the Structure of

Political Argument', Bulletin of Research in the Humanities 83 [1980]: 473-564), Mark Goldie asserts that the 28% of the corpus attributable to the Jacobites and Non-jurors 'is out of all proportion to their numerical support' (p.484). As his annotated bibliography of 192 titles clearly demonstrates, writers on all sides of the question of the new monarchs' legitimacy often used the same concepts and political theories to arrive at radically different conclusions, and the example of Charles I--while still a relatively infrequently-used tool--proved to be no exception. Thus, the author of the Jacobite tract 'Observations upon the Late Revolution in England' (1689) equates the rebellion which led to regicide in 1649 with the 'legalized' overthrow of James II, while the anonymous author of 'A Letter from Oxford' (1693) offers the rarely-included example of the events of the 1640s--along with the other instances from English history of disruptions (through violence) in the line of succession--in establishing the role of resistance and deposition as legitimate constitutional forces. Similarly, an attempt to justify William's interference in English politics through a reference to Charles's own efforts on behalf of persecuted Protestants in France and the Palatinate (Edward Fowler, 'An Answer to the Paper Delivered by Mr. Ashton at His Execution to Sir Francis Child, Sheriff of London'- 1690), is balanced by Robert Jenkin's insistence that such activity merely emphasizes the special role in society reserved by God for the sovereign prince, and therefore reaffirms the necessity of maintaining the principle of absolute non-resistance to a rightful King ('An Answer to the Vindication of the Letter from a Person of Quality in the North'- 1690). See Goldie, 'Revolution of 1689', pp. 529-64.

14. Examples are William Stainforth's 'Sermon preach'd... on 30th January, 1688/89' (London, 1689); Peter Birch, 'Sermon preach'd before...Commons, 30th January, 1693/94' (London, 1694).
15. James Sutherland, Defoe, 2nd. ed. (London: Methuen, 1950), p. 32; Paula R. Backscheider, Daniel Defoe: His Life (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins UP, 1989), pp. 46-47.
16. 'Reflections upon the Late Great Revolution' (London, 1689), pp. 65, 66.
17. A complete and definitive account of the authorship issue appears in Francis F. Madan's A New Bibliography of the Eikon Basilike (Oxford UP, 1950), Appendix I, which includes an annotated bibliography of material relating to and contributing toward the controversy. Madan comes as close as anyone can to proving that Gauden was indeed the author, working from materials provided by the King.
18. Ibid., p. 140-44.
19. The Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, ed. C. H. Firth, 2 vols.

- (Oxford: Clarendon, 1894), I, xxvi-xxvii, xxxiv-xxxv; DNB; Memoirs, II, 511.
20. Goldie, 'Tory Political Thought', p. 198; Robert E. Sullivan, John Toland and the Deist Controversy (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard UP, 1982), p. 149.
 21. 'A Letter from Major-General Ludlow to Sir E[dward] S[eymour]...' (Amsterdam [London], 1691), pp. 5-7, 11-25.
 22. *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 25.
 23. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
 24. DNB; Madan, pp. 140-43.
 25. 'A Defence of King Charles I, Occasion'd by the Lyes and Scandals of Many Bad Men of This Age' (London, 1692), p. 5.
 26. DNB; Madan, pp. 126, 143-47. In his approximately half-dozen works defending Charles, Wagstaffe, the chancellor of Lichfield Cathedral and a Non-juror, concentrated on the minutiae of the Eikon authorship controversy, to the virtual exclusion of all else.
 27. 'A Rebuke to the High Church Priests for Turning the 30th of January into a Madding Day' (London, 1717).
 28. Gilbert Burnet, 'A Sermon preach'd before the Aldermen of the City of London...on 30th January 1680/81' (London, 1681), pp. 2-5, 7.
 29. 'Some Observations upon the Keeping [of] the Thirtieth of January and the Twenty-Ninth of May' (London, 1694), Somers's Tracts, 4 vols. (London, 1748), III, 172, 173, 174, 175, 177.
 30. John T. Shawcross, ed., Milton: The Critical Heritage (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970), p. 13. Gauden's curate, Dr. Anthony Walker, had published his own eyewitness account of Gauden's activities in late 1648, in which he respectfully asserted that the Dean of Bocking had indeed written the Eikon Basilike, with some help from Bishop Duppa. See 'A True Account of the Author of a Book entitled Eikon Basilike' (London, 1692).
 31. 'Some Observations', pp. 173-74.
 32. 'Observations' was attacked in a pamphlet entitled 'The Reformer Rack'd', which does not appear to have survived, though from the text of J. G. G.'s self-vindication ('A Just and Sober Vindication of the "Observations upon the Thirtieth of January and Twenty-Ninth of May"' [London, 1694]) its author seems to have been preoccupied with the Eikon Basilike, contesting allegations regarding its origins and stubbornly quoting passages from it as

the best proof that Charles's reputation as a saint was justified. Of course, it was precisely at this time that Peter Birch's sermon, delivered to the Commons on 30 January 1694, raised a minor controversy, both for the conventionally 'blasphemous' manner in which he compared Charles with Christ, and for the divisions between Anglicans and Dissenters, Tories and Whigs which these kinds of history lessons encouraged. See 'A Birchen Rod for Dr. Birch' (1694) and 'A New-Years Gift for Dr. Birch' (1696).

33. Thomas Comber, 'A Discourse on the Offices for the Fifth of November, the Thirtieth of January, and the Twenty-Ninth of May' (London, 1696), pp. 78-79, 82, 100.
34. Comber wrote 'A Modest Vindication of the Protestants of England who joined with the Prince of Orange' (1688), and 'An Apology for the Oath of Allegiance' (1689)--DNB.
35. G. V. Bennett, 'Conflict in the Church', Britain after the Glorious Revolution, 1689-1714, ed. G. Holmes (London, Toronto, New York, et al: MacMillan, 1969), pp. 155-75.
36. Geoffrey Holmes, 'Introduction', British Politics in the Age of Anne, 2nd. ed. (London: Hambledon Press, 1987), pp. xxxviii-xliii; J. A. Downie, Robert Harley and the Press: Propaganda and Public Opinion in the Age of Swift and Defoe (Cambridge, New York, et al: Cambridge UP, 1979), ch. 1.
37. Sullivan, pp. 2-5; DNB.
38. Sullivan, p. 5.
39. Ibid., ch. 4 and passim.
40. Downie, Robert Harley, pp. 36-37.
41. The question of who edited Ludlow's Memoirs is still a mystery. C. H. Firth, editor of the 1894 Clarendon edition, identified Isaac Littlebury as the most probable candidate, though he conceded that Toland would have been in complete sympathy with Ludlow's political views and could well have been the editor. See pp. x-xii. Sullivan agrees, and so completely that he accepts A. B. Worden's assertions that not only did Toland pen the four 'Ludlow' pamphlets earlier in the decade on the Revolution and Eikon controversy, but that he 'confected' the entire Memoirs himself, transforming a 'regicide millenarian' into a 'secular Country-Whig gentleman' (pp. 3, 48, 149). For a full discussion, see A. B. Worden, ed., Edmund Ludlow: A Voyce from the Watchtower: Part Five, 1660-1662, vol. 21 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1978), pp. 4, 21-34.
42. Worden, pp. 5-13, 45-52.

43. Firth, ed., Memoirs, I, 10-14; 121, 122, 145, 207; 11-12.
44. For vindications of Charles, see the two strident and very dull books by William Baron, A Just Defence of the Royal Martyr, K. Charles I (1699) and Regicides no Saints, nor Martyrs (1700), the former specifically refuting Ludlow's Memoirs, and the latter directed at Ludlow, Toland, and William Stephens. Anyone wishing to verify the tediousness of these works is advised to consult section I of Regicides no Saints, a laborious fifty-four-pages answer to the publisher's Preface to Ludlow's Memoirs (pp. 1-54). See also 'A Modest Vindication of Oliver Cromwell from the unjust Accusations of Lieut.-Gen. Ludlow' (London, 1698).
45. A new hostility in the army's attitude toward Charles, after the start of the second civil war, is apparent in the wording of the declaration issued by the army chiefs in April 1648, in which they promised 'to call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to an account for the blood he had shed and mischief he had done to his utmost against the Lord's causes and people' (Charles Carlton, Charles I: The Personal Monarch [1983; London: Ark, 1984], pp. 335-36). Other publications which echoed this description of the King were: The Moderate, 31 Oct.-7 Nov. 1648, 14-21 Nov. 1648; The True Informer, 8 Oct.-7 Nov. 1648; John Cook's 'King Charls, his Case, or, an Appeal to all Rational Men concerning his Tryal' (London, Feb. 1649); Mercurius Politicus 8-15 May 1651.
46. Kenyon, Revolution Principles, pp. 68-69, quoting from Toland's Life of John Milton (London, 1698), pp. 92-93.
47. Offspring Blackall, 'Sermon preach'd before...Commons at St. Margaret's, Westminster, 30 January 1698/99' (London, 1699), pp. 15-17.
48. Sullivan, pp. 10-11.
49. 'Amyntor', published with The Life of John Milton, ed. A. Millar (London, 1761), p. 201.
50. Complete Prose Works of John Milton, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1962), III, 601.
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 338-39, 343-44, 367.
52. Toland surmises that Gauden blackmailed his way into the bishopric at Worcester ('Amyntor', p. 210 [212]), and thus Charles II is left even more firmly in the clergy's control, thanks to his father. The supposition was confrimed much later with the publication of correspondence between Clarendon and both Gauden and the Earl of Bristol. See Clarendon State Papers, eds. R Scrope and T. Monhouse, 3 vols. (Oxford: 1767-86), III (Supplement), xxvi-xxx.

CHAPTER SIX: QUEEN ANNE'S REIGN: SACRED COW OR
CALVES-HEAD JEST?

1. For a description of Baron's responses to Toland, Ludlow, and Dr. Stephens, see above ch. 5, n. 44. For an account of Blackall's dispute with Toland, see above ch. 5, pp. 194-95.
2. Kenyon, Revolution Principles, pp. 73-74; Helen Randall, 'Rise and Fall of a Martyrology', Huntington Library Quarterly, X (1946-47), pp. 155-57.
3. William Stephens, 'Sermon preach'd before...Commons, 30 January 1699/1700' (London, 1700), p. 28.
4. Kenyon, Revolution Principles, p. 88-89, 119.
5. Paul Kleber Monod, Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788 (Cambridge, New York, et al: Cambridge UP, 1989), pp. 28, 15-28 passim.
6. Bennett, 'Conflict in the Church', pp. 166-67; Holmes, British Politics in the Age of Anne, 1st. ed. (London: MacMillan; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1967), pp. 208, 209, and ch. 6.
7. 'The Pourtraicture of King Charles I Illuminated...' (London, 1700), pp. 32, 34, and 19-26. In relating the particulars of the plagiarized prayer lifted from Arcadia, the memorably sardonic introduction to the postscript of the Ludlow letter was reproduced (as well as the parallel printing of the two texts which also appears in that tract). Not only the ideas, but the **expressions** which the author uses to vent his outrage over the irreverence which allowed a 'pagan' work to be plundered for material to be inserted in a book of Christian devotion (p. 34) were Milton's first (see Complete Prose, III, 362).
8. 'Animadversions on the Last 30th of January Sermons...' (1702), Collections of State Tracts, 3 vols. (London, 1705-07), III, 294, 297.
9. Randall, p. 157.
10. To illustrate that the old sermon conventions were still very much alive, Randall calls our attention to William Binkes's address to the House of Commons in 1702, in which the author indulged in a fair amount of implicit Whig-baiting, though it was for the excessive nature of his comparisons between Charles and Christ that Binkes was formally censured by the House.

'And here, one would imagine, the latter were resolved, to take St. Paul's Expression, in the most litteral [sic] sense the words will bear, and crucifie to themselves the Lord afresh, and in the nearest likeness that could be, put him to an open shame. If, with respect to the Dignity of the Person, to have been born King of the

Jews, was what ought to have skreen'd our Saviour from Violence, here is also one, not only born to a Crown, but actually possessed of it. He was not only called **King** by some, and at the same time, derided by others for being so called, but he was acknowledg'd by all, to be a King; he was not just dress'd up for an hour or two, in Purple Robes, and saluted with a **Hail King**, but the usual Ornaments of Majesty, were his customary Apparel...'(Randall, p. 156).

Eight years later, at the height of the Sacheverell controversy, an anonymous author--and allegedly a non-clergyman--used the anniversary as an occasion for a familiar attack on the Puritan regicides which functioned as a thinly-veiled assault on contemporary Whigs.

'When the nation then had lost its head, and its glory, 'twas turned with its heels upwards, and governed by a mock-monarchy, a thing as infamous in its quality as its name. The dregs of the populace, the creatures of a sectarian army, the worst part of a body, that was bad enough in its best; these were our senators and the saviours of the nation.'

'The Laymen's Lamentation on the Thirtieth of January', (London, 1710), p. 12.

Perhaps the most telling commentary of all on these tracts is supplied once again by Randall, who cites Thomas Bradbury's observations on the sermon tradition, made in a 5 November sermon of his own in 1713.

'I have read many a Thirtieth of January Sermon, and they are so much the same that I can observe very little new in 'em but a Transposition of Terms: Let but any one take a few ratling Words for his Materials, such as **Schismatick, Atheists, Rebels, Traitors, Miscreants, Monsters, Enthusiasts, Hypocrites; Lord's Anointed, Sacred Majesty, God's Vicegerent; impious, blaspheme, Damnation;** stir these together, in a warm Head, and after a very little shaking, bring 'em out, Scum and all, distribute 'em into several Periods, and your Work is half done...'(Randall, p. 160).

11. See Robert Brown, vicar of Sligo, 'The Subjects' Sorrow, or Lamentations upon the Death of Britain's Josiah' (1649), reprinted in 1710; also royal chaplain Robert South's 'Sermon preach'd before Charles II...for the Execrable Murther of his Royal Father', first published in 1705 and printed again in 1708, but obviously first written at least twenty (if not twenty-five) years earlier.
12. Charles Leslie, 'The New Association of those call'd Moderate Church-Man, with the Modern-Whigs and Fanaticks...' (London, 1702), p. 12.
13. There are several references to Charles and his fate in Jacobite popular verse which are very reminiscent of the literature produced in the early 1680s in response

to the Exclusion Crisis and Monmouth threat, with the cryptic use of numbers representing events in momentous years and terse, routine comparisons between James II and James III and the received, saintly figure of the suffering Charles. See Bodleian Rawlinson Mss. Poet. 205 and 207.

14. DNB; Poems on Affairs of State, eds. G. Lord and Frank Ellis, 7 vols. (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1963), VI, 648.
15. Poems, eds. Lord and Ellis, VI, 651-52.
16. The Famous Tragedie of King Charles I, Basely Butchered, published 26 May 1649, is something of an oddity, in that its author was far more concerned with depicting the regicides as inhuman monsters than he/she was with presenting Charles heroically. In fact, Charles is nowhere to be found in the forty-three pages of text.
17. Alexander Fyfe, 'The Royal Martyr, K. Charles I. An Opera' (Edinburgh, 1705), pp. 63-64.
18. Ned Ward, The Secret History of the Calves-Head Club, 6th ed. (London, 1707), pp. 18-19.
19. H. W. Troyer, Ned Ward of Grub Street (1946; London: Frank Cass & Co., 1968), pp. 5, 6-8, 86-87, 90.
20. Ward, pp. 12, 17.
21. Troyer, pp. 265-67; 110-12.
22. Ward, pp. 95-104.
23. Kenyon, Revolution Principles, pp. 76-77.
24. Charles Leslie, 'The New Association' (London, 1702), p. 12; William Baron, Regicides No Saints, Nor Martyrs (London, 1700), p. 132.
25. Gentleman's Magazine V (1735): p. 105.
26. Mark Goldie, 'Tory Political Thought', pp. 274-75.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 198.
28. Among Hyde's more recent admirers are: Goldie, 'Tory Political Thought', pp. 201-05; Royce MacGillivray, Restoration Historians and the English Civil War (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974); Kenyon, The History Men (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1983), ch. 2; R. C. Richardson, The Debate on the English Revolution (London: Methuen & Co., 1977); Martine Watson Brownley, Clarendon and the Rhetoric of Historical Form (Philadelphia: U Pennsylvania P, 1985).

29. H. R. Trevor-Roper and French R. Fogle, 'Milton and Clarendon', William Andrews Clark Memorial Library (Los Angeles: U California P, 1965); Brownley, *passim*; Kenyon, History Men, pp. 30-31.
30. MacGillivray, pp. 216-18.
31. Brownley, pp. 165-66; B. H. G. Wormald, Clarendon: Politics, Historiography, and Religion: 1640-1660 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1951), pp. 230, 233-35.
32. Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, ed. W. Dunn Macray, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1888), IV, 492.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 491, 490.
34. Kenyon, History Men, p. 32; Brownley, pp. 80-82.
35. I. M. Green, The Re-Establishment of the Church of England, 1660-1663 (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1978), ch. 10 *passim*.
36. Clarendon, History, I, 96-97; 372; 121, 124-25; 131-32; 217.
37. Green provides a succinct but perceptive study of the Chancellor's character, and an analysis of the impact that a twenty-year interruption in the composition process actually had upon Clarendon's text (ch. 10).
38. DNB.
39. Sir Philip Warwick, Memoires of the Reigne of King Charles I, with a Continuation to the Happy Restoration of King Charles II (London, 1701), pp. 1, 64-66, 205.
40. *Ibid.*, pp. 46, 226-28, 274.
41. Goldie, 'Tory Political Thought', p. 201.
42. Trevor-Roper, p. 32.
43. 'An Antidote against Rebellion, or, the Principles of the Modern Politician, Examined and Compared with the Description of the Last Age by...Clarendon' (London, 1704), pp. 4, 6, 8-9, 23-50 *passim*.
44. G. V. Bennett, White Kennett, 1660-1728: Bishop of Peterborough (London, S.P.C.K., 1957), pp. 90-94; Kenyon, Revolution Principles, pp. 78-79; Goldie, 'Tory Political Thought', pp. 206-07.
45. Bennett, Kennett, p. 91.
46. White Kennett, 'A Compassionate Enquiry into the Causes of the Civil War...' (London, 1704), pp. 18-19, 14-15.

47. Mary Astell, 'An Impartial Enquiry into the Causes of Rebellion and Civil War...' (London, 1704), pp. 17-18; [Henry Gandy] 'Some Remarks, or Short Strictures upon a Compassionate Enquiry into the Causes of the Civil War' (London, 1704), pp. 11-12.
48. 'A View of the Reign of King Charles...' (London, 1704), pp. 11-18; 'A Sermon preached before the Honourable House of Commons...on 30 January 1705/06' (London, 1706); A Complete History of England, with the Lives of the Kings and Queens, 3 vols. (London, 1706), III, 4, 62, 113, 145, 164-65.
49. Ned Ward, The History of the Grand Rebellion, 3 vols. (London, 1713-15), I, iii.
50. Ibid., I, 19-20, 183-87; II, 268-69.
51. Geoffrey Holmes, The Trial of Doctor Sacheverell (London: Eyre Methuen, 1973), chs. vi, viii; Goldie, 'Tory Political Thought', ch. xiii; F. F. Madan, A Critical Bibliography of Dr. Henry Sacheverell (Kansas, 1978).
52. 'The Laymen's Lamentation on the Thirtieth of January...' (London, 1710), pp. 10-14. See also above, n. 10.
53. 'Exequiae Carolinae, a Poem on the Martyrdom of King Charles I' (London, 1710).
54. 'A General View of Our Present Discontents' (London, 1710), pp. 12, 24-25.
55. [John Toland] 'The Judgment of King James the First and King Charles the First against Non-Resistance...' (London, 1710); [John Toland?] 'The Jacobitism, Perjury, and Popery of High-Church Priests' (London, 1710), pp. 4, 6-7. Holmes in Trial of Dr. Sacheverell identifies Harcourt's allusion as a 'well understood...reference to Defoe's Review' (p.187). The phrase did appear in the Review on 12 Feb. 1708, though its original source was the Preface to Jure Divino: A Satyr in Twelve Books (p. xi), Defoe's versified indictment of divine right monarchy, published as long ago as 1706, and all the more remarkable if it was indeed widely recognized.
56. 'High-Church Politicks, or, the Abuse of the 30th of January Consider'd' (London, 1710), pp. 5, 18-22.
57. Ibid., pp. 15-16.
58. Holmes, Sacheverell, pp. 270-72; Goldie, 'Tory Political Thought', chs. 13, 15.
59. Clark, English Society, pp. 176-77 and ch. 3 passim.
60. Ibid., pp. 158, 149.

CHAPTER SEVEN: SWIFT AND DEFOE ON THE ROYAL MARTYR

1. P. N. Furbank and W. R. Owens demonstrate convincingly how Defoe's biographers have compounded many times over the problems of assembling a reliable Defoe bibliography. See The Canonisation of Daniel Defoe (New Haven & London: Yale UP, 1988).
2. J. A. Downie, Jonathan Swift: Political Writer (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984, rpt. 1985), pp. ix-xi, 81-84; David Nokes, Jonathan Swift: A Hypocrite Reversed (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1985), pp. 56-57.
3. Downie, Swift, pp. 6-7.
4. Patrick Reilly, Jonathan Swift, the Brave Desponder (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1982), p. 44-45, 87.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
6. Downie, Swift, p. 3; Nokes, pp. 6-7.
7. Prose Writings of Jonathan Swift, ed. Herbert Davis et al, 16 vols. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1939-75), V, 188-89 [hereafter PW].
8. Irvin Ehrenpreis, Swift: the Man, his Works, and the Age, 3 vols. (London: Methuen, 1962-83), III, 518; DNB.
9. Geoffrey Holmes, British Politics in the Age of Anne (London: Macmillan, 1967), pp. 63-64.
10. Nokes, pp. 54-55; Downie, Swift, p. 76. For a more complete discussion of the genre and the case for placing the 'Contests' in it, see J. A. Downie's 'Swift's Discourse: Allegorical Satire or Parallel History?' Swift Studies 2 (1987): 25-32.
11. Ehrenpreis, II, pp. 55-57; Downie, Swift, pp. 75-78.
12. PW, I, pp. 212-13.
13. Nokes, pp. 91-94; PW, V, xvii.
14. PW, II, 1, 5, 17-19.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
17. For a full discussion of Harley's very modern appreciation of the importance of public opinion to a successful government, and how that government must take positive steps to mould this opinion, see J. A. Downie's excellent study Robert Harley and the Press: Propaganda and Public Opinion in the Age of Swift and Defoe (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1978), ch. 5 and *passim*; also Downie's Swift, ch. 8.

18. Nokes, p. 122; Downie, Swift, pp. 138-39.
19. PW, III, 111, 134.
20. Frank Ellis, ed., Swift vs. Mainwaring: The Examiner and The Medley (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1985), p. xxv.
21. Downie, Swift, pp. 149-54; Nokes, p. 131.
22. PW, III, 122-23.
23. PW, II, 25.
24. PW, III, 123.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 128, 142.
26. Ehrenpreis, II, 423.
27. Ehrenpreis sees nothing more significant in the substitution of Mrs. Mary Manley for Swift as editor/author of The Examiner than the vicar's taking the opportunity offered by the end of the Parliamentary session to hand over a tiresome responsibility (II, 420). Downie believes that Swift did not resign voluntarily, but had been sacked by Harley for the High Church/St. John tone of his recent work (Harley, pp. 135-38). Nokes interprets Swift's 'removal' from the paper as a promotion of sorts, freeing the author for the more important task of defending the administration's war policy in 'Conduct of the Allies' (pp. 129-32). I am inclined to agree with Downie, who--although he presents the argument less emphatically in his subsequent biography of Swift (pp.150-54)--nevertheless uses the Journal to Stella and correspondence to demonstrate that Swift was quite upset by the change, and was probably experiencing some awkwardness in his dealings with Harley.
28. Jonathan Swift: The Complete Poems, ed. Pat Rogers (London: Yale UP, 1983), pp. 124-25.
29. Nokes, Hypocrite Reversed, p. 99.
30. Ehrenpreis, II, 546.
31. 'A Proposal for Correcting, Improving, and Ascertaining the English Tongue, in a Letter to the Most Honourable Robert, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain' (London, 1712), pp. 17-18.
32. Ehrenpreis, II, 420.
33. 'Proposal', p. 17-18.
34. 'Reflections on Dr. Swift's Letter, About Refining the English Tongue' (London, 1712), pp. 6, 15.

35. PW, V, 268, 295.
36. Ibid, 295.
37. Ibid., pp. 298, 300, 314.
38. Holmes, Trial of Sacheverell, pp. 274-75; Ehrenpreis, II, 774-75.
39. PW, IX, 219-20, 222-24.
40. Ibid., p. 224.
41. Ibid., pp. 222, 220.
42. Ibid., pp. 227, 224.
43. Modern Defoe scholars are fortunate to have two recent biographies of high merit: Frank Bastian's Defoe's Early Life (Totowa, New Jersey: Barnes & Noble, 1981), and Paula R. Backscheider's Daniel Defoe: His Life (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins UP, 1989)--the latter of which also offers sensitive readings and thoughtful discussion of the mountainous materials written by and about Defoe. In my opinion, however, the best account of the author's life remains James Sutherland's Defoe (London: Methuen & Co., 1937; 2nd. ed. with revisions published in 1950).
44. Sutherland, Defoe, ch. viii, and his subsequent work, Daniel Defoe: A Critical Study (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1971), pp. 10-12 and chs. 1 and 2 passim. For an indication of how modern scholars are returning to Sutherland's conclusions concerning Defoe's integrity and authorial independence, see Backscheider, 'Epilogue'; John Richette, Daniel Defoe (Boston, Mass.: G. K. Hall & Co., 1987), 16-17 and ch. 2; and especially P. N. Furbank, The Canonisation of Daniel Defoe (Yale UP, 1988), ch. xii.
45. Manuel Schonhorn, Defoe's Politics: Parliament, Power, Kingship, and 'Robinson Crusoe' (Cambridge and New York, et al: Cambridge UP, 1991), pp. 23-24.
46. 'Reflections upon the Late Great Revolution' (London, 1689), pp. 63-64.
47. Ibid., pp. 65-66.
48. Ibid., pp. 25, 66.
49. Sutherland, Defoe, pp. 48-50; Backscheider, chs. 3 and 4.
50. Kenyon, Revolution Principles, p. 57.
51. Schonhorn, Defoe's Politics, ch. 3.
52. Manuel Schonhorn, 'Defoe, the Language of Politics, and

the Past', Studies in the Literary Imagination vol. 15 (1982): 75-83; 'Defoe, Political Parties, and the Monarch', Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture vol. 15 (1986): 187-97.

53. See Maximillian E. Novak, Realism, Myth, and History in Defoe's Fiction (Lincoln, Nebraska and London: U Nebraska P, 1983), pp. 53, 55, and ch. 3. In the two articles cited above, one can see Schonhorn working toward the essential agreement with Novak's views which appears in Defoe's Politics.
54. Backscheider, pp. 13-21.
55. 'A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty: or, Whiggish Loyalty and Church Loyalty compar'd', Somer's Tracts, 16 vols. (London, 1748-51), II, 561.
56. 'Reflections', p. 66.
57. Backscheider, pp. 84-88 and ch. 5.
58. J. A. Downie, 'Defoe's "Shortest-Way with the Dissenters": Irony, Intention, and Reader-Response', Prose Studies 9.2 (1986): p. 122.
59. In addition to Downie's article above, see the following: Paul K. Alkon, 'Defoe's Argument in "The Shortest Way with the Dissenters"', Modern Philology 73.4 pt.2 (May 1976): S12-S23 [sic]; Michael Boardman, 'Defoe's Political Rhetoric and the Problems of Irony', Tulane Studies in English 22 (1977): 87-102; L. S. Horsley, 'Contemporary Reactions to Defoe's "Shortest Way with the Dissenters"', Studies in English Literature 1500-1900 XVI (Summer 1976): 407-20; Miriam Leranbaum, "'An Irony Not Unusual": Defoe's "Shortest Way with the Dissenters"', Huntington Library Quarterly 37 (1974): 229-51.
60. 'The Shortest-Way with the Dissenters: or, Proposals for the Establishment of the Church', Selected Writings of Daniel Defoe, ed. James T. Boulton (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1975), pp. 87-88.
61. *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90.
62. *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.
63. Sutherland, Defoe, pp. 85-94, 100-04.
64. Downie, Robert Harley, pp. 69-74 and ch. 3.
65. 'Moderation Maintain'd' (London, 1704), Preface.
66. White Kennett, 'A Compassionate Enquiry into the Causes of the Civil War...' (London, 1704), pp. 7-15.
67. Defoe, 'Moderation', pp. 6-8.

68. Ibid., pp. 20-21, 23, 26.
69. Defoe's Review, ed. Arthur W. Secord, 22 vols. (New York: Columbia UP, 1988), I, 149.
70. Defoe, 'Moderation', pp. 23-24.
71. Kenyon cites Defoe's movement away from the strict moderation of 1704-05 as evidence that either a reappraisal of his relationship with Harley, or of Harley's own political objectives from 1706-08, may be in order (Revolution Principles, pp. 112-13). Downie (Harley, pp. 74-75 and ch. 3) and--as Kenyon himself points out-- J. R. Moore (Daniel Defoe: Citizen of the Modern World, Chicago: 1958, ch. 13) argue strongly for Harley's control of Defoe's pen during this period.
72. J. R. Moore, A Checklist of the Writings of Daniel Defoe (Indiana UP, 1960), p. 30.
73. 'Royal Religion: Being Some Enquiry after the Piety of Princes' (London, 1704), p. 10.
74. Backscheider, pp. 170-72.
75. Jure Divino: a Satyr in Twelve Books (London, 1706), p. ix.
76. Secord, ed., Defoe's Review, IV, 627. See above, ch. 6, n. 51.
77. Defoe, Jure Divino, p. xi.
78. Secord, ed., Defoe's Review, IV, 627.
79. John Mullan, 'Introduction', Memoirs of a Cavalier, ed. James T. Boulton (Oxford and New York: Oxford UP, 1991), pp. vii-ix.
80. Arthur W. Secord, 'Robert Drury's Journal' and Other Studies, eds. Robert W. Rogers and George Sherburn (Urbana, Illinois: U Illinois P, 1961), pp. 79-80, 111-17.
81. Novak, Realism, pp. 60-63; Mullan, p. xxii.
82. Defoe, Memoirs of a Cavalier, p. 137.
83. Clarendon, Edward Hyde, Earl of, History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, ed. W. D. Macray, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1888), I, 96-97, 372, 124-25.
84. Ibid., IV, 491; Defoe, Memoirs, p. 189.
85. Novak, Realism, p. 57.
86. Backscheider, Defoe, p. 445.

87. Defoe, Memoirs, pp. 75, 86, 101-05.
88. Secord, Robert Drury, pp. 86-87.
89. Charles Carlton, Charles I: The Personal Monarch (1983; London: Ark, 1984), pp. 209, 244.
90. Novak (Realism, pp.55-57) and Backscheider (Defoe, p.443) have noted the significance of the Gustavus Adolphus character, both structurally and thematically.
91. Novak, Realism, pp. 56-58.
92. Secord, ed., Defoe's Review, IV, 422-23.
93. Ibid., III, 170; Defoe, Memoirs, pp. 15-16, 164-65, 192-93.

CONCLUSION

1. J. C. D. Clark, English Society, 1688-1832 (1985; Cambridge and New York: Cambridge UP, 1988), pp. 149-73 and ch. 3 passim.
2. R. C. Richardson, The Debate on the English Revolution (London: Methuen, 1977), pp. 39-40, and ch. 3.
3. J. P. Kenyon, The History Men (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1983), p. 43. For a less emphatic statement of a similar point of view, see also Richard Ollard, The Image of the King: Charles I and Charles II (London and Sydney: Hodder and Stoughton, 1979), ch. XIII.
4. Some examples of these are: James Wilford, 'Essay in Support of Royal Innocence' (London, 1729); 'Remarks upon a Scandalous Book...[Oldmixon's History of England]' (London, 1731); 'The Clarendon Family Vindicated' (London, 1732); 'A Vindication of the Royal Family of the Stuarts...' (London, 1734); 'The Genuineness of Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion...Vindicated' (London, 1744); 'Clarendon and Whitlock farther compar'd' (London, 1739); 'The Clarendon Family Vindicated' (London, 1732).
5. Helen W. Randall, 'The Rise and Fall of a Martyrology: Sermons on Charles I', Huntington Library Quarterly X (1946-47; New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1969), pp. 157-58.
6. Notable examples are Zachary Pearce's address before the Lords on 30 January 1749, Dr. Thomas Pickering's to the Lord Mayor, 1750, and Thomas Fothergill's to the University of Oxford, 1753. Clark lists no fewer than twelve different clergymen who published anniversary sermons between 1730 and 1753 which provoked angry responses. See English Society, pp. 148-49, 160.

7. Randall, pp. 162-63.
8. Clark, English Society, pp. 158, 164.
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