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Email Communiqué

Society of King Charles the Martyr
American Region

CCCLXII Anniversary of the Royal Martyrdom Issue
Part II • March, 2011

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BACK ISSUES OF *SKCM NEWS* AND THE *EMAIL COMMUNIQUÉ* ARE ARCHIVED AT THE AMERICAN REGION'S WEBSITE

Dear S.K.C.M. members and supporters,

THE AMERICAN REGION'S **Annual Mass** on 29 Jan. 2011 at **Saint Paul's 'K' St.**, Washington DC, was a great success. We thank Father Sloane, rector, who invited us, Society members and the many others there who worked together with Paul McKee, Chapter Secretary, to plan and pull off the event, Father Martin, our Select Preacher and celebrant, and Bishop Montgomery, in whose Presence the mass was sung, for their rôles in the event's success. Charles Wood's *Mass in F* was sung by S. Paul's Choir; to Wood's organ accompaniment was added a string quartet, playing a newly-commissioned score. As led by Director McCormick it was a *tour de force*, enabled by the generous financial support of many, whom we thank and bless. Of over 100 worshipers, about $^2/_3$ enjoyed the luncheon and informal fellowship.

In our January issue we began the story of the King's last months (Part I), quoting from Hilaire Belloc's *Charles I King of England.*

This month, in part II, we draw on C. V. Wedgwood, *A Coffin for King Charles* and Esmé Wingfield-Stratford, *King Charles the Martyr.*

REMEMBER, we gather at the **Church of the Resurrection**, New York, to honor King Charles the Martyr at **11 a.m. on Sat. 7 May**, celebrating the Recognition of the *Cultus*, sometimes called the Canonization, of KCM. You may read about the details of what we are commemorating in either the June or December 2010 issues of *SKCM News.* Our host will be Canon Swain, rector, the music, Mozart's *Pastoral Mass,* K. 140, directed by Mr. Enlow, and our Select Preacher, Professor Wright.

THE SAINT ROBERT SOUTHWELL, S.J. Lecture will be held at the Rose Hill Campus of **Fordham Univ.** in New York, on Thursday **31 March 2011 at 6 p.m.** This year's **Southwell Lecturer** will be the Professor of Modern History at the Univ. of St Andrews, Andrew Pettegree, D.Phil.; his topic: 'In Defense of the True Church: Catholic Pamphleteering in the First Age of Print'.

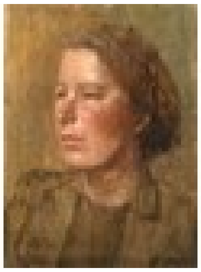
Contact Susan Wabuda, Ph.D., Associate Prof. of History, 718 817 3945 or wabuda@fordham.edu. Visit www.fordham.edu and for directions, www.fordham.edu/directions.

§

In this issue we continue with some of the words from and about the trial and beheading of King Charles I.

The following quotation from Dame Veronica Wedgwood demonstrates that eyewitness accounts can differ greatly. She recounts an unusual event that occurred during the trial.

> "While the King was on his way, Phelps read the roll call, the Commissioners who were present rising to their names. As he called out Lord Fairfax, a masked lady in one of the nearer galleries raised her voice in protest, but her words were quickly submerged by the clerk's continued reading of the list and the movements along the benches as the Commissioners rose to their names. Not until much later would it become known that the speaker was the wife of Fairfax and that, answering for her husband, she had cried out: 'He has more wit than to be here,' or as some versions have it, that 'the Lord Fairfax was not there in person, that he never would sit among them and they did him wrong to name him.' [from C. V. Wedgwood's *A Coffin for King Charles* (1964), pp. 145-6. This is the third of her three volumes on King Charles I.(1)] This one covers Nov. and Dec. 1648, and January 1649. It closes with a 'flash forward' to the Restoration.)



Of those two versions of Lady Fairfax's statement, the first sounds more like an outburst with its use of the word 'wit', sarcasm, and implication that the members of the court are short of wit. The second sounds more studied; it is quoted from an account of the event and recounts but is not a direct quotation of Lady Fairfax's words. It likely sounds studied because it was. She had repeated her intended words over and over to herself—after all, it was planned, not a spontaneous outburst. Presumably it was felt better to keep it unemotional by speaking in measured terms. Or the author of the account may have thought to 'pretty up' the words and to add some rationale, modifying the words considerably in the process.

This is not an article about the unreliability of 'historical' details, but Wedgwood contains some examples of the unreliability of first-hand accounts, and of details that have been imagined by historians, or supplied in the exercise of poetic license.

> "During the reading of the roll-call there had been some last minute fidgeting with the arrangements of the Court. The arm-chair, covered with red velvet, which had been set for the King, had been moved nearer to his judges, then back again. Now the King himself appeared, preceded and followed by soldiers who took up their stations on either side of the Court. He was dressed in black, wearing round his neck his blue ribbon and jeweled George, and on his black cloak the great irradiating silver star of the Garter. He walked quickly without looking to right or left and sat down in the red velvet chair. He now had his back to the people gathered in the Hall. All that any of them could see, above the wooden barrier which marked off the Court, and between the heads and pikes of the soldiers who guarded it, was his tall black hat, and his *grey hair* [emphasis supplied –*Ed.*], falling onto his shoulders. Only those in the galleries had any view of his face. He was impassive, showing no flicker of recognition or curiosity." (Wedgwood, *op. cit.*, p. 146)

You might want to analyze the above passage, which contains over a dozen details—the hat was black, the hat was tall, the King's hair was grey, how he walked, toward what directions he looked, how he was attired—where is each from? Eyewitnesses? From the 1813 exhumation of King Charles at Windsor, we know that his hair was *black.* Was it *imagined* to be grey? Did it *appear* to be grey in the light? Did it *seem* grey in consistency with his haggard look (*i.e.,* poetic license)?

We must devote an entire issue to the trial. Although the King had a quick wit and could be sarcastic, he was not known for excellence in extemporaneous speech, and there was his life-long stammer. But that impediment had left him; he seemed to be inspired from then on. His ability to articulate his thoughts and to make his points clearly was remarkable. Perhaps we should include most of the transcript. We will give a few quotations from it before going to the scaffold.

> Everything was irregular, and perhaps illegal. Such a court was unprecedented, as also were such charges. "At his side a small table with pen and ink had been placed, to enable him to make notes for his defence. He was attended by three domestic servants . . . . Those who were nearest to him—and they were within an arm's length of him on his right—were the three lawyers in charge of the prosecution. . . . The King did not look at them." (Wedgwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-7)

Charles had no legal representation!(2)

Cook read the charge, "with evident enjoyment.(3) It was the first time that the King knew precisely what the accusation was. He must have listened attentively, though he appeared to assume a contemptuous indifference." Cook concluded, charging

> "'the said Charles Stuart as a Tyrant, Traitor and Murderer, and a public and implacable Enemy to the Commonwealth of England.' [Hearing those words the King] laughed as he sat, in the face of the Court."
>
> "A Royalist described with admiration the 'undaunted courage and calmness of his carriage as if he had been surrounded with his friends.' Colonel Ludlow, watching him from his seat among the Commissioners, commented indignantly that 'he looked with as impudent a face as if he had not been guilty of the blood that hath been shed in this war.'" (Wedgwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-9)

When he was badgered to acknowledge the authority of the 'Court', the King conceded,

> "I perceive that I am before a power."

At the proceedings of the "High Court of Justice", whenever the King wanted to speak, he was given some reason why he could not speak at that particular moment. After he managed to get a few sentences in edgewise, early in the proceedings, his enemies were astonished at the clearness of his speech, but even more, for the sophistication of his thought and reasoning. This is why he was permitted only a few words in court and drowned out by the drum roll at the scaffold. Here, we quote from that work beloved of many members of our Society, namely the 1950 work, *King Charles the Martyr 1643-1649* by Esmé Wingfield-Stratford(4) (hereafter, *EWS KCM*). He characterizes the King's impavidity, noble and visionary, and the rebels' restlessness, worrying that something could go wrong.

What could be said of a Court "that by the fiat of twenty six members of the Rump, and the volition of one man, Oliver Cromwell, was convened in Westminster Hall, on the 20th of January, 1649, for the purpose of registering a pre-determined verdict and passing a pre-determined death sentence, on a prisoner who was notoriously not amenable to the jurisdiction of this or any other court that could possibly be constituted. The High Court of Justice!" (*EWS KCM*, p. 321)

On the thirtieth the King woke before dawn, and then woke Herbert, seeing that he tossed and turned, having dreamed about Abp. Laud, the King learned. The King listened to him, as attentively as if it were any other day. He dressed with more than his usual care, and wore two shirts as a precaution against shivering from the cold and appearing timorous. "I would have no such imputation. I fear not death—death is not terrible to me. I bless my God I am prepared." Then he said to Herbert, who had begun carelessly to comb his hair, "Prithee, though it [my head] be not long to stand upon my shoulders, take the same pains with it [my hair] you are wont to do." (p. 355) Did Charles think back on his use of the Confessor's ivory comb, after the anointing at the Coronation?

The King and Abp. Juxon withdrew to another room, said the Office, and the King was administered Holy Communion. It was his viaticum. There might not be time at Whitehall.

Cromwell's men were getting ready, too. They assembled in the cul-de-sac on that side of Whitehall Palace, along its boundaries and protecting the scaffold. They arrived very early, before people gathered. The King's path from St James's to Whitehall was well-protected, too, two double ranks of infantry standing at the sides. At about ten the King was asked to begin his progress. Led by halberdiers, they walked at a brisk pace, stopping only once, to behold and remark upon a tree his brother Henry had planted. He continued to walk quickly, and proceeded with alacrity into Whitehall, up the stairs, through the familiar corridors, and into the Green or Cabinet Chamber. He had no idea whether he would go to the scaffold at once or wait. When it neared noon, there was talk of having a meal prepared for the King. This was declined. King Charles had wanted to partake of no earthly food after the Body and Blood of Christ had touched his lips, but Juxon persuaded him to eat a manchet (a small loaf of bread) and a glass of claret, arguing that he might faint on the scaffold. They waited and waited, and about 1:30 there was Hacker's knock. The Bishop and Herbert fell to their knees. Herbert knew that he could not bear to be present, but would attend the King's body when it was brought in. Juxon was so faint the King gave him a hand to help him rise.

The King passed out a window. For centuries historians speculated [as indeed EWS does. –*Ed.*] , 'Was it the center window, or the second from the north?' But Inigo Jones's masterpiece, the Banqueting House (1619-23)—Palladian, classical, timeless—was not defaced. How was this possible? It was deduced only a couple of decades ago, by Robert B. Partridge(5), that a window at the same level was used, a window in the small tower alongside the main building, the tower which held the stairwell. Such towers afford the stairs a measure of isolation or protection from the building proper, and are still used as fire stairs. Recall that the hall itself, the sole room on the building's main level, is in the shape of two perfect cubes; it would not have been so were the stairs within the building.

"The cause of the strange hold up in the arrangements for beheading the King is still wrapped in mystery. The working out of what was really a criminal conspiracy was by clandestine improvisation, that was still incomplete on the appointed morning. It is not even certain that they had got any competent persons to assume the office of headsman and assistant. And the death warrant itself, though Cromwell had got as many signatures as he wanted of the judges, had still to be filled up with the names of officers willing to undertake its execution. Three names appear on the document, but of these two are written over erasures; and of these named only one, Hacker, appears to have taken an active part in the regicide. One of them, who bore the resounding name of Colonel Hercules Huncks, and who turned King's evidence against Hacker after the restoration, gives a vivid picture of what was happening while the King was waiting and praying in the Green Chamber. A party was assembled in the bedroom at Whitehall appropriated for Ireton, who was actually in bed together with Harrison, presumably for the sake of warmth. Cromwell was there, with Axtell, and Phayre, the third Colonel named in the warrant, who does not, however, appear to have functioned in any way. Cromwell ordered Huncks to draw up a warrant for the executioner, which Huncks, by his own account, refused to do, whereupon Cromwell had flown into one of his rages, called him 'a forward(6), peevish fellow,' and written out the order himself, with Hacker's assistance.

"Other, even grimmer, work had been going on. The inevitable Peters had been picking in his nose here too, and before the King's arrival had been instrumental in getting Tench . . to knock four staples into the scaffold, with hooks and pulleys attached in order to pull the King down to the block in case he should resist.(7)

"The King meanwhile had resumed his devotions with Juxon. While they were together the Puritan divines, who had already had their services declined, came to obtrude them again, and would not be put off till they had an answer. The King thanked them, but added:

"'Tell them plainly that they, that have so often and causelessly prayed against me, shall never pray with me in this agony. They may, if they please—and I'll thank them for it—pray for me.'

"'Now,' he said, 'let the rogues come. I have forgiven them, and am prepared for all I have to undergo.'" (pp. 359-60)

Although it was not high enough in the sky to shine directly upon the scaffold, "The January sun had now come out. . . . On the platform itself were waiting two figures clad in butcher's garb and disguised with wigs, that must have given them a ghastly appearance. In the centre was a block of wood no more than about six inches high, set in the midst of the staples and pulleys, and somewhere at the side a sable pall covering a cheap coffin.

"An immense concourse of people was blocking the funnel-shaped open space running south from the stump of what had lately been Charing Cross. They must have been numb and frost-bitten, standing there, as they had, for hours, but it was more than physical cold that was congealing their blood. When the little party was at last seen, above the sable covering of the rails, debouching on to the scaffold, there was neither voice not movement. Something was about to happen that their imaginations could not grasp—that even now they could hardly believe possible. Let it be remembered that this was not a cavalier crowd—most of the King's more ardent supporters were behind doors, unwilling to look upon this unspeakable thing."

"Every account that we have, even from the least friendly sources, testifies to the serene self-possession with which the King performed his part in this last scene of his tragedy. . . . [It] would be a mistake to talk as if his having conquered fear proved that he had no fear to conquer. Charles was for his time . . . an abnormally sensitive man, with an artist's shrinking from any form of crude violence. And an execution with the axe was often a brutal and bungled murder, literally by hacking to death, as it had been with his grandmother at Fotheringay. . . ."

He stepped confidently from the window sill onto the scaffold; a temporary step or stair of two steps may have been made for the occasion. One witness of the scene describes him "as having come out of the Banqueting House with the same unconcern with which he had been wont to enter it on a masque night. He paced across the scaffold, taking stock of the situation, and then, after looking down at the block, he turned to Hacker and asked if it could not be higher. Probably he had imagined it would be of a height, like the one at the Tower, at which a man could kneel, instead of having to lie flat on his stomach, a posture that he may well have deemed humiliating. Whether the taciturn Colonel returned any answer, is not recorded. . . . "(pp. 361-2)

"'I may,' as he had said to his judges, 'speak after sentence ever.'

"He began by a very brief defence of his part in the Civil War.

"'. . . . I never did intend to encroach upon [Parliament's] privileges. *They began it upon me*–it is the Militia they began upon. They confessed that the Militia was mine and they thought it fit to have it from me.'" It was ironic that the two clerics who had advised him against signing the death warrant for Strafford, Juxon and Usher (watching from a neighboring roof) were at the scene. Regarding that, chief among his sins, the King said, "'God forbid that I should be so ill a Christian as not to say God's judgments are just upon me. Many times he does pay justice by an unjust sentence. . . . I will only say this, that an unjust sentence that I suffered to take effect, is punished now by an unjust sentence upon me.' Next, as a good Christian, he declared that he had forgiven all the world—those in particular who had compasses his death. 'Who they are, God knows; I do not desire to know: God forgive them! . . . I pray God, with Saint Stephen, that this be not laid to their charge.'" (pp. 363-4)

Many times in this *Communiqué*, the Editor has expressed his view that a significant difference between the King and the rebels was that the latter believed that the end justifies the means. "This had been [the King's] *ne plus ultra* in every negotiation in arms or in captivity. Force was no argument . . . . '[B]elieve it, you will never do right until you give God his due, the King his due, and the people their due.' . . . As for the King's due, that was sufficiently indicated by the laws of the land. Charles had no desire to pose as an absolute monarch, and in view of the slander of tyranny that was embodied in his death sentence, it was essential to reaffirm the position he had taken throughout as a constitutional Sovereign, subject to, and not—like his judges—above the law."

"At this point the thread of his argument was interrupted by the sight of some careless person brushing the axe with his cloak. 'Hurt not the axe', he pleaded piteously, 'that may hurt me'"

Drowned out by the incessant drum-roll, the King was heard by only two sympathetic hearers, Thomlinson and Juxon. Fortunately for posterity, and for us, three court reporters took note of his words. He concluded his words about God's due and the King's due. "'[The people's] liberty and freedom consists in having of government; those laws by which their life and their goods may be most their own. . . . Sirs, it was for this that now I am come here. If I would have given way to an arbitrary way, for to have all laws changed according to the power of the sword, I need not to have come here. And therefore I tell you, and I pray God it be not laid to your charge, that *I am the martyr of the people.'*" Wingfield-Stratford sums it up nicely: "Martyr of the people! or 'tyrant, traitor, murderer and public enemy to the good people of this nation"—that is the issue which we, as members of the perpetually renewed jury that pronounces the verdict of history, are asked to decide. Let us at least not imitate the High Court of Justice, in denying the accused a hearing." (pp. 363-4)

The King affirmed himself to be a Christian according to the profession of the C of E as he received it from his father. Again, he had to caution, "Take heed of the axe!" He asked for assistance as he tucked his long hair into the silk cap he had brought, and the two headsmen and Juxon obliged. The Bishop and he summarized what they both knew, as a witness to us and a reassurance to themselves, "I have a good cause and a gracious God on my side." "There is but one stage more. This stage is turbulent and troublesome; it is a short one. But you may consider it will soon carry you a great way. It will carry you from earth to heaven. . . ." "I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can be, no disturbance in the world! . . . Remember!"

When he gave the agreed signal, the skillfully wielded axe fell, in one blow severing his head, which fell to the deck of the scaffold. The second, or assistant, headsman held it up to be viewed above the railing's black cloth. He could not bring himself to declaim the usual words, "Behold the head of a traitor", possibly struck speechless by the enormity of the act, or perhaps fearing that his voice would be recognized. King Charles I was dead. (pp. 366-7)

This following was given to The Rev'd Thomas Spence by Alexander Pope, who had written:

". . . [M]y Lord Southampton and a friend got leave to sit up by the body in the Banqueting House of Whitehall. . . . [at] about two o'clock in the morning. . . ." He described the cloaked visitor taken to be Cromwell, and his deliberate pronouncement of two words, "Cruel necessity". EWS writes:

"[Cromwell] was shrewd enough to perceive, and great enough to acknowledge, the cruel necessity that had been laid upon him by his adversary in this stupendous duel. His hand had been forced. By that one blow of the axe, all the achievement of Marston and Naseby and Preston had been shattered. He had killed Charles the King only to find himself, as now, in the presence of King Charles the Martyr—of a power stronger than his own, and against which he had no weapons to fight. He could only go on winning barren victories and building up a power of which the foundations were already undermined. And those two words that escaped him, as he turned to go forth on his hopeless pilgrimage, were the sign of a beaten—of a doomed man." (p. 368)

"More than conqueror." (Rom. 2: 10)

Saint Charles, King and Martyr, pray for us.

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(1)The first and second volumes of Dame Veronica's Caroline trilogy were *The King's Peace* (1955) and *The King's War* (1958) sometimes published as a single volume; the third, to which we refer here, was published as *The Trial of Charles I* (1964) and also as *A Coffin for King Charles.* Two titles, but the same work: don't buy both of them. A well known and popular historian of the period, Dame Veronica also wrote *Oliver Cromwell* (1958) and *Thomas Wentworth: A Revaluation* (1958), and *Montrose* (1966). In his *Eikon Basilike* and on the scaffold, King Charles made public confession saying that his assent to the unjust verdict against Strafford was the primary cause of his end, both historically and morally, as he had come to believe.

Dame Veronica (1910-97) was notable, brilliant, and of talented lineage, the great-great-great-granddaughter of the Potter of Etruria, Josiah Wedgwood, who rediscovered the long-sought method used to manufacture Chinese porcelains; his exquisite glazing replicated theirs. Ralph Vaughan Williams and Virginia Woolf were but two among her notably talented cousins. *Wikipedia* (**Wedgwood, C. V.**) describes her as a historian and mentions a number of her works:—but not her three volume biography of King Charles. "She specialized in European history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including her oft reprinted, authoritative study, *The Thirty Years' War* (1938) and biographies of Oliver Cromwell, Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, Montrose, William the Silent, and Cardinal Richelieu. [reworded for brevity—*Ed.*] Thirty years after she published her biography of Thomas Wentworth, the Earl of Strafford, she returned to the subject and published a much-revised version that was considerably more critical of her subject. Historians often cite Wedgwood's two lives of Strafford as an illustration of scholarly integrity and open-mindedness."

A good portion of her work concentrates on King Charles I himself, and many of her other works are of figures—Cromwell, Strafford, and Montrose—who are inextricably connected, not mere contemporaries. The only of her major works about one not so associated with the King is that the very close contemporary, Cardinal Richelieu, who was 15 years older and whom Charles outlived by seven years. Charles's mother-in-law, Marie de Médicis was serving as Queen Regent for her son, Louis XIII, who acceded to the throne at age nine. To say that Louis and his mother clashed is an understatement: After having her minister Concini murdered, her long-time confidante Leonora beheaded on a charge of sorcery, and exiled his very mother herself, Louis took on Richelieu—who had come into Marie's council—not as an opponent but in the other sense of the term: He then became Louis's strength. He reconciled Louis and his mother to some extent, although they were never close again, and he and Louis died within a few months of each other, having become the closest of allies, despite Louis's attachment to Comte de Cinq-Mars, the most intimate and constant of that king's lovers. Of the accomplishments of Louis XIII, unquestionably the most notable occurred with no advisers, namely, fathering the future Sun-King, Louis XIV. Louis XIII ruled creditably, but was characterized by languor and ennui, and had little taste for government, warfare, or study, although he attended to his duties. But he had good advisers, chief among them Cardinal Richelieu.

Although it fell short of Vatican objectives, the marriage of Henrietta and Charles, hoped to ally the Stuarts and Bourbons, paid no dividends, illustrating the dubious to null geopolitical value of dynastic marriages. It may be remarked that Charles and Henrietta enjoyed only fourteen happy years, from the 1628 assassination of Buckingham until the Queen's departure for France in July, 1642.

Of Wedgwood's fifty-some essays (collected as *History and Hope* {1987}; highly recommended), only a dozen stray far from her lifelong specialties, the affairs, politics, conflicts, and personalities of the Caroline court. It is thus unfathomable that in *Wikipedia*, her major, three-volume biography of the central figure of the House of Stuart receives no mention.

(2)Legal counsel. Bishop Juxon, who after Laud was sent to the Tower in 1641, was King Charles's *de facto* chief minister, as well as being or having been Lord High Treasurer, chaplain, counselor, adviser, and confessor, was schooled at Oxford, at Saint John's College, where his subject was the law. His talents were such that he occupied both a cabinet-level position and multiple ecclesiastical land academic positions simultaneously. It may also be mentioned that Sir Thomas Herbert was Charles's attorney-general and then served him almost to the end. He was not, however, able to attend him on the scaffold. They had without doubt discussed the legal aspects of the King's situation in addition to the spiritual and the practical.

(3)Attorney Cook (or sometimes, Cooke). This was Cook's 'moment in the sun', his 'fifteen minutes of fame'. It took more time to slice off his private parts and pull out his intestines just before he was executed eleven years later than was required for him to read the proudest composition of his career, the charge. The brief argued that the King had committed treason "by taking up arms against the people" and that on the charge of treason, a verdict of 'guilty' justified a capital sentence. In their view it was not regicide, but "tyrannicide", for which they had been predestined since the beginning of time. *The Tyrannicide Brief*, about the obscure lawyer Cook, was reviewed by David Butler (*SKCM News*, Dec. 2009, pp. 32-35

(4)Esmé Wingfield-Stratford, D.Sc. (1882-1971) was the son of Brigadier-General C. V. Wingfield-Stratford, a career Army man, who served from 1873-1910 and returned to service in World War I. Having chosen to become a writer and scholar, and already having begun his academic studies, Esmé enlisted and rose to the rank of Captain; his brother was already a Major in the Army. His studies at Eton and Cambridge (King's College) led to the A.M. in 1907. He was then a research fellow at the London School of Economics and subsequently a Fellow of King's until the War's outbreak. His works include books of poetry, two novels, and many works of biography, history, and current events, political philosophy, social commentary, or sociological history. Like Wedgwood's, his work on King Charles I is in three volumes: *Charles: King of England, 1600-1637* (1949), *King Charles and King Pym 1637-1643* (1949), and *King Charles the Martyr 1643-1649* (1950). Other works include *Before the Lamps Went Out, Those Ernest Victorians, The Squire and His Relations, Truth or Masquerade: A Study of Fashions in Fact, The Origins of British Patriotism*

(5)The Window. Robert B. Partridge, *'O Horrable Murder'* (1998), App. 1 'The Banqueting House and the Window Leading to the Scaffold'. In his admirably detailed work, Partridge brings to an end the speculation about this detail of King Charles's last few steps and last few words. At the time, understandably, such a detail seemed trifling. Under the Cromwell regime, to show undue interest in it would have been as suspicious as a Christmas goose. In better times, as the scene was recounter, described, and depicted, the details were seen to matter. We have a mental image of a high block and envision the crowd looking on from below, and the scaffold erected up against the building in any conceivable position. The block was only six inches high, the scaffold's wooden rails were covered with black cloth so only those with a high or distant vantage point could see what happened until the King's head was held up . . . and dropped. Now, 362 years later, many details, enough to fill books, are still debated; others may be elucidated, perhaps from an offhand remark in a newly discovered letter of Juxon, while some may remain mysteries. An entire book (Sir Ralph Payne-Gallwey, Bt., *A History of the George Worn on the Scaffold by Charles I* (1908) addresses the question, 'Which George is *the* One?', but is inconclusive.

Partridge's conclusion is based on logical thinking, a method often practiced by historians, but potentially misleading. One forgotten detail, one option not considered, one fact remembered incorrectly . . . any of these can negate an argument. Partridge's compelling argument was supplemented with a drawing of the extension to the Banqueting House, now in the British Museum. Unsigned and undated, it is likely from 1744. A faded, handwritten note on the drawing, one window marked with an 'X' reads, "King Charles I came through this staircase window to the scaffold. Taken down in 1744."

Because the stair tower was set back from the street more than the Banqueting House, we may conclude: (i) The scaffold was 'L' shaped. (ii) Historians incorrectly assumed, and artists affirmed, that the scaffold was placed prominently on the front of the Banqueting House, proper, but (iii) its fenestration remained inviolate.

Perhaps the scaffold's position, 'front and center', was assumed on the basis of the regicide's significance. Although the rebels melted down precious communion ware and the crown and other symbols of state, selling it on the open market, they were not always so impractical. Like the architectural achievement of Jones, the paintings collected by Charles I were meticulously catalogued and sold to prestigious museums (and a few individuals) on the Continent, in which many of them still hang and are admired. In a programme continuing through the years, the Royal Family, friends of the Family, and English collectors have reacquired many of the works, never molested by the Puritans, who must have been repulsed by much of the art depicting OT and mythological subjects, with Baroque *putti* frolicking about in various states of undress, much as they commented on costumes by Inigo Jones for Ben Jonson's last masque, *Chloridia*.

(6)Froward: This word appears also in the appointed Epistle for S. Charles's Day, from First Peter, chapter 2, where servants are enjoined to assume the proper role of subject to their masters, 'not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward.' The meaning is not that of forward, which is just a little outspoken, but perverse, obstinate, unyielding. Not the type of boss one would prefer. But moral theology tells us that there is more merit to being subject to such a demanding master than to an easy-going one. It's like the increased merit to an almsgiver if a homeless person spits on him rather than accepting the alms with gratitude and a smile.

(7)At the beheading of King Louis XVI, there appears to have been a very strong presumption that there would be Royal or other interference with administration of the capital sentence. The assistants at the scaffold began to remove an articles of clothing, and he protested that he would remove them himself. And then they tried to bind his arms together. The King said, "There is no need to bind me." Louis was indignant at the thought that he would not go willingly to his death. See 'The Execution of Louis XVI, 1793', *EyeWitness to History* at http://www.eyewitnesstohistory.com/louis/htm (1999), accessed 10/1/2008. The moving account comes from Henry Essex Edgeworth, an English priest who accompanied the king on his two-hour carriage ride to the place of execution on 21 January 1793.

One hundred forty-four years less nine days before, Charles was also obedient, but had shown no haughtiness at all.

(8)Although we follow the usual convention, this is a little confusing. In the text of this publication, actual quotations appear in the usual double quotation marks. Quotations from the primary source's author, Wingfield-Stratford, are likewise in the customary double quotation marks, as are other direct quotations presented by this article's author. Quotes from the King, as recounted by EWS, are therefore in single quotes, but quotes from the King, presented by the article's author, are in double quotes, because they are not inside any other quotation. Also, following the usual convention, a sequence of paragraphs, all quoted from the same work, begin with a quotation mark, but only the last one ends with a quotation. If the sequence is interrupted, it starts over. The paragraph just after this footnote's place in the text provides good examples.

General Note on Calendrical Confusions. During classical Roman times the beginning of the year was considered to be 25 March. There is a misconception that the year began on 25 March, the Feast of the Annunciation, because it marks the date of the Incarnation, when "for us men and for our salvation [He] came down from heaven, And was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, And was made man", nine months before Christmas, the date when the Birth of Jesus is celebrated. Christmas is often called the 'feast of the Incarnation'. Neither the date of the Annunciation nor the date of Christmas is historical, however, although there have been attempts to correlate them to astronomical events which the Babylonians and Egyptians were able to predict. Thus, a phenomenon such as the Star of Bethlehem, if not a *bona fide* Divine Miracle, may have been a meteor or a comet, and thus possible to date from ancient records of predictions and observations. We do know that the Emperor Augustus ruled the Roman Empire at the time of Christ's birth, just as we know that Tiberius was Emperor at the time of the Crucifixion, because it is known that Pilate was governor (or procurator) of Judaea, Herod Antipas tetrarch, Caiaphas High Priest, *etc*. It was Augustus whose tax edict necessitated the Holy Family's trip to Bethlehem. These are known from Josephus, Philo, and Eusebius as well as the Gospels. As incredible as it might seem to those who can't subtract without an electronic calculator, astronomical events have been studied, first by observations in real time by those who carefully recorded the events of the sky and observed their periodicity. Then the records were used retrospectively to develop and validate hypotheses using mathematical calculations, and then accurately predicted in actuality. Such calculations, known since 3000 B.C., seem less fanciful than to think that these details were imparted to many earth-bound civilizations by extraterrestrial aliens. Speaking of Egyptology, many archaeologists now think that the 'enigma' of pyramid construction is explained by the simplest possible theory, using massive ramps of sand, tedious, painstaking stone-masonry to make the giant blocks of limestone fit together so precisely, and astronomical knowledge to align the pyramids' bases or footprints to correspond with selected astronomical parameters. Astral positions were well-known to these human students of the skies. Many of our species believe that humans are incapable of acquiring and using such sophisticated knowledge and feel a necessity to invoke extraterrestrial architects. But the Egyptians, Aztecs, Babylonians, and Chinese, to mention four, independently did so. The ancients had plenty of time to look at the sky, since there was no television. The chronology is not settled, however, but the Giza Pyramids' construction and the astronomical knowledge using which they were supposedly aligned are both dated to before 3000 B.C. Chinese documents show that as early as *ca.* 2300 B.C. their astronomical system had already been long previously established. The Greek astronomers inherited the Egyptians' knowledge and the Persians and Arabians, the Babylonians'.

In XVII Century documents, the date of Charles's beheading often appears as 1648 or 1648/9 reflecting the beginning of the change in dating convention. In fact when investigating the leaden coffin of the Royal Martyr in the vault under S George's Chapel at Windsor in 1813, one of the first things observed after its dustiness was a scroll of lead around the coffin, bearing the inscription 'KING CHARLES 1648'. [Robert B. Partridge, *'O Horrable Murder'* (1998), p. 129] The arbitrary change of New Year's Day from 25 March to 1 January caused this period of ambiguity. The term for the year beginning on 25 March is 'Annunciation Style', and for the year beginning on 1 January, 'Circumcision Style', those feasts falling on those New Year's Day dates. The logic supporting 25 March is that our Lord was conceived on that date.

Another, similar ambiguity for historians and readers who actually care about precision, was created by the replacement of the Julian Calendar enacted by Julius Caesar in 46 B.C. The Julian Calendar included a leap year day in one of four years, the purpose being to correct for an 11 minute difference between the solar year and the Julian year. With the introduction of the Gregorian Calendar by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582; that year when 5 Oct. rolled around it became 15 Oct. In 1700, 1800, and 1900 leap-year day was omitted, which made the Julian/Gregorian discrepancy 13 days, but leap year day occurred in 2000.

The same practice will continue with no leap year day in centesimal years unless they are divisible by 400. The change was not simultaneous across Europe, but was not made in England until 1752, although Scotland began the year on 1 Jan. starting in 1600. Maddeningly for researchers, even when the year written has been unambiguously determined, its means of determination must be documented, or the year remains ambiguous; also, O.S. and N.S., used as annotations of both changes add further confusion. It is required to use logic and detective work to determine the year of a letter even when it is dated. Sometimes called O.S. and N.S. for New and Old Style, there is the further possibility of confusion between the change from the Old, Julian Calendar to the Gregorian Calendar now used in the West. Neither of the calendar changes mentioned here occurred at the same time everywhere. In Eastern Rite Uniate and Orthodox bodies the Julian Calendar is used for liturgical purposes, setting it apart from the secular calendar. Of course, there are separate Jewish, Islamic, Chinese, and other calendars, including the Aztec Calendar, of current interest to some who attribute significance to its 2014 termination, supposedly denoting the world's end. Others think that those dissectors of beating human hearts just ran out of rock to chisel.

We have occasionally mentioned the French Revolutionary Calendar. It might be noted here that it was a failed attempt to make the calendar like the metric system. It did not do that, because it incorporated 'ten' only once, and in a way that was not fundamental, a month being three weeks of ten days each, not fitting with the moon's phases, being approximately 2/3 of the lunar cycle. Our calendar and time-telling, like those independently-devised by the Chinese and others, are fundamentally sexagesimal. The sexagesimal principle (division into sixtieths) falls naturally from astronomical observations and principles—the periodicity of the motions of sun, earth, moon and stars (to wit, important stars such as Polaris and Sirius, which however lack related periodicity since they are not part of the Solar System, the twelve constellations comprising the signs of the Zodiac)—not from the Bible, and neither is geocentricism, which came along for the ride with Aristotle's codification of the Natural Law. Much of Aristotelian philosophy was adopted by Christian theologians because it was derived from observations of God's Creation and the Order imposed by the Creator, and because Aristotle was so pervasive and widely accepted. A hierarchy of units related by factors of ten would simply be incompatible with celestial bodies' motions.

Let us mention a facet of the church calendar. If you were interested in it, or at least found it more interesting to read the BCP than to listen to the unpromising sermon, you are probably familiar with the following provocative passage:

> "Easter Day, on which the rest depend, is always the First Sunday after the Full Moon, which happens upon or next after the Twenty-first Day of March; and if the Full Moon happens upon a Sunday, Easter Day is the Sunday after.
>
> "But Note, That the Full Moon, for the purposes of these Rules and Tables, is the Fourteenth Day of a Lunar Month, reckoned according to an ancient Ecclesiastical computation, and not the real or Astronomical Full Moon."

This explanatory rubric (BCP 1928, "Tables and Rules for the Movable and Immovable Feasts . . .") relates to the Paschal Controversy, which was the business of the Synod of Whitby in 664. Whitby's own saint, S. Hilda, and S. Colman were among those advocating the position of the Celtic or Irish Church, tracing it back to S. John, while S. Wilfrid advocated the determination of Easter according to the Roman practice, which they traced back to S. Peter. It came to England with S. Augustine's mission in 597. Hilda was an influential, powerful figure at the time, as the mitred abbess of a prosperous 'double monastery' (composed of men and women). She saw the value of unity in the movable feasts' determination, importantly in the eyes of those they sought to convert to Christianity, so when the Synod went the Roman way, so did she. It was one of many accumulating examples of deference to the see of S. Peter. The Celtic churches did not all accept the decision at once but did eventually acquiesce, ending the Paschal Controversy in the West.

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