

**KING CHARLES I ON HORSEBACK**  
ENGRAVING BY WENCESLAUS HOLLAR

**— *Annual Mass & Meeting* —**  
***11 a.m., Saturday 1 February 2003,***  
***Saint Paul's Church, K Street, Washington, DC***  
***Details on Back Cover***

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## 2003 Dues Payment Notice

An insert with return envelope is provided with this issue of *SKCM News*. Your dues status is noted. Please, as you recall the memory and invoke the intercession of the Royal Martyr in your prayers during January, take care that your dues are paid up through 2003. With postage rates up we cannot for long continue mailings to members who are not current in their dues payments.

***Your payment should be sent in by 30 January.***

Annual dues are \$10 and include two issues of *SKCM News* and of *Church and King* each year. Why not consider giving interested friends gift memberships in the Society? Let me acknowledge our Society's gratitude to those members who have given donations, very substantial in some cases, to aid in the work and witness of the Society. Your generosity has been of great help and is much appreciated.

May I also take this opportunity to thank our Membership Secretary, William M. Gardner, Jr., for all his outstanding work on Society record-keeping, of membership activities, dues, and accounts, as well as goods orders.

***2003 Annual Mass & Meeting – Saint Paul's Church, K Street, Washington, D.C.*** will be on Saturday 1 February 2003 at 11 a.m. We are grateful to the Rev'd Andrew Sloane, Rector, for his kind invitation. We are happy to return to Saint Paul's, where we have met in 1985 and 1995 during the rectorships of Father James Daughtry and Father Richard C. Martin. The Society has a sizable chapter at Saint Paul's; the chapter secretary is Paul McKee; he and Weldon Walker have organized this year's Mass and meeting.

We are pleased that our preacher for the occasion will be the Rev'd Canon Barry E. B. Swain, SSC, rector of the Church of the Resurrection, New York City. Father Swain preached at the annual Mass at All Saints', Ashmont, Boston, in 1997. Presiding at the Pontifical Solemn Mass will be the Episcopal Patron of the American Branch of the Society, the Rt. Rev'd Keith L. Ackerman, SSC, Bishop of Quincy. Bishop Ackerman is joining Saint Paul's in their celebration of Candlemas the next day, Sunday 2 February. That day's events include a special Evensong and Benediction on Sunday evening. Society members may wish to remain in town for the entire weekend.

Music for the S.K.C.M. Mass will be provided by the Parish Choir & String Ensemble under the direction of Jeffrey Smith. The Mass setting is by Franz Schubert (Mass in G Major, No. 2). Elgar's *Coronation Ode* and Weelkes's "O Lord, grant the King a long life" will also be sung.

***2004 Annual Mass & Meeting – Church of the Guardian Angels, Lantana, Florida,*** will be on Saturday 31 January 2004. We thank Father David C. Kennedy, SSC, for his invitation to return to Guardian Angels, where we met in 1991 and 1998. Members may be interested to know that this Spring, Father Kennedy was recognized by Nashotah House by being awarded an honorary D.D.

There is an active chapter of the Society at Guardian Angels, where there is a Chapel of Saint Charles adorned with an oil painting of the Royal Martyr after one of the views in van Dyck's *Triple Portrait*.

Our preacher will be the Rt. Rev'd Keith L. Ackerman, SSC, Episcopal Patron of the American Branch of the Society of King Charles the Martyr.

## Celebrations of Saint Charles's Day, 2003

In future December issues of *SKCM News*, we hope to include lists, more complete than that following, of parishes all around the country celebrating Saint Charles's Day, including the time of each such celebration.

We will, of course, continue to report in the June issue of *SKCM News* details of all celebrations on which we receive information. It would be edifying to all members if more such reports were submitted. Society Members are asked *please* to take the initiative in reporting such celebrations of which they are aware. Press time for the June issue is always 15 April.

However, it seems even more important that we strive to enable all supporters of our Cause to attend commemorative services on or about Royal Martyr Day. Notices of *upcoming* celebrations will serve this purpose and are earnestly solicited. The press time for the December issue is always 15 October. There will be a reminder of this in the June issue in the hope of having a more complete list than that below to publish next year.

***The Great Plains Chapter*** will hold its annual celebration on Saturday 25 January 2003 at 10 a.m. at Saint Barnabas Church, 40<sup>th</sup> & Davenport Streets, Omaha, Nebraska. As in other years, a Solemn High Mass will be celebrated with Sung Matins as the Liturgy of the Word. Music will be Adrian Batten's "Short Service" sung by the choir of Saint Barnabas Church. The Rev'd Robert Scheibhofer is Rector of Saint Barnabas. A brunch provided by members and friends of the Nebraska Branch of The Monarchist League will follow in the church undercroft. For information, call Nick Behrens at (402)455-4492 or the church at (402)558-4633 (or check [www.saintbarnabas.net](http://www.saintbarnabas.net)).

For information on The Monarchist League, write BM 'Monarchist', London WC1N 3XX U.K.

The Rev'd Canon Barry E. B. Swain writes from the ***Church of the Resurrection, New York***, that at 6:15 p.m. on Thursday 30 January 2003 Mass of S. Charles, K.M., will be celebrated. The service will include hymns of the feast.

At the ***Church of the Advent, Boston***, in addition to the regularly scheduled 7:30 a.m. Mass on 30 January being of Saint Charles, there will be a special Mass at 6 p.m. *on the eve, Wednesday 29 January*, celebrated by the Rev'd Benjamin King, Curate. The Mass will be followed by a reception in the Parish Library.

At the ***Church of the Holy Communion, Charleston, SC***, the Rev'd Dow Sanderson, SSC, and the Rev'd Dan Clarke, SSC, are hosting a 30 January Mass. Organizers are Society members Baron Fain and Donald Evans.

Father Donald Lowery, Rector of the ***Church of the Good Shepherd, York, SC***, writes that 30 January will be commemorated with Holy Eucharist at 7 p.m. in 2003. The church is located at 108 East Liberty Street in York. Please call 803-684-4021 for directions or email [goodshep@cetlink.net](mailto:goodshep@cetlink.net)

Details of the ***London Celebration*** and other U.K. celebrations appear in the Christmas, 2002, issue of *Church and King*, which we hope to include with this mailing.

The London S.K.C.M. celebration will be on Thursday, 30 January 2003, at the Banqueting House, Whitehall, at 12 noon, preceded by the wreath-laying at the bust outside the entrance, at 11:30.

This year the London Celebration of the R.M.C.U. will be held at Saint Mary-le-Strand, on Saturday 1 February 2003 at 11:30. Luncheon afterwards at the Strand Palace Hotel (£20 required in advance. Luncheon reservations and information on the Royal Martyr Church Union: Ronald Miller of Pittenweem, Hon. Secretary & Treasurer, The and Priory, Pittenweem, Fife, KY10 2LJ

The Edinburgh R.M.C.U. celebration will be at 11:30 a.m. on Thursday, 30 January 2003, at Saint Mary's Cathedral, with sermon by the Bishop of Edinburgh.

***The New York Chapter*** will commemorate the ***Canonisation of Saint Charles*** at a time to be announced on Saturday 26 April 2003. The Mass will be celebrated at the Church of Saint Paul in the City of Brooklyn, Clinton Street at Carroll Street, by the Rev'd Peter Cullen, rector. Following the Mass, members and friends will gather for luncheon. For information please contact Dr. Bernard P. Brennan, S.K.C.M. Chapter Secretary, 129 Columbia Heights, Apt. 33, Brooklyn NY 11201; (718)852-8235.

***Articles in this issue*** include the first installment of James N. Ward's fascinating essay on pagan inspiration of the Royal Martyrdom. There are also book reviews by our regular contributors Lee Hopkins, Sarah Gilmer, and Richard J. Mammana, Jr. Thanks also to Richard Mammana for transcribing the 1632 Royal Proclamation on Lent and providing an explanatory introduction to it. James N. Ward has also contributed an item on a knitting pattern named after King Charles because it was exemplified in one of the shirts he wore at his martyrdom.

There was an S.K.C.M. presence at the ***2002 Festival of Faith*** in "The Holy City", Charleston, SC. Over 300 orthodox Christians gathered for worship, prayer, and fellowship at the Cathedral of Saint Luke and Saint Paul in Charleston on the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, 29 June 2002. The Festivals have been coordinated by the Rev'd Michael Heidt, Saint Luke's, Bladensburg, MD.

The day began with a pontifical high Mass celebrated by the Rt. Rev'd Jack Iker, SSC. The Rt. Rev'd William Skilton, Bishop Suffragan of South Carolina, presided. The music was performed by the Charleston Symphony Orchestra Chamber Singers. After a luncheon at Wellbrock Hall, the afternoon was reserved for teaching and roundtable discussions led by Bishop Iker, the Rev'd David Moyer, SSC, the Very Rev'd Robert Munday, Ph.D., Dean of Nashotah House, and Father Heidt. Evening Prayer was hosted by Father Dow Sanderson, SSC, and Father Dan Clarke, SSC, at the Church of the Holy Communion. The day ended with a reception at Holy Communion's Fleming Hall.

The Society was represented by Donald Evans of Charleston and Richard Hines of Mayesville. The Society was among a dozen lay orders and schools who had tables presenting information to the Festival participants. A framed print of Blessed Charles at prayer was the centerpiece of the Society's table, at which tracts were distributed and questions answered about the Royal Martyr. Carolina is named for Blessed Charles, while Charleston is named for his son, Charles II.

At ***Saint Andrew's Episcopal Church, Arlington, Virginia***, in connection with the parish's 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 2002, a time capsule was planted on 19 May. Parishioners and Society members Chris Holleman and Charles Barenthaler felt that a knowledge of Saint Charles and the Society was required. They assembled a package consisting of the December, 2001, *SKCM News*, Catalogue of Goods, an issue of

*Church and King*, an S.K.C.M. membership application flyer, and a signed cover sheet addressed to the parishioners of 2052, so they will “know of some of the good works our generation and Society accomplished.”

***New goods items*** include the recently published historical booklets, *The White King I – VI* and *VII (Part I)*, issued by our parent organization initially to coincide with the 350<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Royal Martyrdom. Each volume of 30-some pages contains many interesting excerpts from *Church and King* and from the Society's minute-books, with some editorial comment. Additional volumes, which will now address special topics, will be made available as they are published. We commend our parent Society, and the anonymous editor of the series, for producing these.

Volume I covers the early years with emphasis on the Tercentenary Year (1949), the year which also saw the death of Mrs. Greville-Nugent. There were some glorious moments but also many disappointments, particularly regarding sponsorship of commemorative activities really beyond the Society's capability. Volume II covers 1950-1954, the latter year being the Society's 60<sup>th</sup> Anniversary. There is also a section on the Branches and Chapters of the Society, including several pages on the American Branch. Volume III covers 1955-1960, which was the Tercentenary of the Restoration. There is also a Society Kalendar, which includes dates in Saint Charles's life, dates and biographies of Royalist worthies, and other important dates in the history of the Stuart dynasty.

Volume IV covers 1960 to 1969, the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Society. Although there was no special celebration of that anniversary, it was a very notable year, being the year in which a Mass was instituted in the Banqueting House. It was at 9 a.m. and attended by about 46, of whom 16 communicated. The Act of Devotion was at 11:20 a.m. followed by the High Mass at Saint Mary-le-Strand at 12:15. There is also an article about the Statue of King Charles the Martyr at Charing Cross. It has a fascinating history, from its commission and casting in 1633 and its being buried during the Commonwealth to its various restorations and safeguarding during the wars of the XX Century. Volume V covers 1970 through 1994, the Centenary of the Society. It mentions the death of Mrs. Carnahan in 1972 and her succession by Mrs. Langlois, as well as the present American Representative's starting in 1988. By 1985 the American Branch at 175 nearly equaled the British membership, at 200. Notable in Volume V is a section of short articles on the Royal authorship of the *Eikon Basilike*. Volume VI contains several dozen poems touching on King Charles the Martyr, from the Century of his martyrdom down to the XX Century. Some will be familiar to all, such as Andrew Marvell's lines from an Ode in Praise of Cromwell, to Lionel Johnson's "By the Statue of King Charles at Charing Cross." There are some snippets from miscellaneous poems. One entitled "The 'Protector'" ends, "In fine, he's one we must Protector call, / From whom the King of Heaven protect us all."

Recently added is Volume VII, Part 1. It covers Saint Charles, the man, his interactions with Parliament, and his death, using excerpts from *Church and King* over the years. In the section "Saint Charles and Parliament" we are well-reminded that the Root and Branch Bill, to disperse the remaining property of the Church as Henry VIII had the monasteries' property, was a prime motivator of the Great Rebellion. This was clearly recognized by XVII-Century historians but has been largely forgotten today. In another section of the volume, we are given some examples of the Royal Martyr's sense of humor. For example, when leaving Carisbrooke for Hurst Castle, there was a man in the coach when the King stepped in. The King asked, "Pray sir, what is your name?" He replied, "I am Colonel Pride." "Not miscalled?"

said the King. In another case, the King was presented with a book on Revelation 22:2. After a short perusal, His Majesty remarked that "the author stood in some need of sleep."

Dr. Latham's *Saint Charles Litany* (which also appears in the Society's *Liturgical Manual*) is available in a new edition, consistent in appearance with other Society publications. Dr. Roman's *Akathist* has been beautifully typeset by Richard Mammanna and will be published as soon as we are able. We are sorry this project has been delayed, but it will be worth the wait: The cover will feature the icon of Charles the Martyr, originally commissioned by Father F. Stephen Walinski when he was at Saint Martin of Tours, Omaha, reproduced in color. It appeared in black and white on the cover of the June, 1991, *SKCM News*.

New supplies of Society rosettes, neckties, and bow ties have arrived; all may be ordered using the goods order form (insert). The rosette, of the type used by patriotic organizations and societies, is 10 mm in diameter. According to their manufacturer, Dexter Rosettes, a Pennsylvania firm well-known for this type of decoration, the rosettes are suitable to be worn, particularly on a lapel, by men or women. The cup is red with narrow gold stripes. The rose within the cup is white, and is tied with red. The dominant red of the cup and the red tie represent Saint Charles's martyrdom. The central white rosette symbolizes the White Rose, as he is often called, while the gold represents his kingly state.

"White Rose" motif neckties and bow ties are made of entirely handsewn English silk by The Ben Silver Corporation. The design features tiny, repeating silvery-white roses accented with golden leaves ("a rose Argent slipped Or"), strewn on a field of scarlet red, emblematic both of the livery color of the House of Stuart and also of the Royal Martyrdom. The ties' colors thus harmonize with the lapel rosettes. These ties are unique to our Society.

Please note that the membership insignia (pins, ties, lapel rosettes, etc.) are personal items **for members only**. Who would wish to wear the insignia of an organization in which one did not have membership or were not in good standing?

The new *Website* of the American Branch will be [www.skcm-usa.org](http://www.skcm-usa.org). Webmaster Skip Keats indicates that it will be partly constructed by the time you receive this issue of *SKCM News*. The website of our parent Society is [www.skcm.org](http://www.skcm.org).

*Eikon Basilike* is now available online thanks to the good work of Society member Richard Mammanna. It can be found at <http://justus.anglican.org/resources/pc/charles/eikon/> We very much appreciate Mr. Mammanna's work. Society members will find other material of interest on the Project Canterbury website.

*A pulpit fall* of the Royal Martyr was left uncompleted by Mrs. Langlois at the time of her death. It is an embroidered piece, about 12x15", depicting Saint Charles, standing, with the words "Charles Stuart, King & Martyr" to either side. Any Society member interested in completing the work as a memorial to Mrs. Langlois is urged to write the American Representative.

We recommend *The First Hour*, the magazine of The Patristic Society, with whom Bishop Seraphim, a Society member and sometime contributor to these pages, is associated. Inquiries to The First Hour, 206 Sarles Lane, Pleasantville NY 10570

In *The Intercession Paper* of ***The Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament*** (October, 2002) our Society is included on 30 January ('Charles Stuart') in the calendar of intercessions. Our Episcopal Patron, Bishop Keith Ackerman, is the Superior-General of the Confraternity. For information, write to the Secretary-General, the Rev'd William Willoughby III, 101 East 56th Street, Savannah GA 31405.

***R.I.P. 2002.*** We have been informed of the deaths of the following Society members:

The Rev'd James B. Simpson, of Washington, D.C.

The Rt. Rev'd Peter Caputo, sometime Rector of Saint Charles Church, Crownsville, MD.

Ronald L. Anderson of Litchfield, CT.

*Jesu, Mercy! Mary, Pray!*

—Mark A. Wuonola, Ph.D.

*American Representative, S.K.C.M.*

### **Introductory Note to the Royal Proclamation Concerning Lent and Fasting Dayes**

Christians today observe Lenten discipline out of a *personal* devotion to Christ, in order to prepare themselves through fasting and penance for the Great Mysteries of Holy Week and the Paschal Triduum. Most of us would be surprised to know that this personal devotion once had national and legal expressions—notably in the repeated proclamations by English monarchs forbidding the eating or selling of flesh-meat during Lent and on “fish-dayes,”—usually a reference to Fridays outside of Eastertide. This abstinence was viewed as essential for the preparation of the entire nation for the yearly commemoration of Christ's Death and Resurrection. England's mercantile, legal and spiritual health were tied together in practices such as these which emphasized the truly corporate nature of sanctity and Church life.

The following proclamation, made in 1632 under the Royal Arms, is characteristic of those made during the reign of S. Charles, King and Martyr, and it follows patterns laid down in similar proclamations during the reigns of Edward VI, Elizabeth I, and James VI and I.

It stresses the importance of the liturgical season of Lent in the Statutes of the Realm, and stipulates legal punishment for those who fail—without sufficient excuse of infirmity—to abide by the traditional discipline of the Church Catholic during that season and on other days when abstinence from meat is enjoined. It is interesting to note Charles' insistence that “victuallers” (fishmongers, we might call them) provide fish conveniently and at reasonable prices for their customers. Of course, it was precisely King Charles' stress on such matters as this, and the truly corporate nature of religion, which earned him so much trouble in an age when Reformation principles of individuality gained wider and wider acceptance.



The royal proclamations for the observance of Lent ended in 1648 (NS), but were revived on the Restoration of Charles II. In 1661, an anonymous pamphleteer would issue a digest of the English statutes for the observance of Lent—"the observation of which of late years hath not been practiced," as a sort of refresher for English subjects by then less than sure about just what the law of the Realm was regarding such matters. I have been unable to find any trace of Lenten proclamations after the reign of Charles II, but they did surface in Deacon William Palmer's *Harmony of Anglican Doctrine with the Doctrine of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East* (Aberdeen, 1846) as evidence that Anglican practice included and indeed mandated Lenten discipline well after the reforms of the XVI Century.

## ¶ By the King.

¶ A Proclamation commanding a due execution of Lawes, concerning Lent and Fasting dayes.

**T**He Kings most Excellent MAIESTY finding how necessary it is, That there be due observance of the Lawes, made and ordered against eating and selling of Flesh in time of Lent, and other times by the Statutes of this Realme appointed for Fasting dayes and Fish dayes, hath often times by His severall Proclamations commanded all his Subjects straitly to observe those good Lawes, and given directions unto his Officers and Ministers of Justice to make enquire of such as should be offenders in that behalfe, and inflict the penalties of the Law upon all those whom they should finde delinquents therein, yet the obedience of His Subjects, and their care of the Welfare of themselves and the Realme hath been so little, and His Officers of Justice been so remisse, that no reformation of those offences hath ensued, but divers ill disposed people have fained excuses, pretending that those Proclamations were published so neere the time of Lent, that they could not make convenient provision of Fish, and some have undutifully pretended that they ought not to be restrained of their libertie, where these Lawes are Constitutions Politique ordained to avoyde excessive prizes, to set the people on worke, to maintaine the Shipping of the Realme, a principall defence thereof, and to encrease the number of Mariners, to serve upon all occasions; insomuch as sundry of these men persisting in their disobedience, with contempt have frequently made choice of dayes appointed for fasting, to be times of banquets, even unto ryot and excesse.

Now His Highnesse doeth signifie to all His people in this time convenient for making of provision, that His Maiestie intendeth not hereafter by His Proclamations, to put them in mind of yielding obedience to His Lawes, but intendeth by His Justice, and due execution of those Ordinances upon such as shall bee found offenders, to admonish others, that they presume not to contemne them: And commands all those Whom it shall concerne, from time to time, to make diligent enquire, and inflict due pubishment, where they shall finde any of those offences committed, without favour of connivencie, as they will bee answerable to His Maiestie, for not executing His Lawes committed to their custody.

And for the better encouragement of others to discover those offences, His Maiestie is well pleased, that unto those that shall discover those offenders and bring them to Judgement, such reward be given of the Fines that shall pertaine to His Highnesse, as His Justices shall thinke fit; whereof due allowance shall be given.

And lest by the malice of covetous persons thirsting after unlawfull gaine, occasion may bee taken by the sellers of Fish and other Victuall allowed to be eaten in time of Lent and dayes wherein eating of Flesh is prohibited by the Law, His Maiesty doeth straitly charge and command all Maiors, Bayliffes, and others that have the keeping of the Assize of Victuall, That they take diligent care to keepe reasonable Assize, and prices upon Fish and other Victuall, under the paines of His Lawes to bee inflicted upon the misgovernours of the places committed to their charge, and such further punishment as their severall offences shall merit.

Given at the Court at Greenwich the twenty fourth day of Iune, in the eighth yeere of the reigne of our Soueraigne Lord, CHARLES by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

God saue the King.

¶ Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most Excellent MAIESTIE:  
and by the Assignes of Iohn Bill. M.DC.XXXII.

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*Martyr for The Good of the Land:  
The Evidence of Pagan Inspiration for the Execution of King Charles I*

by James N. Ward

*“Ande quen Bretayn was bigged bi this burn rysh,  
Bolde bredden therinne, baret that lofden,  
In mony turned tyme tene that wroghten.”*

[And when Britain was founded by this noble warrior,<sup>1</sup>  
Bold men were bred in it, who loved fighting,  
Who wrought mischief in many a troubled time.]

- *Sir Gawain and the Greene Knight*, lines 19-22.

Pagans unconsciously reviving the ancient pagan practice of sacral regicide in an attempt to appease fertility ‘gods’ to ease agricultural stress killed King Charles. The agricultural stress, however, was brought upon themselves from their malign activities; then unjustly projected onto our Patron. We will turn to several sources to support this argument.

The purpose of a devotional society is to promote through word, deed, and example appropriate religious observance and piety; or in the particular case of the Society of King Charles Martyr, veneration of a saint. *SKCM News* furthers that aim by publishing articles related to our saint from a variety of

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<sup>1</sup> Brutus is the mythic founder of Britain referred to in SGGK.

perspectives and interpretations, or as scholars would have it, *hermeneutic methods*.<sup>2</sup> As Charles Martyr was a major historical figure many of our past articles have examined his life from a historical perspective, however, history is not the only discipline to study and convey knowledge on a subject. Past articles also have included examinations of equestrian subjects, art and art criticism, literature, and of course theology, liturgical practice, and hagiography. This article is a departure from these hermeneutic methods and examines Charles's martyrdom from the perspective of pagan myth and ritual. My aim is not to consign his death to myth or denigrate the very real Christian martyrdom of Charles in any way,<sup>3</sup> but rather to expand our understanding of Charles in the context of ancient pagan ritual sacrificial practices that in the case of Charles emerged into historical narrative as fact. My method will be to draw comparisons between the events and details of his life and death with these ancient pagan beliefs and myths. Indeed, if this article serves any purpose beyond providing information, it would be to argue that in the absence of—or forcible suppression of—the reformed Catholic faith for which Charles died, ancient pagan religious practices quickly emerge with predictable results and harm. In addition, my purpose is not to exhaust the possible parallels that can be drawn between these myths and symbols presented here and the life and witness of Charles Martyr, rather it is to begin a launching point for other hopefully fruitful investigations.

My primary thesis is that the execution of King Charles repeated pagan pre-Christian British practices and that many elements of Charles's martyrdom are similar to elements found in ancient pagan religion, myth, and ritual. In addition, beheading as a means of execution has ancient pagan roots, again with numerous examples in myth, literature, and history, linked with concepts of agricultural fertility and the health of the land. But further, the murder of a king by beheading him in public has more specific and distinctly pagan religious origins. To the best of my research capabilities none ever has specifically claimed that this argument applies to King Charles, or stated it this strongly before.

There are three most distinct elements of King Charles and his martyrdom that stand out as motivated by pagan religious concerns: the land was becoming "*Wasteland*" as there was widespread crop failure, high wheat prices, high infant mortality, and low wool export revenues up until Charles's martyrdom; Charles acted as a *sacrifice/scapegoat* for the negative feelings of the Civil War's combatants; and Charles identified strongly throughout his life with the concept of *the divine right of kings* and therefore was *beheaded* in a 'killing of the King' ritual.

### **Historical Regicide's Pagan Roots**

Historian C. V. Wedgwood once famously observed that the execution of Charles the First was "...the first formal execution of a reigning monarch..."<sup>4</sup> Her emphasis is between informal assassination and "legal" proceedings. But Regicide was not unknown before 1649, indeed both history and ancient

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<sup>2</sup> Do not be intimidated by the deliberate obscurantism of the vocabulary and methods of most modern scholars. "Hermeneutic" and "hermeneutic methods" are merely terms adapted from German (originally from Greek) and simply mean "interpretation." For example, since we cannot know Charles I personally, we employ a variety of hermeneutic methods to know him better: we study history, art, visit places he lived and worked, etc. I will leave to those thrashing each other in competition for tenure to argue over what the best or most valid hermeneutic methods are.

<sup>3</sup> This author yields to no one on the point of Charles's true, valid, and eternally crowned martyrdom as an article of the Catholic faith.

<sup>4</sup> Wedgwood, p. ix.

stories provide ample examples of the killing of kings: they are numerous in *The Holy Bible*;<sup>5</sup> and in ancient Greek mythic-literary texts such as Aeschylus's *Oedipus Rex*. Both Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* and *Macbeth* have killing kings as their dramatic centerpiece (these last examples being of interest because they were familiar to Charles himself and well-known by the cosmopolitans of the day, and suppressed by the "saints"<sup>6</sup>).

Historical regicide was a common occurrence in the early Middle Ages as a routine method for a victorious usurper or conqueror to rid a potential source of trouble. On the British Isles regicide's first historical examples are from the old pagan kings. Penda, a seventh-century pagan king of Mercia, was a noted regicide; his other achievements almost completely are overshadowed by this reputation.<sup>7</sup> Penda's victims all were Christian, and medieval historians, mostly monks or Christian nobles, appropriately viewed his reign and deeds with horror.<sup>8</sup> In the ninth-century *Historia Brittonum*, Nennius describes Penda as "victorious through the arts of the Devil, for he was not baptised, and never believed in God." In addition, Penda beheaded his victims: with the fullest and the most notable account being the execution of King Edwin.

### Christian Times?

Wedgwood notes that the rule of the Army and the House of Commons before Charles's martyrdom was far from a Christian paradise. "A foreign visitor who returned to England after the civil wars found that the people, whom he remembered as friendly and good-humored, had become 'melencoly, spiteful, as if bewitched.'"<sup>9</sup>

As Christians and moderns it is easy for us to fall into the trap of projecting our own standards of knowledge of the faith onto the past. This is particularly dangerous in looking at the times of Parliament's Great Rebellion and King Charles's martyrdom. Beyond some rudimentary holdings of the Christian faith, many people still had their cosmological view bound up with ancient tales, myths, legends and folklore, even among the educated. One should note that during this time medication, such as it was,<sup>10</sup> was administered only after consulting celestial observation and the horoscope of the patient; bloodletting and

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<sup>5</sup> I will only mention in passing that the Regicides of Charles Martyr justified their actions on their interpretation of the regicides in the books of Kings in the Holy Bible and on Psalm 149 which encouraged the 'saints' "To bind their kings with chains and their nobles with fetters of iron." Their actions and consequent results speak louder than any argument I ever could make for not handing ignoramus the Holy Scriptures in their own language and instead encouraging them to rise to the occasion and learn Greek, Hebrew, and Latin.

<sup>6</sup> We call them the "Puritans," however, in their own time they referred to each other as the "saints."

<sup>7</sup> Penda's military campaigns, and a crafty—and unlikely—alliance with British king Cadwallon were instrumental in carving out Mercia as an independent kingdom and establishing it as a major power.

<sup>8</sup> The reputation of Penda's ally Cadwallon, himself a Christian, suffered by association: in the early eighth century historian Venerable Bede of Jarrow's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, describes him as "a barbarian more savage than any pagan" with "no respect for the ... religion of Christ."

<sup>9</sup> Emphasis mine, Wedgwood, p. 38.

<sup>10</sup> 'Medication' is a term perhaps inappropriately applied to this time. For example, many physicians of the day prescribed dried dog excrement for inflammations of the eye. It was placed under the eyelid of the afflicted orb. This ingredient was available from any pharmacy, the best quality being thought to be from a pedigree dog owned by a person of quality.

‘humor’ balancing still were considered high art; and demons in corporal form were assigned guilt by juries in legal cases where no human actor could be identified. Such were the times.

In our comfortable times looking back on those of Charles’s we read the history and notes of largely educated men. When Cromwell writes a friend with commentary on scripture we assume that his particular—though Puritan—knowledge of Christianity was typical of the time. It was not: Cromwell was extremely well educated and had graduated from Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and was called to the Bar after study at the Inns of Court. Rather, what we sift through is the thoughts of not the merely educated (*i.e.*, those who could read and write), but the *extremely well educated* (*i.e.* those who owned more than a few books and had read them, and had the position in society and leisure to write letters). Bibles still were frightfully expensive; as were prayer books, commentaries on scriptures, and collections of sermons. What we would call ‘pulp’ today were what people who could read could afford. They seldom were scholarly.

An excellent example was a typical ‘bestseller’ of the century put out at various times: a “prophecies of Merlin” tuned to the topical political news, much as we today might see some article holding that Nostradamus had predicted current events. The best known perhaps is *The Life of Merlin, Sirnamed Ambrosius. His Prophecies, and Predictions Interpreted; And Their Truth Made Good by Our English Annalls. Being a Chronographicall History of All the Kings, and Memorable Passages of This Kingdome, from Brute to the Reigne of our Royall Sovereigne King Charles*, written by Thomas Heywood in 1651. Readers did not take the ‘Merlin’ or ‘prophetic’ elements in this affordable book with modern detached amusement; rather they read this with little skepticism and as a practical guide. A pure Christianity of an informed and courtly nature was not the norm; it was the exception. The old religion and the old ways were closer to the surface than we might care to think; Merlin and demons and blood sacrifice among them.

### **Pagan or Christian?**

Historian A. L. Rouse noted that contemporaries of Charles held that throughout history there has been “a divinity that doth hedge a king.”<sup>11</sup> The momentous presumption of the “saints” of the time is even more dramatic in contrast, and therefore subject to scrutiny if those views are truly Christian. The Puritan army had famously named Charles “the man of blood.” “[Cromwell’s] view of the place of religion in politics...was considerably more primitive, more dangerous, and more arbitrary than the King’s,” noted Wedgwood,<sup>12</sup> “he attributed his victories to the hand of God” and the “defeat of the royalists was a sure sign that God had cast out the King.” Cromwell even went so far as to write of the King as “this man against whom God hath witnessed.” According to Wedgwood, Cromwell and his fellow travelers believed in the pre-medieval principal of trial by ordeal or battle as a test of truth and justice.<sup>13</sup> When members of the House of Commons began to privately demure whether they really should try and execute the King, Cromwell, ever ready with a vaguely mystical comment, encouraged them on with the admonition that “providence and necessity had cast them upon it.”<sup>14</sup> The members of Commons believed God was on their side, and “a wicked king was an acceptable *sacrifice*.”<sup>15</sup>

Divination, or an attempt to foretell the unknown by occult means, (*i.e.* fortune telling), is forbidden by the Bible, (see Acts 16:16 and Ezekiel 13:6, 7 and Deuteronomy 18:11, 12 and Leviticus 20:6,

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<sup>11</sup> Wedgwood, p. xxiii.

<sup>12</sup> Wedgwood, p. xii.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xii.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>15</sup> Emphasis mine, Wedgwood, p. 4.

27). Yet the member “saints” of the Army-purged House of Commons frequently turned to such practices for advice, as several regicides did when debating in private whether to try the King. “...on December 29<sup>th</sup> when a woman named Elizabeth Pool was admitted, claiming that she had a revelation from heaven. She was an honest, seemly countrywoman from Abingdon, who spoke with ardor, though in so allegorical a fashion that the divine message was scarcely intelligible. The presence of God was with the Army, she proclaimed, and they must stand up for the liberty of the people as God had opened the way. She had had a vision of a sickly, deformed woman ‘which should signify the weak and imperfect distressed state of the land.’ Beside this woman stood a man, whom she took to represent the Army, offering to cure her. The way of the cure was to be through humiliation, prayer, and indifference to worldly ends.”<sup>16</sup> Later as they were debating the fate of the King in more explicit terms, “once again they consulted the prophetess of Abingdon about the fate of the King. ‘You may bind his hands and hold him hard under.’ she said.”<sup>17</sup>

A Royalist contemporary commenting on the idea of killing the King wrote: “never was such a damnable doctrine vented before in the world, for the persons of sovereign princes have ever been held sacred....even among the most barbarous nations.”<sup>18</sup> But this sentiment was and is not so, for in fact ancient pagans always have killed their kings, as we shall see.

### **The Golden Bough**

Sir James George Frazer (1854-1941) published the first two volumes of his pioneer study of myth, ritual, magic, and religion *The Golden Bough*<sup>19</sup> in 1890, 241 years after the events of January 30<sup>th</sup>, 1649. TGB eventually grew to 13 massive volumes covering every aspect of the myths and symbolic elements found, according to Frazer, in every “primitive” culture: the ritual of sacril regicide. Frazer’s life concern was with a pagan ritual reenacted the world over: the killing of the king.

His exacting recounting of killing kings in ancient myths and rituals throughout the world and his overwhelming detail on every element associated with it is at odds with his near complete inattention to King Charles Martyr, of whose decollation he was deeply familiar. King Charles is mentioned explicitly in TGB but a single time, in a section entitled “Magicians as Kings,” which explains in a few sentences the ancient belief that the affliction of scrofula could be cured by the touch of the King.<sup>20</sup> Frazer’s overall work, however, explores the deepest roots of ancient belief in the British Isles and other societies, and repeatedly observes the place that Kings hold in the myth, magic, religion, and taboo of the people and the land they occupy. Frazer writes from the perspective of an anthropologist;<sup>21</sup> not a historian, not a Royalist, and certainly not a Christian man of faith or piety who venerates Charles as a saint.

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid, p. 71.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 79

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>19</sup> Hereafter referred to as “TGB.”

<sup>20</sup> “On a Midsummer Day 1633, Charles the First cured a hundred patients at one swoop in the chapel royal at Holyrood.” Frazer, Sir James George, *The New Golden Bough* [abridged], edited by Dr. Theodor H. Gaster, S.G. Phillips, Inc., 1959 (original edition 1890), page 94 of the paperback *Mentor* edition of the New American Library.

<sup>21</sup> Many of Frazer’s original theses presented in *The Golden Bough* have now been discredited or confronted with contrary examples by classicists, anthropologists, and cultural historians; however, those presented in this work are amply supported.

Why did Frazer define the ‘killing of the king’ as the primordial ritual that inspired the roots of all religion and inspired him to extend TGB to 13 large volumes? This author holds that Frazer’s unspoken fascination with King Charles’s martyrdom and his own curious connections to it contributed the motivation to his life’s work. Frazer was born on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1854: a bookend to Charles’s martyrdom on the 30<sup>th</sup> of January, a date with which he was familiar from his youth, when it was topical and controversial.<sup>22</sup>

Frazer’s mother, Katherine Frazer (died 1899) held a lifelong interest in genealogy, and proudly had identified her descent both from Robert II (the first of the Royal Stuart line) James I and James II of Scotland; James I of England (VI of Scotland); *and* in a collateral line Oliver Cromwell.<sup>23</sup> When Frazer encountered the history of England in his early teens and the irony that one of his ancestors had killed another—and a King no less—it must have had a profound impact.

Frazer attended Cambridge (Cromwell’s University) rather than take a place at Balliol College, Oxford (that he preferred), because his father would not allow his son to attend Oxford where even in 1874 the reverberations of high-churchmanship and John Henry Newman’s conversion were still fresh on the minds of dour Free-Church Scots.<sup>24</sup> During these undergraduate years, Frazer made an intense personal study of all of Milton’s works,<sup>25</sup> and his encounter with the Roundhead’s laureate added additional fuel to his already deep psychological connections with Charles’s martyrdom.

In short, Frazer’s explicit genealogical connection to the principal actors in the drama of Charles’s martyrdom, the central subject of sacral regicide as his life’s work, and his relative utter silence about Charles in TGB all serve to speak louder than an explicit case would have. Frazer, no Royalist, made the Royalist’s case for them, but avoided being branded as a partisan and retained an impeccable reputation as an objective anthropologist during his lifetime by not asserting the obvious case detailed as this paper’s thesis: British paganism reasserted itself resulting in Charles’s martyrdom.

### **Frazer Identifies the Primordial Ritual**

Frazer held there was a mental homogeneity of primitive mankind and therefore the world's myths derived from a primordial human social and religious belief that the King (considered to be a sacred figure) embodied and therefore ensured the fertility of the realm. When the King’s waning power threatened the well being of the community, he had to be challenged and killed. That is, the old king must die and be replaced by younger challenger so that the people may live. “The killing of the god, that is, of his human incarnation, is therefore a merely a necessary step to his revival or resurrection in a better form. Far from being an extinction of the divine spirit, it is only the beginning of a purer and stronger manifestation of it.”<sup>26</sup> It is not hard to draw a comparison here with Charles’s state at his martyrdom. Wedgwood notes “In his last years he had grown to look old and strained; his checks sagged, he had deep pouches under his eyes, his hair and beard were very gray.”<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> In 1662 King Charles, Martyr, was added to the calendar in the BCP, but in 1859 he was removed without proper authorization, by command of Queen Victoria.

<sup>23</sup> Ackerman, p. 5.

<sup>24</sup> Frazer, “Memories of my Parents”; “...fearing exposing me to the contagion he sent me to Cambridge instead,” paragraph 124.

<sup>25</sup> Ackerman, p. 22. Frazer’s *English Poems by Milton* (1876), extensively annotated in his own hand, survives today in the Frazer Archives at Trinity College, Cambridge.

<sup>26</sup> TGB, p. 37.

<sup>27</sup> Wedgwood, p. 8.

Frazer held that in ancient times the killing of the king was a compulsive (repeated) action performed for the good of society—*i.e.*, a ritual of sympathetic magic. The many myths that tell of the death of a king arose, according to Frazer's theory, as explanations for real rituals: and the heart of myth-ritualism for Frazer is the ritualistic enactment of the myth of the death and rebirth of the god of vegetation. The House of Commons shared this view, as their order for the King's trial notes that "The State at large is King and the King so-called is but its steward or Highest Officer."<sup>28</sup>

According to Frazer's ritual theory myths all over the world are based on a single primordial rite of sacral regicide. The rite originated in Mesopotamia and spread throughout Europe, Asia, and Africa, and seems to have been understood as an annual new-year ritual magically guaranteeing the land's fertility and society's prosperity. Frazer's TGB has twelve dense volumes of examples culled from the myths of peoples throughout the world. But examples that are familiar are myths such as Oedipus's killing of his predecessor and his performing a scapegoat role in order to restore Thebes's fertility. Recall also Theseus's conquest of Minos/Minotaur<sup>29</sup> and responsibility for the death of his own father, Aegeus.

### **A Comparison of Frazer's Elements of Sacral Regicide with Charles's Martyrdom**

Frazer combed world literature and numerous sources to identify the elements attached to and surrounding pagan sacral regicide, and many of the elements he highlighted provide ample evidence that pagans martyred Charles, whether they were conscious or unconscious of their true religious outlook. Among those elements Frazer identified were the preference for sacrificing red-haired men, sacrifice performed at the crescent moon is most powerful, a ritual scapegoat is preferred, agricultural distress signifies the necessity of sacral regicide, ritual beheading, purity of the sacrifice, and the sacrifice must be done publicly.

### **From Ritual to Romance: Weston's Expanded View**

Myth Historian Jessie L. Weston advanced some of Frazer's views and held that at some point in human evolution the king himself no longer was sacrificed but a substitute: first a human substitute; then an animal treated as a human;<sup>30</sup> and then an animal. Other myth-ritual theorists have held that the final transitional sacrifice was from a live animal to bread and wine that retains deep allegorical roots to the divine and to vegetation.

Frazer's view was that there was a direct but inconsistent link between god and vegetation and also between king and god. Sometimes the king is merely human and merely plays the role of the god of vegetation in observed primitive rituals. Other times the god resides in the king, who therefore himself is divine. Here the health of the god depends on the health of the king, just as the health of vegetation depends on the health of its god. The ritual performed in this case is not the king's imitation of the death and rebirth of the vegetation god but the actual killing of the king and the transfer of the soul of the god to the body of the next king: "For [primitives] believe ... that the king's life or spirit is so sympathetically bound up with the prosperity of the whole country, that if he fell ill or grew senile the cattle would sicken and cease to

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<sup>28</sup> Wedgwood, p. 78.

<sup>29</sup> Many of Frazer's academic disciples, called "The Cambridge Ritualists," saw the Minotaur as a special symbolic transitional figure (in the evolution of sacrificial fertility rites) who represents powerful unthinking chaos. I will leave drawing obvious comparisons of Cromwell and other regicides to a Minotaur to the private speculation and amusement of my readers.

<sup>30</sup> Weston held that a Minotaur was an animal treated as a human.



multiply, the crops would rot in the fields, and men would perish of widespread disease. Hence, in their opinion, the only way of averting these calamities is to put the king to death while he is still hale and hearty, in order that the spirit which he has inherited from his predecessors may be transmitted in turn by him to his successor while it is still in full vigor and has not yet been impaired by the weakness of disease and old age.”<sup>31</sup>

Because the king, according to Frazer, is actually killed and replaced rather than, by imitation, killed and resurrected, the magical<sup>32</sup> element is defeated and becomes only sacrifice. Weston held that the magic is present in sacrificial regicide. First, the god is being manipulated rather than beseeched: i.e. he is being kept healthy by being kept in the body of a healthy king. In addition, the king magically is identical with the god and the god with vegetation. The king is to the god as a voodoo doll is to the person of whom it is a likeness: just as the doll affects the person precisely because it is identical with the person rather than merely symbolic of the person, so the king affects the god because the king really is the god rather than a mere symbol or even the host of the god.

### **The Wasteland**

Weston focused her analysis of the motivations for sacrificial regicide on the link between the King and the Wasteland, a frightening vision repeated in ancient myths. The Wasteland is a sign of the gods' disfavor, of their abandonment of fertility, and in the journey to restoration to fertility a hero must traverse this bleak place. Weston explains that the original Wasteland was part of the legend later associated with the *Quest for the Holy Grail* found in the Arthurian cycle of stories. The stories of Arthur are very old, dating to before Europe's Christian conversion, but when recorded took on Christian veneers. The Grail popularly was thought to be the cup Christ drank from at the Last Supper and legend held that Joseph of Arimathea brought it to England. A descendent of Joseph's becomes the wounded king of the Wasteland in some Grail legends. Weston argues that such a cup from the Last Supper has no historical or biblical basis and the Grail legend is a confused remnant of a procreation fertility ritual: within the Quest for the Holy Grail is an ancient fertility myth detailing the ancient "Fisher King" story whose death, sickness, or impotence brought drought, infertility of the land, and war among humans and animals.

### **Margaret Murray**

Like Frazer, myth historian Margaret Murray subscribed to the theory of pagan royal sacrifice in England. Murray's theory is that the pagan English ritually killed their kings, or appropriate surrogates, at regular intervals; and these ritual murders, supervised by initiates made up of a king's close associates, continued well into the late Middle Ages and even later, with the connivance of the monarchs themselves, and in spite of their professed Christianity. The kings were seen as living gods, according to Murray's thesis, and the spilling of their blood on the ground - or a token sprinkling - was a central feature of the sacrifice, which was designed to ensure the fertility of the land and the prosperity of the people.

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<sup>31</sup> Frazer, TGB, p. 65.

<sup>32</sup> Magic here is understood as the symbolic manipulation of unseen forces.

### **Other British Sources of “the Killing of the King”**

“Now, take St Kenelm's life which I've been reading;  
He was Kenulph's son, the noble king  
Of Mercia. Now St Kenelm dreamt a thing  
Shortly before they murdered him one day.  
He saw his murder in a dream, I say . . .”

- Chaucer, The Nun's Priest's Tale

In this legend from Mercia, following the death of King Kenulph in c. 819, his seven-year old son Kenelm became king. His evil sister Quendryh and foster-father, Askebert, supervised him, but were plotting to kill the boy king by taking him hunting where he would meet some ‘accident.’

The night before the trip Kenelm had a dream that he climbed a flower and lantern decorated tree; and from the heights could see the four quarters of his kingdom. Three bowed down before him, but the fourth began to chop at the tree until it fell. Kenelm then dreamed he was transformed into a white bird and flew away to safety. On waking Kenelm related his dream to his nanny, a wise old woman gifted in interpreting dreams, who immediately wept, for she knew the boy was destined to die.

Kenelm resigns himself to his fate and follows Askbert to the hunt. While kneeling in prayer one evening the boy king is beheaded by Askbert and his body hidden under a thorn tree.<sup>33</sup> Later a spring flows at the site and becomes the source for a miraculous well.

*To be continued.*

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<sup>33</sup> Kenelm's spirit then rises in the form of a dove carrying a scroll and flies away to Rome where it drops the scroll at the feet of the Pope. The message on the scroll reads: ‘Low in a mead of kine under a thorn, of head bereaft, lieth poor Kenelm king-born’.

## *Five Women of the English Reformation*

by Paul F. M. Zahn

reviewed by Lee Hopkins

*Five Women of the English Reformation* by Paul F. M. Zahn. Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2002. 120 pp. \$14. ISBN 0-8028-3825-1. Episcopal Book Club Selection.

Paul F. M. Zahn is Dean of the Episcopal Cathedral Church of the Advent in Birmingham, Alabama, and has authored a recent selection of the Episcopal Book Club titled *Five Women of the English Reformation*.

It suffers from a lax prose style that at times seems almost a tape recorder transcription, and lacks an index, but the otherwise short and readable book has the unquestionable merit of focusing upon the curiously overlooked role of highly educated and theologically sophisticated women in the English Reformation. He studies the generally brief lives of these women, who like many others found that to differ from the inconsistent shifts of Henry VIII's religious opinions was not good for one's health. Of the five women, Anne Boleyn, Anne Askew, Jane Parr, Lady Jane Grey, and Catherine Willoughby, only the last was to reach middle age, but lacked the mental distinctions of the other four. Yet none of the five were the sort of women who can be dismissed as being of an hysterical nature whose religious enthusiasm is suspect as part of a psychosexual syndrome familiar to us from such tragically ludicrous events as the Salem Witch trials, or the menopause spirituality of those like Mary Baker Eddy, Madame Blavatsky, or Amy Semple Macpherson. Nor can it ever be forgotten that perhaps the greatest woman of all time, Elizabeth I, rescued and shaped our Anglican heritage by crafting the ancient practice of the Catholic Church in England from the shambles of Edward VI's Protestantism and the nonhistorical fantasies of Rome.

Dean Zahn makes the very interesting point that the many voices of the Reformation were a reaction to "the characteristic attempts of Roman Catholicism to objectify and make tangible that which is subjective and intangible." As the XIX-Century men of the Oxford Movement put it, Rome was too carnal, too materialistic, too prone to mistake words for things, to confuse institutional power with spiritual veracity. In short, the inwardness of religious experience was lost. Most of the various reformers throughout Britain and Europe, despite their squabbles and absurdities, were united in seeing the laity as much a part of the holy, catholic, and apostolic Church as the priesthood, represented at its worst by Pope Leo X famously exclaiming that "God has given us the Papacy, so let us enjoy it."

Anne Boleyn (1507-1546) had grown up at the cosmopolitan French court, deeply influenced by the Gallican Church, which long before Elizabeth I and the Caroline Divines reached the same conclusion, saw the French national Church, in its origins and development, as an autonomous Province of Catholicism. Anne Boleyn was also, like Lady Jane Grey, a precociously erudite, articulate young woman. She was familiar with the vernacular French Bible, extant long before the remarkable priest William Tyndale was martyred for his English translation, which lives on hardly altered within our King James Version.

Antonia Fraser has noted the proliferation of such literate, scholarly women in the XVI Century, and their unaccountable disappearance as a distinctive social phenomenon in the following Century, unfortunately not to reappear in an openness to the full spectrum of female possibilities until modern times.

Having reached the dubious distinction of being Henry VIII's Queen, Anne Boleyn was a great supporter of Thomas Cromwell's dissolution of the monasteries. And while she and her parvenu family, like all those who thrived parasitically by enduring their monstrous monarch, were more concerned with despoiling monasteries for personal profit rather than ecclesiastical reform, she was unique in demanding that a fair portion be put aside for poor relief. This no doubt explains why Thomas Cromwell turned against his theological soul mate, poisoned her husband's mind against her, and finessed her decapitation, a fate that he was to share with her and richly deserve.

The ambiguities of her personality and character are as puzzling as those of Archbishop Cranmer, and it is unfortunate that we will never know what conversation passed between them for two hours the day before she was killed.

Anne Askew (1521-1546) was a good, witty and spirited woman who had her bones broken and joints dislocated while being personally racked by Sir Richard Rich, Henry VIII's man of all work, who had risen from obscure clerkdom by betraying his mentor Sir Thomas More through perjury, then rose like buoyant scum to the upper reaches of the shark tank of this Tudor court. Her torture was so severe that she had to be carried in a chair to be burned at the stake. But in her ordeal she never revealed the names of the other women in her reformist group, which included Lady Jane Grey and Katherine Parr, who was to be Henry's sixth and last Queen. So remarkable was Anne Askew's character that she exerted a calming influence on the two men incinerated with her as they met their hideous fate.

We know little of her. Of the five women in this book, she is the only one without some connection to royal blood, and her only record is her own account of her interrogation. From her own words we get a picture of a very intelligent, acerbic woman, whose only crime was to have read her forbidden Tyndale English Bible in the back of Lincoln Cathedral. Like all the reformers, she denied transubstantiation, the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist, as a sort of cannibal feast, which seems to indicate that the orthodox of the time were ignorant of metaphorical concepts, to be remarked upon repeatedly three hundred years later by the Oxford Movement. As she said on the rack, "God cannot be eaten with the teeth."

The much maligned Bishop Stephen Gardiner, motivated by a somewhat historically premature Anglo-Catholicism which led him to be imprisoned by Edward VI and into disastrous alliance with Bloody Mary, tried to have Anne Askew released, just as he more successfully interceded for the great musical liturgist Merbeck. But as she lacked any significant social connections, she became a sort of sacrificial scapegoat to what Henry VIII saw as the teachings of Jesus while the deep thinking king lay rotting to death. His unlamented demise served only to usher in the anarchistic though brief Calvinistic reign of Edward VI.

Katherine Parr (1514-1548) was an astutely practical woman who knew Latin, Greek, and French, surviving marriage to Henry VIII by coddling her shallowly pseudointellectual spouse with a sort of reverse psychology babysitting technique. She was fortunate in having as her personal chaplain Miles Coverdale, later Bishop of Exeter, Marian exile, and well remembered as the translator of the Psalms that remain fairly intact in our King James Bible. Outliving Henry by outwitting him, Katherine Parr was to remarry for love to a worthless man, then, like so many women until recent times, die of childbirth infection.

The short, sad life of Lady Jane Grey (1537-1554) is well known. She was a prodigy, manipulated by the Calvinist court party at Edward VI's death to claim the throne from Roman Catholic Mary Tudor. Lady Jane was the granddaughter of Henry VIII's sister, forced into this clumsy coup through the hubris of her father-in-law John Dudley, causing his innocent son and Lady Jane, then himself to kneel before the headsman's axe. The terrible thing about the deaths of both Lady Jane and Anne Askew is that even in an age of despotism and injustice, their deaths should simply not have happened.

Catherine Willoughby (1520-1580), the last of Dean Zahn's subjects, was the only one to live past thirty, only because she fled into exile through Holland, Germany, Lithuania, and Poland, pursued by Bloody Mary's agents. This rather unremarkable woman secured this official enmity by having foolishly attacked Bishop Gardiner when he was safely imprisoned, but he was now Lord Chancellor under the new regime. An orthodox Catholic, Gardiner had the historical perspective as a first rate canon lawyer to know that the perpetually expanded claims of the Bishop of Rome had more to do with temporal power than scriptural authority or the seminal first seven Church Councils.

Of himself, Gardiner said: "Although I go not about to prove myself a saint, for I have made no such outward visage of hypocrisy, yet it shall appear I am not utterly a devil." In his entry in the old *Biographica Britannica*, it states that "few have risen higher by mere dint of abilities, few suffered greater changes of fortune, few have been more magnified or commended, few more invidiously and outrageously treated, than this famous prelate, in his lifetime and since his decease; yet for any tolerable account of him there is none." This latter omission was rectified by Dr. James Muller's classic 1926 biography. Gardiner has much company in seeing Calvinism as the greatest internal threat to Christianity, and influential Calvinists, most notable Gardiner's contemporary martyrologist John Foxe, returned the favor. The Bishop's historical reputation was also damaged by his own inability to control himself, and his wrath became his own undoing, as he died of apoplexy.

Thus it was Gardiner's cholera which exiled and pursued the otherwise marginal Willoughby and her husband. They very improbably won the favor of the King of Poland, who made her spouse the first and last English Puritan governor of Lithuania.

For Willoughby and her husband were true hard core Puritans, unlike the other four subjects of this book who embraced more moderate Lutheran or perhaps Zwinglian views. The exiled couple was to return to what was now Elizabethan England in 1559, escaping the fate under Bloody Mary of Catherine Willoughby's close friend, the unscrupulous fanatic Bishop Latimer, who met the same fiery death as an Oxford Martyr that he had so enthusiastically arranged for many others.

And so it was that the Protestant reformers in England were to evolve not from the likes of Boleyn, Parr, Askew, and Grey, but from the simplistic and intolerant fervor of Catherine Willoughby, the concept of spiritual dialogue that embraced church vandalism, civil war, regicide, military dictatorship, and much else.

As a curious historical footnote, Anne Dudley Bradstreet grew up in a client family on one of Catherine Willoughby's estates marinated in Puritanism, and emigrated to New England to become America's first poet, sailing on the same ship as John Winthrop.

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# ***The Voices of Morebath: Reformation & Rebellion in an English Village***

**by Eamon Duffy**

reviewed by Lee Hopkins

*The Voices of Morebath: Reformation & Rebellion in an English Village* by Eamon Duffy (Yale University Press, 2001) 232 pp. \$22.50. ISBN 0-300-09185-0.

“This is a book about a 16<sup>th</sup> century country priest, and the extraordinary records he kept. It deals with the ordinary people in an unimportant place, whose claim to fame is that they lived through the most decisive revolution in English history, and had a priest who wrote everything down.”

These words from the preface of *The Voices of Morebath* by the extraordinary Cambridge historian Eamon Duffy introduce a unique record of the transition from medieval Roman Catholicism to Henry VIII's break with Rome, and its consequences. These involved at first what was essentially an orthodox Catholicism without the historical accretions of the Bishop of Rome. After the bloated wreck of Henry's mortal remains was buried for safe keeping at Windsor Castle, the English Church fell under the Calvinist influence of those who controlled the boy king Edward VI. This incoherent avalanche of innovations of Genevan iconoclasm created popular rebellion and national decay, from which the enduring heritage of the Book of Common Prayer somehow emerged. Following was the Roman Catholic Counter-Reformation of Queen Mary, which at least halted puritanical desecrations. Her mercifully short reign was a prelude to a magnificent synthesis. This was the expression of peculiarly English genius for compromise within the polarities of tradition and innovation. It characterized Elizabeth I, and her wise and enduring establishment of the Catholic Church in England.

In this she articulated the continuity from Roman Britain and Celtic piety that had always clearly defined the Church of England as a separate province, discrete from Rome, and in communion with Greek Orthodoxy. This unique status was clearly defined in the following century by the words and acts of metropolitan authority, and ecumenical diplomacy, by Archbishop Laud, then validated by the magisterial erudition of the Caroline Divines.

And from the microcosm of a small sheepraising village of 150 souls in Devon, on the edge of Exmoor, a world unto itself, a parish priest meticulously recorded all these events and their local impact for fifty years, from 1530 until 1580. He was Sir Christopher Trychay (pronounced 'tricky', with the title not a knighthood but the honorific term used for priests in Tudor times).

There was a church, an alehouse, a mill, a blacksmith, adjacent houses, and outlying farms. This was not some isolated band of rural yokels, but a representative contemporary society of the time, involved in the vital wool trade, in connection with the other communities in England, both great and small. In our own alienated, secular, media benumbed era, one must readjust to a parallel reality of places like this where once religion was the leavening agent, the key to social harmony, personal well being, and national cohesion. This existent mutuality represented a vocabulary which did not have concepts like the separations of church and state, religious and personal life.

The Morebath priest and his village did not accept the Reformation at first, then were goaded to actual rebellion. A countywide march on the diocesan center of Exeter turned into a siege of the cathedral. This was seen by those in power who supported the Edwardian theological carnival as an act of high treason; and it was in fact as serious a threat by traditional elements to national centrist authority as the

Pilgrimage of Grace had been to Henry VIII. In both cases, those who tried to sustain their familiar patterns of culture were savagely punished, as no doubt was the boy in the folktale who told the emperor admiring his new clothes that the man was in fact nude.

These government meddlings with the social norms were seen by the priest of Morebath and his compatriots locally and nationally as “arrogant, destructive, and un-English”.

Folk mostly agreed, seeing the suppression of their ancient saints’ days, festivals and liturgy, the destruction of stained glass and statuary, as creation of a vacuum of meaningless life. It was considered unacceptable then, though it is the norm now.

Yet in the fullness of time (a duration that must have seemed interminable to those afflicted by spiritual crisis) there nonetheless evolved the wise and irenic healing of these wounds through the wisdom of Elizabeth. Her amazing achievements can be summarized by a quality rare in English monarchs, a study of the heart of the people to achieve understanding of what defines the English heritage.

Eamon Duffy’s *Saints and Sinners*, a history of the popes, was reviewed in these pages, as will be his comprehensive study of medieval English religious practice, *The Stripping of the Altars*. He possesses that blend of scholarship and felicitous narrative style which is free of pedantry, carrying his work forward with an informed energy so often absent from academic texts.

Down through time, along with the parishioners of Morebath and their faithful priest, we must pass through the ashes of fanaticism, stupidity, greed, and malice by clinging to that which does not change, the celebration of the Eucharist according to the ancient Sarum rite enshrined in our liturgy, to find that that which has always been, still is, as T. S. Eliot observed. And this is clearly articulated by these reanimated voices of Morebath.

## ***HOLY RULERS AND BLESSED PRINCESSES: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe***

**by Gábor Klaniczay**

reviewed by Richard J. Mammana, Jr.

*HOLY RULERS AND BLESSED PRINCESSES: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*. By Gábor Klaniczay, Translated by Éva Pálmai. Cambridge University Press, 2002. 490 pp. ISBN 0-521-42018-0. \$95.00.

Most of us are familiar with the legend and hymn of “Good King Wenceslas,” a Bohemian prince martyred in 935 at the age of 27. We will also have heard or read of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary, whose life of service to lepers was in striking contrast to the courtly duties expected of a widowed queen.

I, however, was unaware of the strong local tradition in which royalty and sanctity—as well as martyrdom—are situated in Eastern European Christianity. Saint Wenceslas and Saint Elizabeth stand alongside Saints Stephen, Gisella, Emeric, Ladislav, Prisca, Gertrude, Elizabeth of Töss, Cunegond, Constance, Yolanda, Margaret, Agnes, Anne, Henry II (the Pious), and Salome (!) in the varied and interesting calendar of the royal saints of Hungary.

Just as throughout England and Western Europe we find a widespread pattern of royal sanctity, in Bohemia, Moravia and nearby principalities, “the veneration of certain meritorious members of the medieval royal dynasties was conditional on a presumption of exemplary virtue, certified by the Church after an increasingly careful series of investigations.” Gábor Klaniczay’s new *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, now first published in English, brings to light the historical background for a large number of royal canonizations in Hungarian civilization. In so doing, he paves the way for a study of the phenomenon of royal sanctity in English Christianity; no study of which I know brings the same meticulous scholarship and serious argument to bear for the saints of Ecclesia Anglicana.

One particular chapter, “Martyr Kings and Blessed Queens of the Early Middle Ages,” will likely be of most interest to members of our Society. Here, Klaniczay situates the cult of St. Wenceslas in its wider European context, drawing extensively on the lives of martyr kings mentioned in Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History*. He records the interesting fact that “no other early medieval saint in all of Europe had so many legends written of him so soon after his death;” he rounds out the chapter with a linking of hagiographic motifs in the Wenceslas’s *vita* to aspects in the legends of Ss. Boris and Gleb.

Other chapters examine parallels between Hungarian and Anglo-Saxon, Merovingian or Angevin sanctity; the imagery of “heavenly courts” in *vita* of monastic princesses; and the politics of dynastic relationships in the process of canonization and hagiographic representation. Klaniczay makes frequent mention of the status of the Hungarian principalities as on “the peripheries of Western Christendom,” and he demonstrates the royal model of holiness as present both within areas in communion with the Roman see, and also where local bishops and parishes adhered to the Orthodox communion.

Klaniczay acknowledges the presence of a cult of “sacral kingship” in pre-Christian central Europe, but shows the transformation of this indigenous idea in light of the Church’s life and devotion. Rather than being *themselves* objects of worship by simple virtue of their royal pedigrees, as before Christianity, royalty after the conversion of their people served as examples of holiness and piety only insofar as they conformed to the holy life of Christ.

The book itself is one of the more excellently produced publications I have come across in some time. Sturdy binding, good typography and editing, and nearly 100 illustrations from medieval illuminations and church art combine to make it a joy to hold and read. Cambridge University Press ought to be congratulated for having accepted and published the title.

*[Richard J. Mammana, Jr., is a graduate of Columbia University. He has been a frequent contributor to SKCM News and many other periodicals. He resides in New York City and is a parishioner of the Church of the Resurrection.]*



# ***1648 War and Peace in Europe – 26<sup>th</sup> Exhibition of the Council of Europe***

*Ed. by Klaus Bussmann and Heinz Schilling*

reviewed by Sarah Gilmer

*1648 War and Peace in Europe – 26<sup>th</sup> Exhibition of the Council of Europe* Ed. By Klaus Bussmann and Heinz Schilling (Münster/Osnabrück, 24.10.1998 – 17.1.1999) Exhibition catalogue available from Barnes & Noble for \$9.95.

This handsome volume contains both excellent historical commentary and illustrations of many of the paintings and artefacts on display during the 1998 celebration of the Peace of Westphalia.

Coins, weapons, documents, books, portraits, political pamphlets, and commentary on the horrors of war are brought together to present a vivid picture of life in the XVII Century.

Two portraits of Tilly present a fascinating dichotomy. One is the image of a pensive, highly intelligent man with penetrating eyes and a rather kindly expression. The other presents the General more simply (or simplistically) as a fierce warrior all in black armor. Both are marvellous.

I particularly enjoy equestrian portraits, and the picture of Henri d'Orleans is very evocative. One can almost feel the fabric of the Duc's elegant slashed doublet, and his beautiful horse, of a striking red dun color, somewhat lighter in type than the typical mount of the times, is vividly brought to life.

Madame de Saint-Baselmond de Neuville is also depicted on horseback, dressed as a man in military uniform with sword at her side, another charming image of the period.

There are many portraits of Gustavus Adolphus, and I must confess that most of them remind me irresistibly of a certain cartoon bloodhound. A curious little object, a tiny sculpture of the King in his coffin, also has a sort of comic aspect; despite its solemn intent, it rather resembles a XVII Century Crackerjack toy.

There are so many items in this weighty book, and so much information contained within its pages that it is impossible to do more than dip into it for a brief review.

It is well worth the attention of anyone with an interest in the XVII Century.

*[Sarah Gilmer, S.K.C.M., of Toccoa, Georgia, is a regular contributor to these pages. She has also written for The Royal Martyr Annual. She is interested in the Royal Martyr and the times in which he lived, and in things equestrian.]*

## **King Charles Brocade Knitting Pattern**

Of the many unusual facts concerning our beloved Martyr King, an obscure but notable one recently came to my attention: there is a unique knitting pattern named for him. This may be of interest to those members of SKCM who knit, or have family members who do.

“King Charles Brocade” is an unusual pattern stitch and originally was identified in a vest worn by King Charles I on the day of his execution in 1649. The original knit shirt, “a marvelous piece of master knitting for the period” is worked in blue silk and is preserved in the London Museum. It is familiar to most

members of SKCM as one of the two shirts our Martyr Charles wore to keep the cold from making him appear frightened.

The pattern instructions below comes from Barbara Collins, a master knitter, which she adapted in 1999 from Barbara Walker's *Treasury of Knitting Patterns* "King Charles Brocade."<sup>34</sup> The details below give instructions for knitting a useful dishcloth, which clearly shows the pattern of the shirt our Blessed Charles wore on the day of his martyrdom. Mrs. Collins recommends that the cloth "will show the pattern best if worked in a solid color" as "anything variegated or multi-colored will hide the pattern." Her complete instructions follow.<sup>35</sup>

"Size 7 needles (I always use a 24-inch circular); Cotton yarn - 1 skein

Cast on 43 stitches (for a cloth that is 10x10 inches) or cast on 31 stitches (for a cloth that is approximately 8x8 inches). Keep three stitches on either side in garter stitch (place markers to help remember this -- it makes a frame for the pattern). Knit 4 rows of garter stitch.

Begin pattern:

Row 1 (right side) - K1, \*p1, k9, p1, k1; repeat from \*.

Row 2 - K1, \*p1, k1, p7, k1, p1, k1; rep from \*.

Row 3 - K1, \*p1, k1, p1, k5, (p1, k1) twice; rep from \*.

Row 4 - P1, \*(p1, k1) twice, p3, k1, p1, k1, p2; rep from \*.

Row 5 - K1, \*k2, (p1, k1) three times, p1, k3; rep from \*.

Row 6 - P1, \*p3, (k1, p1) twice, k1, p4; rep from \*.

Row 7 - K1, \*k4, p1, k1, p1, k5; rep from \*.

Row 8 - Repeat row 6.

Row 9 - Repeat row 5.

Row 10 - Repeat row 4.

Row 11 - Repeat row 3.

Row 12 - Repeat row 2.

Repeat pattern rows one through 12 a total of five times for the cloth with 43 stitches (or a total of four times for the smaller cloth with 31 stitches). Then knit four more rows of garter stitch. Bind off loosely."

Mrs. Collins also advises "there is a lot of switching back and forth from knit to purl and back again. Make sure that you are pulling the yarn tight when you do the switches or you will leave tiny holes..."and further insists not to "forget to keep the six side stitches in garter so you have a little frame for the pattern." She also notes that this pattern is a multiple of twelve plus one and so is adaptable for a larger item, such as an afghan.

[adapted from an article by Barbara Collins by James N. Ward, a member of S.K.C.M.]

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<sup>34</sup> Page 31.

<sup>35</sup> I do not knit myself, however my wife—who does—says that these instructions are perfectly comprehensible and to expect a surprise for my birthday.

## SKCM News — December, 2002

### *British Headquarters*

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### **Kalendar of Anniversaries**

1 January 1651	King Charles II crowned at Scone
10 January 1645	Martyrdom of Archbishop Laud
15 January 1649	King Charles I brought to Saint James's
23 January 1649	Scottish Commissioners protested against mock trial of King Charles
27 January 1649	Sentence pronounced on King Charles I
30 January 1649	<b>Decollation of King Charles the Martyr</b> - 2003, 354 <sup>th</sup> Anniversary
2 February 1626	King Charles I crowned
6 February 1685	King Charles II died
9 February 1649	Burial of King Charles I at Windsor
27 March 1625	Accession of King Charles I
27 March 1894	Society of King Charles the Martyr formed
1 April 1813	Finding of the body of Saint Charles, K.M., at Windsor
26 April 1661	Canonisation of Saint Charles: Convocation unanimously approved the office for 30 January
14 May 1662	Royal Warrant directing the use of the office for 30 January in all churches
29 May 1630	King Charles II born
29 May 1660	King Charles II restored

**SOCIETY OF KING CHARLES THE MARTYR  
ANNUAL MASS AND MEETING**

**SOLEMN PONTIFICAL MASS OF SAINT CHARLES**

**11 a.m., Saturday 1 February 2003**

**Saint Paul's Church, K Street, Washington, DC**

**The Rev'd Andrew Sloane, *Rector***

**The Rt. Rev'd Keith L. Ackerman, *SSC, Episcopal Patron, Presiding***

***Preacher:* The Rev'd Canon Barry E. B. Swain, *SSC***

***Rector, Church of the Resurrection, New York City***

**Schubert – *Mass in G***

**The Parish Choir & String Ensemble**

**Jeffrey Smith, *Director of Music***

**Followed by LUNCHEON & ANNUAL MEETING**

Luncheon reservations are mandatory:

Send check (\$25 per person) marked "SKCM Luncheon" to:

Saint Paul's Parish Office, *Attn.* SKCM Luncheon, 2430 K St. N.W., Washington DC 20037

**by 15 January.**