

SKCM News

June, 2013

THE MAGAZINE OF THE **SOCIETY OF KING CHARLES THE MARTYR, INC.** (THE AMERICAN REGION)
SERVING OUR MEMBERS IN THE U.S.A. AND CANADA



'KING CHARLES I IN THREE POSITIONS'
BY SIR ANTHONY VAN DYCK (1635-6)

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King Charles the Martyr: Defender of the Faith

Some Considerations

by The Rev'd Hubert John Sillitoe

Be thou faithful unto death and I will give thee a crown of life. —*Rev. ii: 10*

On the Feast of the Purification, 2nd February, 1626, the Abbey Church at Westminster was thronged with prelates, peers and people for the Sacring of King Charles the First—the White King—as from that day he came to be called. The preacher, the Bishop of Carlisle (Dr. Richard Senhouse) startled the vast congregation by giving out the above text. Men said it was an additional omen to the unusual white robes of the King hence '*Rex Candidatus*', and was applicable more to a funeral than to a coronation.

Twenty-three years afterwards on 30th January, 1649, those omens were fulfilled and King Charles who had obeyed throughout his reign the precept of that text in his solemn observance of his coronation oath, now on the scaffold outside his palace of Whitehall was to vindicate it to the uttermost.

CHARLES THE MAN

King Charles the First was born at Dunfermline Palace on 19th November, 1600. After his father King James VI of Scotland became King of England in 1603, Charles was brought to England—before he could talk—and was brought up at Windsor. As a child he was very delicate but by his courage and perseverance he hardened himself to become an expert horseman and a skilled fencer. From his earliest days he was shy and studious and so sincerely pious that his elder brother, Prince Henry, said that when he became King he would make his brother, Charles, Archbishop of Canterbury. However in 1612 Henry died, Charles became Prince of Wales, and King on the death of his father on 27th March, 1625.

That sincere and deep personal religion which had displayed itself in his early childhood remained throughout his youth and deepened as the years went on. It is recorded of him that he never neglected his daily devotions and that even after a hard day's hunting "he never failed, before he sat down to dinner, to hear part of the Liturgy read to him and his servants."

He was a devoted husband and father; he loved his wife with a deep and faithful love and in an age of harsh methods, and often indeed brutal ways with children, King Charles was a loving and gentle father, and was in his turn beloved by them. In this, as in other matters, he was in fact 'before his time'. The family life of King Charles was essentially that of a Christian home at its best. Thus his bright example in this matter is

specially worthy of our praise in these days of challenge to the sanctity of the marriage bond and the stability of our traditional English home life.

Sincerely religious and a model husband and father, he was also of an essentially fastidious and artistic nature. In consequence as a King in a rough age he suffered from a twin disability—he lacked that coarse, bluff heartiness which Englishmen so readily respond to, and further he lacked completely the capacity to act, as occasion required, with that swift ruthlessness that comes commonly so readily to the coarse bluff hearty man. Henry VIII and Oliver Cromwell had this twin capacity to the full. It is significant that Charles urged his son to strive to be “the good rather than the great.” The throne of the King of Kings on Calvary’s Hill is a Cross; and, in the mind of the worldly, Charles also failed, but *Dominus regnavit*.

CHARLES THE KING

This is not the occasion to examine all the policies of Charles the King. He, of course, in common with every other ruler who has ever ruled, made many mistakes, but he also did some great things. The simple fact is—leaving aside discussion as to its ‘legality’ or ‘illegality’—that King Charles by the levying of ‘Ship-Money’ made the maintenance of the Navy a national concern, and established the Royal Navy for the first time on a permanent basis. He may be truly said to be the founder of the Royal Navy as we know it. It was the ships of the little fleet built with Ship-Money that formed the nucleus of the navy of the much extolled Cromwellian Admiral Blake. It was under the direct inspiration of King Charles that English Naval architecture made great strides during his reign. Charles established a weekly ‘post’—a great administrative triumph for those days. He restored the purity of the currency—the silver coins of his reign are outstanding for their beauty and purity. By means of the “king’s Council in the North” (which sat at York) justice, swift and economical, was put within the reach of the folk of the northern parts of England but which infuriated London lawyers like Pym since it lost them the fees they would have had if the cases had had to come to London. Just, honest, economical, merciful as the rule of Charles was, it did not fit the pattern of government determined on by the Puritan party. In after years the rule of Charles came to be known as ‘the golden days’. It should be remembered that even of the pattern of Charles’s rule the late Lord Morley of Blackburn wrote: “the black letter of the Constitution was on the King’s side.” (*Life of Oliver Cromwell*)

CHARLES THE MARTYR

The political patterns alike of the Roundheads and of King Charles have passed, and the issues between them have become largely academic, but the Church of England for which King Charles died, rather than desert it, remains, under God, because he chose so

to die. Our abiding concern then is with Charles the Martyr rather than with Charles the King. While the Church of England remains it will remain profoundly indebted to him for its very survival, as an integral part of the historic Church of Christ's founding. Charles's service to the Church was undeviating throughout his reign—it was consummated, not begun, on the scaffold. Too truly did Bishop Lancelot Andrewes prophesy of Charles when still Prince of Wales that the time would surely come when Charles would have to choose between the Church and his life. Almost the first act of Charles on becoming king was to liberate from prison, and remit the fine of, Dr. Montague whom the Puritans had caused to be condemned because he had written a pamphlet attacking Calvinism. Charles made him Bishop of Chichester, to the fury of the enemies of the Church.

Again, in 1628, Charles caused "The King's Declaration" to be printed before the "XXXIX Articles" in the Book of Common Prayer, where it remains. The purpose of this declaration is to prevent a Calvinistic and Puritan interpretation being riveted on the Articles. Then in 1629, only four years after his accession, leaders of the Puritan party in the House of Commons drew their swords and held the Speaker in his chair while they passed a resolution declaring that anyone "countenancing Popery of Arminianism (and 'Arminianism' means 'anti-Calvinism') shall be reputed a capital enemy to this kingdom and commonwealth." Thus early in his reign the Puritans in effect arraigned Charles on a capital charge. William Laud was but Bishop of St. David's when Charles came to the throne but Charles translated him to Bath and Wells in 1626, to London in 1628, and to Canterbury in 1633. It is difficult to compute the vast services that Laud achieved for the Church of England. He worked a vast reformation, churches were restored, the services again rendered with reverence and dignity. The modern Churchman of whatsoever 'school of thought' can hardly conceive the degradation from which Laud raised church life. But it was only in the teeth of violent and most bitter opposition that he did it. Laud enforced, even so, only the simplest ceremonial which often means no more than the priest must at least wear a surplice in the conduct of Divine service. This was bitterly opposed by the Puritans as was the forbidding of the piling of hats, cloaks and swords on the Altar, particularly during service. In all this enforcement of methods of reverence and decency, Laud had the unfailing support of the King, who thereby increased the hatred of the Puritans against himself. Many devout churchmen were of course most thankful to the King and Laud. It is to be remarked that the "bench of Bishops" as appointed by Charles has, as a 'bench', never been surpassed, indeed those bishops with a considerable body of learned clergy earned for the Church of England of

those days the epithet '*stupor mundi*'. It was then that Anglican theology as such was born.

The Civil War broke out and the King was defeated and became a prisoner. On several occasions he could have made terms with his enemies and secured his restoration to the throne if he had been willing that in future the Church of England should give up having a three-fold ministry of bishops, priests, and deacons and above all that there should no longer be bishops. This would have cut the Church of England from the historic Catholic Church as founded by the Lord Jesus. To this King Charles steadily refused to assent, constantly quoting his Coronation oath. His refusal took him to the scaffold.

Here it is then. Charles in his life was a true "Defender of the Faith" and in his death a martyr for it. Under God we owe it to King Charles the Martyr that our XXXIX Articles are not riveted to a Calvinistic interpretation, that we have an Apostolic ministry so that the Church of England remains a living part of the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church and her sacraments administered in accordance with evangelical truth and apostolic order, our Book of Common Prayer and an ordered and dignified ceremonial. Many believe that it will be the privilege of the Church of England to act as the 'bridge church' in a general and much to be desired reunion of Christendom which was dear to the heart of King Charles and it is to King Charles we owe it that we occupy this vital position in the Christian world.

At the restoration of Church and King in 1660 a revision of the Book of Common Prayer was effected. Since the Act of Uniformity of 1662, in which our present Prayer Book is called "The Book Annexed", attempts at a further revision of the Prayer Book have been made several times, but not one has succeeded, so that the standard and textually correct Prayer Book is still the "Book Annexed" of 1662 and no other.

Now in the Kalendar (of the "Book Annexed") for January, against the 30th, is "King Charles M." The Church of England formally canonized King Charles in 1662 and Churches began to be dedicated to his name; in England there are seven such Parish Churches, *i.e.*, Peak Forest, Falmouth, Plymouth, Tunbridge Wells, Newtown (Wem), Shelland, and South Mymms, and also Chapels-of-Ease, *i.e.* Harmer Green (Digswell) and Tollerton (York) and many side Chapels and Shrines as at Walsingham, Saint Mary's Bayswater (Oxford) and in Edinburgh Cathedral. Overseas there are two Churches in Australia, one on South Africa, four in the U.S.A., one in Japan. Others are contemplated. The chapel of Kilmainham Hospital, Dublin, was given this dedication in the XVIII Century.

In 1961, King Charles's Day was observed in more than 400 churches at home and abroad. The number of observances increases yearly and steadily.

As we ponder on all we have and love as members of the Church of England let us not fail in gratitude to "our own, our royal saint" as John Keble called him—King Charles the Martyr.

In conclusion then let us strive to emulate his deep personal religion, his bright example in our home life, his steadfast fidelity to the Church so that we too at our end may as truly have fulfilled as he that charge "Be thou faithful unto death" and with him receive the promise "I will give thee a crown of life."

THE CANONIZATION OF KING CHARLES THE MARTYR

A Commission, appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1950, made its unanimous Report in 1957 under the title, *The Commemoration of Saints and Heroes of the Faith in the Anglican Communion*. On page 35 of this report there is the following:

"Of the servants of God entered respectively in the Kalendars of 1662 and 1928, two are exceptional in that they had been canonized neither by tradition nor by Rome. And both are kings. King Charles is a clear example of popular canonization; in which Church, State, and popular feeling concurred and that, with a vehemence surprising to the modern generation. At least four churches bear his name, and one has been dedicated in the last few years. The method of 'canonization' here was not merely by the insertion in black letters of a name in the Kalendar; but special liturgical services were appointed for the day with proper collect, epistle and gospel. When by the statute of 1859 (22 Vict., c.ii, of 25 March), the services for 30 January ceased to be printed in the Prayer Book, the Queen's Printers considered that the authority of the Act extended to the removal of the name also from the Kalendar. The Propers did indeed reflect the deep emotions of their day too vividly for modern use; but their framing and the Kalendar entry was as genuine a canonization—that, too, of a martyr—as the historic Church can show, Convocation, Parliament and popular acclaim acting in passionate unity."

[The above tract by Father Sillitoe, Chairman 1953-72 & President 1972-9 of the Society of King Charles the Martyr, is reprinted from the quarterly Church and King (29 November 1948), the organ of the S.K.C.M., with some additions c. 1961. Father Sillitoe died on 12 May 1979.]

**Report of the 26 January 2013 Annual Mass at
All Saints' Church, Ashmont, Boston MA**

The Rev'd Michael J. Godderz, SSC, Rector – Celebrant

The Rev'd Dr. F. Washington Jarvis, OL – Priest Associate & Deacon of the Mass

Andrew P. Sheranian – Organist and Master of Choristers

The Rev'd John D. Alexander, SSC, OL, Rector, S. Stephen's Church, Providence RI – Select Preacher

Although Boston was in the midst of a cold snap, and there was a little snow the night before (and more to the South), our members and supporters were undeterred: There were 111 at the Annual Mass and nearly 90 at the luncheon following. We were thankful for the hospitality of the Parish of All Saints, Ashmont, its rector, Father Godderz, and its priest associate, Father Jarvis. The music of the mass, Mozart's *Spatzenmesse*, and S. S. Wesley's 'Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace' were beautifully sung by the All Saints' Choir of Men and Boys under the direction of Maestro Sheranian. We had a thoughtful and if I may say, Tractarian, sermon by Father Alexander, fitting well with the closing hymn 'Jerusalem', which with other Society favorites was enthusiastically sung by the congregation. The solemn procession made a station at the shrine of King Charles the Martyr (its 16th anniversary, having been dedicated at the 1997 Annual Mass). The sermon is printed below.

After the buffet luncheon, we were greeted by Father Godderz. John Covert, a member of the Board of Trustees, thanked those who helped made the commemoration a success, made announcements and presented a plaque in appreciation for his 25 years of service to the American Branch of the Society to Dr. Wuonola. After his remarks, preceded by a reading by Maryland member Dorian Borsella from T. S. Eliot's 'Little Gidding', members identified themselves as is customary. Large delegations from The Church of the Advent Boston, and S. Stephen's, Providence, were present. Some members traveled from the Washington DC, Baltimore, and New York areas, and others from around New England. Those present remained for at least an hour, joined in goodly fellowship. (*See the inside back cover for pictures from the Annual Mass & Luncheon.*)

At the Society's request, the offering was designated toward All Saints' renovation campaign, now underway. We thank all those who worked and gave to make the commemoration a success.

Remarks by Mark A. Wuonola, PhD., Ben., OL at Annual Luncheon

"We cannot restore old policies

Or follow an antique drum.'

(T. S. Eliot, 'Little Gidding', the Fourth of 'Four Quartets')

"The Society is emphatically non-political."

(Ermengarda Greville-Nugent, Foundress, S.K.C.M., 1894) [ADD PERIODS]

We are reminded by the Society's most famous member, T. S. Eliot, and by our Foundress, that ours is not a political society. We are no longer fighting the battles of the English Civil Wars in which were killed as large a proportion of the English population as in World War I.

We are a Devotional Society, honoring King Charles the Martyr, his pious life and his heroic death, not his perfection as a man or as a king. None of the saints was perfect. But as is clear from the State Service for 30 January in the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, King Charles took as his model

the King of Kings. Out of his death came victory, a paradox understandable only to us who have the gift of Faith. How else could he have forgiven his persecutors and his enemies, and made fast, mutual friendships with many of the Parliamentarians charged with guarding him during his captivity? How else did it happen that he discarded his corruptible, earthly crown of gold and jewels, and exchanged it for the incorruptible Heavenly crown of which S. Paul speaks (1 Cor. ix: 25).

Through his death, S. Charles achieved membership in the Heavenly Martyr Throng (Rev. vii: 13-17), and confounding his opponents, paved the way for the Restoration of Church and King in his realms.

Let us REMEMBER, as Eliot reminds us, that “we cannot ... follow an antique drum.” We are to pray for the intercession of S. Charles, our patron saint, to learn from his example, as we practice the imitation of Christ, pray for our enemies and those who wish us harm, and to treasure Episcopacy and the Apostolic Succession for which King Charles died. In the eyes of the world, he was stubborn and stupid – many of his advisers told him as much – not to compromise those principles, but we are the beneficiaries of his conscience today.

The deathbed tribute of Alexander Henderson, the chief of the Scottish Commissioners to Parliament, is more eloquent than any royalist encomium: “In matters of religion, whether in relation to Kirk or State, I found him the most intelligent man I ever spoke with ... I profess that I was oftentimes astonished with the solidity and quickness of his reasons and replies and ... wondered how he could have attained to so great a knowledge that I was convinced in conscience and knew not how to give him any reasonable satisfaction. Yet the sweetness of his disposition is such that whatsoever I said was well taken. I never met with any disputant of that mild and calm temper.”

REMEMBER!

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Donors to the General Fund FY 2013 will appear in the December, 2013, issue.

***Sermon Preached by The Rev'd John D. Alexander, SSC, OL,
Rector of S. Stephen's Church, Providence RI,
Select Preacher at the XXX Annual Mass
of the American Region of the Society of King Charles the Martyr
at All Saints' Church, Ashmont, Boston MA, 26 January 2013***

At the end of Dom Gregory Dix's classic *The Shape of the Liturgy* is the famous "purple passage," beloved of generations of seminarians, which begins with the question: "Was ever another command so obeyed?" After rehearsing the many different settings and circumstances in which Christians have celebrated the Eucharist, Dix notes how it also marks the great turning points in history. His examples include: "Alfred wandering defeated by the Danes staying his soul on this, while medieval England struggled to be born; and Charles I also, on that morning of his execution when medieval England came to its final end."

Over the years, I've wondered what Dix meant by that phrase. In what sense did medieval England come to its final end on the scaffold outside the Banqueting House at Whitehall? Histories of the English Civil War, or the Great Rebellion if you prefer, tend to focus on the religious and political dimensions of the conflict. The strife among Anglicans, Puritans, Presbyterians, and Independents took place in the context of the bloody religious wars of XVII-Century Europe – a world in which the spiritual unity of medieval Christendom no longer obtained. And fighting over such questions as who had the right to raise taxes and command the army, King and Parliament were engaged in a constitutional struggle for control of the administrative apparatus of an early modern state – in a setting where medieval feudalism was a thing of the past.

Yet the conventional histories tend to pass over a third dimension, namely, the social question. The King and his supporters, on one hand, adhered to a traditional vision of society inherited from the Middle Ages. His Puritan opponents, on the other, exhibited very different social attitudes arising from a radically new and distinctively modern mindset. This morning I want to explore the differences between these two world views, and their implications for us today.

The surroundings of this gothic-revival church of All Saints remind us that one hallmark of Western Catholic identity is reverence and respect for the Middle Ages. The leaders of the XIX-Century Anglo-Catholic revival – from the Tractarians John Henry Newman, John Keble, and Edward Bouverie Pusey, to the novelist Charlotte Yonge, to the slum priests Charles Lowder and Alexander Herriot Mackonochie – looked back on the medieval world as embodying a more just and Christian society than their own; and by more than a coincidence they also venerated King Charles as a model Christian ruler.

Medieval social thought drew on the Bible, the Fathers, the Scholastic theologians, and the canon lawyers. Its most basic assumption was that the Christian faith supplies a moral standard for all human institutions and activities. And it saw society as an organism composed of an array of different classes of people unified by a web of reciprocal obligations, duties, and rights. It is sometimes claimed that the idea of human rights is an invention of the XVIII-Century Enlightenment; but this is not true. Rights were well known to medieval canon and civil law. The difference was that they generally attached to groups rather than to individuals. If you were a noble, you shared in the rights belonging to your class; if you were a monk, you shared in the rights belonging to your abbey; if you were a craftsman, you shared in the rights belonging to your guild. Corresponding to all these rights was a comprehensive set of duties and obligations towards other groups and towards society at large. Other people's rights constituted your duties, and *vice versa*. If you were a knight, for example, you had a duty to protect and defend the Church; but you also had a right to the Church's prayers for your soul in return.

At its worst, this vision of social order was hierarchical, paternalistic, and marked by gross inequality. Yet, while everyone was expected to know his place, there was at least a place for everyone. Even peasants enjoyed definite rights in return for service to their lords – most notably the right to equitable access to the land to raise sufficient crops and livestock for subsistence and survival after paying their rents.

Moreover, under the guidance of the Church, an ethic of mutual responsibility and care pervaded the entire social organism, extending even to beggars. A great social gulf may have been fixed between “the rich man in his castle, and the poor man at his gate,” but on the basis of such Gospel texts as the parable of Dives and Lazarus, the rich man understood that his eternal salvation depended on ensuring that the poor man did not starve to death. The greatest saints of the Middle Ages were known for their generosity to the poor, not only in individual almsgiving but also in the founding of hostels, hospitals, and orphanages.

By the 1600s, this organic social vision had come under extreme pressure from changing political and economic conditions. Nevertheless, the government of King Charles I did its best to perpetuate the best social ideals inherited from the Middle Ages: particularly by upholding the notion of the common good over and against a rising tide of economic individualism. In one of his sermons, Archbishop William Laud remarked: “If any be so addicted to his private, that he neglect the common state, he is void of the sense of piety, and wisheth peace and happiness to himself in vain.”

Yet private interests were asserting themselves vigorously. A prime example was the accelerating pace of agricultural enclosures. Stimulated by the burgeoning wool trade, landowners discovered that they could vastly increase profits by evicting their peasants, and giving over what had previously been commons to sheep-grazing and grain production. However, acting through such judicial bodies as the Star Chamber, the king's ministers – notably Archbishop Laud himself – vigorously defended the rights of tenants whose landlords were trying unjustly to evict them.

Despite the government's efforts, however, the enclosures proceeded apace, creating new populations of displaced persons destitute of any lawful means of earning a living. The Tudor and

early Stuart governments realized that purely private charity was no longer adequate to address this situation, and enacted a series of Poor Laws designed to provide employment for those willing to work, and relief for those unable to work. In Charles's reign, work houses for the able-bodied poor were to be established in every parish, administered by the churchwardens and funded by tithes.

In economic policy, Charles's government attempted to regulate industry and commerce by means of patents and monopolies. At its worst, this system became an instrument of favoritism and a means of raising money for the Crown in the absence of a sitting Parliament. At its best, however, it represented a sincere if clumsy effort to promote the common good through just wages, fair prices, and high employment.

Charles's love of the arts reminds us that the common good has a cultural and aesthetic dimension as well. Although his tastes were baroque and not gothic, Charles's patronage of painters and architects witnessed in a thoroughly medieval way against the stark utilitarianism of the Puritans who condemned such pursuits as so much frivolity. More than two centuries later, the Arts and Crafts Movement, so well represented in this church building, sought to counter the dehumanizing effects of mechanization and assembly-line production by encouraging designers and artists to create handcrafted objects of beauty.

The Puritans were driven by a radically different social vision. Although both Royalists and Puritans were to be found at all levels of society, contemporary writers remarked that Puritanism found its greatest support among what were then called "the middle sort of men" – neither nobles and aristocrats, nor peasants and manual laborers, but merchants, craftsmen, members of the professions, and the rural gentry – those whom we describe today as the Middle Classes.

The Puritan social ethic was one of economic individualism and self-reliance. In its doctrine of double-predestination, Calvinist theology taught that before the foundation of the world God had fore-ordained every individual to either eternal salvation or eternal damnation. The burning question, then, was how one might know that one was among the elect. Certain strands of Calvinism had come up with the answer that economic and material prosperity in the pursuit of one's calling was the surest sign of God's favor. At the same time, Puritanism condemned all luxury, idleness, and conspicuous consumption. Thus, through a disciplined life of hard work, frugality, and the shunning of worldly pleasures, the Puritan merchant or businessman sought to glorify God and assure himself of his own salvation.

Those imbued with this ethos chafed under the restrictions of a royal government that sought to put the common good of society above the individual interests of private entrepreneurs. Among its first actions, the Long Parliament of 1640 dismantled the government's economic system of monopolies and patents. Later, during the Interregnum, the government of Oliver Cromwell attempted to legislate with a vengeance what we would today call private morality – banning such activities as plays, dancing, and public drunkenness. But it abandoned all efforts to regulate business and commercial activity according to any principles of social ethics. From the 1650s on, the idea gained traction in England that the conduct of business should be left in the hands of businessmen, unimpeded by the meddling of clergy or other agents of an obsolete social morality. Henceforth, the free market would reign unchallenged. The restoration of the monarchy in 1660 did little to reverse this trend.

The greatest change of all, perhaps, involved attitudes to wealth and poverty. During the Middle Ages, the accumulation of personal wealth subjected individuals to the suspicion that they had grown rich unjustly at the expense of their neighbors. Excessive riches were seen as a spiritual snare, a source of temptation to the sins of pride and avarice – the best remedy for which was liberal generosity and almsgiving to the poor. But, under the influence of Puritanism, in seventeenth-century

England a precisely opposite attitude emerged that regarded great wealth as the surest sign of God's approval, and poverty as evidence of a flawed and degenerate character. The sufferings of the poor were their deserved punishment for sins of idleness, self-indulgence, laziness, and licentiousness. According to this mindset, the truest charity was not to relieve the poor but to discipline them. Working hours should be kept long, prices high, and wages low in order to teach the poor the virtues of thrift, and to prevent them from squandering their earnings in weekly drunken debauches.

Against such attitudes, the early XX-Century British economic historian R.H. Tawney wrote: "A society which reverences the attainment of riches as the supreme felicity will naturally be disposed to regard the poor as damned in the next world, if only to justify itself for making their life a hell in this." A bit further on he commented: "there is no touchstone, except the treatment of childhood, which reveals the true character of a social philosophy more clearly than the spirit in which it regards the misfortunes of those of its members who fall by the way."

Against this background, we can begin to appreciate the full significance of the beheading of King Charles on 30 January 1649 as more momentous than even the crime and sin of regicide. In its constitutional dimension, it represented the severing of the head of state from the body politic; and in its social dimension it signaled the final unraveling of the web of mutual relationships and reciprocal obligations that had bound English society together for centuries. Henceforth, it would be everyone for oneself. It is in this sense, I believe, that we discover the fullest meaning of Gregory Dix's remark that medieval England came to its final end on the scaffold outside Whitehall.

We can fittingly memorialize King Charles by taking another look at the medieval social vision by which he lived and died. Too often, those committed to traditionalism in religion and orthodoxy in theology unthinkingly assume a conservative social agenda to be part of the same package. Ironically, however, contemporary social conservatism tends to have far more in common with the Puritan ethos of the regicides than with the medieval ethos of the Royal Martyr.

It doesn't have to be this way. Beginning in the late XIX-Century, Roman Catholic, Anglican, and Reformed theology rediscovered the Church's traditional social teaching, and sought to apply it to the changing conditions of the modern world. The result has been described as a third way that avoids the extremes of both laissez-faire capitalism and Marxist communism, and finds its classic expression in the great social encyclicals of the Popes beginning with *Rerum Novarum* of Leo XIII in 1891, as well as in the thought of such Anglican writers as Frederick Denison Maurice, Henry Scott Holland, Charles Gore, Stuart Headlam, and William Temple.

We do well to study and re-appropriate this legacy of Catholic social teaching. With its emphasis on the common good, fair prices, just wages, an equitable distribution of wealth, and care for the ecological commons of the earth, it carries forward today many of the same principles that King Charles and Archbishop Laud tried to defend, at the cost of their lives, against the rising tide of bourgeois economic individualism in the XVII-Century.

By trying to point the way to a more just society on earth, the Church does not turn its back on spiritual realities, but rather bears witness to its hope of heaven. There, together with all the angels and saints, King Charles the Martyr now reigns in glory with his Lord and ours, having exchanged a corruptible for an incorruptible crown, and enjoying the peace of that kingdom where no disturbance can be, no disturbance in the world.

Bibliographical Note: This sermon draws key ideas from Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904-5), especially as developed and refined in R.H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (1926). Also helpful was Margaret James, *Social Problems and Policy during the Puritan Revolution* (1930). A critique of the Weber thesis is found in Kurt Samuelsson, *Religion and Economic Action* (1957).

Other 2013 Commemorations – the Americas

A Solemn Mass for the Commemoration of King Charles the Martyr was celebrated at the annual clergy retreat of the **Diocese of Fort Worth** on 30 January 2013. Nearly 60 diocesan clergy were in attendance with their Bishop, the Rt. Rev'd Jack Leo Iker, and the retreat conductor, The Rev'd Canon Mark Pearson of the Institute for Christian Renewal. The Rt. Rev'd William Wantland, assisting bishop of Ft. Worth, also participated. The annual three-day, silent retreat is held at the Montserrat Jesuit Retreat House in Lake Dallas TX.

On Wednesday 30 January 2013, as reported by chapter secretary Charles F. Peace IV, OL, a low mass was celebrated in the chapel at **Grace & S. Peter's, Baltimore**, by the rector, The Rev'd Frederick S. Thomas, SSC, OL. The hymn 'Lord let the strain arise' was sung.

The Rev'd David C. Kennedy, SSC, D.D., OL, reports that at **Holy Guardian Angels, Lantana FL**, a Solemn Mass of King Charles was celebrated on the 30th at 6 p.m. by The Most Rev'd Dr. Mark Haverland, who preached. About 50 were present. The Mayor of Lantana was there and also two other members of the Town Council plus the Town manager. Members of the Lantana Chamber of Commerce and the Scottish American Society of Palm Beach County were also present. The Archbishop's Procession was piped in. After mass was a dinner in McDonald Hall catered by the Dune Deck Café, with prime rib of beef, Yorkshire pudding, &c. The parish has hosted three Annual Meetings of the Society in the past.

Per report by The Rev'd Douglas E. Hungerford, Holy Mass was offered at **Holy Trinity Anglican Catholic Church in Peru, IN** on 30 January, using the Anglican Missal in the American Edition with the propers for the Beheading of Charles I, K.M.

Mass was held at **S. Paul's, Savannah, GA** on 30 January. Also commemoration at Solemn High Mass on Sunday. As reported by The Very Rev'd Dr. Wm Willoughby III MStJ, Dean of Savannah.

A 30 January Mass with homily was celebrated at **S. John's Episcopal Church in Austin, TX**, using the Propers of S. Charles, K.M. We thank Bill Beare for this report.

The London Area Celebrations 2013

by The Rev'd Canon William H. Swatos, Jr., Ph.D.

President, Society of King Charles the Martyr, Inc. (The American Region)

The two principal London Eucharistic celebrations of King Charles's martyrdom are sponsored by the S.K.C.M./UK and by the Royal Martyr Church Union, which also sponsors a celebration in Edinburgh. Inasmuch as the 30th did not fall on a Sunday, the Mass was held in the Banqueting Hall, whence King Charles was led to the scaffold by his persecutors. Services laying wreaths and of public witness take place immediately prior, first at the equestrian statue of King Charles at Trafalgar Square under the auspices of the Royal Stuart Society, and then at the door of the Banqueting Hall (i.e., immediately beneath the area over which the scaffold for King Charles's murder had been built) under the auspices of the S.K.C.M., prior to entering for the Mass.

Although the weather generally was particularly cold this year, it was less so this day than almost any other day during our visit and without precipitation, yielding a congregation of almost 200. The celebrant was The Rev'd James Hill, priest of S. Benet Fink, Tottenham. Deacon of the Mass was The Rev'd Charles Card-Reynolds, chaplain of the British S.K.C.M.; subdeacon was The Rev'd Christopher Trundle, Assistant Curate at S. Gabriel, Pimlico. The preacher was Canon Jeremy Haselock, Vice Dean of Norwich Cathedral. His sermon, which gave a great deal of attention to both King Charles' and Queen Henrietta Maria's devotion to Our Lady, was in my opinion, one of the finest I have ever heard at this event. Choral music was provided by Shane Fletcher and the Nicholas Lanier Choir. The Mass setting was Victoria's *Missa Simile est regnum coelorum*. The Communion motet was Byrd's *Ave verum corpus*. Mrs. Swatos and I enjoyed a leisurely luncheon afterwards with UK Chairman Robin Davies and his wife. Late in the afternoon, there was the traditional wreath-laying ceremony by the Royal Stuart Society on the marker of King Charles's tomb in the choir of S. George's Chapel, Windsor.

The R.M.C.U.'s Edinburgh Mass was held on 31 January, in S. Mary's Cathedral. The celebrant was The Rt Rev'd John Armes, Bishop of Edinburgh. The preacher was The Very Rev'd Gilleasbuig Macmillan CVO, Minister of S. Giles' Cathedral. Although we have attended this service a few times, we did not do so this year, confining ourselves to greater London.

The London Solemn Eucharist of the R.M.C.U. was held at the baroque church of S. Mary-le-Strand (which is literally in the middle of the Strand) in London on 2 February, "with Candlemas touches" as Secretary-Treasurer David Roberts put it. The celebrant and preacher was The Rt. Rev'd Robert Ladds, SSC, formerly Bishop of Whitby. Deacon for the Mass was the R.M.C.U.'s Chaplain, The Rev'd Michael J. Burns, vicar of S. Charles the Martyr, Potters Bar, and subdeacon was the The Rev'd Philip Warner, rector of S. Magnus Martyr, London Bridge. Music for the Mass, sung by four voices, was taken from Mozart's *Missa Brevis in G*. It is the custom after this Mass that at the Loyal Toast is accorded to the Queen. Most of the congregation, about half of which come from the parish at Potters Bar, then adjourned for a hearty lunch at a nearby hotel restaurant. Both the R.M.C.U. and the S.K.C.M. were part of the process that led to the building of the church at Potters Bar, though in many respects the R.M.C.U. effort was more hands-on, and an affection between the organization and parishioners is apparent by their yearly pilgrimage to this mass.

Upcoming Annual Masses

(all are on Saturday at 11 a.m.; *S.K.C.M. member)

XXXI Annual Mass: The Cathedral Church of S. Vincent, Bedford TX (Diocese of Fort Worth). 25 January 2014. The Rt. Rev'd Jack L. Iker*, SSC, D.D., OL, Ben., Bishop; The Very Rev'd Ryan Reed, SSC, Dean; Select Preacher, The Rev'd Martin C. Yost*, SSC, Rector of S. Stephen's, Sherman TX (Diocese of Dallas). Luncheon \$20; reservations to S. Vincent's Cathedral, 1300 Forest Ridge, Bedford, TX 76022-6770.

XXXII Annual Mass: The Church of the Resurrection, New York City. 31 January 2015. The Rev'd Canon Barry E. B. Swain*, SSC, OL, Rector. Select Preacher, The Rev'd Frederick S. Thomas*, SSC, OL, Rector of Grace & S. Peter's Parish, Baltimore MD.

XXXIII Annual Mass: The Church of the Holy Communion, Charleston SC. 30 January 2016. The Rev'd M. Dow Sanderson*, SSC, Rector and Select Preacher.

XXXIV Annual Mass: S. Clement's Church, Philadelphia PA, 28 January 2017. We have been invited by Canon Reid, the present rector of S. Clement's, but he plans to retire in 2015, so regard this as tentative, pending approval by his successor. Society member The Rt. Rev'd Rodney R. Michel, D.D., retired Suffragan Bishop of Long Island, Select Preacher.

Membership Anniversaries – FY 2013

Thank You for your Faithful Perseverance in Society Membership.
(Enrollment dates refer to the calendar year)

Member for 60 Years (since 1953)

The Rev'd Vern E. Jones, OL

Members for 35 Years (since 1978)

Canon and Mrs. R.S.H. Greene, SSC, OL

Member for 30 Years (since 1983)

Mark A. Wuonola, Ph.D., Ben., OL

Members for 25 Years (since 1988)

Norman Jefferies II

Mariann G. Johnson

David W. Rawson, Esq.

Joseph E. Warren

The Rt. Rev'd James W. Montgomery, D.D., Ben., OL

Members for 20 Years (since 1993)

Arthur Bousfield

David D. Butler-Chamberlain, Esq.

The Rev'd R. Trent Fraser, SSC

Dr. Thomas H. Kiefer

The Rev'd Cn. Jonathan J.D. Ostman, SSC, OL

Michael G. Sherwood

Craig Tozzo

Richard Francis Tracz

Beverly Tschida

R. Lewis Wright, M.D.

Members for 15 Years (since 1998)

Robert T. Booms

Charles A. Calverley, Jr.

Harold R. Carlson, Jr.

S. Bobo Dean, Esq.

The Rev'd Dr. W. Ralph Gardiner

W. J. C. P. Genung-Keats II

Suzanne G. Bowles, Ph.D., OL

Richard J. Mammana, Jr., OL

The Rt. Rev'd Rodney R. Michel, D.D.

Gary Thomas Scott

Captain Edward J. Ward

Kay Shields Wilkinson

Members for 10 Years (since 2003)

Donald B. Allen

Julian Victor Brandt

The Rev'd Canon Robert G. Carroon

Joseph H. Coreth, Esq.

Richard Daves

Dr. Arthur Eaves

Lydia L. Evans

Samuel W. Howell, Esq.

(Mrs.) Brantley B. Knowles

Dr. Maxwell Reed Mowry

Greg Ohanesian, Esq.

Dr. Stuart E. Prall

Anne R. Stuart

Members for 5 Years (since 2008)

William I. Berryhill, Jr.
Howard B. Bevard
Michael L. Bolt
Dorian Rose Borsella
John R. Covert

Col. James W. Davis, Jr.
Randy Headley
The Rev'd Canon W. Gordon Reid, OL
Rodney Roehner
Harlie Youngblood

Six New Members Added to the Order of Bl. William Laud, Abp.M.

We are pleased to report that six more members have been added to the rolls of the Order of Blessed William Laud, Abp. & Martyr. They join 39 other members and supporters of the Society, in this life and the next, designated in recent years.

Per Board of Trustees policy adopted in 2009, the members of the Order of William Laud are elected "in recognition of contributions rising to a certain level, or higher, of significance as to impact and benefit to the Society by members and supporters who are not members ... Election to membership in the Order of Laud shall be considered equivalent to the designation of Benefactor status with regard to impact and benefit to the Society." Just as Benefactors are entitled to use "Ben." after their names, Order of Laud members may use "OL".

Society members are invited to submit nominations for Board consideration as additional Order of Laud honorees. Such nominations, giving background on the candidate and stating why he or she should be honored, should be sent by 2 November 2013 to The Ven. James G. Monroe, Ph.D., SSC, Secretary of the Board, at jimmon39@gmail.com or 4310 Meadow Forest Lane, Kingwood TX 77345-3007 USA, in order to be considered during the next awards cycle. Some additional nominations already are on hand for further consideration.

We heartily congratulate these latest designees. Some of them have benefited the Society as a whole; others have made their impact as local 'movers and shakers'. We herewith share their distinguished contributions:

- **The Rev'd John David Alexander, SSC.** Rector of S. Stephen's in Providence, RI, his parish hosted the Annual Mass in 2009, preached at the 2013 Annual Mass, and is the incoming Regional Superior of the Society of Mary. A Life Member, Fr. Alexander's informative report on the 2012 Annual Mass & Luncheon in Appleton, WI appears in the June 2012 *SKCM News*.
- **Mr. Richard D. Appleby and The Rev'd Frederick Shepherd Thomas, SSC.** Both designees are being recognized for their work in founding two Society chapters. Mr. Appleby worked with Fr. David Kennedy from the beginning, starting in the 1970s as Chapter Secretary of the Guardian Angels Chapter in Lantana FL; Fr. Thomas, with Charlie Peace, initiated the chapter at Grace & S. Peter's in Baltimore MD in the early 1980s. Fr. Kennedy and Mr. Peace have already been honored as OL. Also, Fr. Thomas, a Society supporter, has hosted several Annual Masses at his parish and will be preaching at the 2015 Annual Mass. Mr. Appleby and his wife now live in Georgia, from whence they continue their S.K.C.M. membership.
- **Suzanne G. Bowles, Ph.D.,** Assoc. Professor of History at William Paterson University, Wayne NJ. Dr. Bowles has been writing for the *SKCM News* for about 15 years, sharing with us a total of a dozen superb (academic quality) book reviews and scholarly contributions.

- **The Rt. Rev'd James Winchester Montgomery, D.D., Ben.** The retired Episcopal Bishop of Chicago and sometime Vice-President of the House of Bishops, Bp. Montgomery has been very helpful to the Society over the years, preaching at the 1995 Annual Mass and presiding at several others, most recently at S. Paul's DC in 2011. He is also a Society Benefactor.
- **The Rev'd Canon W. Gordon Reid.** Rector of S. Clement's in Philadelphia PA, Canon Reid has been of much ongoing help to the Society. He hosted the 2007 Annual Mass and preached at the 2010 Annual Mass. His parish will be hosting the 2017 Annual Mass.

Also, The Rev'd Robert Thomas Nichol has been recognized as 'American Region Co-founder'. Records show that he did as much or more than Fr. van Allen (Founder) in the first years, partly because he was located in New York City, where the celebrations tended to occur. Fr. van Allen was in Trumansburg (near Ithaca) or Elmira during those years before he moved to Boston in 1902. Fr. Nichol was Canadian; he was licensed in the Diocese of New York but remained in the Anglican Church of Canada. Thus, recognizing Fr. Nichol in this manner personalizes the fact that the American Region is both U.S. and Canadian in its origins as well as in its current membership.

News of Members

S.K.C.M. member **The Rt. Rev'd Robert Todd Giffin** was Consecrated a Bishop in the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church on 6 October 2012 in the Anglican Church of S. Andrew the Evangelist, Merrillville IN. The Principal Consecrator was The Most Rev'd Walter Howard Grundorf, D.D., Presiding Bishop of the Anglican Province of America and Bishop Ordinary of the Diocese of the Eastern United States, APA, assisted by The Rt. Rev'd Larry Lee Shaver, Bishop Ordinary of the Diocese of Mid-America, APA, The Rt. Rev'd Brian Richmond Marsh, President of the House of Bishops of the Anglican Church in America and Bishop Ordinary of the Diocese of the Northeast, ACA, and The Rt. Rev'd Chandler Holder Jones, SSC, Bishop Suffragan of the Diocese of the Eastern United States, ACA, and member of the S.K.C.M. Bishop Giffin received his undergraduate degree from Butler Univ. (Indianapolis IN, 1994) and the M.Div. (Nashotah House, 2002). He serves as the Chaplain of the Evansville State Hospital (Evansville IN) and as Vicar of All SS Anglican Church (Newburgh IN). In addition to his membership in the Society, Bishop Giffin presently serves as the Deputy Chaplain General of the General Society of Colonial Wars, and is a member of the Stewart Society (Edinburgh, Scotland), Society of the Cincinnati, The S. Nicholas Society of the City of New York, S. Andrew's Society of the State of New York, and a Member (MStJ) of The Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of S. John of Jerusalem. He is married to the former Norma Jean Bustamante of San Antonio TX; they have three children, Catherine Elizabeth, Maria Christina, and William Royall Giffin. Bishop Giffin will serve as the Bishop Suffragan of the Diocese of Mid-America, APA. He is 42 years of age.

We are delighted to recognize and heartily to congratulate our life member and 2013 Select Preacher, **The Rev'd John D. Alexander, SSC, OL**, rector of S. Stephen's Church, Providence RI, on his election as **American Region Superior of the Society of Mary**, in

succession to Society member **The Rev'd Dr. Richard Cornish Martin, SSC, OL**, who has served with distinction since the late 1970s.

The Society of Mary was formed in 1931 by the union of its parent societies, the Confraternity of Our Lady (founded in 1880) and the League of Our Lady (founded in 1902). It has members all over the world and is not confined to Anglicans alone. In 1962 a group of American priests, knowing of two Wards functioning in the Episcopal Church and affiliated with the parent body, received permission from the General Council in England to set up a regional organization in the United States.

And starting with the next (December, 2013) edition, we will welcome **Benjamin Guyer** as the new Editor of the *SKCM News (SN)*. Board of Trustees member **Richard J. Mammana, Jr., OL** will work with him as Associate Editor. Many of us will recognize Ben for his various literary publications in our subject matter, including the following examples:

“What are Devotional Societies for? King Charles the Martyr and the Philosophy of History” by Benjamin Guyer, SN 6-11 pp 44-6.

“Restoring the Restoration” by Benjamin Guyer, commentary by Charles J. Bartlett, SN 6-11 pp. 50-52 [TLC Vol. 241 No. 2 pp. 6-8 (11 July 2010)].

Benjamin Guyer and the Anglican Counter-Reformation by Charles J. Bartlett, SN 6-10 pp. 39-40 [TLC Vol. 240 No. 5 pp. 8-10 (31 Jan 2010)].

New Life Members & New Members FY 2013

(1 Oct. 2012 – 31 March 2013)

New Life Members

James W. Dodge
Thatcher Gearhart

The Rev'd Douglas E. Hungerford
The Rev'd Victor Hunter

New Members

Robert E. Armidon, Jr.
Sean P. Brennan
Charles A. Coloumbe
Dale E. Elliott
Bruce A. Evans
Alexander Furbush
Dean Hantzopoulos

Timothy Lauby
The Rev'd Christopher LePage
Charles V. O'Boyle, Jr.
The Rev'd Thomas Rightmyer
Robert Schriek, Jr.
Stephen L. White

Reinstated Member

H. William Beare, Jr.

Roster of Life Members

The Rev'd John D. Alexander, SSC, OL
Howard Bradley Bevard
Professor Thomas E. Bird, Ph.D., Ben.
Will Sears Bricker II
James W. Dodge
Professor Charles R. Forker
Thatcher Gearhart
The Rev'd Douglas E. Hungerford

The Rev'd Victor Edward Hunter
The Rev'd Dr. F. Washington Jarvis III, OL
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Charles Owen Johnson, Esq.
Sherwood O. Jones
The Rev'd Dr. Joseph W. Lund, Ben.
The Rev'd Peter S. Miller, TSSF
Anthony H. Oberdorfer

Phoebe Pettingell
Colonel Robert W. Scott
Professor James Robinson Tinsley
James Noël Ward, Ben.

Donald R. Wertz
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Roster of Honorary Members

The Rev'd Robert J. Gearhart
The Rev'd Kent L. Haley, Ben.

The Rt. Rev'd Seraphim Joseph Sigrist
The Rev'd Canon Barry E.B. Swain, SSC, OL

Jesu, Mercy!

REQVIESCANT IN PACE

Mary, Pray!

Notices of Death

Charles Barenthaler, Benefactor, Obit. 14 Dec. 2012, *Aet.* XX

Howard S. Greene, Sr., Obit. 20 Sept. 2012, *Aet.* 78

The Rev'd Ralph T. Walker, SSC, D.D., OL, Obit. 19 Nov. 2012, *Aet.* 68

Obituaries

Charles Barenthaler, Benefactor, died on 14 December 2012. Mr. Barenthaler was a generous supporter of the Society, which he had joined in 1978. His obsequies occurred at S. Mary's Episcopal Church, Arlington VA, with interment at Arlington National Cemetery.

The Rt. Rev'd James Pollard Clark[®] died on 15 December 2011 after a long illness. He was born in Sheffield AL; after taking his degree from the University of the South, Sewanee TN, where he later served on the faculty; he attended graduate school at Yale and the Univ. of Michigan. In 1960, he became director of the Redstone Scientific Information Center, Redstone Arsenal, Huntsville AL. He and his wife, Cruse, were founding members of Saint Charles, King and Martyr, Anglican Church in Huntsville and joined the then Diocese of Christ the King. He was ordained deacon (1981) and priest (1982) by The Most Rev'd Robert Sherwood Morse and made rector of S. Charles. As the diocese continued to grow, Fr. Clark was elected and consecrated suffragan bishop (1990) and after formation of the Anglican Province of Christ the King, was elected the first Bishop Ordinary of its Diocese of the Southern States. (See article on S. Charles's Church, Huntsville AL, by The Rev'd Deacon J. David E. Milam, *SKCM News*, June 2010, pp. 32-4 and photos on p. 72 of current edition.)

Bishop Clark, a member of the Society since 1985, is survived by his wife, Mary Cruse Patton Clark, son, James Pollard Clark, Jr., two grandchildren, and his brother, Douglass King Clark. His daughter, Irene Nolen Clark, preceded him in death. His funeral mass was conducted on 17 Dec. at S. Charles by his successor, The Rt. Rev'd William Wiygul. Abp. Morse called Bishop Clark "a true hero of the church for his steadfastness in the face of many of the challenges encountered in the early days of the Province." The Most Rev'd James E. Provence wrote that he is "reminded of the 'great cloud of witnesses' from the Epistle to the Hebrews. . . . I am grateful to Bishop Clark for the example he set."

Howard S. Greene, Sr., of Bridgeport CT died on 20 September 2012. He was born in White Plains NY and a veteran of the Korean conflict, U. S. Navy, having served on the USS *Isherwood*. He worked as an insurance investigator for Aetna Insurance Co. and William Mulvey Assoc. He was a member of the VFW and the Sons of the American Revolution. He is survived by his wife of 54 years, Olive Schindler Greene, three children, eight grandchildren, and one great-grandson. His funeral mass was celebrated at the Cathedral Church of the Resurrection (ACC), Ansonia CT, where he had been an active member. Mr. Greene had enrolled in the Society in January, 1996.

The Rev'd Ralph Thomas Walker, SSC, D.D., OL[®], died, after a long illness, at his home near Denver CO on 19 November 2012. A native of Denver, he graduated from Colorado State College (now U of N CO) in 1966 and received the M.Div. from Nashotah House (1969) and the D.D. (1992). Father Walker was ordained deacon on 24 June and priest on 26 Dec. 1969. He attended the College of Preachers (1974) and S. George's College, Jerusalem (2001). He served as curate of S. Stephen Protomartyr, Aurora CO, and rector of S. Andrew, La Junta CO, before becoming rector of S. Michael and All Angels, Denver, in 1975. He joined the Society in 1973 and was a conspicuous supporter of the Cause of the Martyr King and an inaugural member of the Order of Laud. Although our Annual Masses are most often on the Eastern seaboard, Father Walker appeared almost every year in support of the Society he loved and of whose Patron he was a pious client. Father Walker was the Select Preacher at the 2001 Annual Mass at S. John the Evangelist, Newport RI.

Father Walker served as a Trustee (from 1976) and Secretary of the Board (from 1984) of Nashotah House, as Warden and a member of the Council of The Guild of All Souls, and as Master of the Province of the Americas, *Societas Sanctae Crucis*. He was also a member of SoM, CBS, and CCU. At Nashotah's commencement each year Fr. Walker memorably declaimed the honorary degree citations with aplomb; his Board minutes were masterpieces of composition and concision.

In the Diocese of Colorado, Fr. Walker served on Executive Council, the Dept. of Youth Council, the Standing Committee, the Commission on Ministry, and as Deputy to General Convention. Fr. Walker was active in the community, including Jaycees and Rotary, taught religious classes at high school and college levels, and led summer youth camps for 25 years. He is survived by his wife of 43 years, Claudia Sue Walker, daughter Mary Loisseau, son Stephen Walker, and five grandchildren.

After Reception of the Body and Vigil for the Departed at 6.30 p.m. on Monday evening (The Rev'd Warren Shoberg, SSC, currently serving S. Michael and All Angels, presiding), a solemn pontifical mass of requiem was celebrated by The Rt. Rev'd Robert O'Neill, Bp. of Colorado at 10 a.m. on Tuesday 27 Nov. at S. Michael and All Angels, Denver, and concelebrated by The Rev'd Michael J. Godderz, SSC, and The Rev'd James Johnson, SSC; The Rev'd Warren Shoberg, SSC, was deacon of the mass. The Requiem was very well attended; chairs set in the aisles were filled. Bp. O'Neill spoke of Fr. Walker's remarkable ministry, saying that he never lost sight of the vision of the Faith that permeated his life. Burial was at Olinger Crown Hill Cemetery, Wheat Ridge, at 3 p.m. —MAW & MJG+

Patrons of the *Devotional Manual* 2nd Edition

As supplies of the 1st Edition run low, the Board will approve publication of a 2nd Edition of the *Devotional Manual*. It will contain an updated 'Necrological Calendar' and expanded Notes on the 'Kalendar of Anniversaries' and other details; these are already in preparation. During the interim, holders of the current edition will be receiving a complimentary update of the Necrology. Each member should have and use the *Manual* in conjunction with his or her daily devotions, according to the 'Rule' suggested therein.

Order one for \$7.50 (\$6+\$1.50 P&H) from the Treasurer (address shown at the end of this issue).

The Treasurer is receiving contributions toward the 2nd Edition, Patron @ \$100;
those received to date are listed below, with thanks:

The Rev'd Dr. F. Washington Jarvis, OL

Devotional, Caroline, and Monarchist Societies of Interest

*S.K.C.M. Member

p.a. = *per annum* (annual)

USD = U.S. Dollars

The Royal Martyr Church Union £15 p.a.
E. David Roberts, Esq., Sec. & Treas.
7, Nunnery Stables
St Albans, Herts, AL1 2AS U.K.
www.scotland.anglican.org

The Royal Stuart Society £22 p.a., £250 life
Thomas Fitzpatrick, Esq., Principal Secretary
Southwell House, Egmore Road
Walsingham, Norfolk NR22 6BT U.K.
www.royalstuartsociety.com

The Monarchist League £20 or \$40 p.a.
P. O. Box 5307 (checks in USD are accepted)
Bishop's Stortford, Herts. CM23 3DZ U.K.
www.monarchyinternational.com

The Guild of All Souls \$5 p.a., \$20 life
The Rev'd Canon Barry E. B. Swain*, SSC, OL,
Superior General
Write to: The Rev'd John A. Lancaster*, SSC
P. O. Box 721172
Berkley MI 48072 U.S.A.
www.guildofallsouls.net

The Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament \$5 p.a.
The Very Rev'd Dr. William Willoughby III*,
Secretary General \$100 life
Saint Paul's Church, 224 East 34th St.
Savannah GA 31401-8104 U.S.A.
www.sandiego.edu/~bader/CBS/

The Society of Mary \$10 p.a., \$250 life
The Rev'd John D. Alexander*, SSC, OL,
American Region Superior
Write to: Mrs. Lynne Walker
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Errata and Addenda

SKCM News, Dec. 2012

p. 2, caption. Dr. van Allen died of a stroke at Schwabinger Hospital, Munich, on 23 Aug. 1931, as reported in *The New York Times* on 24 Aug.

p. 10, ¶5. In the final parenthetical statement "1650" is wrong, not by a year, but by a day: it should read "at Scone on **1 January 1651.**"

¶6, line 3. "as a youth" should read "**at his baptism**". Henry Benedict was baptized by Pope Benedict XIII and created Duke of York by his father on the day of his birth at the Palazzo Muti, Rome, 6 March 1725.

p. 15, the 'Roster of Life Members' was missing several names; a complete list appears above.

p. 35. The legend to the 1769 woodcut, 'An Attempt to Land a Bishop', was omitted; its text, "No Lords Spiritual or Temporal in New England", the colonists' cry, was indistinct, as were

the other texts, "Liberty is Freedom of Conscience", "Locke", and (sarcastically of the dreaded bishop about to disembark) "Lord, now lettest thou thy Servant depart in Peace". This was not long before Connecticut priest Samuel Seabury's 1784 consecration by Nonjurors in Aberdeen as the first bishop for the U.S.A. Most English bishops felt prohibited by conscience to consecrate an American who could not swear allegiance to the king, but the Nonjurors had no such reservations since for other reasons they would not swear allegiance to their present king.

p. 47, first full ¶, *re* Shrines of the Sacred Heart, we quote from the superb *Guide to the Church of Saint Mary the Virgin, New York City* (1995): "The striking statue is by Lee Lawrie, and the rather stark style was the source of some controversy at the time. Indeed the statue was

two years—1926 to 1928—in the making, including several changes to the head, in Lawrie's attempt to satisfy the donors [the Misses Arnold]. Its construction of an assemblage of variegated marbles and stone (with just the merest traces of color on the robe) recalls antique prototypes, although the style is distinctly *moderne*. Our Lord is shown holding a Host in his left hand. On the four fastenings of his robe are symbols of the evangelists. Lawrie's depiction is far removed from the idealized, and equally 'unrealistic' images usually seen in churches today. From a distance of seventy years, we can more easily admire his daring.

"Born in Rixford, Germany, Lee Oskar Lawrie (1877-1963) was another 'discovery' of Ralph Adams Cram. . . . Lawrie is perhaps best known for his many vivid sculptural contributions to New York's Rockefeller Center, especially the 1937 figure of Atlas opposite the main door of St. Patrick's Roman Catholic cathedral (this statue was also controversial—its location and pagan nudity offended Cardinal Hayes, who, unlike the Misses Arnold, was powerless)."

p. 53, comments and review of *American Emperor*, book on Aaron Burr. David O. Stewart's *American Emperor* has received generally good reviews, but our reviewer, Dr. Suzanne Bowles, who has published extensively on Aaron Burr, takes a dissenting view. She finds that the author makes no attempt to be objective and is highly selective in his use of documentary evidence. Her full review appears on Amazon.com.

pp. 54-55. The short story, 'The Uncommon Prayer Book', contains a peculiar error, stating that 25 April was Cromwell's date of death. It was in fact 8 September.

SKCM News, June 2012

Front cover. The 1891 roundel of King Charles was originally in Kempe's house, Old Place, Lindfield, Sussex. It is now in Wightwick Manor, Wolverhampton, Staffordshire, a National Trust

property. We thank Philip N. H. Collins, Hon. Secretary, Kempe Society for this information.

p. 46, top. The bibliographic citation for Guy's *Queen of Scots* contained an error; the correct ISBN-131 is **978-0-618-25411-8**.

¶3, sentence 3, after ". . . Mary;" should read: "her **father James V** and Henry Stuart's **mother Margaret Douglas** were **half-brother and half-sister**."

SKCM News, Dec. 2011

pp. 56-8, item on head of Henri IV. Two of the most beautiful landmarks in Paris were completed or started during his reign: the Pont Neuf and the Place des Vosges. The research confirming the head's identity was led by pathologist Philippe Charlier.

SKCM News, June 2011

p. 39 ¶1, p. 41 last ¶ & elsewhere. In Dr. Haverland's article on Prime Resistance, the titles of Hammond's Tracts should have been set off into quotation marks.

SKCM News, June 2009

p. 6 ¶1, last line – "Danube" should read "Elbe."

On a Quiet Conscience

by King Charles I

(thought to have been written in 1648 during his confinement in Carisbrooke Castle, Isle of Wight)

CLOSE thine eyes and sleep secure;
Thy soul is safe, thy body sure;
He that guards thee, He that keeps,
Never slumbers, never sleeps.
A quiet conscience in the breast
Has only peace, has only rest.
The music and the mirth of things
Are out of time, unless she sings.
Then close thine eyes in peace and sleep secure.
No sleep so sweet as thine, no rest so sure.

[Notes on this poem are from the 2010 research of then Society member Mrs. Nancy Ehlke of Virginia.]

Published in the 'Poetical Calendar', Vol. viii (1763), with attribution to King Charles I; being reprinted from a thin 8^{vo}, published by Nahum Tate, called '*Miscellanea Sacra*, or Poems on Divine and Moral Subjects'.

The lyrics by King Charles have entered the Lieder/chansons/art-song repertoire, *e.g.*, a 1947 setting by Paul Frederic Bowles (1910-1999).

Cf. The King's Lyrics: Lyrical Poems of the Reigns of King James I and King Charles I together with the Ballad of Agincourt written by Michael Drayton, selected and arranged by FitzRoy Carrington (Boston: D. B. Updike's, 1899); Woty's 'Poetical Calendar', Vol. iii; and G. Chalmers, *Poetic remains of some of the Scottish Kings* (1824)

Also thought to have been written by King Charles while he was confined on the Isle of Wight is the poem, *Majesty in Misery, or An imploration to the King of kings*, which has several times previously been published in *SKCM News*.

From Dunfermline to Saint George's Chapel: A Spiritual Pilgrimage

by Eileen O'Leary

In my youth I had the opportunity to visit several historic places associated with the life of King Charles I. For me, these are not merely tourist attractions, but hallowed sites where Charles lived and died.

Dunfermline, Abbey and Palace, is rich in Scottish history. As I gazed at the ruins of the palace, I tried to imagine Charles as a child, taking uncertain steps on rickety damaged legs,

through well furnished rooms. Who could have imagined this frail child would one day be King? [Pictured below are the ruins of Dunfermline Palace. —Ed.]

Windsor Castle is like a beautiful pearl, its layers formed by centuries of royal occupation. It is here that one can gaze upon that most iconic of artworks, the triple portrait of Charles I by van Dyck. If a painting could capture the subject's soul, surely this one does.

The beauty of Windsor Castle is in stark contrast to another place visited on my journey, Carisbrooke Castle. What combination of boredom and anxiety must have been suffered by the royal prisoners of this place? For not only was Charles confined here, but also two of his children: Henry, who survived his imprisonment, and Elizabeth, who sadly perished here. Saint Thomas Church, in the nearby town of Newport, contains the beautiful sculpture of Elizabeth commissioned by Queen Victoria in remembrance of this tragic young princess.



I feared a visit to the Banqueting House would be quite traumatic, but upon entering it, I was filled with the most wonderful sense of peace. I took great comfort from this, as otherwise I would have found it quite unbearable to spend any amount of time there. The

ceiling paintings by Rubens are magnificent to see.

My journey ended with a visit to Saint George's Chapel. How very blessed I felt to be able to pray for our Royal Martyr over the modest marker of his burial site.

I will be forever thankful that I was able to go on this journey, and wish that all the members of S.K.C.M. could do so too.

[EILEEN O'LEARY of Minneapolis MN has been a member of the Society since 1980, when she was a college student. She was active in the Minneapolis-St. Paul Chapter, then led by Chapter Secretary John Hallberg Jones.]

Ceremonial and the Caroline Church

by Jordan Lavender

INTRODUCTION TO LAUDIANISM

"Laudianism", perhaps a misnomer over-crediting the role of William Laud in this post-Reformation expression of Anglicanism, is a religious movement of particular interest to Anglicans of all stripes and colors. There is no one answer as to what Laudianism was, though, for it is a far more historically complex movement than it is sometimes portrayed.

Modern historical scholarship tries to analyze the goals of the movement, its motivation for such goals, who was the primary architect of the movement, and how the various players interacted with each other to bring about the results we now know to have occurred.

John M. Adrian characterizes Laudianism as a push for uniformity to the rubrics and canons of the Church of England from Charles and Laud, as opposed to the laxity practiced by Elizabeth and James. Such actions ultimately “disturbed the peace” and eventually led to the Civil War. Adrian speaks of the increasing diversity of the Jacobean church, encouraged by the laxity of the reigning monarch and preceding one. James’s concern was with driving out radical Puritanism and recusants, or “church papists”; beyond an acknowledgment of the Prayer Book, he did little to enforce doctrinal or ceremonial uniformity. The laxity in discipline was encouraged by the style of bishops appointed during Elizabeth’s reign who preferred a style of episcopacy “which overlooked divisive issues of nonconformity in favour of the common endeavour of bishop and puritan to spread the gospel and resist Roman Catholicism” (Adrian, p. 28). The bishops wished to pursue a general Protestant unity with an evangelical concern to spread the Gospel. They were not concerned with strictly enforcing the use of the Prayer Book or canons on conformist ministers. In fact, Adrian claims that the only thing which held the Jacobean church together and, in fact, its “genius” was this laxity in uniformity. The real enemy of James’s church was the radical Puritan and the recusant. Moderate Puritanism flourished during his reign because the necessity of wearing a surplice or using the ritual of the Prayer Book was not forced on the church. Adrian quotes Peter White who believes that, “the Jacobean church . . . was more of a broad spectrum of beliefs [rather] than a pair of polarized camps” (p. 30). Of course, this would all change with the ascendancy of Charles I to the throne of England.

When Charles assumed the throne, it appears that he did not adopt the religious policy of previous English monarchs. He shared a vision with a host of divines now called collectively “the Caroline Divines” who held to a system of thought (now) known as “Laudianism”, which Peter Lake defines as “a coherent, distinctive and polemically aggressive vision of the Church, the divine presence in the world and the appropriate ritual response to that presence” (p. 30). As mentioned earlier, there is much debate in scholarly circles over whether this system should be called “Laudianism” and to what extent Charles was an active participant in the program. It seems that the Laudians began to view the Jacobean church and its tolerance as a bad thing and turned to the official canons and Prayer Book of the Church for guidance. They began to require strict conformity to these rules and regulations.

The top-level clergy of Charles I all viewed the laxity of the Jacobean church with some suspicion and “tended to view Jacobean ‘unity’ as illusory. . . . [F]or them, flexibility and accommodation really only masked disorder and division; this they sought to rectify with a programme of order, obedience, and uniformity” (p. 30). Adrian suggests that this push towards uniformity actually stemmed from a desire for greater inclusivity in the English Church on the part of the Laudians and their ‘Arminian’ convictions, a term used for the

system of thought opposed to the individualism of English Calvinism. In their attempt to construct a more communal and objective salvation, the Laudians emphasized the worship of the Church and the divinely-instituted sacraments as the means of grace. This emphasis on the ritual of the Church necessitated a greater enforcement of the standards of the Church. I would also contrast the style of episcopacy that Laud and other supporters envisioned. Instead of being “gospel partners” with nonconformists, Laudian bishops thought of themselves as apostolic pastors, an image which would dominate later High Church theology, especially in America.

The Laudians sought to implement their program through the cathedrals. The Laudian program was fully implemented in cathedrals and the cathedrals, in turn, were to be exemplars for the rest of the parishes in the Church of England. It is important to realize that the Laudians desired for their program to be implemented by the local parishes. In addition to the cathedrals, the King’s chapel was viewed as the best example of what an English parish should look like, “The king’s chapel . . . or the king’s practice in his chapel . . . is the best interpreter [of the] rubrics, laws and canons of the Church” (Peter Heylyn, quoted in Adrian, p. 32).

In addition to their ceremonial concerns, the Laudians also sought to enforce official church doctrine. In the Royal Instructions of 1629, Charles sought to restrict “lectures, tightening ordination procedures, and increasing the presence of the liturgy—particularly the practice of catechizing” (p. 33). In essence, Charles was attempting to control the Puritans at the pulpit and emphasize the standard liturgy over the subjective pulpit.

And finally, to introduce briefly some of the objectives of the Laudian program, which all were intended to bring more continuity between the English Church and the early Church: They were all external, and usually ceremonial, concerns, largely stemming from the disregard for the canons of 1604. Things such as the wearing of authorized vestments (surplice, tippet, and cope) for divine service, the kneeling to receive Communion, the sign of the Cross at baptism, the wedding ring, the placing of the Table at the East end of the chancel with rails about it, bowing at the name of Jesus, and facing the East for prayers, were all visible manifestations of the Laudian concern for a more objective spirituality, rooted in the liturgy of the Church and the sacraments as divinely-constituted means of grace.

SPECIFIC PERSONS AND PLACES

BISHOP ANDREWES AND HIS CHAPEL

Lancelot Andrewes is known as somewhat of a “traditionalist” among the Caroline Divines both in theology and liturgy. Kenneth Stevenson reflects on a particular Easter service in 1617, describing the choral tradition in place at Durham and the vesture of the choristers and clergymen in cope and surplice. Stevenson suggests that, perhaps, the ceremonial complexity which Andrewes encouraged at his chapel stemmed from his differing Eucharistic theology from the Calvinistic consensus in the Church of England at that time. Stevenson quotes Brian Gerrish and his terminology of Reformation Eucharistic

theology. Gerrish coins the term “symbolic instrumentalism” for Calvin’s thought, which he then contrasts with the “symbolic memorialism” of Zwingli and the “symbolic parallelism” of Bullinger, all of which differ from Lancelot Andrewes’s theology. Stevenson then quotes Jeffrey Steel who describes Andrewes’s theology as “effectual instrumentalism” (p. 229).

“When he [Andrewes] speaks of signs that ‘show and work both’, and, furthermore, are ‘a seal or pledge, to us, of our own, that what we see in him this day shall be accomplished in our own selves at his good time’ we have evidence of a sacramental theology that is keenly aware of the pitfalls of all that the Reformation found unacceptable in late mediaeval theology and piety; that looks to sacraments in what they do in the faithful believer, as well as what they are in themselves; but still holds on to an understanding that is strong without being impersonal, and humanward without becoming entirely subjective” (p. 229).

It seems likely that Andrewes’s theology of the Lord’s Supper would lead to a “higher” ceremonial in the time of Divine Service.

The furnishings of Andrewes’s private chapel are somewhat famous in Anglican history as being a bit more ‘high’ than most of the other Church of England parishes at the time. It is notable that Andrewes’s *private* chapel, not a parish church, was the place with these ceremonial accretions. However, the interior of Andrewes’s chapel must have been a sight to see.

“The focal point was the altar, raised on a foot-board and adorned with its lavish frontal against the eastern wall where it had been in the ancient and medieval churches. It was railed off from the rest of the chancel to denote it was *sanctum Sanctorum*”. (Dorman, p. 2)

Obviously, the placement of the table or altar against the East end of the chancel was in accordance with Elizabethan and later standards for the Church of England. However, Andrewes had taken it a step further by elevating the altar above the nave on a platform to emphasize the holiness and presence of God at that place. The altar itself was also adorned with

“two candlesticks with tapers, basin for the oblation, and a cushion of violet and crimson, damask which matched the altar frontal, for the service book”; in addition, “when the Eucharist was celebrated a chalice, paten, and tricanale for mixing the wine with the water were also placed upon it, whilst on the credence table were the ‘silver and gilt canister for the wafers like a wicker-basket and lined with cambric laced,’ a small barrel for the communion wine, ‘a basin and ewer’ and towel for the ablutions”. (p. 2)

This description shows several things about Andrewes’s ceremonial. First, he continued in the tradition of having candlesticks upon the altar with tapers, which had been abandoned by much of the Church at that time. Andrewes was intent on using wafers and mixing water with the wine in the Eucharist, in continuation with the pre-Reformation traditions. More notable was that Andrewes kept another small table where was placed, “a ‘navicula’ (*i.e.*, boat shaped vessel) from ‘which frankincense is poured’ into a ‘triquestral censer’ for censuring at the appropriate places in the Liturgy.” The use of incense by the Caroline Divines and other pre-Tractarian High Churchmen has been of some particular interest to me,

although I cannot find any description as to how it was used, but it is evident that it was used. The evidence seems to indicate that incense was used as a fragrance more than in the action of censuring things in the Liturgy but perhaps Andrewes is an exception to that general rule. "The censer hung in the chancel behind the lectern during the services to symbolize the offering of worship to God," probably reminiscing the imagery in *Revelation* viii: 4, "And the smoke of the incense, which came with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God out of the angel's hand". In addition, there was, "a hanging depicting the story of Abraham and Melchizedek," emphasizing Andrewes's belief in the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist.

Not only was the altar itself adorned but also the ornaments on it were adorned beyond the standards of the time. The paten and chalice, which departed from the Reformation use of a communion cup, had engraved images on them. They had an image of the Good Shepherd on the chalice and the Star of Bethlehem on the paten. These images were apparently very popular in the early Church. According to Andrewes, "In the old Ritual of the Church, the wise man's star was engraved on the cover of the canister, wherein was the Sacrament of his body to show that now the star leads us thither, to his body there". (p. 3)

Beyond the adornment of the ornaments of the church and the vessels for the Lord's Supper, Andrewes also adorned the Liturgy by "amplifying" it and making it conform more with the Liturgy of the 1549 Prayer Book and the medieval ritual. Andrewes used the lack of rubrics in the 1559 Prayer Book to elaborate the ceremonial to reflect a pre-Reformation celebration of the Liturgy. Dorman offers several examples where Andrewes differed from the standard Liturgy, notably in the offertory. "The bishop or celebrant ascended the altar steps with treble adoration and knelt at the altar. Meanwhile the priest took the basin from the back of the altar and placed it at the front". It is important to note that the treble adoration was employed by the Caroline Divines in the Liturgy, which is an example of a civil custom being used in a religious sense, for the treble adoration was used towards the monarch.

"Next he brought the canister and wine-barrel to the bishop who offered them on behalf of the congregation and placed them on the altar. The bishop then put his own alms in the basin, after which he went to the entrance to the chancel to read the offertory sentences, which were of Andrewes' devising" (p. 3).

Andrewes separated the preparation of the elements from the reception of the people's gifts. The elements were prepared immediately before the consecration, an intentional departure from the standard Liturgy. Andrewes used wafers and wine mixed with water, as per ancient custom. Andrewes incorporated the lavabo in his celebration of the Liturgy, which was not included in the Prayer Book.

"The priest after adoration pours water upon the napkin and cleanses his hands', saying as he does the traditional words from psalm twenty-six, verse six, '*Lavabo in innocentia manus, meas, et sic introibo ad altare Dei, ut annunciem vocem.*'" (p. 4).

It is unclear whether Andrewes recited the portion of Psalm xli in Latin or English.

During the prayer of consecration, Andrewes restored the manual acts as they had been in 1549 (recalling that the 1552-1604 Prayer Books did not have the manual acts but they were restored in 1662), but he did not elevate the elements at the Canon. He also preferred the order of 1549 editing the ritual of the Prayer Book by inserting the prayer of oblation in the prayer of consecration. (Dorman, p. 8)

ANDREWES'S CUSTOMARY

Dorman gives an excellent summary of how the liturgy was celebrated in Andrewes's chapel, giving a step by step description of the actions of the ministers at the Liturgy. I will give a summary here.

The Liturgy begins with an introit (presumably the provisions of the 1549 Book but this is not specifically stated); the ministers enter and make a treble adoration towards the altar. The celebrant, epistler, and gospeller, assumed their position at the altar, and if there were only two ministers officiating, they were to stand at the North and South ends of the altar, "as it were 'the two Cherubims at the mercy-seat'" (pp. 4-5). The celebrant sings the collect at his place at the altar and then "descends to the door of the septum" (p. 5), presumably the rood screen. He bows towards the altar and leads the Decalogue. He then returns to the altar and "kneels to say 'the collect of the day.'" The epistler and gospeller bow to the altar respectively before reading their part of the service. The Creed and Sermon followed as they were prescribed in the Prayer Book, although Andrewes included a Gradual in his service.

After the offertory, the prayer for the Church followed, which was led by the deacon, according to ancient customs. Andrewes preferred the second Exhortation since it encouraged private confessions of sins. When the general confession was to be said, the deacon or a priest would "descend to the door, and kneeling, said the confession, the people repeating after him". (p. 6)

The Sursum corda was sung, as were all other parts of the service which traditionally were sung. As I mentioned earlier, Andrewes differed from the standard Liturgy significantly in this part of the service. In addition to altering the order of the prayer of oblation, Andrewes rearranged the entire prayer of consecration as follows: the Sanctus, the prayer of consecration, the prayer of oblation, the Lord's Prayer, the Prayer of Humble Access, and finally, the Agnus Dei.

The rest of the service followed the standard Liturgy with the Thanksgiving prayer, Gloria, and Blessing in their usual places. It is interesting that Andrewes preferred and defended the post-communion position of the Gloria instead of its ancient place at the beginning of the liturgy. The only other instance in which Andrewes preferred the Reformation standards was in the preference of the cope over the chasuble.

JOHN COSIN AND DURHAM CATHEDRAL

Looking at individual persons during the period, we can get a clear picture of the ceremonial practices associated with the Laudian program. Dr. Cosin stands as one of the key players in the Laudian reforms, due to his personal connection with Laud and support

of the program by implementing the ceremonial associated with it at Durham Cathedral. As in other articles in this series, we can gather a lot of information about what was going on based on Puritan accounts of things they found troubling in the Laudian church. Perhaps a bit of caution should be exercised when trusting the Puritans' accounts, especially in regards to their accuracy. One, the Puritans were not acquainted with the ritual actions promoted by the Laudians and could have misinterpreted them. Likewise, they are completely biased and could have used their accounts to exaggerate the actual practices of the Laudians.

The ritual at Durham Cathedral is probably one of the best representations of the full Laudian ceremonial program in force that we have on record. Consequently, the features typically associated with Laudianism are clearly visible in the ceremonial at Durham Cathedral, especially under Dr. Cosin (practices which survived until the end of the XVIII Century—See "Eighteenth Century Ceremonial"). As in other treatments of ceremonial so far, we can see that objections to ceremonial stem from several origin points: the ornaments of the church; the ornaments of the minister; and the actions of the minister. The Puritans disliked the Established Church's position on ornaments in general, being opposed to the retention of chancels, naves, rood screens, etc. in addition to surplices and copes. In particular, they disliked the ceremonial being promoted by Laud which was not obligatory on English clergy by canon law.

Regarding the ornaments of the church, Cosin seems to have followed the canons of 1604 in keeping the parish church as it had been, to an extent. As the Puritans disliked the official standards, they obviously disliked the Laudians' encouragement and endorsement of those standards. The complaints against Dr. Cosin by Peter Smart are one of the sources that reveal the type of ornaments that Cosin was employing in Durham Cathedral, for example, Smart writes,

"That the said Dean and Prebendaries set up and renewed many gorgeous images and pictures, three whereof were statues of stone; one of which standing in the midst represented the picture of CHRIST, with a gold beard, a blue cap, and sun-rays upon his head". (*Hierurgia Anglicana*, 36)

Obviously the image of Christ was related to idolatry in the mind of the Puritans. Likewise, they were not pleased with the use of candles in Durham Cathedral, both upon the altar and elsewhere in the church (the use of candles on the altar was technically illegal except to provide light), Mr. Smart's complaint continues,

"That the said Dean and Prebendaries did use an excessive number of candles, more upon a Saint's Day than upon the Lord's day; and caused the same candles to be lighted in the said church in a new, strange, and superstitious manner, burning two hundred wax candles in one Candlemas night. . . . The manner of lighting the candles was this: they caused two choristers in their surplices to come from the west end of the quire, with lighted torches in their hands, who, after sundry bowings by the way to and at the altar, did light the candles upon the same with their torches;" (*Hierurgia*, 37).

Although the illegality of Cosin's actions is questionable since the 1604 canons and the Ornaments Rubric require the church to be kept as it had been "in times past", a plea to peace and civility from Elizabeth I. Mr. Smart includes one more complaint against the ornaments of Durham Cathedral; this last one is a case special to the Cathedral. It seems in many places that wafer bread was preferred to common bread but at Durham Cathedral, common bread was used. However, Mr. Smart seems to scruple with the fact that, "a knife to be kept in the vestry for cutting of the sacramental bread, being appropriated only for that use" (*Hierurgia*, 37), which probably "cancelled out" the commonness of the bread by providing a sacred knife for its cutting in the Liturgy. These cases were special in their application to Durham Cathedral, however, the Laudians all encouraged the placing of the holy table at the east end of the chancel, closing it with communion rails, and facing towards it during the prayer of consecration, which all infuriated the Puritans but because these were not unique to Durham, I have left out Mr. Smart's comments on that matter. Dr. Cosin responds to the needs for the chancel to be kept as it was in times past,

"And the chancels shall remain as they have done in times past. That is, distinguished from the body of the church by a frame of open work [rood-screen], and furnished with a row of chairs or stools [stalls] on either side: and if there were formerly any steps up to the place where the altar or Table stood, that they should be suffered to continue so still, and not to be taken down and laid level with the lower ground, as lately they have been by violence and disorder, contrary to law and custom". (*Hierurgia*, p. 67)

The Puritans offer a description of the actions of the liturgy as they occurred in Durham Cathedral.

"And for the order of the Communion, when they come first to the Communion-table, at the entering of the door every one doth make a low congie to the altar, and so takes their place... And then the priest goeth up to the Table, and there he makes a low congie...Taket up the basin, and maketh a low congie. He goeth to all the communicants, the quire excepted, and taketh the offerings in that bason; he goeth up to the table, maketh a congie, and setteth down the bason. Then he goeth to the end of the Table, and beginneth the exhortation, and goeth on until he cometh at Lift up your hearts, that he singeth, and the quire answereth, singing in strange tunes, so far as priest and answer goeth: then for the rest, one of the priests reads some part of it at the end of the Table. And another sitting on his knees at the middle of the table, and after the prefaces, the priest begins Therefore with angels and archangels, until he come to the three Holies, and then the quire singeth until the end of that: so in order he doth administer the Communion". (*Hierurgia*, p. 38)

The description of the Communion Service at Durham obviously reveals the extent of the Laudian scheme as a ceremonially more complex affair than the majority of English parishes at the time. "Congie" in this context means a bow. Therefore, we can determine the times when the bow was used during the service at Durham. According to this account, a bow was made towards the altar at the entrance of the minister to the chancel, as the priest approaches the Table, at the Offertory both before the collection is taken and at the presentation of the basin. From the context, it looks like one priest would stand at the north

end and another kneeling in the midst of the altar, or at the west end, but the account is vague in this regard. The account seems to indicate that the service was chanted and also sung by the choir.

One curiosity which seems to be limited to John Cosin was his blessing of objects associated with the administration of Communion. He seems to have blessed the cushions at the communion rails before divine service. "Dr. Cosin did consecrate the cushions and forms by crossing them, before the people came to the Communion". (*Hierurgia*, p. 37) The 1552 Liturgy had not allowed for the consecration of material objects as it removed the consecration prayer for the baptismal water. The 1662 BCP restored this prayer, likely at the influence of Cosin.

KEY PERSONS MENTIONED

Andrewes, Lancelot (1555-1626). Friend of R. Hooker and G. Herbert and of liberal scholars abroad, *e.g.*, I. Casaubon and H. Grotius. One of the most revered of the English divines, he was responsible for the editing and publication of most of Hooker's works, but during his lifetime was most famous for his preaching, which attracted the attention and esteem of King James I. By Queen Elizabeth I, he had been offered two bishoprics, but declined both because there were 'strings attached': had he accepted, he would have been required to alienate church lands, which he considered to be sacrilege. In 1601 he was made dean of Westminster. He was a leading light of the Hampton Court Conference, convened by King James I in 1604, and was appointed one of the principal translators of the Authorized Version of the Bible, with responsibility for the Pentateuch and the historical books of the OT. In 1605 he was consecrated Bp. of Chichester; in 1609, he was translated to Ely, and in 1619, to Winchester. He was buried in the parish church of S. Saviour & S. Mary Overy, London, now Southwark Cathedral.

Cosin, John (1594-1672). A personal friend of W. Laud and R. Montague. His *Collection of Private Devotions* (1627), published at Charles I's request for the use of Queen Henrietta Maria's English maids of honor, increased Puritan hostility toward him. The Long Parliament deprived him of his benefices because of "Popish innovations" and in 1642 he lost the mastership of Peterhouse. He went to Paris as chaplain to the C of E members of the Queen's household. He was consecrated Bishop of Durham in 1660. His translation of '*Veni Creator*' was incorporated into the Ordinal of 1662; his annotations formed the basis of the entire 1662 BCP.

Montagu(e), Richard (1577-1641). Chaplain to King James I. Consecrated Bp. of Chichester in 1628 and translated to Norwich in 1638. Brought under judicial review and before the House of Commons for his views and writings on many occasions but spared due to the intervention of his friend Abp. Laud and the protection of King Charles I.

SOURCES

Adrian, James M. 'George Herbert, parish "dexterity", and the local modifications of Laudianism.'

Dorman, Mariane. 1999. 'Andrewes and English Catholics' Response to Cranmer's Prayer Books of 1549 and 1552'. Reformation Studies Conference, 1999. Westminster College, Cambridge.

Stevenson, Kenneth. 2006. 'Worship and Theology: Lancelot Andrewes in Durham, Easter 1617'. *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church*. No. 6, pp. 223-34.

[JORDAN LAVENDER, a new member of the Society, is a layman in the Diocese of Albany, blogging at <http://thehackneyhub.blogspot.com/>. He serves on the board of directors of the Secker Society, an

Anglican organization devoted to the promotion of the place of the historical formularies of the Church of England in North America. His interests include classical Anglican theology, liturgy, and ceremonial.]

The Penal Laws

by Patrick Barry

(from *L'Osservatore Romano* [Weekly Edition in English], 30 Nov. 1987, p. 8)

[This subject is one about which Society members should be well-informed, especially as the respective policies and their enforcement varied widely among monarchs, King Charles I having been quite lenient. The article reproduced here is even-handed and historically accurate. (In it, 'Catholic' = RC and 'Protestant' = C of E.)

[The penalties of the Acts of Uniformity of 1549, 1552, and 1559, some of which were capital, were reinforced by statutes of 1581 and 1586-7, and further penalties were added until the XVIII Century. In 1778 RCs were again allowed to purchase and inherit land. In 1791 the Catholic Relief Act abolished the crime of recusancy for not attending C of E services. Many disabilities remained, which were gradually removed during the XIX and XX Centuries, such that "today RCs in England are liable to very few legal restrictions because of their beliefs." (Ref. F. L. Cross & E. A. Livingstone [Eds.], 'Recusancy', *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, London: Oxford University Press [1974]) The English monarch, as head of the C of E and its *Defensor Fidei* (Defender of the Faith; ironically, a title granted to King Henry VIII by Pope Leo X in 1521), may not be RC, married to or marry an RC, nor may those in the line of succession to the throne so be or do. Since 2011, being married to or marrying an RC is no longer prohibited. —Ed.]

UNDERSTANDING THE ERA OF THE EIGHTY-FIVE MARTYRS

Eighty-five martyrs who died for the Catholic faith in England and Wales more than three centuries ago were beatified by His Holiness Pope John Paul II in St. Peter's on Sunday 22 November [1987]. Their names were added to the great roll of honour of the Catholic martyrs of England and Wales: Cardinal John Fisher and Sir Thomas More were canonized in 1935, the forty martyrs canonized in 1970, and one hundred fifty-five blessed martyrs beatified amongst three groups in 1886, 1895, and 1929.

Of these eighty-five martyrs, eighty were Englishmen, born in various parts of the country, and three were from Wales, one from Scotland, and one from Ireland. They were put to death in cities and towns throughout the land between 1584 and 1679, singly or two, three, or four together: twenty in the capital, London; twenty-five in York, the chief city in the north of England; nine at Lancaster, and seven at Durham, also in the north; four in the university city of Oxford, three at Derby in the midlands, three at Gloucester in the southwest, twelve in other towns around England, and two in Wales. They lived and suffered during the period known to English Catholics as "the penal times", when Catholicism was a proscribed religion in England and severe penal laws were in force against its adherents.

PERSECUTION UNDER HENRY VIII (1509-47)

Generally speaking the persecution of Catholics in England and Wales in the XVI and XVII Centuries came in waves, caused by particular incidents or circumstances, with

intervals of comparative respite in between. The first wave was in the time of King Henry VIII, from 1534 onwards, when by act of Parliament the king became “supreme head of the Church in England”, up to the end of the reign in 1547. From these years there are seven canonized and thirty-three blessed martyrs; the best known are SS. John Fisher and Thomas More, mentioned above, both put to death in 1535. None of the present martyrs, however, suffered in this reign.

ELIZABETH I (1558-1603); ANTI-CATHOLIC LAWS

Henry VIII was succeeded by his son Edward VI (1547-53) and during his reign Protestantism became established as the religion of England, but there was no active repression of Catholics. Edward was followed by Mary I (1553-8), daughter of Henry VIII; she was a Catholic and under her Catholicism was restored but only temporarily. Elizabeth I, another daughter of Henry VIII and a Protestant, succeeded Mary in 1558 and Protestantism became the State religion of England once again, now to remain so permanently. By an Act of Parliament of 1559 Elizabeth was made “supreme governor” of the realm “in all spiritual and ecclesiastical things”, in other words, head of the Church as well as of the State. During the early years of her reign no great pressure was put on Catholics to conform to the “Established Church” of the new regime, but the situation changed rapidly from about 1570 onwards, mainly as a result of various events in England.

First there was the Northern Rising of 1569, an unsuccessful rebellion by Catholics in the north of England seeking the restoration of Catholicism and the release of the imprisoned Mary Queen of Scots, the Catholic cousin of Elizabeth and in Catholic eyes the rightful heir to the English throne. Then in 1570 Pope S. Pius V excommunicated Elizabeth and released her hostility towards Catholics. Shortly after, from 1574 onwards, priests from the newly founded seminaries overseas—at Douai and Rome and in Spain—began to arrive in England, and the first Jesuit missionaries came in 1580. The activities of this new generation of priests alarmed the government and the result was that severe laws against Catholics, the “penal laws”, were soon enacted. An Act of Parliament of 1581 made reconciliation to the Catholic Church treason, and another Act in 1585 “against Jesuits and seminary priests”, the most infamous of all these laws, proscribed as treason the very presence of a Catholic priest in England and made it felony for anyone to shelter or assist him. Treason and felony were capital crimes and thus many Catholics were to suffer death under these laws.

Finally, in 1588 there was the Spanish Armada, which carried an army intended for the invasion of England and the overthrow of the Protestant Queen and her regime. The expedition failed, but for English Protestants it was the ultimate proof that the Pope and Spain were in league with English Catholics against them and that the returning priests and those to whom they ministered were the agents of foreign powers organizing a fifth column in their country. The repressive anti-Catholic laws were now enforced rigorously, and thus during the last thirty years or so of the XVI Century English Catholics underwent the longest period of sustained persecution in their history. Of the present eighty-five martyrs, sixty-

eight suffered in these years, between 1584 and 1601, *i.e.* forty-eight priests (including one Dominican and two Jesuits) and twenty laymen, all except two condemned under the new Elizabethan laws.

JAMES I (1603-25) AND THE GUNPOWDER PLOT (1605)

Elizabeth I was succeeded by James VI of Scotland, the son of Mary Queen of Scots, who now became [King] James I of England. Though James was a convinced Protestant, at the beginning of his reign the Catholics had great hopes of toleration, but these soon proved to be illusory. In 1605 came the Gunpowder Plot, a conspiracy by a number of hotheaded Catholics (the best known being Guy Fawkes) to blow up the Houses of Parliament when the King and the members of Parliament were present. The plot was discovered before it could be carried out and the conspirators were subsequently executed, but strong anti-Catholic feeling was aroused and the penal laws were strengthened and again enforced strictly. Nine of the present group of martyrs suffered in this reign, between 1604 and 1618, *i.e.* seven priests and two laymen. All of them were condemned under the act of 1585, merely for being priests or assisting priests.

CHARLES I (1625-49) AND THE ENGLISH CIVIL WAR (1642-9)

Charles I succeeded his father in 1625 and the earlier years of his reign were a time of relative peace for English Catholics. His French Catholic Queen consort had her Catholic chaplains, the chapels of the Catholic ambassadors in London were well attended, religious houses and schools founded on the Continent by English Catholic exiles flourished, and even for a time papal agents resided in London. Meanwhile the penal laws were largely held in abeyance through the King's favour and only two martyrs suffered between 1625 and 1640. Things changed, however, when the Long Parliament, predominantly Puritan, assembled in 1640 and began to challenge the King's authority.

The Puritans were the extreme Protestant party in England, who sought further reform of the English Church in accordance with Calvinist theology, and they were very hostile to Catholics. Persecution now recommenced; two priests were executed in 1641 and several more in the first half of 1642 and, with the outbreak of the Civil War between King and Parliament in August 1642, persecution continued under the Parliament alone after the King had left London: thirteen priests were put to death between August 1642 and August 1646. The Parliamentarians finally had the upper hand, the King was executed in 1649, the monarchy was abolished, and the period known as the Commonwealth followed (1649-60). Of our eighty-five martyrs, six priests (including four Franciscans) suffered during the years of the Civil War, all under the Act of 1585.

CHARLES II (1660-85) AND THE OATES PLOT (1678)

The restoration of the monarchy with Charles II, son of Charles I, in 1660 brought fresh hope to English Catholics. The new king was grateful to the many Catholics who had supported the royal cause in the Civil War and helped him escape to France. Moreover, during his exile on the Continent he had had much contact with English Catholics. In 1662 he married the Catholic Catherine of Braganza, daughter of the King of Portugal, and indeed he eventually became a Catholic himself on his deathbed. He was anxious to make life

easier for Catholics, but the fact was that the royal power had been decisively weakened by the Civil War and the execution of his father, and again and again he had to give way to Parliament, which was largely anti-Catholic.

In the late 1660s Charles's younger brother James, Duke of York and heir presumptive to the throne, became a Catholic and then married the Catholic Mary of Modena in 1673. Protestants now became alarmed at the prospect of a Catholic king in England and consequently they readily accepted the fabricated evidence of Titus Oates in 1678 about a Catholic conspiracy to assassinate Charles, massacre Protestants, and put the Catholic James on the throne. Oates was later convicted of perjury, flogged, and imprisoned, but his allegations were believed at the time and caused widespread panic, and another wave of persecution began. It was in fact short and was the last persecution in England in which Catholics were put to death, but it was very fierce while it lasted. Between 1678 and 1681 one bishop, nineteen priests, one Benedictine brother, and four laymen were executed, some on false charges of involvement in the Oates Plot and others under the Act of 1585. Among the latter were the last two of the eighty-five martyrs, both priests (one of them an Irish Franciscan).

THE LAWS UNDER WHICH THE MARTYRS SUFFERED

Of the present eighty-five martyrs, two (William Carter and George Haydock, London 1584) were condemned on false charges under an ancient treason law of 1352, while the other eighty-three all suffered on charges of treason or felony under the Elizabethan penal laws. These laws had as their object the conformity of all subjects to the Established Church, *i.e.* the Church established by law at the beginning of the Queen's reign. They were directed at "recusants" in general, *i.e.* those who refused (*recusare*) to conform to this Church, and in particular at Catholics as the most numerous and best organized body. Enacted one by one as occasion demanded, they were enforced with varying degrees of strictness according to the temper of the times and the attitudes of the authorities in different parts of the country, and they cost many Catholics their estates, their liberty, and their lives. As seen by Catholics, these laws simply enlarged the concepts of treason and felony to include various actions prescribed or approved by the Catholic faith, *e.g.* the celebration of Mass and the sheltering of priests, but to the Protestant government Catholics appeared to be in league with hostile foreigners, the Pope, and Spain in particular, attempting to overthrow the Protestant State and reestablish a Catholic regime in England. This view was confirmed by the Pope's excommunication of the Queen in 1570 and the coming of the Spanish Armada in 1588 and later by the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 and the fabricated Oates Plot of 1678. The great majority of English Catholics were patriotic and wanted to combine two loyalties, to their monarch and country and to their faith, but in the circumstances of the time it was very difficult and often impossible to do so and a great many suffered cruelly as a result.

The two best known of all the Elizabethan penal laws, under one or other of which almost all the present martyrs suffered, were: (i) "An act to retain the Queen's Majesty

subjects in their due obedience”, passed in 1581, which made it treason to reconcile or be reconciled to the Catholic Church or to induce others to be so reconciled (“persuading to popery”). Of the present martyrs, one priest and six laymen suffered under this Act between 1587 and 1596. (ii) “An act against Jesuits and seminary priests”, passed in 1585, which made it treason for any Englishman ordained a Catholic priest abroad after 1559 to come into or remain in England and felony for anyone to shelter or assist such a priest. This Act was the culmination of the Elizabethan penal legislation and rendered most of the previous laws obsolete. Henceforth once it was shown that a man was a Catholic priest ordained after the specified date, he was *ipso facto* guilty of treason and likewise lay people who assisted such a priest were *ipso facto* guilty of felony. Treason and felony both incurred the death penalty, treason by the brutal process of hanging, drawing (disboweling) and quartering, and felony by hanging only. Most of the martyrs during the rest of the English persecution were condemned under this Act; of the present eighty-five, seventy-five suffered under it, *i.e.* sixty-one priests and fourteen laymen.

MEN OF EVERY AGE AND SOCIAL CLASS

Our eighty-five martyrs included men of every age and they were drawn from all social classes. Sixty-five of them were priests and the remainder were laymen. Of the priests, fifty-five were “seminary” priests, so called because they were trained and ordained in the English seminaries established overseas in the days of persecution—today we would call them diocesan priests. The other priests were from the religious orders: five Franciscans, two Jesuits, and one Dominican, all likewise trained and ordained abroad. Some of them were young men in their twenties, just returned to England after ordination and arrested almost as soon as they landed; others had labored long on the English mission: a few were aged up to seventy and one was about eighty when executed. Many of them came from well-to-do families, but one had worked as a shoemaker and a cook before beginning his studies for the priesthood and another was the son of a carpenter. As well as their ecclesiastical studies, some also had degrees from the universities of Oxford or Cambridge before entering the seminaries, and five had been in orders in the Established Church before their conversion to Catholicism.

Amongst the lay martyrs also were young men and men well advanced in years. One was described as “a youth” and some more were in their twenties, while at the other end of the age scale one was referred to as *sanctissimus senex* and another, a widower, was said to be “a fatherly old man”. Some of the laymen were gentlemen or prosperous landowners, but many too were of more lowly status: craftsmen—a printer, a glove maker, a tailor, a carpenter, a weaver; and ordinary working men—a serving man at an inn, a stableman, a lady’s manservant, a farm labourer. At least seven of the laymen were married, possibly more, and most of these had children.

The laymen suffered because they were closely involved with the priests, helping them in one way or another with their ministry; indeed without the cooperation and assistance of such laymen the priests simply could not function. Many, especially the better-off,

“received” the priests, to use the official term, *i.e.* they sheltered them in their homes and provided a base from which they could operate and where they could gather the faithful together with relative security for the celebration of the Eucharist. These places were the “safe houses” by means of which the underground Catholic Church of the time was able to survive, and many of the owners were arrested and went to death with the priests they had sheltered. Other laymen aided the priests in various other ways: they arranged safe conduct for them, accompanied them on their journeys, visited them in prison, and sometimes helped them escape. And even though there are no women martyrs among the present group, women nonetheless played an important role. The wives of some of the lay martyrs were arrested with their husbands, as were other women who sheltered priests, and a few of them were even condemned to death, but the sentences were not carried out. All, men and women, were well aware that in receiving or assisting a priest they risked their lives, but nevertheless did not hesitate because they valued the faith above life itself.

IMPRISONMENT, TORTURE, TRIAL, AND EXECUTION

All the martyrs endured much physical suffering. They were imprisoned for longer or shorter periods—one of the present group spent sixteen years confined in various gaols. They were uncomfortably lodged, their gaolers treated them roughly, their companions were criminals; sometimes they were kept in solitary confinement, occasionally they were put in chains. They were subjected to lengthy interrogation, even under torture, to extract from them information about fellow Catholics with a view to pursuing these also. When brought to court for trial the dice [were] loaded against them; they had little chance of being acquitted unless they agreed to renounce their faith and conform to the Established Church. Finally there was the terrible suffering of execution, carried out in public in the presence of a mostly hostile crowd, particularly brutal when the victim had been condemned for treason and was cut down alive and then disembowelled and quartered.

The martyrs went to their deaths bravely, often joyfully blessing God for the privilege he was about to confer on them. Many of the priests addressed the people from the scaffold, proclaiming their priesthood and asserting that they laid down their lives willingly for the Catholic faith. Their heroic perseverance to the end, their readiness to make the supreme sacrifice of life itself for their beliefs, must surely be an example and an inspiration for all Christians and indeed for all people of goodwill in our own age.

The Select Preachers at the Annual Masses of the U.S.A. Branch, S.K.C.M. – 1984-2000*

I – 28 I 1984 – S. Ignatius of Antioch, NYC – The Rt. Rev’d J. Joseph M. Harte, SSC, D.D., D.Rel., S.T.D., II AZ (ret’d), Episcopal Patron of the U.S.A. Branch. NP

II – 2 II 1985 – S. Paul’s, Washington DC – The Rev’d Canon James R. Daughtry, Rector. J07 13-5

III – 1 II 1986 – S. Clement’s, Philadelphia PA – The Rev’d Harry E. Krauss III, Rector, All Saints, Wynewood PA. J97 12-7

IV – 31 I 1987 – S. Mary's, Asheville NC – The Rt. Rev'd Clarence C. Pope, Jr., D.D., II Fort Worth. J87; D07 11-4

Western Satellite – 31 I 1987 – Chapel of the Holy Family, S. Jude's Ranch, Boulder City NV – Bishop Harte. NP

V – 30 I 1988 – Good Shepherd, Rosemont PA – The Rev'd Walter E. Frieman, Jr., Th.D., Professor (ret'd), West Chester (PA) Univ., 'Triumph by Death'. J88 5-9

VI – 28 I 1989 – Advent, Boston MA – The Rev'd Andrew C. Mead, SSC, Rector, 'Charles Died for the Apostolic Succession'. J89 7-9

VII – 27 I 1990 – Grace & S. Peter's, Baltimore MD – The Rev'd Edward Schmidt, Chaplain to the All Saints Sisters of the Poor, Catonsville MD. NP

VIII – 26 I 1991 – Guardian Angels, Lantana FL – The Rev'd Andrew C. Mead, SSC, Rector, Advent, Boston MA. *Précis*, J91 1-2

IX – 1 II 1992 – Ascension & S. Agnes, Washington DC – The Rev'd Perry Michael Smith, Rector. J92 8-10

X – 30 I 1993 – S. Mary the Virgin, NYC – The Rev'd Canon Dr. Charles E. Whipple. J93 16-8

XI – 29 I 1994 – Society Centenary – S. Clement's, Philadelphia PA – The Rt. Rev'd William C. Wantland, J.D., D.Rel., D.D., IV Eau Claire. J94 6-8

XII – 28 I 1995 – S. Paul's, Washington DC – The Rt. Rev'd James Winchester Montgomery, S.T.D., D.D., LL.D., L.H.D., X Chicago (ret'd). J95 21-3

XIII – 27 I 1996 – Grace & S. Peter's, Baltimore MD – The Rev'd James Casciotti, SJ, Secretary to the Provincial of the Society of Jesus, Baltimore MD, 'Charles the Martyr', text from K. Charles's 'Letter to the Prince of Wales'. J96 9-11

XIV – 25 I 1997 – All Saints, Ashmont, Boston MA – The Rev'd Canon Barry E. B. Swain, SSC, Rector S. Clement's, Philadelphia PA, 'Remember'. J97 9-12

XV – 31 I 1998 – Guardian Angels, Lantana FL – The Rev'd Canon R. Brien Koehler, SSC, Rector S. Luke's, Ft. Myers FL. J98 6-9

XVI – 30 I 1999 – CCCL Anniversary of the Royal Martyrdom – S. Clement's, Philadelphia PA – The Rev'd Norman J. Catir, Jr., Rector (lately retired), Transfiguration NYC, 'The Owner, the Tenants, and the Son', *S. Matt.* xxi: 42. J99 14-6

XVII – 29 I 2000 – Ascension & S. Agnes, Washington DC – The Rev'd Dr. Richard John Charles Major, Rector, S. Mark's Anglican Church, Florence IT, 'Don't Believe in Modern Love'. D00 6-10

(* The Select Preachers 2001 to present appeared in our December 2012 issue.)

THE POST-PRANDIAL ADDRESSES

28 I 1989 – 'Charles Stuart: Some Reflections on Kings and the Idea of a Godly Kingdom', The Rev'd David Curry, Curate, Advent, Boston MA. J89 9-16

27 I 1990 – 'The Blessed Meeting of Truth and Peace: Archbishop Laud's Prayer for Church Unity', The Rev'd Dr. Thomas Bauer, Headmaster, Grace & S. Peter's School, Baltimore MD. J90 4-12

26 I 1991 – 'Just Shut your Door and Pray—That's What the Church Needs', Richard D. Appleby, Chapter Secretary, Guardian Angels, Lantana FL. J91 19-21

1 II 1992 – 'Graham Parry's *The Golden Age Restored: The Culture of the Stuart Court 1603-42*', The Rev'd Deacon Denys Peter Myers, Assistant, Ascension & S. Agnes, Washington DC. NP

27 I 1996 – ‘Kingship’, H.M. King Kigeli V of Rwanda (deposed). His Majesty’s presence was made possible by arrangement with The Monarchist League. J96 19-20

31 I 1998 – ‘The Once and Future King’, text “A Law Was Made . . .” (‘Camelot’, Lerner & Lowe), The Ven. John D. Shuman, J.D., Archdeacon (ACC), Palm Beach FL. J98 10-3

30 I 1999 – ‘On the Importance of our Society’s Witness to the Essentiality of Apostolic Orders in Anglicanism Today’, The Rt. Rev’d Keith L. Ackerman, SSC, D.D., VIII Quincy (IL). NP

PREACHERS AT EARLY GATHERINGS

29 I 1896 – First Evensong[§] of S. Charles at the Church of S. Mary the Virgin NYC – Preacher, The Rev’d Robert Thomas Nichol, American Region Co-founder. Derogatory newspaper report quoted, J88, as reprinted in *The Story of Saint Mary’s*

30 I 1896 – Sung Mass[§] in Lady Chapel of S. Mary the Virgin NYC – Reading from ‘Meditations’ [*Eikon Basilike*] of King Charles

29 I 1897 – **Dedication of Painting of S. Charles, K.M. (first U.S. Shrine)** – First Evensong of S. Charles, Church of the Evangelists, Philadelphia PA – Preacher, The Rt. Rev’d William S. Perry, S.T.D., II Iowa

30 I 1899 – **CCL Anniversary of the Royal Martyrdom** – The Order of the Holy Cross Church, Avenue ‘C’ & E. 4th St., NYC – Preacher, The Rev’d Fr. Sargent, OHC

* **Format:** **Annual Masses:** **Serial Number** – **date** – & venue of the Annual Mass – Select Preacher, Sermon Title and Text (if any). Issue, month (J=June, D=Dec.), year, and pages where published in *SKCM News*.

Other events: **Date**, (venue corresponds with Annual Mass on that date), title of address, name of speaker or preacher, &c.

* **Notes:** NP = Not Published. The Select Preachers’ titles and styles are as of the date of their sermon.

[§] The practice in the early years was, as it was in England, to have First Evensong of the Feast on the 29th and a mass on the 30th.

Answer to Question Posed on Back Cover of Dec. 2012 *SKCM News*: **Eight Select Preachers** are pictured (representing 9 sermons): Father Andrew C. Mead (1989, 1991), Bishop William C. Wantland (1994), Canon R. Brien Koehler (1998), Father Ralph T. Walker (2001), Bishop Keith L. Ackerman (2004), Bishop Jack L. Iker (2006), Dean Gary W. Kriss (2008), and Father Richard C. Martin (2011).

***Thomas Becket: Warrior, Priest, Rebel* by John Guy**

This review, by Canon Swain, will appear in a subsequent edition.

A Treasury of Royal Scandals:

The Shocking True Stories of History’s Wickedest, Weirdest, Most Wanton Kings, Queens, Tsars, Popes, and Emperors

by Michael Farquhar

reviewed by the Editor

A Treasury of Royal Scandals: The Shocking True Stories of History’s Wickedest, Weirdest, Most Wanton Kings, Queens, Tsars, Popes, and Emperors by Michael Farquhar. New York: Penguin Group, 2001. xiv + 323 pp., pb, \$13. ISBN 0 14 02.8024 3

This book's cover, which shows a hand reaching into a cartoon queen's bodice, and title are sensationalistic, while its text reveals few scandals unfamiliar to Society members. One might reasonably wonder who would 'treasure' scandals, anyway! Most of the facts recounted in the book might better be called oddities or outrages than scandals. Many of the chapter titles are sophomoric, such as 'A Royal Pain in the Ass' (about the demise of King Edward II) and 'The Case of the Purloined Penis' (about the theft of the Emperor Napoleon's supposedly atrophied member at autopsy by a Corsican chaplain named Vignali). Such sensationalism is surprising from the author, who is a writer and editor for *The Washington Post*, specializing in history.

But there is much of interest in the book. By and large, the information in it is factual. There are a number of useful and accurate family trees (14 pp., unnumbered) including Spanish Habsburgs, tables of monarchs of England, Scotland, France, and Russia, and popes, and a useful chronology of the various monarchs and popes set alongside important geopolitical events and some of lesser importance, such as the introduction of tobacco into France in 1560 by Jean Nicot, after whom tobacco's bioactive principle, the alkaloid nicotine, was named. The Holy Roman Emperors are conspicuous by their absence, as are the Austro-Hungarian Emperors and other European (especially German) and Scandinavian Kings and Princes.

We cannot properly describe this volume as a 'qpb' (quality paperback) because upon only a single reading, a ninety-two page portion of the 'perfect bound' book fell out. The illustrations are few, the most prominent one being a cut of the Holbein likeness of the corpulent, arrogant, and smug King Henry VIII familiar to every school-boy.

There is little on the Stuart dynasty, except for a brief mention of King Charles I's decollation and Charles II's disinterment of Oliver Cromwell's corpse from Westminster Abbey, its hanging at Tyburn, and the head's placement on a spike atop Westminster Hall, where it remained for twenty-five years.

According to one interpretation, King Charles's last word, "Remember!", was an instruction to Bishop Juxon by the King to enjoin his heirs not to exact revenge, but to show mercy, as the King himself had just forgiven and prayed for his persecutors on the scaffold. Commonly, King Charles I's last word is taken to have been a reminder to Bishop Juxon to give his 'George', the jeweled badge of the Order of the Garter, to the Prince of Wales, soon to be King Charles II. This is logical, as King Charles was taking it off at the last moment before he was beheaded. There is no documentary evidence that Juxon ever did either.

The Bolsheviks' brutal murders of Tsar Nicholas II, the Imperial Family and household on 17 July 1918 are described in detail and with sympathy. The Tsar was mercifully shot in the head at point-blank range. Some of the women simply would not die! The bullets ricocheted off them*, infuriating the Red Army soldiers, who disfigured the ladies' and girls' faces with their rifle-butts before throwing all the Romanov family's bodies down the mine-shaft near Ekaterinburg and half-heartedly attempting to disguise their identities by burning them with vitriol and covering them with lye. Nonetheless, in the late XX Century,

the use of then-new DNA technology made it possible to identify them unambiguously** and finally to put to rest speculation about the possible escape and fate of the young Anastasia.

* Their undergarments had diamonds and other jewels sewn into them, deflecting the bullets.

** The characteristic DNA 'fingerprint' of each relic among the remains was compared with the others and with those of living Romanovs.

To raise the tone of this review, we close with President Boris Yeltsin's remarks, quoted in the book, on the occasion of the enshrinement of the Imperial Family's relics in the Cathedral of SS. Peter & Paul on 17 July 1998, as "Passion-Bearers under the Godless Yoke", as they had been designated by the Russian Orthodox Church:

"All these years, we were silent about this horrible crime. . . . Those who perpetrated this crime and those who for decades have been finding excuses for it are guilty. All of us are guilty. One cannot lie to oneself and explain away wanton cruelty as political necessity. . . . We are all responsible to the historic memory of the people. That's why I should come here as a person and as president. I bow my head before the victims of a senseless murder."

***The Georgian Princesses* by John van der Kiste**

reviewed by Suzanne G. Bowles, Ph.D., OL

The Georgian Princesses by John van der Kiste. Stroud, UK: Sutton Publishing Ltd., 2000. viii + 240 pp. ISBN 0-750-923-101.

John van der Kiste has written numerous books on British royalty (and some of their German relations) often focusing on minor royals about whom we would never otherwise read. *The Georgian Princesses* is one such book, interesting to read but difficult to review because it covers so many people. The book starts with the birth of Sophia of the Palatinate (later Dowager Electress of Hanover) in 1630 and ends with the death of George III's last surviving child, Princess Mary, in 1857. It discusses all the female royals within that time span, both those born into the British royal family and those who married into it. This reviewer counted thirty individuals and probably missed some! This abundance of princesses is rendered more confusing by the fact that so many of them share the same names. So many Sophias, Carolines, Charlottes, and Augustas! Even though the author supplies genealogy charts it is still a challenge to keep them all straight. Not all get equal time, of course. Some get merely a sentence or two. Others get whole chapters or portions of several chapters.

How does one summarize a book that is biographical yet covers so many people? One way to approach this difficulty is to divide the princesses into two categories—those who are born into the British royal family and those who marry into it.

About those who marry into the royal family some generalizations can be made. All are born royal. In the time period under discussion British royals married only other royals. These princesses knew what was expected of them. All are Protestant, a requirement of the Act of Settlement of 1701. And all are German, the various German kingdoms and duchies

being the most likely source of Protestant princesses. All of the marriages are arranged—that was a given. In some cases the brides are already acquainted with their grooms. In other cases the grooms are total strangers to them. In many cases the brides and grooms are related to each other. How do these marriages turn out? As one might expect, it's a mixed bag. Some are quite successful, *e.g.*, George II and Caroline of Ansbach, George III and Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, William IV and Adelaide of Saxe-Meiningen. Some are disastrous, *e.g.*, George I and Sophia Dorothea of Celle, George IV and Caroline of Brunswick. Interestingly, three who became Queen Consorts, the aforementioned Caroline of Ansbach, Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and Adelaide of Saxe-Meiningen, not only had happy marriages (though not without some difficulties), but were also successful in their roles as Queen Consort. (Technically Sophia Dorothea was Queen as well, but she was imprisoned for adultery back in Germany and never came to England.)

Those born as British princesses faced a different set of challenges—either an arranged marriage or a life as a spinster, stuck at home and dominated by a cantankerous mother. This last refers to both Queens Caroline and Charlotte who, while successful in their roles as queens and wives, were domineering, possessive mothers, especially in regard to their daughters. One feels particularly for the princesses stuck at home and not allowed to marry because their mothers wanted them as companions. Not surprisingly, some engaged in sexual liaisons with courtiers, thus creating scandal. Others avoided scandal but lived cramped, narrow lives and descended into bitterness and their own brand of cantankerousness. But there were always some in each generation who made the best of a bad situation, developing hobbies, raising money for charity, doing Church-related work such as visiting the poor and endowing parishes, and being loving aunts to their many nieces and nephews. Still, there were certain advantages to being a British princess—music lessons from Handel and art lessons from Gainsborough to name just two.

For this reviewer two characters stand out among the many in this book. One was not even a princess, but a prince, George IV. This George—as Prince of Wales, Prince Regent, and King—has never had a particularly good reputation either as a prince, king, son, husband, or father. But in one role he shone and that was as a *brother*. Though there were occasional rivalries and squabbles he had a fairly good relationship with his six younger brothers who lived to adulthood. They looked to him as their protector and spokesman, especially in relations with their parents. But to his six younger sisters he was an absolute hero—listening to their complaints, sympathizing with their troubles, interceding for them with their parents, trying his best to find them suitable husbands, and, for those who did not marry, cajoling their mother to allow them more freedom. This was George at his most unselfish, a side of him not usually seen.

The other stand-out royal in this book was Queen Adelaide, consort of William IV. She was twenty-seven years younger than her husband, and not expected at the time of their marriage to become Queen. But, first as Duchess of Clarence and then as Queen, she proved to be an asset to her husband and to the nation. She lived twelve years after her husband

died and thus became an important mentor to her niece Queen Victoria. A hard-working, humble, self-effacing royal who devoted her life to family, Church, and charity, she was beloved by several generations of royals. She is all but forgotten today but deserves to be better known.

Because of its wealth of detail the book is intended for the serious student of royal history, not the casual reader. However, it is not really scholarly either. There are footnotes, but most are from secondary sources some of which are quite old. The reader should also be aware that many of van der Kiste's books overlap each other in subject matter and he frequently recycles his own material. For example, much of the material in *The Georgian Princesses* already appeared, in almost the exact same wording, in *George III's Children* (1992) and *King George II and Queen Caroline* (1997). Nonetheless, this is an interesting book that gives the reader insights into the lives of lesser known royals.

[SUZANNE G. BOWLES, OL received a Ph.D. in History from Syracuse University. She is Associate Professor of History at William Paterson University. Her areas of specialization are early American history, naval history, American religious history, Anglican history, and British royalty. Under her maiden name, Suzanne Geissler, she has published numerous books and articles on these themes, including *Lutheranism and Anglicanism in Colonial New Jersey* (Edwin Mellen Press, 1988). She is a member of Saint Michael's Episcopal Church, Wayne NJ, and of S.K.C.M. Dr. Bowles is a long time contributor to SKCM News and now serves on the Editorial Committee of the Email Communiqué.]

THE LOST PRINCE: The Life & Death of HENRY STUART

Catalogue reviewed by Eileen O'Leary

National Portrait Gallery, London (2012), 192 pp. (hardcover), ISBN 978 1 85514 4583, £30



The National Portrait Gallery in London held the first ever exhibit (18 Oct. 2012 – 13 Jan. 2013) on the life and death of Prince Henry Stuart. It coincided with the 400th anniversary of his death in 1612.

The catalogue published in conjunction with this exhibit is a wonderful compilation of the artwork, armor, manuscripts, and all manner of artifacts that were gathered together from museums and private collections. I was well acquainted with many of the works of art, but there were plenty of surprises, too.

The compilers of the catalogue did not indulge in speculation when describing Henry's life and relationships with his family and friends. They give very clear explanations of the items in the exhibit. They do, however, discount the idea that there was some great rift between Henry and his father, James VI & I.

I have always loved the miniature of Henry by Isaac Oliver, and was pleased to see this used as the defining image of him in this exhibition. The catalogue is truly a beautiful book, and would be an excellent addition to anyone's library of Stuart history.

Exhibit commentary by Duncan MacMillan (*The Scotsman* [Thurs. 13 Dec. 2012])

“ . . . Henry was born pm 19 Feb. 1594 at Stirling. He is thought to have died of typhoid fever, not yet 18, at Richmond on 6 Nov. 1612. Six years older than Charles, he was athletic, good looking and remarkably accomplished. Charles was short in stature, weak in physique, had a speech impediment and had perhaps suffered from rickets as a child.

“That James had his heir christened with the Tudor name of Henry already indicated the aspiration that he would eventually inherit both kingdoms, although James’s own succession to his cousin Elizabeth who had so recently murdered his mother, albeit judicially, was still far from certain. From the beginning, James was determined Henry would be brought up worthy of that destiny. His baptism at Stirling was a spectacular event. Later, his installation as Prince of Wales in 1610, the first for a century, was followed by a whole year of festivities. His funeral too was splendid, a measure of the grief and disappointed hope, not just of the king, but of the nation.

“The exhibition . . . illustrates his real promise and also the aspirations invested in him. The first portrait of him was painted in Scotland when he was just two years old. Wearing a tall crown and a matching coat richly embroidered with gold and precious stones, he is already regal. When he was just nine, he was painted by Marcus Gheeraerts in the robes of a Knight of the Garter, but then in his early teens he was painted in a series of portraits by Robert Peake. They are unlike any other royal portraits. He is shown as an active, vigorous youth, not a withdrawn and formal royal presence.

“In one portrait, he is hunting with a companion and the artist has caught him in the act of drawing his sword. In another he is alone and in a strikingly energetic pose confronts us, again to draw his sword. He is not dressed in warlike fashion, however, but in a handsome green suit with ribboned shoes.

“Mock tournaments and Arthurian and classical masques were an important part of the entertainment of the court. The masques were written by the likes of Ben Jonson and a number of drawings by Inigo Jones record their extravagant costumes and settings. These masques were fantastic, certainly, but were not just fantasy. Rather they were an allegorical projection of the values personified in the prince.

“The third of these portraits is of the prince on horseback. He is leading by the forelock the elderly, bearded and winged figure of Time: Youth overtakes Age. In this latter portrait, Henry is wearing armour, but a soft hat, so it is more an allegorical image than a martial one. Two magnificent suits of armour are included in the show. They were made for the prince, although armour was about as useful then as the Royal Archers’ bows are now. Nevertheless, jousting was taken very seriously as a court entertainment. Several contemporary witnesses record that Henry was athletic and very good at these martial games, but they were also another piece of chivalric allegory. It seems the image of Arthur’s chivalrous knights in anachronistic shining armour was a Stuart invention, not a Victorian one. ...“

***Wallenstein: The Enigma of the Thirty Years War* by Geoff Mortimer**

reviewed by Sarah Gilmer Payne



Wallenstein: The Enigma of the Thirty Years War by Geoff Mortimer. Palgrave Macmillan, 175 Fifth Ave, New York NY 10010. \$38.00. ISBN 978-0-230-27212-2

Wallenstein¹ emerges from his biographies, even the really good ones, as a powerful, mysterious, and rather sinister figure. As if by magic, he rose from obscurity to immense power, gaining vast territories, raising armies almost out of thin air, saving an empire not once but twice, and becoming so immensely ambitious that he had to be assassinated by agents of the very monarch he had rescued.

Even in his own time, Wallenstein was the subject of mythic tales; consider this description of him from another legendary figure of the war, the dashing Graf zu Pappenheim:

"The aura of myth surrounding this lord is so strongly imbued that I can often scarcely prevent myself from believing the tales which are told in such great detail about him, even when I was actually with him at the very moment which is being described."

This book is different; it cuts through the myths to present the real Wallenstein, and in removing the haze and mystery from the man, in effect showing how he did it, makes his achievements all the more remarkable.

One could say that Wallenstein was portrayed as "bad" in the same way Charles I was ; it was necessary for their enemies to present them as cardboard villains to justify murdering them.

I have always found it interesting that Wallenstein is regarded as a strange fanatic for his supposed obsession with astrology, whereas no one seems to have a problem with the great scientist Kepler creating these horoscopes for him in the first place. It is also important to remember that the Wallenstein of Schiller's play, like certain Shakespearean kings, is the product of a rich and fertile imagination. The real Wallenstein does seem to have had some interest in astrology, but not to the extent that he relied upon it for life and death decisions, nor was he more credulous than normal for his era—or ours, for that matter.

I love Geoff Mortimer's clear and plain descriptions of the battles, and his deep understanding of the protagonists and their actions. Consider this passage relating to Wallenstein's reluctance to return to the immense burden of command after his dismissal by the Emperor:

"Secondly Wallenstein may initially have felt that his own return would not be necessary in order to contain the Swedish threat. Gustavus was a formidable general but he had suffered his defeats, whereas Tilly had never lost a battle in a lifetime of campaigning."

The Graf von Tilly was indeed a remarkable man, and the brief brilliance of Gustavus seems little more than a flash in the pan compared to Tilly's long years of success and

victory, stretching from his days as a young soldier of fifteen to his death from wounds received in battle at the age of seventy-four. I have sometimes wondered what would have happened if he had been a King and Gustavus had been a soldier following the will of others.

Note also that Wallenstein, sick and demoralized, was reluctant to return to the command of an army; somewhat uncharacteristic behaviour for a man of vast and even treasonous ambition.

And now we come to the matter: How did Wallenstein rise to such a pinnacle of greatness and power, acquiring such land and such wealth, raising and financing armies which he led with such success?

First, his lands were acquired through purchase of territories confiscated from a defeated enemy, and thus they did have something in common with fairy gold:

“There was, however, a Faustian twist, as in exchange for his new wealth Wallenstein found himself bound irrevocably to Ferdinand. Should the emperor lose in the continuing conflict, or even emerge less than totally successful, a principal condition of any settlement was bound to be the recovery of their lands by the dispossessed Bohemians. Wallenstein and the other purchasers would then in turn be dispossessed, and while they might have a claim on the Imperial treasury to recover what they had paid the chances of securing settlement from this perennially bankrupt source in the wake of a lost war would be slim. The alternatives for Wallenstein were simple but stark: victory for Ferdinand or total ruin for him. Still worse, his salvation depended on the emperor not only winning but making a sustainable peace thereafter, something which Ferdinand was to prove unable or unwilling to do. The resulting dilemma is the key to understanding the rest of Wallenstein’s life, and indeed his death.”

In addition to Ferdinand’s fears concerning his general’s ambition, there was also the motivation of seizing Wallenstein’s vast possessions, the Bohemian lands, and especially the rich and efficiently run Duchy of Friedland. Confiscating the holdings of supposed rebels, while a standard imperial technique of raising, or expropriating, revenue, could scarcely be considered ethical under any circumstances, but what can one say about a monarch who has his own general assassinated, or of the subordinates who, after swearing undying loyalty to their commander, brutally put him to death?

Of the many books I have read on Wallenstein over the years, this one is the most lucid and comprehensive. Any reader, whether familiar with this period or not, will come away with a greater understanding of both the man and his times.

†**Albrecht Wenzel Eusebius von Wallenstein** (properly Waldstein), duke of Friedland, Sagan and Mecklenburg (1583-1634). His death is evoked in heroic style in ‘*La mort de Wallenstein*’ (1881) by Vincent d’Indy (1851-1931). [—Ed.]

[SARAH GILMER PAYNE, BENEFACTRESS, OL, of Martin GA has been a contributor to SKCM News for twenty-seven years, during which she has reviewed over 50 books in these pages. Chief among her interests are the Royal Martyr, his life and times, and diverse aspects of his reign, as well as her many animals, feline, canine, and equine. Sarah must have read, and for that matter, must own, nearly every book about King Charles I. She is an extraordinary resource, for whom we give thanks, and a much valued supporter.]

Addendum: In our June 2012 issue (p. 51, ¶6) Sarah Gilmer Payne's review of a book on *La Chasse* refers to the death of William Rufus, the son of William the Conqueror, in a hunting "accident". C. Warren Hollister, 'The Strange Death of William Rufus', *Speculum* [A Journal of Medieval Studies, publication of the Medieval Academy of America, Cambridge MA], Vol. XLVIII, No. 4 (Oct. 1973), pp. 637-53, discusses the death in detail; a summary of his analysis follows this *dramatis personae*.

HAROLD II, b. c. 1022, selected by KING S. EDWARD THE CONFESSOR (d. 5 Jan. 1066) as his successor, crowned 6 Jan. 1066, submitted to WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, d. 14 Oct. 1066 at Hastings, buried at Waltham Abbey.

WILLIAM I 'THE CONQUEROR', DUKE OF NORMANDY, b. c. 1027, reigned 1066 (the Norman Conquest)-1087; crowned 25 Dec. 1066 at Westminster Abbey; d. 8/9 Sept. 1087, buried at Caen.

WILLIAM II 'RUFUS' (ruddy), b. c. 1060, 3rd (2nd surviving) son of William I and Matilda of Flanders acceded 26 Sept. 1087, reigned 1087-1100. His elder brother Richard was killed by a stag while hunting in New Forest c. 1081 [*vide infra* for an alternate explanation]. His eldest brother, ROBERT (III) CURTHOSE, DUKE OF NORMANDY, had been left the Norman lands by WILLIAM I, and WILLIAM II RUFUS, the conquered lands; d. Thurs. 2 Aug. 1100, buried at Winchester.

HENRY I 'BEAUCLERC' (fine scholar), b. Sept./Oct. 1068, 4th & youngest son of William I and Matilda of Flanders, acceded England 5 Aug. 1100 (acceded Duchy of Normandy Sept. 1106), crowned 6 Aug. 1100 at Westminster Abbey, reigned 1100-1135. Married Edith=Matilda of Scotland (daughter of Malcolm III Canmore, King of Scots, by S. Margaret), d. 1 Dec. 1135 of ptomaine poisoning contracted by eating bad lampreys. Buried at Reading Abbey.

STEPHEN, 3rd son of Stephen of Blois and Adela (daughter of William I), acceded 22 Dec. 1135.

[Sources: *Brewer's British Royalty* by David Williamson (London: Cassell, 1996) and *The Kings and Queens of Britain* by John Cannon & Anne Hargreaves, II Ed. (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2009)]

For centuries, three main explanations for the death have been debated in the historical literature, that it was (i) an actual accident, (ii) an assassination, and (iii) a ritual, pagan killing. The first is the most straightforward and most obvious, fitting the logic of Occam's razor. The second is of the nature of a conspiracy involving William Rufus's brother, who became King Henry I. Several portents, which in medieval days were often resorted to, are cited, as is the 'unseemly haste' with which Henry was crowned in Westminster Abbey. The third is the most interesting of the options.

Its main emotional rationale is that William Rufus was no friend of the church. Hence, rumors of the involvement of witchcraft in his death arose from his anti-clericalism. He was called 'The Red King' and the 'terror of the Church'. Vital, flamboyant, and planning great deeds, William Rufus's dying by an arrow while hunting in the New Forest was explained as the action of divine judgment through human accident. More sinister speculation had it that his "anti-clericalism was a sign of his membership in a non-Christian fertility cult that had survived from olden days under the Christian surface of medieval society. This 'Old Religion', so it is argued, taught that the king was a nature god whose fructifying powers might wane with time, requiring his sacrificial slaying after a period of years. Rufus, facing up to his duty, allowed himself to be shot by his knight and companion, Walter Tirel." There was also the report that Rufus's bier was strewn with flowers in pagan style. Also, William of Mortain had a vision of Rufus astride a hairy black goat who announced that he was the devil carrying the king to his judgment.

Hollister demolishes options (ii) and (iii) systematically, the former being factually unsupportable and the latter being fanciful, romantic, inconsistent with Rufus's benevolence to the

church on many occasions (despite his frequent blasphemous language), and *ex post facto*. For example, one of those who was said to have had a vision of Rufus's death was the prior of Dunstable, "a house, Giraldus Cambrensis [XII C.] explains, which Rufus had built at his own cost and for which he had a special love. In point of fact, Dunstable was founded a generation later by Henry I."

At the end of the day, Hollister puts the matter to rest. Rufus's death was an accident, pure and simple. "Hunting in the middle ages could be a dangerous sport, and Rufus was not the only man of his period to meet with death while engaged in the chase. Some years earlier, Richard, son of William the Conqueror, had been mortally injured by colliding with a tree [*cf.* Michael Kennedy] while riding swiftly after a stag in the New Forest [*vide supra* for an alternate explanation]. In about May 1100, Curthose's bastard son Richard had been shot accidentally while hunting in the same forest. In 1143 the earl of Hereford, hunting deer on Christmas Eve, 'was pierced through the breast by a knight, who shot an arrow wildly at a stag, and died wretchedly without profit from repentance.'"

Image Wars:
Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603-60
by Kevin Sharpe

reviewed by Greg Walker in *The Art Newspaper*, No. 219 (Dec. 2010)
(Regius Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature, University of Edinburgh)

Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603-60 by Kevin Sharpe. Yale Univ. Press, 2010. 512 pp., hb, £35. ISBN 9780300162004.

"Weighing in at just over 500 pages of text, with 90 black and white illustrations, Kevin Sharpe's *Image Wars* is the mammoth second volume of a monumental trilogy (begun with *Selling the Tudor Monarchy* (2009), that will describe and interpret the roles of writing and art in the representation of authority from the advent of the Tudors to the reign of Queen Anne.

"Sharpe's contention, set out boldly on the first page, is that in the early-modern period as a whole, 'authority was culturally constructed and communicated, that politics was inseparable from culture'. In order to rule, kings, queens—and in the mid-XVII Century, republics and lord protectors too—had not only to master the practical mechanisms of government and administration, finance and policing, but also to represent themselves and their authority in ways that convinced the ruled of the necessity of their regimes. In these campaigns the arts, and 'culture' more generally, were the principal terrain; and they were contested ground. Rather than seeing the arts as vulgarly political, organs of either propaganda or protest, however, Sharpe offers a much more nuanced account of this 'contest for representation'. He describes in lavish detail how writers and artists, and the monarchs and parliamentary governors themselves in speeches and texts, fashioned images of authority from domestic and continental models in their attempts to define, reinforce or contest the legitimacy of the Stuart kings and their republican opponents.

"At first glance the book's stress on the political centrality of the fine arts under the Stuarts might seem to be missing the point. Was this not the century of civil war and regicide, when authority was contested more obviously by the infantryman's pike and the headsman's axe than the artist's brush or pencil, when the most painted and most eulogized of British kings, Charles I, was also the only one to be deposed and executed? Sharpe acknowledges the apparent contradiction, but shows how each twist and turn of political fortune in even the bloodiest years of the mid-century was reflected in and

influenced by the words and images generated by the protagonists and their adversaries. This is political history told through its surviving artistic traces, its texts and portraits, medals, woodcut prints and engravings, and it is a compelling story, as much an intervention into historical debate as into the history of art and artists.

“By and large unconvinced by the artistic efforts of the republican regimes, Sharpe is at his most sensitive and sympathetic when it comes to the reign of Charles I, the subject of his earlier magisterial study, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (1992). Where one strong line of historical analysis cites the king’s execution as the moment when monarchy lost its mysticism in these islands, Sharpe argues rather that it was precisely the occasion when it regained a ‘sacred’ quality that it had begun to shed at the Reformation. When Henry VIII stepped into the political arena in the late 1520s, the argument runs, exposing his conscience to public scrutiny in order to justify his attempt to escape from his marriage to Catherine of Aragon and marry Anne Boleyn, he lost that mystical quality that comes with distance. For all his success in subsequently promoting himself as the embodiment of the nation (an achievement that reached its apotheosis under his daughter Elizabeth), Henry nonetheless became in the process just another player on the political stage, albeit a uniquely visible and powerful one. James I compounded the problem when he, misreading English sensibilities and the symbolic economy of Elizabethan rule, strove to involve himself personally in the detail of the debates of his ministers, scholars and theologians, seeking to win authority by the force of his arguments rather than the majesty of his position alone. When Charles I, conversely, was despatched from the political stage through deposition and execution, he became ripe for remystification, gaining the supra-political, numinous status of a royal martyr.

“The image of Charles as the Christ-like victim of regicide thus haunted the short-lived administrations of the Commonwealth and Protectorate. The latter, hamstrung by their outrageous constitutional novelty, unwilling or unable to launch confidently into effective artistic self-representation, and dealt a mortal blow by the posthumous publication of Charles’s self-justificatory testament, the *Eikon Basilike*, were in Sharpe’s view doomed from the outset.

“This is cultural history in an unapologetically post-Blairite mode, and Sharpe’s contemporary analytical framework, with its stress upon monarchical ‘brands’, news management and media images will no doubt irritate more traditionalist readers. But the lightly-worn populism should not detract from the weight or archival scholarship and depth of erudition and analysis that underpins each chapter. There are striking vignettes and close readings of images and texts on every page, and Sharpe reads them all with the experience of three decades of original research behind him. The language may be of the moment, but the scholarship will ensure that this book, like its predecessor, will endure as testimony to a remarkable project.”

In another review of *Image Wars*, by Alastair Bellany of Rutgers Univ. (JBS, Vol. 50, No. 4 [Oct. 2011], pp. 992-4), we read:

“Sharpe’s chapters on Charles I explore whether the king’s image making compromised rather than projected his authority and thus contributed to the regime’s collapse. Other scholars have certainly thought so, diagnosing Caroline court culture as dangerously insular or escapist, too foreign or too popish. More recently, Judith Richards has argued that Charles neglected crucial public ceremonies like the royal progress and touching of the sick, costing his monarchy popular support. Sharpe takes a different approach. Deeply impressed by his experience in Spain in 1623, and deeply disturbed by the tumultuous politics of the later 1620s, Charles favored ‘ceremonial decorum and

visual representation over discourse and debate' (p. 142). This withdrawal from 'discourse and debate' cost Charles the chance to argue for the more controversial policies of the personal rule, Sharpe suggests, and by the time the king realized the power of the printed royal word, it was too late to reestablish fully his regime's authority. Yet Sharpe also stresses the successes of Charles's image making. His analysis of Charles's collaboration with van Dyck, the artist who discovered how to 'figure' the king 'as the literal embodiment of the values which underpinned his kingship' (p. 197), is particularly compelling, and he notes the circulation of royal visual imagery beyond the narrow confines of court. Sharpe also astutely shows how the loving and fertile royal marriage, represented in visual, theatrical, poetic, and ritual imagery, became a potent metaphor for good government as well as a literal guarantee of dynastic continuity. Sharpe's critique of Richards's thesis dominates his analysis of Caroline public ceremonial; he successfully established that the king 'used a variety of state occasions to present and re-present himself to the people' but concedes that Charles's failure to make an entry into London at, or soon after, his coronation was a 'miscalculation' (p. 234).

"Ultimately, these chapters do a better job explaining how Charles could still muster authority in 1641-2 than how he had lost so much authority in the first place. A short chapter on 'demystifying majesty' privileges Puritan critiques but ignores issues highlighted in his analysis of James I. Sharpe does not explore whether, like his father, Charles was compromised by attacks on his favorite, Buckingham, and he somewhat neglects the symbolic costs of royal uxoriousness when the royal consort was both Catholic and French. He makes a surprisingly strong case that Charles's belated 1641 ceremonial entry into London delivered a major boost to a compromised royal authority, but never fully explains the legitimation crisis that had turned London's streets into arenas for mass protest. 'Charles raised his standard [in 1642] because he could not command obedience to monarchy,' Sharpe writes. 'His enemies fought because they could not sufficiently undermine it' (p. 276). . . .

"Sharpe's readings of Charles's trial, execution, and immediate 're-sacralization' in the pages of *Eikon Basilike* are among the strongest and most provocative in the book. 'Power sent the king to his death,' Sharpe argues, 'but his words at his trial, on the scaffold, and in print on the day of his execution, were . . . to wield a force . . . that destroyed the republic as it was born and represented monarchy as the only polity for England' (p. 384). Sharpe's bravura analysis of *Eikon Basilike* beautifully exposes the book's representation of Charles as a man of conscience, godly priest king, and Christlike martyr, the touchingly human husband and father. Could the new regime have countered the damage the book inflicted? Could the Republic have crafted a set of authoritative and legitimating images, scripts, and rites? Following Sean Kelsey, Sharpe acknowledges that eventually the regime did attempt to fashion its own authority. Undermined, however, not only by the dead king's cult but also by the charismatic Cromwell, the Republic failed 'to devise and disseminate discourses and symbols that established a legitimacy and erased the authority of the monarchy' (p. 460). . . .

"Sharpe ends this marvelous book with a glance ahead. 'In 1660 the ambiguous legacies of a revolution which had seen monarchy both destroyed and raised to its most sacred heights made the art of representing regality, if more problematic, more vital than ever to survival' (p. 543). The reader of this towering volume is left eagerly awaiting the final, post-Restoration conclusion to this fascinating cultural history of the trappings and substance of power."

H-Net Reviews

[We began in the December 2010 issue of SKCM News to include commentaries on, and extensive quotations from, certain reviews appearing in H-Net Review Publications, with their permission. Specifically, per our agreement, we show H-Net's Citation and URL of the book under review. We supplement these with the bibliographical information that usually prefaces our reviews. The H-Net Reviews are chosen by The Rev'd Donald H. Langlois of Chandler AZ.]

***The Book of Howth: Elizabethan Conquest and the Old English* by Valerie McGowan-Doyle**

reviewed by Ruth A. Canning (Univ. College, Cork)

The Book of Howth: Elizabethan Conquest and the Old English by Valerie McGowan-Doyle. Togher, Cork: Cork University Press, 2011. xiv + 206 pp. \$49 (cloth). ISBN 978-1-85918-468-4. Reviewed by Ruth A. Canning (Univ. College, Cork) on H-Albion (Sept. 2012), commissioned by Brendan Kane.

"There has been growing scholarly interest in the cultural and political evolution of the XVI Century descendants of Ireland's original Anglo-Norman conquerors, commonly known as the Old English. To date, scholars of Tudor Ireland have succeeded in thrashing out many pivotal events and developments that contributed to a developing sense of Old English identity and distinguished them from both their ancestral English-born brethren and the Gaelic Irish of their adopted fatherland. . . . [W]ith limited sources offering native perspectives, such studies have been heavily reliant on information emanating from the pens of Englishmen who, during the latter half of the XVI Century, came to Ireland in increasing numbers, but regarded it as a strange, foreign, and barbaric island. It is, therefore, fortunate that Valerie McGowan-Doyle (M-D) has rescued *The Book of Howth* and its compiler, Sir Christopher St. Lawrence (1510-89), 7th Baron of Howth (1558-89), from relative obscurity and in doing so has shed significant new light on the values and concerns of what may be considered Ireland's 'middle nation'.

"Rather than studying this community, or one or more of its members, according to isolated episodes which were, undoubtedly, formative in the evolution of the population's sociopolitical outlook, McGowan-Doyle has successfully placed Christopher St. Lawrence and his manuscript collection within the context of successive events and developments as he experienced them over the course of his career. Previous historians have made only passing mention of Howth, focusing almost solely on his leading role in the Old English opposition to cess in 1577-8 and the dramatic domestic abuse case brought against him in 1579. . . . [T]hese were only two of the many events and altercations that not only shaped the baron's experiences, but also contributed to the shifting sociopolitical attitudes of Ireland's Old English community during the XVI Century.

"The identification of the book and baron of Howth as a subject is an important one. Living under the rule of four Tudor monarchs, Howth was an eyewitness to the rebellions of Kildare, Baltinglass, William Nugent, Shane O'Neill, and the two Desmond revolts. He lived through the 1541 creation of the kingdom of Ireland, the enactment of the Protestant Reformation, the redistribution of dissolved monastic properties, the establishment of provincial presidencies, and the erection of New English plantations in Laois, Offaly, and Munster. All of these events must have, to varying degrees, exerted certain influences on Howth's general sociopolitical outlook as well as on his relationship with Queen Elizabeth I, Ireland's English administration, and the reinvigorated Tudor effort to finally

complete the English conquest of Ireland. Moreover, Howth was particularly well placed and informed to recognize the implications of these significant and subtle shifts in the Crown's Irish policies. In addition to fulfilling the traditional military and judicial duties of Ireland's Old English aristocracy, Howth had obtained a legal education at London's Lincoln's Inn and, upon inheriting his baronial title, became a member of the Irish parliament and a regular attendee at Council sessions.

"... [E]qually important, if not more instructive, is the sizeable manuscript he compiled, appropriately known as *The Book of Howth*. This is one of only a few existing documentary records that was not only composed by an Old Englishman, but which specifically addressed the position of Ireland's original colonial community from the perspective of one of its members. Long dismissed as an inchoate collection of historical and literary excerpts and anecdotes, this manuscript has languished in archives only to be consulted for the odd quote. This regrettable fact was largely the fault of the manuscript's XIX Century editors, J. S. Brewer and William Bullen, who, rather than illuminating the source, only reinforced the impression that it was 'little more than the sum of random collection activity of uncertain date and authorship, and is therefore of dubious merit'. (p. 38) Fortunately, M-D has skillfully demonstrated that this was not the case. As she makes abundantly clear in this fascinating study, Howth's manuscript offers scholars unique insight into the Old English mind-set and a thorough examination of this contemporary rarity was long overdue.

"M-D expertly challenges the XIX Century editors' impression that *The Book of Howth* was the haphazard product of amateur antiquarian interest. Through painstaking textual analysis and impressive archival researches, M-D has, with convincing accuracy, identified the time frame in which each of the manuscript's thirteen scribal hands worked as well as the exact sources from which Howth drew excerpts and fragments, including some which no longer exist. Similarly, she has singled out entries which were either of Howth's personal composition or had been modified from their original source. And, by establishing these details, it becomes evident that the manuscript's historical and miscellaneous contents were in direct correlation to specific developments occurring during the period of compilation, as well as to others which had shaped Howth's experiences over the course of his long life. Indeed, as M-D's study reveals, each entry was carefully selected and inserted according to Howth's particular interests during different stages of compilation and, as a whole, this work was the product of deep personal reflection and a scholarly investigation of the past.

"Rather than being a bewildering collection of short stories and fables, *The Book of Howth* was in fact designed to be a history of the English conquest of Ireland, from the original Anglo-Norman invasion to Howth's present. . . . The many events and developments Howth had witnessed over the course of his career had sparked his growing concern for the direction of English policies in Ireland and the declining role his community had in influencing them. These issues . . . had finally catalyzed in the late 1560s, ultimately inducing him to embark on this manuscript project.

"... Following M-D's careful and fascinating expose on *The Book of Howth* and its creator, it may be hoped that a more comprehensible transcription of this manuscript will be made available and thus rescue future students of XVI Century Irish history from the toilsome and frustrating perambulation of the Calendar of Carew's XIX Century edition."

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Noted and Reviewed Elsewhere

(Issues of the scholarly journals *Polygraph*, *The Journal of British Studies*, and *Speculum* were donated by John A. E. Windsor, Benefactor)

'Gold Tried in the Fire': The Prophet TheaurauJohn Tany and the English Revolution by Ariel Hessayon. Aldershot and Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2007.

Brave Community: The Digger Movement in the English Revolution by John Gurney. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2007.

The 1549 Rebellions and the Making of Early Modern England by Andy Wood. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Reviewed by Russ Leo in *Polygraph*, No. 19/20 (2008), pp. 201-12. [*Polygraph* (ISSN 1533-9793) is An International Journal of Culture & Politics.]

"Consider a previous moment, across disciplines and critical languages, when XVII Century radicalism seemed more pertinent to contemporary theoretical projects than today; lively academic phenomena such as the 'Brenner Debate' of the mid-1970s, on agrarian class structure and the transitions from feudalism to capitalism, or Christopher Hill's histories-from-below, reading pre-Marxist endeavors in continuity with later communist projects, demonstrated the importance of mid-XVII Century projects to latter-day politics. Moreover, political interventions rooted in XVII Century radicalism were not limited to the university: Kevin Brownlow and Andrew Mollo's fastidious *Winstanley* (1975), the political activities of the San Francisco Diggers, particularly from 1966 to 1968, and the protest music of Billy Bragg—namely, his recording of Leon Rosselson's 'The World Turned Upside Down' (1985)—all turned to early modern political experiments in their attempts to imagine utopia and the terms of their own distinct political interventions. It seemed, at least for a time—perhaps before the collapse of the Soviet Union or the affirmation, in left- and right-wing circles alike, of the End of History—that the voices of the first modern revolution, channeled by modern admirers, might set the world upside-down again.

"There are, of course, numerous important late-XX and XXI Century works that duly continue this tradition of radical writing. . . . For instance, both Nigel Smith and David Norbrook . . . note the academic and popular amnesia regarding the experimentation and instability of the Revolution, Commonwealth and Protectorate eras. . . . [They] place the retreat from the investigation of the period in the university curriculum (as well as in a larger political sense) in continuity with the Restoration Act of Oblivion—the edict, issued from the restored monarch Charles II, that the 'forgetting' of the Interregnum be legislated and executed at the expense of the surviving radicals. Moreover, in *Is Milton Better than Shakespeare* (2008), Smith posits the title question as a provocation against the decline in attention to Milton and his contemporaries. . . . Hardly a nostalgic longing for canons past, Smith's treatment of the status of the radical tradition evident in Milton's poetry and prose recognizes the high stakes of removing such an aberrant and anomalous (indeed, *revolutionary*) figure from popular memory. Moreover, James Holstun makes a compelling case for the recuperation of early modern radical projects in *Ehud's Dagger: Class Struggle in the English Revolution* (2000), in this case against the dismissal of Marxist approaches to early modern history and political engagement. Whether or not one agrees with Holstun's denunciation of New Historicist or Revisionist methods, he is certainly astute in his larger project—marking, among XX Century

radical circles, a productive and enduring preoccupation with the English Revolution era (roughly 1640 to 1660) and the subsequent decline in attention to said materials.

“Given recent attention to religion and to the ways in which, against Enlightenment assumptions about secularism and modernity, devotional practices have come to shape contemporary political engagements across the globe, the pre- (or anti-) modern character of XVII Century radical thought is perhaps more pertinent than ever. Hence, recent studies by Ariel Hessayon, John Gurney and Andy Wood stand to revive interest in the English Revolution among students of philosophy, politics, and radical history. . . . Building upon the work of such scholars as Christopher Hill, Keith Thomas, and George Hunston Williams, these studies foreground the inextricability of religion from politics and property in such a way as to offer new insight into our contemporary (post-) secular engagements and entanglements.

“It is in this context that **Ariel Hessayon’s** [hereafter, ‘H’] ambitious and thorough *‘Gold Tried in the Fire’* . . . demands a presentist engagement with early modernity. Perhaps, before academic disciplines were as thoroughly entrenched as now, one could make a stronger case for the importance of an obscure early modern puritan-become-heretic to contemporary determinations of politics and justice. H’s tactic attends to this difficulty without apology. *‘Gold Tried in the Fire’* begins and ends with a Benjaminian meditation from the *Theses on the Philosophy of History*—“Nothing that has taken place should be lost to history”—raising the stakes of his investigation of a relatively marginal figure by forcing him, by decree, into our memory.

“But who was TheaurauJohn? This is a question that H, in what is declaredly the first book focused on the figure, answers in excess, assembling a network of concepts and events in an effort to locate him and his struggle in tandem (rather than deriving one from the other, as purely causal matters). H’s method begins as a sort of genealogy or proper biography. We first encounter TheaurauJohn—born Thomas Totney, baptized 21 January 1608—as an inhabitant of Little Shelford, south of Cambridge. . . . [R]igorous archival work yields impressive results for H, especially in his capacity to make detailed and informed claims regarding the young Totney’s introduction to radical ideas, long before his declared transformation into TheaurauJohn [hereafter ‘TJ’]. Upon his marriage in 1633/34, for instance, H reveals that Totney became associated with [a descendant] of both Robert and Francis Kett—the former, an advocate for the Commons and the leader of a failed 1549 revolt against the king known as Kett’s Rebellion, and the latter, a noted antinomian executed for heresy in 1589. By locating Totney in a genealogy of heresy and insurrection, H invites the reader to draw certain connections without being too heavy-handed with biographical details. This is not to say that H neglects key events in Totney’s life, including his support of those opposed to Charles I, his resistance to the collection of ship money, his military service for the parliamentary cause, and his duties as a tax official following the first Civil War. It is, rather, through the history of concepts that H is able to make him relevant—from the sparse details of his early life (collected in parish records and legal documents) through his colorful and idiosyncratic public career as a prophet, to his mysterious death at sea between England and the United Provinces in 1659, a trip made in his capacity as self-declared High Priest, to lead the Jews back into England and usher in a utopian millennium.

“The first section of the volume, ‘Genesis’, chronicles Totney’s early life until his transformation into TheaurauJohn, recounting the mystical experience in 1649 during which he was allegedly visited by God and exhorted to repent. For information on his conversion, H aptly draws from TJ’s own texts—difficult works and experimental statements in heterodoxy, with such titles as *THEAVRAU-JOHN His THEOUS ORI APOKOLIPKAL: Or, Gods Light declared in Mysteries** (1651), *THEAVRAUJOHN*

*High Priest to the IEVVES, HIS Disputive challenge to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the whole Hirach, Of Roms Clargical Priests** (1652), and *THE NATIONS RIGHT in Magna Charta* discussed with the thing Called Parliament* (1650). H also introduces Captain Robert Norwood, TJ's single follower and the man who most likely funded the publication of his treatises. . . .{* all [sic]}

"As TJ cites the Magna Carta and points to the XI Century Norman Conquest as an act of violence and oppression, H adeptly weaves together histories of religion and resistance, of heresy and political action. He compares TJ with the Digger Gerrard Winstanley, the Ranter Abiezer Coppe, and the Leveller and Seeker William Walwyn. Coppe's eccentric style and antinomianism make it difficult for the reader to dismiss TJ as anomalous, just as Walwyn's affirmation of works over grace—his 'practical' Christianity, emphasizing tolerance and action over high-Calvinist posturing—points to a wide variety of radical arguments against antinomianism, to the degree to which all heresies are not equal or allied. H's comparison with Winstanley is particularly instructive insofar as his form of spiritual communism (often read as a sort of Marxism before Marx) proceeds from like sources; he and TJ share a set of assumptions about Scripture and human agency as well as a similar refusal to bear the Norman yoke. Yet both figures embark upon very different projects. *'Gold Tried in the Fire'* is insightful in its description of the 'orthodox representation of heterodoxy'—of the limited terms with which the state, under the auspices of the Blasphemy Act of 1650, can render various heresies or political theologies legible.

"In Part III, 'King of the Jews', H proceeds to investigate the canonical and extra-canonical resources of radical writing during the period, giving clear histories of Apocryphal texts and their discontents in an effort to bring TJ's exegetical statements to light. This is perhaps the strongest section of the book, particularly where H recounts the survival of the Books of Enoch into the period despite the official condemnation of the Apocrypha before Parliament in the Westminster Assembly of Divines' Confession of Faith (1648). From his investigation of Enoch, H's treatment of TJ and his contemporaries includes Judaic resources beyond orthodox approaches to the OT (whether Reformed, Catholic, or proper to the Westminster Assembly of Divines during the period). What follows is an intense yet fruitful tour through Kabbalah, angelology, and hermeticism, as H explores the resources of occult philosophy for radical political and religious projects. It is here that H points to the importance and popularity of hermeticism among early modern philosophical circles as well as among heretics writing and prophesying in popular languages. Writers such as Paracelsus and Boehme provide the conceptual tools for challenging existing institutions and assumptions about religion and hierarchy, just as alchemy, numerology and occult sciences enable daring new heterodox investigations of visible and invisible phenomena—forms of study and devotion which reconstruct divinity and, in the process, reconstitute authority and piety in opposition to church or state programs. While TJ himself remains at the outskirts of recognized political movements (such as the Digger or Leveller projects), H's treatment of his intellectual milieu does much to inform our understanding of the *ubiquity* of seemingly obscure resources—the degree to which occult philosophy, at least during the Interregnum period, became the province of scholarly and popular thought, attracting diverse adherents from Charles II down to the impassioned goldsmith-become-prophet around which the investigation takes shape.

"H's daring investigations do miss their mark at times. For example, the historian's citation of the *Epic of Gilgamesh* and other works from the reign of Hammurabi reveals a penchant for a sort of universal history of heterodox sources that stands at odds with the more compelling and focused studies. Nevertheless, I am hesitant to ask H to stop, since for every errant turn to an unrelated text

there is an equally unruly search that yields great result (as in the case of his approach to the Apocrypha or to angelology).

“**John Gurney’s** [hereafter, ‘G’] *Brave Community* . . . is also indebted to previous works in the field. However, whereas numerous studies of Gerard Winstanley [hereafter, ‘Win’] have focused on the singular figure and his writing, *Brave Community* offers an exhaustive archival treatment of the Digger movement itself. Much of G’s evidence comes from archives in Walton (the site of St. George’s Hill, where the Diggers first camped in April 1649) and in Cobham (where they were removed to following the expulsion from Walton), locating the Digger movement in local politics with explicit reference to the relevant social and economic conditions precipitating the movement. . . . Chapter 2 extends G’s local analysis of the parish of Cobham into the Civil War era, discovering moments of riot and protest among the rural poor in an effort to refute, in subtle and informed terms, historical approaches that characterize the protest as neither ideological nor revolutionary. G provides ample evidence from local records and with reference to larger, national concerns that unrest in Cobham was certainly tied to supra-local ideological struggle—that the tension between king and parliament, taxation, and the ongoing project of Reformation were all played out in the theater of local politics. Moreover, in turning over said records in detail, G does much to complicate our understanding of the commons as a site of class conflict. We encounter a rural landscape in *Brave Community* that is thoroughly political insofar as contests over familial claims and customary access to common land quickly become religious or philosophical disputes over right, use, charity, and justice. What begins as personal conflicts over property or right—for instance, the tension between juror William Starr and the Digger Henry Bickerstaffe stemming from Starr’s ‘father’s very public humiliation at the hands of the father of a leading Digger [Bickerstaffe]’—are duly ideological contests over the distribution of land and the work of the state.

“G proceeds by locating Win in a network of social and familial relations particular to Cobham. Win, born in Wigan, is revealed as a possible member of the gentry insofar as he is ‘regularly accorded the title “gentleman”, a compelling, if not conclusive, sign in the XVII Century of gentry status.’ Coming from a ‘middling’ sort of background, Win traveled to London as an apprentice and sought social advancement there before relocating, under duress, to Cobham. G discovers the degree to which the Digger was connected by blood or bond to a number of prominent figures, to lawyers and London merchants who were enlisted in various forms to aid the Diggers in their later endeavors. G’s research demystifies Win to some degree, complicating popular fantasies regarding both his mysticism and communism. In so doing, he succeeds in recasting the Digger’s story as a more ordinary struggle against overwhelming socio-economic pressures. Win’s modest London business and unremarkable bankruptcy, typical of ‘the economic crisis accompanying the outbreak of civil war’, give rise not to abstract or idealist spiritual awakening but rather to a sort of awareness of general economic and religious conditions of oppression. Win thus becomes, in G’s treatment, a man for whom the communism of the Digger projects is a creative utopian solution to a set of material problems.

“Like H, G is keen to identify key players in the Diggers’ story, tracing the connections across notable figures and movements. Not only does TJ appear, but also William Everard, prophet and sometime-Digger with whom Win shared unofficial leadership. . . . G’s chief contribution to the study of the Diggers is the extent to which he is able to identify heretofore-unknown figures . . . and their commitments to radical politics in the late 1640s. G attends to Digger writing but diverges from previous studies insofar as he frequently notes the degree to which Win’s tracts were influenced by the anonymous or collectively-written works such as the *Light Shining in Buckinghamshire*. He also

notes that Digger manifestos often carried numerous signatures, a characteristic that challenges modern literary assumptions about authority and representation. Hence, where G's is a narrative of religious radicalism, he focuses less on Win's peculiarity and more on the common resources of Digger theology, from the availability of Behmenist tracts and concepts to the absorption of the Diggers by the Quaker movement after 1650, providing ample evidence from parish records.

"*Brave Community* ends with Win's own involvement in Quaker causes and communities. . . . In several chapters that organize Digger writing into periods—primarily before, during, and after the experiment on St. George's Hill—G traces the development of specific beliefs and rhetorical strategies. Accordingly, he follows Win's equation of God with reason, utopianism, and identification of two Adams (or two human natures, the latter of which redeems the former) from his earliest pamphlets. . . . The project on St. George's Hill in 1649 is seen as an attempt to realize the high stakes of the earlier pamphlets, just as the particular circumstances of the project—its status as a crown land, its borders, and its non-arable character—all give shape to the pamphlets originating during the occupation of the site. It is here that Win develops distinctions between Kingly and Godly Powers, just as he explores the oppressive terms of the Norman Conquest in a manner that is similar to TJ's extensive genealogical archive exposed by H. Following the expulsion from St. George's Hill and the removal of the community to Cobham, Digger tracts name 'middling and poorer sorts', in addition to the gentry and clergy, as their adversaries. It is perhaps during this later period that Win and company are best equipped to understand (or at least contend with) the widespread collaboration between oppressors and oppressed. G does not counter this observation with any apt explanation or exploration of ideology. Rather than name this as a shortcoming of the book, however, it might be more appropriate to cite *Brave Community* as a pathbreaking study that makes further work possible. Suffice it to say that it is in the later pamphlets that G locates the Digger appropriation of the language of levelling—here, with Christ as the 'great Leveller' come to restore creation to its utopian state. . . . [T]he writing of the movement takes a decidedly dispensationalist turn, pointing to similarities between Digger and (later) Fifth Monarchist political theology. Even after the collapse of the later settlement in Cobham, Digger theology points to the eventual restoration of creation, with their destruction characterized as merely a tentative defeat. G treats the aftermath of the destruction of the Digger colonies in April and May 1650, identifying Win's final pamphlet—*The Law of Freedom in a Platform, or, True Magistracy Restored* (1650)—as a decidedly utopian text still looking to the future of the movement, in spite of the forced removal from the settlement at Cobham.

"While G's study discovers in the Diggers a mid-XVII Century movement against enclosure and expropriation, **Andy Wood's** [hereafter 'W'] treatment of rebel political strategy in *The 1549 Rebellions and the Making of Early Modern England* extends our understanding of the relationship between radical religious movements to the nascent capitalist regimes of property a century earlier, an earlier 'commotion time' coming to a head in Kett's Rebellion. Although he locates the 1549 rebellions 'at the end of a long tradition of medieval popular revolt', the discourses of resistance following the expropriation of common lands by the emergent regime (in this case, under Edward VI and, in particular, the Protectorate of the Duke of Somerset) look forward to the tumult of the mid-XVII Century. W's study does much to enable future work on the continuity between XVI and XVII Century responses to enclosure as well as to the imposition of a state religion in England. While W, unlike H and G, does not treat political theology with any real specificity, he certainly points to the inextricability of politics from confessional or devotional languages and practices.

“W begins his study by investigating policy and ideology under Somerset’s Protectorate, exploring key transformations in local and national government as well as in the legislation of publication and heresy which did much to precipitate the enclosure riots and the ‘commotion time’ of 1549. The author grounds this investigation explicitly in existing scholarship concerning the mid-XVI Century origins of capitalism and his introduction duly includes an examination of Marx’s writing on the Tudor period, where W affirms that ‘Marx illuminates the economic basis of the key conflicts in 1549—a dispute between lord and tenant over relations of production and modes of exploitation.’ In many ways this early exegesis of Marx sets the tone for W’s narrative of the 1549 rebellions, where the Western Rising of 1549 and its influence east and south—including the East Anglian riots into which Robert Kett was drawn—take shape in terms of property and class. Kett himself is revealed as ‘an unlikely rebel’, a yeoman landowner, among the richest in his community, who had ‘previously been prosecuted in the manor court for enclosing part of the town’s commons.’ Nevertheless, when the East Anglia/Norfolk rebels arrived at Kett’s estate in early July with a view to its destruction, Kett offered to lead the rebellion ‘in an attempt “to subdue the power of Great men”’ and to realize, in some sense, justice through religious and economic reformation. After a series of encounters with state forces, Kett’s army of ‘commotioners’ was subdued by the end of August. According to W, ‘Kett’s defeat left the rebellious commons traumatized and broken’, and Kett himself was executed on 7 December.

“What follows is a narrative of the repression of the events of 1549, especially of Kett’s involvement, and the efforts on behalf of ‘aristo-capitalist’ forces to seize the languages of politics and justice from the commons—thus undoing the association between popular politics and elite responsibility for the commonwealth which explains the wide purchase of the rebel cause during the ‘commotion time’. . . . Chapters 3 and 4 work to discover the voices of the commons and rebels, countering state strategies of silence and repression. Examining sources as diverse as Hugh Latimer’s sermons, Robert Crowley’s polemical treatises, chronicles of the 1549 rebellions, dramatic works such as Nicholas Udall’s 1533 court entertainment *Respublica* [sic], statements from Norfolk laborers, and parish records, W discovers the figure of the ‘honest man’ or ‘Honesty’ who is ultimately responsible to the commonwealth before private interest. In this sense, approaches to honesty—to what Michel Foucault, in another idiom, would eventually label ‘fearless’ or ‘necessary’ speech (from the Greek *parrhesia*)—contributed to the history of resistance and to the language and theory at work in the 1549 rebellions. ‘Honesty’ was thus recast as ‘sedition’. W’s attention to the right to speak provides the backdrop for his recuperation of rebel voices, to say nothing of his exemplary treatment of rebel political language, plumbing state histories of insurrection—sources which degrade the 1549 rebels (especially Kett) and mask the potentially devastating class conflict of the earlier ‘commotion time’—to reveal how such works attempt to silence their discontents. In Chapters 5 and 6, W extends his reading of state strategies to account for the decline of insurrection under Queen Elizabeth and at the beginning of King James VI & I’s reign; he also accounts for several competing attempts to locate the 1549 rebellions—and Kett’s Rebellion in particular—in emergent Elizabethan and XVII Century histories of sedition. . . .

“W’s treatment of the ‘commotion time’ coming to a head in 1549 is particularly salient as a preface not only to H’s and G’s work, but also to the study of mid-XVII Century radicalism in general. Not only does W contribute to the destruction of the idea of the Elizabethan Golden Age, a state myth perpetuated without regard for class conflict of the violent birth of agrarian capitalism, *The 1549 Rebellions* . . . raises the stakes of later, Civil-War-era materials by identifying their repressed

precursors. W does so with exemplary care, offering insight into an age with different assumptions regarding matters both sacred and secular. The anonymous pamphlet *Vox populi, vox Dei*, for instance, reveals the degree to which the ongoing project of Reformation in England is as much a matter of class and property as it is about religion, devotion, and contemplative labor: “We have banished superstition / But we still have ambition / We have shut away all cloisterers / But still keep extortioners / We have taken the lands of the Abbewse [*sic*] / But we have converted them to a worse use.” As property is at stake in the dissolution of the monasteries and the redistribution of church lands, the Reformation in England is revealed—in the very language of the laborers and commons—as a matter of class conflict and exploitation.

“While the three works at hand are certainly written for the specialist in early modern political theology, H, G, and W all treat topics in the history of resistance and, indeed, radical philosophy with enough care to appeal to the general reader of radicalism. All three works do much to inform future investigations of more familiar radicals—Benedictus de Spinoza, for instance, and the conversations in contemporary political philosophy taking shape around Jonathan Israel’s *Radical Enlightenment* (2001) or Antonio Negri’s *The Savage Anomaly* (1981). . . . Moreover, where H, G, and W write with explicit reference to religion they reveal an emergent public sphere of political languages that has much to offer a more presentist treatment of secularism As the radical resources of religion continue to shape contemporary political debate—as the most vehement critiques of liberalism and its attendant secularist assumptions proceed from political projects not unlike those documented by H, G, and W—we would do well to turn to an earlier moment (or moments) in the history of resistance. Such an endeavor enables one to understand the inextricability of religion from other discourses of power and the virulently anti-modern, anti-secular, and utopian character of certain forms of devotion—religions and religious languages, at odds with the disabling and domesticating assumptions of secular reason, which have long refused oppressive terms of property and propriety.”

Literatures of Exile in the English Revolution and Its Aftermath, Philip Major, Ed. ‘Transculturalisms, 1400-1700’. Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2010. 238 pp. \$99.95 (cloth). Reviewed in JBS, Vol. 50, No. 4 (Oct. 2011), pp. 979-80.

“This collection derives from the conference ‘Exile in the English Reformation and Its Aftermath, 1640-85’ held in London in 2006, which was a major milestone in the recent wave of interest in the royalist exiles of the 1640s and 1650s. . . .

“ . . . [S]everal of the essays are not so much about exile per se as the cultural interactions between the British Isles and Continental Europe. Sarah Mortimer supplies an excellent discussion of how Henry Hammond sought to rethink the intellectual underpinnings of the C of E in the face of the challenge from European Socinianism. But Hammond himself never left England. Nigel Smith, in discussing an anonymous Dutch poem of 1650 and Andreas Gryphius’s play *Ermordete Majestät oder Carolus Stuardus*, not implausibly assumes that they are examples of the influence of British exiles on Continental writers. But need we necessarily assume such influence to explain why so many foreign observers watched the fall of Charles I with such appalled fascination? . . .

“ . . . Using new archival material, Katrien Daemende Gelder and J. P. Vander Motten trace the financial difficulties of William Aylesbury, the brother-in-law of Sir Edward Hyde who had, until falling out with the duke in 1650, helped organize the sale of the second duke of Buckingham’s art collection. Marika Keblusek, whose monograph on book culture among the royalist exiles is eagerly awaited, suggests that book collecting was one way for those exiles to cling onto some measure of

normality. More than most of the contributors, Keblusek ably conveys a sense of exile as being first and foremost about cultural deprivation and personal suffering, even if this could be offset by new friendships, experiences, and ideas.

"That the collection includes two essays by Philip Major and Jason Peacey on two of the regicides, William Goffe and John Dixwell, who fled abroad at the Restoration, is no mere afterthought. Major, as editor, recognizes that these republican refugees after 1660 were as much exiles as their royalist counterparts before 1660 and that a comparison between the experiences of the two groups is entirely valid. In fact, Major and Peacey are the two contributors who address most directly the question of how their subjects coped psychologically with the actual experience of exile. But there is a crucial difference. Whereas most royalist exiles had been able to live openly in foreign lands, Goffe and Dixwell spent decades living secret lives within the Stuarts's colonial territories in New England, knowing that exposure would probably send them to the gallows or the block. One can only suppose that they thought that their enemies' earlier periods of exile had been altogether easier."

Sixteenth-Century Scotland: Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch, Julian Goodare and Alasdair A. MacDonald, Eds. Brill's Studies in Intellectual History. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008. 471 pp. \$147 (cloth). Reviewed in JBS, Vol. 49, No. 3 (July 2010), pp. 692-3.

"Ruth Grant's analysis of 'The Making of the Anglo-Scottish Alliance of 1586' emphasizes Elizabeth I's need of Scottish friendship in the face of the growing threat from Philip II. An important motive for James's cultivation of potential Catholic supporters at home and abroad was to play on English insecurity both before and after the conclusion of the not entirely satisfactory 1586 treaty. Roderick J. Lyall reconstructs the career of James Halkerston, a Catholic adventurer and scholar with court connections who supplied Latin paraphrases of the Scots sonnet that James contributed to a memorial volume for Sir Philip Sidney that was published in 1587. In 1589, James married Anna of Denmark rather than Elizabeth's favored candidate. Scotland mounted, in 1590, appropriately splendid shows for Anna's coronation and entry into Edinburgh, described by Maureen M. Meikle. Her account underlines the importance of Edinburgh's help in making a success of the celebrations and of the welcome accorded Anna's Danish entourage. Amy L. Juhala shows that this help was part of a larger pattern: before 1603, the capital received 'unending requests for assistance' (p. 343) from the cash-strapped James. . . ."

Spain and its World 1500-1700 by J. H. Elliott. New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1989. xvi + 295 pp. £30. Reviewed by M. J. Rodriguez-Salgado (London School of Economics) in *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (1990), pp. 755-6.

"One of the joys of collections is the insight they provide to the motivation of the historian. In his introduction to this excellent collection of essays Professor John Elliott informs his readers that his research topic was partly determined by a journey through Spain in 1950 which revealed the artistic splendour of Spanish culture in the XVII Century. This early interest in culture is still evident in his studies on the Spanish court and propaganda. Additionally, he was attracted to this troubled era because he felt that it reflected in some ways 'the collective predicament' of his own generation. The loss of empire and dominant international status; the theme of 'national renewal in the midst of perceived decline' (p. ix) were as relevant to XX Century Britain as they were to XVII Century Spain. But there are no facile comparisons in Elliott's work. On the contrary, he is keenly aware of our preconceptions and clearly exposes how these have shaped (and hindered) research on the early

modern world. He is also highly sensitive to the views and attitudes of that world, and skillfully uses a variety of sources to study their attitudes and how decisions were made. Armed with this dual perception, as these articles which span three decades amply demonstrate, he has suggested new and profitable avenues of research into such topics as revolution, decline, the encounter of the old world and the new, as well as into the history of early modern Spain.

"From the start it becomes apparent why Elliott has dominated his field both in the Spanish- and English-speaking world. The polished, clear prose that is his hallmark makes his work eminently readable. Equally, he pays careful attention to structure. . . .

"Always concerned to put his subject in context, Elliott has experimented with material and method until he has found the most vivid way to illuminate it. As he explains here, he began his study of the 'centralizing' policies of the count-duke of Olivares in the 1620s and 30s traditionally enough, looking from the centre to the periphery. Dissatisfied with the documentation, he changed tack, and dared to turn the study on its head. Ignoring remarks about it being a 'rum subject', he analysed the Catalan revolt by looking at the way the periphery reacted to the growing interference from the centre. This model, with its combination of detailed analysis of a discrete problem that in turn serves to elucidate a major theme, has influenced many historians since. Similarly, when tackling the New World, he eschewed tradition and decided 'to look at the history of Spanish imperialism from the standpoint of its impact on the colonizing power, rather than on the colonized' (p. 3). For me, this is one of Elliott's particular strengths: his ability to ask unusual questions, and to study problems in a highly original manner. He is at his best also when he deals with concepts and the mental world of early modern men—here most clearly represented in his essays on America, where he turns to 'observe the observers' (p. 45). . . . Nor has Elliott hesitated to ask difficult or awkward questions. In 'revolution and continuity in early modern Europe' he discusses the role of the masses in revolutions and rightly concludes that they scarcely mattered: relations between the elites are far more important, even if they are less fashionable nowadays. He also insists on the crucial role of nationality, despite the complexity and controversy surrounding this issue. The role of the monarch in multi-national empires such as the Spanish monarchy, and the extent to which they and their governments can be considered 'foreign' in any part of the empire requires further discussion; but that is precisely what Elliott hopes these essays will do—prompt further research into these topics.

"Collectively, these twelve articles paint a picture of Spain as a 'pioneering society'; a society that was initially open, active, and able to devise responses to multiple new challenges. He shows the rapid expansion of an extraordinary bureaucratic system, with multiple checks and balances, that held a massive empire together. Striking as it was, the system that could organise the immensely complex movement of bullion from the mines of Potosí to the custom houses of Seville (p. 20), was nevertheless incapable of effecting the centralization of Iberia, let alone uniting the wider empire. Diversity characterised the Spanish monarchy, and Elliott cogently argues that it was the very weakness of the central government that kept the empire together. While the peripheral (or non-Castilian) states were left largely unmolested, they gained from their association with the Spanish monarchy. But by the XVII Century, the bureaucracy was altogether too cumbersome and inefficient, and more seriously, it was stifling much-needed reform. . . . He reiterates that it was precisely their acute perception of decline that prompted expensive, ambitious and aggressive foreign interventions. Convinced that only success abroad and the recovery of honour, reputation and a sense of mission could arrest that decline, the government embarked on major wars and attempted to make non-Castilian states pay for them. Far from saving the empire, these policies almost destroyed it,

provoking opposition and revolt in the empire, and further shattering the economy and demographic development of Castile.

“Philip IV and his favourite also made use of words and images in their campaign to arouse support and create unity, by patronizing artists, especially writers and painters. Elliott demonstrates that these tactics failed, but royal patronage prompted emulation and helped to create that rich cultural world which so attracted him three hundred years later.”

Editor's Miscellany

Our late life member **The Rev'd Donald L. Irish, SSC**, sometime rector of S. Paul's, Clinton and Carroll Sts., Brooklyn NY, wrote from his mission field in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, in July 1991 (*The Evangelical Catholic*, Vol. XIV, No. 8, p. 15), “Cranmer has recently been undergoing a ‘recanonicalization’ which is scarcely deserved. (Cf. his inclusion in the new [1979] Calendar.) When one considers his life, his subservience to a tyrant's every whim, his extreme erastianism, almost all that can be admired about him consists of his magnificent prose and his dying for what he believed in—which happened to be a heresy!”

On 16 October, TEC commemorates Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley. The latter two were burned at the stake in Oxford on 16 Oct. 1555 during the reign of Queen Mary I; some months later, Cranmer met the same end in Oxford (21 Mar. 1556). Ridley had done some burning of his own, having overseen the burning in a London street of the confiscated Image of Our Lady of Walsingham, kindled by missals, to the howls of a cheering mob.

[Thomas Cranmer, Abp. of Canterbury 1533-54; Hugh Latimer, Bp. of Worcester 1535-9; Nicholas Ridley, Bp. of Rochester 1547-50, Bp. of London 1550-3]

In this context, it is all the more amazing that TEC has many times declined to place the commemoration of **King Charles the Martyr** on its Calendar!

It is of note that **The Rev'd Alfred Hope Patten, OSA**, XX Century* restorer of the Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham, Norfolk, England, was an ardent client of the Royal Martyr. He is one of the English members included in the American Region's Necrology, among several others who are well-known and beloved to us in the Americas—Lord Halifax, T. S. Eliot, Sir Ninian Comper, Canon Professor J. Roy Porter, Ben., and Father John Milburn—as well as the departed British officers of the Society of King Charles the Martyr and the Royal Martyr Church Union.

* Father Hope Patten caused to be erected a new image, patterned on the medieval Walsingham Priory seal, in the Parish Church of S. Mary, Walsingham Parva, of which he was vicar, in 1921. The image was moved into the Holy House (its model being the Holy House of Loreto) within the Shrine Church (which in enlarged form we know today), which was dedicated on 15 October 1931.

We note that again the ‘**Kalendar of Anniversaries**’ does not appear in *SKCM News*; we continue to encourage members to REMEMBER these anniversaries. You may refer to the

lists in your retained back issues or the ***Devotional Manual***, which may be ordered (\$7.50 [\$6 + \$1.50 P&H]) from the Treasurer. Pious members are urged to use the ***Manual***, in which a 'Rule' is suggested, as part of their regular devotions.

Charles A. Coulombe's article on the **Kings of California** in our Dec. 2012 issue reminds us of other monarchs in the Americas, of course the British and French rulers of Canada, of the thirteen colonies that became the United States of America, and of Louisiana; of the Tsar in Alaska; and of Maximilian^, tragic Habsburg emperor of Mexico, who fell victim to bad planning and timing, including the revolutionary wave then sweeping Latin America. Of course, there had been indigenous kings among the Amerindians before that, in North, Central, and South America, notably of the Mayan, Aztec, and Inca Empires.

The reader may be unfamiliar with the **Emperor Pedro II of Brazil**, who when he was only a frail 5-year-old, saw his father, Emperor Pedro I, leave for Portugal. Young Pedro became the best-educated ruler in XIX Century Latin America, able to read and write fourteen languages. He became Emperor at age 16 and two years later was married by proxy to Princess Thereza of Naples. She was lame and not physically beautiful, but Pedro II came to love and admire her for her character. She bore him four children; two sons died. Pedro was Catholic but supported religious toleration; this led to his disagreement with the Pope over permitting Freemasonry in Brazil.

Pedro II had a good sense of humor. At the 1876 Philadelphia Exhibition for the U.S.A.'s Centennial, he inquired about the number of revolutions per minute made by the Corliss engine. When answered, he quipped, "That's better than our Latin American republics!"

Pedro II led Brazil through financial trials and war with Paraguay (1864-70) and lived to see the end of slavery. When he left Brazil, his legacy included 6,000 miles of railway, a telephone system, a fledgling industrial base, a Brazil that was a good credit risk, and three million ex-slaves, freed without bloodshed. Yet the empire and he paid high prices. Landholders (angry over the end of slavery), churchmen, and military leaders supported the republican revolutionaries in the almost bloodless 1889 overthrow of the empire.

Argentine President Bartolomé Mitre called Pedro II Latin America's greatest democrat.

Even less well known is **King Orelie-Antoine of Araucania and Patagonia**, a Frenchman elected by an assembly of Mapuche caciques on 17 November 1860, on which date the newly elected king published a constitution for the kingdom, establishing structures defined by his vision of a modern, liberal constitutional monarchy in the Southern Cone of South America. His genius was the recognition that the original peoples, Mapuche, Tehuelche, and others, could set aside their differences and form a united front against the advancing threat of European settlement. He appealed to the traditional leaders of the community by proposing a state that would secure the autonomy and self-determination of the Mapuche people. King Orelie-Antoine was imprisoned by and in Chile for a time before returning to France to raise support. These events received extensive coverage in the U.S., British, and French presses, including *The New York Times*.

In 2010 supporters of the Kingdom of Araucania and Patagonia celebrated the sesquicentennial of the founding of the kingdom. At La Chèze, France, the boyhood home of Orelie-Antoine de Tounens, Prince Philippe d'Araucanie joined many Araucanian dignitaries for a celebration on 21 August, the Saturday nearest the feast-day of **S. Rose of Lima**, the patron saint of South America and of the Kingdom of Araucania and Patagonia.

In the United States, the North American Araucanian Royalist Society hosted a gala in Philadelphia on 13 November 2010, the Saturday closest to the 150th Anniversary of the Kingdom's founding. They remain committed to fighting against what they see as the continued oppression of the Mapuche people, in particular, the Chilean government's taking over their ancestral homeland. A declaration of Prince Philippe notes that the Chilean government's actions are in flagrant disregard of the 2007 UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, and of the International Labor Organization Convention 169, ratified by Chile in 2008.

^ **Emperor Maximilian of Mexico** (1832-67) was the younger brother of Emperor Franz Joseph I and Archduke of Austria. Christened Ferdinand Maximilian Joseph, he served as rear admiral in the Austrian navy and as governor-general of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom before being fraudulently persuaded in 1863 that he had been elected to the throne of Mexico. He sailed there with his wife Carlota (daughter of Leopold I, king of the Belgians), and was crowned Emperor of Mexico on 10 June 1864. He was caught between many powers and events beyond his control: President Benito Juárez, the Emperor Napoleon III, and the end of the U.S. War between the States.

The French army drove Juárez north from Mexico, but were forced to withdraw when the U.S. invoked the Monroe Doctrine. Maximilian viewed himself as the protector of Mexican peasants and was determined to end peonage, but this was liberal naïveté and his undoing. He upheld Juárez's reforms, to the indignation of the landed proprietors, and antagonized the Roman Catholic hierarchy by declining to restore vast church holdings confiscated by Juárez. Carlota returned to Europe to seek help from Napoleon III and Pope Pius IX, without success, causing her to suffer an emotional breakdown, while Maximilian's imperial army were surrounded and starved by Juárez's forces. Despite petitions to Juárez by Victor Hugo, Giuseppe Garibaldi, and many of Europe's crowned heads, Maximilian was executed by firing squad on 19 June 1867 near Querétaro.

After the events of 22 July 2011, when Anders Behring Breivik set off a bomb on the island of Utoya and murdered scores of children, a total of 77 people, **King Harald V of Norway** rose to the occasion and served as a symbol of patriotism to the Norwegian people, as his grandfather **King Haakon VII** had done when he defied the Nazis in 1940.

King Haakon VII set off by himself in his car in April 1940 to meet with the Germans, and said his famous "No." King Harald V is quoted as saying, admiringly, of his grandfather, "He never drove alone in his car. He always had his A.D.C. [aide-de-camp] with him. But this time there was nobody. I'm sure he didn't think he was coming back."

Quoting from Steven Erlanger's article in *The New York Times* (Oslo, Sun. 16 Oct. 2011), "[F]or a man who has never quite had the common touch of his father, **King Olav V**, King Harald still moved the nation after 22 July, reaching out as best he could to those in grief and shock. Asked in an interview in his office at the palace what he took away from those meetings, he paused for a moment, then spoke with a puzzled honesty. 'I don't know what I came away with,' he said. 'I hope they came away with something. . . . I felt very helpless, really. All these families who had either just got someone back from this or had just got the message that they weren't coming back; it was a very strange atmosphere. Wherever you turned there were people in grief.' He stopped again, then laughed, to break the mood. 'When I came out I said to my wife I'd never hugged so many people I didn't know!'

"King Harald caused considerable controversy in 1969 by marrying a commoner, Sonja Haraldsen, but that helped cement the 'Norwegianness' of the [royal] family, which was Danish and British. His son, Crown Prince Haakon, has done the same, causing another controversy by marrying a single mother, a divorced woman who admits to having [had] a rebellious youth. But the future king and queen were also prominent after 22 July, as they appeared at a huge rally and he gave his own moving speech.

"The couple were on their honeymoon on Long Island on 11 Sept. 2001, and visited ground zero a year ago; King Harald and Queen Sonja first went in October 2002 and will go again this month. Unusually, they will visit in the company of four other Nordic heads of state or royal representatives: the king and queen of Sweden, the presidents of Iceland and Finland, and the crown prince and princess of Denmark. 'It's very rare,' King Harald said, laughing again. 'It happens at weddings and that sort of thing, but not so often.' A Norwegian architectural firm, Snohetta, designed the museum pavilion for the ground zero memorial, a source of pride here."

'**Trivia**' are not inconsequential, uninteresting, or unimportant. They are *facts*, facts unknown to many people. Some are of considerable interest to specialists. Examples include the batting averages of baseball stars, the win-loss records of favorite sports teams, the number of holes-in-one a world-class golfer has shot, and the brand of cigar that Fidel Castro smoked (Cohiba).

To an opera fan, it may be of interest to know how many times Dorothy Kirsten sang her best-known rôle, Tosca*, or to those who weren't particular fans of Miss Kirsten, how many of those performances were sung after she was 'past her prime'. (On one occasion in New York when the Editor was present, it was announced that she was standing in for the scheduled *prima donna*, who was indisposed. There was a groan from the notoriously generous Met audience, who often rose to their feet for undeserved standing ovations.)

Technical or jargon terms are often considered trivia. The pharmaceutical term 'enteric coated' may seem arcane to many lay people, but to those who take a lot of Aspirin® acetyl salicylic acid (ASA) or NSAIDs (non-steroidal anti-inflammatory drugs, such as Advil® ibuprofen) it is critically important, because such a coating allows the tablet containing the

medicine, itself corrosive to the gastric lining, to traverse the stomach intact and to pass into the intestine, where the coating dissolves and the medication is safely absorbed.

In *SKCM News* and in the *Email Communiqué*, we try to inform our members about what might be called **Caroline** or **Stuart trivia**, not because they are trivial, but so members will know more about the Royal Martyr and his times. Just as a good public speaker often uses humor to gain his audience's attention, S.K.C.M. members, in making conversation about King Charles and to win converts to his Cause, may find it of help to know some Caroline trivia. Also, trivia tend to be easier to remember than jokes.

Giacomo (Antonio Domenico Michele Secundo Maria) **Puccini** (1858-1924) was born in Lucca, Italy, on 22 December. He represented the fifth generation of his family, in direct line, to serve as church organist there. His father was Michele Puccini. Young Giacomo completed his classical studies and began his formal music education in 1874 at Istituto Musicale Pacini in Lucca.

His first successes were the motet '*Plaudite Populi*' (1877) and a *Credo* written in the same year. Both were performed on 12 July 1878 in honor of S. Paolino, the patron saint of Lucca. S. Paulinus had come from Antioch with S. Peter, who chose and consecrated him first bishop of Lucca. (Puccini later incorporated the *Credo* into his *Messa a quattro*.)

In Lucca, Puccini commenced his formal musical studies with his well-named uncle, Magi Fortunato (connoting *magic*, *wisdom*, and *good fortune*). Once the young Puccini's promise was recognized, he was sent to Milan to study. There he came into association with a group of artists called the *scapigliati*, including Boito and Praga; after three years in Milan he met Ponchielli. The major aesthetic influence on him was Amatore Galli, Professor of History & Philosophy of Music.

Puccini became the greatest composer of *verismo* operas. On 29 November 1924, less than a month short of his sixty-sixth birthday, he suffered a fatal heart attack in Brussels after surgical removal of a throat tumor.

[This *trivium* may seem lengthy and irrelevant to some readers. However, many of our number share the Editor's affliction with what Cocteau called "the red and gold disease".]

Lucca lies about 12 m above sea level in Tuscany, near the Ligurian coast on the Fiume (River) Sêrchio, and is known as the home of *olio d'oliva lucchese*, arguably the best olive oil in the world. The olives aren't bruised by machine- or even hand-picking them from the trees—they are carefully *picked up* from the ground, after they have fallen of their own accord! Tuscany is also known for its 'big reds', costly wines like ATEO, made of the Sangiovese grape, also used to make the better-known, less expensive wines, Chianti and Chianti Classico. We may be sure that Puccini enjoyed these, as any oenophile does.

Lucca is not as much visited as it should be, except by opera lovers who attend the annual Puccini festival there. Only 21 km from Pisa, 336 km North of Rome and 72 km West of Florence, Lucca is a fortified city and survived the Dark Ages' barbarian invasions of the Italian peninsula largely for this reason. As residents do, one may now take a leisurely stroll

(or jog) atop the massive ramparts and in the city's many lovely gardens. Its history goes 'way back, to 56 B.C., when Caesar, Crassus, and Pompey met there and agreed to rule Rome as the ill-fated first triumvirate. Lucca became the virtual capital of Tuscany at the time of the Roman Empire's collapse. The main attraction of the Duomo (*Cattedrale di San Martino*) is the *Volto Santo*, a bearded likeness of Christ on the Cross carved by S. Nicodemus of cedar of Lebanon.

* **Tosca** is Puccini's best known opera, a 'war-horse'—the quintessential *verismo* opera. Its scenes are specific down to the calendar date. It is set in Rome on 17 June 1800, three days after the Battle of Marengo. The opera's name is that of the female lead, Flora Tosca, a singer; its arch-villain is the Sicilian Baron Vitello Scarpia, Chief of Police, a textbook hypocrite, who bows as the cardinal passes while he fantasizes about exploiting Tosca that evening as he has many other women. This is evident from his asides while ostensibly saying his prayers during a *Te Deum* being sung to celebrate the victory of royalist/papal forces over Napoleon. Puccini scrupulously adheres to the details of the liturgical rites then in use in Rome; the sounds of the bells heard in Act III during the morning song are just as they were. The Roman poet, Luigi Zenazzo was commissioned to write The Shepherd's Song, because Puccini wanted it to be in dialect. Act I is set in the Church of Sant'Andrea della Velle*, Act II, in the Baron's apartment in the Palazzo Farnese, and Act III, on the platform of the Castel Sant'Angelo, scene of the 'mock' execution the next morning and Tosca's suicidal jump at the finale.

According to Grove's (see 'Notes' below), *Tosca* was "ardently admired by Schoenberg and Berg, though no less passionately deplored by Mahler. Puccini, in the best way possible, ushered in the XX Century." (Arnold Schoenberg and Alban Berg, with Anton Webern, were to become known as the three 'A's of atonality.)

*Victorien Sardou, the writer of the 1887 play on which Luigi Illica and Giuseppe Giacosa based *Tosca's* libretto, describes Rome's Église Sant Andréa des Jésuites ("architecture du Bernini"), but he meant Sant'Andréa al Quirinale (which is an oval church). (Because of Giacosa's placid persona during excited meetings with the composer, he was nicknamed 'the Buddha'.) This may account for the libretto's transfer of location (it is speculated in *Kobbé's*). Set there, the *Te Deum* in Act I of *Tosca* is one of the best-known of all church scenes in Grand Opera and has often been staged very splendidly.

Puccini's Operas

<i>Name</i>	<i>Première: Date & Venue</i>	<i>Style & Notes</i>
1. <i>Le Villi</i>	31 V 1884, Dal Verme, Milan	<i>Leggenda drammatica in due quadri</i> (1 st Version), <i>Opera ballo</i> (2 nd Version)
2. <i>Edgar</i>	21 IV 1889, La Scala, Milan	<i>Dramma lirico</i> ; 2 vers. & 3 rd (definitive)
3. <i>Manon Lescaut</i>	1 II 1893, Teat. Regio, Turin	<i>Dramma lirico</i>
4. <i>La Bohème</i>	1 IV 1896, Teat. Regio, Turin	<i>Opera</i>
5. <i>Tosca</i> *	14 I 1900, Teat. Costanzi, Rome	<i>Melodramma</i>
6. <i>Madama Butterfly</i>	17 II 1904, La Scala, Milan	<i>Tragedia giapponese</i> ; première a

		fiasco; revised many times
7. <i>La Fanciulla del West</i>	10 XII 1910, Met, New York	<i>Opera</i> ; prem. with Caruso and Destinn
8. <i>La Rondine</i>	27 III 1917, Opéra Monte Carlo	<i>Commedia lirica</i>
9-11. <i>Il Trittico</i>	14 XII 1918, Met, New York	Trilogy of one-act operas**
<i>Il Tabarro (Opera), Suor Angelica (Opera), and Gianni Schicchi (Opera)</i>		
12. <i>Turandot</i> ***	25 IV 1926, La Scala, Milan	<i>Dramma lirico</i> ; prem. cond. by Toscanini

*Speaking of Scarpia's death by Tosca's knife-stab, "In the opera, as in the play, which was one of Sarah Bernhardt's triumphs, it is a wonderful scene—one of the greatest in all melodrama." (*Kobbé's*) No one who has heard Maria Callas's interpretation of Tosca can forget her chilling words, as she surveys Scarpia's corpse, flanked by candles with a crucifix carefully placed on his breast, "*Avanti a lui tremava tutta Roma*" (Before him trembled all [of] Rome). Famously, Zeffirelli's 1964 Covent Garden production starred Callas, Cioni, and Gobbi.

Tosca premièred the same year as in Rome at La Scala; in both Rome and Milan, Darclée sang the title rôle. Other famous interpreters of the rôle were Cavalieri, Destinn, Edvina, Eames, Muzio, Jeritza, Paccetti, Lotte Lehmann, Cobelli, Cigna, Caniglia, Grandi, Welitsch, and Crespini.

**It was a formidable challenge to draw together three different genres—dramatic, sentimental, and *buffo*—into one coherent project: Puccini accomplished it magnificently.

***Completed by Franco Alfano (1875-1954) a Neapolitan who studied in Naples and Leipzig. At the première, when he reached the end of the portion that Puccini had completed, Toscanini stopped, set down his baton, said, "Here, the master put down his pen", and left the podium.

Notes: For the above information on Puccini, and for information on Byrd, Elgar, and MacDowell in previous issues, we relied on *The New Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* in 29 vols., Sadie, Stanley (Ed.), London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd.; New York: Grove's Dictionaries Inc. (2001); ISBN 0-333-60800-3. Other information on Puccini's operas and their performances is taken from the indispensable reference that originated with Gustav Kobbé (1857-1918), *The New Kobbé's Complete Opera Book*, Rev. by The 7th Earl of Harewood (George Henry Hubert Lascelles[§]), New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1969, 1972, & 1976; SBN 399-11633-8.

[§]George Henry Hubert Lascelles, grandson of King George V and Queen Mary. His mother was their only daughter, Mary, Princess Royal (1897-1965), who had in 1922 in Westminster Abbey married Henry George Charles Lascelles, Viscount Lascelles, later 6th Earl of Harewood (1882-1947). They had two sons, George Henry Hubert, from 1947 the 7th Earl, and The Hon. Gerald David Lascelles.

Henri VIII, called by Zachary Woolfe (Annandale-on-Hudson NY, *The New York Times*, Tues. 21 Aug. 2012, p. C5) "Saint-Saëns's stately, beautiful, largely unheard 1883 opera[,] closed the Bard Music Festival on Sunday afternoon in a concert performance . . . conducted by Leon Botstein. . . . [B]efore and after the turn of the XX Century, it was widely performed. But it faded after Saint-Saëns's death in 1921, along with large swaths of that once revered composer's work and much of XIX-Century French opera . . . from Meyerbeer to Massenet to Gounod. . . . [The theme] of this year's . . . Bard festival [was] 'Saint-Saëns and His World.'

"As Stéphane Létéuré describes in an essay on Saint-Saëns's peripatetic travels in the book accompanying the festival, the English premiere of 'Henry VIII' at Covent Garden in 1893 crowned this composer's career. Its success in London makes sense: the opera

treated English history, the Tudor court, King Henry's schism with the RC Church and the battle for his affections between Catherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn with the epic grandeur of Greek myth. Drawing on a Jacobean hymn, the calm, regular prelude sets the stage for an opera of rich harmonies and sweeping climaxes, but also of an essential cool decorousness that proudly ignores Wagnerian orchestral innovations. . . . The opera is not without tremendous energy, as in the seething ensemble that closes Act I, not without a sense of humor, as in the scene with two courtiers discussing the drama at court while Boleyn watches some dancers from her window at the beginning of Act IV. . . . [T]he music throughout is simply gorgeous. The complicated, conflicted Boleyn in particular is finely drawn. . . . In the first act, a tightly massed male quartet, singing about the dark fate of the [then] Duke of Buckingham, leads to one of the opera's many thrilling choruses. A hauntingly diaphanous sound from the women greets Boleyn's first entrance. The ballet music at the start of Act IV is furiously high-spirited, with nods to ecstatic, precisely structured Baroque dances. The opera would have made an even greater impact with an artist of more majesty and specificity in the title role." (Henry VIII, baritone Jason Howard; Catherine of Aragon, "melting yet clear" soprano Ellie Dehn; Anne Boleyn, "seductively dark-toned" mezzo-soprano Jennifer Holloway; American Symphony Orchestra)

Valerie Eliot, editor and widow of Society life member T. S. Eliot, died on 9 Nov. 2012 in London at age 86. "[A]lmost 38 years younger than her husband, [she] had been his secretary for several years at the publishing house Faber & Faber when they married in 1957. By all accounts it was a happy marriage. . . . She had admired his poetry since she was a teenager and sought out the job at Faber & Faber because he was there. Eliot, who guarded his privacy fiercely, died in 1965, having stated his wish to keep biographers from stirring the ashes of his life. . . . She . . . edited a much admired edition of 'The Waste Land' consisting of a facsimile and transcript of its original drafts and edited annotations by Ezra Pound. And she approved a theatrical adaptation of her husband's book of poems for children, 'Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats', which became the musical 'Cats', bringing her and the estate great wealth, from which she created a charitable trust." [Bruce Weber in *The New York Times*, Tues. 13 Nov. 2012, p. B16]

Jacques Barzun, cultural critic, died on 25 October 2012 in San Antonio TX at age 104. He had moved from New York to San Antonio in 1996. He was born in 1907 at Créteil, a suburb of Paris; his father was a diplomat and writer with artistic interests. In a 2000 interview he said, "By the time I was nine, I had the conviction that everybody in the world was an artist except plumbers or people who delivered groceries." He became a U.S. citizen in 1933. He and Lionel Trilling taught one of Columbia University's most renowned courses, 'Studies in European Intellectual History and Culture since 1750'. His status as a public intellectual was undisputed. He was made a chevalier of the Legion of Honor, France's highest award, and awarded the Medal of Freedom by President George W. Bush. Two of his passions were baseball and Berlioz (with the revival of interest in whose works,

championed by Sir Colin Davis, he is credited). He felt that XX Century thought had been skewed by three harmful influences: Marx, Darwin, and Wagner. He contended that another fall was near, one that could cause “the liquidation of 500 years of civilization”. [drawn from an obituary in *The New York Times*, Fri. 26 Oct. 2012]

Barzun’s summary opus, *From Dawn to Decadence: 1500 to the Present, 500 Years of Western Cultural Life* (2000), was reviewed by Dr. Suzanne G. Bowles, OL, in our Dec. 2001 issue.

Giacomo Puccini



Three Choirs Festival, Gloucester 1913. Two organists, Lloyd and Brewer, stand with Elgar behind the French composer Camille Saint-Saëns. (Radio Times Hulton Picture Lib.)



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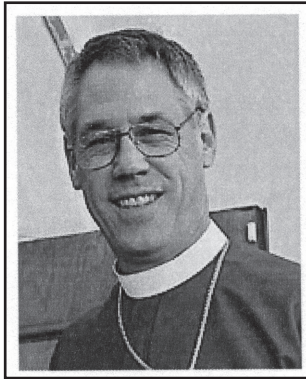
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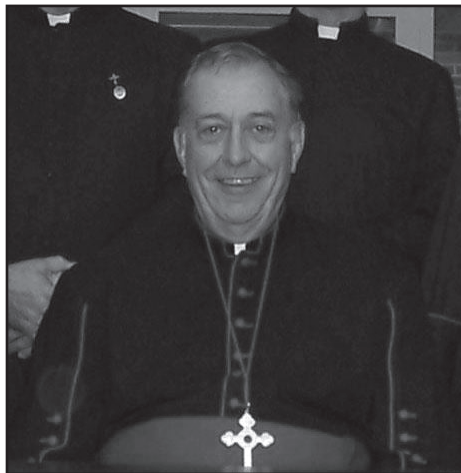
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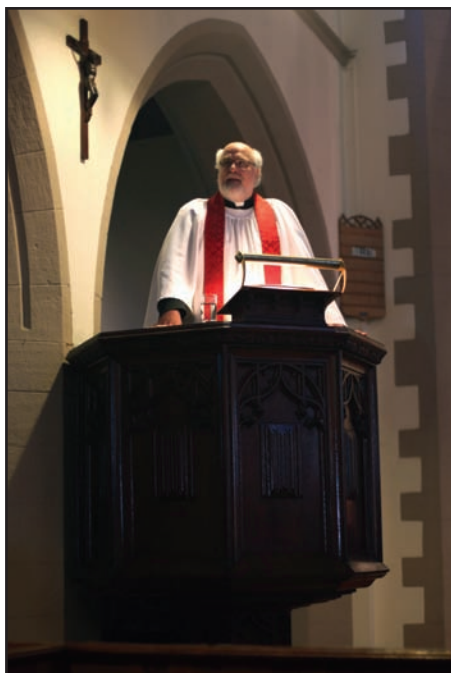


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