

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-11870-5 - The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I

Edited by Thomas N. Corns

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

This volume deals with the crisis in the representation of the monarchy that was provoked by the execution of Charles I, the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of which falls in 1999. It looks at both sympathetic and hostile representations of Charles I, and addresses not only the period of mid-century crisis but also the earlier years of his reign and the afterlife of his royal image. Besides courtly and popular literary representations, it examines Charles's visual image in paintings, sculpture, engravings and coins, and considers the role of the King's Music in projecting a positive view of the monarch. The volume will appeal not only to literary scholars but also to historians, art historians and musicologists.

Cambridge University Press  
978-0-521-11870-5 - The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I  
Edited by Thomas N. Corns  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

The  
*Royal Image*  
Representations of  
Charles I

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-11870-5 - The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I

Edited by Thomas N. Corns

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

The  
*Royal Image*  
Representations of  
Charles I

edited by

Thomas N. Corns

*Department of English  
University of Wales, Bangor*



CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press  
978-0-521-11870-5 - The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I  
Edited by Thomas N. Corns  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi

Cambridge University Press  
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)  
Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9780521118705](http://www.cambridge.org/9780521118705)

© Cambridge University Press 1999

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception  
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,  
no reproduction of any part may take place without the written  
permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1999  
This digitally printed version 2009

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library*

*Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data*

The royal image: representations of Charles I / edited by  
Thomas N. Corns.

p. cm.

Includes index.

1. Great Britain – history – Charles I, 1625–1649 – historiography.
2. English literature – early modern, 1500–1700 – history and criticism.
3. Monarchy – Great Britain – history – Seventeenth century – historiography.
4. Monarchy – Great Britain – public opinion – history – Seventeenth century.
5. Charles I, King of England, 1600–1649 – public opinion.
6. Charles I, King of England, 1600–1649 – in literature.
7. Charles I, King of England, 1600–1649 – in art.
8. Kings and rulers in literature.
9. Kings and rulers in art.

I. Corns, Thomas N.

DA395.R69 1999 941.06'2–dc21 98-38093 CIP

ISBN 978-0-521-59047-1 hardback  
ISBN 978-0-521-11870-5 paperback

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-11870-5 - The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I

Edited by Thomas N. Corns

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## Contents

*List of illustrations* [ix] *List of contributors* [xii] *Preface* [xv]

I

Duke, prince and king

THOMAS N. CORNS

[1]

2

'A ball of strife': Caroline poetry and royal marriage

ANN BAYNES COIRO

[26]

3

Popular representations of Charles I

JOAD RAYMOND

[47]

4

'Incendiaries of the state': Charles I and tyranny

MARTIN DZELZAINIS

[74]

5

The king among the radicals

DAVID LOEWENSTEIN

[96]

6

*Eikon Basilike* and the rhetoric of self-representation

ELIZABETH SKERPAN WHEELER

[122]

Cambridge University Press  
978-0-521-11870-5 - The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I  
Edited by Thomas N. Corns  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

viii *Contents*

7

Milton and King Charles

SHARON ACHINSTEIN

[141]

8

The King's Music

JONATHAN P. WAINWRIGHT

[162]

9

The visual image of Charles I

JOHN PEACOCK

[176]

10

The royal martyr in the Restoration

LOIS POTTER

[240]

11

Reviving the martyr king: Charles I as Jacobite icon

LAURA LUNGER KNOPPERS

[263]

12

The royal image: an afterword

KEVIN SHARPE

[288]

*Index* [310]

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-11870-5 - The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I

Edited by Thomas N. Corns

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## Illustrations

- 6.1 William Marshall, frontispiece to *Eikon Basilike*, 1649 (c59a24). By permission of the British Library [123]
- 9.1 Nicolas Briot, silver crown of Charles I, 1631–1632. By permission of the National Museum of Wales [181]
- 9.2 Shrewsbury mint, silver twenty shillings of Charles I, 1642. By permission of the National Museum of Wales [184]
- 9.3 Bristol mint, gold twenty shillings of Charles I, 1645. By permission of the National Museum of Wales [185]
- 9.4 Thomas Simon (attributed), crown of Charles I, c. 1646. Copyright British Museum [186]
- 9.5 Marriage of Charles I and Henrietta Maria medal, 1625. Copyright British Museum [189]
- 9.6 Medal to commemorate the meeting of the King and Queen at Kineton, 1643. Copyright British Museum [190]
- 9.7 Nicolas Briot, Dominion of the Seas medal, 1630. Copyright British Museum [191]
- 9.8 Nicolas Briot, Return to London medal, 1633. Copyright British Museum [193]
- 9.9 Thomas Rawlins, Declaration of Parliament medal, 1642. Copyright British Museum [194]
- 9.10 Thomas Rawlins (attributed), Battle of Edgehill military badge, 1642. Copyright British Museum [196]
- 9.11 After Anthony van Dyck, *Charles I wearing the Garter Star*, c. 1632. Copyright Victoria and Albert Museum [197]
- 9.12 Heinrich Reitz the younger, Charles I memorial medal, 1649. Copyright British Museum [199]
- 9.13 Renold Elstrack, *Charles I on Horseback*, engraving, third state. Copyright British Museum [201]
- 9.14 Gerrit Mountin, *James I and his Descendants*, engraving, c. 1634–1635. Copyright British Museum [203]

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-11870-5 - The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I

Edited by Thomas N. Corns

Frontmatter

[More information](#)x *List of illustrations*

- 9.15 Cornelis van Dalen, *Charles I Crowned King of Scots*, engraving, 1633. Copyright British Museum [205]
- 9.16 William Marshall, engraved title page to Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, trans. Philemon Holland, 1632. Copyright British Library [207]
- 9.17 Wenceslas Hollar, *Charles I*, etching, 1649. Copyright British Museum [210]
- 9.18 George Lid, *Charles I*, etched frontispiece to Thomas May, *A Continuation of Lucan*, 1630. Copyright British Library [211]
- 9.19 Hubert le Sueur, *Charles I*, marble, [1631.], Victoria and Albert Museum. Copyright Victoria and Albert Museum [213]
- 9.20 Hubert le Sueur, *Charles I*, bronze, 1635, Bodleian Library. Copyright Bodleian Library, University of Oxford [214]
- 9.21 Hubert le Sueur, *Charles I* in antique military costume, gilt-bronze, c. 1638, Stourhead. Copyright National Trust [217]
- 9.22 Inigo Jones, choir screen of Winchester Cathedral, 1637–1638. Copyright Royal Institute of British Architects [219]
- 9.23 Daniel Mytens, *Charles I as Prince of Wales*, c. 1623. Copyright the Royal Collection, Her Majesty the Queen [223]
- 9.24 Daniel Mytens, *Charles I*, 1628. Copyright the Royal Collection, Her Majesty the Queen [224]
- 9.25 Daniel Mytens and a later hand, *Charles I and Henrietta Maria*, c. 1630–1632, Hampton Court Palace. Copyright the Royal Collection, Her Majesty the Queen [227]
- 9.26 Robert van Voerst after Van Dyck, *Charles I and Henrietta Maria*, engraving, 1634. Copyright British Museum [227]
- 9.27 Anthony van Dyck and a later hand, *Charles I on Horseback*, c. 1633–1640, Petworth House. Copyright National Trust [229]
- 9.28 Inigo Jones, ancient hero for *Coelum Britannicum*, 1634, Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth. By permission of the Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement [233]
- 10.1 Design for statue of Charles I. Proposed monument to Charles I by Christopher Wren, c. 1678. By permission of the Codrington Library, All Souls' College, Oxford [253]
- 10.2 Design for rotunda. Proposed monument to Charles I by Christopher Wren, c. 1678. By permission of the Codrington Library, All Souls' College, Oxford [255]
- 10.3 *Basilika*, engraved title page with portrait of Charles I, 1662. By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library [256]
- 10.4 Frontispiece. James II's *Imago Regis*, 1692. By permission of the University Library, University of Durham [258]
- 11.1 Engraving of Charles the martyr king, n.d. By permission of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford [265]
- 11.2 *The Black Memorial*. Broadsheet on the execution of Charles I, 1710. By permission of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford [271]



Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-11870-5 - The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I

Edited by Thomas N. Corns

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

*List of illustrations*    xi

- II.3 *The True Portraicture of ye Royall Martyr Charles 1st, King of England.*  
Published by John Faber, 1713. By permission of the Ashmolean  
Museum, Oxford [272]
- II.4 Engraving of the Stuart Royal Oak, July 1715. By permission of the  
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford [276]
- II.5 Engraving of Charles Edward Stuart, 'the Pretender', 1745.  
By permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino,  
California [283]

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-11870-5 - The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I

Edited by Thomas N. Corns

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## Contributors

SHARON ACHINSTEIN is an associate professor of English at the University of Maryland. Her *Milton and the Revolutionary Reader* (1994) won the James Holly Hanford Award of the Milton Society of America. She is currently completing a book on post-Restoration politics and aesthetics entitled *The Dissenting Muse: Milton to Defoe*.

ANN BAYNES COIRO is an associate professor at Rutgers University. She has published on Herrick, Lanyer, Jonson, Shakespeare, Donne, Marvell, and Milton. She is currently completing a study called *Repetition and Parody: Authority and Form in the Seventeenth Century*.

THOMAS N. CORNS is Professor of English and Head of the School of English and Linguistics at the University of Wales, Bangor. His publications include *The Development of Milton's Prose Style* (1982), *Milton's Language* (1990), *Uncloistered Virtue: English Political Literature, 1640–1660* (1992), *Regaining 'Paradise Lost'* (1994), and *John Milton: The Prose Works* (1998). He edited *The Cambridge Companion to English Poetry, Donne to Marvell* (1993). With David Loewenstein and Ann Hughes, he is editing the complete works of Gerrard Winstanley.

MARTIN DZELZAINIS is a senior lecturer in English at Royal Holloway, University of London. He has edited John Milton's *Political Writings* for Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (1991) and (with Warren Chernaik) a collection of essays on *Marvell and Liberty* (1999). He is currently editing *The Rehearsal Transpos'd* for the forthcoming Yale edition of Andrew Marvell's prose.

LAURA LUNGER KNOPPERS is an associate professor of English at the Pennsylvania State University. Her publications include articles on Milton's poetry and prose, on Shakespeare, and on Cromwellian

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-11870-5 - The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I

Edited by Thomas N. Corns

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

List of contributors xiii

portraiture. Her book, *Historicizing Milton: Spectacle, Power, and Poetry in Restoration England*, appeared in 1994. She has recently completed a book-length study of seventeenth-century representations of Oliver Cromwell.

DAVID LOEWENSTEIN is Professor of English at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. He is the author of *Milton and the Drama of History: Historical Vision, Iconoclasm, and the Literary Imagination* (1990). He has also co-edited *Poetics, Politics, and Hermeneutics in Milton's Prose* (1990) and *The Emergence of Quaker Writing* (1995; with Thomas N. Corns). With Ann Hughes and Thomas N. Corns, he is editing the complete works of Gerrard Winstanley. He is also the co-editor of *The Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature: Writing in Britain from the Reformation to the Restoration* (in progress).

JOHN PEACOCK is a senior lecturer in English at Southampton University. His research has focused on English art of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and its relations with the continent; his book *The Stage Designs of Inigo Jones: The European Context* came out in 1995. He is now writing on the portraits of Van Dyck.

LOIS POTTER, Ned B. Allen Professor of English at the University of Delaware, is the author of *A Preface to Milton* (1971), *Twelfth Night: Text and Performance* (1986), and *Secret Rites and Secret Writing: Royalist Literature, 1641–1660* (1989); she edited book III of *Paradise Lost* for the *Cambridge Milton* (1976), volumes I and IV of *The Revels History of Drama in English*, to which she also contributed (1984, 1981), the Arden edition of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* by John Fletcher and William Shakespeare (1997) and *Playing Robin Hood: The Legend as Performance in Five Centuries* (1998). She has also published many articles on theatre history and the relation of seventeenth-century literature and politics, as well as theatre reviews.

JOAD RAYMOND is a lecturer in English at the University of Aberdeen. He is editor of *Making the News: An Anthology of the Newsbooks of Revolutionary England, 1641–1660* (1993), the author of *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks, 1641–1649* (1996), and of articles on literature and politics in the mid-seventeenth century. He is presently working on studies of Milton and of the pamphlet between 1588 and 1688.

KEVIN SHARPE is Professor of History in the School of Research at the University of Southampton. His books include *Criticism and Compliment: The Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I* (1987), *Politics and Ideas* (1989), and *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (1992). He has co-edited, with

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-11870-5 - The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I

Edited by Thomas N. Corns

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xiv *List of contributors*

Steven Zwicker, *The Politics of Discourse* (1987) and *Refiguring Revolutions: Aesthetics and Politics from the English Revolution to the Romantic Revolution* (1998). He has recently completed *Reading Revolutions*, has forthcoming *Remapping Early Modern England* (1999), and is now writing a study of representations of authority and images of power, 1500 to 1700.

JONATHAN WAINWRIGHT is a lecturer in music at the University of York and Assistant Choir Trainer at York Minster. His research interests concern sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English and Italian music and his book *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605–1670)* was published in 1997. Dr Wainwright is editor of the Royal Musical Association's *Research Chronicle* and is also director of Concertare, who have recently released their first CD: *Queen of Heavenly Virtue – Sacred Music for Queen Henrietta Maria*.

ELIZABETH SKERPAN WHEELER is Professor of English at Southwest Texas State University, where she teaches courses on Milton, seventeenth-century literature, and rhetoric. The author of *The Rhetoric of Politics in the English Revolution* (1992), she is currently working on a study of historical rhetorical theory and Milton's late poems, and a CD-ROM edition of *Eikon Basilike*.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-11870-5 - The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I

Edited by Thomas N. Corns

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## Preface

This volume claims a twofold timeliness. The imminence of the millennium stimulates a fresh awareness of centenaries: the year 1999 marks the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Charles I's execution; the year 2000, the four hundredth anniversary of his birth. But the book has another kind of timeliness too, for it appears as crises have developed in the United Kingdom and the United States in the representation of the royal family and the presidency, crises which, like those which figure centrally in this volume, originate in part in profound uncertainties about the exposure of what is private and intimate to the searching view of the public domain, uncertainties which find a parallel in some aspects of the Caroline royal image.

A metaphor of refraction recurs throughout this volume. Influenced in part by the splendour of Hapsburg and Bourbon precedents, Charles promoted and stimulated a court culture that projected regal splendour with a refulgence unmatched in English history. Painting and sculpture, among the finest in western Europe, music, masque, poetry and song proclaimed his pre-eminence among men and celebrated the affection and fertility of the royal couple; court ritual and a new disciplined decorum hedged round his dignity. That positive image was partially grounded in an unusual concern with the public display of his private life and with his and Henrietta Maria's advancement as paradigmatic wedded lovers. Yet Charles was the only English monarch to be tried by his subjects or to be executed publicly, and his reign terminated in the establishment of England's only republican government. Political discourses deeply sceptical of the assumptions of Stuart monarchism developed in the later years of the reign of James I, and offered, both in the parliamentary opposition of the late 1620s and in the 1640s, a destabilizing critique of Charles and a profoundly altered version of the royal image. Amid the mid-century crises, other ideologies emerged, refracting that image not through the medium of constitutionalism but through the prism of more radical critiques of the old order. Attempts to

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-11870-5 - The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I

Edited by Thomas N. Corns

Frontmatter

[More information](#)xvi *Preface*

control and manage the perception of Charles by a larger public occurred from his earliest state appearances, but such manipulation became difficult amid the widening public interest in the affairs of state in the 1620s, and utterly impossible amid the conflicts of the 1640s.

Nor did the royal image of Charles expire at the regicide. His representation as model and martyr dominated many aspects of royalist political writing from his death into the Restoration, and it remained a desperately contested site of ideological struggle for Jacobites, Williamites and Hanoverians in subsequent decades.

Historically informed literary critics predominate within this volume, though art history and musicology are significant components and the concluding chapter falls to a political historian. The volume is organized on roughly chronological principles, though two contributions which have a larger role require a particular word of preface. My opening chapter aims both to trace the construction of the image of Charles I from his earliest appearances as Duke of York to the early 1630s and to set a context within that framework for the developments traced by some of the following chapters. Similarly, Kevin Sharpe's concluding chapter functions as a reflection on the whole volume and the larger arguments that emerge from it.

I am grateful to several libraries, museums and art collections for supplying illustrations and for their permissions to print them here. I should like to thank contributors for their attempts to observe a strict schedule of deadlines amid that welter of competing obligations that characterizes higher education in the English-speaking world, and I am especially grateful to those contributors who actually succeeded in those attempts. I should like to thank Josie Dixon of Cambridge University Press for her patience and her encouragement, and the anonymous readers for the Press, not least for their valuable insistence that the collection should mesh into something greater than the sum of its parts. Not for the first time, my greatest debt is to Linda Jones, research administrator of the Bangor English department, who has worked so hard to turn the diverse contributions into the fair copy of a book.

THOMAS N. CORNS