



APPENDIX II

RECOGNITION AND ELECTION OF KINGS

ÆTHELSTAN

924 **ÆTHELSTAN** [924-939]—William of Malmesbury's *De Gestis Regum Anglorum* ('Concerning the Acts of the Kings of the English') written about 1125:

§131. In the year of our Lord's incarnation 924, Æthelstan, son of Edward, began to reign. His brother Ælfweard, departing this life a few days after his father, had been buried with him at Winchester. Accordingly, Æthelstan, elected with great unanimity by the nobles in that same place, was crowned at the royal residence which is called Kingston....

§133. ...Then by his father's command and testament, Æthelstan was acclaimed king... he was crowned at Kingston. Hence, at the glory of such happy events...the poet exclaims...:

'...the great Æthelstan... His father, farned to every age, fulfilled his destiny...; then the young man's name was acclaimed in omen of the kingdom, that he might hold auspiciously the hereditary reins. The nobles assemble and place the crown, pontiffs pronounce a curse on faithless men; fire glows among the people.... Each burns to show his affection to the king... One makes the harp resound, another contends with praises; there sounds in unison: "To thee the praise, to thee the glory, O Christ." The king drinks in this honour with eager gaze, graciously bestowing due courtesy on all.'

§134. When the ceremony of consecration had been performed, lest he should belie the hopes of the citizens and fall short of their opinion, Æthelstan entirely subjugated all England by the terror of his name alone [*except Northumbria, which he later obtained by 'ancient right and recent marriage alliance'.*]¹

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

1042 **EDWARD THE CONFESSOR (England)**

—elected in London in June, in a ceremony performed even before Harthnacut's funeral [*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, (E) s.a. 1041 (*recte* 1042); as referred to in 'Coronation and Propaganda: some Implications of the Norman Claim to the Throne of England in 1066', by George Garnett, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, Vol. 36, London, 1986, p. 91 at p. 93. From then till his coronation and anointing he described himself as 'Ego Eadward rex, regali fretus dignitate...' [Sawyer, P H, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: an Annotated List and*

¹ see the extract quoted in Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, ed. cit., at pp. 303-310.

Bibliography, (Royal Historical Society, Guides and Handbooks, viii, 1968), n. 998; and Keynes, S, as referred in Garnett, *supra*, at p. 93.)

Anglo-Saxon royal 'election' amounted to a ceremony of submission and mutual pledging of oaths; see H M Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, Cambridge, 1905, as referred to in 'Coronation and Propaganda: some Implications of the Norman Claim to the Throne of England in 1066', by George Garnett, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, Vol. 36, London, 1986, p. 9, at p. 93, and n. 13

note Garnett says the Anglo-Saxon kings became kings long before they were consecrated.[at p. 94]; only the Normans felt the need to be consecrated before becoming 'real' kings..

WILLIAM I

1066 **WILLIAM I (England)**

elected by *witan* (Stubbs, C H 280)

WILLIAM II

1087 **WILLIAM II (William Rufus); (England)**

not elected, most barons opposed; crowned by head of *witangemot* Lanfranc, in return for the coronation oaths. (Stubbs, CH, 321)

HENRY I

1100 **HENRY I (England)**

seized royal treasure 2 August 1100; elected by a few prelates and some nobles; crowned 5 August; required to take coronation oath; issued coronation charter 5 August.

STEPHEN

1135 **STEPHEN (England)**

hailed by Londoners; seized royal treasure at Winchester, returned to London for formal election and coronation. [Stubbs, CH, 345, n. 6, Gervase, I. 94]

HENRY II

1154 **HENRY II (England)** elected and crowned 19 December [Stubbs CH, 487] [n. 3 'Ab omnibus electus est;' R de Monte. A.D. 1154.

JOHN

1199 **Recognition of JOHN (England)**

Stubbs in CH, §151 Vol. I p. 553, says

'..the form of election and the solemn promises of good government were repeated. But a speech is preserved by Matthew Paris, which, whether or no the words are genuine, seems to show there was something exceptional in the proceedings; some attempt on the archbishop's part to give the formality of election a real validity, which perhaps might be useful if the claims of Arthur should ever be revived. Hubert declared, the historian tells us, that the right to reign is conferred by the election which the nation makes after invoking the grace of the Holy Ghost: Saul and David were made kings, not because they were of royal race, but the one because of his strength and fitness, the other because of his sanctity and humility. Still, if in the royal stock there were one of distinct pre-eminence, the choice should fall more readily on him. Richard died without an heir; the grace of the Holy Ghost had been asked for: in John were united royal blood, and the good qualities of prudence and energy: all together then elected John. The cry "Vivat rex" was the answer of the assembled crown. The archbishop moreover, when he received the coronation oath, adjured him on God's [554] behalf that he would not take the honour to himself without a full purpose to keep his oath, and John replied that by God's help in good faith he would keep all he had sworn.'

[n.1 Matthew Paris, ii. 454,455. In the declaration made by Lewis, on his invasion of England in 1216, long before Matthew Paris wrote, this speech of Hubert is distinctly referred to as affecting the claim of inheritance. See Foedera, I. 140]

LIBER REGALIS

1351-1377¹ *LIBER REGALIS*² —‘Fourth’ English Coronation Order

And when he has been brought through the choir and set in his seat on the stage, the Metropolitan or Bishop that is to consecrate the king shall address the people at the four sides of the stage, inquiring their will and consent about the consecration of the said king. The king meanwhile standeth in his seat, and turneth himself to the four sides of the stage as the Bishop addresses the people, who give their consent, as is customary, and with loud and unanimous shouts exclaim, ‘So be it,’ ‘So be it,’ and ‘Long live the king,’ uttering with great joy the name of the king. Then shall this anthem be sung by the choir...³

RICHARD II

1377 Recognition of RICHARD II (England) crowned 16 July 1377; succeeded 22 June 1367.

[This version from Legg, p. 131 ff., the *processus factus* of Richard II, from Close Roll I Ric. II, Mem. 45 in the Public Records Office. According to this document, the recognition followed the taking of the oath]

The said Archbishop then went to the four sides of the stage and explained and told the whole people how the said lord king had taken such an oath as this; asking the same people if they would consent to have him as king and liege lord, and to obey him as their king and liege lord; and they unanimously consented. And when this was done the Archbishop began with a loud voice the hymn...

[Archiepiscopus ad quatuor partes pulpiti predicti accedens exposuit et enarrauit vniuerso populo qualiter dictus dominus Rex huiusmodi prestitit sacramentum inquirens ab eodem populo si ipsi consentire vellent ad habendum ipsum Regem et dominum suum ligeum et ad obediendum ei tanquam Regi et domino ligeo qui vtique vnanimiter consenserunt hiis itaque peractis incipiebat Archiepiscopus alta voce ymnum Veni creator spiritus.]⁴

—KING’S CHAMPION :

Richard’s coronation...was the first recorded occasion to include the appearance of the king’s champion, in the person of Sir John Dimoke;... —See Bertie Wilkinson, *The Later Middle Ages in England 1216-1485*, Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd, London, 1969, at p. 158.

HENRY IV

1399 HENRY IV (England)

¹ This is the date ascribed to it by H G Richardson, ‘The Coronation in Medieval England’, *Traditio*, Vol. 16, 1960, pp 111-202, see p. 112, and p. 149.

² Leopold G Wickham Legg, *English Coronation Records*, Archibald Constable & Company Limited, Westminster, 1901, at p. 81 (Latin Text); translation of Oath at p. 117

³ Legg, *loc. cit.*, English translation, p. 116.

⁴ This description is taken from Close Roll I Ric. II. Mem. 45 in the Public records Office, and is quoted by Legg, who says, at p. 131 ‘Court Claims of Richard II. The *processus factus* of Richard II is the first known minutes of the proceedings of the Court of Claims held before the coronation.... The manuscript from which the document if printed is in the Public Records Office. With regard to the description of the coronation which follows the report of the proceedings of the Court of Claims..... has but little interest...’. The Latin is quoted by Legg at p. 147, , the English translation at pp 165-66.147,

Declaration Of Sovereignty

And at once, it being manifest from the foregoing transactions and by reason of them that the realm of England with its appurtenances was vacant, Henry Duke of Lancaster, rising in his place, and standing erect so that he might be seen by the people, and humbly making the sign of the cross on his forehead and his breast, and invoking the name of Christ, claimed the realm of England, vacant as aforesaid, along with the crown and all its members and appurtenances, in his mother tongue in the following words:

In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I, Henry of Lancaster, [claim] challenge this realm of England and the crown with all its members and appurtenances, as I am descended by right line of the blood coming from the good lord King Henry III, and through that right that God of his grace has sent me, with the help of my kindred and my friends to recover it; the which realm was on the point of being undone for default of governance and undoing of good laws.

[The duke then showed Richard's signet to the assembly, whereupon the archbishop led him by the right hand to the throne. In front of it Henry knelt and prayed a while, after which both archbishops seated him on the throne, amid great applause. Archbishop Arundel then preached a sermon on the text "Vir dominabitur populo" (I Samuel ix, 17). {'And when Samuel saw Saul, the Lord said unto him, Behold the man whom I spake of to thee! This same shall rule over my people.'}}]

When this sermon was finished, the lord king Henry, in order to set at rest the minds of his subjects declared publicly in these words:—

Sires, I thank God and you lords spiritual and temporal and all the estates of the island; and let you know that it is not my will that any man should think that by way of conquest I would disinherit any man of his heritage, franchise, or other rights that he ought to have, nor put him out of what he has and has had by the good laws and customs of the realm; except those persons who have been against the good purpose and the common profit of the realm.¹

HENRY VI

1429

HENRY VI (England) succeeded 1 September 1421; crowned 6 November 1429

Then made the Archbishop of Canterbury a proclamation from the four corners of the scaffold, saying on this wise : 'Sirs, here is come Henry, King Henry's son the Fifth, on whose soul God have mercy. Amen. He humbleth him to God and Holy Church, asking the crown of this realm by right and defence of heritage; if ye hold your peace with him, say Yea, and hold up your hands.' And then all the people cried with one voice, 'Yea, Yea.'

—from 'the Coronation of Henry VI', refereed to by the Rev. Joseph H Pemberton, *The Coronation Service according to the use of the Church of England with Notes and introduction*, with reproductions of the two celebrated pictures in medieval coronation Mss., inserted by special permission, with three pictures, viz. the Coronation of James II, and the vestments used thereat, 2nd edn., Skeffington & Son, Piccadilly, (Publishers to His Majesty the King), London, 1902, p. 35, n. 1.

EDWARD IV

1461

EDWARD IV (England)

¹ *English Historical Documents, 1327-1485, ibid.*

Edward sought the consent of the 'people' at St John's field on Sunday I March [1461] as his first step towards becoming king. He 'took possession' of the realm as of right; but, as Prospero de Camulio, a contemporary, said, 'the people of London...together with some other lords...had created a new king.' His coronation finally took place on 28 June, fortified by an Act issued by the authority of parliament.¹

EDWARD PLANTAGENET

1483 **EDWARD PLANTAGENET** (elder son of Edward IV) proclaimed king, 11 April, 1483.

Richard, Duke of Gloucester had been named Protector in Edward IV's will.—see Mancini, p. 73 and p. 85, CC., pp. 485-486; see note 9 in Kendall *Richard III*, at p. 461 for references.

—from *The Great Chronicle of London*, A H Thompson and I D Thornley (eds.), London, 1938, p. 230, reproduced in *English Historical Documents, 1327-1485*, 1969, A R Myers (ed.), 1969, at p. 333

...Then upon the 11th day of April was my lord prince, being then in the Marches of Wales under the guiding of the lord Marquis of Dorset, brother unto the queen, this prince as a child about the age of 12 years openly was proclaimed in London as king, by the name of Edward V...the which in all goodly haste afterwards was by the said marquis and other honourable persons removed thence toward London.

—from *The Coronation of Richard III, the extant Documents*, edited by Anne F Sutton and P W Hammond, Alan Sutton Publishing Limited, Gloucester, 1983, pp. 13-14

9 April Edward IV dies

9 April The Lord Mayor of London instructed on the orders of the Council to call together the wardens of the companies and the constables of the parishes and wards and instruct them to keep the peace.

9-16 April. The council and the Queen settled the date of Edward V's coronation as Sunday
4 May...

—from Domenico Mancini, *The Usurpation of Richard the Third*, (1483), C J A Armstrong, (ed.) Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1936, 73 ff.

[97]...The Queen and the Marquis [of Dorset] who held the royal treasure, began collecting an army...But when they had exhorted certain nobles who had come to the city, and others, to take up arms, they perceived that men's minds were not only irresolute, but altogether hostile to themselves. Some even said openly that it was more just and profitable that the youthful sovereign should be with his paternal uncle than with his maternal uncles and uterine brothers...

[99]...Edward [Woodville], whom we spoke of as the queen's other brother, appointed by the council captain of a fleet of twenty ships, had put out to sea the day before...a council, held in the absence of the Duke of Gloucester, had appointed Edward Woodville; and it was commonly believed that the late king's treasure, which had taken such years and such pains to gather, was divided between the queen, the marquess, and Edward. As there was current in the capital a sinister rumour that the duke had brought his nephew not under his care, but into his power, so as to gain

¹ See Bertie Wilkinson, *The Later Middle Ages in England 1216-1485*, Longmans, Green & co. Ltd, London, 1969, p. 288.

for himself the crown, the duke of Gloucester amidst these doings wrote to the council and to the head of the city whom they call mayor.

—from Charles Ross, *Richard III*, Eyre Methuen, London, 1981, at p. 65.

They [the Woodvilles] evidently planned to maintain their position by force if necessary, by seizing the royal treasure in the Tower, putting a fleet to sea under Woodville command, arranging for an early coronation of the young king, bringing him to London at the head of an army controlled by Earl Rivers and his friends, and devising a form of interim government from which the duke of Gloucester would be largely excluded...

—from *The Coronation of Richard III, the extant Documents*, edited by Anne F Sutton and P W Hammond, Alan Sutton Publishing Limited, Gloucester, 1983, p17

4-10 May The Council confirms Richard duke of Gloucester as Protector.

22 June set as date for Edward's coronation, and 25 June as date for parliament.

RICHARD III

1483 RICHARD III Election by the people, 23-26 June 1643

23 June Buckingham addresses lords and clergy, putting Richard's case, rehearsing the reasons for the illegitimacy of Edward's sons—

24 June Buckingham puts the arguments to the chief citizens of London at the Guildhall

—Kendall, *Richard III*, p. 221—sourced to Robert Fabyan, *The New Chronicles of England and France*, Henry Ellis (ed.), London, 1811, p. 669, and *The Great Chronicle of London*, A H Thomas and I D Thomley (eds.), London, 1938, p. 232

...Then upon the Tuesday next ensuing after the aforesaid Sunday the Duke of Buckingham came unto the Guildhall, where in readiness for his coming the mayor with his brethren and a fair multitude of citizens were assembled in their liveries. To this assembly the said duke then made an oration, rehearsing the great excellency of the lord protector and the manifold virtues which God had endowed him with, and the rightful title which he had to the Crown. It lasted a good half hour, and was so well and eloquently uttered and with so angelic a countenance, and every pause and time was so well ordered that such as heard him marvelled, and said that never before that day had they heard any man, learned or unlearned, make such a recital or oration as that was. When he had finished and well exhorted the said assembly to admit the said lord protector for their liege lord and king, and they to satisfy his mind had cried in small number, more for fear than for love 'Yes! Yea!', he departed...

—from *The Great Chronicle of London*, p. 230, reproduced in Myers, A R, (ed.), *English Historical Documents, 1327-1485*, 1969, Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1969, pp. 333-334.

—a text of Buckingham's speech to the Guildhall is to be found in Sir George Buck, Master of the Revels, *The History of King Richard the Third*, 1619, edited and with an introduction and notes by Arthur Noel Kincaid, Alan Sutton Publishing, London, 1982, at pp. 39-41, and see notes to this section at p. 248.

25 June Buckingham addresses the three estates—lords and clergy, and various gentlemen—at St Paul's¹, and they draw up a petition on a roll of parchment to be presented to the protector, setting out why he should accede to the throne.

—from James Gairdner, *History of the Life and Reign of Richard the Third, to which is added the story of Perkin Warbeck from original documents*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1878, revised edition 1898, pp. 87-88:

[87] On Wednesday, the 25th June therefore, the Lords and Commons met in obedience to the writ of summons, and immediately proceeded to an act of the highest possible importance. A roll was brought in, declaring the title of Richard to the Crown. It was therein related how the marriage of Edward IV with Elizabeth had led to great misgovernment, tyranny, and civil war; how it had been 'made of great presumption, without the knowledge and assent of the lords of this land, and also by sorcery and witchcraft committed by the said Elizabeth and her mother, Jaquett, Duchess of Bedford—as the common opinion of the people and the public voice and fame is, and through all this land'; how it had been made in secret, without proclamation of banns, 'in a private chamber, a profane place, and not openly [88] in the face of the church, after the law of God's church; and how at the time it was contracted 'the said Edward stood married and trothplighted to one Dame Eleanor Butler, daughter of the old earl of Shrewsbury,' with whom he had long before made a pre-contract of matrimony. Hence it appeared that the marriage with Elizabeth Woodville was in reality no marriage at all, and that Edward's children were bastards, unable to claim by inheritance; and as the issue of the Duke of Clarence was disabled by his attainder, it followed that the sole right to the crown belonged to the Duke of Gloucester. His claim, it was urged, was further strengthened by the consideration that he had been born in England (his brother Edward had been born at Rouen, and Clarence in Ireland); by which was he not only more naturally inclined to promote the welfare of the country, but, it was insinuated, 'all the three estates of the land might have more certain knowledge of his birth and filiation.' It was added that the duke's wisdom, justice, courage, and the services he had rendered in war in defence of the kingdom, entitled him to the more cordial recognition. ...

—sourced by Gairdner to *Rolls of Parliament*, vi, 240.

[88]...The marriage of Edward IV had always been unpopular, and the insinuation that it had been effected by witchcraft was not new. The nobles had [89] always resented the ascendancy of the queen's relations; and as the renewal of civil war had been due to this cause entirely, there was no exaggeration in stating that great evils had resulted from the match. The imputation of bastardy against the late king had, as we have already remarked, been previously advanced by Clarence, and it was here insinuated as a vague possibility, both in respect of Edward and Clarence himself, but without either of them being named. One statement, however, was altogether new...[the story of the pre-contract]

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—from Sir George Buck, Master of the Revels, *The History of King Richard the Third*, 1619, edited and with an introduction and notes by Arthur Noel Kincaid, Alan Sutton Publishing, London, 1982:

[Buckingham's speech at p. 43]

[45] And for it not to be omit[ted] that whilst these matters of the election of King Richard were handled, as is aforesaid, that the northern gentlemen who had joined with these southern friends of the Protector's had an advertisement that there were some difficulties and some obstacles and crosses in the effecting and accomplishment thereof, and those proceeding out of the will and wil[ful]ness of the Protector.] Whereupon they caused a bill supplicatory to be made and to be directed and addressed to the barons spiritual and temporal which were at London or near abouts and were occupied in the foresaid business of the election. And in this bill they signified to them their great desire to have the Protector to be their king, as well for his good title as for his virtues and princely worthiness as also because the children of King Edward and his marriage were unlawful, and

¹ For the reference to St Paul's, see T F T Plucknett, 11th edition of *Taswell-Langmead's English Constitutional History From the Teutonic Conquest to the Present Time*, Sweet & Maxwell Limited, London, 1875, (11th edn. 1960), p. 499.

also that the blood of the young Earl of Warwick was attainted and his title confiscated by Parliament. And they intimated that for these causes, they had chosen the Duke of Gloucester to be their king.

[H]ere, and once for all, because I shall have occasion to speak often of this [mar]riage of King Edward and these children's birth, I pray the noble and discreet Reader to conceive that [I em]brace not those hard opinions, but I only relate that such opinions and such beliefs [were the censures of those times generally believed, and they were of good use for the better effecting of that great business in hand. For to the world it is all one to seem and to be.]

...

[46]And this is the tenor of this bill, as I *have seen it* written in the Chronicle of the Abbey of [Croyland]:

Ricardus Protector eodem die, quo re[gimine sub] titulo regii nominis sibi vendicav[it, viz. 26] die Junii, anno Domini [1483, se apud magnam Aulam Westmonasterii, in Cathedram Marmoream] / immisit, et tum mox omnibus proceribus tam lacis quam ecclesiasticis et ceteris assidentibus et astantibus, etc, ostendebatur rotulus, quidam in quo per modum supplicationis in nomine procerum et populi Borealis exhibitae, primum quod filii regis Edwardi erant bastardi, supponendo illum praecontraxisse matrimonium cum quadam domina Alienora Boteler antequam reginam Elizabetham duxisset in uxorem. Diende quod sangis alterius fratris Georgii (scilicet) Clarentiae ducis, fuisset attinctus, ita quod nullus certus et [I]corruptus sanguis linealis ex parte Ri[ca]rdi ducis Eboraci poterat inveniri, [n]isi in persona Ricardi protectoris, ducis [G]locestriae, et tum eidem duci supplicabant, [ut] ius suum in regno Angliae sibi assumeret, [et c]oronam acciperet, etc. Thus that Chronicle of Croyland.

—this may have been taken from a different text of the Croyland Chronicle, see discussion in note 46/3-16, at pp. 250-251 *ibid*.

—from Jeremy Potter, *Good King Richard?, An Account of Richard III and his Reputation 1483-1983*, Constable and Company, London, 1983, at p. 43

...to consummate his surreptitious marriage, Edward IV stole away during the night of 30 April/1 May, which was Walpurgis night, a grand sabbath in the witches' year...

—from Buck, *History of Richard III*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 177-178

[177] ...And he [Edward IV] did not long deliberate of the tying of the matrimonial knot, nor deferred the accomplishment any longer than there was necessity; but so suddenly and hastily, (and haply with more haste than good speed) he was married unto her without the charity of any counsellor, [178] kinsman, baron, or any friend whatsoever.

And there was so much haste made that the much approved ceremony of the banns' [asking] was pretermitted, and such was the want [of reve]rend bishops then as that he was fain to [take an] ordinary priest to marry him. And that was done in a chamber instead of a church, and in [a lodg]ge or forest house instead of a palace, and nobody present but the duchess and her company, and that few of them. And where he first saw this fair widow, and by chance, there at the next [interv]iew he married her, and by ill chance and unhappily, and much to his dishonour and disparagement, [and as] much to the offence and dislike of the barons of the kingdom, and who took double offence at this marriage. The one offence was because he matched so unworthily and so unequally to his estate, and also that he married without privity of them and without obtaining their [con]sent, and privileged honours. But it much exasperated their dislikes when they considered the great inequality between her conditio[n] and the regal condition [and the Imperial Maje]sty of England, as also that she was the widow—that is, the reliques and the leavings [of another ma]n, and that of a poor knight and of a false and mortal enemy....

—[notes on p. 302 state: 'Buck follows [Sir Thomas] More's account of the marriage (p. 61). The lodge or forest-house is added by Buck, who has a tendency to visualise scenes. He is elaboration on Fabyan (Robert Fabyan, *The New Chronicles of England and France*, Henry Ellis (ed.), London, 1811), p. 654, who says Edward pretended to go hunting when he went to marry Elizabeth, and that only the bridegroom, the bride, her mother, the priest, two gentlemen, 'and a

yong man to helpe the preest synge' were present. The story of his having seen her first in the place where he married her comes from Hall [Edward Hall, *Chronicle*, Henry Ellis (ed.), London, 1809], p. 264 (it is repeated by Grafton and Holinshed): while hunting in the Forest of Wychwood Edward stopped at her family's manor at Grafton and soon after married her there, 'where he first phantasied her visage.']

26 June

—from James Gairdner, *History of the Life and Reign of Richard the Third, to which is added the story of Perkin Warbeck from original documents*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1878, revised edition 1898, p. 93

[93] A deputation of several of the lords and principal knights of the Parliament, joined by the mayor, aldermen, and chief citizens of London, forthwith waited on Richard and presented the petition to him at the Duchess of York's mansion of Baynard's Castle....The Duke of Buckingham was spokesman for the assembly, as he had been at the Guildhall, and besought Richard, for the benefit of the whole realm, to take upon himself the crown and government, according to his right and title. The protector thanked them for the favour they bore him, but declined to accept the honour, until the duke, on the part of those present, assured him that they were quite determined King Edward's line should no longer rule over them, and that if he positively refused to assume the crown they would find some other nobleman willing to assume the burden. The protector on this, permitted himself to be entreated, and said that since he perceived the whole realm was determined on it, he consented to take upon himself the royal estate. Shouts of 'King Richard!' greeted his acceptance...

1483 Recognition of Richard III (England)

[recognition before oath]

... the Cardinall as Archbussop of Canterbury shewing the Kinge the people at the iiij parties of the seide pulpitt shall say in this wise, Syrs, her' (cometh Richard the third) is present Richard rightful and undoughted enheritor by the lawes of God and man to the corone and roiall dignitie of Engelande with all thinges therunto annexid and apperteynyng, elected chosen and required by all of the iij estates of this same lande to take apon him the saide crowne and royall dignyte, wher apon ye shall understand that this day is prefixid and appointyd by all the peeris of this lande for the consecracion, enunccion and coronacion of the saide most excellent prince Richard. Woll ye syris at this tyme geve your willys and assentes to the same consecracion enunccion and coronacion, wherunto the people shall say with a great voise Kinge Richard, Kynge Richard, Kinge Richard.¹

1483 RICHARD III'S CHAMPION

—from BL Additional MS. 6113 ff. 19-22b, collated with other contemporary and near contemporary manuscripts by Sutton and Hammond, in *The Coronation of Richard III, the extant documents, op. cit.*, pp. 270-282, at pp. 281-282.

(p. 281) [f.22]...and at the second course came riding into the hale the Kinges Champion Sir Robert Dimmoke and his horse trapped with white silke and redde downe to the grounde and so he came riding before the kinge making his obeisance, and anone torned him aboute and an herald proclaymed declaring in all the halle if there be any man that will saye the contrary whi King Richarde shulde not pretend and have the crowne [but here the Grafton mss. And the Ashmolean ms. 863 have for the challenge 'that whosoever would saye that King Richard was not lawfull King, he would fight with him at the utterance, and threw down his gauntlet', 116, 518, 449, and omit the part

¹ This is taken from *The Little Device* for the Coronation of Richard III, as reproduced in *The Coronation of Richard III, the extant Documents*, edited by Anne F Sutton and P W Hammond, Alan Sutton Publishing Limited, Gloucester, 1983, at p. 213; British Library: Add. Ms. 18669

played by the heralds] and anone every man helde their peace for a while and when he hade all said anone all the(r) hale cried King Richard and anone as they hade so said the Champion cast down his gauntlett and so he dide thrise in the hale (ones) ones before the King and ons in the mydes of the hale and another tyme in the [f.22b] hale dore, and so he retorned up again before the King making his obbaycans, and onone one of the lordes brought him a cope wythe wine coverid, and so he toke it in his hande and dranke, and whan he hade done he cas owte the remenant of the wyne and covered the cope again and torned his horse and rode thorough the hall with the cupe in his right hande and (p. 282) that he hade for his labor.

TITULUS REGIUS OF RICHARD III

1484 *TITULUS REGIUS OF RICHARD III, 1 Richard III, c. 1, Rot. Parl. vi. 238-242.* see also Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, Vol. 3, p. 235

Where late heretofore, that is to say before the Consecration, Coronacion and Inthronization of our Sovereign Lord the King Richard the thirde, a Rolle of Perchment conteyning in writeing certaine articles of the tenour undre written, on behalve and in the name of the thre Esates of this Realme of England, that is to wite, of the Lords Spiritual and temporalls, and of the Commons, by many and diverse Lords Spirituells and Temporalls and other Nobles and notable persons of the Commons in grete multitude [was presented to and accepted by the king; and the statement continues]

Now forasmuch as neither the said three estates, neither the said persones, which in thair name presented and delivered as is abovesaid, the said Rolle unto our Souverain Lord the Kyng were assembled in fourme of Parliament, by occasion whereof, diverse doubts, and questions and ambiguities, been moved and engendered in the myndes of diverse personnes, as it is said; therefore, to the perpetuall memorie of the trouth, and declaration of thisame, bee it ordeyned, provided and established in this present Parliament, that the tenour of the said Rolle, with all the contynue of the same presented...in the name and the of the said three Estates out of Parliament, now by the same three Estates assembled in this present Parliament and by auctorie of the same, bee ratified, enrolled, recorded, approved and auctorisid, etc. etc.¹

[And it then gave a glowing account of the enviable state of the realm in former times, when prosperity and peace, concord and charity, justice and zeal reigned supreme. In late years conditions had much deteriorated, especially after the pretended marriage of Edward IV to Elizabeth Woodville]²

And here also we consider how that the said pretended marriage between the above-named king Edward and Elizabeth Grey was made of great presumption, without knowledge and assent of the lords of this land, and also by sorcery and witchcraft, committed by the said Elizabeth and her mother Jacquetta Duchess of Bedford, as the common opinion of the people and the public voice and fame is through all this land. ... And here also we consider how that the said pretended marriage was made privily and secretly, without the giving out of banns, in a private chamber, a profane place, and not openly in the face of the church, according to the law of God's church, but contrary to it, and to the laudable custom of the Church of England. And how also that at the time of contract of the same pretended marriage, and before and long after, the said King Edward was and stood married and troth-plighted to one Dame Eleanor Butler, daughter of the old Earl of Shrewsbury, with whom the said King had made a precontract of marriage...[Wherefore] it appears and follows evidently that the said King Edward during his life and the said Elizabeth lived together sinfully and damnably in adultery...Also it appears evidently and follows, that all the issue and children by the

¹ *Titulus Regius*, 1464, 1 Ric. III, c. 1, *Rot. Parl.* VI, 240, quoted in S B Chrimes, *English Constitutional ideas in the Fifteenth Century*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1936; reprinted by American Scholar Publications, New York, 1965, at p.124.

² from *English Historical Documents*, 1327-1485, A R Myers (ed.), 1969, Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1969, p. 340.

said king Edward are bastards, and unable to inherit or to claim anything by inheritance, by the law and custom of England.

Moreover we consider how that afterwards by the three estates of this realm assembled in a parliament held at Westminster, the 17th year of the reign of the said king Edward IV...George, Duke of Clarence, brother to the said King Edward now deceased, was convicted and attainted of high treason...by reason whereof, all the issue of the said George was and is disabled and barred of all right and claim which in any wise they might have or challenge by inheritance to the crown and dignity royal of this realm, by the ancient law and custom of this same realm.

Beyond this we consider how that you are the undoubted son and heir of Richard late Duke of York, truly inheritor to the said crown and dignity royal, and as in right King of England, by way of inheritance, and how that you were born within this land; by reason whereof, as we judge in our minds, you are more naturally inclined to the prosperity and common welfare of the same, and all the three estates of this land have, and may have, more certain knowledge of your birth and filiation abovesaid. We consider also the great wit, prudence, justice, princely courage, and memorable and laudable acts in diverse battles, which as we know by experience you have hitherto done, for the salvation and defence of this same realm; and also the great nobility and excellence of your birth and blood, that is to say, England, France and Spain.

Wherefore...we...choose you, high and mighty prince, as our king and sovereign lord, &c., to whom we know for certain it appertaineth of inheritance to be chosen. And hereupon we humbly desire, pray, and require your noble grace that according to this election of us three estates of this land, as by your true inheritance, you will accept and take upon you the said crown and royal dignity... and in case you do so, we promise to serve and to assist your highness, as true and faithful subjects and liegemen, and to live and die with you in this matter, and every other just quarrel. For certainly we are determined to adventure and commit ourselves to the peril of our lives and jeopardy of death than to live in such thralldom and bondage as we have lived for a long time heretofore, oppressed and injured by extortions and new impositions against the laws of God and man, and the laws of this realm, wherein every Englishman has an inheritance...so that, after great clouds, storms and tempests, the son of justice and of grace may shine upon us, to the comfort and gladness of all true Englishmen.

Albeit that the right, title, and estate which our sovereign lord the king Richard III has to and in the Crown...of England...is grounded upon the laws of God and nature, and also upon the ancient laws and laudable customs of this said realm...yet nevertheless, for as much as it is considered that the greater part of the people of this land is not sufficiently learned in the abovesaid laws and customs, whereby the truth and right in this matter may very likely be hidden, and not clearly known to all the people, and thereupon put in doubt and question. And moreover, as the court of parliament is of such authority and the people of this land is of such a nature and disposition, as experience teaches, that the manifestation and declaration of any truth and right made by the three estates of this realm assembled in parliament, and by authority of the same, makes, before all other things, most faith and certainty and, quieting men's minds, removes the occasion of all doubts and seditious language. Therefore at the request and by the assent of the three estates of this realm, that is to say, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of this land, assembled in this present parliament, by authority of the same, be it pronounced, decreed, and declared, that our sovereign lord the king was and is true and undoubted king of this realm of England...as well by right of consanguinity and inheritance, as well by lawful election, consecration, and coronation. And moreover at the request and by the assent and authority abovesaid, be it ordained, enacted and established, that the said crown and royal dignity of this realm...rest and abide in the person of our said sovereign lord the king, during his life, and after his decease in his heirs begotten of his body. And especially...that the high and excellent prince Edward, son of our said sovereign lord the king, be heir apparent of the same sovereign lord the king, to succeed him in the abovesaid crown and dignity.

—from *Titulus Regius*, 1484, 1 Ric. III, *Rot. Parl.* VI, 240-242

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We consider that ye be the undoubted son and heir of Richard, late Duke of York, very inheritor of the said crown and dignity royal, as in right King of England by way of inheritance; ...and by this our writing choose you High and Mighty Prince, our King and Sovereign Lord. To whom we it appertaineth of inheritance so to be chosen... We pray and require your most noble grace that according to this election of us the three estates of this land; as by your true inheritance you will accept and take upon you the said Crown and dignity Royal with all things thereunto annexed and appertaining as to you of right belonging as well as by inheritance, as by lawful election... Albeit that the right title and estate which our Sovereign Lord the King Richard the Third hath to and in the crown... of England...been just and lawful as grounded upon the laws of God and of nature; and also upon the ancient laws and customs of this said realm and so taken and reputed by all such persons as been learned in the above said laws and customs; yet nevertheless for as much as it is considered, that the most part of the people not learned in the above said law and customs, whereby the truth and right in this behalf, of likelihood may be hid and not clearly known to all the people, and thereupon put in doubt and question. And over this, how that the court of Parliament is of such authority and the people of this land of such a nature and disposition, as experience teacheth, that manifestation and declaration of any truth or right made by the three estates of the realm assembled in Parliament, and by the authority of the same maketh before all other things most faith and certain, and quieting men's minds removeth the occasion of all doubts and seditious language, therefore &c.

—from Speed's *History*, 724, quoted in John Neville Figgis, *The Divine Right of Kings*, 1896, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge; 2nd edn. 1914; reprinted by Harper Torchbook, New York, 1965, with an Introduction by G R Elton; reprinted by Peter Smith, Publisher, Gloucester, Mass., in 1970, Appendix A, p. 317-318

1485 Henry Earl of Richmond attainted—notification of Royal proclamation, and of Henry's assumption of title to king of England

—see for full text, *Original Letters Illustrative of English History, including numerous Royal Letters from Monographs in the British Museum*, with notes and illustrations by Henry Ellis, Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum, 2nd series, in 4 volumes, Vol. I, letter LIV, pp. 162-164, letter from Richard III to the Bishop of Lincoln, Chancellor, taken in turn from MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 4616. ART. 98. EX BUND. INFRA TURR. LOND. TEMP. RIC. III. N. 28—which he refers to

'[163]...HENRY TIDDER, ...which of his ambitious and insatiable covetise incrocheth and usurpeth upon hym the name and title of royal estate of this Roialme of Englande, whereunto he hath no maner of interest, right, title, or colour, as every man wel knoweth; for he is descended of bastard blode both of the fader side and moder side;...[164]wherby it evidently appereth that noo title can or may be in hym, whiche fulley entendeth to entre this Royuame proposing a conquest : and if he should atcheve this false entent and purpose, every mannys lif, livelood, and goods shuld be in his hands, libertie and disposition...[165]...[and Henry had bargained with the King of France, promising to release all claim to France, and had promised to give the possessions of earldoms and other estates etc to the king's enemies]...and entendeth also to chaunge and subvert the lawes of the same, and to enduce and establishe neme lawes and ordinaunces amonge the King's said subiettes. And over this and besids the alienations of all the premisses into the possession of the Kings said ancient enemyes, to the gretest augeutisement, shame and rebuke that ever might falle to this lande, the said Henry Tider and othre the Kings rebels and traitours aforesaid, have entended at thair cummyng, if theye can be of powair, to doo the moost cruell murdres, slaughters, robberies, and dishersions that ever wer seen in any Cristen Royaume. ...[166]...And oure sayde soverayn Lord, as welewilled, diligent, and courageous Prince wol put his royal persone to all [blank in Ellis' text]and payne necessarie in this behalve for the resistence and subdueing of his said enemyes, rebelles and traitours...

1485 Richard III killed in battle of Bosworth, fighting against Henry, Earl of Richmond, 22 August, 1485 —Henry crowned on Bosworth field with Richard's circlet by Lord Stanley [sourced to

Polydore Vergil, p. 564, by Arthur Noel Kincaid in his note to p. 100, ll. 29-31 of Sir George Buck's *The History of King Richard the Third*, p. 274. For Buck's account, see *ibid.*, pp. 98-100.

HENRY VII

1485 Recognition of Henry VII (England)

The *Little Device* [allegedly used for Henry VII based on that for Richard III]:

Jerdan [2] Here foloweth under co[rrect]ion a litle deuysse for the coronacion of the most high, myghty, and cristen prince, Henry the vijth [Jerdan notes that the original manuscript had the words 'vijth' (see p. 2, note b),] rightfull and undoubted enheritour of the coronas of England and of France, with their appurtenaunces, and by the hole assente of all the lordes spirituallis and temporellis, and also of all the comons of this land, electe, chosen, and required, the xxx^v daye of October, the yer of our lord Mⁱiiij^ciiij^{xv}, to be King of the same. Also of the moost noble princes Dame [Jerdan notes that here there is a blank in the manuscript, p. 2, note c)] his wiff, Quene of England and of France, &c., ... [Henry 7 was not married when he was crowned]

Legg [220] Here foloweth vnder correction a litle devise for the coronacion of the most high and myghtie cristen Prince, Henry the vijth, rightfull and indoubted Heire and king of the crowne of England and of Fraunce w^t their appurtenaunces and by the hole assent of all the Lordes both Sprituall and Temporall, and also of all the Commons of this Lande, elect, chosen, and required, the xxx^v daye of October Anno Domini MⁱCCCCiiij^{xv} in London to be king of the same. Also of the most noble Princes dame Elizabeth hie weif Lawfull Queene of Englande, and fraunce, &c., to be solemnised at Westminster.' [Henry 7 was not married when he was crowned]

[recognition before oath]

... the Cardinall as Archbussop of Canterbury shewing the king [to] the people at the iiij partes of the said pulpit, shall say on this wise, Sirs, here [is] present Henry [Richard] rightfull and indoubted enheritor by the Lawes of god and man to the Crowne [and] royall dignitie of Englande w^t all thinges therevnto annexid and apperteigning elect chosen and required by all three estates of thissame Lande to take vpon him the said crown and royall dignitie. Whervpon ye shall vnderstande that this daye is fixed by all the Peres of this Lande for the consecracion, Invnction and coronacion of the said most excellent prince Henry [Richard]. Will ye Syrs at this tyme give your willes and assentes to the same consecracion, Invnction and Coronacion. whervnto the people shall saye w^t a great voice, yea, yea, yea, so be it, King Henry, King Henry, King Henry [Richard].¹

1485 Henry VII, forced recognition?

—from Sir Francis Bacon, *History of the Reign of King Henry VII*, written 1621-1622, published 1622, based in turn on a fragment written some time earlier and drawn upon by John Speed in his 1609 *History of Great*

¹ Legg, *English Coronation Records*, p. 228-229. Legg notes that the copy of the *Little Device* which he uses for Henry VII is that in the British Museum, Brit. Mus. Egerton MS. 985, fo. 1, which dates 'from early in the reign of Henry VIII' (ECR 220). He notes that the references in the recognition and elsewhere are to Richard III, and to his office holders, and also that it is a joint coronation device for both a king and a queen. Richard of course was crowned with his queen Anne, while Henry VII was not even married to Elizabeth of York when he was crowned.

Britain, reprinted with notes by Rev. J Rawson Lumby, as *Bacon's History of the Reign of King Henry VII*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1876, reprinted 1880, 1881, 1885, 1888, 1889, revised edn. 1892, reprinted 1902, at pp. 13-14

The coronation followed two days after. Upon the thirtieth day of October, in the year of our Lord 1485; at which time Innocent the eight was Pope of Rome; Frederick the third Emperor of Almain; and Maximilian his son newly chosen King of the Romans; Charles the eighth king of France; Ferdinando and Isabella Kings of Spain; and James the third, King of Scotland: with all which Kings and States the King was at that time in good peace and amity. At which day also, as if the crown upon his head had put perils into his thoughts, he did institute, for the better security of his person, a band of fifty archers, under a captain, to attend him, by the name of yeomen of his guard: and yet, that it might be thought to be rather a matter of dignity, after the imitation of what he had known abroad, than any matter of diffidence appropriate to his own cause, he made it to be understood for an ordinance not temporary, but to be held in succession for ever after

1485 Henry VII Titles

—from Sir George Buck, Master of the Revels, *The History of King Richard the Third*, 1619, edited and with an introduction and notes by Arthur Noel Kincaid, Alan Sutton Publishing, London, 1982, pp. 87-89:

[87] [...] For after he had gotten the crown in the field and in victorious battle, he affected, and chiefly, so as it were, only the title of his sword. And he claimed the kingdom to be his by conquest and *de jure belli*. Because he would have this told, there were at his coronation proclamations made with these titles: *Henricus rex Angliae, jure divino*, [88] *jure humano, et jure belli*, etc.

But the noble barons liked not this title *de jure belli*... But the king maintained it... [the barons maintained that Henry could not have conquered without them, because his army was composed of rogues and French ragamuffins and base men, and would have been cut to pieces by Richard had not the barons supported Henry. Moreover, the barons said title by conquest applied] 'to barbarous and heathenish and tyrannical titles. And by good reason, for the work and end of them is to make all the people of the land slaves, to possess all their goods and fortunes at their pleasures, and in brief, to do anything; as the wise man said, *Quidquid victor audet, aut victus timet*. And hereof the examples of the conquering Vandals, Longobards, Saxons, and Normans in Italy and Spain, in England, and lately the Spaniards in America, and many other cruel lords... And for these causes the barons would not endure the title *de jure belli*.'

—from Croyland Chronicle:

In hoc Parlamento confirmatum est Regnum domino Regi, tanquam sibi debitum no ex uno sed multis titulis, ut non tam sanguinis quam victoriae bellicae conquestusque jure rectissime populo Anglicano praesider credatur. Fuerunt qui consultius aestimabant, verba ejusmodi silentio potius quam edicto committi; eo potissime, quod in isto eodem Parlamento tractatum est, atque per Regem assensum, super matrimonio dominae Elizabeth primogenitae Regis Edwardi: in cujus persona visum omnibus erat posse suppleri, quicquid aliunde ipsi Regi deesse de titulo videbatur.

—quoted in Kincaid's notes to Buck, at p. 270, taken from Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland with continuations by Peter of Blois and Anonymous writers, Henry T Riley (trans.), London, 1854, at p. 571

TITULUS REGIUS OF HENRY VII

1485 *TITULUS REGIUS OF HENRY VII*, 1485, 1 Henry VII (*Rot. Parl.* VI, 270); and see *Rot. Parl.*, VI, 270b, quoted in *English Historical Documents*, Vol. V, 1485-1558, C H Williams, (ed.), at p. 445; 1 Henry VII, *Titulus Regius*, 1485.

Also a certain bill was shown to the lord King in the present parliament by the Commons of the realm of England in the same parliament containing these words

To the pleasure of almighty God, the wealth, prosperity and surety of this realm of England, to the singular comfort of all the king's subjects of the same, and in avoiding all ambiguities and questions, be it ordained, established and enacted, by the authority of this present parliament that the inheritance of the crowns of the realms of England and France, with all the pre-eminence and dignity royal to the same pertaining, and all other seigniories to the king belonging beyond the sea, with the appurtenances thereto in any wise due or pertaining, be, rest, remain, and abide in the most royal person of our now sovereign lord King Harry VIIth, and in the heirs of his body lawfully come, perpetually with the grace of God so to endure and in none other.

And when this bill had been read, heard, and understood in mature deliberation in the aforesaid Parliament answer was given in the following form, with the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal in the said parliament and at the request of the aforesaid Commons and also with the authority of the same parliament.

Our lord the King, with the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal in this parliament and at the request of the aforesaid commons, wills it in all points

*

— Sir Francis Bacon's view of the *Titulus Regis*

[14]...The seventh of November the King held his parliament at Westminster, which he had summoned immediately after his coming to London. His ends in calling a parliament, and that so speedily, were chiefly three ; first, to procure the crown to be entailed upon himself. Next, to have the Attainders of all his party, which were in no small number, reversed, and all acts of hostility by them done in his quarrel remitted and discharged ; and on the other side, to attain by parliament the heads and principals of his enemies. The third, to calm and quiet the fears of the rest of that party by a general pardon ; not being ignorant in how great danger a King stands from his subjects, when most of his subjects are conscious in themselves that they stand in danger. Unto these three special motives of a parliament was added, that he, as a prudent and moderate prince, made this judgement, that it was fit for him to hasten to let his people see, that he meant to govern by law, howsoever he came in by the sword; and for also to reclaim them to know him for their King, whom they had so lately talked of as an enemy or banished man. For that which concerned the entailing of the crown, more than that he was true to his own will, that he would not endure any mention of the lady [15] Elizabeth, no not in the nature of a special entail, he carried it otherwise with great wisdom and measure ; for he did not press to have the act penned by way of declaration or recognition of right; as, on the other side, he avoided to have it by new law or ordinance, but chose rather a kind of middle way, by way of establishment, and that under covert and indifferent words; "that the inheritance of the crown should rest, remain, and abide in the King," etc., which words might equally be applied, that the crown should continue in him ; but whether as having former right to it, which was doubtful, or having it then in fact and possession, which no man denied, was left fair to interpretation either way. And again, for the limitation of the entail, he did not press it to go farther than to himself and to the heirs of his body, not speaking of his right heirs ; but leaving that to the law to decide : so as the entail might seem rather a personal favour to him and his children, than a total disinherison to the house of York. And in this form was the law drawn and passed. Which statute he procured to be confirmed by the Pope's bull the following year, with mention nevertheless, by way of recital, of his other titles, both of descent and conquest. So now the wreath of three, was made a wreath of five ; for to the first titles of the two houses, or lines, were added two more, the authorities parliamentary and papal.

The King likewise, in the reversal of the attainders of his partakers, and discharging them of all offences incident of his service and succour, had his will; and acts did pass accordingly. In the passage wherof, exception was taken to divers persons in the house of commons, for that they were attainted, and thereby not legal, nor habilitate to serve in parliament, being disable in the highest degree; and that it should be a great incongruity to have them make laws, [16]who them selves were not inlawed. The truth was, that divers of those, which had in the time of King Richard been strongest, and most declared for the King's party, were returned knights and burgesses for the parliament; whether by care or recommendation of the state, or the voluntary inclination of the people; many of which had been by Richard the third attainted by outlawries, or otherwise. [the king consulted the judges who]gave a grave and safe opinion and advice, mixed with law and convenience;

which was that the knights and burgesses attainted by the course of the law should forbear to come into the house, till a law were passed for the reversal of their attainders.

It was at that time incidently moved amongst the judges in their consultation, what should be done for the king himself, who was likewise attainted? But it was with unanimous consent resolved: 'That the crown takes away all defects and stops in the blood: and that from the time the King did assume the crown, the fountain was cleared, and all attainders and corruption of the blood discharged.' But nevertheless for honour's sake, it was ordained by parliament. That all records, wherein there was any memory or mention of the King's attainder, should be defaced, cancelled, and taken off the file.

But on the part of the King's enemies there were by parliament attainted, the late duke of Gloucester, calling himself Richard the third;...

—from Sir Francis Bacon, *History of the Reign of King Henry VII*, written 1621-1622, published 1622, reprinted with notes by Rev. J Rawson Lumby, as *Bacon's History of the Reign of King Henry VII*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1876, reprinted 1880, 1881, 1885, 1888, 1889, revised edn. 1892, reprinted 1902, at pp. 14-16

The Notes to this part of Bacon's *History*, prepared by the Rev. J Rawson Lumby in 1876, recite the text of the *Titulus Regius*, in terms identical with that above, with one major and important exception—instead of the use of the term 'reside...in our *now* sovereign lord King Harry...' it reads '...our *new* sovereign lord king...': see pp. 233-234, note 32.

Sir George Buck's version in his 1619 *History of Richard III*, merely had here '...our sovereign lord...'

To the pleasure of almighty God, the wealth, prosperity and surety of this realm of England, to the singular comfort of all the subjects of the same, and in avoiding of all ambiguities and questions, be it ordained, established and enacted, by the authority of this present parliament that the inheritance of the crown of the realm of England and also of France, with all the pre-eminences and dignities royal to the same pertaining, and all other seignories to the king belonging beyond the seas, with the appurtenances thereto in any wise due or pertaining, to be, rest, remain, and abide in the most royal person of our sovereign lord King Henry VII, and in the heirs of his body lawfully begotten or coming perpetually with the grace of God, and so to endure, and in none other.

1485 Henry VII decree that all copies of or rehearsals of the substance of Richard III's *Titulus Regius* be destroyed; attaints Richard, and dates reign from 21 August, 1483, the day before the battle of Bosworth. *Rot. Parl.* VI, 289.

—see Sir Francis Bacon, *History of the Reign of King Henry VII*, written 1621-1622, published 1622, reprinted with notes by Rev. J Rawson Lumby, as *Bacon's History of the Reign of King Henry VII*, (*supra*) reprinted 1902, at p. 16

—see Alison Hanham, *Richard III and his Early Historians*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1975, p. 96 and n. 4.

—see Jeremy Potter, *Good King Richard?, An Account of Richard III and his Reputation 1483-1983*, Constable and Company, London, 1983, p. 44

—see V B Lamb, *The Betrayal of Richard III, An Introduction to the Controversy*, 1959, revised edition with an Introduction and Notes by P W Hammond, published by Alan Sutton Publishing, Stroud, 1990, published in the USA 1991, pp. 33-34:

[33] Henry was crowned at Westminster in October and immediately afterwards held his first parliament. It was faced with the initial difficulty of finding him a title to the throne which would present some semblance of legality since, placed on the statute book less than two years before, was the *Titulus Regius*, which set down as clearly as words could define it the undoubted right of Richard Plantagenet, together with the circumstances which had led to his acceptance of the crown, the

whole being 'said, affirmed, signified, and remembered in a full parliament and by the authority of the same attested and approved.' (*Rolls. Parl. 1 Ric. III*).

Here was proof in black and white that Richard being no usurper, Henry was. Henry's obvious course was to have the whole question of the legitimacy or otherwise of Edward's children re-opened and to disprove the pre-contract with Lady Eleanor Butler —if he could. He did nothing of the kind. Instead he repealed the Act unread, giving orders that it should be deleted from the statute book and that all copies should be destroyed under pain of heavy punishment 'so that all things said and remembered in the said Bill and Act thereof may be for ever out of remembrance and also forgot.' (*Rolls. Parl. 1 Hen. VII*). We owe our knowledge of this important Act to the fact that the original draft was overlooked in the general destruction, and only came to light in the seventeenth century among a mass of documents in the Tower, while at about [34] the same time, its gist was found in the manuscript of the contemporary Chronicle of Croyland, a remote monastery buried in the fen country of Lincolnshire. ...

[—Note 22 at p. 96 by P W Hammond states : 'These two quotations from the Rolls of Parliament come from vol. 6 pp. 240 and 289. The act of Henry VII does in fact go so far as to order the removal of Richard's *Titulus Regius* from the "Roll and Records of the said Parliament". Since it was not, we can now quote it as above. The Rolls of Parliament (final versions rather than drafts), were among the documents stored in the Tower. Interestingly, the Lords in parliament wished to examine Bishop Stillington, author of the 'false bill', but Henry refused to allow this, saying he had pardoned him and did not wish to proceed against him.]

Having disposed of the awkward *Titulus Regius* Henry's parliament proceeded to the attainder of Richard and his adherents. In this again it was confronted with a difficulty, for there was no doubt whatever that Richard had been crowned and anointed King of England and in law it was impossible to attain him or his loyal followers for treason. Henry got over this obstacle by dating his own reign from the day before Bosworth. This bland assumption gave rise to no considerable disagreement even in his packed parliament, but the act was finally passed because 'it was the King's pleasure.' (Bacon). It is worth quoting :

Wherefore our sovereign Lord, calling unto his blessed remembrance this high charge adjoined to his royal majesty and estate, nor oblivious or putting out of his godly mind the unnatural mischievous and great perjuries, treasons, homicides, and murders in shedding infant's blood, with many other wrongs, odious offences and abominations against God and man, and in especial our said sovereign Lord, committed and done by Richard late Duke of Gloucester, calling and naming himself by usurpation King Richard III, the which with John Duke of Norfolk. Thomas Earl of Surrey etc etc., ... the 21st day of August the first year of our sovereign lord assembled to them at Leicester... a great host traitorously intending, imaging and conspiring the destruction of the King's royal person, our sovereign Lord. And they ...by great and continued deliberation traitorously levied war against our sovereign Lord and his true subjects. [*Rolls Parl. 1 Hen. VII*]

—see Kendal, *Richard III*, p. 409 he quotes excerpts from the Bill of Attainder in identical terms.

—see also Sir George Buck, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-188, on the attainder of Richard III.

—Kenneth Pickthorn, *Early Tudor Government, Henry VII*, Cambridge University Press, 1934, reprinted Octagon Books, , Inc., New York, 1967, at p. 14 notes that :

'...on parliament's recognition of the claim that Henry was king before Bosworth, the prior of Croyland commented, "O God! What security are our kings to have henceforth, that in the day of battle they may not be deserted by their subjects?"...Henry began his regnal year from the day before Bosworth, and treated as traitors the men who had fought against him when he was a pretender...'

1486 **Henry VII *Titulus Regis* endorsed by pope Innocent VIII;** — Sir Francis Bacon, *History of the Reign of King Henry VII*, written 1621-1622, published 1622, reprinted with notes by Rev. J Rawson Lumby, as *Bacon's History of the Reign of King Henry VII*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1876, reprinted 1880, 1881, 1885, 1888, 1889, revised edn. 1892, reprinted 1902, at p. 15

—**1486 Papal Bull** Innocent VIII support Henry's *Titulus Regius* :—from Sir George Buck, Master of the Revels, *The History of King Richard the Third*, 1619, edited and with an introduction and notes by Arthur Noel Kincaid, Alan Sutton Publishing, London, 1982, at pp. 88-89. :

[88] **Anno Domini 1486** But the king changed not his mind, and therefore he made means to the pope to obtain to him the title of Lancaster. But the king did not seek the [89] titles directly and desertyly in his motion and suit to the pope, but closely and cunningly. For the outside of his embassage was only for his marriage, fearing that therein he had committed incest, as he pretended, because the queen his wife was his kinswoman, /**et quarto consanguinitatis, et forsā affinitatis gradibus**. Pope Innocent VIII granted this suit to the king in the first year of his reign. And after wards, but on what occasion I know not, the king renewed this suit to pope Alexander VI, who confirmed and ratified this pardon and dispensation made by his predecessor in the fourth year of this reign of King Henry VII. **This Bull is in the hands of Sir Robert Cotton, and which I have seen**

1490 Pope Alexander VI ratifies Henry's Titles

—from Sir George Buck, Master of the Revels, *The History of King Richard the Third*, 1619, edited and with an introduction and notes by Arthur Noel Kincaid, Alan Sutton Publishing, London, 1982, at p. 89

[89] And after wards, but on what occasion I know not, the king renewed this suit to pope Alexander VI, who confirmed and ratified this pardon and dispensation made by his predecessor in the fourth year of this reign of King Henry VII. **This Bull is in the hands of Sir Robert Cotton, and which I have seen**

Anno Domini 1490 ...[words of the Bull] : Hic rex Angliae de domo Lancastriae originem trahens, et qui notoro jure et dubitato proximo successionis titulo et praelatorum et procerum Angliae electione et concessione, etc. Ac etiam de jure belli est rex Angliae...Supplemusque omnes et singulos defectus, tam juris quam facti, si qui intervenerint in regno dicto...Pagina confirmationis nostrae, approbationis, pronunciationis, constitutionis, declarationis, suppletionis, monitionis, requisitionis, prohibitionis, benedictionis, inhibitionis, et excommunicationis, et anathematizationis in quoscumque qui praesumpserint infringere, vel ausu temerario contravenire his litteris Apostolicis...

HENRY VIII

1509 Recognition of HENRY VIII (England)

The morrow following being a Sunday, and also Midsummer Day, this noble prince with his queen, at time convenient, under their canopies borne by the Barons of the Five Ports, went from the said Palace to Westminster Abbey upon cloth, called vulgarly cloth of ray, the which cloth was cut and spoiled by the rude and common people, immediately after their repair to the Abbey, where, according to the sacred observance and ancient custom, his grace with the queen were anointed and crowned by the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the other prelates of the realm there present, and the nobility, with a great number of the commons of the same. It was demanded of the people whether they would receive, obey and take the same most noble prince for their king, who with great reverence, love, and desire, said and cried, yea, yea...

—from *Hall's Chronicle*, 505-512, quoted in *EHD*, 1485-1558, p. 149.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

1543 **MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS** crowned 9 September, 1543 (she was not yet one year old); recognised by the Scottish Estates.

EDWARD VI

1547 Recognition of EDWARD VI (England)

—John Strype, in *Memorials of the Most Reverend father in God Thomas Cranmer, sometime Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*..., first published 1694, in three books; new edition with additions, in 2 volumes, Oxford

University Press, Oxford, MDCCCXL (1840), at Vol. 1 [Book II, Chapter 1, pp. 142 ff.], pp. 202-205, reproduces details of Edward VI's coronation from a 'manuscript in Benet College', C.C.C. Library, Miscellan. B.. Strype details some of this document, and makes reference to the Recognition, but there is no reference to the coronation oath.

When the King's Majesty, with his nobles, came to the place of the coronation, within a while after, his Grace was removed into a chair of crimson velvet, and borne in the chair between two noblemen unto the north side of the stage and shewed to the people; and these words spoken to the people by my Lord of Canterbury, in this manner, saying: 'Sirs, here I present unto you King Edward, the rightful inheritor to the crown of this realm. Wherefore all ye, that be come this day to do your homage, service and bounden duty, be ye willing to do the same?' To which all the people cried with a loud voice, and said, Yea, Yea, Yea; and cried, King Edward; and prayed, God save King Edward. And so to the south side in like manner, and to the east side, and to the west side.

—From *English Historical Documents*, Vol. V, 1485-1558, C H Williams, (ed.), David C Douglas (gen. Ed.), Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1967, pp. 466-470, sourced to Dasent, Acts of the Privy Council, (A.P.C.), N.S., II, (1547-50), London, 1890, 1873, pp. 29-33)

'(1) Arrangements for Edward VI's coronation

First, the archbishop of Canterbury shall shew the king to the people at four parts of a great pulpit or stage to be made for the king, and shall say in thus wise: - Sirs here I present King Edward, rightful and undoubted inheritor by the laws of God and men to the royal dignity and crown imperial of this realm, whose consecration, enunction, and coronation is appointed by all the nobles and peers of this land to be this day. Will you serve at this time and give your good wills and assents to the said consecration, enunction, and coronation as by your duties of allegiance ye be bound to do?

The people to answer: yea, yea, yea King Edward, King Edward, King Edward !

—from the Rev. Joseph H Pemberton, *The Coronation Service according to the use of the Church of England* with Notes and introduction, with reproductions of the two celebrated pictures in medieval coronation Mss., inserted by special permission, with three pictures, viz. the Coronation of James II, and the vestments used thereat, 2nd edn., Skeffington & Son, Piccadilly, (Publishers to His Majesty the King), London, 1902, pp. 21-26.

Pemberton in his Prefatory Note says ; '... to the Very Reverend the Dean of Ely my acknowledgement is due for permission to include in this book an account of the Coronation of King Edward VI, from the pen of Archbishop Cranmer, taken from a volume of "Extracts out of MSS. In Bennett College Library," in the Library of the Church of Ely.'

The Coronation of King Edward the Sixth on Shrove Sunday, being the 20th day of February A^o 1546, at Monastery of Westminster. Written with Archbp. Cranmer's own hand..

First, a goodly stage richly hang'd wh. Cloth of Gold and Cloth of Arras, and the steps from Quire...

...

When the Kgs. Mat^e with his nobles came to the Place of his Coronation, within a while after his Grace was removed into a chair of crimson velvet, and borne in the chair between 2 noblemen unto the north side of the stage and shewed to the People, and these words spoken to the People by my Lord of Canterbury in this manner, saying, Sirs, here I present unto you King Edward, the rightfull inheritor of the Crown of this Realm whose Coronation Unction and Confirmation is this day appointed by the nobles of this Realme wherefor all yee that be come this day to do your Homage service and bounden duty be ye willing to do the same. To the which all the People cried with a loud

voice and sd. Yea, Yea, Yea, and cried Kg. Edward, and praid Jesu save King Edward, and so to the south side in like manner, and so to the east side, and to the west side.

[These words are almost identical to those reproduced by Strype, *supra*]

—from *The Last Tudor King, a Study of Edward VI*, by Hester W Chapman, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1959, at p. 92

Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, turned to the great concourse of nobles and clergy and proclaimed:

Sirs, here present is Edward, rightful and undoubted inheritor by the laws of God and man to the crown and royal dignity of this realm. Whereupon ye shall understand that this day is prefixed and appointed by all the peers of the realm for the consecration, enunction and coronation of the said most excellent Prince Edward. Will to serve at this time, and give your wills and consents to the same consecration, enunction and coronation?

The reply came resonantly and formally. 'Yea! Yea! Yea! God save King Edward!'

MARY I

1553 Recognition of MARY I (England)

'Memorandum, the first daie of October, 1553, was quene Mary crowned; that daie she cam first by water to the old palice and there tarryed tyll about xj. Of the clock, and then went to the churche on foot apon blew clothe being rayled on every syde; she was in a gown of blew velvett, lyned with pouderyd armyn, having the same cyrclet on hir hedd with whiche she cam thorough London the daye before. She was ledd between one bushope and (*blank*), and many bishopes in their myters and crosiars before hir.

'In the churche, before she was anoynted, the lorde chauncellour went to the foure corners of the no..(?) and cried, "Yf eny man will or can alledge eny cause whie quene Mary shoulde not be crowned, let theym speke now:" and then the people in every place of the churche cryed, "Quene Mary! Quene Mary!" The bushope of Winchester, being lorde chauncellour, proclaymed the quenes pardon, wherein was excepted all prysoners in the Tower, the Flet, certayn in the Mershallsey, and suche as had eny commandement to kepe the house, and certayn other.

'Note, she was ledd iiij. or v. Tymes on the alter, with so many and sondery cerymonyes in anoynting, crowning, and other olde customes, that it was past iij. And almost iiij. Of the clockes at night or ever she cam from the church agayn.....'

—From *The Chronicle of Queen Jane and of two years of Queen Mary, and especially of the Rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, written by a resident in the Tower of London, 1553-1554; John Gough Nichols, esq., editor, Camden Society, London, 1850; reprinted by AMS Press, New York, 1968, Camden Society; Harlean MS. 194, a pocket diary., at pp. 30-31

1554 Mary marries Philip of Spain; Mary and Philip Queen and King

ELIZABETH I

1559 Recognition of ELIZABETH I (England)

—From A L Rowse, 'The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth I,' *History Today*, Vol. 3, 1953, pp. 301-310, at p. 308

'...At once the recognition ... took place. She was conducted between two lords to be proclaimed by the bishop and acclaimed by the people in four directions -north, south, east and west - the trumpets sounding at each proclamation....

'Next came the offering... Then ... she heard the sermon....After the sermon, the Queen now kneeling, came to the bidding of the beads - i.e. the bidding of the peoples' prayers - an old-established practice in England reaching back to earliest times, and of interest since it was the one part of the ceremony said in English amid all the other devotions sung or said in Latin.

'There followed the administering of the customary oaths by the bishop to the Queen : to keep the laws and customs of England, to keep peace to the Church and people, to execute justice in mercy and truth. Here there stepped forward that symptomatic figure, Secretary Cecil, master-mind of the new regime, to hand a copy of the oaths to the bishop. What was he doing here? he was no ecclesiastic : I cannot but think this the most symbolic move in the whole show. [Next came the anointing...] [no source]

—from 'The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth', C G Bayne, in Vol. xxii, *EHR*, October 1907, 650-673, [English report pp. 666-671] at p. 666, sourced to Record Office, State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, Addenda, Vol. 9, no. 9, transcribed from Mr Anthony Anthony's collection, a narrative by an unknown English spectator. [The 'English' report]

First her Grace satt in a chair of Estate in the midde of the Churche before the high aulter and immediately her Grace was conducted from the said chaire and led between two Lordes to be proclaymed by a Bishop Quene of England at iiii places and the Trumpettes blowing at every proclamation. And immediately the Quene's Maty. was brought to the Chaire of Estate.

—from 'The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth', C G Bayne, in Vol. xxii, *EHR*, October 1907, 650-673, [Italian report pp. 671-673] at p. 673, sourced to Venetian Calendar, Vol. vii, pp. 16-17, a report by Il Schifanoza, an Italian resident in London . [The 'Italian' Report]

On her majesty's arrival at the church, all the bells in London ringing, she ascended the lofty tribune erected between the high altar and the choir, being thus exhibited to the people, of whom it was asked if they wished her to be their crowned queen; whereupon they all shouted 'Yes;' and the organs, fifes, trumpets, and drums playing, the bells also ringing, it seemed as if the world were come to an end.

1558 **Mary Queen of Scots, and Francis, King of Scots, proclaim themselves Queen and King of England.**

1559 **Elizabeth I Declaration as queen by English parliament**

Your highness is rightly, lineally and lawfully descended and come out of the blood royal of this Realm of England in and to ... whose princely person... the imperial and royal estate, place, crown, and dignity are and shall be most fully... invested and incorporated,...as the same were since the Act of parliament made in the thirty-fifth year of King Henry the Eighth. ...For which causes... we beseech that it may be enacted, that as well as this our declaration... as also the limitation and declaration of the succession contained in the said Act (35 Henry VIII c. 1) shall stand the law of this realm for ever.

—*Statutes of the Realm*, iv, 358; Prothero's *Statutes*, 21,

as quoted in John Neville Figgis, *The Divine Right of Kings*, 1896, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge; 2nd edn. 1914; reprinted by Harper Torchbook, New York, 1965, with an Introduction by G R Elton; reprinted by Peter Smith, Publisher, Gloucester, Mass., in 1970, Appendix A, p. 319

1567 **Mary Queen of Scots forced to abdicate** 24 July 1567 by the Scottish Estates

JAMES VI OF SCOTLAND

1567 **JAMES VI OF SCOTLAND** (later James I of England) succeeds 24 July 1567, recognised by representatives of the Scots Estates.

1587 **Mary Queen of Scots executed, 8 February, 1587, Fotheringhay Castle**

JAMES I (ENGLAND)

1603 **JAMES I (ENGLAND) Accession.**

Proclamation (which Robert Cecil [son of Sir William Cecil], her first Secretary had previously sent to James VI in Scotland for his approval¹) was read by Cecil at 4 am, 24 March 1603 at Richmond, which stated, *inter alia*:

... We therefore the Lords Spirituall and Temporall of this realme, being here assembled, united, and assisted with those of her late Majesties Privie Counsell, and with great numbers of other principall Gentlemen of quality in the Kingdome, with the Lorde Maior, Aldermen, and Citizens of London, and a multitude of other good Subjects and Commons of this Realme, thirsting now after nothing so much as to make it knowne to all persons, who it is that *by Law, by Lineall succession, and undoubted Right* is now become the onely Sovereigne Lord and King of these Imperiall crownes... *doe now hereby with one full Voyce and Consent of tongue and Heart, publish and proclaime*, that the High and Mightie Prince, James the sixt King of Scotland, is now by the death of our late Sovereigne, Queene of England of famous memorie, become also our Onely, Lawfull, Lineall and Rightfull Liege Lord, James the first, king of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, to whome... we doe acknowledge all faith and constant obedience,... both during our natural lives for our selves, and in the behalf of our posteritie... God save King James.²

1603 **James I (England) Recognition**

One of the following forms probably used:

The King being so sett, The ArchBp. (*Præcedente Mariscallo Regni*) goeth to euery of the foure sides of the stage, and at euery of them speaketh to the people (*his verbis*)

Sirs; Here I present vnto you King [Charles] the rightfull Inheritour of the Crowne of the Realme. Wherefore all you y^t become this day and do your Homage, and Service, and bounden dutie, be yee willing to doe the same³; or

¹ see James F Larkin and Paul L Hughes, (eds.), *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, Vol. I, *Royal Proclamations of King James I, 1603-1625*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1973, at p. 1, n. 1, sourced to Salisbury 99/43, and *The Secret Correspondence of King James VI of Scotland with Sir Robert Cecil*, ed. J Bruce, Camden Society Publications, lxxvii (1861), 47.

² see James F Larkin and Paul L Hughes, (eds.), *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, Vol. I, *Royal Proclamations of King James I, 1603-1625*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1973, pp. 1-3 (my emphasis) for full text and the sources for the various times and places of the proclamation.

³ The inference to be drawn from Legg is that one or other of these forms was actually used by Charles I and James I at their coronations; see the order of service in Legg, *supra*, at p. 250—but this is not necessarily so: see the next entry

'The King being so sett, The ArchBp. (*Praecedente Mariscallo Regni*) goeth to euery of the foure sides of the stage, and at euery of them speaketh to the people (*his verbis*)

Sirs; Here I present unto you King [Charles] the rightfull Inheritour of the Crowne of the Realme. Wherefore all you y^e become this day and do your Homage, and Service, and bounden dutie, be yee willing to doe the same¹; or

Sirs, Heere I present unto y^e King [Charles] the rightfull and undoubted Heire by the Lawes of God and man to the Crown and Royal Dignity of this realme..... Will ye serve at this time and give yor will and assents to y^e said Coronation, Inunction, and Consecration?; or

Will you take this worthy Prince, [Charles] right Heire of the Realm and have him to be yor King and become Subjects unto him and submitt your selves to his commandments?²

1604 Succession Act, 1604, 1 Jac. I, c. I

Succession Act³, whereby parliament articulated in detail James's descent from Edward IV, and went immediately on to state:

In consideration whereof⁴, albeit we your Majesty's loyal and faithful subjects, of all estates and degrees, with all possible and public joy and acclamation, by open proclamations within five hours after the decease of our late Sovereign Queen acknowledging thereby with one full voice of tongue and heart that your Majesty was our only lawful and rightful liege Lord and Sovereign, by unspeakable and general rejoicing and applause at your Majesty's most happy Inauguration and Coronation, by the affectionate desire of infinite numbers of us of all degrees to see your Royal person, and by all possible outward means have endeavoured to make demonstration of our inward love, zeal, and devotion to your most excellent Majesty our undoubted rightful liege Sovereign Lord and King; ... in this High Court of Parliament, where the whole body of the realm, and every particular member thereof, either in person or by representation (upon their own free elections), are by the laws of this realm deemed to be personally present... we (being bounden thereunto both by the laws of God and man) do recognise and acknowledge (and thereby express our unspeakable joys) that immediately upon the dissolution and decease of Elizabeth, late Queen of England, the Imperial Crown of the realm of England, and of all the kingdoms, dominions and rights belonging to the

¹ The inference to be drawn from Legg is that one or other of these forms was actually used by Charles I and James I at their coronations; see the order of service in Legg, *supra*, at p. 250—but this is not necessarily so: see the next entry from *Queen Elizabeth's Coronation Book*. Note also, that Dr Perkins, Sacrist of Westminster Abbey, states that at the time of 'James I we reach the first reformed Coronation. The whole Service was then rendered for the first time in the vernacular: and the Holy Communion was celebrated according to the form ordained in the Elizabethan Prayer Book, ...'; see Perkins, *The Crowning of the Sovereign*, *supra*, at p. 87. It should here be noted that at the coronation of Elizabeth I, '... although this was essentially a coronation of the *ancien régime* there were significant departures from the rubrics. When Oglethorpe [the Bishop of Carlisle] administered the coronation oath, he did so from an English Bible, held up to him to read by Cecil. The Bishop, who felt he was stretching his conscience as far as he was able. Had adamantly declined to conduct the ceremony in English throughout. Indeed, after the crowning and homage, he insisted on saying a Latin Mass. ...': see *Elizabeth I, A Biography*, by Paul Johnson, Holt Reinhart and Winston, New York, 1974, at p. 69; but he gives no authority for this; but Bayne's article would appear to give the authentication required for these assertions—see 'The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth', C G Bayne, in Vol. xxii, *EHR*, October 1907, 650-673.; but contra, Bayne, 'The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth', xxiv *EHR*, pp. 322-323, where he revises his view that Oglethorpe conducted the mass, suggesting instead that it was the dean of the Chapel Royal, George Carew. [cf. see Bayne, xxii *EHR*, p. 659]

² *English Coronation Records*, *ibid.*, p. 250, the *Liber Regalis* according to Legg. This form was not used for William and Mary. For them the Archbishop said: 'Sirs I here present to you King William and Queen Marie; wherefore undoubted King and Queen of this realm; Wherefore all you who are come this day, to do your Homage, and Service; are you willing to do the same.' Legg, at pp 322-23. Legg notes at p. 317 that there was some 'hesitation, shown in the Recognition, about the legality of the sovereignty of William and Mary over the British dominions. It is evident that at one time, in addition to missing out the words "rightful, by the laws of God and man," the omission of "undoubted King and Queen of this realm" was contemplated. The words "rightful" and "by the laws of God and man" have, by a concession to Jacobitish sentiment, never since been restored.'

³ *Succession Act*, 1604, 1 Jac. I, c. I; *Statutes of the Realm*, iv, 107, extracted in J R Tanner, *Constitutional Documents of James I, AD 1603-1625*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1930, reprinted 1961, at pp. 10-12.

⁴ That is, James's lineal right of descent from Edward IV.

same, did by inherent birthright and lawful and undoubted succession descend and come to your most excellent Majesty, as being lineally, justly and lawfully next and sole heir of the blood royal of this realm as aforesaid, and that by the goodness of God Almighty and lawful right of descent under one Imperial Crown your majesty is of the realms of England, Scotland, France and Ireland the most potent and mighty king, and by god's goodness more able to protect and govern your loving subjects in all peace and plenty...

1610 James I (England) James VI (Scotland)

—from Gardiner, *Parliamentary Debates in 1610*, p. 24, quoted in J. P. Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution, Documents and Commentary*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1965, p. 12.

His Majesty said further that for his kingdom he was beholden to no elective power, neither doth he depend upon any popular applause; and yet he doth acknowledge that, though he did derive his title from the loins of his ancestors, yet the law did set the crown upon his head, and he is king by the common law of the land. Which as it is most proper and natural for this nation, so it is the most equal and just law in any kingdom in the world. He said further that it was dangerous to submit the power of a king to definition. But withal he did acknowledge that he had no power to make laws of himself, or to exact any subsidies *de jure* without the consent of his three Estates; and therefore he as so far from approving the opinion as he did hate those that believed it; and lastly he said that there was such a marriage and union between the prerogative and the law as they cannot possible be severed...

CHARLES I (ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND)

1626 CHARLES I (ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND) Recognition in England

—From Legg, *English Coronation Records*, who uses the manuscript Brit. Mus. Harl. 5,2222, p. 245 ff., at p. 249-250

'The King being so sett, The ArchBp. (*Praecedente Mariscallo Regni*) goeth to euery of the foure sides of the stage, and at euery of them speaketh to the people (*his verbis*)

Sirs; Here I present unto you King CHARLES the rightfull Inheritour of the Crowne of the Realme. Wherefore all you y^e become this day and do your Homage, and Service, and bounden dutie, be yee willing to doe the same¹; or

Sirs, Heere I present unto y^e King Charles the rightfull and undoubted Heire by the Lawes of God and man to the Crown and Royal Dignity of this realme.... Will ye serve at this time and give yor will and assents to y^e said Coronation, Inunction, and Consecration?; or

Will you take this worthy Prince, Charles right Heire of the Realm and have him to be yor King and become Subjects unto him and submitt your selves to his commandments?²

¹ The inference to be drawn from Legg is that one or other of these forms was actually used by Charles I and James I at their coronations; see the order of service in Legg, *supra*, at p. 250—but this is not necessarily so: see the next entry from *Queen Elizabeth's Coronation Book*. Note also, that Dr Perkins, Sacrist of Westminster Abbey, states that at the time of 'James I we reach the first reformed Coronation. The whole Service was then rendered for the first time in the vernacular: and the Holy Communion was celebrated according to the form ordained in the Elizabethan Prayer Book, ...'; see Perkins, *The Crowning of the Sovereign*, *supra*, at p. 87. It should here be noted that at the coronation of Elizabeth I, '... although this was essentially a coronation of the *ancien régime* there were significant departures from the rubrics. When Oglethorpe [the Bishop of Carlisle] administered the coronation oath, he did so from an English Bible, held up to him to read by Cecil. The Bishop, who felt he was stretching his conscience as far as he was able. Had adamantly declined to conduct the ceremony in English throughout. Indeed, after the crowning and homage, he insisted on saying a Latin Mass. ...': see *Elizabeth I, A Biography*, by Paul Johnson, Holt Reinhart and Winston, New York, 1974, at p. 69; but he gives no authority for this; but Bayne's article would appear to give the authentication required for these assertions—see 'The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth', C. G. Bayne, in Vol. xxii, *EHR*, October 1907, 650-673.; but contra, Bayne, 'The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth', xxiv *EHR*, pp. 322-323, where he revises his view that Oglethorpe conducted the mass, suggesting instead that it was the dean of the Chapel Royal, George Carew. [cf. see Bayne, xxii *EHR*, p. 659]

—From *Queen Elizabeth's Coronation Book*, Colourgravure Publications, Melbourne, 1953, at p. 2

'.. the Archbishop said:

My masters and friends, I am heere come to present unto you your king to whome the Crowne of his ancestors and predecessors is now developed by lineall right; and hee himselfe come hither to bee settled in that throne which God and his birth have appointed for him: and therefore I desire you by your general acclamation to testifie your consent and willingness thereunto.'

—This account, for which no source is given in that publication, is supported by Sir Simonds D'Ewes, who was at the coronation, and whose description in identical terms (with the addition of the words 'King Charles' after 'your king', and whose words are quoted by Lewis Broad in *Queens, Crowns and Coronations*, Hutchinson & Co, London, , first published as *The Crowning of the King*, 1937; revised and reprinted 1952, at p. 26.

CHARLES II (SCOTLAND)

1649 **Charles II (England) CHARLES II (SCOTLAND) succeeds**

—proclaimed King of Scotland by Argyll and the Covenanting Party, without prompting, immediately after the death of Charles I ; see J R Jones, *Charles II, Royal Politician*, Allen & Unwin, London, 1987, p. 13 [no source]

CHARLES II OF BRITAIN

1651 **CHARLES II OF BRITAIN Crowned at Scone, Wednesday, 1 January 1651**

—proclaimed, then crowned by the Scots as 'Charles II, King of Britain' : see John Morrill, (ed.), *The Oxford Illustrated History of Tudor & Stuart Britain*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1996, p. 376, (no source given)

1661 **Recognition of CHARLES II, (ENGLAND) coronation Westminster, 23 April, 1661; king from 1629.**

—from *England in the Reign of Charles II*, David Ogg, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1934; 2nd ed. 1956; reprinted 1962, at p. 182:

'There [at the Abbey], Gilbert Sheldon, bishop of Lincoln, turning to south, west, and north, called on the people to say whether they accepted Charles as their sovereign; the answer was vociferous; in their turn, the nobility gave an answer as emphatic. After the anthem, the king, surrounded by the nobility and bishops, proceeded to the altar, on which were placed the regalia; there the king knelt and prayed. Then followed a sermon by Morley, bishop of Worcester, on Proverbs xxviii. 2: 'For the transgression of a land many are the princes thereof: but by a man of understanding and knowledge the state thereof shall be prolonged.'...

*

— see the report by Samuel Pepys on the coronation of Charles II, in his *Diaries*, for 23 April, 1661, in *The Concise Pepys*, Wordsworth classics, 1997, under Coronacion Day, 23 April, 1661, at pp. 101-104.

Coronation Day

23rd. ... And three times the King-at-Arms went to the open places on the scaffold, and proclaimed, that if any one could show any reason why Charles Stewart should not be King of England, that now he should come and speak. And a General Pardon also was read by the Lord Chancellor, and medals flung up and down by my Lord Cornwallis, of silver, but I could not come by any.¹ But so great a noise that I could make but little of the music; and, indeed, it was lost to everybody. I went out a little while before the King had done all his ceremonies, and went round the Abbey to Westminster Hall... and at last upon one of the side stalls I stood and saw the King come in with all the persons (but the soldiers) that were yesterday in the cavalcade; and a most pleasant sight it was to see them in their several robes. And the King came in with his crown on, and his sceptre in his hand, under a canopy borne up by six silver staves, carried by the Barons of the Cinque Ports, and little bells at every end. And after a long time, he got up to the further end, and all set themselves down at their several tables; and that was also a brave sight:... And many fine ceremonies there was of the Heralds leading people up before him, and bowing:... But, above all, was these three lords, Northumberland, and Suffolke, and the Duke of Ormond, coming before the courses on horseback, and staying so all dinner time, and at last bringing up (Dymock) the King's Champion, all in armour on horseback, with his speare and [103]targett carried before him. And a herald proclaims, 'That if any dare deny Charles Stewart to be lawful King of England, here was a Champion that would fight with him': and with these words, the Champion flings down his gauntlet, and all this he do three times in his going up towards the King's table. To which when he is come, the King drinks to him, and then sends him the cup which is of gold, and he drinks it off, and then rides back again with the cup in his hand. I went from table to table to see the Bishops and all others at their dinner, and was infinitely pleased with it. ...

—J Fitzgerald Molloy in *Royalty Restored, or London under Charles II*, Downey & Co. Limited, London, 1897 (dedicated to Thomas Hardy), pp. 12-17, and pp. 37-49, describes the universal acclamation and acceptance of Charles II during his return to England and London.

JAMES II (ENGLAND) JAMES VII (SCOTLAND)

1685 JAMES II (ENGLAND) JAMES VII (SCOTLAND) Declaration of Sovereignty—statement to the English Accession Council

— The Rev. Joseph H Pemberton, *The Coronation Service according to the use of the Church of England*, 2nd edn., Skeffington & Son, Piccadilly, (Publishers to His Majesty the King), London, 1902, p93:

Extract from Burnet's *History of His own Time*, London, 1714

.... 'the new King made a short speech to the Privy Councillors, which it seems was well considered, and much liked by him, for he repeated it to his Parliament, and upon several other occasions. He began with a expostulation for all the ill character that had been entertained of him. He told them, in very positive words, that he would never depart from any branch of his prerogative; But with that he promised, that he would maintain the liberty and property of the subject. He expressed his good opinion of the Church of England, as a friend to Monarchy. Therefore, he said, he would defend and maintain the Church, and would preserve the Government in Church and State, as it was established by law.' And 'after he had put his affairs in a method, resolved to hasten his Coronation, and to have it performed with great magnificence: And for some weeks he was so entirely possessed with the preparations for that Solemnity, that all business was laid aside, and nothing but the ceremony was thought of.'

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¹ This part of Pepys' report is also reproduced in *The Story of the Coronation*, by Randolph S Churchill, Derek Verschoyle, London, 1953, at p. 119.

—from John Cannon and Ralph Griffiths, *The Oxford Illustrated History of the British Monarchy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1988, reprinted with corrections 1989, 1992, 1996, 1997, at p. 420 (no source given).

I have been reported to be a man for arbitrary power, but that is not the only story has been made of me, and I shall make it my endeavour to preserve this Government, both in Church and State, as it is now by law established.

1685 Recognition of James II of England

—This text from Legg, at p. 293; he sources the text to a manuscript held at St. John's College, Cambridge, MS. L. 14. (see p. 288)..

The King and Queen being so placed; The Archbishop turneth to ye East of ye Theatre first; and after together with ye Lord Keeper, great Chamberlain, Lord High Constable, and Earl Marshall, Garter King of Arms preceding them) goes to ye other 3 Sides of ye Theatre in this Order; East, South, West, and North; and at every of them 4 Sides with a loud Voice speaks to ye people : And ye King in ye mean time, standing up by his Chair, turneth, and sheweth himself to ye people at every of ye 4 Sides of the Theatre, as ye Archbishop is at every of them, speaking to ye people thus:

Sirs, I here present unto you King James, ye rightfull Inheritour of ye crown of this Realm. Wherefore all of you, who are come this Day to do your Homage, and Service, and bounden Duty; Are you willing to doe ye same?

Then the people signify their Willingness, and Joy by loud Acclamations; all with one Voice answering, God save King James : and then ye Trumpets sound, and after the Quire sings this Anthem: ...

*

WILLIAM III AND MARY II

1689 Recognition of WILLIAM III AND MARY II of England

The King and Queen being so placed; the Archbishop turneth to the East part of the Theatre first, and after (in the company of four specified others) goes to the other three sides of the Theatre in this Order, South, West, and North, and at every of the four sides with a loud voice speaks to the People: And the King and Queen in the meantime standing up by their chairs, turn and shews themselves unto the People at every of the four sides of the Theatre as the Archbishop is at every of them, and while he speaks thus to the People:

Sirs, I here present unto you King William and Queen Marie; wherfore undoubted King and Queen of this Realm; Wherefore all you, who are come this day, to do your Homage, and Service; are you willing to do the same.

The People signify their Willingness and Joy, by loud, and repeated Acclamations; All with one voice crying out,

God save King William and Queen Marie.

And then the Trumpets sound....

—From the Coronation order of King William III and Queen Mary II., 11 April 1689, taken from Heralds' College, L. 19, as quoted in Legg, *English Coronation Records*, p. 317 ff., at pp 322-23.

ANNE

1702 Recognition of ANNE of England crowned Thursday, 23 April 1702, St George's day

(p. 45) Within the church,—the queen standing on 'the theatre,' or raised stage where the throne was placed—the first act was 'the recognition'. In this the queen turned her face four times to the assemblage—to the east, south, west and north successively, the archbishop in each direction proclaiming.

'Sirs, I here present to you Queen Anne, undoubted queen of this realm, whereof all you that are come this day to do your homage and service,—are you willing to do the same?'

The response, 'God save Queen Anne!' was uttered with a mighty shout throughout the echoing arches, followed by a blast of trumpets, and (p. 46) this by the choir singing the anthem, 'The queen shall rejoice in Thy strength, O Lord; exceeding glad shall she be of Thy salvation.' ...The text traditional to christian religious services was remembered —'Thou shalt not appear before the Lord thy God empty;' and the queen made oblations in old customary forms, one of them being a weighty ingot of gold.

The sermon was preached by John Sharp, Archbishop of York, on the text from Isaiah, 'Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers.' [He indicated he would not speak long] the hopes thus raised were fulfilled; for the reading of what stands in print would hardly require ten minutes ; and yet it is a very full though concise precept on the reciprocal duties of sovereign and people in a constitutional kingdom. The sermon was followed by two transactions more significant and solemn than State ceremonies—the parliamentary test and the coronation oath.

(pp. 47-49)...

Queens' Champion

(p. 50) [At the banquet] 'Just before the second course, Charles Dymoke, Esq., her Majesty's champion, in complete armour, between the lord high constable and earl marshal...performed the challenge; after which the kings-of-arms and heralds proclaimed her majesty's style in Latin, French, and English.'

—from John Hill Burton, Historiographer-Royal for Scotland, *A History of the Reign of Queen Anne*, in three volumes, Vol. I., William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London, MDCCCLXXX (1880), pp. 45-51

[sourced at p. 51, note 1, to the following Authorities. *An Account of the Ceremonies observed in the Coronations of the Kings and Queens of England*, 1760, 4 to. *The History of the Reign of Queen Anne digested into Annals*, vol. i, p. 25 et seq. *The Round Table*—the order and solemnities of the Crowning the King and the Dignities of his Peerage: 1820—8 vo. *Collections relating to the claims at the Coronations of several of the Kings of England, beginning with King Richard II. A Key to the Regalia*, or, the Emblematic design of the various forms observed in the Ceremonial of the Coronation, by the Rev. Jonas Dennis, 1820. *A Faithful account of the Processions and Ceremonies observed in the Coronation of the Kings and Queens of England, &c.*, edited by Richard Thomson: 1820. Chapters on Coronations: 1838. *Regal Records*, or, a Chronicle of the Coronations of the Queens regnant of England, by J R Planché: 1838.]

GEORGE I OF GREAT BRITAIN

1714

GEORGE I OF GREAT BRITAIN— Legislative provision for Proclamation

The Regency Act, 1706, 4 & 5 Ann., c. 20, for text see *The Law and Working of the Constitution: Documents 1660-1914*, W C Costin and J Steven Watson (eds.) Adam and Charles Black, London, 1961, reprinted 1967, 2 Vols.; Vol. I, pp. 111-116.

Regency Act, 1706 which was seen to be required as the next king would be at a great distance from England. Accordingly, the *Regency Act* provided that neither the Privy Council nor the parliament was to be automatically dissolved by the demise of the crown (as was the situation under the common law), the parliament to run for six months after that event, with a specific saving of the royal prerogative to summon and dissolve parliament (§ VII, Costin and Watson, *ed. cit.*, p. 113). The act provided for the Privy Council to

proclaim the next protestant successor in accordance with statute 'in such manner and form as the preceding Kings and Queens respectively have been usually proclaimed', and provided that any and all Privy Councillors who neglected or refused to cause such proclamation to be made were traitors and guilty of treason, and 'shall suffer pains of death'; (§ X, Costin and Watson, *ed. cit.*, p. 114) and also provided for the establishment of Seven Officers to carry out the administration of government in the name of the successor, should he be abroad. (§ XI, Costin and Watson, *ed. cit.*, p. 114)

1714 George I of Great Britain—Recognition

[The same as for Anne and William and Mary]

In the early part of the 18th century when many were Jacobite at heart, it was, perhaps, understandable for Lady Dorchester (Catherine Sedley), at George I's Coronation, to turn to her neighbour when the Archbishop at the Recognition was asking the consent of the people, and say "Does the old fool think that anybody here will say No when there are so many drawn swords?"¹

GEORGE II

1727

GEORGE II OF GREAT BRITAIN

Accession Declaration 14 June 1727

The sudden and unexpected death of the King, my dearest father, has filled my heart with so much concern and surprise that I am at a loss how to express myself upon this great and melancholy occasion.

I am sensible of the weight that immediately falls upon me by taking the government of a nation so powerful at home and of such influence and consequence abroad, but my love and affection to this country, from my knowledge and experience of you, makes me resolve cheerfully to undergo all difficulties for the sake and good of my people.

The religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom are most dear to me, and the preservation of the constitution in Church and State as it is now happily established, shall be my first and always my chief care.

And as the alliances entered into by the late King, my father, with foreign powers have contributed to the restoring the tranquillity and preserving the balance of Europe, I shall endeavour to cultivate those alliances, and to improve and perfect this great work for the honour, interest, and security of my people.

—From Lord John Hervey, *Some Materials towards Memoirs of the Reign of King George II*, Romney Sedgwick (*ed.*), in three volumes, Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, 1931, reprinted by AMS Press, New York, 1970, Vol. I, pp. 26-27..

¹ see Lawrence E Tanner, *The History of the Coronation*, Pitkin Pictorials Ltd., London, 1952, at p. 62, (no source given). But this is quotation is stated at p. 148 in Sir H M Imbert-Terry, *A Constitutional King, George the First*, John Murray, London, 1927, and sourced to *Lady Cowper's Diary*, p. 5.

1727

George II of Great Britain

Recognition

[The same as for Anne and William and Mary]

GEORGE III OF GREAT BRITAIN

1760

GEORGE III OF GREAT BRITAIN

Accession Declaration, 25 (?) October, 1760

In his declaration to the Privy Council on his accession, he spoke of this 'bloody and expensive war', softened down...on Pitt's demand, in the published version, to 'expensive but just and necessary war.'

—From Basil Williams, *The Whig Supremacy, 1714-1760*, *The Oxford History of England*, G N Clark, (ed.), Vol. XI, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1939, reprinted with corrections 1942, 1945, 1949, p. 344.

'...the weight now falling upon me...I feel my own insufficiency to support it as I wish but...I shall make it the business of my life to promote in everything the glory and happiness of these Kingdoms...As I mount the Throne in the midst of a bloody and expensive war, I shall endeavour to prosecute it in the manner most likely to bring an honourable peace...' ... Pitt could not without protest accept 'bloody and expensive' and the emphasis laid on seeking peace...In the end the published text of the King's speech contained significant differences from the spoken version. The war was no longer 'bloody and expensive'; it was 'expensive, but just and necessary'; and although the King still expressed a wish for peace, it was peace 'in concert with my allies.'

—From Stanley Ayling, *George the Third*, Collins, London, 1972, p. 65 (no source)

1761

George III of Great Britain

Recognition

[The same as for Anne and William and Mary]

King's Champion

King's Champion at the banquet after the coronation. The Herald-at-Arms would cry:

If any person, of what degree soever, high or low, shall deny or gainsay, our sovereign lord king George III, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith &c., (grandson) and next heir to sovereign lord king (George II) the last king deceased, to be the right heir to the imperial crown of the realm of Great Britain, or that he ought not to enjoy the same; here is his champion who saith that he lyeth, and is a false traitor being ready in person to combat with him; and in this quarrel will adventure his life against him, on what day soever shall be appointed¹

¹ see Letter by James Heming, published in the Annual Register for 1761, reproduced in *The Story of the Coronation*, by Randolph S Churchill, Derek Verschoyle, London, 1953, p122 ff., at p.125-127. The history of the role of King's champion can be found in some detail in W J Lofue, *The Coronation Book of Edward VII, King of All the Britains and Emperor of India*, 1902, Cassell & Company, London, 1902, at pp. 77-84. In England it dates from the time of William I, who granted certain land, including the manor of Scrivelsby, to Robert de Marmion, Lord of Fontenay, for his services as Royal Champion, as his ancestors had been champion to the Dukes of Normandy. The title and obligations of Royal

GEORGE IV OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

1821

GEORGE IV OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

Recognition

[The same as for Anne and William and Mary]

King's Champion

King's Champion at the banquet after the coronation —same as for George III. This was the last time the King's champion appeared. The banquet was also discontinued.

WILLIAM IV

1831

WILLIAM IV OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

Recognition

— The Rev. Joseph H Pemberton, *The Coronation Service according to the use of the Church of England*, 2nd edn., Skeffington & Son, Piccadilly, (Publishers to His Majesty the King), London, 1902, at p. 111, says the same order of service was used as that for Victoria.

VICTORIA

1838

Recognition of QUEEN VICTORIA OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

The Queen being so placed, the Archbishop turneth to the East part of the Theatre, and after (in the company of four specified others) goes to the other three sides of the Theatre in this Order, South, West, and North, and at every of the four sides shall with a loud Voice speaks to the People: and the Queen in the mean time standing up by Her chair, turns and shews Herself unto the People at every of the four sides of the Theatre as the Archbishop is at every of them, and while He speaks thus to the People:

Sirs, I here present unto you Queen VICTORIA, the undoubted Queen of this Realm: Wherefore All you who are come this Day to do your Homage, Are you willing to do the same?

The People signify their Willingness and Joy, by loud and repeated Acclamations, all with one Voice crying out,

God save Queen VICTORIA.

Then the Trumpets sound.

—From Legg, *English Coronation Records*, p. 364; taken from the official publication of 1838, *The Form and Order of the Coronation of Her Majesty Queen Victoria*, published by Eyre and Spottiswoode, London (Legg, p. 363)

Champion followed the title to the manor of Scrivelsby. The last Champion appeared at the coronation banquet of George IV. And for the Champion for James II, see Lawrence E Tanner, *The History of the Coronation*, Pitkin Pictorials Ltd., London, 1952, at p. 65, and for Elizabeth I's Champion, see Tanner, *ibid.*, at p. 75, sourced to *Holinshed's Chronicles* of 1587; for Charles II, Champion see Samuel Pepys' diaries for Coronation Day, 1661, reproduced in Randolph Churchill, *The Story of the Coronation*, *loc. cit.*, at pp. 119-120

EDWARD VII

1901

EDWARD VII Declaration of Sovereignty. 23 January, 1901.

Your Royal Highnesses, my Lords and Gentlemen :

This is the most painful occasion on which I shall ever be called upon to address you.

My first and melancholy duty is to announce to you the death of my beloved mother, the queen, and I know how deeply you, and the whole nation, and I think I may say, the whole world, sympathise with me in the irreparable loss we have all sustained.

I need hardly say that my constant endeavour will be always to walk in her footsteps. In undertaking the heavy load which now devolves on me, I am fully determined to be a constitutional Sovereign in the strictest sense of the word, and, as long as there is breath in my body, to work for the good and amelioration of my people.

I have resolved to be known by the name of Edward, which has been borne by my ancestors. In doing so, I do not undervalue the name of Albert, which I inherit from my ever-to-be lamented, great, and wise father, who, by universal consent, is, I think, deservedly known by the name of 'Albert the Good,' and I desire that his name shall stand alone. In conclusion, I trust to Parliament and the nation to support me in the arduous duties which now devolve upon me by inheritance, and to which I am determined to devote my whole strength during the remainder of my life.'

—from Sir Richard Holmes, *Edward VII, His Life and Times*, 2 Vols., The Amalgamated Press, Ltd., London, 1911, Vol. II, p. 477

1901

Edward VII, 24 January, 1901, Accession Proclamation

Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God to call to his Mercy our late Sovereign Lady Queen Victoria, of Blessed and Glorious Memory, by whose Decease the Imperial Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland is solely and rightfully come to the High and Mighty Prince Albert Edward; We, therefore, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of this Realm, being here assisted with these of Her late Majesty's Privy Council, with Numbers of other principal Gentlemen of Quality, with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of London, do now hereby with one voice and Consent of Tongue and Heart, publish and proclaim, that the High and Mighty Prince Albert Edward, is now, by the Death of our late Sovereign of happy Memory, become our only lawful and rightful Liege Lord Edward the Seventh, by the Grace of God, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, , Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India: To whom we do acknowledge all Faith and Obedience, with all hearty and humble Affection; beseeching God, by whom Kings and Queens do reign, to bless the Royal Prince Edward the Seventh with long and happy Years to reign over us.'

—from Sir Richard Holmes, *Edward VII, His Life and Times*, 2 Vols., The Amalgamated Press, Ltd., London, 1911, Vol. II, p. 478.

1902

Recognition of Edward VII of the United Kingdom

'At the same moment the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was in front of the altar facing St Edward's chair, said in a loud voice, plainly heard all over the church:

Sirs, I present unto you King Edward, the undoubted King of this Realm; wherefore all you who are come this day to do your Homage, are you willing to do the same?

'This part of the ceremony answered, in a somewhat shortened form, to the Recognition in the older service, when it was repeated four times from the corners of the platform. Having recited the words once, and having waited till the resounding cries of "God save King Edward!" from every part of the church, with a flourish of trumpets, had subsided, the Archbishop turned to the Holy Table and commenced the Communion Service.....'

—From *The Coronation Book of Edward VII, King of All the Britains and Emperor of India*, by W J Loftie, Cassell & Company, London, 1902, at p. 175

—Note: the recognition for Edward VII may have been shortened because of his illness. (Coronation had been postponed because of his illness).

‘...the Coronation service opened with the Recognition.

King Edward stood up and showed himself to the multitude. By his side was the venerable Primate of England, who presented him to the people, saying : ‘Sirs, I present unto you King Edward, the Undoubted King of this Realm : Wherefore ALL you who are come this day to do your Homage, Are you willing to do the same?’ From every arch of the ancient Abbey rang the answering shout : ‘God save King Edward!’

—from Sir Richard Holmes, *Edward VII, His Life and Times*, 2 Vols., The Amalgamated Press, Ltd., London, 1911, Vol. II, p. 512.

GEORGE V

1910

GEORGE V succeeded 3 August, 1910; **Accession Declaration Act**

The Accession Declaration Act 1910 , 10 Edw. 7 and 1 Geo 5 c. 29; *Statutes in Force, Official Revised Edition*, revised to 1st February 1978; HMSO, London, 1978 ; amend old transubstantiation declaration the sovereign had to make.

s. 1. The declaration to be made, subscribed, and audibly repeated by the Sovereign under section 1 of the Bill of Rights and section two of the Act of Settlement shall be that set out in the Schedule to this Act instead of that referred to in the said sections.

Schedule

I [here insert the name of the Sovereign] do solemnly and sincerely in the presence of God profess, testify, and declare that I am a faithful Protestant, and that I will, according to the true intent of the enactments which secure the Protestant succession to the Throne of my Realm, uphold and maintain the said enactments to the best of my powers according to law.

1911

George V of the United Kingdom

Recognition

‘The Archbishop of Canterbury, advancing successively to the four sides of the theatre, to east and west and south and north, demanded recognition.: Sirs, I present unto you King George, the undoubted King of this Realm : wherefore, all you who are come this day to do your homage and service. Are you willing to do the same?’ At which the trumpets sounded, the boys of Westminster School cried ‘Vivat Rex’ and the congregation murmured ‘God save the King.’

[then the oath and anointing]

—From Harold Nicolson, *King George the Fifth, His Life and Reign*, Constable & Co Ltd, London, 1952, at p. 145.

EDWARD OF WINDSOR

1936

EDWARD OF WINDSOR, Declaration of Sovereignty, 21 January, 1936

Your Royal Highnesses, My Lords, and Gentlemen.

The irreparable loss which the British Commonwealth of Nations has sustained by the death of His Majesty My beloved Father, has devolved upon Me the duty of Sovereignty. I know how much you

and all My Subjects, with I hope I may say the whole world, feel for Me in My sorrow and I am confident in the affectionate sympathy which will be extended to My dear Mother in Her overpowering grief.

When My Father stood here twenty-six years ago He declared that one of the objects of His life would be to uphold constitutional government. In this I am determined to follow in My Father's footsteps and to work as He did throughout His life for the happiness and welfare of all classes of My Subjects.

I place My reliance upon the loyalty and affection of My peoples throughout the Empire, and upon the wisdom of their Parliaments, to support Me in this heavy task, and I pray that God will guide Me to perform it.

—from *Supplement to the London Gazette Extraordinary*, HMSO, London, Tuesday, 21 January, 1936, Numb. 34245, p. 451; taken from Australian Archives, Series CP4/10/1, Item 5, 'Spares, Abdication of King Edward VIII'

1936

Edward of Windsor Accession Proclamation, 21 January 1936

On Monday night the twentieth of January instant, at five minutes to twelve o'clock, our late Most Gracious Sovereign King George the Fifth expired at Sandringham in the seventy-first year of His age, and the twenty-sixth year of His Reign. This even has caused one universal feeling of regret and sorrow to His late Majesty's faithful and attached Subjects, to whom He was endeared by the deep interest in their welfare which He invariably manifested, as well as by the eminent and impressive virtues which illustrated and adorned His character.

Upon the intimation of this distressing event, the Lords of the Privy Council assembled this day at St James's Palace, and gave orders for the proclaiming of His present Majesty, Who made a most Gracious Declaration to them.

Whereas it hath pleased Almighty god to call to his Mercy our late Sovereign Lord King George the Fifth, of Blessed and Glorious Memory, by whose Decease the Imperial Crown of Great Britain, Ireland and all other His late Majesty's Dominions is solely and rightfully come to the High and Mighty Prince Edward Albert Christian George Andrew Patrick David; We, therefore, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of this Realm, being here assisted with these of His late Majesty's Privy Council, with Numbers of other principal Gentlemen of Quality, with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of London, do now hereby with one voice and Consent of Tongue and Heart, publish and proclaim, that the High and Mighty Prince Edward Albert Christian George Andrew Patrick David, is now, by the Death of our late Sovereign of happy Memory, become our only lawful and rightful Liege Lord Edward the Eighth, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Dominions beyond the Seas King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India: To whom we do acknowledge all Faith and Obedience, with all hearty and humble Affection; beseeching God, by whom Kings and Queens do reign, to bless the Royal Prince Edward the Eighth with long and happy Years to reign over us.'

—from *Supplement to the London Gazette Extraordinary*, HMSO, London, Tuesday, 21 January, 1936, Numb. 34245, p. 449; taken from Australian Archives, Series CP4/10/1, Item 5, 'Spares, Abdication of King Edward VIII'

GEORGE VI

1936

GEORGE VI Declaration of Sovereignty, 12 December, 1936

Your Royal Highnesses, My Lords and Gentlemen:

I meet you to-day in circumstances which are without parallel in the History of our Country. Now that the duties of Sovereignty have fallen to Me, I declare to you My adherence to the strict principles of constitutional government and My resolve to work before all else for the welfare of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

With my Wife as my helpmeet by My side, I take up the heavy task which lies before me. In it I look for the support of all My Peoples.

Furthermore, My first act on succeeding My Brother will be to confer on Him a Dukedom, and He will henceforth be known as His Royal Highness The Duke of Windsor.¹

And from Schramm, Percy E, *A History of the English Coronation*, English translation by Leopold G Wickham Legg, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1937, at endnote 1, p. 226, at p. 273

'On 20 February 1937 there was printed in the public press an amended oath issued by authority of the Privy Council. The chief changes were the addition of the names of the Dominions to those of Great Britain and Ireland, the omission of the promise inserted in 1689 to govern 'according to the statutes in Parliament agreed on', and extended the promise to maintain the Protestant Reformed Religion from England to 'the United Kingdom'. The authority quoted for these changes was the Statute of Westminster, but it is not clear how that statute sanctions either the omission of reference to Parliament or the alteration of those parts of the oath which refer to the Church of England as by law established. Before the oath, a 'declaration' is made by the King before the Great Council immediately on ascending the throne. On 14 December 1936 it was as follows:

Your Royal Highnesses, My Lords and Gentlemen:

I meet you to-day in circumstances which are without parallel in the History of our Country. Now that the duties of Sovereignty have fallen to Me, I declare to you My adherence to the strict principles of constitutional government and My resolve to work before all else for the welfare of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

With my Wife as my helpmeet by My side, I take up the heavy task which lies before me. In it I look for the support of all My Peoples.

Furthermore, My first act on succeeding My Brother will be to confer on Him a Dukedom, and He will henceforth be known as His Royal Highness The Duke of Windsor.

At the time the following message was sent to both Houses of Parliament:

I have succeeded to the Throne under circumstances which are without precedent and at a moment of great personal distress, but I am resolved to do my duty, and I am sustained by the knowledge that I am supported by widespread good will and sympathy of all my subjects here and throughout the world.

It will be my constant endeavour, with God's help, supported as I shall be by my dear wife, to uphold the honour of the realm and to promise to promote the happiness of my peoples.

1936

George VI Accession Proclamation, 12 December 1936

Whereas by an Instrument of Abdication dated the tenth day of December instant His former Majesty King Edward the Eighth did declare his irrevocable determination to renounce the Throne for Himself and His descendants, the said Instrument of Abdication has now taken effect, whereby the Imperial Crown of Great Britain, Ireland and all other His former Majesty's Dominions is now solely and rightfully come to the High and Mighty Prince Albert Frederick Arthur George; We, therefore, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of this Realm, being here assisted with these of His former Majesty's Privy Council, with numbers of other principal Gentlemen of Quality, with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and citizens of London, do now hereby with one Voice and consent of Tongue and Heart publish and proclaim, that the High and Mighty Prince Albert Frederick Arthur George is now become our only lawful and rightful liege Lord George VI by the Grace of God, of

¹ And see circular cablegram B.203 from Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs of 12 December, 1936, 1.33 p.m. received Australia 13 December, 1936, from Prime Minister to Prime Minister, and see *Commonwealth of Australia Gazette Extraordinary*, No. 104, Canberra, Monday, 14th December, 1936, from Australian Archives, Series CP4/10/1, Item 3, 'Abdication of King Edward VIII', folios 147 and 148 respectively.

ELIZABETH II

1952 **ELIZABETH II, succeeds, 6 February, 1952**

—Elizabeth succeeds while in Kenya, notified of father's death 2.45 p.m. 6 February 1952, at Sagana Hunting Lodge, Kenya.

'...there was a formal request from [Prime Minister] Winston Churchill for permission to call a meeting of the Accession Council. Answering it posed her with the first personal decision of her reign—how she should sign herself. Should she sign herself 'Elizabeth R',—the "R" standing for Regina—before the Accession Council proclaimed her queen? There was no expert on constitutional law in Kenya other than herself. "I sign it Elizabeth R," she decided, and was right.'

—from Conrad Frost, *Coronation, June 2, 1953*,
Arthur Barker Limited, London, 1978, p. 16

1952 **Elizabeth II Declaration of Sovereignty, 8 February 1952**

—Formal Declaration of Sovereignty to the Accession Council (Special Meeting of the Privy Council) 8 February, 1952;

Your Royal Highnesses, My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,

On the sudden death of My dear Father I am called to fulfil the duties and responsibilities of Sovereignty.

At this time of deep sorrow it is a profound consolation to Me to be assured of the sympathy which you and all My people feel towards Me, to My Mother, and My Sister, and to the other members of My family.

My Father was our revered and beloved head as he was of the wider family of his subjects; the grief which his loss brings is shared among us all. My heart is too full for Me to say more to you today than that I shall always work, as My Father did throughout his reign, to uphold the constitutional Government and to advance the happiness and prosperity of My Peoples, spread as they are the world over.

I know that in my resolve to follow His shining example of service and devotion, I shall be inspired by the loyalty and affection of those whose Queen I have been called to be, and by the counsel of their elected Parliaments. I pray that God will help Me to discharge worthily this heavy task that has been laid upon Me so early in My life.

—excerpts from Helen Cathcart, *Her Majesty*, W H Allen, London, 1962, at p.130.

—whole text in Dorothy Laird, *How the Queen Reigns*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1959, pp. 138-139

1952 **Elizabeth II, Accession Proclamation as Queen, 8 February 1952**

—by the Garter King of Arms:

...Queen Elizabeth the Second, by the grace of God Queen of this Realm and of all her other Realms and Territories, Head of the Commonwealth, Defender of the Faith...

— *Elizabeth, a Biography of her Majesty the Queen*, by Sarah Bradford, Heinemann, London 1996, at p. 168

Whereas it has pleased Almighty God to call to His mercy our late Sovereign Lord King George VI, of blessed and glorious memory, by whose Decease the Crown is solely and rightfully come to THE HIGH AND MIGHTY PRINCESS ELIZABETH ALEXANDRA MARY:

We, therefore, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of this Realm, being here assisted with these His late Majesty's Privy Council, with representatives of other Members of the Commonwealth, with other principal Gentlemen of Quality, with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of London. Do now hereby with one Voice and Consent of Tongue and Heart publish and proclaim, THAT THE HIGH AND MIGHTY PRINCESS ELIZABETH ALEXANDRA MARY is now, by the death of our late Sovereign of happy memory, become Queen Elizabeth II by the Grace of God, Queen of this Realm, and of Her other Realms and Territories, Head of the Commonwealth, Defender of the Faith, to whom Her Lieges do acknowledge all Faith and constant Obedience with hearty and humble Affection, beseeching God by whom all Kings and Queens do reign, to bless the Royal Princess, Elizabeth II, with long and happy years to reign over us.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN

—*When the Queen was Crowned*, Brian Barker, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., London, 1976, p. 26

Note: This proclamation occurred on the same date as Mary Queen of Scots was executed under the writ of Elizabeth I (8 February, 1587). T B Smith, in his *Scotland, The Development of its Laws and Constitution*, Volume 11, Scotland, in *The British Commonwealth, The Development of its Laws and Constitutions*, George W Keeton, (gen. ed.) Stevens & Sons, London, 1962, at p. 62, note 33a, says of the Accession Proclamation—'Which the Government directed to take place in Scotland on the anniversary of the liquidation by Elizabeth Tudor of the Queen of Scots.'

The inclusion of the words 'Head of the Commonwealth' followed upon a Commonwealth Premier's Conference in April 1949, where the prime Ministers and the King addressed the position of the King's Title, and the constitutional position of the King in the Commonwealth, given the imminence of India's becoming a Republic, but her willingness to continue a member of the Commonwealth. But the final processes for the change of the sovereign's title were not completed before George VI's death in February 1952; nevertheless this phrase was included in Elizabeth's Accession Proclamation:—see John W Wheeler-Bennett, *King George VI, His Life and Reign*, Macmillan & Co Ltd, London, 1958, at p. 728.

1953 Elizabeth II, queen, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa, Pakistan and Ceylon, and of Her Possessions and the other Territories Recognition (2 June 1953)

—From the order reproduced in *Elizabeth Crowned Queen, The Pictorial Record of the Coronation*, Arlott, John, and others, Odhams Press Limited, London, 1953, at p 53;

'The Archbishop, (together four specified others) shall then go to the East side of the Theatre, and after shall go to the three other sides in this order, South, West, and North, and at every of the four sides shall with a loud voice speak to the People: and the Queen mean while, standing up by King Edward's Chair, shall turn and show herself unto the People at every of the four sides of the Theatre as the Archbishop is at every of them, the Archbishop saying:

Sirs, I here present unto you Queen ELIZABETH, your undoubted Queen: Wherefore all you who are come this day to do your homage and service, Are you willing to do the same?

The People signify their willingness and joy, by loud and repeated acclamation, all with one voice crying out,

GOD SAVE QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Then the trumpets shall sound.'

