THESIS

For submission for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
At Macquarie University
Sydney

KING AND CROWN

An Examination of the Legal Foundation of the British King



In
Two Volumes
Volume I – Thesis
Volume II – Appendices

by
Margaret Rose Louise Leckie Kelly
Bachelor of Arts (Hons.) University of Queensland
Bachelor of Laws, Australian National University

School of Law, Macquarie University

All Rights Reserved

27 October 1998



There is one term against which I wish to warn you, and that term is 'the crown'. You will certainly read that the crown does this and the crown does that. As a matter of fact we know that the crown does nothing but lie in the Tower of London to be gazed at by sight-seers. No, the crown is a convenient cover for ignorance: it saves us from asking difficult questions, questions which can only be answered by study of the statute book. I do not deny that it is a convenient term, and you may have to use it; but I do say that you should never be content with it. If you are told that the crown had this power or that power, do not be content until you know who legally has the power - is it the king, is it one of his secretaries; is this power prerogative power or is it the outcome of statute? This question is often an extremely difficult question, ...

••

..the limits of constitutional law are not strictly defined... But do not get into the way of thinking of law as consisting of a number of independent compartments, one of which is labelled constitutional, another administrative, another criminal, another property, so that you can learn the contents of one compartment and know nothing of what is in the others. No, law is a body, a living body, every member of which is connected with and depends upon every other member. ...

Life I know is short, and law is long, very long, and we cannot study everything at once; still, no good comes of refusing to see the truth, and the truth is that all parts of our law are very closely related to each other, so closely that we can set no logical limit to our labours.

- F W Maitland, The Constitutional History of England, 1908, 418, 538-9

...a King's Crown is an hieroglyphic of the laws...

—Sir Edward Coke, Calvin's case, 1610, 7 Co. Rep., 11b



Table of Contents

KING AND CROWN I

VOLUME I I	
THESIS: AN EXAMINATION OF THE LEGAL FOUNDATION OF THE BRITISH KING	I
Abstract Of Thesis	
King and Crown	
Candidate's Certification	
Preface	
Aiknowledgements	
Abbreviations	
Glossary	
Illustrations and Tables.	
The Kings: Chronological Table	
PART ONE 1	
THE KING	
Introduction	
The King and His Crown	
The Crown	
Power	
The Crown and the Law	
Modern Works on 'The Crown'	
Bagehot	
Coke	
'Sovereignty of parliament'	
The King	20
PART TWO 25	
Kings and Crowns	25
CHAPTER 1	
The Origin of Kings	
Myth, Religion, and Reality	
Ancient Kingship	
Biblical Views of Kings	
Celts and Kingship	
The Linguistic Connection	
Bretwaldas and the Celtic Tradition	
Early English Kings and the Bretwalda	41
The Bretwaldd's Prerogatives	48
Dooms and the Coronation Oath	
Chapter 2	
The King and His Peace	
The King's Peace	
The Anglo-Saxon King's Peace	
The Anglo-Norman King's Peace	
Enforcement of the King's Peace	
The King's Peace, The Crown, and Sovereignty	72
PART THREE 83	
THE KING OF THE PEOPLE	83
CHAPTER 3	85
The People and their King	
The People's King	
The People Recognise the King	
Election of the King Prior to the Conquest	
Election of the King from the Confessor to the Tudors	92
The Duke of Vork's Case	400

	ü
Richard III—Usurper or Successor?	105
Henry VII—Conqueror	111
CHAPTER 4	122
The Prerogative of The People	122
James VI and I	130
Succession and Religion	132
The Descent of the Crown	135
Coke and the Coronation	
The King's Two Bodies	
The King must Die	146
Election and the Succession	
The Declaration of Sovereignty	
Recognition of Kings	
The King's Champion Election of the King and the Law	160
-	
PART FOUR 165	
THE KING IS BOUND	
CHAPTER 5	
The King's Oath	
What is a Coronation Oath?	
The Continuity of the Law	
The Oash and Manager of Cood Laws	
The Oath and Maintenance of Good Laws The Coronation Oath and the Early Law	
Henry II's Oath and Glanvill	
The Oath and the Common Law	
The Oath, Magna Carta and the Lex Terrae	
Bracton and the Oath	
Edward I and the Oath	191
The '1308 Oath' Controversy	
Edward II's Oath	
The Oath and the Deposition of Kings	
The Oath and the Wars of the Roses	
CHAPTER 6	
The Power of the Oath	
Edward IV	
Richard III	
Richard III and the Worship of God	240
Continuing Jurisdiction	
The Tudors	
Henry VII	
Henry VIII and his Coronation Oath	
The Oath and the Church of Rome	265
Edward VI	
MaryElizabeth I	283
CHAPTER 7	
The Oath and the Prerogative	
The Stuarts and their Oath	
England	
Scotland	
The Prerogative and the Law	
Bate's case	
The Five Knight's Case	
The Ship-Money Case	306
The Oath and the Civil War	310
Charles I's Oath	
The Divine Right of Kings	
James VI and I, and Divine Right	328
The Oath and The Trial of Charles I	332
The Interregnum and the Oath	
Hobbes, Sovereignty, Covenant, and Divine Right	339
	339

	111
The Later Stuarts and the Prerogative	343
Charles II Breach of Oath?	345
Locke and Filmer	
James II and VII	
Godden v Hales The Seven Bishops' Case	
CHAPTER 8	
Revolution and the Oath	
1688 and The Coronation Oath	
The Original Contract Theory	
The Original Contract and the King's Oath	
The Scottish Coronation Oath	
The English Declaration of Rights	
The 1689 Coronation Oath	
The Bill of Rights	
The Bill's Legality	
The Bill Assessed	
Bentham's view	
Burke's view	
Paine's view	
The Victorian view	
Maitland's view	400
Nairn's view	
Bogdanor's view	
The Bill, the Law, and Politics	
William's Government	
Act of Settlement	
Anne, the Last Stuart	
Ashby v White	
Anne's Prerogative	
Scotland	
Chapter 9	433
Politics and the King's Oath	433
The Succession of the German Kings	
Political Ideas under the Georges	
The 'Sovereignty of Parliament'	
George III and his Oath	
Ireland and Quebec	
Philosophers and Lawyers	
Hume	
Bentham	
America	
America, the King and Parliament	457
George IV and William IV	462
CONCLUSION 465	
THE CROWNED KING	
CHAPTER 10	
The Kingless Crown	
The Modern Age	
Victoria to Elizabeth	
Election and Recognition	
Declaration of Sovereignty	469
Accession proclamation	
The Recognition of the King	477
The Abdication of Edward of Windsor	
The Royal Oath of Governance	
Modern Alterations to the Oath	
The 'Trial' of Charles I	
The 'Trial' of Charles I	
To Be a King	
THE FINDINGS	503

		iv
The Kin	g's Croun	503
T A TOTAL	he King and the People	503
T	he King's Obligations under the Oath	504
T	he King's Powers	505
Pi	ublic Homage and Fealty	506
	he KingPHY	
	phy	
	ary Sources	
Secon	ndary Sources	527
KING AND	•	
Volume II		553
	CES	
VOLUME II		
		
	CES	
	Contents—Appendices	
	XI	
1 De Ning	es' Oaths of Governance	
	Celts	
	Aragon	
	Echberht Pontifical	
	'First' English Coronation Order	
	Alfred	
	Edward the Elder	
	Edmund	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •
	Eadred	· · · · ·
	Eadwig	
	Edgar	566
	'Second' English Coronation Order	
	Æthelred	
	Cnut Edward the Confessor	
	France	
	Harold	
	William I	
	William II	
	Henry I	
	'Twelfth century Coronation Order'	
	Leges Anglorum	576
	Stephen	
	Henry II	
	Richard I	580
	John	582
	Henry III	583
	Bracton	584
	Edward I	
	Anglo-French Version of Liber Regalis	
	Mirrour of Justices	588
	Edward II.	500.
	Edward II Deposition	
	Edward III	
	Liber Regalis	596
	Robert II	599
	Richard II	599
	Robert III	
	Richard II Deposition	601
	Henry V	606
	Henry VI	608
	Scotland 1445	

	James II	609
	Jan-100 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11	
	Liber Regie Capelle	609
	James II	611
	James II	412
	Edward IV	012
	Edward Plantagenet	613
	Richard III	614
	Henry VII	
	James IV	
	Henry VIII.	618
	Mary of Scotland	
	Edward VI	
	Lady Jane Grey	628
	Mary of England	
	Elizabeth I	
	Mary of Scotland and France	
	Mary of Scotland Deposition	635
	James VI	635
	Scots Coronation Oath Act	
	Aragon	636
	Henry III of France	
	Bodin	
	James VI	
	James VI and I	638
	Charles I	
	Prynne	
	Laud	646
	Charles I—Death	648
	Hale	
	Charles II—Succeeds	
	Cromwell	653
	Charles II	655
	William of Orange	
	Bill of Rights	
	William III and Mary II	663
	Claim of Right	
	Act of Settlement	
	Anne	674
	C = J = 1 1704	
	Scotland 1704	676
	Union of Scotland and England	677
	Union of Scotland and England	677 678
	Union of Scotland and England	677 678
	Union of Scotland and England	677 678 680
	Union of Scotland and England	677 678 680 682
	Union of Scotland and England George I George III Blackstone	677 678 680 682
	Union of Scotland and England	677 678 680 682
	Union of Scotland and England George I George III Blackstone	677 678 680 682 685
	Union of Scotland and England. George I	677 678 680 682 685 686
	Union of Scotland and England. George I	677 678 680 682 685 686 688
	Union of Scotland and England. George I	677 678 680 682 685 686 688 689
	Union of Scotland and England. George I	677 678 680 682 685 686 688 689 689
	Union of Scotland and England. George I	677 678 680 682 685 686 688 689 689
	Union of Scotland and England. George I	677 678 680 685 686 688 689 689 691
	Union of Scotland and England. George I	677678680685686688689691693
	Union of Scotland and England. George I	677680682685686688689691693
	Union of Scotland and England. George I	677680682685686688689691693
	Union of Scotland and England. George I	677680682685688689689691691693
	Union of Scotland and England. George I	
	Union of Scotland and England. George I	
	Union of Scotland and England. George I. George III. Blackstone. George IV. William IV. Victoria. Empire. Edward VII. George V. Edward of Windsor. George VI. Éire. India. Ireland.	
	Union of Scotland and England. George I. George III. Blackstone. George IV. William IV. Victoria. Empire. Edward VII. George V. Edward of Windsor. George VI. Éire. India. Ireland.	
	Union of Scotland and England. George I George II George IIII Blackstone George IV William IV Victoria Empire Edward VII George V Edward of Windsor George VI Éire India Ireland Commonwealth	
DENIDA	Union of Scotland and England. George I	
	Union of Scotland and England. George I	
	Union of Scotland and England. George I	
	Union of Scotland and England. George I	
	Union of Scotland and England George I George II George III Blackstone George IV William IV Victoria Empire Edward VII George V Edward of Windsor George VI Éire India Ireland Commonwealth Elizabeth II X II on and Election of Kings	
	Union of Scotland and England George I	
	Union of Scotland and England George I	
	Union of Scotland and England George I	
	Union of Scotland and England. George I	
	Union of Scotland and England. George I	
	Union of Scotland and England. George I	
	Union of Scotland and England. George I	
	Union of Scotland and England. George I	



KING AND CROWN

VOLUME I

THESIS: AN EXAMINATION OF THE LEGAL FOUNDATION OF THE BRITISH KING



ABSTRACT OF THESIS

KING AND CROWN

'The Crown' has been described as a 'term of art' in constitutional law. This is more than misleading, obscuring the pivotal legal position of the king, which in modern times has been conveniently ignored by lawyers and politicians alike.

This work examines the legal processes by which a king is made, tracing those processes from the earliest times to the present day. It concludes that the king is made by the selection and recognition by the people, his taking of the Oath of Governance, and his subsequent anointing. (The religious aspects of the making of the king, though of considerable legal significance, are not examined herein, because of space constraints.)

The Oath of Governance is conventionally called the 'Coronation Oath'—which terminology, while correctly categorising the Oath by reference to the occasion on which it is usually taken, has led by subliminal implication to an erroneous conclusion by many modern commentators that the Oath is merely ceremonial.

This work highlights the legal implications of the king's Oath of Governance throughout history, particularly in times of political unrest, and concludes that the Oath legally:

- conveys power from the people to the person about to become king (the willingness of the people so to confer the power having been evidenced in their collective recognition of that person);
- · bestows all the prerogatives of the office of king upon that person;
- enshines the manner in which those prerogatives are to be exercised by the king in his people(s)' governance;

and that therefore the Oath of Governance is the foundation of the British Constitution.

All power and prerogative lie with the king, who as a result of his Oath of Governance is sworn to maintain the peace and protection of his people(s), and the king can not, in conscience or law, either do, or allow, any thing that is in opposition to the terms of that Oath.

CANDIDATE'S CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that neither this thesis, nor any part of it, has been submitted to any other university or institution for the purposes of obtaining a higher degree. It has been undertaken for the purpose of submission for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Macquarie University, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, and I now so submit it.

Margaret Rose Louise Leckie Kelly

14 October 1998

PREFACE

Frederic Maitland posed a conundrum when he was giving his lectures on the English Constitution in 1888; he asked, 'How did William and Mary come to be king and queen?'

Maitland raised grave legal doubts as to their legitimacy, pointing to the real legal strength of the Jacobite cause, and the manifest illegality of the actions of the 'Convention Parliament'.

This work is an essay to answer Maitland's conundrum.

In essence, it investigates what law it is that makes a king king. In doing so, I have perforce retraced the steps of the kings, back through the days when Latin was still used by lawyers, when Sir Edward Coke laid his glamour upon judges and politicians of his generation, and indeed, it seems, upon every successive one. I have followed the kings through Anglo-French, back to the Old English used when Dunstan heard the oath of governance of the Bretvalda Edgar.

The British constitution is an ancient one. The British constitution is one of governance by kings—it is a monarchy. The common thread to the governance of all the kings of Britain is the oath which they took after being chosen as king.

So this work is the story of kings, their oath, their law, and their governance; these four in the British constitution are incapable of separation, and together they are the British constitution.

Of course, the Church, the king's council, the king's parlements, and the king's people, are intimate companions of the king throughout the ages. But each of these groups would

¹ See F W Maitland, The Constitutional History of England, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1st edn., 1908; reprinted 1950, at p. .285.

require books in their own right to explain the growing complexity of their relationships with the king and his governance. Only the people feature in detail in the following essay, as it is they who choose the king. The Church, the Council, and the *parlements* are dealt with only in so far as they impinge upon the course of the development of the governance of the king through his recognition by the people, and his oath.

The role of the Church, particularly in relation to the anointing of the king, is significant indeed. This aspect of the nature of the king's governance has long been overlooked, in part due no doubt to the lingering opprobrium attached to any idea of divine right, at least when it associated with kings, and in part perhaps because of modern western discomfort with religious notions. Constitutionally the position of the British monarch as Head of the Church of England has considerable legal and political ramifications, and personally all British monarchs have dedicated themselves to the service of God and the church. But this omission, like those with regard to the development of the king's *parlements* into the parliament, and of his council, has been rendered necessary by space.

Myths and fictions surround the king, not the least significant of which is that of 'the sovereignty of parliament.' This fiction, together with those mythical maxims, 'the king never dies', 'the king can do no wrong', and the myth of 'the king's two bodies' are dealt with as they arise.

Because so much of the scholarship concerning the king and his position and powers has quoted not only primary but also secondary sources elliptically, and often misleadingly, the footnotes are extensive, in order to give references to future scholars as to where the original sources may be located, and what they actually said.

Moreover, because the documentation relating to the oath and recognition of kings is dispersed, and not easily available, I have included in Appendix I a compendium of the oaths of governance of the kings in both translation, and in the original transcription wherever I have been able to find it, in Appendix II is a compendium of the elections, Declarations of Sovereignty, Accession Proclamations, and Recognitions of the kings. In Appendix III are extracts from early writers on the English governance, who have formed the basis of much later English legal thought; they are included because of the propensity for later writers, such as Sir Edward Coke, to misquote them. Appendix IV is a brief compendium of the works of Sir Edward Coke himself, who probably deserves serious

ix

critical legal analysis in his own right—as Maitland said of Coke's influence, though in a

narrower context, 'It would be long to tell how much harm was thus done to the sober

study of English legal history..."

This work has traced back the kings of Britain through the English line, mainly because

again space has not admitted of a deep analysis of the Scottish kings prior to the accession

of James VI to the English throne. A secondary reason is the Anglo-centric attitude

adopted by most kings, and most British parliaments. However, such Scots Acts as are

relevant to the oath of governance of the British kings are referred to, and the Scots

position analysed with regard to the oath. James VI and I is referred to by that

nomenclature, as he was king first of Scotland, then king of England; James II and VII is

referred to thus, as he was king first of England, and secondly (and somewhat doubtfully)

king of Scotland.

The pronoun 'he' is used throughout to refer to the impersonal 'one', rather than the words

'he or she' or the word 'their' or the word 'she', and 'man' is used generically as inclusive of

both sexes, except where otherwise indicated by the context.² Similarly, where the monarch

is referred to in an impersonal sense, the word 'king' will be used. The feminine personal

pronoun will be used only when referring to a female, and the word 'queen' only when

referring specifically to a female monarch.

All dates are in the New Style, except where the Old Style is used from the original sources,

or where HMSO has continued to use the Old Style of dating.

MRLLK, Hunters Hill

Tuesday, 27 October 1998.

1 Of Coke's uncritical acceptance of the Mirrour of Justices, at p. x of Maitland's Introduction to The Mirror of Justices, edited for the Selden Society by William Joseph Whittaker, with an introduction by Frederic William Maitland; Publications of the Selden society, Vol. VII, 1898; reissued, 1978. Maitland castigates the author of the Mirrour as a liar, and says at p. xlviii '... We feel sure that in Paradise, or wherever else he may be, he was pleasantly surprised when Coke repeated his

fictions as gospel truth, and erudite men spoke of him in the same breath with Glanvill and Bracton.'

² I would observe that this is due to my conception of stylistic elegance, rather than to any patriarchal view of society and ideas. I would be quite willing to use the word 'she' throughout to denote the impersonal 'one', and refrain only because such a radical step would most likely detract the attention from the ideas advanced herein.

ix

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to Tony Blackshield, Professor of Constitutional Law at Macquarie University, Sydney, for his constant support, his intellectual rigour and impartiality, and his encouragement of my propensity always to ask 'Why?', and 'What is the legal authority for this?'—questions the answers to which have led us far from our original starting point, the written Constitution of Australia, to the *causa sine qua non*.

I am also indebted to Dr Desmond Manderson of the Law School at Macquarie University, for his impartial examination of the issues involved, and for his support for my pursuit of what at times seemed a never-ending story. I also wish to thank Professor Bruce Kercher of the Macquarie Law School, and Dr Jim Gillespie, of the School of Political Science at Macquarie University, both of whom read early drafts, giving advice, criticism, and support.

To the shades of kings past, and to the present Queen, I extend my thanks for giving me a new perspective on the law and the constitution, and to the legal scholars who have written over the centuries I owe a great debt. To the cantankerous spirit of Sir Edward Coke, which still has being in the oddest places, I extend greetings.

My greatest thanks are due, however, to the late Professor Frederic Maitland. Though Maitland wrote a century ago, his capacity to examine law and history as a seamless whole stands still as an example to us all, his writing is a joy to read, and his deep love of and respect for the law is an inspiration for all those who seek to understand why we are governed the way we are.

mrllk



ABBREVIATIONS

AC Appeal Cases

Ad. & E. Adolphus and Ellis Reports of Cases

AJLH The American Journal of Legal History

AIR All India Reports

ALJ Australian Law Journal

ALJR Australian Law Journal Reports

All ER All England Law Reports

A.P.C. Dasent, Acts of the Privy Council, (A.P.C.), N.S., II, (1547-50), London, 1890, 1873

Bened Abb. Benedictus Abbas

BIHR Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research

BL British Library

Black's Law Dictionary Henry Campbell Black, Black's Law Dictionary, Definitions of the Terms and Phrases of

American and English Jurisprudence, Ancient and Modern, 6th edn., Joseph R Nolan and Jacqueline M Nolan-Haley, co-authors, West Publishing Co., St Paul, 1990.

Blackstone William Blackstone, Commentaries on the Laws of England, A Facsimile of the First

Edition of 1765-1769, with an introduction by Stanley N Katz, University of

Chicago Press, Chicago, 1979, in 4 Volumes.

BM British Museum

Bodl. Bodleian Library

CA College of Arms

Ch Chancery

Chrimes S B Chrimes, English Constitutional Ideas in the Fifteenth Century, 1936, Cambridge

University Press, Cambridge; reissued, American Scholar Publications, New

York, 1965.

C] Journals of the House of Commons

CJ

Chief Justice

Clarendon

Edward, Earl of Clarendon [Edward Hyde; his daughter Anne became James II and VII's first wife]. History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, written between 1641 and 1648, the 'edition re-edited from a fresh collation of the original MS. in the Bodleian Library', by W Dunn Macray, in six Volumes, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1888; reprinted Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1958.

CLR

Commonwealth Law Reports

Co. Inst.

Coke's Institutes (Institutes of Sir Edward Coke)

Co. Litt. (Lit.)

Coke's Commentary on Littleton

Co. Rep.

Coke's Reports (Law reports of Sir Edward Coke)

CSPD

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series

Cth

Commonwealth of Australia

Dasent

Dasent, Acts of the Privy Council, (A.P.C.), N.S., II, (1547-50), London, 1890, 1873

Ecgferth Pontifical

see Egbert pontifical; Ecgferth reproduces more exactly the Anglo-Saxon name of the Archbishop, and reduces confusion with King Egbert. The authoritative text of the 'Egbert Pontifical' is reproduced in Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals, edited by H M J Banting, , Boydell Press for the Henry Bradshaw Society, London, 1989, from MS Lat. 10575 in the Bibliotheque Nationale, at pp. 1 ff.

ECR

Leopold G Wickham Legg, English Coronation Records, Archibald Constable &

Company Limited, Westminster, 1901

Edgar Ordo

manuscript at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; [Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 146. p. 138] reproduced in Legg, English Coronation Records, at

p.23

Egbert Pontifical

a version of the so-called 'first' English Coronation Order, contained in a manuscript held at Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale MS lat. 10575 (the so-called Egbert Pontifical). The authoritative text of the 'Egbert Pontifical' is reproduced in Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals, edited by HMJ Banting, , Boydell Press for the Henry Bradshaw Society, London, 1989, from MS Lat. 10575 in the

Bibliotheque Nationale, at pp. 1 ff.

EHD

English Historical Documents, Twelve Volumes, C H Williams, (ed.), David C

Douglas (gen. Ed.), Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1967

EHR

English Historical Review

ER

English Reports

Flor. Wig.

Florenti Wigorniensis monachi chronicon ex chronicis, ed. B Thorpe, English Historical Society, London, 1848-1849; at I, 229; and see The Chronicle of Florence of Worcester, Thomas Forester, (trans. and ed.), Henry G. Bohn, London, 1854; reprinted from the 1854 edition by AMS Press, New York, 1968.

FLR

Federal Law Review

Foed.

Foedera, (Records Commission, ed. T Rymer, London, 1816-69)

Glanvill Tractatus de legibus et consuetudinibus regni Anglie qui Glanvilla vocatur, The Treatise

on the laws and customs of the realm of England, commonly called Glanvill, GDG Hall

(ed), Nelson in association with the Selden Society, London, 1965

Hale Sir Matthew Hale, The Prerogatives of the King, 1640-1660, DEC Yale (ed.), Selden

Society, London, 1976

Hallam Henry Hallam, The Constitutional History of England from the Accession of Henry VII to

the Death of George II, Alex. Murray & Son, London, 1869.

Hil. Hilary term

HMC Historical Manuscripts Commission

HMSO Her Majesty's Stationery Office

Holdsworth Sir William Holdsworth, A History of English Law, Methuen & Co, London, 1903,

7th edn., revised, 1956, reprinted 1966

Imp. Imperial (used to refer to an enactment of the United Kingdom)

Inst. Institutes (the Institutes of Sir Edward Coke)

J Justice

JEH Journal of Ecclesiastical History.

Je A Jolliffe, The Constitutional History of Medieval England from the English

settlements to 1485, Adam and Charles Black, 4th edn., London, 1967

KB King's Bench

Lanalet Pontifical a version of the so-called 'first' English Coronation Order, contained in a

manuscript held at Rouen, Bibliotheque Municipale MS A.27 (the Lanalet

Pontifical)

Ld. Raym. Lord Raymond, Reports of Cases, 4th edn., 1790

Legg Leopold G Wickham Legg, English Coronation Records, Archibald Constable &

Company Limited, Westminster, 1901

Leofric Missal a version of the so-called 'first' English Coronation Order, contained in a

manuscript held at Oxford, Bodleian MS 579 (the so-called Leofric Missal),

Liebermann, Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen, Text und Übersetzung,

Unveränderter Neudruck der Ausgrabe 1903-1916, Scientia Aalen, Sindelfingen,

Germany, 1960; in 3 Vols.

L] Journal of the House of Lords

Lodge and Thornton Eleanor C Lodge, and Gladys A Thornton, (eds.), English Constitutional Documents

1307-1485, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1935

LQR Law Quarterly Review

LR Law Reports

Maitland F W Maitland, The Constitutional History of England, Cambridge University Press,

Cambridge, 1908, reprint 1950

Maskell

William Maskell, Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae, London, 1846-47.

Mich.

Michaelmass term.

Mon. Rit.

William Maskell, Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae, London, 1846-47.

MonULR

Monash University Law Review

MULR

Melbourne University Law Review

O.E.

Old English; Anglo-Saxon

Plucknett

T F T Plucknett, A Conaise History of the Common Law, 5th edn., Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1956

PRO

Public Records Office

Prynne

William Prynne, 'The Soveraigne Power of Parliaments & Kingdoms or Second Part of the treachery and Disloilty of Papists to their Soveraignes. Wherein the Parliaments and Kingdomes Right and Interest in, and Power over the Militia, Ports, Forts, Navy, Ammunition of the Realme, to dispose of them unto Confiding Officers hands, in the times of danger; Their Right and Interest to nominate and Elect all needful Commanders, to exercise the Militia for the Kingdomes safety and defence: As likewise, to Recommend and make choice of the Lord Chancellor, Keeper, Treasurer, Privy Seale, Privie Counsellors, Iudges and Sheriffes of the Kingdome, when they see just cause; That the King hath no absolute negative voice in passing publicke Bills of Right and Justice for the safety peace and common benefit of the People, when both Houses deeme them necessary and just: are fully vindicated and confirmed, by pregnant Reasons and variety of Authorities, for the satisfaction of all Malignants, Papists, Royallists, who unjustly Censure the Parliaments proceedings, Claims and Declarations, in these Particulars,'; printed by Michael Sparke, Senior, by Order of the Committee of the House of Commons concerning Printing, 28 March 1643. Facsimile copy made from the copy in the British Library (1129.h.6) by Garland Publishing Inc, New York, 1979.

QB

Queen's Bench

QBD

Queen's Bench Division

Quick and Garran

John Quick, and Robert Randolph Garran, The Annotated Constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1901, reprinted by Legal Books, Sydney, 1976, 1995

Rot. Parl

Rotuli Parliamentorum (Rolls of the Parliament)

Rymer

Foedera, (Records Commission, ed. T Rymer, London, 1816-69)

S&M1

C Stephenson and F G Marcham, (eds.), Sources of English Constitutional History: Vol. I: A Selection of Documents from AD 600 to the Interregnum, New York, Harper & Row, rev edn. 1972

S&M2

C Stephenson and F G Marcham, (eds.), Sources of English Constitutional History: Vol. II: A Selection of Documents from the Interregnum to the Present, New York, Harper & Row, rev. edn. 1972

Schramm

Percy E Schramm, A History of the English Coronation, translated from the German by Leopold G. Wickham Legg, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1937

State Trials

Cobbett's Complete Collection of State Trials, (etc.) from the Earliest Period to the Year

1783, in Twenty-One Volumes, T C Hansard for Longman et al, London,

1816

Stubbs' Constitutional History William Stubbs, The Constitutional History of England, in 3 Volumes, Clarendon

Press, Oxford, 3rd edn., 1884; reprinted by William Hein & Company, Buffalo,

New York, 1987

Stubbs' Select Charters William Stubbs, Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History

from the Earliest Times to the Reign of Edward the First, 1870, Oxford, Clarendon

Press, 8th edn., 1905

Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Primer Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Primer, 1882, 9th edn., 1953, reprinted with corrections 1955,

1957, and again in 1961, 1965, 1967, revised by Norman Davis, Clarendon

Press, Oxford. 1967.

Tanner J R Tanner, Constitutional Documents of the Reign of James I, A.D. 1603-1625,

Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1st edn. 1930, reprinted 1952, 1960,

1961

TRHS Transactions of the Royal Historical Society

Trin. Trinity term.

UK United Kingdom

UNSWLJ University of New South Wales Law Journal

UWALR University of Western Australia Law Reports

W. Cov. Walter of Coventry

WLR Weekly Law Reports

Wm. Malm. William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum, Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi de gestis regum

Anglorum (ed. Stubbs, RS; London, 1887-1890)



GLOSSARY

ædeling (O.E.) an Anglo-Saxon legal term meaning he who is expected to succeed the

king, usually nominated by the king

All Saints 1 November

All Souls 2 November

airecht (Celtic) assembly of notables

blodwite (O.E.) the fine for wounding with bloodshed

brichote (O.E.) duty of repair of bridges and fine for breach thereof

Bretwalda (O.E.) literally, 'Ruler of the Britons', or Britain-ruler'; high king of Britain.

*Brigantinos (Indo-European) 'great king'

brycggeweorce (O.E.) duty to repair bridges and the fine for breach thereof; same as bricole

burbgeweorce (O.E.) duty to repair boroughs and fine for the breach thereof; same as burbbote.

burhbote (O.E.) duty of repair of boroughs and fine for breach thereof; analogous to

faestengewerce

Candlemass 2 February

consuetudo Angliae (Latin) customs of England

contra pacem regis (Latin) literally, against the King's Peace; a writ, usually alleging trespass or

violence.

cynedom (O.E.) literally, the king's judgements/laws/decrees; that area where the king's

law ran; the kingdom; cf. Celtic tuath.

cyneryhta (O.E.) rights of the king

cynescipe (O.E.) the special powers of the king

cyning (O.E.) king

cyninges hand-grið (O.E.) king's peace/protection given by his hand

Declaration of Sovereignty Declaration as to sovereignty made by the Sovereign to the Accession Council, before his proclamation by that Council as king

de facto (Latin): in fact, in deed, in actuality; existing under colour of right, but

without lawful title;—see Black's Law Dictionary, opposite to de jure.; Note: with regard to kingship in the middle ages, king de facto was sometimes used to refer to king indeed—that is, someone who had been recognised, crowned and anointed as king. Such a king was also king de jure, in the sense of having complied with all the requirements of the common law. He may however not have been king de jure, that is, 'of right', in the sense of the next lineal heir—see Henry VII's Treason Act, sometimes called the de facto Act, of 1495—'the king for

the time being'.

de jure (Latin): in law, in right, by right and just title; descriptive of a condition in

which there has been total compliance with all requirements of law.;— see Black's Law Dictionary, opposite to de facto. But note the comments herein on de

facto, with regard to kingship.

de pace habenda (Latin) writ to enforce the King's Peace

de pacis regis proclamatio (Latin) the proclamation of the King's Peace

de securitate pacis (Latin) writ to enforce the King's Peace

dominium (Latin) jurisdiction inherent in all lordship

Easter the first Sunday after the first full moon after the vernal equinox

Epiphany 6 January

faestengewerce (O.E.) duty repair of fortresses and fine for the neglect thereof

feorm (O.E.) payments of food owed to the king from many of his estates

fir flathemon (Celtic) the prince's truth

flymenafyrmde (O.E.) harbouring and comforting outlaws, and the penalty therefor.

folc (O.E.) people

folcgemot (O.E.) literally folk-court; popular court.

folcribt (O.E.) folkright

forsteall (O.E.) fine for assault by ambush

frip (O.E.) peace

fyrdsocne (O.E.) duty of military service and fine for the neglect thereof, the same as

frydwite

fyrdwite (O.E.) fine for neglect of the duty of army service

gafol (O.E.) rents, dues; a general phrase, usually meaning fines, taxes and rents.

gáu flathemon (Celtic) 'injustice of the prince'

gens Anglorum (Latin) the group, tribe or clan known as the English; English communal

identity; the English nation

gemot (O.E.) court

grið (O.E.) personal peace

gryðbryce (O.E.) personal peace, and the penalty for breaking it

gwrthych (Welsh) 'expected' or 'awaited one', in the context of succession to the kingship

gwrthrychiat (Welsh) 'looker forward', in the context of succession to the kingship

bamsocn (O.E.) fine for unlawful entry onto a person's premises, whether house or land;

cf., hedge-breaking; cf. current law of Scotland known as hamesucken.

Hilary the term beginning at St Hilary's day, 13 January

infangenepeof (O.E.) the right to punish thieves caught on the property

interdict papal interdict: public worship forbidden, churches closed, no bell tolled, the

dead buried in unconsecrated ground without any religious rites.

Interregnum That time in the history of the British Isles after King Charles I was executed on

30 January 1649, and before the restoration of Charles II on 25 April 1660 [the date on which the 'Convention' assembled at Dover voted for the king's restoration], during which some of the members of what had been the Parliament and of the military assumed power, initially under Oliver Cromwell.

jus coronae literally, the law of the crown; used by Blackstone to mean the right of

succession to the throne.

Lia Fail The Coronation Stone of the Kings in Scotland—The Stone of Scone,

sometimes called the Stone of Destiny

Lent the forty week-days preceding Easter

Michaelmass 29 September

mund (O.E.) personal protection

mundbora (O.E.) having lordship

mundbryd (O.E.) right of protection, and the payment for violating it.

O.E. Old English; Anglo-Saxon.

oferhyrnesse (O.E.) disobedience to the king's order, and fine for it

parens patriæ (Latin) literally, 'parent of the country'; prerogative of the king; obligation of the

Bretwalda and later British kings to act to protect the destitute, orphans, widows,

and strangers

patria (Latin) country; or men belonging to a particular place or group

pax regia per breve data (Latin) writ to enforce the King's Peace

Pentecost the seventh Sunday after Easter

Peters-pence payment of a tax of a tenth to Rome; said by William I to be alms, not tribute;

the same as Romescot (O.E. Rómfeoh)

physei

(Greek) nature

physei dikaion

(Greek) the right (or just) by nature

pontifex

(Latin) priest

porhyrogenite

born in the purple

*reg-s

(Indo-European) king, ruler

rex Britanniae

(Latin) King of Britain

rí

(Celtic) king

rice

(O.E.) kingdom, kingship; sovereignty, rule (Sweets' Anglo-Saxon Primer)

rígdomnai

(Celtic) those of royal blood, eligible for selection as king

ríx

(Celtic) kingdom; kings (plural of n)

rixigendum

(O.E.) sovereignty, rule

Romescot

(Latin) payment of a tax of a tenth to Rome; said by William I to be alms, not

tribute; the same as Peters-pence (O.E. Rómfeob).

Rómfeoh

(O.E.) Romescot, or Peter's Pence.

sac

(O.E.) more properly, sacu, sac and soc used together meant no more than the

latter term alone, i.e., jurisdictional rights, or profits of justice.

scot

(O.E.) tax, as in Rome-scot, the tax due to Rome

soc

(O.E.) more properly, soon, rendered in modern English as soke, or soken, jurisdictional rights over certain persons, or profits of justice in certain places.

tánaise ríg

(Celtic) the 'expected or awaited one', who would follow the king

tanistry

a phrase used to refer to the primarily Celuc practice of the appointment of a king's successor during the lifetime of a king

team

(O.E.) vouching to warranty, or the right to collect fees for it on one's own land

or elsewhere

ðeode

(O.E.) people; kingdom; nation

*teuta

(Indo-European) primary unit of society, people and territory ruled by a king

toll

(O.E.) toll; dues owed to the king for use of the highways and bridges

tria precepta

(Latin) the three promises of the early coronation oath of the English king

Trinity

the eighth Sunday after Easter

trinoda necessitas

(O.E.) the three necessary dunes of freemen: frydwite, burhbote, bricote

tuath

(Celtic) the area under the king's jurisdiction.

vox populi vox Dei (Latin) the voice of the people is the voice of God

Whit Sunday, the seventh Sunday after Easter

weardwite (O.E.) the fine for neglect of guard duty

wergeld (O.E.) payment for the killing of a man, the payment of which would avoid the

blood-feud

wite (O.E.) fine, penalty

ILLUSTRATIONS AND TABLES

Table 1	The Kings	xxvii
Illustration 1*	Rotulus Coronationis Regis Edwardi II	199-202
Table 2	'The Henry VIII Oath'—Comparison of Lettou/Henry VIII oath and the <i>Liber Regalis</i>	216
Table 3	Little Device for Richard III—Comparison with Corounement de nouel Roi and Anglo-French oath	237
Table 4	Little Device for Richard III—Comparison with Lettou Oath and Liber Regalis Oath	238
Table 5	The Henry VIII Oath'—Lettou Oath and Henry's Amendments—Comparison with Little Device for Henry VII	253
Illustration 2†	Royal Oath of Governance as amended by Henry VIII	255
Illustration 3	Accession Proclamation for Elizabeth II	475

^{*}Permission has been sought from the PRO for reproduction of the extracts from this document †Permission has been sought from the British Museum for reproduction of this extract.

THE KINGS: CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

of England, Britain, the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth

477	A 11 (7) . (1)	1100	Inha I caldond
477	Aelle (Bretwalda)	1199	John Lackland
560	Ceawlin (Bretwalda)	1216	Henry III
590	Rædwald (Bretwalda)	1272	Edward I
601	Æthelberht (Bretwalda)	1307	Edward II
616	Edwin (Bretwalda)	1327	Edward III
632	Oswald (Bretwalda)	1377	Richard II
641	Osuiu (Bretwalda)	1299	
688	Ine	1413	Henry V
695	Wihtred	1422	Henry VI
716	Æthelbald (Bretwalda)	1461	Edward IV
757	Offa (Bretwalda)	1470	Henry VI
802	Egbert (Bretwalda)	1471	Edward IV
839	Æthelwulf	1483	Edward Plantagenet*
855	Æthelbald	1483	Richard III
860	Æthelberht	1485	Henry VII
866	Æthelred	1509	Henry VIII
871	Alfred the Great	1547	Edward VI
899	Edward the Elder	1553	Lady Jane Grey*
925	Æthelstan (Bretwalda)	1553	Mary I
938	Edmund	1558	Elizabeth I
946	Eadred	1603	James VI and I
955	Eadwig	1625	Charles I
959	Edgar	1649	Charles II
975	Edward the Martyr	1685	James II and VII
978	Æthelræd Unræd	1689	William III and Mary II
1016	Edmund Ironside	1694	William III
1016	Cnut	1702	Anne
1035	Harold I	1714	George I
1042	Harthnacut	1727	George II
1066	Edward the Confessor	1760	
1066	Harold II	1820	George III
1066		1830	George IV William IV
	William the Conqueror		
1087	William II (Rufus)	1837	Victoria
1100	Henry I	1901	Edward VII
1135	Matilda,* Lady of the English	1910	George V
1135	Stephen	1936	Edward of Windsor*
1154	Henry II	1936	George VI
1189	Richard I (Coeur de Lion)	1952	Elizabeth II

[* indicates Proclamation as king, but no Recognition, Coronation Oath nor Anointing]

Table 1