THE CORONATION MUSIC OF CHARLES II

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A Thesis

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The seventeenth century was a time of upheaval for Great Britain. Reflective of that was the plight of London’s musicians. During the two civil wars, many of London’s musicians either fled the city or fought for the Royalist cause. Those musicians who survived the wars had to adjust to the new reality of Commonwealth rule as professional musical institutions were dismantled. Musicians who worked in theaters, churches, and at court were forced to find new employment. The Restoration of the monarchy was a significant event in Great Britain’s musical history as well as its political history.

The Coronation of Charles II and the Procession on the preceding day marked not only the return of the monarchy, but also the return of Great Britain’s (and especially London’s) musical institutions. Several sources for the Coronation and Procession exist that provide a partial record of the music used. This thesis brings together all of the sources, including manuscripts, diaries, official documents, and music manuals (in facsimile) in order to reconstruct the musical portions of the Coronation and Procession. Although at the present moment a complete reconstruction cannot be made, this study provides as clear a picture as possible, given the sources available.

This study includes transcriptions of music that was certainly part of the Coronation and Procession, as well as transcriptions of music that may have been used, but was never included in any record.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER I. IMPORTANT FIGURES</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles II</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Ogilby, Poet and Planner of the Procession</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthew Locke, Composer for the Procession</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Players: John Playford, Henry Cooke, Henry Lawes, and William Child</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER II. A BRIEF SUMMARY OF EVENTS</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procession Past the Triumphant Arches: April 22, 1661</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coronation Ceremony: April 23, 1661</td>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER III. MUSIC AND PERFORMING FORCES</td>
<td></td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The London Waits</td>
<td></td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumpets, Drums, and Fifes</td>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His Majesty’s Twenty-four Violins</td>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Winds</td>
<td></td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choral Musicians at the Coronation</td>
<td></td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER IV. CONCLUSIONS</td>
<td></td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td></td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX. TRANSCRIPTION</td>
<td></td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saraband, Matthew Locke</td>
<td></td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The King Shall Rejoice, Henry Cooke</td>
<td></td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The King shall rejoice</td>
<td></td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For thou shalt present.......................................................................................... 72
He asked life of thee............................................................................................ 74
His honour is great ............................................................................................. 75
For thou shalt give............................................................................................... 77
Be thou exalted .................................................................................................... 78
# MUSICAL EXAMPLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figures</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nonesuch, with harmonization ................................................................. 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>Harmonie Universelle</em>, Marin Mersenne .................................................. 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Entry .................................................................................................................. 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cavalcade .......................................................................................................... 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Double Cavalcade ............................................................................................... 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>Modo Imparare a Sonare di Tromba</em>, Girolamo Fantini ................................... 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td><em>Tutta L’Arte della Trombeta</em>, Cesare Bendinelli ......................................... 47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

The Coronation of Charles II marked the end of Cromwell’s Commonwealth and the return of the English monarchy. After almost twenty years of civil war and Commonwealth rule, the citizens of London celebrated the return of their monarch in grand form. There was a nearly continuous stream of celebrations from the day he marched into London on May 25, 1660, until his Coronation on April 23, the following year. The things that had been repressed by Commonwealth rule such as music, public theaters, and high ceremony, were now used to underline the festive atmosphere in London. During the war and the Commonwealth many of England’s musical institutions were dismantled. The court musicians of Charles I were forced either to flee the country, join the Royalist army, or to fend for themselves as teachers in London.1 In addition, all of London’s theaters were shut down by Parliament in 1642, leaving their actors and musicians without work. In churches and cathedrals, organs were damaged during the wars and ceremonial music was abolished from the churches by Parliament.2 The Puritan desire to remove Catholic influences from worship and to remove plays and dance from the public theaters shifted the focus of English music making from public performance by professional musicians to amateur performances in private homes. The return of these institutions marked the fundamental changes that the Restoration represented.

There are several primary sources that describe the Procession (on April 22, 1661) and the Coronation (on April 23, 1661) including the accounts of John Ogilby (The

Entertainment of His Most Excellent Majestie Charles II), Samuel Pepys (The Diary of Samuel Pepys), John Evelyn (The Diary of John Evelyn), and Sir Edward Walker (A Circumstantial Account of the Preparations for the Coronation of His Majesty King Charles the Second). These authors were all present at the ceremonies. However, their descriptions of the music employed are sketchy and incomplete. No complete record of the music exists for either the Procession or the Coronation.

In this paper, I examine the primary accounts of the Procession and Coronation. Using contemporaneous sources, such as the published accounts of John Ogilby and Edward Walker, the diaries of John Evelyn and Samuel Pepys, and musical sources (particularly the military manuals of Mersenne, Fantini, and Bendinelli and John Playford’s English Dancing Master), I will, as much as possible, reconstruct the music played during both events. In some cases the music is documented, e.g. Matthew Locke’s suite For His Majesty’s Sackbutts and Cornetts. John Ogilby mentions that Matthew Locke wrote the music for the Procession, and there is a dedication to the Coronation of Charles II in the autograph copy of the suite. In other cases, there is no record of the music used. In those cases, I have examined contemporaneous repertoire for possible candidates. For example, although string music for the Procession was definitely written by Matthew Locke, there is no indication of what that music might have been. I examined his collection of consort suites for possible material.

The first chapter will deal with the biographies of important figures associated with the Coronation, including Matthew Locke. Particular attention will be paid to his service under Charles II and the events leading up to the Coronation. The Procession and Coronation will be covered in the second chapter. The third chapter will describe the
musicians and music and speculate on missing musical items. The final chapter will provide a summary of the significance of the Coronation and Procession in the context of the Restoration, as well as suggestions for future research.
CHAPTER I: IMPORTANT FIGURES

Charles II

Charles II was born on May 29, 1630. Witnesses report that at the time of his birth, a star was clearly visible over London, despite the daylight.\(^3\) Seen at the time as a sign that marked the birth of a prince, the star, along with other circumstances, later suffused his life with Christian symbolism. He was born under a star and, after banishment from his country, became the resurrected embodiment of his murdered father. His return to London was achieved through a bloodless campaign, and Charles became the savior of his nation in the eyes of his people.

Charles was born into a complicated and crumbling political situation. Tensions ran high between Catholics, Puritans and the moderate Protestants in England, Ireland and Scotland. In 1605 the Gunpowder Plot against James I was narrowly averted. Catholic conspirators planted barrels of gunpowder beneath the palace in an attempt to blow up both James I and Parliament. The plot was uncovered when a Catholic member of Parliament was warned and one of the conspirators, Guy Fawkes, was discovered in the cellar beneath the palace. The plot contributed to the distrust of all Catholics and increased Protestant anxiety over a possible Catholic uprising and an end to the Reformation.

Under Charles I, there was a growing anti-Puritan sentiment. Sympathies shifted towards high-church ceremony associated with Catholicism, and away from the sobriety

of Puritan services. These conditions lead to a struggle between the extremist Catholics and Puritans with the moderate Protestants in the middle.

In Ireland, the English established a colony at Ulster and populated it with Scottish Presbyterians, marginalizing the Irish-Catholic majority. In Scotland, the Presbyterian majority was divided between supporters and opponents of Episcopalian influence. Most Presbyterians resented James I’s attempts to influence Scotland towards a more Episcopal style of liturgy and structure. His policies included introducing an Episcopal Scottish Prayer book and liturgy, which lead to the Bishops’ War with England in 1639.

The war with Scotland and uprisings in Ireland aggravated already existing tensions between Charles I and Parliament. Charles I had been ruling for eleven years without calling Parliament for two reasons. The first was the religious friction between the King (who favored high church ritual) and the House of Commons (which was heavily Puritan). The second was the struggle between the King and Parliament surrounding issues of power and taxation. Parliament refused to approve the King’s request for levies unless he granted them greater powers, while the King issued levies without approval and arrested those who protested. After eleven years, Charles was forced to call Parliament in order to fund the Bishops’ War with Scotland. The differences that had accumulated in those eleven years were irreconcilable and in 1642, when Charles II was only twelve years old, the first English Civil War broke out, and the younger Charles was called to command Royalist forces in support of his father.

The war did not go well for the Royalists. Parliament had an economic advantage in that it could levy taxes, whereas the King had to rely on Royalist supporters for
funding. Parliament also had control of London, most of the ports and the navy. However, the formation of the New Model Army in 1645 gave Parliament its greatest advantage. It was restructured from the previous military forces and put under a single command (Thomas Fairfax). This well-organized and well-paid army won the war for Parliament. Charles II was smuggled out of the country in order to prevent his being kidnapped, which would have further compromised his father’s position. He spent time in both France and Holland. While he was in Holland at the end of 1649, his father was tried and beheaded. Shortly after that, in 1651 Charles II was proclaimed King of Scotland. He traveled to Scotland to be crowned and to attempt to lead his forces against the Commonwealth. However, the Royalist forces were defeated on September 3, 1651 at Worcester, and Charles was forced to flee, relying on the aid of Royalists in England for over a month before returning to France.

In France, Charles was under the protection of the French court, but he had no money and so his prospects of returning to power were slim. The Commonwealth, under Cromwell’s leadership, was a powerful new force and European leaders did not want to risk conflict with it by offering too much support to the exiled King. During this period of his life, Charles developed his affinity for the culture of the French Court. It was also during his time in France that he showed an increasing interest in recreation over affairs of state; this tendency would later lead to difficulties in his reign.

Ultimately, it was not Charles II himself who restored the monarchy but a Royalist General turned Republican named George Monck, a General in the New Model Army. Monck’s strong command of the army gave him political influence, which he used in 1658 after Oliver Cromwell died and was replaced by his son Richard. After
marching his army into London on February 3, 1660 without incident, he called for the Long Parliament’s return. Parliament met for a final time before a new House of Lords and House of Commons was elected. This new Parliament reflected the growing royalist sentiment of the people. Parliament called for the return of the monarchy, and although that was never Monck’s intention, he submitted to their plan.

In order to alleviate the concerns of the general public, Charles II drafted the Declaration of Breda on May 1, 1660. In it he pardoned all but the most unforgivable offenses (primarily those of regicide) and called for reconciliation between enemies. Charles II returned to England on May 25 without bloodshed, after years of political upheaval and instability.

From Charles II’s return to London on May 29 until his Coronation on April 23, 1661—and even beyond that—England, especially London, was in a state of perpetual celebration. When Parliament declared Charles King on May 8, 1660, London rejoiced, lighting bonfires and ringing church bells all day and night.4 When the King marched into London after his 17-year exile there was again a great deal of pageantry. John Evelyn, a famous diarist, described the King’s return in his entry of May 29:

This day came in his Majestie Charles the 2d to London after a sad, and long Exile… with a Triumph of above 20000 horse and foote, brandishing their swords and shouting with unexpressable joy: The ways straw’d with flowers, the bells ringing, the streetes hung with Tapisry, fountaines running with wine: The Mayor, Aldermen, all the Companies in their liver[ie]s, Chaines of Gold, banners; Lords and nobles, Cloth of Silver, gold and vellvet every body clad in, the windos

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and balconies all set with Ladys, Trumpets, Musick, and [myriads] of people flocking the… And all this without one drop of bloud, and by the very army, which rebell’d against him: but it was the Lords doing, et mirabile in oculis nostris: for such a Restauration was never seene in the mention of any history, nor so joyfull a day, and so bright, ever seene in this nation: this hapning when to expect or effect it, was past all humane policy.5

This festival atmosphere, accented with elaborate ceremony, continued for over a year. Public displays, which were prohibited by the Commonwealth, were encouraged by the new monarchy in order to emphasize the fundamental changes that were taking place in English society and government.6

Over the period of nearly a year between Charles’s return to London and his Coronation, he carried out many official tasks, including disbanding the army that had played such a major role in the civil war, and putting the regicides on trial. Those who had lived through the Commonwealth were executed on October 17. Those that had died before the Restoration were not spared, however. On January 30, 1661, the same day that Charles I was executed, their bodies were exhumed and put on display.7

John Ogilby, Poet and Planner of the Procession

John Ogilby (1600-1676) was born near Edinburgh, Scotland, though his family moved to London when he was still very young. At the age of twelve, he was apprenticed to a dancing master. Before his apprenticeship was finished, he had set up

6 Keeble, 43.
7 Evelyn, 185-87.
his own dancing school. He was considered a highly skilled dancer and his talent brought him to perform before the King. However, his leg was permanently injured during a performance of *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*, after which he was no longer able to support himself as a performer. He turned his efforts towards the profession of dancing master and manager. In the 1630s he was given the title of Master of Revels in Ireland. He opened the first theater in Dublin and acted as its manager and director.9

In 1641, when the Rebellion broke out in Ireland, Ogilby sought refuge in the Castle at Rathfarnham near Dublin. There, in 1642, he narrowly escaped an explosion. In the mid 1640s, because of the growing violence and because his theater was shut down, Ogilby returned to London.10 Because of the Commonwealth’s unfavorable stance towards theater, Ogilby had to find alternative employment when he returned to London. He became a translator of classical literature, starting with the works of Virgil. Later during the Commonwealth he turned to Aesop’s *Fables*, and then produced an elaborate version of Virgil. It was in the Aesop and second Virgil translations that Ogilby first used the detailed and extensive illustrations that became characteristic of his books. In 1658, shortly before the Restoration, he produced one more version of Virgil, this one in Latin. Ogilby dedicated his 1660 translation of Homer’s *Iliad* to the return of Charles II. By this point he had become remarkably successful in his business. He received commissions to finance the printing of his books and sold the books himself. His talent

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9 Ibid, 19-23.
10 Ibid, 24-27.
as a translator and poet was well respected by the scholarly community. His attention to quality and detail raised the level of printing in England.11

His most significant work associated with the Restoration was his *Entertainment*. He arranged the pageants at the four arches and also wrote down the full description of the Procession. There were two versions of this description of the Procession and the entertainments surrounding it. The first, written in 1661, was basically the script of the event itself (Ogilby had been named poet for the Coronation procession and was responsible for scripting the various speeches.) The second version of Ogilby’s *Entertainment* was written one year later and was a full and detailed account of the Procession, including visual descriptions, numerous classical references (particularly to Virgil), and his signature illustrations.

Ogilby used his design and description of the procession, the arches in particular, to support the symbolism associated with Charles II. Several of the most often used images, both in general and by Ogilby specifically, were Charles as Christ, Saint George, and Augustus. Christian symbolism extended back to Charles’s birth on May 29, 1630, when a star became clearly visible at midday, and this connection was emphasized when he reentered London on his birthday in 1660.12 Christian symbolism was also supported by the death of his father. Charles II was perceived as the resurrection of his father, the martyred king.13 The Saint George symbolism centered on Charles’s defeat of the “dragon,” or the Rump Parliament. This imagery was heavily drawn upon in the first arch and was further supported by the decision to hold the Coronation on Saint George’s

12 Knowles, 14.
Day. The first arch also illustrated the connection between Charles II’s defeat of the Commonwealth and Augustus, who went to war as an act of revenge against his father’s murder by men in the Commonwealth.

Ogilby relied heavily on the works of Virgil in the design of the first arch, quoting the *Aeneid* in several Latin inscriptions. For example, beneath a painting of Charles II’s landing at Dover is a partial quote of several lines from the *Aeneid* (*in solido rursus Fortuna locavit*).

Fortuna locavit). The full quote:

- Multa dies, variusque labor mutabilis aevi,
- Rettulit in melius multos; alterna revisens,
- Lusit, & in solido rursus Fortuna locavit

Knowles translates as:

The various Work of Time. And many Days,

Often Affairs from Worse to Better raise;

Fortune, reviewing those she tumbled down,

Sporting, restores again unto the Crown.

Other quotes from the works of Virgil combined with visual references reinforced the symbolism of Charles as Aeneas and Charles as Augustus. As Charles approached the first arch, he would have seen artwork depicting personifications of Rebellion and Confusion and a city in ruin. As he passed through the arch, on the other side he would see images of his triumph over Cromwell and the return of Monarchy and Loyalty. In his introduction to Ogilby’s *Entertainment*, Knowles draws parallels between Charles

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14 Knowles, 15.
15 Ibid, 18.
passing through the arch with these images and Aeneas in the sixth book of the *Aeneid*. This symbolism reinforced, and was reinforced by the imagery of Charles as Augustus.\(^{16}\)

**Matthew Locke, Composer for the Procession**

Very little is known about the details of Matthew Locke’s life. His approximate year of birth was only discovered in the 1960s after a painting of him was cleaned for the ‘Age of Charles II Exhibition;’ the date 1662 and the number 40 were uncovered, suggesting that Locke was born sometime around 1622.\(^{17}\) His place of birth is less certain. There are two strong possibilities. The first is Devon, where the name was common. The second possibility was Exeter, where there was a family by the name of Locke. Although there is no record of a son named Matthew being born to that family, there is a gap in the parish records that includes the year 1622. In addition, it is known through a marriage certificate that the family had at least one child (a girl) during that gap in the parish records.\(^{18}\) Furthermore, there is considerable evidence that Matthew Locke received his education at the Cathedral Church of Exeter where he sang in the choir (probably starting around 1630). Locke left his personal mark on the Cathedral by carving ‘Matthew Locke/1638’ into the organ screen. He may have also been responsible for a second carving, which read ML/1641.\(^{19}\)

There is very little known of Matthew Locke’s activities during the Commonwealth. Dr. W. H. Cummings suggests that Matthew Locke might have been a

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\(^{16}\) Ibid, 20-21.


\(^{18}\) Ibid, xxiii.

Royalist messenger in the Low Countries in 1648. Cummings also suggests that Locke was rewarded by Prince Charles for his service.\textsuperscript{20}

Shortly after the Restoration, Matthew Locke was given a place in the Twenty-four Violins. Later, he was given a place in the Queen’s Chapel. Locke is credited with writing the music for the Coronation Procession. This includes four songs (“From Neptune’s Wat’ry Kingdoms, where,” “King Charles, King Charles, Great Neptune of the Main,” “Come not here the King of Peace,” and “With all our wishes, Sir go on”). The text to these songs survive, but not the music. He also contributed instrumental music including his suite, \textit{For His Majesty’s Sackbutts and Cornetts}, and music for the Twenty-four Violins, which is now lost.

\textbf{Other Players: John Playford, Henry Cooke, Henry Lawes, and William Child}

Though Matthew Locke is credited with writing most of the music for the Procession, he was probably not involved in writing any of the music for the services, considering his association with the Catholic Church. The Coronation music was written by Henry Cooke, Henry Lawes, and William Child.

Henry Cooke (1615-1672) was a member of the Chapel Royal under Charles I, and like Matthew Locke, he left his mark on Westminster Abbey, scratching his name into a pane of glass in 1642. During the Civil War he was a member of the Royalist army, eventually reaching the rank of captain. That title stayed with him for the rest of his life.

\textsuperscript{20} Harding, xxiv. This theory is based on a collection of motets, which includes “A Collection of Songs when I was in the Low Countreys 1648.”
He sang bass and also performed on the viol and theorbo. After the Restoration, he was awarded the post of singer and composer in the Private Music and shortly afterwards, the Master of Children for the Chapel Royal. He was responsible for nearly half of the anthems sung at the Coronation.

Henry Lawes (1596-1662) spent much of his life as a teacher. He began his career as early as 1615 when he was hired to teach music to the Earl of Bridgewater’s children. He entered the court’s employment in 1626, eventually performing with both the Chapel Royal and the Private Music. During this time he was involved in writing theatrical music, both for court masques and for the Earl of Bridgewater. Lawes survived the Commonwealth successfully as a teacher of voice and viol. He wrote some secular music and held small concerts in his home, which attracted aristocrats and scholars. Along with Matthew Locke and Henry Cooke, he wrote the opera, *The Siege of Rhodes*, which was performed in 1656. At the Restoration, Lawes returned to his old posts and was also made composer for the Private Music. He composed at least one of the anthems for Charles II’s Coronation, and died a little more than a year later in 1662.

William Child (1606-1697) was born in Bristol and became apprenticed to a lay clerk at the Bristol Cathedral in 1620. Ten years later he became a clerk at Saint George’s Cathedral in Windsor and organist there a couple of years later. He was forced out of Saint George’s Cathedral during the Civil War. He returned to Windsor and his old appointment at the Restoration. In addition, he was made organist of the Chapel Royal, composer of wind music, and cornettist in the King’s Music.

John Playford (1623-1686) is remembered as a collector and publisher of music. He moved from his home in Norwich to London after his father died in 1639. In either
1639 or 1640 he was apprenticed to a publisher named John Benson. His apprenticeship lasted seven years. After that, he rented space at the Temple Church for a music shop, which became very successful throughout his career.\textsuperscript{21} A warrant was issued for his arrest in 1649 for the publication of royalist tracts, though nothing further is known about the warrant or any possible arrests.\textsuperscript{22} He published his first edition of the \textit{English Country Dancing Master} in 1651. From this point onward, he published primarily music. He was made clerk at the Temple Church in 1653 and maintained that post for the rest of his life. He was also appointed to the Court of Assistants of the Stationers Company around 1679.\textsuperscript{23}

\begin{flushright}
\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{21} Dean-Smith, Margaret, introduction and notes to \textit{English Dancing Master, 1651}, by John Playford (London: Schott, 1957): xii. \\
\textsuperscript{22} Ibid, xiii. \\
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid, xiv.
\end{flushright}
CHAPTER II: A BRIEF SUMMARY OF EVENTS

Procession Past The Triumphal Arches: April 22, 1661

The primary festivity for Charles II’s Coronation was a procession through London on April 22, 1961, which began at the Tower and ended at Whitehall. It followed a path that had been used in previous coronations with various entertainments along the way. The central feature of the entertainment was a set of four arches: the first at Leadenhall Street, the second near Exchange in Corn-hill, the third near Wood Street, and the final arch was at Fleet Street near White-Friars. Each of the triumphal arches represented a theme related to Charles and the Restoration.

John Ogilby was the primary figure in planning the procession and entertainment, including the arches. He drew inspiration from Roman history and from Greek and Roman literature in designing the artwork and choosing the Latin inscriptions. Also of great influence were historical accounts of Roman triumphal arches and the Royal Procession of Prince Ferdinand in Hapsburg in 1635. Ogilby drew from both the Procession, designed by Rubens, and the commemorative edition written by Jean Gaspard Gevaerts and published in 1641 to create the 1662 Procession and his own Entertainment.24

The procession itself was large. It was led by the Duke of York’s guards and included the King with 24 footmen and the Duke of York with 20 footmen. Every Duke, Marquis, Earl, Viscount, and Barron had a handler for his horse and a number of footmen and pages, proportional to his rank. The Duke of Albermarle’s guard and a troop of volunteer horsemen brought up the rear. Trumpeters were interspersed throughout the

24 Knowles, 12.
procession. The companies lined the processional route on the right and the ‘trayned bands of the city,’ possibly guilds, lined the left side.

The King arrived at the Tower at 7AM and the Procession began around 10AM, first passing over Tower Hill and through Crouched Friars. At Crouched Friars they were entertained by eight waits. As they passed next through Algate they were entertained by six waits.

The first arch at Leadenhall depicted “Rebellion and Monarchy.” As it approached, the processional train saw three main paintings. The central painting was of the King pursuing the personification of Usurpation. Usurpation was shown with many heads, including one that resembled Cromwell, and another which sprouted out of Usurpation’s rump (an obvious reference to the Rump parliament). Beneath this scene was the inscription, *Volvenda Dies En Attulit Ultro*, an abbreviated quote, which Ogilby cites as being from the ninth book of the *Aeneid*. Ogilby translates it as “What none of all the Gods durst grant, implor’d, Successive Time does of its own accord.” To one side of the central painting was one of a collection of decapitated heads held up on poles. Above it was the inscription *Ultora A Tergo Deus*, which is an abbreviation of a quote Ogilby translated as “God’s Vengeance Rebels at the Heels pursues.” This was a

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26 Ibid, 76.
27 Ibid, 66-76.
29 Ibid, 28. Unless otherwise indicated in a footnote, the Latin inscriptions were translated by hand with a great deal of assistance from Dr. Vincent Corrigan.
reference to Augustus’s revenge on the senators who murdered his father and a symbolic reference to Charles’s defeat of his father’s killers.\textsuperscript{31} Beneath it read \textit{Ausi Imane Nefas, Ausoque Potiti} (All dar’d bold crimes and thrived in what they dared).\textsuperscript{32} To the other side of the central painting was a depiction of the King’s landing at Dover. Over this painting was the inscription \textit{Adventus Aug[usti]} (the arrival of Augustus). Beneath it read \textit{In Solido Rursus Fortuna Locavit} (he will establish firm fortune again).\textsuperscript{33} All three of these paintings helped to strengthen the symbolism of Charles II as Augustus. Two less prominent paintings on the upper portion of the arch represented the chaos of the British Isles during the King’s absence and the Restoration.\textsuperscript{34}

Above the paintings were statues of Charles II (above the central painting), James I (above the landing at Dover) and Charles I (above the decapitated heads). Inscriptions beneath the statues read \textit{Divo Jacobi} (To King James) and \textit{Divo Carolo} (To King Charles). Beneath Charles II and the central painting there was a plaque with the inscription:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{D.N.} & Lord (\textit{dominus}) \\
\textit{Carolo II.} & Charles II \\
\textit{D.G. Britanniarum Imp.} & By Grace of God \\
\textit{Opt. Max.} & Greatest of the Best \\
\textit{Ubique Venerando,} & venerated everywhere \\
\textit{Semper Aug.} & always noble \\
\textit{Beatissimo Ac Piiissimo,} & most blessed and holy \\
\textit{Bono Reip. Nato,} & a good birth \\
\textit{De Avita Britannia,} & of British ancestry \\
\textit{De Omnium Hominum Genere} & most meritorious of \\
\textit{Meritissimo,} & all races of men \\
\textit{P. P.} & father of the country (\textit{Pater Patriae}) \\
\textit{Extintori Tyrannisidis,} & To the destroyer of tyranny
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid, 25-26. \\
\textsuperscript{32} Ibid, 21. Translation provided on page 28. \\
\textsuperscript{33} Ibid, 21. \\
\textsuperscript{34} Ibid, 37.
In addition to the paintings and the statues, there were women standing on pedestals before the arch representing aspects of the Commonwealth and Restoration. Rebellion and her attendant, Confusion, were stationed on the North side of the arch supported by ten drummers. Rebellion was seated on the back of a hydra. She wore torn robes of crimson and was covered in serpents. She held a bloody sword in one hand and what Ogilby refers to as a charming rod, perhaps a wand, in the other. Confusion was presented in a misshapen form with mismatched clothing. Opposing them on the South side of the arch were Monarchy and Loyalty, supported by twelve trumpeters. Monarchy wore a purple robe over which there was a mantle resembling Great Britain. Loyalty was dressed in white robes.36

There were additional trumpeters and drummers placed on the arch and on balconies in the arch. As the procession passed, the trumpeters and drummers played music, including the marches of different countries. Once the King arrived, a charge was sounded and Rebellion made a speech, which was interrupted by the arrival of Monarchy and Loyalty. Monarchy welcomed the King to pass through the arch safely and rejoiced

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36 Ibid, 13-17.
his return, pledging the loyalty of his people. More music was played as the procession continued.37

A group of seven trumpeters entertained the procession at Corn-hill Conduit. The second triumphal arch, at Corn-hill near Exchange, was known as the Naval Arch.38 On the south side of the arch there was a painting of Mars with an inverted spear and a shield with the image of a gorgon on it. Beneath it was the inscription Marti Pacifero (Pacifier in war). Above Mars was a painting of the Tower of London with the inscription Clauduntur Belli Portae (The ports of war are closed).39 On the north side of the arch, opposite Mars, was Neptune with his trident. The inscription beneath him read Neptuno Reduci (To Neptune restored).40 Above Neptune, opposite the Tower of London was a painting of the Exchange with the motto Generis Lapsi Sacrile Reinas (They strive the ruins to repair).41 Above the arch was a painting of Thame and Isis, who were representing the two rivers of the same name.42 Like the painting of Neptune, the painting of the Duke of York on the west side of the arch had him standing on a shell drawn by seahorses with a trident and the inscription Spes Altera (Another hope).43

Theatrics and music played a large role in the Naval Arch. Eight women described as living figures were placed on it. Four of them, positioned on pedestals around the upper half of the arch, represented Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. Europe carried an ancient weapon (Ogilby gives no further description of the weapon)

37 Ibid, 40-42.
38 Ibid, 42.
40 Ibid, 53.
41 Ibid, 66. Translation from Georgicks 4:249 provided by Ogilby.
42 Ibid, 57.
43 Ibid, 93.
and a shield with the image of a woman riding a bull, a rabbit at her foot.\textsuperscript{44} Asia wore a silk stole with several wild animals on it.\textsuperscript{45} Africa wore an ivory crown decorated with wheat. She carried a pomegranate in her hand and at her feet were two ships full of corn.\textsuperscript{46} America wore a crown of colorful feathers and wore a stole with a golden river on it. She held a silver representation of a mountain.\textsuperscript{47}

The other four living figures were positioned in niches in the arch. They represented Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, and Navigation, and all had escutcheons and pendants. Arithmetic was dressed in an ancient style. Her clothing was decorated with lines and musical notation. Her shield bore the image of an open book, with a hand pointing to the basic roman numerals. Beneath her was the inscription \textit{Par Et Impar} (Equal and Unequal). Geometry was dressed in green. The symbol on her shield was a compass and a reed with the inscription \textit{Descripsit Radio Totum Quae Gentibus Orbem} (She who describes with the rod ['the reed'] the whole world to the nations).

Astronomy’s azure costume was decorated with gold stars. The symbol in her shield was a table with astronomical figures with the inscription \textit{Auro Circumpicit Oriona} (He scans golden clad Orion).\textsuperscript{48} Navigation’s costume was sea green. In her shield was an anchor. Beneath her was the inscription \textit{Tutum Te Littore Sistam} (I shall set you safe upon the shore).\textsuperscript{49}

In addition to the living figures there were two stages set up on either side of the street. The stage on the south side housed a man representing the River Thames. He

\textsuperscript{44} Ibid, 67.
\textsuperscript{45} Ibid, 77.
\textsuperscript{46} Ibid, 81.
\textsuperscript{47} Ibid, 84.
\textsuperscript{48} This is a quote from \textit{Aeneid 3}: 517.
\textsuperscript{49} Ibid, 96-101.
wore a loose blue and white costume and carried an oar in his right hand and a model
ship in his left. On the stage with him were four attendants representing the four rivers
that feed into the Thames. The stage on the north side of the street was designed to
look like a ship. It had a plaque with the inscription:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Neptuno Britannico} & \text{To British Neptune} \\
\text{Carolo II} & \text{Charles II} \\
\text{Cujus Arbitrio} & \text{whose dominion} \\
\text{Mare} & \text{over the sea} \\
\text{Vel Liberum, Vel Clausum} & \text{both unrestrained and confined}
\end{array}
\]

Upon it were three singers and six wind musicians dressed as sailors. In addition to these
musicians there were three drummers and six trumpeters on the stage, six trumpeters on
the west side, six wind musicians on the east side and twelve wind musicians on
balconies in the arch. The sailors entertained the procession with this song:

I.
From Neptune’s Wat’ry Kingdoms, where
Storms, and tempests rise so often,
As would the World in pieces tear,
Should Providence their Rage not soften;
From that fluctuating Sphere,
Where stout Ships, and smaller Barks
Are toss’d like Balls, or feather’d Corks,
When briny Waves to Mountains swell,
Which dimming oft Heav’n’s glitt’ring Sparks,
Then descending low as Hell;
Through this Crowd,
In a Cloud,
By a strange, and unknown Spell,
We, newly Landing,
Got this Standing,
All Merry Boys, and Loyal,
Our pockets full of Pay,
This Triumphant Day,
To make of our Skill a Tryal,

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50 Ibid, 43.
51 Ibid, 51.
52 Ibid, 103.
Of our little little Skill:
Let none then take it ill,
We must have no Denyal.

II.
We, who have rais’d, and laid the Poles,
Plough’d frozen Seas, and scalding Billows;
Now stiff with Cold, then scorch’d on Coals,
Ships our Cradles, Decks our Pillows;
‘Mongst threatening Rocks, and treach’rous Shoals,
Through Gibraltar’s contracted Mouth,
And Realms condemn’d to Heat, and Drowth,
Or Baltic Waves bound up in Ice,
Or Magellane as Cold, though South,
Our Good Fortune, in a trice,
Through this Crowd,
In a Cloud,
Brings us where, in Paradise,
We, newly Landing,
Got thus Standing,
All Merry Boys, and Loyal,
Our Pockets full of Pay,
This Triumphal Day,
To make of our Skill a Tryal
Of our little little Skill:
Let none then take it ill,
We must have no Denyal.

III.
We, who so often bang’s the Turk,
Our Broad-sides Speaking Thunder,
Made Belgium strike, and proud Dunkirk,
Who liv’d by Prize, and Plunder,
And routed the Sebastian Shirk;
We paid their Poops, and painted Beaks,
Cleans’d before and aft their Decks,
Till their Scuppers ran with Gore,
Whilst in as fast salt Water breaks;
But we are Friends of this no more:
Through a Crowd,
In a Cloud,
We have found a happy Shore,
And, newly Landing,
Got this Standing,
All Merry Boys, and Loyal,
Our Pockets full of Pay,
This Triumphal Day,
To make of our Skill a Tryal,
Of our little little Skill:
Let none then take it ill,
We must have no Denyal.  

The music was performed continuously as the procession passed. When Charles II arrived at the arch, the music stopped and the man representing the Thames made a speech proclaiming Britain’s naval prowess and proclaiming Charles as Neptune, king of both the military and mercantile aspects of the navy.  

After the speech, the sailors once again sang a song, this time to Charles himself:

I.
King Charles. King Charles, great Neptune of the Main!
   Thy Royal Navy rig,
   And We’ll not care a Fig
For France, for France, the Netherlands, nor Spain.
   The Turk, who looks so big,
   We’ll whip him like a Gig
   About the Mediterrane;
   His Gallies all sunk, or ta’ne.
   We’ll seize on their Goods, and their Monies,
   Those Algier Sharks,
   That Plunder Ships, and Barks,
   Algier, Sally, and Tunis,
   We’ll givethem such Tosts
   To the Barbary Coasts,
Shall drive them to Harbour, like Conies.
   Tan tara ran tan tan
   Tan tara ran tan tara,
   Not all the World we fear-a;
   The great Fish-Pond
   Shall be thine-a
   Both here, and beyond,
   From strand to Strand,
   And underneath the Line-a.
II.
A Sail, a sail, I to the Offin see,
   She seems a lusty Ship;
   Hoise all your Sails a-trip:
   We’ll weather, weather her, whate’er she be.

53 Ibid, 101-03.
54 Ibid, 103.
Your Helm then steady keep,  
And thunder up the Deep,  
A Man of War, no Merchant She;  
We’ll set her on her Crupper;  
Give Fire, Bounce, Bounce,  
Pickeering Rogues ne’er spare-a;  
With Bullets pink  
Their Quarters;  
Until they stink,  
They sink, they sink,  
Farewel the Devil’s Martyrs.  
III.  
They yield, they yield; shall we the poor Rogues spare?  
Their ill-gotten Goods,  
Preserv’d from the Floods,  
That King CHARLES, and we may share?  
With Wine then, chear our Bloods,  
And, putting off our Hoods,  
Drink to His MAJESTY bare,  
The King of all Compassion:  
On our knees next fall  
T’ our Royal Admiral,  
A Hearth for His Preservation,  
Dear JAMES the Duke of York,  
Till our Heels grow light as Cork,  
The second Glory of our Nation.  
Tantara ran tan ran  
Tantara ran tan tara  
To be the Royal Pair-a,  
Let every man  
Full of wine-a  
Take off his Can,  
Though wan, though wan,  
To make his Red Nose Shine-a.  

After the song was finished, the rest of the musicians played as the King  
progressed on to Cheapside. The procession was also entertained with music along the  
way. At the stocks, six trumpeters and three drummers performed military music. At the  
entrance to Cheapside there were eight figures dressed like nymphs with shields and  

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55 Ibid, 107-09.
banners. In between each of them was a wind musician. There was also a band of six city waits on the standard in Cheapside.\(^{56}\)

Near Wood Street the procession approached the third triumphal arch, called “Temple of Concord.” An inscription on its shield read:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Æ Dem} & \quad \text{The temple} \\
\text{Concordæ} & \quad \text{Of Concord} \\
\text{In Homöem Optimæ Prificæ} & \quad \text{In honor of the highest prince} \\
\text{Cujus Advent} & \quad \text{Whose arrival} \\
\text{Britannia Terra Mariq Pacta} & \quad \text{Has pacified Britain, land and sea} \\
\text{Et Priscis Legibus Reformata Est} & \quad \text{And reformed ancient laws} \\
\text{Amplioren Splendidorem Q} & \quad \text{And restored greater splendor.} \\
\text{Restituit} & \\
\text{S. P. Q. L.}\(^{57}\) & \quad \text{By the Senate and people of London}
\end{align*}
\]

This arch and the fourth had far less detailed decoration than the first two. The only painting described by Ogilby was located above the arch and depicted Geryon, a giant with three bodies whose three heads each bore a crown. In his three right hands he carried a lance, a sword and a scepter. In his left hands he carried the shields of England, Ireland, and Scotland. The painting also included the King’s coat of arms and the inscription \textit{Concordia Insuperabilis} (With invincible Concord).\(^{58}\)

Four figures were positioned around the arch. Ogilby does not specify whether they were statues or living figures. Two were placed in the spaces beside the arch representing Peace and Truth, both women. On Peace’s shield there was a helmet with bees going in and out of it, and the inscription \textit{Pax Bello Potior} (Peace is better than war). On Truth’s shield there was a personification of Time leading Truth from a cave

\(^{56}\) Ibid, 110.  
\(^{57}\) Ibid, 111.  
\(^{58}\) Ibid, 114. The description of the coat of arms does not match the engraving included in the \textit{Entertainment}. 
with the inscription *Tandem Emersit* (At last he emerged).\(^59\) The third, placed on the top
of the dome on the second level of the arch, was a statue of Concord holding her mantle
in her right hand and a caduceus in her left, a snake beneath her feet.\(^60\) The fourth, on the
west side of the arch, was a woman at the helm of a ship with a cornucopia in her left
hand with the inscription *Furtun æ Reduci* (fortunes have returned)\(^61\)

Eight living statues represented Prudence, Justice, Temperance, and Fortitude,
each with an attendant and carrying a pennant and a shield. Prudence’s shield depicted
Bellerophon defeating a chimera on the back of Pegasus with the inscription *Consilio Et
Virtute* (With wisdom and strength). On Justice’s shield was a woman with a sword in
one hand and a balance in the other and the inscription *Quod Dexter Liberat* (What the
right hand brandishes).\(^62\) On Temperance’s shield there were two hands, one holding a
viol and the other holding a bridle, with the inscription *Ferre Lupata Docet* (He will
teach with a jagged sword). Fortitude’s shield showed a lion with the English coat of
arms and the inscription *Custos Fidissimus* (Most trusty leader).\(^63\)

The inside of the arch was rounded and lit artificially. Twelve living figures were
placed inside the arch with His Majesty’s Twenty-four Violins interspersed amongst
them. Three of the figures were positioned above the rest, representing the Goddess, the
King, and a citizen. The Goddess, in front of the King and citizen, carried a caduceus
with a snake at her feet. The King wore purple and the citizen was giving the King a
garland of oak. Over the King was the inscription *Pater Patriæ* (Father of the country).

\(^{59}\) Ibid, 113.
\(^{60}\) Ibid, 115.
\(^{61}\) Ibid, 119.
\(^{62}\) Ibid, 119-125.
\(^{63}\) Ibid, 126.
Over the citizen was the inscription *S.P.Q.L. Ob Cives Servatos* (By the Senate and the people of London, before the protected citizens).\(^{64}\)

The nine remaining statues carried shields with inscriptions: the King of Bees followed by his swarm (*Rege Incolumi Mens Omnibus Una* -While the king is safe, the nation is of one mind), a tortoise approaching a wall (*Concordiae Cedunt* -Agreements disappear), a heart (*Hic Murus Aheneus Est* -Let this be our wall of Bronze),\(^{65}\) a bundle of javelins (*Unitas* -Unity), two hands holding a crowned caduceus (*Fide Et Consilio* -With trust and determination), various armaments laid down (*Conduntur, Non Contunduntur* -To unite, not destroy), a caduceus with a winged hat, wings below and garlanded cornucopias in the middle (*Virtuti Fortuna Comes* -Fortune attendant of courage), a star (*Monstrant Regibus Astra Viam* -The star shows to Kings the way), and a creature with two heads (an eagle and an ostrich), with a horse shoe and a thunderbolt (*Præsidia Majestatis* -They guardians of majesty).\(^{66}\)

The violin band played as the procession passed beneath the arch. When the King arrived, the characters Concord, Love and Truth came from behind a curtain and sang this song:

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I.
Comes not here the King of Peace,
Who, the Stars so long fore-told,
From all Woes should us release,
Converting Iron-times to Gold?

II.
Behold, behold!
Our Prince confirm’d by Heav’nly Signs,
Brings healing Balm,
Brings healing Balm, and Anodynes,
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\(^{64}\) Ibid, 126.


\(^{66}\) Ogilby, 133-34.
To close our Wounds, and Pain asswage.

III.
He comes with conquering Bays, and Palm,
Where swelling Billows’d to rage,
    Gliding on a silber Calm;
Proud Interests now no more engage.
    Chorus,
    Let these arched Roots resound,
    Joyning Instruments, and Voice,
    Fright pale Spirits under Ground;
    But let Heav’n and Earth rejoice,
    We our Happiness have found.
    He thus marching to be Crown’d,
    Attended with thus Glorious Train,
From civil Broils
    Shall free these Isles,
Whilst He, and His Posterity shall reign.

I.
Who follow Trade, or study Arts,
    Improving Pasture, or the Plow,
Or Forrow Waves to Foreign Part,
    Use your whole Endeavours now.

II.
His Brow, His Brow Bids your Hearts, as well as Hands,
    Together Joyn,
    Together joining bless these Lands;
    Peace, and Concord, never poor,
    Will make with Wealth these Streets to shine,
    Ships freight with Spice, and Golden Ore,
Your Fields with Honey, Milk, and Wine,
    To Supply our Neighbors Store.67

When the song was finished, Concord made a speech proclaiming Charles the bringer of peace and the destroyer of discord, and as the King passed, this song was sung:

    With all our Wishes Sir, go on,
    Our Charles, three Nations Glory;
That Worlds of Eyes may look upon,
    Behinde, Sir, and before Ye;
Go great Exemplar of our British Story,
    Paternal Crowns assume,
That then Your Royal Name
May, registered by Fame,

67 Ibid, 135-36.
Smell like a sweet Perfume:
Not writ in Marble, Brass, or Gold,
Nor Sparkling Gems,
Such as shine in Diadems,
But where all Nations may behold
With brighter Characters enroll’d,
On th’Azure Vellum of config’rd Stars;
Who fix’d, with gentle Smiles,
Two fluctuating Isles,
And built well-grounded Peace on Civil Wars.68

Between the third and fourth arch, two presentations were made. The first was of one
thousand pounds in gold near the third arch.69 At St. Paul’s Churchyard the Children of
Christ’s Hospital made the second presentation, a speech beseeching his favor and
indulgence.70

Musicians lined the route between the third and fourth arches. Eight drums and fifes
played at the entrance of Pater-Noster Row. Between Pater-Noster and Ludgate there
were six waits and six drummers. Six trumpets played at Ludgate. There were also six
waits at the Fleet Street Bridge and at the Fleet Street Conduit.71

The Fourth Triumphant Arch, in Fleet Street near White-Friars, was described as “The
Garden of Plenty.” The plaque over this arch read:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ubertati} & \quad \text{He erected the highest altar} \\
\text{Aug.} & \quad \text{To the abundance of Augustus,} \\
\text{Extincto Belli Civilis Incendio.} & \quad \text{To the dead flame of civil war} \\
\text{Clusoque Jani Templo,} & \quad \text{And to the closed Temple of Janus} \\
\text{Aram Celsiss.} & \quad \text{} \\
\text{Construxit}^{72} & \quad \text{} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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69 Walker, 77.
70 Ogilby, 138.
72 Ibid, 139-41. Ogilby explains that when the Temple of Janus was opened, it signified
war or conflict, and when it was closed, it signified peace.
Ogilby describes two scenes, one over each side entrance of the arch. On the South side was the image of Bacchus in a tiger-drawn chariot. He wore a crown of ivy and grapes and carried his thyrsus (an ivy covered spear which Bacchus used to keep his balance) and a cup. The inscription read Liber Pater (Father Liber).\textsuperscript{73} The image opposite Bacchus was of Ceres in a chariot pulled by dragons, wearing a crown of corn, and holding poppy and a lit torch. The inscription read Ceres Aug (Venerable Ceres).\textsuperscript{74} There were paintings above each of these scenes representing Silenus on an ass surrounded by satyrs in a vineyard (over Bacchus) and a general representation of the harvest (over Ceres).\textsuperscript{75}

On the reverse side of the arch the image over the south side entrance was of the Goddess Flora wearing a flower garland on her head and carrying roses and lilies. The painting above her was of men and women walking through a garden. Across from her was the Goddess Pomona with a fruit garland on her head, holding a pruning hook and the sun and surrounded by gardening tools.\textsuperscript{76} Ogilby gives no description of a painting above Pomona.

Along the top of the first level of the arch were three figures with emblems. Again, Ogilby does not specify whether they were living statues similar to those at the other arches, or whether they were made of stone. The three characters represented by these figures were Boreas, Auster, and Zephyrus. Boreas had serpents’ tails for feet and snow-covered wings. His emblem was of mountain terrain with the Pleiades rising above it and included the motto Scythiam Septemque Triones Horrifer Invadit (He assails Scythia

\textsuperscript{73} Liber, like Bacchus is a name identified with the Italian God of fermentation.
\textsuperscript{74} Ceres was the goddess of creation and harvest.
\textsuperscript{75} Ogilby, 143-150.
\textsuperscript{76} Ibid, 156-57.
and the terrible Great Bear).\textsuperscript{77} Auster was dressed darkly with wings that looked like clouds. His emblem was of a cloudy, raining sky with the motto \textit{Nubibus Assiduis Pluviaque Madescit} (The skies become moist with clouds and rain).\textsuperscript{78} Zephyrus appeared “like an Adonis with Wings.” His emblem was of a flowery field with the motto \textit{Tepentibus Auris Demulcit} (He caresses with warm breezes).\textsuperscript{79} A fourth figure was positioned at the top of the second level and represented Plenty. She held a palm and a cornucopia.\textsuperscript{80}

Two stages were erected and designed to look like gardens. On the north stage a woman representing Plenty wore a flower garland and green and gold clothes. She held a cornucopia and was accompanied by two attendants. When Charles II arrived, she made a speech comparing Charles’s absence to winter. She continued with the metaphor, explaining that the other three seasons welcomed him back.

There were twenty-one musicians at this arch. Twelve waits, six trumpeters and three drummers were positioned on the second level of the arch on either side and within the two upper level arches.\textsuperscript{81} No description was given of when the musicians played or of what music was played.

After passing the final arch, there was one final entertainment. At Temple-Bar a display of wild and domestic animals was set up. This display also included living statues and music played by eight waits. Temple-Bar marked the end of the procession.\textsuperscript{82}

The Duchess of York stood over the gate and the streets from there to Whitehall were

\textsuperscript{77} Ibid, 159. The Great Bear is a reference to the constellation \textit{Ursa Major}.
\textsuperscript{78} Ibid, 160.
\textsuperscript{79} Ibid, 163.
\textsuperscript{80} Ibid, 164.
\textsuperscript{81} Ibid, 165.
\textsuperscript{82} Ogilby, 165.
lined with two regiments of foot soldiers. The Head Bailiff of Westminster made a short speech accompanied by music. The procession ended at Whitehall at around 3PM.  

Coronation Ceremony: April 23, 1661

The Coronation of Charles II took place on April 23, Saint George’s Day. The date was carefully chosen to reinforce the symbolism of Charles as Saint George, the slayer of the Commonwealth dragon. The King left Whitehall at 7:00 AM and traveled by boat to the Lords-House where he was dressed in the red velvet and ermine robes of Saint Edward. After all the participants were properly dressed, they proceeded to Westminster Hall where the nobility arranged themselves according to rank. Next, four swords (the sword of state, the sword curtana, and two other swords) and the regalia were brought in and distributed to previously chosen nobles. The regalia included Saint Edward’s Crown, Saint Edward’s Scepter, which was ornamented with a cross, the scepter ornamented with a dove, the orb with a cross, Saint Edward’s staff, the chalice and paten, the Colobium Sidonis, the Suppertunica of cloth of tissue and the girdle made of the same material, the armilla of cloth of tissue, the pallium of rich cloth of tissue lined with red taffeta, the ampulla of gold shaped like an eagle (for the oil) and spoon, and the imperial crown. In his diary, John Evelyn mentions an anthem during this process but does not elaborate on it. They then proceeded through the Palace Yard and along Kingstreet to the West end of the Abbey Church.

As the King entered the church at the west door an anthem was sung. Walker supplies psalm numbers and opening lines (some in Latin, some in English) for most of

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83 Walker, 77-78.
84 Ibid, 79-87.
85 Evelyn, 189.
the music during the Coronation, in this case Psalm 122 (I was glad &…), Behold o Lord our Protector &…, and Psalm 84 (Quam dilecta…). At that point the nobility, bishops and other participants arranged themselves for the ceremony. Charles II sat in Saint Edward’s chair, which was positioned next to the throne.86

The Bishop of London then presented the King to the congregants and asked their allegiance to him. Normally this honor would have been given to the Arch Bishop of Canterbury, but on this occasion he was ill, and only participated minimally in the ceremony. The congregants pledged their allegiance and an anthem was sung: Let thy hand be strengthened…, and Psalm 89 (Misecordias Dei…).87

The sermon that followed was given by Dr. Morley, the Bishop of Worchester. It was taken from Proverbs 28, verse 2.88 After the sermon the Bishop addressed a series of question to Charles II. In answering, the King made an oath to uphold the law and to protect the people and the church. Following the King’s oath, the anthem Veni Creator Spiritus was sung.89

Next, the King disrobed and was anointed by the Arch Bishop. The Arch Bishop anointed his hands first, after which the anthem Sadoc the Priest was sung.90 Then the Arch Bishop anointed the King on his breast, between his shoulders, in the crook of each arm, and on the top of his head. At each of these points, hymns were sung and prayers were said.91 After Charles was anointed and the regalia put on him, the swords were

86 Walker, 91-92.
87 Ibid, 92-93.
88 Ibid, 94.
89 Ibid, 97-98.
90 Ibid, 100.
91 Evelyn, 189.
presented to him and he was crowned with Saint Edward’s Crown. Although Walker mentions no music at this point in the ceremony, John Evelyn describes the event as including “Anthems and rare musique playing with Lutes, Viols, Trumpets, Organs, Voices, etc.” Then the Arch Bishop read the Comfortare and the choir sang Psalm 22 (Deus in Virtute). After the King was crowned, the rest of the nobility put on their coronets. More presentations were made to the King, particularly Saint Edward’s Scepter, which was delivered to his right hand, and the scepter with the Dove, which was delivered to his left hand. The Te Deum was sung and the King ascended the throne.

After these presentations, the Bishops paid homage to the King, kissing him on his left cheek. Next the Duke of York, the King’s brother, paid his homage, making a declaration of loyalty followed by the drums and trumpets. Then representatives of each rank paid homage for themselves and for the rest of the nobility of their degree, after which the drums and trumpets played music. Finally the King read a general pardon, during which gold and silver coins were thrown to the people and the anthem Behold o God Our Defender was sung.

The communion mass followed with readings from the Epistle (1st Peter.ii.11.12.13) and Gospel (St. Math. Xxi.15, 16, &c.). Then the Bishop of London and the choir sang the Nicene Creed. At the Offertory the choir sang Let my Prayer come

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92 Walker, 101-102.
93 Evelyn, 189-90.
94 Walker, 103-105.
95 Ibid, 107.
96 Ibid, 108.
97 Ibid, 116.
up into thy presence. At the communion the choir sang Intellige Clamorem. Then after the final prayer they sang the Gloria Patri. 98

After the mass, the King went into Saint Edward’s Chapel. The regalia and the four swords were laid on the altar there and Saint Edward’s robes were removed and also laid on the altar. The robes were replaced with purple and ermine robes, and Saint Edward’s crown was replaced with the imperial crown. Meanwhile, the bishops and nobility in the church arranged themselves in order. When the King returned, they processed back to Westminster Hall for the feast. 99

After the Coronation ceremony was finished, the processional party returned to Westminster Hall using the same route that they had that morning. While the nobility sat themselves at their reserved places, the King and those carrying the regalia retired to a side chamber so that Charles could rest and prepare himself for the banquet.

Westminster Hall was set up with the King’s table on a stage. The nobility were seated at long tables all through the hall. The musicians, which included the Twenty-four Violins, were situated on a scaffold to the King’s left. The trumpets were placed across from them in the Scaffold of the Common Pleas.

The first course was brought out by the Knights of the Bath and set on the tables before the King appeared. It was brought into the hall with a procession that included clerks, earls, a duke and the Knights of the Bath. After everything was set, the King entered and was seated. The regalia and the swords were displayed by the nobility for the entire meal. The Bishop of London led Grace before the meal began.

98 Ibid, 117-19. Walker notates the Communion music as Intellige Clamorem, Psalm v.2, probably indicating that the text was taken from the second verse of the fifth Psalm.

At several points during the meal, the King was presented with chalices to drink from. The chalices were then used a form of payment for services, usually to the person who presented it to the King.

A short ceremony took place between the first and second courses. Edward Dimock, the King’s Champion, rode into Westminster Hall preceded by a train, which included two trumpeters and the sergeant trumpeter. Dimock made a short speech, challenging anyone who would oppose the King. He made the same speech three times throughout the Hall, throwing down his gauntlet each time, which was returned to him when no one took the challenge. The King left Westminster Hall and returned to Whitehall before the third course.
CHAPTER III: MUSIC AND PERFORMING FORCES

The London Waits

Originally the waits were night watchmen whose duties included playing at specific hours of the night, during the changing of the guard, to sound an alarm, and to wake certain individuals. As their role in cities and towns developed, their role as night watchmen diminished and their musical duties expanded to include playing for theatrical entertainments, special celebrations and processions, and for royal visitors and other important guests. They also played at social and private events such as weddings where they would be paid an additional fee. The number of waits a city employed depended on its size and economic circumstances. In London there were eight waits at the time of the Coronation. This number was small compared to earlier ensembles. During Henry VIII’s reign there were forty-two waits. Charles I kept twenty-five waits. The wars and the Commonwealth’s prohibition on musical theater severely reduced the number of municipal musicians in the city.

The waits were officially disbanded nationwide during the Municipal Reform Act of 1835, although by that time there were far fewer wait bands in England. Many individual ensembles were disbanded earlier in 1815. The financial burden caused by the Napoleonic war was too much for many cities to also support their city waits. Although

101 Ibid, 173-177.
103 Langwill, 172.
the waits are no longer part of British civic life, their legacy is still present at Christmas when wind bands traditionally play in the streets.\footnote{Ibid, 180.}

Few extant records offer any specific examples of wait tunes. However, Lyndesay Langwill lists “The Waits” by Jeremiah Gavile (included in John Playford’s The Dancing Master of 1665),\footnote{In his collection of all of the Dancing Master tunes, Jeremy Barlow includes this tune in the 1657 edition, which would have put it in use at the time of the Coronation.} and a Hornpipe by John Ravencroft as two wait tunes. He also lists Apollo’s Banquet of 1669 (another collection by John Playford) as a source of music for the waits.\footnote{Langwill, 178-79.} These examples are all dated after the Coronation Ceremony. However, because music was sometimes published years after it had been in public use, they may have been circulating at the time of the Coronation. Playford’s music was clearly used by the waits. Therefore, the current edition of his Dancing Master might give some indication as to what music the waits were playing.

Because his name is connected with the waits and because the music in his collections was probably very well known to musicians in England (and especially London), there is a strong possibility that John Playford’s Dancing Master was used during the King’s procession through city. The book, which was very popular, was published in eighteen different editions between 1561 and 1728. By the time of the Coronation there were three editions already in print (1651, 1652, and 1657). The third edition has two dates associated with it, 1657 and 1665. There is only one known copy of this edition in existence, housed at Glasgow University Library.\footnote{Dean-Smith, xxiii.} A second volume
was published in four editions (1710-1728) and a third volume enjoyed two editions (ca. 1719-1726.)

The third edition, which was contemporaneous with the Coronation, contains 132 dances: all but one of the tunes in the first edition with an additional twenty-two new tunes. Some popular French dances were also added to the third edition, for example, a *Gavotte* and *Lady Banbury’s Hornpipe*, which is actually a courante. Though any of the tunes from the third edition could have been used by the waits during the Procession, these new tunes might have been of particular interest, considering Charles’s ties to the French court and the growing Francophile sentiments in England.

The music in Playford’s collection was not written by Playford himself. If fact, many of the tunes are found in earlier works and collections. There is evidence to connect them to broadside ballads and they are found in the keyboard collections of Byrd and others. For example, several tunes from the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, such as *All in a Garden Green*, and *Sellinger’s Round*, by William Byrd, *Woody-Cock*, and *Daphne*, by Giles Farnaby, and *Nobody’s Gigge*, by Richard Farnaby, all appeared later in the various editions of the *Dancing Master*.

References to tunes present in Playford’s collection date back to the mid 16th century. Many of the melodies are short (usually between eight and sixteen measures) and follow a binary form, although some tunes deviate from these standards. The music is monophonic and although no harmony is indicated, the melodic line clearly implies the harmony (see figure 1). The harmony may or may not have been included in the

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108 Ibid, xxi-xxxi.
109 Ibid, xxiii.
110 Ibid, xvi-xvii.
performance depending on the group and the situation. Although the only instrument Playford ever specified for the Dancing Master was the violin, the music could have been played by a wide variety of instruments. Evidence points to an increase in accompaniment in later editions of the Dancing Master.  

Fig. 1

Nonesuch, with harmonization

Trumpets, Drums, and Fifes

There were two groups of trumpeters, drummers, and fifers in England at the time of the Coronation, one serving the city, and the other serving the King. Seven trumpeters, one drum major and one fife player were employed by the city of London. The second group, employed by the King, included seventeen trumpeters, one Sergeant trumpeter, four drummers, one kettledrummer, one drum major, and one fife player.  

In the illustration of the Procession, the King’s trumpeters (and one kettledrummer) are depicted in two ranks, just after the justices and noblemen’s sons and before the barons. In the illustration, the first rank is playing while the second rank is

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112 Halfpenny, 35.
resting. This suggests that they alternated their playing. The trumpeters may have alternated playing in order to maintain endurance through the entire Procession. Another rank of trumpeters and one kettledrummer are shown (also playing) near the front of the Procession, though they are not identified. They may represent more of the King’s trumpeters, several of the municipal trumpeters, or perhaps trumpeters under the employ of one of the other participants, such as the Duke of York (they were listed as riding in front of his horse guard). Most likely, the King’s trumpeters all marched in the Procession while municipal trumpeters were responsible for the music at the arches.

Both kettledrummers were being used in the Procession, but the two drum majors, four drummers and two fife players were not listed in the Procession, so it is probable that they were all used at the arches. Regardless, the King’s trumpeters were certainly not available to play at the arches. Ogilby does not discuss these trumpeters or give any indication as to what music they played. It is reasonable to assume that they included some cavalcades in their performance.

Ogilby mentions the use of a charge, a levet, and marches of several countries at the first arch. Although this music is not described in further detail, and none of the calls are notated, we know that the trumpet music of England was heavily influenced by continental practice. Foreign musicians, including trumpet players and timpanists, were common in the court of Charles II. Downey points out that particularly ceremonial and military music was taken from the continental repertoire. Therefore, the manuals of

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Mersenne, Fantini and Bendinelli provide excellent examples of what this music might have sounded like.\textsuperscript{114}

Mersenne describes and notates a series of military calls including a “Cavalcade,” “To the Saddle,” “On Horseback,” “To the Standard,” “The Charge,” a “Retreat,” and “The Watch.” These military calls vary in meter and contain a limited number of pitches. “To the Standard,” and “Retreat” contain two pitches, the second pitch only sounding once throughout the entire call. The other military calls contain between three and six pitches.\textsuperscript{115}

Fig. 2 Harmonie Universelle, Marin Mersenne

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{114} Mersenne, Marin. Harmonie Universelle: Contenant la Théorie et la Pratique de la Musique. Paris, 1636.  
\textsuperscript{115} Mersenne, 332-335.
\end{quote}
Both Bendinelli and Fantini place syllables beneath their calls to describe tonguing and also as a memory aid. Bendinelli may have been the first person to include the syllables in his notation. He claims that this practice of writing in syllables is a “new invention,” though he might have simply been pointing out a new practice.116

Bendinelli specifies that the rhythms should be played freely. “The military signals and toccatas are to be performed briskly, in a singing manner, and with little

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regard for the beat.” 117 Despite this direction, the rhythms must have been played strictly enough to distinguish their character. Rhythm is an important feature in these calls, and many of them exhibit repeating rhythmic motives, such as the four sixteenths followed by an eighth in the following example by Fantini, and the five sixteenths followed by a quarter, two eighths and a dotted quarter in the example by Bendinelli.

117 Ibid, 4.
Fig. 3 Modo Imparare a Sonare di Tromba, Girolamo Fantini

March
Fig. 4 *Tutta L’Arte della Trombetta*, Cesare Bendinelli

Cavalche
The trumpeters were also present at the Coronation and during the banquet that followed. Though there is very little detail concerning their role in these events, it might be assumed that they played the same or similar music as they did at the Procession.118 Because the use of all twenty-four trumpeters would have been unnecessary and probably overpowering in the enclosed spaces of Westminster Abbey and Westminster Hall, it is unlikely that the city trumpeters were included in these two events. There is a good chance that even the seventeen King’s trumpeters were further reduced, either alternating, as they did in the cavalcade, or splitting the duties of the Coronation and the banquet between them.

**His Majesty’s Twenty-four Violins**

It could be said that the Twenty-four Violins was the musical focal point of Charles II’s court. The group’s name came from its French counterpart, the *Vingt-quatre Violons*. There is some disagreement about the establishment of the French ensemble, though it was certainly founded early in the 17th century. Jean-Baptiste Lully, famous for

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118 Although some sort of art music was probably being performed on the trumpet in England at the time of the Coronation, there are no written examples of it until 1687.
bringing a new level of discipline to orchestral playing, was named composer of the
King’s instrumental music in 1653. Then, sometime around 1656, he established his
smaller sixteen-member group, the *Petits Violins*. This was the group that under Lully’s
direction achieved a standard of discipline and uniformity that had not been heard before
and made the ensemble renowned throughout Europe.

During his time spent at the French court, Charles became familiar with this
influential group. His love for French music influenced the establishment of the Twenty-
four Violins at his own court. The use of the same name for his English group reflected
his desire to have an ensemble of equal quality, and while they did play music for French
dances, it is interesting to note that the ensemble was made up entirely of Englishmen.
While other violin bands in Europe were filled with French musicians, the Twenty-four
Violins did not include any until 1666.\(^{119}\)

Though a violin band existed in the English court before the Commonwealth, it
was a smaller ensemble of fifteen musicians. Returning and replacement musicians filled
those posts shortly after Charles II’s return. During the summer of 1660, nine more posts
were created and filled, raising membership to twenty-four. The ensemble only
maintained its famed number for approximately six months before adding more members.
Though the name remained the same, the group continued to expand throughout Charles
II’s reign to at least thirty musicians.\(^{120}\)

Matthew Locke was the most recognizable of the new members. He was
probably hired as a composer and director. Locke and the new appointments likely had
some musical associations with each other before they were added to the violin band.

\(^{119}\) Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 289-290.
\(^{120}\) Ibid, 287-88.
After their appointment, the nine acted as a sort of select group, possibly an intentional imitation of the *Petits Violins*. The select group was effectively replaced by a new twelve-member group directed by John Banister. Members of Banister’s group were taken both from Locke’s group and the original members of the violin band at least in part to reduce tensions between the old and new members. Leadership within the group changed several times during Charles II’s reign.\(^{121}\)

The Twenty-four Violins functioned primarily as light entertainment, supplying background music at feasts, such as the banquet directly following the Coronation, and dances.\(^{122}\) In his memoirs, Roger North stated, “after the manner of France, he set up a band of 24 violins to play at dinners, which disbanded all the old English musick at once.”\(^{123}\) This demonstrates that the Twenty-four Violins were used in this capacity, and that the ensemble was taking responsibilities that previously belonged to other groups. It is also possible that the violins played at private meals, although no documentation by contemporary diarists proves that.\(^{124}\)

Because of Charles II’s support, the Twenty-four Violins grew both in numbers and prestige. The increase in membership was achieved in some cases when new appointments were shifted from other groups to the Twenty-four Violins. In other cases, violin players doubled on other instruments, taking posts in multiple ensembles. This increased the Twenty-four Violins’ influence and helped secure their dominant role in court music. This erosion was so effective that by the end of Charles II’s reign in 1685,

\(^{121}\) Ibid, 292-93.
\(^{122}\) Ibid, 306.
\(^{124}\) Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 307-12.
the Royal Winds had ceased to exist. The influence of the Twenty-four Violins was also extended when the select group was permitted into the Privy Chamber, which had, up until then, been the domain of the Private Musick, an ensemble of lutes and voices.

There are several sources of music for the Twenty-four Violins. For example, it is likely that they included Playford’s *Dancing Master* in their repertory, particularly since the only instrument that John Playford ever specified in his collection was violin. This idea is further supported by the royal appointments, which had in the past been handed down through generations but were now being increasingly taken from outside organizations, such as the waits.

The French suite of branles was probably another source that the violins used, particularly during the balls. This music was not typically performed as incidental music in theatrical productions or as domestic music. Roger North connects the French music to the English court, explaining that Charles “had lived some considerable time abroad, where the French musick was in request, which consisted of an Entry (perhaps) and then Brawles, as they were called, that is motive aires, and dances.” A significant number of branle suites were written by Matthew Locke and John Banister, further strengthening the connection between the suite and the Twenty-four Violins. However, none of these suites are dated before 1672, and it does not appear that the dance suite was introduced to England at Charles’s return, but years later by visiting dancing masters.

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125 Ibid, 286.
126 Ibid, 282-86.
127 Ibid, 287.
129 Wilson, John, 299.
130 Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 313-15. Holman includes a list of branle suites and their composers.
Like the Royal Winds, the Twenty-four Violins played music by Matthew Locke during the Procession. However, we do not know what that music was. It could have been excerpts from Locke’s consort suites or popular dance music of the type that Playford collected.

Part One of Locke’s Broken Consort is a series of six instrumental suites. It was written sometime during 1661 or before (a copy was made in October of 1661). Locke did not specify whether this suite was intended for violins or viols, and it is doubtful that this was written for the Procession. However, Locke wrote it at around the same time as he was probably writing the music for the Procession, and this suite may contain many of the same compositional features as that music. The first and fifth are written in the minor mode and the rest in major. They all follow the same order, starting with a Fantazie, followed by a Courante, and Ayre (Almand) and ending with a Saraband. All of the movements are relatively short and follow binary form (except for the Fantazies which are a little longer and freer in form). The music is contrapuntal with more motion in the upper two voices than in the lower two voices (though the lower voices are not stagnant by any means). The lower voices often move in parallel motion with each other while the upper voices feature the polyphonic movement characteristic of the Broken Consort suites. Imitation in the upper voices is a common feature in these suites. The Courante of the sixth suite, which is named “Ecchos,” incorporates both imitation and an echo effect, enhanced by dynamic contrast. Though we might not know the particulars about Matthew Locke’s string music during the Procession, we can at least ascribe certain

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131 Halfpenny, “The ‘Entertainment’ of Charles II” 42.
characteristics to it, based on extant consort music from the same period. Whatever music Locke composed, it probably contained some of these same features.

Strings were involved in the verse anthems performed during the Coronation. Although anthems that included four-part string writing (an indication that violins were to be used instead of viols or winds) did not become common until the 1670s, at least one by Matthew Locke, *O be joyful in the Lord, all ye lands*, can be dated to the 1660s. Since we know from first hand accounts that the Twenty-four Violins were present at the Coronation with the Chapel Royal, it is possible that they performed the anthems, either alone or with the winds.

**Royal Winds**

The Royal Winds developed out of the court minstrel tradition of the middle ages. In the late 14th century, the focus on solo performance gave way to the newer polyphonic ensemble style. At the same time, the traditional distinction of *haut* and *bas* (loud and soft groupings of instruments) was reinforced when, in the 1490s, the royal musical institutions of the presence chamber and the privy chamber were introduced. The loud instruments (winds and violins) were assigned the public presence chamber duties while the lutes, viols and voices were admitted to the much more intimate privy chamber.

The *haut* and *bas* distinction was maintained within the Royal Winds, which was divided into two separate consorts. The first combined the shawms and sackbuts, while

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132 Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 395-98.
the second included the flutes and recorders. In 1625, a new post of Master of the King’s Music was given to Nicholas Lanier. Under his supervision, the two independent consorts were combined into one ensemble in the 1630s, though the musicians didn’t perform as one ensemble, instead working in shifts. At this time cornets also became the favored match to the sackbuts.\(^{134}\) Like other court ensembles, the Royal Winds were forced from the posts during the Commonwealth, but were restored to their prewar forces of around twenty musicians at the Restoration.

Like the violins, the Royal Winds played secular music for meals and other public events and they performed in the Chapel Royal. Before being replaced by the violins, the winds (cornets and sackbuts) supported the singers by doubling their parts, and occasionally played independently in the verse anthems.\(^{135}\) At Charles II’s Coronation, they were probably used to support the vocalists. There was a particular need for the support of the wind musicians because there were no experienced children in the choir. However, because of the presence of the violins, the winds probably did nothing more than double the vocal parts.

The Royal Winds certainly had a prominent role during the Procession. Groups of wind musicians, distinguished from the London Waits, were a key feature of the Naval Arch. Like the Twenty-four Violins, the Royal Winds played music by Matthew Locke. Matthew Locke’s *For His Majesty’s Sackbuts and Cornetts* was dedicated to the Coronation of Charles II. There are two manuscript copies of this music. The first is contained in a collection of part-books in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Mus. MSS 24. E. 13-17). The collection is missing the tenor part book but

\(^{134}\) Ibid, 306.
\(^{135}\) Ibid, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 394-95.
is otherwise an excellent source of repertoire for the Royal Winds prior to the Coronation.\(^\text{136}\) The second is an autograph copy housed in the British Library (GB Lbl Add. Ms. 17801, ff 62-64v). This is the copy that contains the dedication to Charles II’s Coronation.

The two copies of the music bear very little resemblance to each other. Both are incomplete. The Fitzwilliam copy is missing the tenor part book. The copy in the British Library is disorganized and is certainly missing movements. Both begin with the same Ayre followed by a Courante (though the autograph copy contains only the first seven measures). Beyond that, there is no overlapping material. The Fitzwilliam copy continues with an Allemande, a Courante, a second Allemande, and a Saraband. The autograph copy continues with the first few measures of the Courante, and then, after several blank pages of manuscript, continues with a Canon, a Pavane-Almand pair, another Canon and a Saraband.\(^\text{137}\)


\(^{137}\) There are two modern editions of Locke’s music, transcribed for brass ensemble. The Anthony Baines edition relies primarily on the Fitzwilliam copy, using the autograph copy to fill in the missing part in the Ayre and in the first few measures of the Courante. The Robert King edition includes the Ayre and the Pavane-Almand pair present in the autograph copy. This leaves the two Canons and the final Saraband of the autograph copy to be transcribed. In the autograph copy, it is indicated that the Canons were not part of the Coronation suite. A transcription of the Saraband is included in the appendix.
Choral Musicians at the Coronation

The leading performers of sacred music in the King’s court were the members of the Chapel Royal. This group was linked to the King, performing all ceremonial music in his presence. The organization took form around the end of the 13th century or the beginning of the 14th century as demands on the Chapel began to increase. Originally, the Chapel consisted of one chief chaplain, five chaplains, six clerks, and only three or four singers. The choir of the Chapel Royal benefited from successive monarchs who wished to exhibit their wealth by expanding the group. By the mid 16th century, the Chapel Royal maintained between forty and fifty singers, most regularly, thirty-two men and twelve boys. The choir fell under the direct supervision of the sub-dean. The Master of Children, also an important figure, saw to the children’s musical and general education. He often recruited talented boys from other cathedrals.

During the Commonwealth many church musicians left their posts, as they were no longer required, and many had to find work outside of music. Once the Commonwealth was ended, musicians started returning to the cathedrals and churches, and the Chapel Royal was quickly reestablished. In addition to performers, the organs, which were removed from the Cathedrals during the Commonwealth, were returned. Despite the return of the musicians and instruments, cathedrals and churches found it difficult to restore the pre-Commonwealth musical practices to the service.\textsuperscript{138} They had to rely on manuals written before the Commonwealth Era. John Barnard’s \textit{First Book of Select Church Music} (1641) was one of the early works used to guide musicians in the early part of the Restoration. It was also the source for Edward Lowe’s \textit{A Short Direction}.

\textsuperscript{138} Wilson, 23-24.
for the Performance of Cathedrall Service (1661) and probably a good indication of the musical practices of the time.\textsuperscript{139}

The choir, which consisted of twenty men and twelve boys, was joined by several other groups at the Coronation. The Westminster choir provided an additional ten musicians. Prior to the Commonwealth, wind musicians were commonly used to accompany anthems. At the time, wind musicians were also being used to support the inexperienced children’s choir. Wind musicians were used during the Coronation because it was still part of the practice and also because they were needed to support the singers. The Twenty-four violins also supported the choir. Gradually during the Restoration, they took over the role of the wind musicians. This combination sparked the development of the string anthem, which became popular with composers such as Purcell.\textsuperscript{140}

There are several names associated with both the choirs and the music written for the Coronation. Henry Cooke was given the post of Master of Children in the Chapel Royal during the Restoration.\textsuperscript{141} He was responsible for the care and education of the children of the Chapel Royal. He provided their musical training himself, which included instrumental and vocal training. A professional tutor was hired to teach the children Latin. Cooke in particular is noted for keeping the children well-dressed, and he recruited young musicians from other cathedrals.\textsuperscript{142} In addition to his role as Master of Children, Cooke was also a member of the Private Musick. He wrote the anthem,

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{139} Ibid, 24.
\textsuperscript{140} Holman, London: Commonwealth and Restoration, 318-319.
\textsuperscript{142} Baldwin, 300-304.
\end{flushright}
Behold, O Lord our Defender, for the Coronation. It was an early example of the symphony anthem that became common later in the Restoration. The anthem was performed by two choirs. The larger of the two performed in a gallery on the north side next to the violins and the Royal Winds. All twenty-four violinists performed in the Coronation, which was an exceptional occurrence. The smaller choir performed from the south side with the organist.\textsuperscript{143}

Henry Lawes and William Child were also both involved with the Coronation. Lawes was a member of Charles I’s Lutes and Voices, as well as the Chapel Royal. He survived the Commonwealth as a popular teacher. He also held private concerts in his home. At the Restoration, he returned to court, and was given the additional appointment of composer for the Lutes and Voices. His Zadock the Priest was performed at the Coronation. It is a short homophonic setting, which, though not terribly impressive, was also used at James II’s Coronation.\textsuperscript{144}

William Child was working as an organist in St. George’s Chapel in Windsor when the civil war broke out. Not much is known about him during the Commonwealth, other than that he was no longer working at St. George’s Chapel. After the Restoration he was given his old appointment back and was made organist for the Chapel Royal, composer of wind music, and performed on cornetto in the King’s Music. His anthem, The King Shall Rejoice, was performed at the Coronation.\textsuperscript{145}

\textsuperscript{143} Holman, Four and Twenty Fiddlers, 400.
\textsuperscript{144} Spink, 106.
\textsuperscript{145} Ibid, 373. A transcription of The King Shall Rejoice can be found in the appendix.
CHAPTER IV: CONCLUSIONS

The Coronation of Charles II was a massive event, involving the whole city of London and incorporating almost all of the professional musicians in the city and court. After the long period of war and Commonwealth rule, the need for extravagant display was expressed through the spectacle of the Coronation and Procession. Musically speaking, the Restoration signified the reanimation of the professional musical institutions of Britain. Court, church, and theater musicians, who had been displaced during the civil wars and the Commonwealth, scrambled to reassemble the musical institutions that were in place under the reign of Charles I in time for his son’s Coronation. The Coronation also exhibited a shifting focus away from the Royal Winds and the Private Musick and towards the Lully-inspired Twenty-four Violins. Finally, there was also a shift away from the Italian influence of the first Charles’s court towards the French influence of Charles II’s court.

While it is impossible to recreate all of the music used in Charles II’s Coronation, it is possible to get a relatively clear picture of what the music sounded like. There are several partial scores to both the Procession and the following Coronation ceremony. There is written record that Matthew Locke was responsible for writing the music in the Procession and that, in addition to the *Music for His Majesty’s Sackbuts and Cornetts* that was most likely performed at the Naval Arch, he probably also wrote the music for the Twenty-four Violins, which was performed at the third Triumphal Arch. In addition, it is clear that Henry Lawes, William Child, and Henry Cooke were primarily responsible for the anthems at the Coronation ceremony. While some of this music is unavailable, and
some of it only available in part, we still have enough to piece together an accurate
description of the service.

The music in the Coronation can be divided into two categories; music that was
appropriated for the Coronation and music that was specifically written for it. The music
appropriated for the Coronation was generally part of an unwritten musical tradition.
This music includes the dance tunes found in Playford’s collections and military calls, for
which the collections of Mersene, Bendinelli, and Fantini may serve as examples. A
wide body of musicians would have been familiar with this type of music. For example,
the dance tunes found in Playford’s Dancing Master were probably well known and used
by composers, publishers and instrumentalists (both of wind and stringed instruments) all
over Britain. It is likely that the Twenty-four Violins, in addition to the London Waits,
used this repertoire (possibly at the banquet following the Coronation). Likewise, the
music contained in military manuals was a repertoire shared by military musicians all
over Europe. We will never know for certain which particular pieces from this repertoire
were used in the various events. However, we can consider the repertoire at large and
examine the characteristics of the music that was current.

Music that was written specifically for the Coronation belonged to a small group
of composers including Locke, Cooke, Child, and Lawes. This music was composed
over a short period of time and represents a snapshot of musical style at the time of the
Restoration. Most famous of all extant music composed for the Coronation was Matthew
Locke’s, For His Majesty’s Sackbuts and Cornetts. Two manuscript copies of this suite
exist today: a copy kept at the Fitzwilliam museum in Cambridge (in part-books), and an
autograph manuscript at the British Library. The disparities between the Fitzwilliam
copy and the autograph are significant enough to make one wonder if they are two copies of the same collection or two separate dance suites with some overlapping material. Certainly there are two dance movements common to both collections, with the possibility of a third, never notated in the autograph copy on 62 v, which was blank, and followed by six additional blank pages. An additional movement in the autograph copy would strengthen the connection between it and the Fitzwilliam copy, increasing the overlapping movements to three and making both suites six-movement suites. However, the chances that there is another movement on the missing page are slim. In the manuscript, each page of the 5-part score contained approximately thirty measures. Only seven measures of the Courante are preserved on f. 62. If we assume that both the autograph score and the Fitzwilliam copy continue their similarities through the rest of the Courante, it would not allow enough space for a full movement on the missing page.

The autograph score is disorganized. The first two dances are in five parts, while the final three are in six. The suite is interrupted by two unrelated canons. However, there is a strong indication in the autograph that the dances were used for the music for the Coronation. To the right of the title, *For His Majesty’s Sackbuts & Cornetts* (above the Ayre and Courant), is a small handwritten note ending with “…music for King Charles’s entry into London.” The same title is written above the Pavane-Almand pair with, “Composed by M. Locke for the Restoration of King Charles the 2nd” added in. Despite the disorganization, the indication is that these five dances were written for and performed at the Coronation Procession. Future research should include a complete modern edition of this manuscript as a separate dance suite from the Fitwilliam part-books.
Many things are still unknown about the music used in the Coronation of Charles II. Incomplete and missing scores leave gaps in our knowledge of the music for both the Procession and the Coronation. For example, what music we have of the Coronation anthems is fragmented and spread between various institutions.

Furthermore, very little can be said about the songs performed at the Procession. All that is known for certain is that John Ogilby was the author of the texts and that instrumentalists accompanied the singers at the second arch and possibly at the third arch as well. Who wrote the music for these songs? Was it Matthew Locke who was responsible for the composed music of the Procession? Was it Ogilby himself? He was an experienced dancing master, and it is possible that he composed the melody and left it up to the instrumentalists to improvise an accompaniment. A third possibility is that already existing music was adapted for the text. Eric Halfpenny notes the theatrical character in some of the movements of Locke’s suite, such as the flourish beginning the Ayre and the one in the middle of the first Allemand (in the Fitzwilliam edition), and suggests that these might function as introductions to the songs.¹⁴⁶ Further research, will certainly include a more in depth study of Locke’s songs in addition to a reconstruction of the fragmented anthems for a more comprehensive understanding of the Coronation music.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


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APPENDIX: TRANSCRIPTIONS

Critical Notes

The two transcriptions that follow, the Saraband by Matthew Locke and The King Shall Rejoice by Henry Cooke, were both part of the ceremonies surrounding the Coronation. In both cases I used the autograph copies of these works. No facsimiles or modern editions were found for either of these pieces.

Title: Saraband
Author: Matthew Locke
Manuscripts: London, British Library, GB Lbl Add. Ms. 17801, ff 65
Other Sources: Fitzwilliam Mus. MSS 24. E. 13-17
Modern Editions: No modern editions of this movement have been found. The rest of the suite is available in modern editions edited by Anthony Baines and Robert King.

The transcription was kept as close to the original score as possible. No accidentals were added, and no notes were changed. The only editorial changes made were in replacing the alto and tenor clefs with treble clefs.

Title: The King Shall Rejoice
Author: William Child
Manuscript: Ms. 117,33-34, Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum.
Modern Editions: No modern editions of this anthem were found.

For the sake of clarity, some editorial changes were made in this transcription. Bracketed text signifies text that was not included in the manuscript. However, they were included in the following transcription. Text and spelling was taken from the 1661 Book of Common Prayer.

Reference numbers 1-7 signify editorial notes that were added because they were lost in the margins of the original manuscript. Reference number 8 refers to the third voice, which did not carry over from v. 33-f.34. In the transcription, the third voice doubles the second until it is reappearance in the chorus.
1. The King Shall Rejoice

William Child

The king shall rejoice in thy strength, O Lord.

Exceeding glad shall he be of thy salvation.

Thou hast given him his heart's desire:

Hast not denied him the request of his lips.
2. For thou shalt present

For thou shalt present him with the blessing of goodness:

For thou shalt present him with the blessing of goodness:

For thou shalt present him with the blessing of goodness:

For thou shalt present him with the blessing of goodness:

For thou shalt present him with the blessing of goodness:

and shalt set a crown of pure gold [upon his head],

and shalt set a crown of pure gold upon his head,

and shalt set a crown of pure gold and shalt set a crown of pure gold and shalt
crown of pure gold upon his head.
and shalt set a crown of pure gold upon his head.
head a crown of pure gold upon his head.
gold upon his head upon his head.
set a crown of pure gold upon his head.
3. He asked life of thee

He asked life of thee, he asked life

Thee, and thou gavest him a long life: even for ever and

Of thee, and thou gavest a long life: even for ever and

Ever even ever and ever.

Ever even ever and ever.
4. His honour is great

His honour is great in thy salvation:

His honour is great in thy salvation:

Glory and great worship shalt thou lay upon,

Glory and great worship, glory and great worship

Glory and great worship

Glory and great worship

Glory and great worship
5. For thou shalt give

For thou shalt give him everlasting felicity, shalt [give him

For thou shalt give him everlasting felicity, shalt [give him

And make him glad with the joy of his countenance,

And make him glad with the joy of his countenance,

and make him glad with the joy of the joy of his countenance.
6. Be thou exalted

Be thou exalted, Lord, be thou exalted, Lord, in thy own strength:

Be thou exalted, Lord, be thou exalted, Lord, in thy own strength:

Be thou exalted, Lord, be thou exalted, Lord, in thy own strength:

Be thou exalted, Lord, be thou exalted, Lord, in thy own strength:

So will we sing, and praise thy power, and praise thy power,

So will we sing, and praise thy power, and praise thy power,

So will we sing, and praise thy power, and praise thy power,

So will we sing, and praise thy power, and praise thy power,
praise thy power, So will we sing, and praise thy power.

So will we [sing, and praise thy power, sing and praise thy power.]

Sing and praise thy power. So will we [sing, and praise thy power.]

Sing, so will we sing, so will we sing, so will we sing, and praise thy power.

Praise thy power, and praise thy power. And praise thy power.