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The Stuart Kings, Oliver Cromwell and the Chapel Royal 1618–1685

by SIMON THURLEY

Historians of the English court have become increasingly interested in the relationship between court ceremonial and the liturgy of the Chapel Royal. The Chapel Royal (which is capitalized in this article — as opposed to individual chapel buildings which are not) was the department of the royal household that attended to its spiritual needs. It is now accepted that the etiquette of the Tudor and Stuart court owed a great deal to the monarch's public attendance at chapel, and its yearly pattern was heavily influenced by the church year. This recognition places the royal chapels in a central position in the choreography of the court. It also allows historians to view these important buildings in a new light as one of the most important ceremonial spaces in the royal houses, rather than merely an adjunct to the great outer rooms, the presence chamber and privy chamber.¹

This paper considers a particularly interesting and neglected phase of the history of the English Chapel Royal: the period between 1619 (the appointment of Lancelot Andrewes as Dean of the Chapel Royal) to the death of Charles II in 1685. At the start of this period James I and Charles I developed the chapel, both architecturally and liturgically, to accord with a vision of a ceremonious Anglicanism. These changes became entwined and confused with architectural and liturgical changes of a different nature championed by a Catholic queen, Henrietta Maria. In the minds of the godly opponents of the Stuart regime the royal chapels thus became a powerful symbol of popery and a target for destruction. As a result, from 1640–44, the chapels in the principal royal palaces were defaced and converted into puritan preaching houses. Charles II's Restoration in 1660 saw first a deliberate decision to avoid the desecrated chapels and then an emergency campaign to restore them. As his reign progressed each chapel was further embellished and enriched culminating in the creation of the new Chapel Royal at Windsor. These works not only re-established the architectural importance of the Chapel Royal at court and Charles's firm commitment to the ceremonialism of his father, but they sowed seeds of doubt amongst loyal Protestants as to Charles's real intentions. These doubts contributed to the downfall of his brother James II in 1688. Thus for Charles I, Oliver Cromwell and for Charles II the physical nature of the Chapel Royal symbolized much more than theological niceties and aesthetic preferences; it symbolized the foundations of court etiquette and the religious basis of their rule.

THE EARLY STUART CHAPEL ROYAL FROM 1618

Since the Middle Ages the Chapel Royal had been a department of the royal household under a Dean. It had no fixed architectural locus but performed its duties at whichever royal house the monarch might be staying. The size of the chapel varied seasonally. Normally a reduced number of staff would accompany the court on progress, while for the great feasts of the year, celebrated at one of the greater houses in the Thames valley, the entire complement would be present. The size and elaboration of the individual chapels varied with the size of each house and its liturgical role in the king's itinerary. The greater houses in the Thames valley generally had large and beautiful chapels while the lesser, outlying houses had much smaller and less well served structures.²

From about 1618 until the end of the personal rule of Charles I there were a number of subtle changes in the Chapel Royal that, in due course, affected both its liturgy and its architecture. These changes centred on an increasing emphasis on the status of the place of worship, the so-called 'beauty of holiness'. This lay not only in the ordering of ecclesiastical space but in the performance of liturgy and its musical setting, indeed a comprehensive integration of 'beauty' into ecclesiastical functions. After the elevation of William Laud to Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1633, this vision became official church policy. In most churches it merely meant an attempt to impose a sense of order and decorum on the chaos of Jacobean parochial worship, principally through fixing communion tables against the east wall of the chapel, the introduction of altar rails and the proper use of vestments. Elsewhere, particularly under private patronage at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, there was a re-emergence of forms of decoration and images absent since the reformation, angels, cherubim, saints and even the occasional image of the Virgin.³

These concerns were brought to the royal chapels by a series of Deans with what has sometimes been described as a 'Laudian' outlook. The more specific description 'ceremonialized religious' outlook will be used here. Lancelot Andrewes (1619–26), was the first of these and he was succeeded by William Laud himself (1626–33), William Juxon (1633–36) and then Matthew Wren (1636–41). These four men were all closely associated and shared a reasonably common and coherent vision that viewed the royal chapels primarily as sacramental space, rather than being merely oratories. Changes in both the liturgy and fabric of the royal chapels began around 1620. It would be convenient to explain the timing of these by the death, in 1618, of the Calvinist Dean James Montague and by the appointment of Lancelot Andrewes.⁴ The picture is confused by James I's ambitions for the marriage of his son Charles and by the lengths to which he went to improve his architectural stock for the projected celebration of the nuptials.⁵ To unravel these twin triggers we need to turn to the chapels themselves.

The early Stuart royal itinerary, like that of Queen Elizabeth, focused on the greater houses in the Thames valley, particularly Greenwich, Whitehall and Hampton Court. The lesser houses, further afield, were mainly used in the summer progress season when the focus of the court was hunting. Few of these had significant chapels and the large and cumbersome Chapel Royal did not travel with the rest of the court to them. The chapel at Greenwich was largely that which Henry VII had built in 1500–04, that at Whitehall was built by Cardinal Wolsey in 1528–29, and the Hampton Court chapel was started by Wolsey in c. 1526–29 and completed by Henry VIII in 1536. Of these the

Hampton Court chapel was by far the most magnificent, due to Henry's refitting of the royal pew and the addition of a new ceiling in 1536.⁶ In 1621–23, during Andrewes's Deanship, the Whitehall and Greenwich chapels were brought up to the standard of Hampton Court, and the Hampton Court chapel overhauled.

First, in 1621–22, the pendants of the hammerbeam ceiling of the Whitehall chapel, probably not previously gilded, were highlighted in gold leaf and many were gilded all over. Two statues were repainted and their garments gilded and highlighted with burnt umber and the stained glass was carefully repaired. Sir Thomas Knyvett noted in 1621 that 'the kings chappell at Whitehall is curiously painted and all the images newe made and a silver crusifix amaking to hange therein.' Then at Greenwich a much more thoroughgoing refitting of the chapel was undertaken. While the chapels at Whitehall and Greenwich had had first-floor royal pews separated from the body of the Chapel Royal by a glazed screen since Henry VIII's time, Greenwich had not. Canted and glazed windows were only finally inserted in 1604–05 for the christening of his daughter. These were probably a simple affair, rapidly erected. In May 1623 Andrewes was ordered to undertake a thoroughgoing refurbishment of the chapel. This swept away the 1604–05 windows and replaced them with a great new window lavishly carved with pendants, putti bearing the king's arms and winged victories. To bring the general decoration of the chapel into line with the other two the walls were painted with an elaborate mural scheme by John de Critz, the sergeant painter. The ceiling, which seems to have been originally painted, was repainted and gilded. In short, the interior of the chapel was transformed beyond recognition.⁷ The Hampton Court chapel was not neglected. Between 1619–20 and 1620–21 most of the covering of the roof was removed and the Tudor structure underwent major structural repair and strengthening. Internally, however, the decoration was not in any way changed.⁸

The beautification of the chapels at Whitehall and Greenwich, whilst undoubtedly inspired by the ceremonialized views of Andrewes, had a far more practical aspect to it. On 20 July 1623 the marriage treaty between Prince Charles and the Spanish Infanta was ratified. This act was a prelude to what James hoped to be the magnificent celebration of the royal marriage in his own palaces at Whitehall and Greenwich. Per Palme has traced James's dynastic ambitions for the Banqueting House, and the aggrandisement of the royal chapels formed part of the same scheme of architectural improvement. This is supported by the fact that it was almost certainly Andrewes who advised James on the furnishing of the chapel that Charles was to take to Spain in order to persuade the Spanish King that the English Church was firmly within the Catholic fold.⁹ A product of the failed Jacobean marriage project is a German engraving showing the ratification of the marriage treaty which purports to show the interior of the chapel at Whitehall (Fig. 1). This was probably not made from life and the configuration of the chapel is completely fictitious. Yet it does show features that are known to have been part of the ensemble, such as the canopy over Prince Charles, the organ loft and the royal pew. It is worth noting the triptych over both the main and side altars and the positioning of altars against the wall on a step. These features are more likely to have been incorporated to impress the Catholic enthusiasts of the marriage than a record of reality.

While James's beautification of his English chapels may have owed as much to his desire to present a splendid front for his son's marriage as to any wider ceremonializing

programme, the same can not be said about his work in Scotland. This quite deliberately set out to proclaim, through the Chapel Royal, his support of ceremonious Anglicanism. On leaving Scotland in 1603 James had promised to return soon and often, but in reality he only visited his homeland once more, in 1617. For his visit he ordered improvements at both Edinburgh Castle and Holyroodhouse. At Holyroodhouse the king gave 'expres command and direction for repairing of his majesties chapell ... with daskis, stallis, laftis ... in suche decent & comlie forme & maner as is aggreable to his majesties princelie estate.' The work that James desired could not be procured in Scotland and so the carver Nicholas Stone and the painter Matthew Goodrich were sent up from London in 1616–17 to erect fittings prefabricated in the south. They created a royal closet in the English style with carved bay windows, set up and decorated an elaborately carved organ case and fitted carved stalls and pews to be adorned with figures of saints and the apostles. None of this went down well with James's Scottish Presbyterian subjects who were not used to seeing their king elevated in a royal pew. Part way through the work, according to John Chamberlain, 'upon protest of the Scots the figures of the apostles were countermanded by the king but not without a sneer at their narrow mindedness.' This minor concession did little to reassure the Presbyterians. Their apologist John Row noted, in dismay, the new chapel 'wherein was a glorious altar set up, with two closed Bibles, two unlighted candles, and two basins without water sett thereon, organs put up, and his majestie's Choristers appoyneted to sing and say the English Service Daily.'¹⁰

Thus before the arrival of Andrewes and the beautification of the English chapels in 1619–22 James had already set a course of ceremonialization in his Scottish chapel.¹¹ This ceremonializing trend was reinforced in 1623 by the issue of a set of orders for 'civility in sithings either in the chapele or elswher in the court'. These regulations show a concerted effort to enforce dignity, order and reverence in the Chapel Royal. Courtiers were instructed to approach and enter the chapel in an orderly fashion not wearing boots or spurs. Once inside, strict rules were laid down setting out where the various ranks were entitled to sit and how headwear was to be worn. Excepting Privy Councillors, courtiers beneath the rank of a baron were not to enter the royal pew, and nobody was to use the Dean's seat apart from the Dean himself. Importantly, the orders insisted that when the king and the Prince of Wales were absent morning and evening liturgy should be sung 'like a Collegiatt church', that is unless it was not required during summer progress time.¹²

While the failed Spanish match did not produce a bride for Charles in the short term, it did give birth to a major new royal chapel. Two new chapels for Roman Catholic worship were commissioned for the Infanta from Inigo Jones, one at Somerset House and the other at St James's; of the two only that at St James's was built in 1623–25. St James's was the traditional residence of the Prince of Wales containing the Tudor chapel created by Henry VIII for Prince Edward. The chapel, which was completed for Charles's French bride Henrietta Maria, would provide a place of Catholic worship for her. This building has attracted a great deal of scholarly attention.¹³ In summary, the chapel was fairly conventional in plan, not dissimilar to the Tudor Chapel Royal in the palace proper nearby. It was a pure double cube without transepts and without a structurally distinct choir, and incorporating a first-floor closet or royal pew at the west

end. Stylistically the chapel was highly innovative, with a screen of Corinthian columns against the pew, a large Venetian window at the east end and an elliptical gilded coffered ceiling. By the time the chapel was completed, however, James I was dead, Charles was King, and Henrietta Maria, as Queen, was planning to move to her residence as consort, Somerset House.

Unlike his father's faith, founded on theological disputation, Charles I's was founded on his devotions and on the proper ordering of his places of worship, the ceremonialist 'beauty of holiness'.¹⁴ This extended to his private devotional spaces, his bedchamber and his closet, which were filled with devotional books and paintings as much as the royal chapels. Charles himself, unlike his father, joined in prayers at chapel rather than arriving in time to hear the sermon, and insisted on order and decorum amongst the congregation.¹⁵ He reissued his father's regulations and in the 1630s issued a series of regulations for the governance of the chapel recorded in the so-called 'Old Cheque Book' at St James's Palace. In addition to the issues of decorum covered by his father's order a wide number of other concerns were addressed affecting the behaviour of the singing men, the groom, sergeant and yeomen of the vestry and the Gentlemen of the chapel. An order of 1637 expressed particular concern at thin attendance while the court was at Hampton Court and Greenwich and introduced measures to rectify this.¹⁶

The movement to further beautify the royal chapels continued under Charles. In 1634–35 he ordered that the lead comes of his chapel closet at Whitehall should be gilded and the following year that the stained glass in the Tudor east window should be taken out and replaced with new scheme of decorative glass. The subject of the thirty-seven panes is not recorded. The ceiling of the royal pew or holyday closet in the chapel at St James's was also regilded.¹⁷ Nevertheless, perhaps the most significant Caroline beautification was in the introduction of organs and their repair and embellishment. New choir organs were introduced into the chapels at Whitehall, Greenwich and Hampton Court. The great organs in each chapel underwent repair and alteration and their cases were gilded and painted.¹⁸ Like his father, Charles ordered embellishment in his Scots chapels, both to satisfy his own requirements and to set an example for his Scottish subjects. For his Edinburgh coronation of 1633 Charles ordered improvements to his chapels north of the border that left his Scottish subjects in little doubt as to which way his religious views tended. Charles's coronation took place in the Abbey (not the Chapel Royal) at Holyroodhouse; this was extensively repaired and redecorated and re-ordered internally for the occasion. The communion table was set against the east wall with candles and a basin set in front of a tapestry depicting a crucifix. The Archbishop of St Andrews presided in full vestments to the Anglican rite. The Scots were dismayed. Further dismay was to follow as Charles left Edinburgh after a much shorter time than expected and moved to Falkland, where the chapel had been refurbished for his use (Fig. 2). A panelled and painted ceiling had been inserted, together with other fine murals and joinery work. Before he left Scotland Charles issued a set of articles for the ordering of his Scottish chapel, insisting that due ceremony was maintained in his absence 'for example's sake to the kingdom'.¹⁹

Despite relatively good data on the decoration of the royal chapels, deducing information on their internal arrangement and fittings is harder. The Works accounts

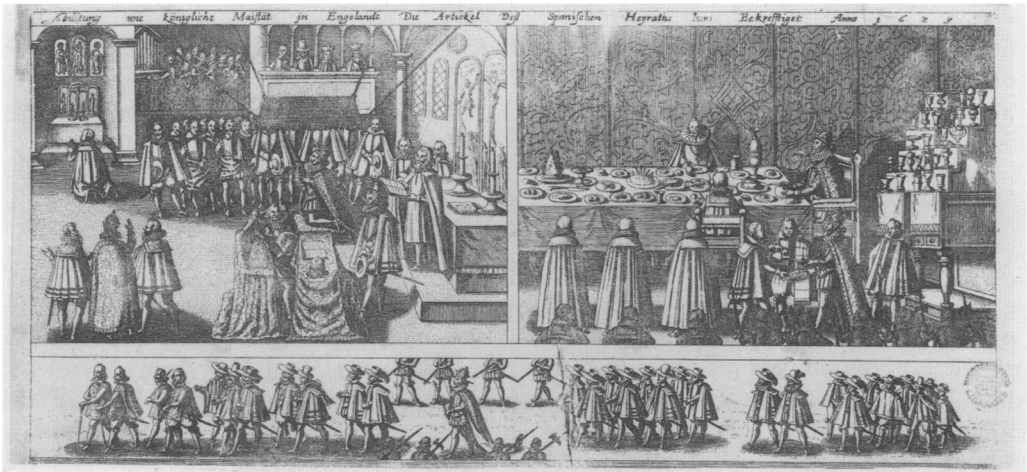


Fig. 1. Print by an unknown hand, possibly German or Netherlandish, showing the ratification of the Marriage Treaty of 20 July 1623 in the Chapel Royal at Whitehall Palace (Westminster City Libraries)



Fig. 2. The Chapel Royal, Falkland Palace, Scotland. Looking east showing the ceiling and wall murals inserted for Charles I and dated 1633. The screen in the foreground is sixteenth century (The National Trust for Scotland)

suggest that the chapels were furnished partly, if not fully, with box pews. As to the positioning of the communion table, the evidence suggests that it was set against the wall at the liturgical east end and at Whitehall, at least, behind a rail.²⁰ In the articles of impeachment drawn up against him in the House of Commons in 1641 Matthew Wren was accused of setting the communion table 'altar-wise' against the east wall. In answer to this Wren pointed out that 'in the King's Royal Chapels ... the Holy Table hath ever since the Reformation stood at the upper End of the Choir'; and as a riposte to the argument that he upset the balance established by Queen Elizabeth, he argued 'did Queen Elizabeth banish Popery, and yet did she all along her reign from first to last leave the Communion-Table so standing in her own Chapel Royal ...?'²¹ The impeachment and attainder of William Laud, another former royal Dean, reveals more. William Prynne's account of the trial and execution claims that Laud introduced into the king's chapel bowing at the altar, encouraged the other royal chaplains to do the same and induced the king to participate in prayers, whereas his predecessors had only arrived at the chapel for the sermon. Most importantly, he was accused of erecting a vast crucifix with a naked Corpus Christi over the communion table during Holy Week, together with other unspecified popish innovations which probably included the introduction of organs.²² Charles, like Matthew Wren, believed that these innovations were merely re-establishing the true Elizabethan settlement, and in the Canons of 1640 referred to rites and rituals that had been preserved since that time in some churches and 'within the Chapels Royal'.²³

Sadly, the effects of the Commonwealth, to which we shall soon turn, have swept away any chance of visualizing the full majesty of the late Caroline royal chapels in England. Yet a small group of churches and chapels built at the same time, under similar influences are useful to consider as parallels. The first of these is the chapel at Peterhouse, Cambridge largely constructed between 1628 and 1632 while Wren was Master. Wren had been chaplain to Prince Charles and had accompanied him to Spain on his reckless escapade to pursue the Infanta. He had thus had a long and close association with the king by the time he became Dean in 1636. The private college chapel at Peterhouse took the beauty of holiness to an extreme not possible in the more public Chapel Royal. Its marble 'frontispiece' for the altar would have almost certainly been unacceptable to the king. But its seven windows filled with painted glass, organ with an ornamental case and frescoes must have been very similar to Greenwich and Whitehall.²⁴

Recent examination of the metropolitan parochial contemporaries of the royal chapels by John Newman and Julia Merritt demonstrates that they were not beautified in isolation, and that even before the significant Laudian London beautifications Jacobean parishes had been improving and embellishing their church fabric. Two London churches in particular stand out as being comparable with the royal work, one of which, at least, had a pro-Laudian incumbent. St Giles-in-the-Fields (1628–31) had a richly carved screen, an altar elevated on three steps and eighteen windows filled with stained glass. St Katharine Cree, in the City (1628–31), whose internal architectural embellishment survives, was equally lavishly decorated (Fig. 3).²⁵ These churches and chapels were in a minority amongst the places of worship in England. In a minority of one, however, was perhaps the most influential royal chapel of all. Not part of the



Fig. 3. Interior of St Katharine Cree, City of London, looking east (Photograph A. F. Kersting)

Chapel Royal, but the private chapel of a royal consort, the queen's chapel at Somerset House was a building of enormous architectural and liturgical significance.

Henrietta Maria, Charles's French bride, was a devout Catholic and sworn to promote her faith in England. By the terms of her marriage contract of 1624 she was guaranteed freedom of worship in her own chapel, and thus embarked on an architectural aggrandisement of the chapel at her London residence, Somerset House. Her work there, in many ways, set the standard for the royal chapels, both architecturally and liturgically. Amongst Henrietta Maria's first architectural commissions in England was the refitting of Anne of Denmark's chapel and chapel closet at Somerset House. An altar and altar rails were provided and lavishly marbled and gilded while her closet (probably an ante-chapel) was repainted with her arms and badges.²⁶ These small improvements only served to emphasize the lack of a suitable Catholic chapel at Somerset House for the queen and her household. Therefore in 1630–35 Inigo Jones's commission of 1623 was revived and a full-scale household chapel built. The new chapel has been often described yet, despite extant building accounts, an eighteenth-century plan (Fig. 4) and a number of other drawings, its precise form and appearance are unclear. What can be said with certainty is that it was similar in style to the chapel at St James's and possibly even designed at the same time.

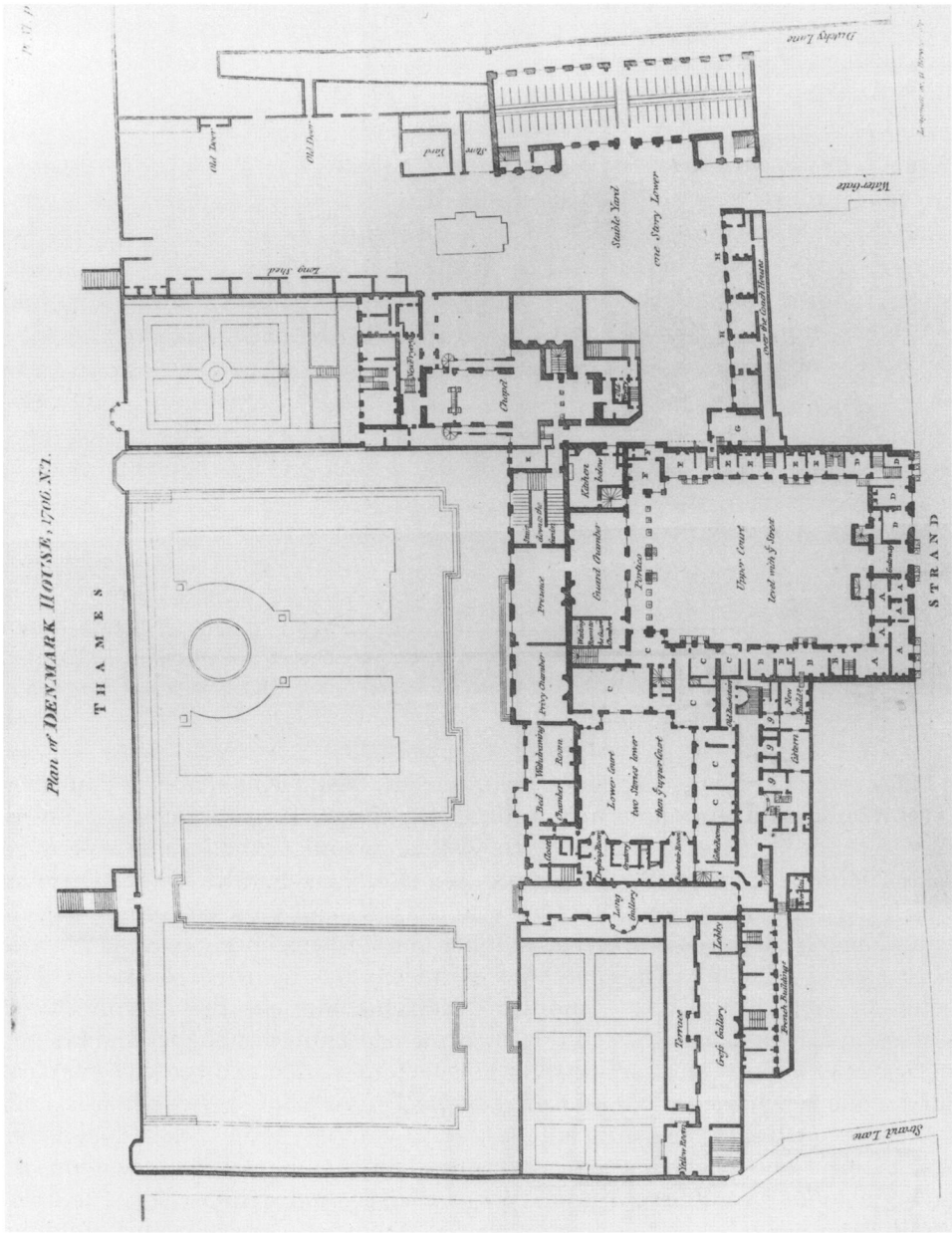


Fig. 4. Plan of the principal floor of Somerset House in 1706. This shows the chapel at ground level due to the fall of the land to the river

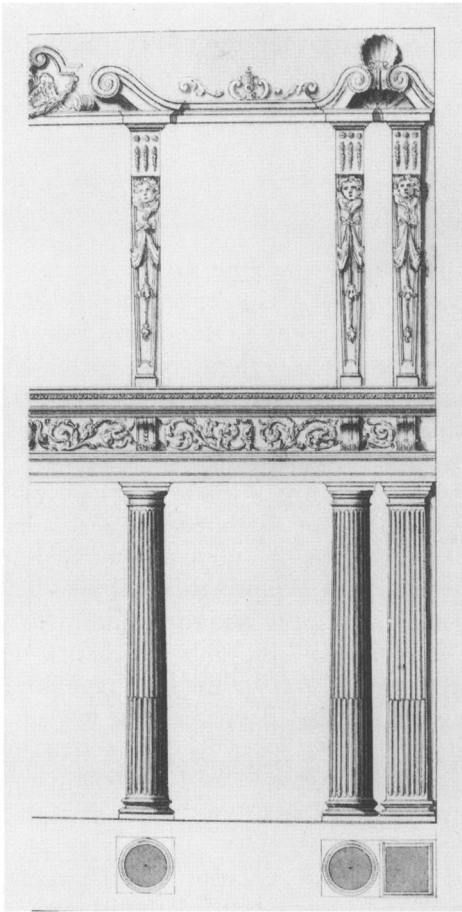


Fig. 5. Isaac Ware, original drawing for the engraving published in *Designs of Inigo Jones* (c. 1731) of the frontal to the tribune at Somerset House 1743. The screen was symmetrical and the printed version shows its full width (By courtesy of the Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum)

A royal pew, approached from the royal lodgings, lay on the north (liturgical west) and a vestry behind the altar on the south (liturgical east). Unlike St James's, the chapel had transepts which contained side chapels and stairs linking the pew with the choir. Above the side chapels, in the transepts, was an organ loft and choir gallery. The internal fittings are scantily recorded but a drawing by Flitcroft in the 1720s shows a great beamed ceiling with nine compartments similar to that at the Banqueting House Whitehall; it had a large central rectangular compartment that was designed to take a painting. Over the royal pew there was an octagonal coffered ceiling. The carved frontal to the royal closet (or tribune) was drawn by Isaac Ware in about 1731 and published in 1743 (Fig. 5).²⁷

The first Mass performed there was a spectacle not seen in England for a century and was deliberately designed to impress the court and set a standard for the queen's own chapel and that of the king. The Flemish sculptor François Dieussart (d. 1661) designed a 40 ft high monstrance over the high altar. The host itself was held in a large oval flanked by prophets and supported by two pillars that soared through seven layers of 'clouds', amongst which nestled two hundred angels, seraphim and cherubim. Behind this structure hid a choir, so that its singing would appear to come from the massed heavenly host on the clouds. The whole contraption, lit by four hundred lights, was hidden behind curtains when the

congregation entered and at the crucial moment Dusart drew them aside. The queen reportedly wept with joy, and Charles was so fascinated that he spent an hour and a half examining it after Mass was over.²⁸

It was in this way that the queen's household and, more particularly, Somerset House became a focus for both for the hopes of English Catholics and the fears of Puritans. During the 1630s the queen's chapel became a magnet for Catholic worshippers, a fact that scandalized the court, including the king and Archbishop Laud himself. It led to frequent, unsuccessful, attempts to curtail attendance at the chapel for all but the queen's closest entourage. What made the scandal worse is that during the

later 1630s there were a number of high profile conversions to Catholicism in the queen's circle, embarrassing the king who was powerless to stop them.²⁹ For many at court, and elsewhere, there seemed no obvious reason to distinguish between this work for the queen, the king's beautification of his own chapels and Laud's determination to re-order every parish church in England.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CAROLINE CHAPELS

The movement that culminated in the dismantling of the Caroline royal chapels in 1643–44 had begun in earnest in three years before. From early 1640 spontaneous (and often non-violent) attacks on London's parish churches resulted in the destruction or defacing of altar rails, altars, organs and 'popish images'. In May there was a march on Lambeth Palace, a mark of protest against its occupant, Archbishop Laud. In November, at the opening of the Long Parliament, MPs refused to take communion at St Margaret's until the communion table had been moved away from the east wall.³⁰

Against this background it was not long before the hostility of the London crowds was directed towards the royal residences, particularly the Catholic chapels at St James's and Somerset House which were said to be sheltering the 'pope and the devil'. An apprentice boy questioned after the disturbances in May claimed that they wanted to pull down Somerset House because it was a symbol of popery, and throughout 1641 hostile crowds of apprentices surrounded Somerset House and the embassy chapels of the French, Spanish and Portuguese.³¹ During the winter of 1641–42 the Irish rebellion, with its tales of the massacre of English Protestant settlers, deepened the fears of Londoners. In January several 'rude boys and other lewd persons' succeeded in breaking into the queen's chapel at Somerset House with stones, and the following month a hungry crowd gathered outside the house in anticipation of the arrest of the queen's Capuchin friars.³²

In April 1643 a committee of ten MPs headed by Sir Robert Harley was set up to receive information on monuments of superstition and idolatry and demolish them. The committee's work led to an ordinance, passed in August, for the removal and demolition of all altars, altar rails, altar steps, candlesticks, crucifixes and painted images by 1 November. This triggered a sustained and vicious outbreak of iconoclasm across London. Stained glass was smashed, altars and altar rails removed, statues defaced, frescoes overpainted, vestments destroyed and organs dismantled.³³ At first the king's chapels seem to have been spared. The only damage caused was at Windsor where the enthusiastic John Venn, a colonel in the parliamentary army and MP for the City of London, had already confiscated the altar plate and vestments and turned the canons and clerks of the chapel out of their lodgings.³⁴ The royal chapels, however, were far from secure. In July 1643, a case of delinquency was opened against the Surveyor of the King's Works, Inigo Jones, a staunch and loyal royalist. This led to him being deprived of his post in favour of Edward Carter, Jones's executive officer at St Paul's Cathedral. Then in September Parliament passed an ordinance for the seizure of the king's property, including all his houses. The ordinance gave Parliament power to appoint its own officers to administer the king's estate and allowed Carter officially to assume the duties of Surveyor.³⁵

These changes began to raise concerns for the safety of the king's property. Charles himself had written complaining about iconoclasm soon after the convening of Harley's committee. But after the seizure of the royal houses (and a break-in at Somerset House) the House of Lords passed a resolution that none of the king's houses should be interfered with, except in the presence of one Lord and two MPs.³⁶ Whilst this order, which seems to have been followed, temporarily secured the contents and interiors of the king's houses, the issue of royal chapels used for public worship was unresolved. The Somerset House chapel was shut up and the key given to Sir John Clotworthy. At Windsor sterner measures were taken. It was ordered in December 1643 that St George's chapel fell under the jurisdiction of the Committee for Superstitious Monuments and thus should be defaced. In fact, before parliamentary orders had arrived, Colonel Venn had smashed the glass, demolished monuments, carvings, the organ and the altar, and also removed the stained glass at nearby Eton.³⁷

Throughout this period, other than at Windsor, the royal chapels had remained much as they had been. On 9 March 1644, however, the Committee was asked to consider heads for a conference to be had with the Lords for the demolishing of all superstitious pictures and monuments in Whitehall and the other royal houses, particularly in the chapels. If any further sanction were needed, a further Ordinance passed in May added vestments, holy water founts and organs to the list of superstitious elements to be demolished or defaced.³⁸ These acts finally heralded the assault on the Caroline royal chapels. Not surprisingly, the first chapels to be 'cleansed from all Popish Reliques and superstitions', were those at St James's and Somerset House. The House of Commons ordered the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex to remove the Capuchin friars and hold them in preparation for deportation. Meanwhile four Members of Parliament, accompanied by a small troop of infantry, were dispatched to deface the altars and images in the chapel. In the words of one of the Capuchin friars, who was an eye-witness to what followed, 'One of the Commissioners named Clotworthy ... entered the royal chapel where he climbed on the high altar and looked at a very valuable gilded picture done by the hand of Rubens ... he called for a halbard and struck the first blow on the face of the crucifix with such offensive words it would be horrific to repeat. His second blow was at the virgin's face with more hateful blasphemy, and then thrusting his halberd under the feet of the crucified Christ, he ripped the painting to bits.' The witness continues to describe the defacing of two paintings in the side chapels and a statue of the Virgin and Child in the vestry. The following day (which happened to be Good Friday) Parliamentary soldiers pulled down the great oval ceiling painting of the assumption by Matthew Goodrich and Thomas de Critz and hacked it into small pieces. These were the first officially sanctioned act of iconoclasm against royal property.³⁹

Less emotive, but a more direct attack on the king's religious preferences, was Harley's attack on the Whitehall chapel. An order was first given to vet those who preached there, but the first physical effect of the committee's work was the sale of the rich vestments in the vestry. In May, Harley's men embarked on a cleansing of the interior of the chapel itself. The stained glass, much of which had only been inserted twenty years previously, was smashed and new clear glass set up. The same month the rood cross was dismantled, the panel paintings planed and the boards painted plain colours. The following month Harley ordered that the stem of the cross should be

converted into a support for a heraldic lion holding the king's arms. In July a communion table was supplied to replace the altar and the walls were stripped of their murals and plastered over. In September the organ was removed and finally in February 1646 the vestry and altar plate was melted down for coin. The work of 1644 transformed the Whitehall chapel into a white preaching box, but still a Chapel Royal bearing the royal insignia.⁴⁰

Greenwich was next. The chapel there escaped attention until late 1644, but in November, stained glass was smashed and replaced with plain, the organ removed and the organ loft bricked over.⁴¹ Hampton Court was last. Far from London, with a very uncertain future and a royalist housekeeper, the house was out of the limelight. In September 1645 a parliamentary tract describes that

Sir Robert Harlow gave order ... for the pulling down and demolishing of the Popish and superstitious pictures at Hampton Court, where this day the Altar was taken down, and the table brought into the body of the Church, the Rails pulled down, and the steps levelled; and the Popish pictures, and superstitious Images that were in the Glasse Windows, were also demolished, and Order was given for the new glazing them, with plain glass; And among the rest, there was pulled down the picture of Christ nailed to the cross which was placed right over the Altar, and the pictures of Mary Magdalene and others weeping by the foot of the cross: and some other such Idolatrous pictures.

The new organ was removed too.⁴² Thus, in three short years, the beauty of holiness created by James I and Charles I, and a good deal of Tudor work too, was destroyed and reduced to whitewashed space.

As we have seen, Charles was certainly aware of the destruction being wrought on his chapels and, indeed, on churches across England, and had complained about the destruction at Somerset House.⁴³ Tantalizingly, in 1647, he experienced the purged chapel at Hampton Court from 24 August for about eleven weeks, while he was under house arrest there. Not only did he have free movement about the house and parks, but he was allowed to retain some of his own attendants, many of whom had been voted delinquents by Parliament. Charles maintained a court in miniature, with all the decorum and status of his past maintained by Parliament's official sanction.⁴⁴ The house was specially refurnished for his arrival and plate was issued from the Jewel House at the Tower for his table and paintings sent down from Whitehall for his private apartments. Crucially, it seems as if the army let him use the prayer book and have his own chaplains. He almost certainly used the much-simplified chapel. Sadly his impressions of the chapel are not recorded, nor are any changes he may have made to it.⁴⁵

THE CHAPELS ROYAL FROM THE EXECUTION OF THE KING TO THE PROTECTORATE (1649–53)

After the execution of Charles in January 1649 the chapels at Whitehall and Somerset House found a new use as public places of worship. In fact the decision to convert the Somerset House chapel for this purpose had been taken long before, in January 1647. The chapel was opened up, its last remaining fittings sold and the revenue used to fund the conversion. John Embry, the Surveyor of Works, set his men about dismantling the stone and brickwork of Inigo Jones's original altar and concealing the scar on the floor

with 304 ft of black-and-white marble paving. All the internal timber work was taken apart and removed to store; this certainly included Jones's altarpiece. Next it was decided to create two galleries, over the vestry and the other in the organ loft. There is no account for the removal of the organ and it should be assumed that this had already been demolished. The cupboards in the vestry were taken apart and the furniture in the room above it removed. Part of the black-and-white marble floor in the transepts was taken up and two new timber staircases with plastered white interiors were inserted, providing access to the new galleries. Brick foundations were laid for new pews built on a low wooden floor in the two transepts. Pews were also installed in the galleries in the upper parts of the transepts. The void where the ceiling painting had previously been was boarded over and painted plain blue. By the completion of the works all the original decorative elements, except the frontal of the former royal pew, had been stripped away. A plain white preaching box with galleries, wooden benches and a rather incongruous marble floor was created. The whole cost £178 8s. 3d.⁴⁶ Soon after the king's execution, permission was given for public services to be held at Somerset House chapel. Mr Masterson, a preacher from St Clement Danes, was licensed to use it on Thursday afternoons, presumably for sermons.⁴⁷

In November 1649 orders were given that sermons were to be preached in the Whitehall chapel for public edification and that the chapel there should also be enlarged for the purpose. While this work was underway the Banqueting House was designated as a chapel. What those who preached, or those who listened, made of Rubens's ceiling is not recorded.⁴⁸ Financial records do not show what modifications were made in the chapel, but on 31 December 1651 the Dutchman Lodewijck Huygens attended a sermon there. His observations suggest that the principal alterations were the addition of panelling, a pulpit with clerks seat and probably galleries on the east and west walls: 'It is', he remarked,

about as large as the French Church in the Hague and panelled round almost up to the roof. The people are mostly seated in a gallery, which runs round the upper part of the church. The pulpit is oblong but divided into two parts, and behind the minister stood two or three men who wrote down his sermon. More than 20 others, both men and women... were doing the same thing.

His observations are borne out by the fact that one Archibald Leech was made keeper of 'one of the galleries' in the Whitehall chapel in 1651.⁴⁹

The chapel, once completed, became the place of worship for the Council of State and for various members of Parliament. Their use of the chapel was no less ordered and susceptible to precedence than the Chapel Royal had been. In October 1651 a committee of eight was established to 'appoint a fit place in the chapel where the members of Council may sit'. But unlike Charles's chapel it seems to have been open to a wider congregation. The fact that in 1652, during a sermon by Peter Sterry, a woman stripped naked and ran through the chapel shouting 'welcome the resurrection!' suggests relatively free access. It would be good to know more about how the chapel was used as part of the theatre of government. An event which appears to illustrate that its use was carefully considered is the series of three sermons preached on 21 January 1649 before the commissioners of the High Court of Justice. This was the day after the king's first appearance at his trial in Westminster Hall and took place before the chapel was



Fig. 6. *The chapel at Littlecote House Wiltshire, looking east* (© Crown Copyright. National Monuments Record, English Heritage)

converted. Press reports suggest that the three sermons took as their theme 'he that sheds blood, by man shall his blood be shed', 'judge not lest you be judged' and 'I will bind their king's in chains and their nobles in fetters of iron.'⁵⁰

During the summer of 1649 Parliament set forth its plans for the sale of the royal houses. Most were to be sold and demolished, the materials sold and their sites re-used. At Somerset House the plan was for the chapel, in particular, to be levelled and a new roadway made from the Strand to the river.⁵¹ The sale of the royal estate, however, was a contentious issue and was delayed by long debate and procrastination by the Council of State. While its long-term fate was in the balance Somerset House had a variety of uses. At first three great rooms were reserved and kept furnished for state uses, other rooms being set aside to accommodate members of the government and as lodgings for visiting dignitaries; much of the rest was converted into a great auction house for the sale of the king's goods. In 1649, in an attempt to demilitarize Whitehall, Somerset House was made the headquarters of the army in London, whilst reserving the five rooms of state on the king's side, the queen's closet and the great hall for state use; the rest became lodgings for various MPs and a barracks. Cromwell himself was wont to go there every Thursday evening for supper with his captains. On 23 January 1652

Lodewijck Huygens saw the chapel and observed that all the paintings on the ceiling had been covered over with blue paint and that soldiers often preached there.⁵²

Information on the fate of Inigo Jones's other chapel at St James's is sparse. We know that it was decided to move the royal library and medal collection there from Whitehall for safekeeping and that in 1650 the Surveyor John Embry was ordered to fit it up as a public library. The plans for such a novel and forward-looking facility failed and soon afterwards the Commonwealth officer in charge of the books was reprimanded for failing to take care of them. As troops were garrisoned at St James's to provide the twenty-four-hour guard at Whitehall, and as royalist prisoners were incarcerated there, it is likely that the building was used for non-liturgical purposes.⁵³

No representations survive of the chapels royal from these years, and few buildings exist today with which they can be compared. One chapel survives that must have been similar to the lost royal chapels, namely the chapel at Littlecote house in Wiltshire (Fig. 6). Here we find the pulpit in the centre of the east wall with a reader's desk beneath it; the other three sides of the room have balconies supported on slender columns.⁵⁴ This chapel characterizes better than any other surviving building of the period the difference between the Puritan view of chapels as auditories and the ceremonialist view of them as sacramental spaces. The galleries, which were a characteristic feature in Scottish Churches, had particularly appalled Laud because 'they utterly deface the grave beauty and decency of those sacred places.' He would hardly have been enthusiastic about many of the other changes inflicted on his chapels either.⁵⁵

THE CROMWELLIAN CHAPEL

In December 1653 it was decreed that Oliver Cromwell, Captain-General of the forces, should be 'The Lord Protector of the Commonwealth', thus installing Cromwell as king in all but title. It was rapidly resolved by the new Protector's Council, and equally rapidly ratified by his first Parliament, that the former royal residences of St James's, Whitehall, Somerset House, Greenwich, Windsor Castle and Hampton Court should be put at his disposal for 'the maintenance of his state and dignity'.⁵⁶ The Protector settled on Whitehall as his principal residence. For him, as for the king before him, Whitehall was both residence and seat of government, containing many of the offices of state necessary for the governance of the realm. As a country seat Cromwell chose Hampton Court. The reasons for his choice were never made explicit. He could have chosen Greenwich, or Windsor, but Hampton Court was still probably the most lavishly furnished and most beautiful royal residence. Cromwell spent most weekends at Hampton Court, uprooting his family, court and officials each Friday and moving as discretely as possible in a heavily guarded barge or coach to the country. The same procedure was undertaken in reverse each following Monday.⁵⁷

The period between 1649 and 1654 had seen Whitehall used as a vast complex of parliamentary offices and the chapel as a place for public sermons. Nevertheless, in the spring of 1654 it was reported that 'The Privy Lodgings for his Highness the Lord Protector in *Whitehall*, are now in a readiness, as also the Lodgings for his Lady Protectress ... and it is conceived the whole family will be settled there before Easter.'⁵⁸

In preparation, in March the council of state requested that consideration should be given to reordering the chapel and a report was prepared.⁵⁹ Sadly the report does not survive and so the council's intentions are not known, but it is likely that the intention was for the chapel to be restored to a more domestic aspect for the Cromwell family. What was achieved (if anything) as a result of the report is not known. Yet public access must have still been fairly free as in 1657 a large bomb was planted in the chapel in a failed assassination attempt against Cromwell.⁶⁰ At Hampton Court there is no evidence of changes being made for Cromwell and his family. An inventory made of the Protector's goods there in 1659 shows that the chapel contained only a pulpit standing on a deal table, and twelve long forms.⁶¹

Cromwell never used Somerset House as a residence and the chapel there found an entirely different use. The French Protestant congregation in London, together with other foreign congregations, had been thrown into a state of uncertainty and insecurity by the policies of Archbishop Laud in the 1630s. His impeachment in 1640 would have offered security if it had not been for a crisis in leadership, one exacerbated by Jean d'Espagne, the intelligent and flamboyant chaplain to Benjamin de Rohan, duc de Soubise. D'Espagne split the French church by luring a large proportion of the congregation from Threadneedle Street in the City first to the house of Lady Annandale and then, in 1643, to the chapel of Durham house on the Strand. Under the patronage of the Earl of Pembroke, and inspired by the preaching of d'Espagne, the congregation grew to some six hundred, including many rich, educated and aristocratic Londoners.⁶²

Through support of several prominent members of the House of Lords, in 1653 d'Espagne's congregation obtained permission to use the newly converted chapel at Somerset House. That d'Espagne managed to obtain such a favour probably owed as much to the fact that the Huguenot presence deterred the motley band of Anabaptists, Quakers and other sects as to the French church's own merits. It seems as if the Quakers, at least, had made a bid for the chapel themselves, but had dropped it due to the uncertainties surrounding its future. Some of the ejected sects retained a grudge against the Huguenots, and the Council of State was forced to provide a guard for the French to prevent disturbances during service times. Despite this, unauthorized preachers seem to have had access to the chapel during 1653.⁶³ The use of the chapel by the French Church may have saved it from destruction. In February 1654 when consideration was again being given to the complete demolition of Somerset House the French church petitioned to keep at least the chapel. Again, in October 1659, while the movement to sell the house was gathering pace, a motion was tabled by Colonel Henry Marten to reserve it from sale for the French.⁶⁴

Astonishingly, for a man so closely associated with religious change, both in his lifetime and since, little is known about Cromwell's personal religious habits.⁶⁵ This is particularly disappointing when it comes to understanding the workings of the Protectorate chapel. Cromwell's Sundays were almost always spent at Hampton Court, where he enjoyed prayers and preaching. A number of the sermons have been recorded, including an incident when, in September 1655, the 'son of the governor' of Hampton Court told Cromwell to his face that he was ruling with tyranny and would fall with infamy. The unfortunate man was promptly imprisoned.⁶⁶ It is likely that, when at Whitehall, Cromwell attended chapel there too and the Venetian Ambassador suggests

that Cromwell may have preached there or at Somerset House.⁶⁷ November 1657 saw the marriage of Cromwell's two youngest daughters Mary and Frances. Frances married first, at Whitehall on 11 November, to be followed a week later by her sister Mary, who married Thomas Belasyse, Lord Fauconberg, at Hampton Court. Neither wedding was performed in the Protectorate chapel. The 1653 marriage and registration act had secularized the wedding ceremony, replacing an ordained priest with a Justice of the Peace. The two girls were married 'after a goodly prayer by one of his Highnesses divines' with 'privacy and honour' in an entirely secular location.⁶⁸

These crumbs of information might suggest that Cromwell's attendance at chapel played only a minor role in the ordering and ceremonial of the Protectoral court. Yet if this is so it is difficult to explain the lengths to which Parliament went to transform the appearance of the royal chapels while leaving the interiors of the royal palaces intact. Clearly Cromwell's attendance at chapel had a public element to it; indeed, in 1653, the Venetian ambassador in France had heard that 'Cromwell maintains his credit with the people by displaying piety and devotion, visiting the churches with a big bible under his arm.' In 1655, after a disastrously wet summer, Cromwell and the whole council 'attended at devout prayers and triple sermons' from the best preachers 'to invoke divine assistance' to save the harvest.⁶⁹ The most important reference we have, however, comes from the travel diary of the Reverend James Fraser of Phopachy, who recorded his impressions of Cromwell in London in 1655–9. He noted:

I have often seen him [Cromwell], att Sermon and Devotion and most in the Chappell Royall and in the kings seat glased about with Cristall... indeed I have not seen a more reverent composed nearer and carefull to attend the worship.

This proves that Cromwell not only used the Chapel Royal publicly but sat in the royal pew for all to see, in the manner of the Stuart kings. We can thus tentatively conclude that while we do not understand the precise dynamics of the Cromwellian chapel, the architectural symbolism of the chapels themselves and the plain preaching and prayers that they hosted were an important part of the image of the Cromwellian regime.⁷⁰

THE RESTORATION

At the Restoration the royal chapels at Whitehall, Hampton Court and Somerset House were well-maintained working chapels in regular use. They were, in theory, some of the few parts of the palaces that could be used without expensive modification. Yet for those who prepared Charles's entry into Whitehall in May 1660, the Whitehall Chapel Royal presented a serious problem. Charles II was most eager to re-establish the etiquette of his father's court without delay and this led to an imperative to reconstruct the palace interiors. At Whitehall, at least, before he arrived on 29 May, John Webb had achieved much, re-hanging the royal lodgings with tapestries and paintings. To make the chapel suitable for the king's use was going to take longer. Someone — we do not know whom — decided to set up a temporary chapel in the king's presence chamber for the king to make his oblations on his arrival.⁷¹ This was a truly exceptional act to take place in one of the king's principal houses with a fully operational chapel and one

that was carefully calculated to show the king's rejection of the architecture and liturgy of the previous regime.⁷²

This act was typical of Charles's attitude to the Chapel Royal throughout the reign. Although he never displayed a profound personal piety he did strictly observe public court devotions. Above all he had an acute awareness of the importance of the display of his own adherence to Anglicanism and the imperative to avoid any public suggestion that he was a Roman Catholic or that he sympathized with a Catholic point of view.⁷³ Yet, as his reign progressed, Charles's form of Anglicanism, as practised within his own chapels, leant more and more heavily towards Roman Catholic forms of display. This can be vividly portrayed through an examination of the architectural history of the Chapel Royal in his reign.

The use of the presence chamber at the Restoration was clearly a temporary expedient and consideration had to be given to a more permanent solution. In the last week of May and the first two weeks of June 1660 work was rushed on to transform the chapel. The altar step was taken up and relaid 'one foot backward' and brick foundations laid for an altar. This was the 'large table with a degree on it' which was surrounded by a new 'rayle and ballister'. Cornices were introduced from which to hang tapestries and the pews were given 'deskes' to place prayer books upon. Further alterations were made to the pews, some of which were divided to form 'boxes'. A new stone floor was laid and a pulpit 7 ft high and 2 ft 7 in. broad constructed. The king's first-floor closet was refloored and fitted with a timber screen incorporating opening casement windows, the comes and stays of which were gilded. A curtain was erected to divide the closet into two when required. All this enabled the king to attend his devotions there for the first time on 17 June 1660. An organ loft was made in June in 1662, yet a 'double organ' was later purchased for which an organ loft was built in the summer of 1663.⁷⁴ Although, in 1660–63, the chapel at Whitehall did not return to its former splendour, the refitting was a thoroughgoing and public rejection of the arrangements of the previous regime.

A similar but less expensive campaign was then undertaken at Hampton Court. In May the king's marriage to Catharine of Braganza was agreed and it must have been clear, not only to the king but also to his advisors, that, other than Whitehall, the only residence which was fit to play a role in her reception and marriage would be Hampton Court. Richmond and Greenwich were unusable and Windsor, although in better condition, was hopelessly old-fashioned and uncomfortable. The Office of Works thus began an overhaul of Hampton Court in preparation for the eventual reception of the king and queen. A central part of this was a rapid transformation of the plain white preaching box created by Cromwell into a royal chapel.

Tapestries were hung on the walls, and a timber platform for the altar measuring 20 ft by 14 ft was constructed with an altar rail 20 ft long and 12 ft wide. On this, on a step 8 in. high, was placed a wooden altar measuring 8 ft by 4 ft. In the choir two forms were made for the singing boys, with reading desks 8 ft long and 5 ft high. The pulpit was taken down and reset lower.⁷⁵ A new organ loft was built with steps up to it and part of an existing organ casing was re-used from the great hall to make its frontal, while a great curtain was bought to hang in front of the organist's seat. The royal pew or privy closet (which had not been stripped out by Cromwell) was refurbished. On the queen's

side there was a large cupboard that was removed, while desks were made for both her pew and the king's. Charles's was provided with a chair, stool, benches and travers curtain, all of crimson velvet fringed with gold and silver. As at Whitehall, the organ was replaced with a more appropriate model in 1662.⁷⁶ These temporary arrangements seem to have sufficed at Hampton Court until the end of the reign. This was because after his honeymoon of 1662 Hampton Court was barely used, and indeed Charles spent fewer than half a dozen nights there after 1669. It was left to the reign of Queen Anne, that staunch Anglican, finally to introduce the altarpiece and chapel fittings that exist today (Fig. 14).

Alongside the rapid refitting of the chapels at Hampton Court and Whitehall, Charles's Sub-Dean was assigned to provide entirely new equipment for the Chapel Royal. Accounts survive detailing the quantities of vestments, bibles, prayer books, hassocks and linen bought for the chapel. New altar plate was made, much of which can be seen in the Jewel House at the Tower of London today.⁷⁷ In the meantime Charles issued a set of Household Ordinances 'To Establish good Government and Order in Our Court'. The regulations for the governance of the Chapel Royal were very similar to those of Charles I (themselves based on James I's orders of 1623). They insisted on dignity and order at chapel and laid out the rules for seating. Charles II added a new section on decorum in the royal pew as 'a very great Indecence and Irreverence hath been committed of late by a Throng of persons that assemble there.'⁷⁸

While the re-establishment of the royal chapel was underway for the king, something far more significant was being undertaken for his mother, the dowager Queen Henrietta Maria. She had returned from exile on 17 November 1660 to find her chapel at Somerset House destroyed, and the house full of unwanted lodgers. Some preparations had been made to lessen the impact of this. The French Church had been evicted and re-housed in the Savoy chapel and the Office of Works had provided a new altar and a pulpit brought from Whitehall. The pulpit must have been tall, as a 'step ladder' was made to lead up to it.⁷⁹ Plans were immediately laid not only to restore the chapel but to enlarge and restore the queen's own lodgings. While work began Henrietta Maria returned to France where she remained during 1661 only returning to London on 8 July 1662. On her arrival Somerset House was not completed and she moved to Greenwich until the house was ready for her.

Work on Somerset House was paid from her Privy Purse, for which no detailed accounts now survive. Yet we do have the draft accounts of the queen mother's treasurer and receiver general, Henry Jermyn the Earl of St Albans, covering the period. They show that £23,501 was spent, partly through Sir John Denham and the Office of Works and partly through direct contracts made between her officers and individual craftsmen. In none of this is any individual part of the building specified.⁸⁰ This is frustrating, as in 1660–64 the chapel was entirely refitted. In the diary of Thomas Rugg, a London barber, there is an entry for April 1662 that reads, 'Somerset house repaired and the chapel therofe paved the stones that paved this place come out of France.' This is the only direct reference to work in the chapel, but Pepys, who visited it on Ash Wednesday 1664, remarked that 'now it is made very fine', and that it was ten times more crowded than the queen's chapel at St James's.⁸¹ In order to deduce what Henrietta Maria commissioned (and in the absence of documentation) a crucial document is the drawing

of the south (liturgical east) wall of the chapel made by Isaac Ware for his *Designs of Inigo Jones* (Fig. 9). We have already noted that Ware recorded the front of the queen's tribune or pew, a structural part of the chapel that survived the complete stripping of the interior in 1643 and 1647. Ware's second drawing, entitled 'Alter Piece at Somerset House Chapel Inigo Jones', cannot be the original altarpiece installed by Jones in 1624. This, as we have seen, was entirely removed during the Commonwealth. What Ware shows is certainly the altarpiece installed for Henrietta Maria in 1660–64.

Stylistically this seems entirely plausible, even if one were to set aside the evidence of the building history of the chapel. A brief comparison of the early-seventeenth-century frontal by Jones and the altarpiece (Figs 5 and 9) instantly reveals a yawning stylistic diversity. In addition it incorporates characteristic late-seventeenth-century motifs, such as the central badge with swags in the segmental pediment, the garlands over the niches and wreaths over the oculi. What clinches the argument, however, is the building history of the chapel in the immediate post-Restoration years. On 24 June 1665 Henrietta Maria left England for France, leaving her new rooms at Somerset House empty. In her absence the Capuchin Friars maintained regular services in the chapel and Catholics flocked there as they had done in the previous reign. Charles even found himself in the position of issuing proclamations to control the situation, just as his father had done before him.⁸² The Dowager Queen never returned and on her death in 1669 Somerset House was granted to Catherine of Braganza.⁸³ As the house once more belonged to a queen consort, the Office of Works resumed full responsibility for building and repair work, providing rich documentation for the remainder of the reign.

Catherine ordered a series of improvements to be made to the house, which were completed by the end of 1671. The chapel underwent what amounted to a refitting, including the addition of two new galleries. The accounts that cover this are the first that mention the great new altarpiece. In June that year Robert Streeter was paid for:

dusting and washing ye ffront of the Queenes Clossett in ye greate Chappell and pricking in all the worke a boute ye gold with nutt oyle white lvj s: ffor dusting and washing the greate alter and ye two side Alters and pricking in a bout all the gold wth nutt oyle white vj li

and

for colouring in false white ye great carved raile before ye Alter and ye two carved railes before the two side Alters xxvj s for pickeing in aboute all ye Gould ye great alter and pedestalls by it & ye Cullums and doores and doorecases on each side as high as ye doorecases wth nutt oyle white xxix s for pickeing in ye fronts of ye two side Alters wth nutt oyle white viij s.⁸⁴

These accounts record the redecoration of the altarpiece after the dusty and damaging works of 1671. Catherine continued to make improvements to the chapel; in the autumn of 1666 Robert Streeter painted the ceiling, and in March 1672 a staircase was made down into the undercroft below the chapel from beneath one of the side altars.⁸⁵

Henrietta Maria's works of 1662–64 have been analysed in *The History of the King's Works* and shown to be the work of John Webb.⁸⁶ This would strongly suggest that the work in the chapel was Webb's design too. Certainly many of the elements of the altarpiece can be paralleled in his drawings and executed work elsewhere. The crowned cartouche in the segmental pediment is almost identical to that in a design for a

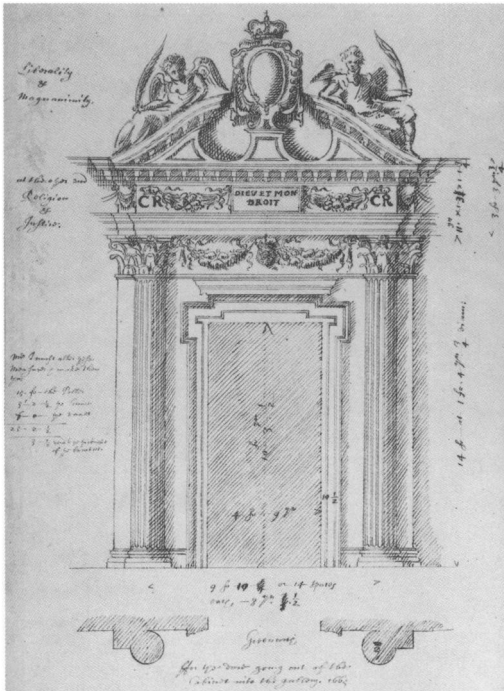


Fig. 7. John Webb, drawing for the doorcase between the Cabinet Room and Long Gallery 1665–66 at Greenwich Palace (Royal Institute of British Architects Drawings Collection)

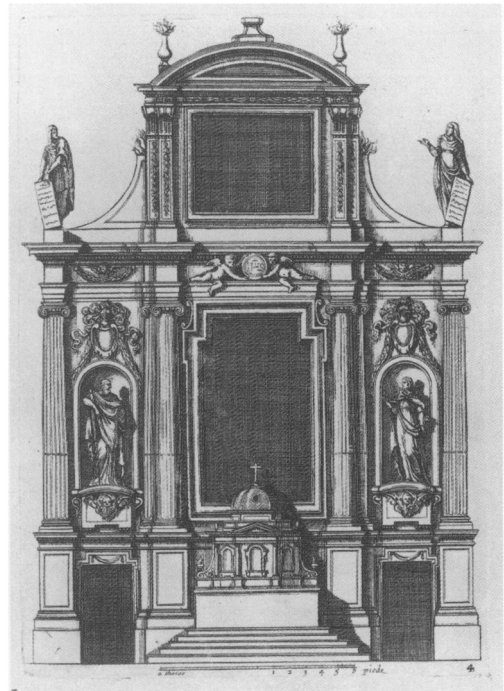


Fig. 8. Design by D. A. Pierretz for an altarpiece from Plate 4 of *Livre d'Autels et D'Epitaphes Dessignez et Gravez par A. Pierretz*, 1643 (British Architectural Library, Royal Institute of British Architects)

doorcase at Greenwich (Fig. 7) and is characteristic of his treatment of pediments at both Lampport Hall and Wilton House.⁸⁷ The use of carved swags too can be paralleled at Wilton. The overall design, however, is inspired by contemporary Parisian altarpieces and taken directly from French engraved sources, probably provided for Webb by the Queen Mother. It is known that before the civil war Henrietta Maria provided French designs for Inigo Jones to copy and adapt for Somerset House, and at the Restoration both she and Charles probably presented the Office of Works with drawings for French style bed alcoves. Printed patterns were readily available in Paris, Jean Barbet having published altarpiece designs from as early as 1633 (*Livre d'architecture d'Autels et de Cheninees dedie A Monseigneur L'eminentissime Cardinal duc de Richelieu*). Then in the mid-century came a number of loose sheet designs and books recording both the most important high altars in Paris (for instance, *Recueil de Plusieurs portes des principaux Hostels et Maisons de la ville de Paris ensemble le Retable de plus considerables Autels de Eglises Nouvellement fait et mis en lumierei*, by Jean Marot, c. 1655) and designs for new altarpieces (for instance, *Nouveaux Desins d'Auteles a la Romaine* and *Retables d'Autels a l'Italienei*, both by Jean Lepautre c. 1660). Of the latter it is most likely that a book of twelve designs, six for altarpieces, by D. A. Pierretz was the source of the Somerset

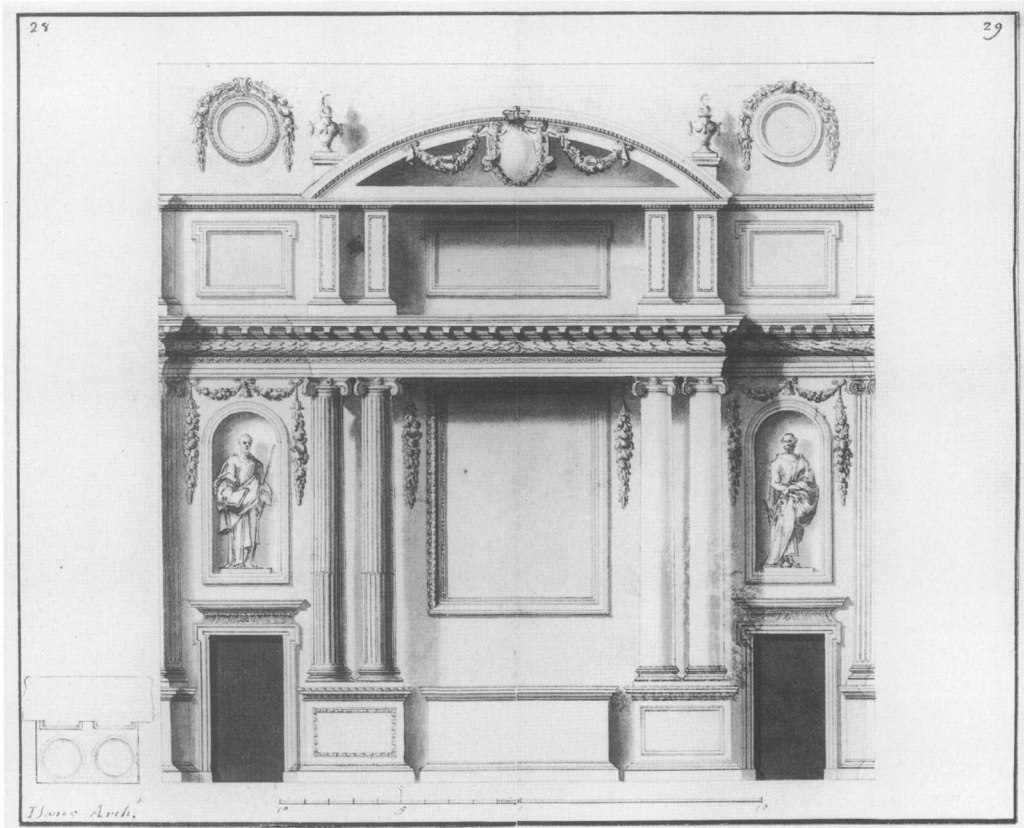


Fig. 9. Isaac Ware, original drawing for the engraving published in *Designs of Inigo Jones* (1743) of the altarpiece at Somerset House c. 1731 (Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum)

House design. Plate 4 of *Livre d'Autels et D'Epitaphes* (Fig. 8) bears a very close resemblance to the new Somerset House altarpiece; both have a fluted Ionic order supporting a raised segmental pediment, side doors surmounted by niches, and the tripartite division of the east wall. This type of highly architectural altarpiece, based on the west façades of churches such as Saint Gervais, Paris (1616), was highly characteristic of the Jesuit-inspired architecture of the Counter-Reformation and quite unlike anything available in England. It is likely therefore that the queen dowager handed Pierretz's designs to Webb for his use.⁸⁸ In creating this seminal Catholic altarpiece Webb unintentionally created the model for Anglican altarpieces both in the Chapels Royal and elsewhere for the remainder of the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century. The City churches built after the Great Fire, as we shall see, took up the design with gusto.

While these remarkable works were underway in the queen mother's chapel, works were carried out with no less energy for the queen in her Catholic chapel at St James's.



Fig. 10. *St James's Palace view of the interior of the queen's chapel, by an unknown, probably continental printmaker, looking east, 1688. It shows the altarpiece and furnishings installed for Mary of Modena in 1682–83 (The Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge)*

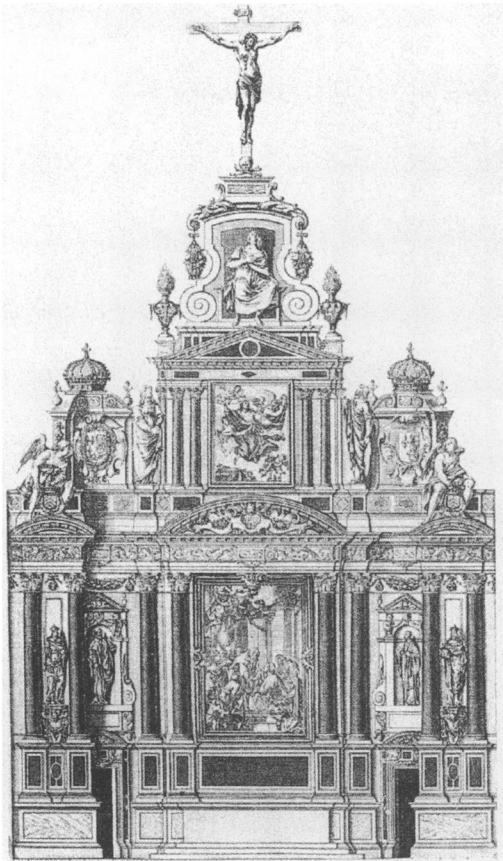


Fig. 11. Altarpiece at the Jesuit church of Saint-Paul-Saint-Louis in Paris by Père François Derand (completed 1641), engraved and published by E. Moreau in 1643

These have been comprehensively covered in the *History of the King's Works* so there is no need to repeat the detail here. In summary, an organ loft was rebuilt for a new organ, stained glass reintroduced to the east window, the royal pew was remodelled and two side chapels made beneath it. At the same time the friary was rebuilt for the queen's Portuguese Capuchin friars. Pepys visited the restored chapel in 1662 and admired the 'fine altar, ornaments, and the friars in their habits'. Not long afterwards Catharine moved her chapel to Somerset House and St James's became the residence of James, Duke of York. He commissioned more work in 1679–80 for the arrival of Mary of Modena. The final stage in the transformation of the chapel was in 1682–83, when its east end was remodelled producing a baroque confection with a great altar and altarpiece by Jacob Huysmans, set between two quadrants containing niches and surmounted with kneeling angels and the queen's coat of arms. The altar rail was placed remarkably far west, creating a seemingly disproportionate space for the clergy to that remaining for the congregation (Fig. 10). The work was under the control of the

Surveyor of the King's Works, Sir Christopher Wren, and probably to his design, although paid for through the accounts of the Duchess. Surely, as for Webb's altarpiece at Somerset House, Wren relied upon an engraved French source for the design. A precise parallel has yet to come to light, but the incorporation of Jones's east window into the design meant that engraved models required greater adaptation than at Somerset House where there was no east window. Certainly the semicircular plan, the flanking kneeling angels, niches, and the sculptural setting of the altar mirror the more extravagant Counter-Reformation altarpieces, such as that at the Jesuit church of Saint-Paul-Saint-Louis in Paris by Père François Derand (completed 1641) (Fig. 11). This church, and others with similar altarpieces, were published by E. Moreau in 1643 and again in c. 1655 by Jean Marot. Wren's design was translated into a model constructed by Gibbons for approval. These works reinforced St James's as a centre of Catholic worship, and there were complaints that it was 'full of papists, ... and that mass has for several years been celebrated' there.⁸⁹

In the mid-1670s Charles began to show an increased interest in the chapel at Whitehall that had remained largely unaltered since the early years of the Restoration. In 1674 a new altar rail carved by Henry Phillips and Thomas Kinward was installed.⁹⁰ The following year the king's first-floor closet was completely refitted by Robert Streeter and Henry Phillips. This was long overdue. Cromwell had not dismantled the Tudor royal pew at Hampton Court, while the Whitehall pew had been converted into a gallery in c. 1649. Streeter and Phillips created a lavishly carved and gilded pew, with a central room for the king and two side closets.⁹¹ The creation of this pew coincided with a series of new orders for the chapel, reinforcing those of earlier in the reign and setting out revised seating arrangements. An undated order from about this time also gives rules for the 'attire of ye altar', setting out which basins, chargers, candlesticks and frontals should be used on which occasions.⁹²

This concern with rails, the altar and further refinements of chapel etiquette culminated in 1676 with Kinward, Streeter and Phillips's refitting of the east end of the Whitehall chapel (Fig. 12). This was inevitably disruptive and daily prayers were at first relocated to the chaplains eating room next door and then, when the noise got too great, and while the king was at Newmarket, to the privy chamber. Sir Christopher Wren's elevation for this work survives (Fig. 13). An extraordinary account of December 1676 indicates that the altarpiece and flanking panelling were built more or less as shown at a total cost of £71 19s. 10d.⁹³ This drawing is clearly not a design study or a working drawing, but a carefully worked up presentation drawing showing the full effect of a remodelling of the east end of the chapel and the appearance of the altar. Charles's regulations for the attire of the altar specify one great charger and two candlesticks on the altar on ordinary days, just as shown; the books are presumably the 'rich bible in two parts' and the prayer book of the regulations. Wren's office must have worked closely with the dean or sub-dean of the chapel on the production of this drawing, and the inclusion of the altar indicates a personal interest on the king's part in the details of the setting of the chapel's liturgy.

What is significant about the new east end is that it publicly introduced an altar raised on two steps, behind a rail and set against the east end of the chapel in a highly elaborate architectural setting. Not since the reformation had a Chapel Royal adopted

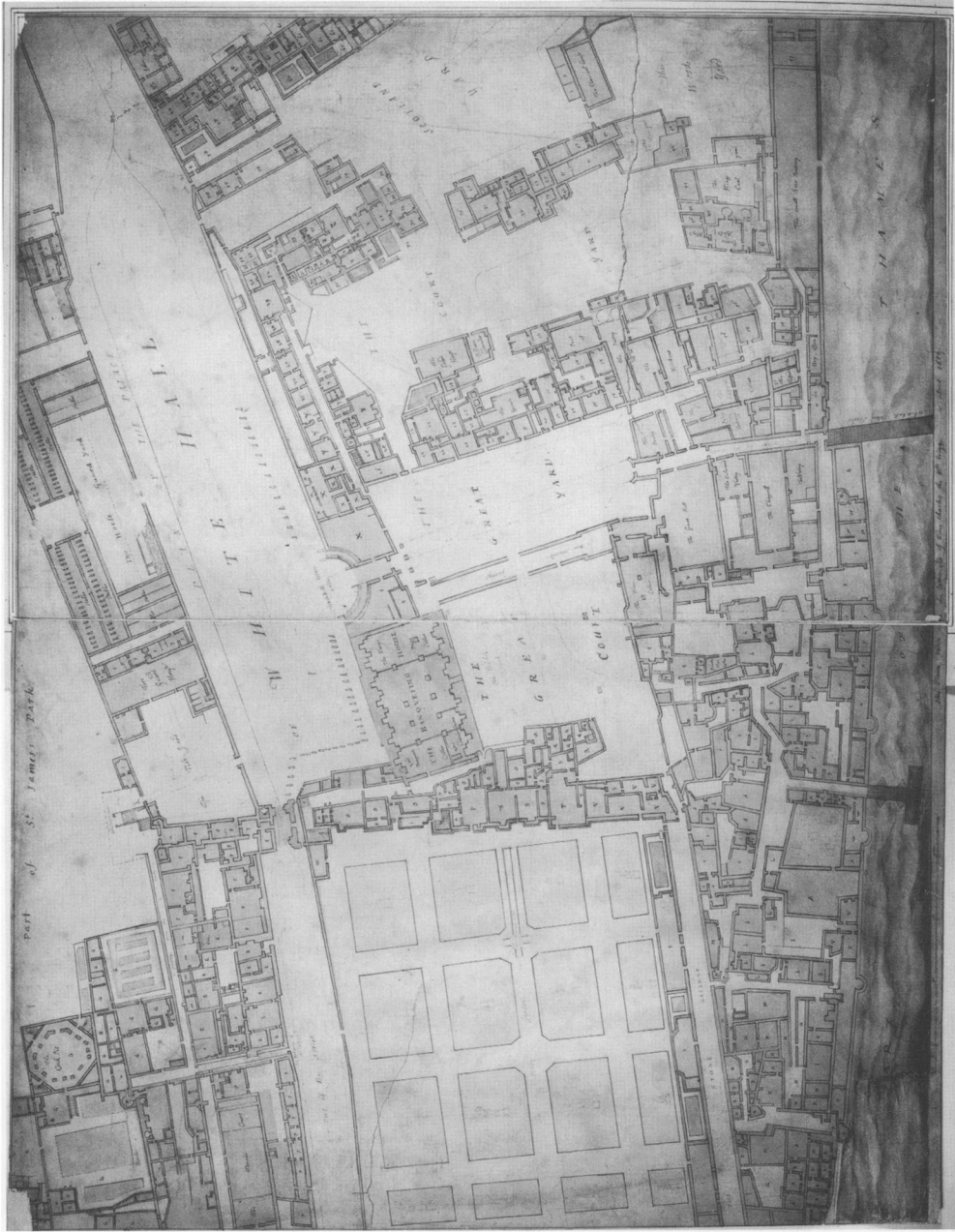


Fig. 12. 1670 plan of Whitehall Palace showing the location of the Chapel Royal (The Trustees of the British Library)

such an overtly Catholic arrangement. Moreover, it could be suggested that its design owes a considerable debt to Webb's 1660–64 design for the queen dowager's chapel at Somerset House. In due course the influence of Webb's design reached beyond the confines of Whitehall. As the east ends of Wren's city churches were gradually completed the Whitehall and Somerset House altarpieces became the Anglican model. Churches such as St Mary Aldermanbury and St Mildred Bread Street owed a great deal to the royal example. Eventually, in 1711, Queen Anne refitted the east end of the Hampton Court chapel and Wren and Hawksmoor provided a design once again based on Somerset House and confusingly close to his 1676 Whitehall design (Fig. 14). Here, however, we race ahead because long before Queen Anne rebuilt the chapel at Hampton Court Charles had created his final architectural and religious *credo* at Windsor.

In May 1674 Charles took the court to Windsor where it remained until August. The stay there was the longest of the reign to date and was deemed a great success. Plays were performed and a great mock battle staged at the foot of the north terrace. The visit convinced Charles that Windsor was henceforth to be his summer residence and orders were given to reconstruct at first the king's and queen's lodgings and later the great outer rooms, St George's Hall and the chapel. The first phase was complete in late 1678, allowing the king to stay in comfort in his new lodgings, but work continued until the end of the reign on the hall and chapel.⁹⁴ The new chapel at Windsor was quite unlike any royal chapel built before in England. The design work was handed not to Wren but to Hugh May, who created a royal chapel that would not have been out of place in the Vatican itself.

May's King's chapel at Windsor (Fig. 15) has often been characterized as the most baroque interior ever created in England. It is not necessary to describe it in detail here, but in summary the walls were painted with a majestic and homogenous mural cycle depicting Christ's miracles behind a feigned marble colonnade. The ceiling contained an enormous painting of the Ascension. The altar was framed by two giant *trompe l'oeil* salomonic columns with gilded capitals and swags of flowers; between the columns a *trompe l'oeil* apse screened a (real) great organ and contained an altarpiece of the Last Supper. The backs of the stalls were embellished with palm and laurel sprays carved by Grinling Gibbons and the royal tribune, or pew, which is sadly not recorded, was richly painted and carved too. Although this interior was of the utmost extravagance, in its essentials it was not wholly divorced from the Tudor and early Stuart royal chapels, which had been richly painted, gilded and filled with carving. The pre-Commonwealth tradition had been revived in the immediate post-Restoration years, not at court but at Oxford, where the English Royalist painter, Isaac Fuller (who had been exiled in France) painted the east ends of All Souls, Magdalene and Wadham Colleges. His Resurrection at the east end of All Souls was described by John Evelyn when he saw it in 1664 as the largest fresco painting in England. The diarist's observations were not without reproach; he found the piece 'too full of naked for a chapell'.⁹⁵

The novelty of the Windsor chapel lay in the scale and style of the commission and, crucially, in its painter Antonio Verrio. Verrio was an Italian Catholic who painted in the Neopolitan style of his contemporary Luca Giordano. His assistants were Catholics too and all of them, 'being Popish Recusants liable to prosecution and penalties by the laws

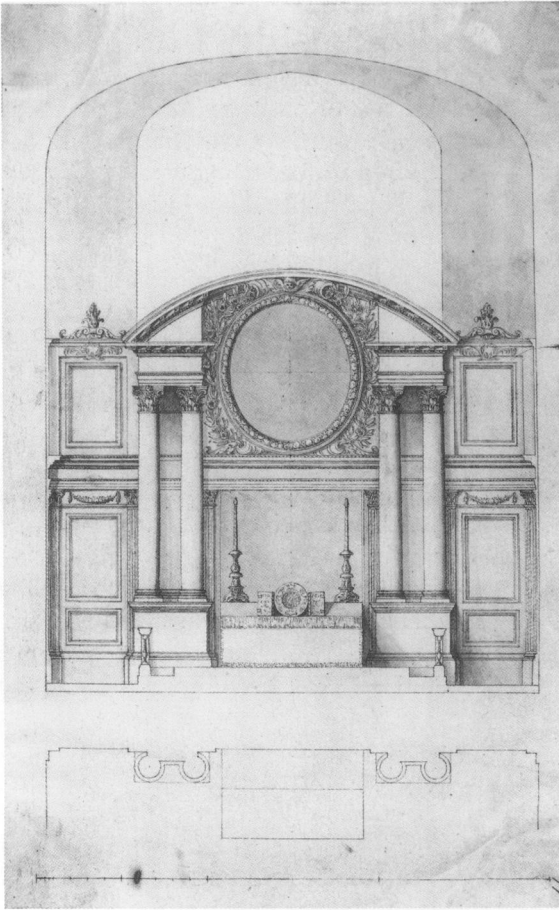


Fig. 13. Sir Christopher Wren, *presentation elevation and plan of the east end of the chapel at Whitehall as remodelled, 1676* (Warden and Fellows of All Souls College, Oxford)

enjoined', were exempted from molestation by a warrant of 1678. What they created was, even to a Protestant Englishman like John Evelyn, 'comparable to any paintings of the most famous Roman masters'.⁹⁶ This was an exaggeration, but once again the influence of French Counter-Reformation church architecture loomed large. The east end was again divided into three, with doors and niches flanking the high altar and the salomonic columns, although ultimately derived from the baldacchino at St Peter's Rome, were highly characteristic of the seventeenth-century Jesuit church in Paris. Yet despite the creation of this uniquely Roman Catholic environment there is no written evidence that the Chapel Royal of the last part of Charles's reign adopted ceremonies which differed from those practised in 1660. The Lord Chamberlain's warrants demonstrate that when the chapel was set up for use in 1681–82 the furnishings supplied differed little from those delivered to Hampton Court in 1662 or Whitehall in 1675. The only material difference was that the king's and queen's sides of the royal pew at Windsor were divided by a curtain, rather than by a glazed screen as at



Fig. 14. Hampton Court Palace, the east end of the chapel (Crown Copyright, Historic Royal Palaces)



Fig. 15. Watercolour by Charles Wilde of the interior of the King's chapel at Windsor looking east, c. 1813, prepared for W. H. Pyne's Royal Residences of 1819 (Historic Royal Palaces)

Whitehall. Indeed, after a dispute over the date of St Matthias day in 1679/80 (a leap year), Charles pronounced 'I'll have no innovations in ye church.'⁹⁷

Yet innovate he had. In his architectural tastes Charles had come a very long way since 1660. The Whitehall chapel, modelled on his mother's Catholic chapel, had marked his first faltering steps towards the Catholic baroque. His wife was then to remodel her chapel at St James's, which was subsequently used by his brother James, who converted to Catholicism in 1670. For him and the court Catholics, the chapel at St James's was remodelled again in a more overtly French Counter-Reformation style. The same year as his brother's conversion Charles took a new mistress, soon to be the Duchess of Portsmouth. Louise Renée de Kéroualle was a Catholic, and was Charles's most influential mistress, moving into Whitehall and having the most lavish apartments on the palace by 1680.⁹⁸ The king was thus surrounded by architectural expressions of the Catholic faith and these contributed to the creation of a new chapel in an uncompromisingly Counter-Reformation, not to say Jesuit, style executed by a team of Catholic artists. This, it must be remembered, was only twenty years after the end of the Commonwealth.

Charles could never have built such a chapel at Whitehall. We have seen that the central London royal chapels not only advertised the religious leanings of monarchs and their consorts but also became a focus of religious opposition. Charles was perfectly aware of this and of the role that London had played in the downfall of his father, and he had developed an increasing distrust of the metropolis; the Bawdy House riots of 1668, the first major political riots in London of the reign, were a cause for discomfort, but the extreme ferment in the capital caused by the Exclusion Crisis persuaded Charles to call the Parliament of 1681 in Oxford.⁹⁹ The architectural consequences of Charles's fear of the London crowds were threefold: first, a decision to abandon any hopes of rebuilding Whitehall, formerly the mainspring behind his architectural ambitions. Second, a decision to build his new palace at Winchester, far away from the metropolis; this was to become his principal country seat with facilities for his council to meet so he could continue to rule far from the London. Third, a decision to make Windsor his principal residence near the capital; here, secure in his castle, he could build as he wished far from prying eyes. He could also use the old palace of Hampton Court, half-way to Whitehall, for meetings of the council, avoiding the necessity of attracting hordes of petitioners and supplicants to Windsor.¹⁰⁰

It is not clear who the king's religious advisors for the construction of the chapel were, nor is it known how Hugh May interacted with them. Did Henry Compton, Charles's dean of the royal chapel from 1675 approve? One might think not, given his firm views about the danger of Catholic influence at court. Possibly Charles's Clerk of the Closet may have held greater sway. Nathaniel Crewe, Bishop of Oxford and Durham, would have had less cause for objection to the Windsor project; after all James II made him his dean. Then there was Arlington, Lord Chamberlain from 1674, who, like Charles, converted to Catholicism on his deathbed. Arlington was well travelled and had seen the architecture of the Counter-Reformation in both France and Italy. Through his role as Lord Chamberlain he was in a strong position to influence the design of the new chapel. Yet, however persuasive Arlington may have been, the

Windsor project should be seen as part of the king's wider plans. After 1680 Charles began to redraw the royal itinerary with the deliberate intention of neutralising London and avoiding Whitehall. Windsor became the official summer residence, the court first moving there in May 1680 and every April thereafter until his death. It was at Windsor that he felt free to undertake his last experiment in ecclesiastical architecture. This was a central part of Charles's conception of Rule. He knew better than anyone that his throne relied on his Anglicanism. The consequences of James's public conversion to Catholicism and the subsequent construction of a large Roman Catholic chapel at Whitehall were disastrous and cost him his throne. For Charles an appearance of Anglicanism could be maintained at the chapel at Whitehall whilst at Windsor he could do as he wished.

So, at the start of the period under consideration, both James I and Charles I developed the chapel, both architecturally and liturgically, to accord with a vision of a ceremonious Anglicanism. These changes became entwined and confused with architectural and liturgical changes of a different nature championed by a Catholic queen, Henrietta Maria. In the minds of the godly opponents of the Stuart regime the royal chapels thus became a powerful symbol of popery and a target for destruction. As a result, from 1640–44, the chapels in the principal royal palaces were defaced and converted into Puritan preaching houses. Charles II's Restoration in 1660 saw first a deliberate decision to avoid the desecrated chapels, and then an emergency campaign to restore them. As his reign progressed, each chapel was further embellished and enriched, culminating in the creation of St George's chapel at Windsor. These works not only re-established the architectural importance of the Chapel Royal at court and Charles's firm commitment to the ceremonious Anglicanism of his father but sowed seeds of doubt amongst loyal Protestants as to his real intentions. These doubts certainly contributed to the downfall of his brother James II in 1688. Thus for Charles I, Oliver Cromwell and for Charles II, the physical nature of the Chapel Royal symbolized much more than aesthetic preferences. It symbolized the foundations of court etiquette and the religious basis of their rule.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This paper was originally intended for *Architectural History*, 44, Essays in Honour of John Newman. In preparation it far outgrew the carefully constructed confines of that volume. Although it was disappointing that I was unable to join my friends and colleagues in honouring John in his volume, the lifting of the veil of secrecy enabled me to benefit from his thoughts on this paper. As a pupil and admirer of John I would like to dedicate, belatedly, this article to him.

I am very grateful to a number of people who have helped me prepare this paper. Charles Thomas and Esther Godfrey spent many hours compiling the raw material for this article. Andrew Barclay, Annabel Ricketts, Nicholas Cranfield, Gordon Higgott, John Harris, Anna Keay, Fiona Kisby, John Morrill, John Newman, Sean Kelsey, and David Baldwin were kind enough to help me with specific parts and provide me with valuable advice and save me from several embarrassing errors. Any that remain are mine alone. Clare Murphy and Sally Brooks were most helpful in providing the illustrations.

All dates are old style except the year is taken to begin on 1 January not 25 March.

NOTES

- 1 Fiona Kisby, 'The Royal Household Chapel in Early-Tudor London, 1485–1547', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, London, 1996; Peter E. McCulloch, *Sermons at Court. Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge, 1988); Fiona Kisby, 'Kingship and the Royal Itinerary, A Study of the Peripatetic Household of the Early Tudor Kings 1485–1547', *The Court Historian*, iv (I) (April 1999), pp. 29–39; S. Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England* (Yale, 1993), pp. 195–205. It should be noted that some of the non-architectural conclusions of my book have been superseded by Kisby's Ph.D.
- 2 On the Chapel Royal generally see D. Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal: Ancient and Modern* (London, 1990) and the works referred to in note 1 above.
- 3 A. Milton, "'That Sacred Oratory': Religion and the Chapel Royal during the Personal Rule of Charles I", *William Lawes 1602–1645: Essays on his Life, Time and Works*, ed. A. Ashbee (Ashgate, 1998), pp. 69–96; Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (Yale, 1992), pp. 284–92; Andrew Foster, 'Church Policies of the 1630s', *Conflict in Early Stuart England. Studies in Religion and Politics 1603–1642* (London, 1989), pp. 193–223; John Newman, 'The Architectural Setting', Nicholas Tyacke, *The History of the University of Oxford*, iv (Oxford, 1997), pp. 166–67.
- 4 John Bickersteth, *Clerks of the Closet in the Royal Household* (Stroud, 1991), pp. 19–21; Peter Lake, 'Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge, and avant-garde conformity at the court of James I', *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court*, ed. Linda Levey Peck (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 113–33.
- 5 Per Palme, *The Triumph of Peace, A Study of the Whitehall Banqueting House* (Uppsala, 1957) deals with the dynastic motivations behind James's building works.
- 6 S. Thurley, *Royal Palaces*, pp. 195–205; S. Thurley, *Whitehall Palace* (Yale, 1999), pp. 30–31.
- 7 For Whitehall see PRO, E351/3255, E351/3268, E351/3270, and Bertram Schofield (ed.), *The Knyvett Letters (1620–1644)* (London, 1949), p. 56; for Greenwich H. M. Colvin (ed.), *The History of The King's Works*, 5 vols (1963–82), iv, pp. 116–18 and T. Birch (ed.), *The Court and Times of Charles I*, 2 vols (London, 1848), ii, p. 400. The accounts are in PRO, E351/3240 (1603–04), E351/3257, E351/3258. Other works to the Greenwich chapel in James's reign include in 1604–05 doors being made for the Dean's pew decorated with scallop shells (PRO, E351/3241) and in 1607–09 raising all the seats in the chapel higher (PRO, E351/3243).
- 8 PRO, E351/3253, E351/3254.
- 9 Julian Davies, *The Caroline Captivity of the Church: Charles I and the Remoulding of Anglicanism 1625–1641* (Oxford, 1992), p. 20; Peter McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, pp. 33–35.
- 10 David Masson (ed.), *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, x (1613–16), pp. 593–94; John Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, iii (London, 1828), pp. 229–30; W. L. Spiers, 'The Note Book and Account Book of Nicholas Stone', *Walpole Society*, 7 (1919), pp. 43, 136; John Imrie and John G. Dunbar, *Accounts of the Masters of Works for Building and Repairing Royal Palaces and Castles*, ii, 1616–1649 (Edinburgh, 1982), pp. xx–xxi, lxxxvi–lxxxvii, 441; C. Rogers, *History of the Chapel Royal in Scotland* (Grampian Club, Edinburgh, 1882), pp. cxxii–cxxvi; D. Laing (ed.), J. Row, *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, 2 vols (Woodrow Society, 1842), i, p. 113. The chapel before its beautification in 1617 is described in a manuscript of 1583 printed in C. Rogers, *History of the Chapel Royal*, pp. xciv–xcv. For the Scottish context of James's work see Peter McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, pp. 27–29.
- 11 Nicholas Cranfield has pointed out to me that before the appointment of Andrewes it could be argued that James was already engaged in beautification at Windsor where in January 1613 Anthony Maxey, the Dean, ordered that 'the gate before the communion table should be enlarged: And that the whole space between the Organs and the pillars over the Knight's stalls should be coloured blue and be sett with starres gilded' (Windsor Chapter Acts VI.B.2, fol. 30r). St George's Chapel was not, of course, a chapel royal.
- 12 BL, Add. MS 34,324 fols 215r–216r.
- 13 H. M. Colvin (ed.), *History of the King's Works*, iv, pp. 248–49; John Summerson (revised and with a foreword by Sir Howard Colvin), *Inigo Jones* (Yale, 2000), pp. 54–58; J. Harris and G. Higgott, *Inigo Jones: Complete Architectural Drawings* (Royal Academy of Arts, 1989), pp. 182–85.
- 14 For a discussion on the meaning of the term 'beauty of holiness' see J. F. Merritt, 'Puritans, Laudians and the Phenomenon of Church Building in Jacobean England', *Historical Journal*, 41 (4) (1988), pp. 954–57, and P. Lake, 'The Laudian Style; Order, Uniformity, and the pursuit of the beauty of holiness in the 1630s', *The Early Stuart Church 1603–42*, ed. K. Fincham (London, 1993), pp. 161–5.
- 15 Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule*, pp. 280–84; M. Fuller, *The Life of Bishop Davenant 1592–164* (London, 1897), p. 305; J. Bliss and W. Scott (eds), *The Works of William Laud*, 7 vols (Oxford, 1847–60), iii, p. 197; *Calendar of State Papers Venetian 1636–7*, p. 125.

- 16 A. Ashbee and J. Harley, *The Cheque Books*, I, pp. 113–15, 118–20.
- 17 PRO, E351/3269.
- 18 PRO, AO1/2481, PRO, E351/3419; *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, CCCXXVI (1635–36), p. 442.
- 19 Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule*, pp. 778–81; D. Laing (ed.), J. Row, *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, p. 362 (bearing in mind that Row is writing a Presbyterian critique of James's policies). Deborah Howard, *The Architectural History of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1995), pp. 42–43; Thomas Puttfarken et al., *Falkland Palace and Royal Burgh* (National Trust for Scotland, 2000), p. 19; John Imrie and John G. Dunbar, *Accounts of the Masters of Works*, pp. lxxxviii–lxxxix; C. Rogers, *History of the Chapel Royal*, pp. clxxvi–clxxvii.
- 20 A. Ashbee and J. Harley, *The Cheque Books*, I, p. 153 (the Order of the Funeral of King James).
- 21 Christopher Wren, *Parentalia or Memoirs of the Family of the Wrens* (London, 1750), pp. 15–16. Andrew Barclay pointed out to me the fact that as Queen Elizabeth received communion alone there was no sense in the table being symbolically set in front of the east end in the Calvinist fashion. The 'altar-wise' positioning of the table in the Elizabethan Chapel Royal was therefore part of the theatre of power as much as anything else.
- 22 William Prynn, *Canturburies Doome or The First Part of a Compleat History of the Commitment, Charge, Tryall, Condemnation, Execution of William Laud* (London, 1646), pp. 67–68, 487.
- 23 Julian Davies, *The Caroline Captivity of the Church*, p. 20.
- 24 Robert Willis and John Willis Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1886), I, pp. 40–46; John G. Hoffman, 'The Puritan Revolution and the "Beauty of Holiness" at Cambridge: The Case of John Cosin, Master of Peterhouse and Vice Chancellor of the University', *Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, LXXII (1984), pp. 95–103.
- 25 John Newman, 'Laudian Literature and the Interpretation of Caroline Churches in London', *Art and Patronage in the Caroline Courts. Essays in Honour of Sir Oliver Miller*, ed. David Howarth (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 168–88; J. F. Merritt, 'Puritans, Laudians and the Phenomenon of Church Building in Jacobean England', *Historical Journal*, 41 (4) (1988), pp. 935–60.
- 26 PRO, E351/3260.
- 27 H. M. Colvin (ed.), *King's Works*, IV, pp. 264–66; John Summerson, with a foreword by Sir Howard Colvin, *Inigo Jones* (Yale, 2000), pp. 67–71; J. Harris and G. Higgott, *Complete Drawings*, pp. 193–206; I. Ware, *Designs of Inigo Jones* (London, 1743), Fig. 30; Gordon Higgott, 'Inigo Jones's Theory of Design', *Architectural History*, 35 (1992), pp. 69–70.
- 28 T. Birch, *The Court and Times of Charles I*, pp. 311–14; M. Whinney, *Sculpture in Britain 1530–1830* (Harmondsworth, 1964), pp. 37–38.
- 29 Kevin Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, pp. 304–07; T. Birch, *The Court and Times of Charles I*, p. 315; Edward, Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, 6 vols (Oxford, 1888), I, p. 194.
- 30 K. J. Lindley, 'London and Popular Freedom in the 1640s', *Freedom and the English Revolution. Essays in History and Literature*, ed. R. C. Richardson and G. M. Ridden (Anchester, 1986), pp. 125–27.
- 31 *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Charles I*, CCCCLIII, p. 174; K. Lindley, 'The Lay Catholics of England in the Reign of Charles I', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, XXII (3) (1971), pp. 199–206.
- 32 K. Lindley, 'Lay Catholics', pp. 74–79.
- 33 *Journals of the House of Commons*, III (1642–44), pp. 57, 63; C. H. Firth and R. R. Rait (eds), *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642–1660* (London, 1911), pp. 265–66; K. Lindley, *Popular Politics and Religion in Civil War London* (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 256–60.
- 34 E. Ashmole, *The Institutions Laws Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (London, 1662), pp. 496–97; *Journals of the House of Commons*, III, pp. 347–48; *Journals of the House of Lords*, V (1642–43), pp. 30a, b.
- 35 H. M. Colvin (ed.), *King's Works*, III, pp. 133–34, 161.
- 36 *Journals of the House of Lords*, VI (1643–44), p. 215a.
- 37 *Journals of the House of Commons*, III (1642–44), p. 260; R. R. Tighe and J. E. Davis, *Annals of Windsor*, 2 vols (London, 1858), II, pp. 181–83, 235; *Mercurius Aulicus*, 7 September 1643.
- 38 *Journals of the House of Commons*, III, pp. 422, 425.
- 39 *Proceedings of the House of Commons* in BL, Add. MS 31,116, fols 32v, 38v; 'The Memoirs of Father Cyprien de Gamache', translated and printed in T. Birch, *The Court and Times of Charles I*, II, pp. 352, 429; *The Kingdome Weekly Intelligencier*, 28 March–4 April 1643; *Certaine Informations*, 27 March–3 April 1643; Albert J. Loomie, 'The Destruction of Rubens's "Crucifixion" in the Queen's Chapel, Somerset House', *Burlington Magazine*, CXL (no. 1147) (October 1999), p. 682. It should be noted that two years earlier in 1642 the organ and

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- 40 *Journals of the House of Commons*, III (1642–44), pp. 410–63; *Historic Manuscripts Commission, Portland*, III (1894), p. 132; *Journals of the House of Commons*, V (1646–48), p. 77.
- 41 *Historic Manuscripts Commission, Portland*, III (1894), p. 133.
- 42 *Perfect Occurrences of Parliament; and Chief Collections of Letters from the Armie* (1645), the 41st week, 29 September 1645; *Historic Manuscripts Commission, Portland*, III (1894), p. 133.
- 43 *Certain Informations*, 3–10 April 1643.
- 44 *Journals of the House of Commons*, IV (1644–46), p. 597; *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson, Written by his Widow Lucy* (London, 1846), pp. 305–06; *Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, 7th Report* (1879), p. 594b; E. S. de Beer (ed.), *The Diary of John Evelyn*, 6 vols (Oxford, 1955), II, p. 537; *Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe Wife of the Right Hon. Sir Richard Fanshawe, Bart.* (London, 1829), pp. 66–68.
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- 46 *Journal of the House of Commons*, V (1646–48), p. 440; PRO, AO1/2431/79.
- 47 *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, III (1649–50), p. 401.
- 48 *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, III (1649–50), pp. 373, 412, 414, 447; *Calendar of State Papers Domestic* (1651–52), p. 9; PRO, SP25/63 331.
- 49 A. G. H. Bachrach and R. G. Collmer (trans. and eds), *Lodewijck Hagens, The English Journal, 1651–1652* (Leiden, 1982), pp. 42–43; *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Commonwealth*, XV (1651), p. 280.
- 50 S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*, 4 vols (Moreton-in-Marsh, 1987), II, p. 95; the three sermons were kindly pointed out to me by Sean Kelsey. See *The Moderate*, 16–23 January 1649 (BL, E539(7)); Veronica Wedgwood, *The Trial of Charles I* (London, 1967), pp. 152–53.
- 51 *Journals of the House of Commons*, IV (1644–46), p. 477.
- 52 *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, II (1649–50), pp. 228, 303; A. G. H. Bachrach and R. G. Collmer, *The English Journal*, p. 60.
- 53 *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, XI (1650), p. 418; XVI (1651), pp. 468, 469; XI (1650) p. 418; XVI (1651), pp. 468, 469.
- 54 Timothy Mowl and Brian Earnshaw, *Architecture Without Kings. The Rise of Puritan Classicism under Cromwell* (Manchester, 1995), p. 17; *Victoria County History, Wiltshire*, XII (Oxford, 1983), p. 49. Annabel Ricketts pointed out to me that the church at Steane in Northamptonshire is an equally good but lesser known example.
- 55 J. Newman, 'Laudian Literature', p. 175.
- 56 *Journals of the House of Commons*, VII, p. 404.
- 57 *Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, XXXI (1657–59), no. 5 (pp. 8–9).
- 58 *The Weekly Intelligencer of the Commonwealth*, no. 223, p. 179. They moved in on 14 April.
- 59 PRO, SP25/75, fol. 181.
- 60 *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, XXXI (1657–59), p. 8.
- 61 Printed in E. Law, *A History of Hampton Court Palace*, 3 vols (London, 1890–91), p. 303.
- 62 E. R. Briggs, 'Reflections Upon the First Century of the Huguenot Churches in England', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of England*, 23 (1977–82), pp. 114–15; Robin D. Gwyn, 'The French Churches in England in the 1640s and 1650s', *ibid.*, pp. 258–59; E. R. Briggs, 'The London French Churches 1640–1660: a Reply to Dr. Gwyn', *ibid.*, p. 417; E. R. Briggs (ed.), 'A Calendar of the Letter Books of the French Church of London from the Civil War to the Restoration', *Huguenot Society of London Quarto Series*, LIV (1979), pp. 12, 17; *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, CLIV (1656–57), p. 331; John d'Espagne, *An Essay of The Wonders of God, in the Harmony of the Times that Preceded Christ, and how they meet him; Written in French, and now published in English by his executor* [Henry Browne] (London, 1662), third unpaginated page.
- 63 John d'Espagne, *The Wonders of God*; George Fox, *A Journal* (London, 1694), p. 199. N.b. Due to a printing error there are two p. 199s. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, XXXVI (1652–53), p. 343; XXXVIII, pp. 50–51.
- 64 *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, XXXIII (1652–53), p. 138; *Journals of the House of Commons*, VII (1651–59), p. 791; C. H. Firth (ed.), *The Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1894), II, p. 102.
- 65 J. C. Davis, 'Cromwell's Religion', *Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution*, ed. John Morrill (London, 1990), pp. 181–208; Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England. II. From Andrewes to Baxter and Fox 1603–1690* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), pp. 127–8.
- 66 *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, XXX (1655–56), p. 109.
- 67 *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, XXX (1655–56), no. 187.

- 68 Roy Sherwood, *Oliver Cromwell, King In All But Name, 1653–1658* (Stroud, 1997), pp. 108–19.
- 69 *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xxix (1653–54), No. 109; *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xxx (1655–56), No. 144; Laura Lunger Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell. Ceremony, Portrait and Print 1645–1661* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 219, quoting Aberdeen University Library ms 2538/1 fol. 34r. Fraser's account is quoted at length in Joad Raymond, 'An Eye-Witness to King Cromwell', *History Today*, 47 (1997), pp. 35–41.
- 70 The Protectorial court has aroused much attention recently. Neither of the newest books, however, have succeeded in placing the Protector's chapel into the wider context of his household and rule: Sean Kelsey, *Inventing a Republic. The Political Culture of the English Commonwealth, 1649–1653* (Manchester, 1997); Laura Lunger Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell*.
- 71 The *Parliamentary Intelligencer*, 23 (Monday 28 May to Monday 4 June 1660). For the geography of Whitehall in 1660 see S. Thurley, *Whitehall Palace* (Yale, 2000), pp. 99–126.
- 72 Charles's religious policy 1660–63 is discussed in I. M. Green, *The Re-establishment of the Church of England 1660–1663* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 3–36.
- 73 John Miller, *Charles II* (London, 1991), p. 3; Ronald Hutton, *Charles II King of England Scotland and Ireland* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 455–57; Ronald Hutton, 'The Religion of Charles II', *The Stuart Court in Europe. Essays in Politics and Political Culture*, R. Malcolm Smutts (ed.) (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 228–46.
- 74 PRO, Work 5/1, fol. 17v, 44; BL, Add. MS 10116, fol. 103; PRO, Work 5/2, fol. 54v; R. Latham and W. Matthews (eds), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 10 vols (London, 1970–83), 1, p. 195; PRO, LC 5/137, p. 217; PRO, SP 29/61, No. 84; PRO, LC5/137, p. 292; PRO, Work 5/5, pp. 43, 53, 54.
- 75 PRO, Work 5/3, fols 304r, 305r, 312v, 313v, 324r.
- 76 PRO, Work 5/3, fols 333v, 334v, 328v, 322v, 324r, 329v; PRO, LC5/60, pp. 267, 375; PRO, LC5/61, p. 66.
- 77 D. Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, pp. 190–96.
- 78 BL, Stowe MSS 562, fols 7r–8r.
- 79 T. Birch, *The Court and Times of Charles I*, p. 429; *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Charles II*, xvi (1660–61), p. 277; PRO, Work 5/1, fols 364, 372. As some of the original fittings were taken to store it is just possible that the pulpit was the original one being returned.
- 80 PRO, LR6/190, 191; the main headings are printed in H. M. Colvin (ed.), *King's Works*, v, p. 255.
- 81 *Mercurius Politicus Redivivus, A Collection of the Most Material Occurrences and Transactions in Publick Affaires since Anno Dom 1659 untill the 28 March 1672, by Thomas Rugg*, BL, Add. MS 10116, fol. 325v; R. Latham and W. Matthews (eds), *Pepys*, v, p. 63.
- 82 T. Birch, *The Court and Times of Charles I*, p. 431; *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Charles II*, LXII, p. 451; LXVIII, p. 64; CCXVI, p. 457.
- 83 *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Charles II*, CCLXVI, p. 511; CCLXVIII, p. 597.
- 84 PRO, Work 5/17, fols 208v, 246v.
- 85 PRO, Work 5/9, fol. 421.
- 86 H. M. Colvin (ed.), *King's Works*, v, p. 256. Also see J. Bold, *John Webb. Architectural Theory and Practice in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 106–07.
- 87 Webb, however, tends to break the pediments. The adoption of an unbroken pediment at Somerset House may be further evidence of the influence of French engraving as discussed below.
- 88 On bed alcoves see Anna Keay and Simon Thurley, 'Charles II, Louis XIV and the Stuart Royal Bedchamber' (forthcoming); D. A. Pierretz, *Livre d'Autels et D'Epitaphes* (Paris c. 1643), Pl. 4. I am very grateful to John Harris for pointing this out to me. J. Harris, 'Inigo Jones and his French Sources', *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, xix (May 1961), pp. 253–64. On Parisian Counter-Reformation altarpieces generally see Jean Marie Pérouse de Montclos, *Historie De L'Architecture Française. De la Renaissance à la Revolution* (Paris, 1989), pp. 191–94; L. Hautcoeur, *Histoire de L'Architecture Classique en France*, 9 vols (Paris 1948), II, pp. 802–16.
- 89 H. M. Colvin (ed.), *King's Works*, v, pp. 244–54; *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Charles II* (1679–80), p. 409; (1680) p. 117.
- 90 In 1667 the chapel had been hung with tapestry for the meeting of the Order of the Garter. PRO, Work 5/10, pp. 20, 22; *The London Gazette*, No. 150, 14 Apri; PRO, Work 5/23, p. 71.
- 91 PRO, Work 5/25, pp. 52, 58–60, 105; PRO, LC5/201, p. 53. I am very grateful to Anna Keay for this latter reference.
- 92 Ashbee and Harley (eds), *The Cheque Books*, II, pp. 278–83. Although the document is not dated it appears chronologically at 1675.
- 93 S. Thurley, *Whitehall Palace*, pp. 116–18.

- 94 H. M. Colvin (ed.), *King's Works*, v, pp. 315–30; Robert Richard Tighe and James Edward Davis, *Annals of Windsor* (London, 1888), pp. 387–408; from contemporary newspapers the dates of the arrival of the court are 1 May 1680, 28 April 1681, 20 April 1682, 14 April 1683, 5 April 1684.
- 95 Edward Croft-Murray, 'Decorative Painting in England 1537–1837', *Country Life* (1962), p. 44, fig. 89; E. S. de Beer (ed.), *Evelyn*, III, pp. 385–86.
- 96 Edward Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting*, pp. 50–55; E. S. de Beer (ed.), *Evelyn*, IV, p. 316.
- 97 PRO, LC5/66, fols 26r, 43r, 44r–v, 45r–v, 67r. I am grateful to Anna Keay who provided me with transcriptions of these. A. Ashbee and J. Harley, *The Cheque Books*, II, p. 283.
- 98 Nancy Klein, 'The Duchess of Portsmouth: English Royal Consort and French Politician 1670–85', op. cit., ed. R. Malcom Smutts, pp. 247–73; H. M. Colvin (ed.), *King's Works*, v, pp. 277–79, 308, 321; S. Thurley, *Whitehall Palace*, p. 125.
- 99 Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration until the Exclusion Crisis* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 82–89, 108, 157, 174, 186.
- 100 S. Thurley, 'A Country Seat fit for a King: Charles II, Greenwich and Winchester', *The Stuart Courts*, ed. E. Cruikshanks (Stroud, 2000), pp. 226–32; S. Thurley, *Whitehall Palace*, p. 111; S. Thurley, *Hampton Court Palace: A Social and Architectural History down to 2000* (forthcoming). It should be noted that Charles planned two chapels at Winchester, a Roman Catholic one and an Anglican one. Sadly design work never progressed far enough to produce drawings for the interiors of these.