

**The Metropolitan Monarch: King Charles II
of England and His Representation in
Colonial Contexts, 1660-85**

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Abstracts

Short Abstract

This thesis argues for King Charles II of England to be reconceived as ‘the metropolitan monarch’. Once known as ‘the merry monarch’, the Restoration king’s reputation for debauchery has been replaced within historiography by the notion of him astutely deploying royal representational media to re-establish and maintain the English monarchy after the Interregnum, and the king re-branded as ‘the magnificent monarch’.¹ This re-assessment does not account for Charles’s sovereignty and representation extending beyond England, however and examining his representation in colonial contexts fundamentally questions its conclusions. Such examination reveals that the Restoration Crown’s use of royal representation was less glorious than historiographical headlines have typically advertised. It draws critical notice to the fact that general types and specific instances of royal representational media were not only elaborate items through which political agendas were deftly and successfully pursued. They were essential, practical, and sometimes ineptly-deployed mechanisms through which royal government was exercised from the English metropole and experienced in its localities.

Analysing Charles as ‘the metropolitan monarch’ through media-based, territory-based, and hybrid case-studies on the one hand uncovers an unsurprising conclusion stifled by existing scholarship: his subjects’ engagement with royal representation was coloured by individual priorities and proclivities rather than simply by conceptions of Crown-colony-oriented politics and associated vested interests. On the other hand, it seriously challenges a core tenet of prevailing historiography on early modern English colonialism. It suggests that the Crown’s colonial ambitions were considerably more circumscribed than consensus allows.

¹ A. Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch: Charles II and the Ceremonies of Power* (London, 2008), title.

Accompanied by dynamic dataset tables designed to facilitate taking its findings forwards, the thesis thus revises core understandings of the Restoration Crown, Charles's representation, and early English colonialism. Ultimately, it exposes the limitations and priorities of 'the metropolitan monarch'.

Long Abstract

King Charles II of England was once known as ‘the merry monarch’. Whilst his accompanying reputation as a hedonist continues to linger in popular media, he has for some time been historiographically rehabilitated as ‘the magnificent monarch’, a monarch who adeptly used elaborate royal representational instances in the successful pursuit of royal agendas, chief amongst these being the monarchy’s re-establishment and preservation after the trauma of regicide and republican government. Rhetorically captured through Anna Keay’s alliterative moniker, this conceit is most notably presented in Kevin Sharpe’s monograph, *Rebranding Rule*. Yet to the detriment of their arguments, neither Sharpe nor others subscribing to this notion of Charles consider how he was represented in the colonies territories over which he ruled. This thesis embraces the fact that as King of England, Charles was claimed to be king in and over a broad range of English colonial sites and it examines his representation in such contexts. In so doing, it exposes the ‘magnificent monarch’ conceit and associated arguments as critically reductive. It demonstrates that they unreasonably narrow analytical focus to arguably exceptional representational exemplars; they obscure royal representation’s function as a practical instrument of royal government; and they minimise the degree to which groups and individuals beyond the Crown were dynamic creators and users of even official royal representation rather than simply its possible recipients. As a result, the thesis both demands and provides a new framework within which to consider the Restoration king and his representation: Charles II as ‘the metropolitan monarch’.

This epithet recognises Charles II as a monarch for whom royal representation was first and foremost a practical, sometimes mis-managed, and often under-leveraged instrument through which government was exercised and experienced day-to-day. Repositioning Charles as ‘the metropolitan monarch’ acknowledges the basic fact that his person and not a specific static locale was the geographical centre of Restoration royal government, ‘the metropole’. It was distance

from this point, his immediate vicinity, that determined the means and media available to implement his rule, both over his subjects and within the international political sphere. By drawing crucial attention to its antonym, the label ‘metropolitan’ also opens the door for analysis of Charles’s representation in Restoration colonial contexts. Although some historians of early English colonialism and of specific royal representational forms have alighted on this topic, it has been largely, if surprisingly, overlooked as an area for comprehensive and overarching study.

In examining Charles II as ‘the metropolitan monarch’, the thesis focuses on a central question: how was Charles II king in and over colonial territories? This is explored through posing two further questions. First, how did the Restoration Crown use Charles’s representation to project his presence and authority in colonial contexts? And secondly, how did local colonial actors experience and engage with representations of their monarch? To provide greater insight into the thesis’s answers to its core questions than possible through text alone, dynamic dataset tables presented within Microsoft Excel also accompany this thesis. These tables are intended to enhance the transparency, sustainability, and value of the thesis’s research and designed to require little to no technological or quantitative expertise to use. Within the thesis, greater emphasis is placed on the former question over the latter as it enables the development of arguments concerning the Crown’s role within early English colonialism as well as those relating to its representational programme. Nevertheless, the interactions of those beyond the Crown with royal representation are considered integral to interpreting official royal efforts to represent Charles in colonial contexts, as well as important in their own right. They are therefore considered throughout the thesis, with particular emphasis in Chapters Three and Four.

Engaging with Charles’s representation in ‘colonial contexts’ necessitates delineating Restoration English colonies with precision, given historians of colonialism have evaded such a task. This thesis therefore pinpoints seventy-six colonial territories across the course of Charles’s reign, a number

notably, though justifiably, far higher than that accounted for within either traditional or revisionist scholarship. To unpick its core questions in relation to such contexts, the thesis uses a blend of media-focused, territory-focused, and hybrid media- and territory-focused case-studies to bring geographical reach as well as local depth to its analysis. Importantly, whilst Restoration colonial territories spanned the globe, and even though the thesis's media-based case-studies have theoretically global coverage, overall its case-studies lend the thesis an Atlantic rather than truly global outlook. Though it is hoped that its findings may be used to pursue research with even greater geographical scope, this feature of the thesis strengthens the challenges that it levels at well-established arguments on Restoration colonialism, for these rest on understandings of 'the colonial' which are at most only nominally global. For the thesis argues that the Crown's colonial agenda was oriented towards specific geographically- and chronologically-focused objectives which mainly concerned royal Atlantic territories. This problematises two contending strands of historiographical thought concerning early English colonialism.

These are, first, the currently popular argument that Charles's overarching colonial agenda was politically ambitious across all English colonial territories irrespective of geography or colony type, even if it might have pursued specific goals according to region or locale. Secondly, the thesis equally disputes the opposing and typically older contention that the King's colonial interests altogether lacked focus and were instead uncoordinated and haphazard. The thesis's alternative assessment harmonises these schools of thought, demonstrating that the Crown did pursue a discerning colonial agenda but one whose objectives and geographical coverage was more limited than current consensus allows and yet one which in theory as well as in practice was marred by inconsistency and ineffectiveness. Through its analysis of Charles's colonial representation, the thesis therefore not only fundamentally revises existing understandings of the King's representation by enriching their scope and re-evaluating core insights. It also presents a new assessment of the Restoration Crown's colonial endeavours that finds constructive synergy in

conflicting strands of historiography on early English colonialism. Ultimately, by refashioning Charles II as ‘the metropolitan monarch’, the thesis delineates new parameters for the Restoration Crown’s representational and colonial agendas.

Chapter One examines how Charles and his ministers did - and did not - use grants of cultural artefacts as forms of royal representation to support its involvement and interests in colonial territories. It opens by establishing that such artefacts could theoretically play essential roles in royal colonial government by embodying the Crown’s authority and by authenticating its presence in people or in other items. Initially, its analysis of a sample of royal grants detailed in Great Wardrobe, Jewel Office, and Treasury records then appears to validate key headlines within existing representational, diplomatic, and colonial historiography and showcase the Crown adeptly using a glittering array of royal representational instances to espouse a forthright colonial agenda. This includes issuing grants of artefacts to enable the advertisement of royal authority to broad audiences and to facilitate colonial diplomacy. Trends identified across such grants also seem to confirm consensus arguments that royal colonial interests blossomed and intensified over the course of Charles’s reign.

However, in the first instance, the close inspection and contextualisation of grants of artefacts such as royal portraiture, items of state, and items for religious worship reveals them to be exceptional. They were not distributed by the Crown as a matter of blanket colonial policy, neither as it worked to re-establish monarchical authority in 1660-3 nor from the mid-1670s, when historians have traditionally suggested royal colonial interests gathered force in both theory and practice. Instead, grants of such artefacts were either bestowed on particular individuals or issued at specific moments for use in select territories. They were also predominantly associated with royal Atlantic territories, rather than corporate or proprietary colonies or territories across broader geographies. The exceptionality of a concentration of grants associated with Ireland also brings new perspective

to ongoing debate on Ireland's status as a kingdom versus a colony and suggests that in key respects, Charles considered it to be a Stuart realm rather than a colonial site. Furthermore, analysis reveals that even grants of ostensibly magnificent royal representational artefacts betray the limits of a supposedly prodigious and expertly-orchestrated royal representational programme. The thesis's opening analysis thus revises the expectations conjured by existing historiographical headlines. It suggests that the Crown's colonial agenda comprised distinct objectives focused on particular times and places rather than on grand overarching goals and that its representational endeavours were selective and at times, unsuccessful and even half-hearted.

Having outlined such findings, the thesis deepens its attention to Charles's official representation by interrogating its provenance on the one hand and its use on the other. Through focus on colonial letters patent as a case-study, it explores the exact nature and extent of the Crown's involvement with official royal representation. Whilst such representation was by definition explicitly or implicitly approved or used by the Crown, Chapter One exposes how 'second-parties' - groups and individuals beyond the institution of the Crown – naturally had essential roles in its creation, dissemination, and use. Chapter Two therefore seeks to establish the parameters of royal agency over such representation to a degree hitherto avoided by scholarship on Charles's representation. This is in order to determine how far it can be deemed to reflect Crown rather than second-party intentions and interests. Analysis establishes Charles and his ministers as the architects of colonial letters patent and of both their rhetorical and visual royal representation, and thus provides an example of an official royal representational form that despite being the work of many hands, can ultimately be interpreted as reflecting royal views and policies.

Nevertheless, it clarifies that the Crown's interest in letters patents' visual royal representational components was circumscribed. Furthermore, as a whole the chapter affirms Chapter One's finding that both Charles's representational and colonial endeavours were limited in focus. Turning

attention to colonial seals with clear ties to the Crown indicates again that royal colonial interests typically concentrated on royal rather than corporate or proprietary colonies. Where they ranged beyond this, there are clear reasons for the Crown to have been particularly invested in specific colonies' affairs overall. Examining examples of extant Restoration Barbadian ordnance also demonstrates the Crown's penchant for under-leveraging potential royal representational media, though comparative examples suggest that in the case of large guns, this was not unique to Charles's reign. Such analysis of Charles's official representation raises two further areas of inquiry. First, it introduces, probes, and then validates sources such as letters patent and ordnance as vitally important official royal representational media. It also considers the 'use' rather than 'reception' of such media within local colonial communities. The thesis confirms that second-parties must be understood as actors involved in the creation, meaning, and use of official royal representation and not only as its prospective audience. This ensures that royal representational analysis is nuanced, and both broadens and enriches its potential insights.

Chapter Three concentrates on pinpointing messages and meaning within Charles's representation. Opening with further analysis of colonial seals with clear associations to the Restoration Crown, it delineates a correlation between the use of personal or institutional royal representation across official representational media and the importance that Charles and his government placed on particular places, institutions, or objectives. It thus establishes a discernible, if in cases surprising, hierarchy of royal colonial interests, headed by Caribbean territories. Reflecting on findings across official royal representational forms overall, the thesis likewise brings together evidence that the Crown attached varying priorities to specific types of representational media. Analysis then shifts focus to second-party royal representation. It endeavours to re-centre an obvious point lost within existing scholarship: that subjects' engagement with royal representation was shaped by myriad agendas rather than only determined either by the existence

of ardour for the monarchy or by its perceived utility to high-level Crown-colony political developments.

To do so, the thesis examines both colonial and English subjects' engagement with two royal anniversaries, giving particular attention to Barbados and Massachusetts as territorial case-studies. It maintains such geographical attention first, to consider how particularly in its immediate wake, the Restoration was proclaimed and processed in Massachusetts, and then to use Barbadian sources to re-assess how the Restoration might have taken representational form amongst Charles's subjects. Analysis not only demonstrates how second-party royal representation might reflect the nuances and dynamics of local politics and, in the process, offer the potential to revise and expand existing narratives of Massachusetts and Barbadian Restoration history. It also illuminates that the importance and notice that subjects ascribed to the monarchy and its representation may quite naturally have correlated to how closely the Crown and royal representation's figurative and literal presences aligned with individual preoccupations. In consequence, it briefly illustrates how mundane and even unusual royal representational vessels such as gravestones could assume prominence and importance as forms of Charles's representation within local landscapes. This strengthens the thesis's overall call for a reassessment of the sources included and prioritised within assessments of the Restoration king's representation, and indeed early modern royal representation more broadly. It is proposed that the chief goals of such reassessment are evaluating the role that practical and quotidian royal representational forms, typically ignored by traditional scholarship, played within Charles's representation, and establishing the true breadth, perceived importance, and relative impact of royal representational media types.

As a step in this direction, the thesis's final chapter assesses two traditionally renowned forms of Charles's English representation, minted coinage and his portraiture more broadly, in colonial

contexts. Alongside allowing for reflection on methodological challenges relevant to future research, considering coinage and portraiture as colonial royal representational forms seriously challenges the bases of such renown. For example, it questions claims of coinage as a ubiquitous form of royal representation, even within England and it raises the possibility that the Crown may have prioritised the use of words rather than images as royal representational forms to serve particular political purposes. Expanding on an earlier theme from a new angle, analysis also focuses on how extant instances of royal portraiture in North American collections, and thus Charles's portraiture at large, may reveal insights far broader and richer than subjects' alleged loyalty to and ardour for their monarch, despite existing works' fixation with such a topic.

In all, the thesis examines how Charles II was represented as king in and over contemporary English colonial contexts. In so doing, it carves out new parameters for future understandings of the Restoration king's representational and colonial agendas and provided alongside it are dynamic datasets to facilitate starting to build such understandings. Overall, the thesis begins the work of refashioning Charles II as 'the metropolitan monarch'.

Abbreviations List

Abbreviation	Full Text
[AAB]	Author-added borders
[AAS]	Author-added shapes
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BL	The British Library
BNAM	Barbados National Armoury Museum, Barbados
cat. no(s).	catalogue number(s)
cf.	compare (<i>confer</i>)
CNF	The Colonial Newsletter Foundation
CoA	College of Arms, London
col(s).	column(s)
collab.	(with the) collaboration of
contrib.	contributor(s) or contributions [from]
conven.	convenor
<i>CSPC</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series</i>
<i>CSPC AWI</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers Colonial Series. Americas and West Indies</i>
<i>CSPC NAWI</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, North America and West Indies 1574-1739</i>
<i>CSPD [CII]</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic: Charles II</i>
EB	Entry Book
edn	edition
e.g.	for example
<i>EHR</i>	<i>The English Historical Review</i>
EIC	East India Company
'EIC' AMDD	'East India Company' Adam Matthew Digital database

Abbreviation	Full Text
esp.	especially
HBC[HF]	Hudson's Bay Company [History Foundation]
illustr(s). [no(s).]	illustration(s) [numbers]
incl.	including
[J]BMHS	<i>[Journal of the]</i> Barbados Museum and Historical Society
MB	Minute Book
MMA	The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
MN.	museum number(s) [formatting selected to accommodate usage]
NPG	National Portrait Gallery
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
pgr.	paragraph
PHMC	Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission
present.	presented (by)
RCT	Royal Collection Trust
TNA	The National Archives, London
transcr.	transcribed (by)
vol(s)	volume(s)
WMQ	<i>The William and Mary Quarterly</i>

Conventions

Illustrations

Unless otherwise stated, where multiple illustrations are shown together, captions correspond to illustrations line-by-line from left to right. A small number of images have been assigned specific 'Alt Text' values for accessibility purposes, though this has not been possible for the majority.

Style and Punctuation

Old-style dates have been converted to New-style dates. In some cases, the capitalisation of quoted titles, and of quotations used within titles, have been adjusted for readability. The style of dates, ampersands, and Americanised spelling within quotations may also have been amended. Emphasis within quotations is retained from the original text unless specified otherwise. Some *Calendar of State Papers Colonial* and Treasury Book calendar citations may not include page numbers as materials were consulted in digital form or to avoid over-long citations; alternative reference details are provided instead where deemed necessary. Where a string of citations includes references for quoted text, brackets indicate such text's page numbers.

Digital Sources

The abbreviation 'pgr.' may be used to indicate the paragraph in which cited text can be found. For economy's sake, the bibliography may list only digital sources' main webpage. Square brackets encompass web addresses and corresponding dates where details may be only approximate, for example due to difficulties in replicating links. Hyperlinks may also have been updated if those consulted were known to no longer provide access to relevant material.

Terminology

For historical accuracy, quotations may include language which could cause offense. Such language does not reflect the author's views.

Dataset Tables List

This thesis is accompanied by a Microsoft Excel database containing six dataset tables and relevant accompanying materials in order to provide easily-navigable access to key data informing the thesis's analysis. Such access is intended to facilitate the reproducibility of its research, enhance its contribution to the historiographical field, and provide a solid foundation of data for future research. The tables are also designed to require minimal technological or quantitative expertise to use, though brief general guidance and key information relevant to their consultation and use is provided within this 'list'. A further general introduction to the datasets and their purpose is also given within the thesis.¹ The tables are follows:

Coversheet

Table A. 'Restoration English Colonies'

Table B. 'Royal Colonial Grants'

Table C. 'Restoration English Colonial Letters Patent and Comparative Examples'

Table D. 'Restoration Colonial Seals with Royal Associations'

Table E. 'Restoration Colonial Contexts and Their Associations with Coinage'

Table F. 'Select Findings of Specific Searches for Instances of Charles II's Visual Colonial Representation'

¹ Below, pp.55-7.

Usage Information

The database and its contents are provided in line with the general usage and permissions restrictions governing this thesis overall. The following points then highlight key database functionality to aid readers in consulting and using it. They are bullet-pointed for ease of reference and apply to the database as accessed through Microsoft Excel 365.

General

- **Coversheet and Dataset Tables:** The coversheet and the six dataset tables can be viewed and accessed via tabs on a ribbon at the bottom of the screen. For ease of distinction, each is allocated a different colour.
- **Abbreviations:** The following standard and non-standard abbreviations may be used within the tables.
 - 'N/A': 'Not applicable'
 - 'N/I': 'None in addition to sources cited elsewhere in entry'
 - 'N/N': 'None necessary'
 - 'N/K': 'Not known'
- **Blank Rows:** Two blank rows are formatted with borders at the end of each table. This is to signal the end of the dataset.
- **IDs:** Each table's entries have a unique ID, found in the table's left-hand-most column.
- **Column Headings:** Each table's first row provides titles for column groups. The following row contains individual column headings, and the subsequent row indicates the columns' value types: free values (any type of value), discrete values (values from a set list to ensure value consistency), or derived values (values based on a formula, which may obtain information relevant to the entry from another table).
- **Square Brackets and Asterisks:** These symbols may be used to indicate where values are qualified in some way. Explanatory information typically provides further details.

Viewing the Tables

- **Grouped Columns:** For ease of viewing, each table's columns may be grouped together upon opening. These can be expanded and contracted through the '+' and '-' icons found at the top of the spreadsheet. Icons controlling all columns can be found at the spreadsheet's left-hand-most side and icons for individual column groups above relevant columns.
- **Locked view:** All tabs are locked to retain the display of key initial rows and columns when scrolling. This can be altered via the 'View', 'Freeze Panes' option in the top menu ribbon.
- **Cell Size:** Individual cell size is limited for ease of viewing. Some data may therefore not be immediately visible. All data inside a specific cell can be seen by selecting it and looking at the value in the viewing pane at the top of the spreadsheet.
- **Derived Values:** As noted above, some columns may contain 'derived values', as indicated within the row following columns' individual headings. Such values may be based on formulas active within the columns' cells and dependent on values within cells either elsewhere in the table or in another table. If the underlying values are changed, the derived values will therefore also change. Furthermore, cells containing citation information may include the term 'ibid.' to refer to a citation in a previous cell, establishing implicit dependency between the values. Both characteristics mean that changing a cell's value may affect key information elsewhere within the tables without there being a clear indication of this having taken place. Caution is therefore recommended before editing any table values, as is assessing possible dependencies between within entries and tables, and between tables and their values, before executing changes. For example, searching tables for the symbol, '=', can be used to identify cells that contain formulas, and which therefore have values derived from elsewhere. It should also be noted that derived values may have relevant citation information not directly referenced within the dependency but which can be found in connection with the underlying value.

Source and Citation Information

- **Location:** Relevant source and citation information may be found in columns with yellow headings that follow the column or group of columns in which the relevant information is located or may be grouped at the end of the entry's row. A column with additional relevant source or citation information may also conclude the table.
- **Online Access:** Some sources available in other forms may have been accessed online. The thesis's bibliography can be consulted to find where this may have been the case and accompanying information.
- **Hyperlinks:** Cells providing citation information may include hyperlinks, though as such cells may contain additional information, they may not autogenerate correctly if clicked on.
- **Use of Opening Double Quotation Marks:** Double quotation marks at the start of cells' values are typically to ensure that single quotation marks are visible when the cell is not viewed in the viewing pane.
- **Ibid.:** 'Ibid.' may be used in citations within specific cells and within single table entries, and thus may refer to the last citation in a preceding column for that entry's row.
- **Possible Derived Values:** In addition to the use of 'ibid.', citation column values may include references to entries within the same table or within other tables. This creates dependencies between entries' values. As noted above, caution is therefore recommended before editing entries' values, as is assessing the possibility and impact of such dependencies.
- **Cell Character Limits:** Each cell has a character limit of two hundred and fifty-five. In a small number of cases, some citation details have been necessarily shortened to comply with this limit.
- **Full and Shortened Citations:** One full citation should be present for each source cited within a table, though due to entry re-ordering, such a citation may not be the first one displayed within the table. It can be found through search functionality as needed.

- **Brackets Indicating Quotations:** As within the thesis, standard brackets may be used to indicate citation information specifically relating to quotations within strings of references.

Navigating the Tables

- **Filtering by Column:** Entries can be filtered by specific values within one or more columns. For instance, **Table A** can be filtered to show all sites classified as Restoration English colonies (**col.C**, 'Yes' values) which were located in present-day Asia (**col.AG**, 'Asia' values), and established as English colonies during the Restoration (**col.S**, 'Restoration'). Filtering can be applied by highlighting the row or cell containing the values to be filtered; selecting the 'Data', 'Filter' option in the top menu ribbon; and accessing the filtering menu through the drop-down arrows that appear at the right-hand-side of selected cells. Through the menu, specific text values can be excluded from or included, or searched for, within the filtered results, for example. Filtering can be cleared via the 'Data', 'Sort [and] Filter', 'Clear' option in the top menu tab.
- **Sorting by Values:** Entries can be sorted by the values in particular columns by highlighting the rows and columns of the entries to be sorted; selecting the 'Data', 'Sort' function in the top menu ribbon, and selecting relevant sorting criteria. Entries can be sorted by particular columns' values by ensuring that all rows following the column headings are selected, including the row specifying the column value type. Multiple layers of sorting can be applied at once. For example, the 'Year', 'Month', and 'Day' columns in **Table D (cols.E-G)** can be used to sort seal entries chronologically.

Table A. ‘Restoration English Colonies’

General Information

This table documents the evaluation of one hundred and seventeen sites as ‘Restoration English colonial territories’ according to this thesis’s four definitional criteria.² As far as was feasible, efforts were made to assess all territories encountered during research and known to have possible Restoration English colonial credentials in this manner, though it is known that this was not possible for a small number of examples.³ The table records sites’ key features as salient to the thesis’s research. This includes the reasons for their classification as Restoration English colonies (**cols.C-J**); the firmness of their colonial credentials (**cols.K-M**); their degree of internal socio-cultural development (**cols.N-P**); sites’ known alternative names (**cols.Q-R**); chronological information (**cols.S-AA**); the type of colonial possession (**cols.AB-AD**); and geographical information (**cols.AE-AJ**). Entries for territories deemed not to qualify as Restoration English colonies generally incorporate only information pertaining to the rationale behind this classification (**cols.C-K**), except in a handful of cases. Sites not felt to warrant individual entries may be mentioned within the fields concerning entries’ ‘sub-sites’ (**cols.E-F**).

Value-specific Information

- **Classification as Restoration English Colonies (cols.C-J):** In a small number of cases, sites’ classification may be adjusted according to information regarding the firmness of their credentials as colonial sites as well as by how far they meet definitional criteria. This declassifies two sites as Restoration English colonies (Masulipatam and Kennebec, IDs 2111 and 2156) and

² Below, pp.40-1.

³ Namely Paramaribo, Essequibo, and Vizagapatam and several identified by R. K. Batchelor: Ayutthaya (also listed as Siam), Aceh, Tonkin, and Taiwan. *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series. America and West Indies, 1661-[8]*, ed. W. N. Sainsbury (London, 1880), v, ‘[Preface](#)’ (1 Dec. 2023);); F. Pridmore, *The Coins of the British Commonwealth of Nations to the End of the Reign of George VI, 1952* (5 vols, London, 1960-[75?]), iv (i), p.48; R. K. Batchelor, *London: The Selden Map and the Making of a Global City, 1549-1689* (Chicago, 2014), pp.[163-4], Figure [Thirty].

classifies three as the same (Hudson's Bay, Arcadia, and Nova Scotia, IDs 2071, 2094, and 2096).

Moreover, for the assumption that claims to Charles II's authority undergird private individuals or corporations' claims to authority in or over territory and discussion of other aspects of the thesis's definition of 'the colonial', see the thesis's main text.⁴

- **Sites' 'Sub-sites' (col.E-F, I):** Related values are not intended to address site boundaries or overlap.
- **Sites and Foreign Embassies (col.G, I):** Sites are assumed not to have functioned chiefly as foreign embassies unless clear evidence was found to the contrary.
- **Sites and Claims, or Grounds to Make a Claim, of Charles II's Authority (col.H-I):** Values in this column may indicate where sites were evaluated as Restoration English colonies, but information subsequently suggested they were best classified within one or more other entries.
- **Firmness of Colonial Credentials (cols.K-M):** The following definitions are used for the columns' values:
 - **'9. Widely known'** = A site famously known as a Restoration English colony and which meet this research's definition of one. Clearly acknowledged as a Restoration colonial context in one or more works published before the late 1990s and likely often discussed or deployed as a case-study in existing historiography. Also likely known, or easily understood and accepted, as a Restoration English colony by members of the English public.
 - **'8. Traditionally acknowledged'** = In addition to meeting this research's definition of a Restoration English colony, a site clearly acknowledged as one in works in one or more works published before the late 1990s. Likely also acknowledged as such in work published subsequently.

⁴ Below, pp.40-1.

- **‘7. Recognised or likely recognised by recent consensus’** = Though meeting this research's definition of a Restoration English colony, site unlikely to have been recognised as such by works published before the late 1990s. However, site has been recognised, or would likely be recognised, as a Restoration colony by authors of one or more works published in or since the late 1990s.
- **‘6. Tenable’** = There is primary or secondary evidence that the site meets the research's definitional criteria for Restoration English colonies. However, its colonial credentials are not well-established and its classification open to debate.
- **‘5. Identified as such by primary evidence’** = Site identified as meeting this research's definition of a Restoration English colony through primary material. It is however possible that after such classification, the site may have been encountered as a Restoration English colony within secondary work.
- **‘4. Possible’** = Justifiable reason to think that with further investigation, site may be found to meet the definitional criteria for Restoration English colonies used in this research. Confirmation is beyond such research's scope. Site is listed as a jumping-off point for future research.
- **‘3. Unlikely’** = Reason to think that with further investigation, site unlikely to be found to meet the definitional criteria for Restoration English colonies used in this research. As above, confirmation is beyond such research's scope and the site is listed as a jumping-off point for future research.
- **‘2. Unknown’** = Unclear from evidence encountered in research as to whether site may or may not meet this research's definition of a Restoration English colony. Again, confirmation is beyond such research's scope. Site is listed as a jumping-off point for future research.

- **‘1. Invalidated’** = A site where there is reason to think that it may meet the definitional criteria for Restoration English colonies used in this research, though evidence confirms that it does not.
- **Degree of Internal Socio-cultural Development (cols.N-P):** This field is designed to indicate sites’ likely potential as generators and receptors of Charles II's representation.⁵ Values are intended to be based on the site's socio-cultural development at the approximate mid-point of its time as a Restoration colony to account for possible variation over time, particularly for colonies only acquired during the Restoration. Values with the following definitions are used:
 - **‘Very developed’** = Strong socio-cultural scene. Site likely existed as an English or other European colony prior to the Restoration. Existence of a local artistic and artisanal market and of a well-developed built and conceptual environment. Additional characteristics may include a locally-produced print culture, the presence of a significant number of non-commercial, non-military, and free persons, the practice of organised religion, and the public celebration of ritual or ceremonial occasions.
 - **‘Developed’** = Established socio-cultural scene. Site likely existed as a English or other European colony prior to the Restoration. Existence of a developed or developing built and conceptual environment. Artistic and artisanal products may or may not be purchased and made locally. Additional characteristics may include the practice of organised religion and the public celebration of ritual or ceremonial occasions.
 - **‘Fledgling’** = Limited socio-cultural scene. Built and conceptual environment may be developing or rudimentary. Existence of local artistic and artisanal markets unlikely. Organised religion may be practised, and public ritual and ceremonial occasions celebrated. However, attention to socio-cultural affairs may be limited, likely due to the need or desire to prioritise more elementary aspects of the site's development.

⁵ For discussion of the category’s intended meaning and use, below, pp.43-4.

- **‘Negligible’** = Almost no socio-cultural scene. Little development of the built or conceptual environment achieved or underway. English settler, commercial, or garrison presence at the site may be limited.
- **‘Unclear’** = Not enough detail acquired within research to provide an assessment.
- **Alternative Site Names (cols.Q-R):** Minor variants are not noted, e.g., 'Saint Helena' for 'St Helena', 'Tangiers' for 'Tangier'.
- **Geographical Information (cols.AE-AJ):** Where geographical information was not known, Google or DuckDuckGo search engines may have been consulted for the location of the modern areas associated with sites. Values reflect names and locations relating to geographical areas as recognisable in the present day and thus may not correspond to areas recognised during the Restoration, with the exception of sites in West Africa, where terms employed within existing historiography are used, though these do not necessarily correspond to present-day geographical labels. ‘Maritime Area[s]’ are given based on historiographical interest in how colonialism intersected with maritime spaces. For sites that do not border the coast, a common-sense value to indicate the nearest major maritime area is given. Not all maritime area values are necessarily equivalent geographical categories, as in the case of oceans and gulfs, for example.

Table B. 'Royal Colonial Grants'

General Information

This table accompanies Chapter One and provides key datapoints for the analysis of royal colonial grants. Entries are the result of a survey of such grants within a sample of Lord Chamberlain Great Wardrobe and Jewel Office records, as well as select Treasury Book calendar entries, details of which are provided below.

First, select tranches of Great Wardrobe and Jewel Office warrants were examined. The Jewel Office records reviewed broadly span the periods from circa June 1660 to December 1666 and March 1674 up to Charles's death in February 1685.⁶ Meanwhile, the Great Wardrobe records analysed principally cover two approximate chronological periods: the summer of 1660 to the summer of 1664,⁷ and 1682 to the time of Charles's death in February 1685.⁸ Using these broad chronological brackets to focus review, in the first instance a general survey of the material was conducted to identify and analyse warrants and related material that appeared to have an association with Restoration colonial contexts. Additional Great Wardrobe and miscellaneous Lord Chamberlain records were also viewed less comprehensively,⁹ including to investigate records flagged as related to Lord Howard's embassy associated with Tangier in 1669,¹⁰ and to assess the possibility of grants made across three periods in the 1670s: late 1671 to mid-1672, late 1674 to

⁶ 'Warrant Books: Series I' [Jewel Office, Lord Chamberlain's Department: Miscellaneous Records] (1618-76), The National Archives, London (henceforth TNA), LC 5/ 107, ff.60r-118r, 168v-182v, miscellaneous folios at end of volume; *ibid.*, (1677-1710), TNA, LC 5/ 108, ff.25r-51v.

⁷ 'Copies of Warrants: Provisions' [Great Wardrobe, Lord Chamberlain's Department: Miscellaneous Records] (1660-3), TNA, LC 5/ 60; *ibid.*, (1663-7), TNA, LC 5/ 61, ff.1-159.

⁸ *Ibid.*, (1680-2), TNA, LC 5/ 66, ff.38[v?]-74v; *ibid.*, (1683-4), TNA, LC 5/ 67.

⁹ For example, *ad hoc* folios in 'Original Warrants' [Royal, Lord Chamberlain's Department: Miscellaneous Records] (1603-1702), TNA, LC 5/ 115 and in *ibid.*, (1674-1681), TNA, LC 5/ 121.

¹⁰ Flagged according to the volume's contents pages, 'Copies of Warrants: Provisions' [Great Wardrobe, Lord Chamberlain's Department: Miscellaneous Records] (1668-71), TNA, LC 5/ 63, ff.[i-v], 13, 16, 29-30, 33, 34, 50-3, 58, 59, 91. For sources informing awareness of possible grants of interests in connection with the embassy and prompting resulting investigation, Routh, *Tangier*, p.100; see also J. Y. Smith, 'The Representation of Charles II in English Colonial Contexts, 1660-1685' (MPhil, University of Cambridge, 2020), pp.26, 49.

circa June 1676,¹¹ and circa October 1676 to April 1678.¹² Where such warrants or materials were found, a corresponding entry can be seen in the dataset.

To expand the comprehensiveness of analysis, two additional elements of review were also conducted. First, as a counterpart and partial cross-check to the initial survey's territory-focused methodology, elements of the initial tranches of Great Wardrobe and Jewel Office records outlined above were checked for mention of a sub-set of in-post royal colonial agents.¹³ For the periods spanning six months prior to such agents' postings to six months afterwards in so far as such periods fell within the survey dates outlined above, Great Wardrobe records were reviewed in full for mention of seven of thirty-one agents and at least in part for an additional fourteen agents. Jewel Office records were in turn reviewed for the entirety of such posting periods for twenty-seven of thirty-one agents and in part for an additional four agents. Related findings, if any, are reflected in the dataset. Secondly, due to the potential relevance of Treasury Book calendars as sources of evidence for royal representational grants, supplementary refined digital searches of these extensive records - initially expected to be largely peripheral to research - were also conducted.¹⁴ Notable findings are incorporated into Table B, though these dataset entries should not be interpreted as comprehensively reflecting all relevant calendar entries for such searches.

¹¹ 'Copies of Warrants: Provisions' [Great Wardrobe, Lord Chamberlain's Department: Miscellaneous Records] (1671-6), TNA, LC 5/ 64, ff.[1-59?], 110r-163r.

¹² Ibid., (1676-80), TNA, LC 5/ 65, ff.26[r?]-92v.

¹³ Thirty-one agents, comprising the 1664-5 royal commissioners for New England; Captain Thomas Breedon, a known royalist associated with early Restoration New England; Edward Randolph, royal commissioner from March 1676 to circa July 1684, and governors-general personnel for Bombay, Dunkirk, Barbados, and Tangier as listed by Webb (excepting William Lord Willoughby of Parham, where overall nature of review unclear and John Middleton, Earl of Middleton for Great Wardrobe records). J. M. Sosin, *English America and the Restoration Monarchy of Charles II: Transatlantic Politics, Commerce, and Kinship* (Lincoln, 1980), pp.108, 106, 120-1, 89, 111, 115; 'Captain Bredons relation of the state of affaires in New England at his coming from thenes in 1660', TNA, CO 1/ 15, f.30; '[The Coins of Colonial and Early America](#)', L. Jordan (images orchestrated by J. Spilman and the Colonial Newsletter Foundation (henceforth, CNF)) (11 Sept. 2023), '[Chronological Listing of Documents and Events relating to the Massachusetts Mint](#)', '[20 Mar.] 1676', '[16 July] 1684'; Webb, *The Governors-General*, pp.474, 476, 470, 504-8.

¹⁴ [Calendar of Treasury Books \[henceforth CTB\]](#), ed. W. A. Shaw (vols i, iii, v-vii, London, 1904-16).

Initial methodological tests were conducted to ensure that the searches deployed were as likely to identify royal colonial grants as possible. These sought to verify that the planned types of searches returned results for two specific examples of such grants: one, the 1679 New Hampshire grant mentioned in Chapter One and identified by Katherine Gibson as present in the calendars,¹⁵ and the other, grants of representational items made to Lord Howard in connection with his embassy to Tangier in 1669. Awareness of the latter grants was courtesy of their mention in E. M. G. Routh's monograph on the Restoration colony,¹⁶ and from subsequently identifying them within the Great Wardrobe records analysed.¹⁷ Though it was suspected that traces of the latter grants may appear in the Treasury calendars, this was not known for certain. Both searches successfully flagged results for the grants in question.¹⁸

Having clarified the planned search methodologies' utility, searches connected to Barbados for 1660-4 and 1682-4 were used to test what the calendars may reveal about royal representational grants connected to this as one of the thesis's case-study territories.¹⁹ Some cursory initial searches were also undertaken attempting to identify grants connected with specific royal colonial agents and grants associated with particular media types, as well as to follow up specific findings related to Tangier.²⁰ A full review of the calendars for 1663 was then conducted to provide an alternative, chronological focus. Analysis concentrated on identifying potential grants of traditional

¹⁵ Below, pp.68-9; K. M. B. Gibson, "'Best Belov'd of Kings': The Iconography of King Charles II' (doctoral thesis, Courtauld Institute, University of London, 1997), i, p.41.

¹⁶ See for instance Routh, *Tangier*, p.100; see also Smith, 'The Representation of Charles II in English Colonial Contexts', pp.26, 49.

¹⁷ For example, TNA, LC 5/ 63, f.16.

¹⁸ *CTB*, ed. Shaw, vi, Entry Book (henceforth, EB), 15 Dec. 1679, iii, EB, 5, 21, 27 Apr. 1669.

¹⁹ Evidence gathered in digital free-text searches conducted for 'Barbados' in the Treasury Book calendars for the years 1660-7 and 1682-5. Results returned for index entries rather than calendar entries not reviewed. *CTB*, ed. Shaw, i, vii.

²⁰ The royal colonial agents in question were Sir Richard Dutton, governor of Barbados; Percy Kirke, Tangier commander-in-chief, George Legge, earl of Dartmouth, governor of Tangier, and Edward Randolph in his capacity as a New England royal commissioner; media-focused searches concentrated on calendar entries for 1660-7 and 1681-5 and used words connected to 'pictures', 'portrait', and 'royal arms'; a cursory search was conducted for the term, 'Tangier', in the introductory materials of *CTB*, ed. Shaw, vii, pp. lxvii-lxxxviii, i, pp.vii-xlv, ii, pp.vii-lxxxvii, and for 'Bombay' in the latter materials.

representational artefacts or mention of payments that may have been intended for the same. The review year was selected as being close to the start of Charles's reign, though after the Crown's involvement in colonial affairs was established. Pestana implicitly acknowledges 1663 as the year by which all Atlantic colonies had recognised Charles as king, for example,²¹ and it was the year both that the Company of Royal Adventurers into Africa (better known as the Royal African Company) was founded and that letters patent for Carolina were issued. Additional searches for Treasury Book calendar entries were conducted related to colonial seals, ambassadorial grants, possible representational grants to Andrew Lord Rutherford and then earl of Teviot (governor of Dunkirk and subsequently Tangier),²² possible iterations of New Hampshire's 1679 grant repeated in association with the colony itself and replicated in connection with Bermuda and Massachusetts,²³ possible funds granted for the visual elements of colonial letters patent,²⁴ and likely materials mentioned in an entry concerning the publication of letters patent in Barbados.²⁵ Entries were not typically felt relevant to include within the dataset.

The table's entries overall are intended to contain information pertinent to the thesis's analysis and should not necessarily be considered as summaries or transcriptions of the records detailed. Stylistically, conditional formatting is used to highlight chronological development across the entries through the use of colours displayed in the 'column denoting the year associated with the grant (**col.J**). Furthermore, entries' contents are not necessarily unique within the dataset as some grants are mentioned in multiple entries. A column allowing values to be filtered to identify unique and representative entries is thus provided (**col.O**).

²¹ Pestana, *The English Atlantic*, p.218.

²² Conducted after encountering an entry allowing Rutherford to ship plate valued at 1,300 pounds to Tangier. *CTB*, ed. Shaw, i, EB, 14 Apr. 1663. For roles as governor of Dunkirk and Tangier, S. S. Webb, *The Governors-General: The English Army and the Definition of the Empire, 1569-1681* (Chapel Hill, 1979), pp.476, 505.

²³ For the searches' rationale, below, pp.110-15.

²⁴ Search inspired by details in an entry mentioning 'incidents on... letters patent'. *CTB*, ed. Shaw, i, EB, 4 Apr. 1663.

²⁵ Materials potentially related to *ibid.*, vi, EB, '[28 October and 9 October] et priora' 1680.

Value-specific Information

- **'Royal colonial grants':** These are defined as orders, funding requests, and inquiries concerning representational items for the Crown to provide to those with known links to English colonial contexts.
- **'[T]raditional representational item[s]' (col.M):** These are artefacts considered those unlikely to be challenged as instances of royal representational media within consensus scholarship.
- **'Explicit Royal Symbolism Mentioned?' (col.L):** These values capture whether explicit royal symbolism is mentioned within the record(s) analysed within the entry. It is therefore possible that the values in this column are 'No' and yet for the artefacts to have exhibited such symbolism.

Table C. ‘Restoration English Colonial Letters Patent and Comparative Examples’

General Information

This table documents key features of thirty-eight Restoration English colonial letters patent and relevant comparative examples.²⁶ The table’s initial fields are focused on delineating the nature of the document in question, chiefly so that the table’s entries can be filtered to focus on documents constituting Restoration English colonial letters patent as opposed to other document examples; documents relating to the East India Company or the Royal African Company; and documents issued by specific authorities. Several fields focused on visual aspects of documents’ key textual features, such as the use of stylistic emphasis within the documents’ text, follow. Such fields were initially included for the possible identification and analysis of related trends, but were not pursued as an area for discussion within the thesis. They have been retained within the table for their potential value to future research. The remaining fields within the table relate to the documents’ general visual elements.

Within these fields, a core focus was to identify visual elements potentially shared between relevant documents. To aid and record such identification, design types and sets were defined for the documents’ opening majuscules (**col.X**), their royal portraits, (**cols.Y-X**), borders, and royal arms (**cols.AA-AF**) and labelled so that their occurrence within the dataset could be tracked easily. With the exception of the border values, the relevant entry ID for the documents on which the categories were determined is provided in the ‘Value-specific Information’ below for the design types which occur more than once within the dataset. The components determining border set values can be found by examining relevant entries and those for individual border elements can be identified by examining the documents to which entries relate.

²⁶ For details on the nature and rationale for the examples included, below, pp.51-2, 143-4.

Value-specific Information

- **Entry Value Design Numbers:** The values of some fields include design numbers, such as “C’ (Design Ten)’ for document’s opening majuscules and ‘Garter portrait (Design One)’ for majuscule portraits. Such labels were developed iteratively, and the numbers accordingly do not correspond to designs’ chronological development.
- **Authorities Issuing Documents (col.N):** Unless specific reason was identified to justify denoting that the document’s issuing authority was not Charles II, it is generally assumed that he was the authority behind issuing the examples studied.
- **Textual Stylistic Emphasis (cols.Q-R):** The values in relevant fields are limited to initial assessments of the material only as their analysis was not pursued as a priority within research. They may therefore not be consistent across the dataset. '[S]tructural words' also refer to words such as 'And' typically used to structure and break up the text.
- **Document’s Overall Visual Elements (col.T):** The key relevant value categories are defined as follows:
 - ‘Highly stylised’ = Document's visual elements are overall heavily detailed with blocks of shading. Remnants of colour may be visible. Calligraphy may be detailed, and the portrait may include elements apart from its human subject. Borders may appear on more than one page and contain abundant iconography.
 - ‘Stylised’ = Visual elements may be detailed and significant in volume but to a lesser extent than highly stylised documents.
 - ‘In colour and stylised’ = As below, though with some or all elements in colour.
 - ‘Simple’ = Visual elements have little detail and there may be ample or significant space between visual components. Borders are unlikely to appear on more than one page and there may only be a top border on the first page.
 - ‘Significantly damaged or rudimentary’ = There may either be significant damage to the document's visual elements, impairing analysis, or evidence that visual elements

did not feature heavily in the original document and were only rudimentary. There may only be red lines to demarcate its borders, for example.

- **Subscription (col.AH):** The following values are based on the specific sources for the entries below, though are repeated for documents where the subscriptions are deemed equivalent:
 - '[H]oward', ID 8013
 - 'Pigott', ID 8015 (bracketed value based on same source)
 - '[C?]arleton and Evham', ID 8059
- **Documents Used to Define Recurring Values:**
 - **Majuscules (col.X)**
 - 'C' (Design Two)', ID 8016
 - 'C' (Design Three)', ID 8017
 - 'C' (Design Five)', ID 8024 (category includes variation for ID 8047)
 - 'C' (Design Six)', ID 8028
 - 'C' (Design Eight)', ID 8044 (category includes minor variations, e.g., ID 8045, ID 8055)
 - 'C' (Design Nine)', ID 8046
 - **Portraits (col.Y)**
 - 'Garter portrait (Design One)', ID 8016 (category may include slight variations)
 - 'Garter portrait (Design Two)', ID 8017 (category includes ID 8049 based on key visual markers)
 - 'Ermine mantle portrait (Design One)', ID 8045 (category include slight variation in ID 8051)
 - 'Garter portrait (Design Four)', ID 8048
 - **First Page Border Royal Arms (col.AC)**
 - 'Crown-topped arms (Design One)', ID 8045 (category includes possible variation regarding position relative to border demarcations)

- ‘Helmet- and crown-topped arms (Design One)’, ID 8046 (category includes variations, e.g., the Gartered arms’ plumage)
- ‘Helmet- and crown-topped arms (Design Two)’, ID 8060 (category including variations, e.g., the Gartered arms’ plumage and the style of the base’s surround)
- ‘Encircled Gartered arms (Design One)’, ID 8015
- ‘Helmet- and crown-topped arms (Design Three)’, ID 8050
- ‘Helmet- and crown-topped arms (Design Four)’, ID 8018
- ‘Helmet- and crown-topped arms (Design Five)’, ID 8048

Table D. ‘Restoration Colonial Seals with Royal Associations’

General Information

This table logs Restoration colonial seals known to have clear associations with the Crown beyond its tacit acceptance or acknowledgement of them.²⁷ It is intended to aid attempting to discern trends within their potential use of royal representation. Information concerning associated colonial contexts (**cols.C-D**), dating (**cols.E-J**), and those involved in the seals’ designs is documented (**cols.K-S**), alongside seals’ key visual-material features (**cols.T-AM**) and if there is a relevant known extant artefact (**cols.AN-AP**). Details related to those connected to the seals’ designs are intended to assist with pinpointing the possible agency behind the seals and their royal representation.

Value-specific Information

- **Date or Approximate Date (col.H):** As suggested by the column’s heading, values may be approximate. They indicate the best-known date associated with the seal as encountered in research.
- **Seal’s Chief Architect (cols.Q-S):** The seal’s ‘chief architect’ is considered to be the party primarily responsible for co-ordinating the commissioning, execution, and delivery of the seal.
- **Principal Obverse and Reverse Design Types (cols.Z-AG):** The seals’ faces are designated ‘obverse’ and ‘reverse’ with the awareness that such labels are not necessarily fixed. Such designations follow the logic of the sources cited within the entry.
- **Type of Visual Royal Representation (cols.AB-AC, AF-AG):** Values correspond to three core categories: personal (royal representation referring to Charles II specifically, e.g., through his depiction or inclusion of his initials); semi-personal (chiefly meaning the initials, ‘C R’, which might have denoted Charles II but also Charles I and thus are constituted only semi-personal

²⁷ For details of a slightly wider pool of Restoration colonial seals identified in research, below, p.220.

Restoration royal representation); and institutional (royal representation referring to the institution of the Crown but not Charles II specifically, e.g., a Tudor rose, the royal arms).

- **Obverse and Reverse Writing (cols.AH-AM):** Values do not necessarily include acknowledgement of the royal titles on the seals' circumferences, though may in some cases.

Table E. ‘Restoration Colonial Contexts and Their Associations with Coinage’

General Information

This table documents assessments of Restoration colonial contexts’ associations with coinage. Specifically, it explains and evidences the rationale behind the thesis’s answers to a core question – ‘Did coinage serve as a staple royal representational medium at the site?’ – and two sub-questions for English Restoration colonies. First, did coinage likely circulate widely at the site at one or more points during the Restoration? Secondly, did coinage known to circulate at the site contain instances of Charles II’s representation? As explained within the thesis, related research broadly constituted a high-level survey of relevant secondary literature, and the table’s entries provide detail regarding how such literature was used to answer the above questions.²⁸ As noted within the thesis, the table and its information is considered a starting point for an updated cross-territorial review of Restoration English colonial coinage and not a comprehensive example of the same.²⁹

Value-specific Information

- **Information Prioritisation:** Entries prioritised information according to coinage’s possible presence as a potential royal representational form. For example, in cases where a site was both a Royal African Company territory and an East India Company territory during the Restoration, such as Cape Coast (ID 2047), the entry’s values are based on possible associations with coinage during the site’s time as an East India Company site. This is given an assessment of the relative probability of coinage’s use under each Company’s jurisdiction.³⁰
- **Entry IDs, Site IDs, and Site Names (cols.A-C):** Each site identified as a Restoration English colony within Table A has an entry within this table. Nevertheless, each Table E entry has its own ID, which is linked to the relevant site through a site ID (**col.B**) and a site name (**col.C**). To

²⁸ Below, pp.36, 346.

²⁹ Below, p.36.

³⁰ Cf. for example **Table E**, entry IDs 2047 and 2049.

remove the possibility that changes to Table A may make the site to which each entry refers unclear, the site names given in this table have been converted to free text values rather than derived values. They therefore will not update if the site names for related IDs are changed within Table A. However, values in other fields within Table E do remain linked to Table A entries via site IDs and will change if the underlying Table A values are updated (see **cols.P-R**). This is to keep Table E's data dynamic whilst removing unnecessary dependencies.

- **‘Coinage Minted by Local Colonial Second-parties Known to Have Circulated at Site?’ (col.H):** Values may be given as ‘No’ or ‘Unlikely’ rather than simply ‘Not known’ if it is felt that evidence of coinage having been minted locally would likely have been encountered in research undertaken if such coinage was minted.
- **‘Coinage intended for colonial circulation and minted by non-local parties associated with England or English colonies known to have circulated at site?’ (col.I):** Such types of coin include those minted in other Restoration English colonies or coins minted in England for the purposes of distribution specifically or even exclusively at the site.
- **‘Substitutes for minted coinage known to have circulated as currency at site?’ (col.K):** For examples of what such substitutes may have included specifically in North American mainland colonies, see details provided by Louis Jordan.³¹

³¹ [‘The Coins of Colonial and Early America’](#), Jordan (Spilman and the Colonial Newsletter Foundation), especially ‘Commodity Money: Introduction’ and ‘Wampum: Introduction’.

Table F. ‘Select Findings of Specific Searches for Instances of Charles II’s Visual Colonial Representation’

General Information

This table records the classification and interpretation of the results for select digital searches of key North American heritage collections for extant visual-material instances of Charles’s representation that have demonstrable associations with Restoration colonial contexts. Chiefly, it is designed to provide transparency into how the presence or absence of such instances was evaluated on the basis of assessing such results. It is intended primarily to accompany discussion in Chapter Four. In addition to the searches described within in this chapter, the table also includes results related to two miscellaneous investigations, both connected to specific artefacts.³²

Though the thesis’s analysis generally focuses on Charles’s colonial representation in the period 1660 to 1685, the table incorporates artefacts which may have been created before, during, or after the Restoration. This is first, to allow instances which may have been produced before the Restoration, but which only developed a demonstrable association with an English colonial context during Charles’s reign, to be included within analysis. It is also to incorporate artefacts which can only be possibly dated to the Restoration and in some but not all cases, to document the exclusion of artefacts from analysis on the basis of their creation dates.

Value-specific Information

- **Artefact Dating:** Artefacts with creation dates equalling or including 1685 are classed as having been created within the Restoration.

³² Below, pp.363-5; for artefacts, **Table F**, entry IDs 13139 and 13084.

Introduction. Reconceptualising Charles II as ‘The Metropolitan Monarch’¹

At the centre of this thesis is the proposition that King Charles II of England needs to be reconceptualised as ‘the metropolitan monarch’. This re-framing of Charles as king is intended to dismantle traditional thematic siloes in discussions of his monarchy and to facilitate both asking and answering fundamental questions on the nature of the Restoration Crown, Charles’s representation, and early English colonialism. Chiefly, it repositions Charles as a monarch who necessarily ruled through royal representational media and for whom royal representation was thus an essential, practical, and day-to-day instrument of government, as well as a possible tool for more strategic political manoeuvring. It also recognises him as the ruler of vast geographical areas, reformulating ‘the metropole’ as the area immediately surrounding the King, and brings colonial territories into the orbit of representational analysis.

Naturally, this reconceptualisation of Charles II builds off of previous conceptualisations, and two in particular. The first is his tenacious reputation as ‘the merry monarch’. This sobriquet, and long-standing associations between the Restoration king and his penchant for entertaining and salacious pursuits, still linger in the public sphere.² Nonetheless, despite Anna Keay lamenting its persistence in historiographical circles as late as 2008, this notion of Charles seems to have dissipated from recent academic scholarship. The second relevant conceptualisation of Charles is of him as ‘the magnificent monarch’.

¹ For an earlier iteration of this argument, J. Y. Smith, ‘The Representation of Charles II in English Colonial Contexts, 1660-1685’ (MPhil, University of Cambridge, 2020), pp.4-7.

² See L. Cumming, ‘Charles II: Art and Power Review – the Original King of Bling’, *The Observer* (10 Dec. 2017) (7 May 2020), pgr.1, 9-10; British Broadcasting Corporation, [‘Charles II - The King of Bling’](#), *Horrible Histories* (23 Mar. 2023).

Keay can be credited with pioneering this turn-of-phrase, where she presented it as an intended 'corrective' to its alliterative predecessor. She contended that alongside other questionable assumptions, historians too readily allowed Charles's hedonistic notoriety to colour interpretations of his reign and obscure the importance of royal ceremonial representation to Charles's kingship. However, contrary to the impression that Keay provides, the tenets the moniker encapsulates far precede her work.³ From at least the 1990s, scholars have discussed impressive and sometimes elaborate instances of Charles's representation deployed by the Restoration Crown and argued that throughout his reign, Charles and his government deftly used royal representation in the successful pursuit of royal agendas, chief amongst these being the re-establishment and preservation of the monarchy – helping it to restore authority after the trauma of regicide and republican government. It was as early as 1993 that the literary scholar, Paula Backscheider, wrote of 'the unusual propagandistic unity of purpose in Charles's entertainments' and in 1999 that Blair Hoxby explored how Charles 'styled himself in his public acts as a lover of trade and traffic'.⁴ Since then, such contentions have so pervaded academic consensus that they have taken root in the wider cultural realm.⁵ Yet if there is one scholar who can be credited with securing the predominance of the 'magnificent monarch' conceit as applied to Charles II, it is Kevin Sharpe.

Sharpe is renowned for his seminal works on early modern English monarchical representation, culminating with *Rebranding Rule* (2013) addressing Charles II's representation.⁶ Sharpe positions it as 'attempt[ing] to analy[s]e how early modern England's last monarchs fashioned their image in challenging, changed – and changing – conditions'. Within it, he presents a tour-de-force of

³ A. Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch: Charles II and the Ceremonies of Power* (London, 2008), (title), pp.2-(3).

⁴ P. R. Backscheider, *Spectacular Politics: Theatrical Power and Mass Culture in Early Modern England* (Baltimore, London, 1993), p.15; B. Hoxby, 'The Government of Trade: Commerce, Politics, and the Courtly Art of the Restoration', *ELH*, 66: 3 (1999), 599.

⁵ See Royal Collection Trust (henceforth RCT), [Charles II: Art and Power](#) (exhibition online platform) (24 Mar. 2023).

⁶ K. Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven, London, 2009); idem, *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603-1660* (New Haven, 2010); idem, *Rebranding Rule: The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy, 1660-1714* (New Haven, 2013).

illustrious examples of Charles's representation created at the king and his ministers' behest, even as he acknowledges that these were contested, might paradoxically project 'an image of ordinariness', and existed alongside examples not produced with the Crown's blessing, the latter of which also receive discussion.⁷ A key indication of the volume's success is the tenor of its review in *The English Historical Review*.⁸ Four years previously, C. S. L. Davies had levelled sharp and extended criticism at the trilogy's first volume, and indeed representational historians at large, in the same journal.⁹ By contrast, Matthew Jenkinson's verdict on *Rebranding Rule* was that '[t]he ambition and expertise of this book... far outweigh [its] minor issues' and that:

Sharpe convincingly makes the case that culture in all its forms was central to the way in which monarchs and those around them created, negotiated[,] and challenged monarchical authority – especially when the fragility of that authority was dramatically demonstrated by the executioner's axe in January 1649.¹⁰

Whether or not the 'issues' with Sharpe's volume are in fact 'minor' is a question for serious consideration. Those levelled by Jenkinson and others could easily fell his argument if not blunted by the overriding recognition of Sharpe as, in the words of Jason White, 'one of the great minds of Tudor-Stuart studies'.¹¹ For instance, they include the elemental points that he over-simplifies the agency behind officially-sanctioned royal image-creation whilst ignoring its reception; that his use of primary source material, his attention to the historiographical landscape, and his chronological coverage may be unduly selective and their interpretation incorrect; and that his focus on each

⁷ Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp.(xix), 9-222, (193).

⁸ M. Jenkinson, 'Review [Rebranding Rule: The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy, 1660—1714 by Kevin Sharpe]', *The English Historical Review* (henceforth, *EHR*), 129: 541 (2014), 1499-1502.

⁹ C. S. L. Davies, 'Representation, Repute, Reality. Review of "Selling the Tudor Monarchy; Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England" by Kevin Sharpe', *EHR*, 124: 511 (2009), 1432–47.

¹⁰ Jenkinson, 'Review [Rebranding Rule]', 1502.

¹¹ Ibid.; S. Sowerby, '[Review: Kevin Sharpe, "Rebranding Rule: The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy, 1660–1714"]', *Journal of British Studies* 53: 2 (2014), 522-523; J. C. D. Clark, 'Review [of *Rebranding Rule: The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy, 1660-1714*, by K. Sharpe]', *American Historical Review* 119: 5 (2014), 1766; J. C. White, '[Review. K. Sharpe, "Rebranding Rule: The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy, 1660–1714"]', *History* 43: 4 (2015), 135-6, (pgr.3).

monarch's representation by genre can lead to repetitious and conflicting arguments.¹² What is missing though, is comment on the volume's geographical limitations.

Sharpe's work is geographically blind. It is true that *Rebranding Rule's* geographic scope is implicitly set out as the 'divided realm' of England and incidental comment may be given on where examples of Charles's representation were created or displayed. Yet unlike chronology, place is not addressed as a factor requiring robust interrogation, sustained discussion, or arguably even precision. This, and reviewers' failure to highlight it, is indicative of how to date Restoration royal representation has typically been examined in '[its] (shifting) historical moments' but not in its '(shifting) historical [places]'. Furthermore, whilst Sharpe may give some attention to how Charles's representation was projected beyond the confines of the royal court, like Keay he is broadly content to assume that the Restoration monarchy was largely centripetal, with people and places drawn into the London-based orbit of Charles's official representations and authority.¹³ In fact, the bounds of the 'Restoration England[s]' that Sharpe and Keay analyse do not in practice extend much beyond select locations in England's south-eastern corner.¹⁴ This means that Charles II is not so much broadly conceptualised as the 'magnificent monarch' as he is baldly presented as the 'magnificent monarch' within the specific context of *England* – and only nominally England at that. This amounts to a significant historiographical oversight. It not only puts conclusions' broad applicability into doubt, as it can be queried how far they may apply to Charles's representation in England at large rather than in a handful of specific areas. Crucially, it also side-steps the fact that Charles was quite simply not just king over England.

¹² Jenkinson, 'Review [Rebranding Rule]', 1501-2; Sowerby, '[Review, "Rebranding Rule"]', 523; Clark, 'Review of [Rebranding Rule]', 1766; White, '[Review. "Rebranding Rule"]', pgr.3.

¹³ Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp.(xvii), see e.g., 97, 106, 112, 137, 192, for time as a category central to Sharpe's analysis, e.g., 96, 102-114, (p.xx), e.g., 27-45, pp.9-222, 192; Smith, 'The Representation of Charles II in English Colonial Contexts', pp.35-6.

¹⁴ Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, p.xvii; Smith, 'The Representation of Charles II in English Colonial Contexts', pp.35-6.

Moving from ‘The Magnificent Monarch’ to ‘The Metropolitan Monarch’

By virtue of being restored as King of England in 1660, Charles came to rule over territories extending far beyond it from the very moment of his reclaiming the throne. Closest to home were of course territories within the modern British Isles, including Wales, Guernsey, and Jersey, but Charles’s sovereignty also extended in theory to no fewer than thirty-five English colonial possessions ranging from Cayenne in South America to Virginia in North America and from Cormantine in West Africa to Dunkirk in northern Europe.¹⁵ Across his reign as a whole, Charles can be considered to have been king for at least a time over more than twice this number of colonial locations, encompassing a remit stretching across the East Indies, Africa, Europe, the West Indies, North America, and South America and including many tens of thousands of his subjects.¹⁶ How this created new potential contexts, audiences, and uses for Charles’s representation has been largely ignored by historians. This is even as it has been increasingly and insistently argued that the Restoration Crown itself harboured and pursued colonial ambitions from as early as the 1660s,¹⁷

¹⁵ For definition and discussion of Restoration English ‘colonial’ territories, below, pp.40-4; D. Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, 2nd ed. (2 vols, Oxford, 1956), ii, p.663; M. Makepeace, ‘English Traders on the Guinea Coast, 1657-1668: An Analysis of the East India Company Archive’, *History in Africa*, 16 (1989), p.238; S. S. Webb, *The Governors-General: The English Army and the Definition of the Empire, 1569-1681* (Chapel Hill, 1979), pp.475-6; **Table A, cols.C, S-U**.

¹⁶ New England’s population alone has been estimated as ‘at least 33,000’ in 1660, the Chesapeake’s white population as 25,000 in 1660 and 60,000 in 1680. Though the ‘figures... were certainly much too generous’, Greene reports contemporaries putting Barbados’s mid to late seventeenth-century white population at 50,000 and its early 1670s enslaved population at 100,000. A. C. Weimer, *A Constitutional Culture. New England and the Struggle Against Arbitrary Rule in the Restoration Empire* (Philadelphia, 2023), p.4; J. Horn, ‘Tobacco Colonies: The Shaping of English Society in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake’, in N. Canny, A. Low, and W. R. Louis (eds.), *The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, (Oxford, New York, 1998), p.179; J. P. Greene, ‘Changing Identity in the British Caribbean: Barbados as a Case Study’, in N. Canny and A. Pagden (eds.), *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Guildford, 1987), p.226.

¹⁷ Compare Abigail L. Swingen and Gabriel Glickman’s chronologies with those of Owen Stanwood and Stephen Saunders Webb, for example. A. L. Swingen, ‘Labor, Empire, and the State. The English Imperial Experience in the Seventeenth Century’, in I. Gallup-Diaz (ed.), *The World of Colonial America. An Atlantic Handbook* (New York, London, 2017), esp. pp.90, 93; G. Glickman, *Making the Imperial Nation: Colonization, Politics, and English Identity, 1660-1700* (New Haven, London, 2023), esp. pp.13-16; O. Stanwood, *The Empire Reformed: English America in the Age of the Glorious Revolution* (Philadelphia, 2011), pp.25, 27-8; Webb, *The Governors-General*, esp. pp.xvi, xviii, 447.

and even as historians acknowledge the mid- to late seventeenth century as a period when early English colonialism more broadly began to gather momentum. Addressing this omission opens the possibility of not only extending and testing the logic behind Sharpe's argument and far more broadly, the 'magnificent monarch' motif. It offers new perspectives from which to examine Restoration colonialism and particularly the Crown's engagement with it.

If Sharpe and others are correct to argue that monarchical representation was a corner stone of the Restoration's success in England, and if colonial historians are right regarding Charles's colonial appetite, it is reasonable to expect the king and his ministers to have employed it in support of royal colonial endeavours. Representational means for establishing and sustaining Crown colonial authority would certainly have been cheaper, easier, and perhaps even more effective to deploy in territories at potentially thousands of miles' remove from the metropole than military alternatives, for example. This only increases the expectation of their use, given that consensus agrees that Charles sought to increase his control over colonial territories across the Restoration.¹⁸ So do historians' arguments that royal representation was instrumental to contemporary English diplomacy.¹⁹

More fundamentally, if the above arguments were not the case, Charles's representation in cultural and anthropomorphic forms was nevertheless intrinsic to royal involvement in colonial territories. It was, after all, only by means of representational media – chiefly in-person audiences, people, written communiqués, and cultural artefacts – that his presence and instructions could be conveyed to colonial locations or indeed, to *any* location beyond or even within the royal court. With regards to people, Alison Games's discussion of early English colonialism as the 'web of empire' and Michael Braddick's exploration of the early modern English state as 'a network of

¹⁸ For an emphatic example of such consensus, Stanwood, *The Empire Reformed*, pp.25-8.

¹⁹ See for instance H. Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power: The Material World of the Stuart Diplomat, 1660-1714* (Oxford, 2011), esp. pp.11-36.

offices exercising political power' have certainly drawn attention to the essential role of individual actors in the operation and development of these respective phenomena.²⁰ Yet surprisingly, beyond this historians have overlooked a simple point of considerable significance: royal representational media formed the very sinews of Crown government. Letters, sermons, proclamations, royal audiences, and other representational forms were not simply – to re-quote Sharpe – media through which 'early modern England's... monarchs fashioned their image in challenging, changed – and changing – conditions'.²¹ They were the practical mechanisms through which their governments operated and in fact, existed at all.

This has three important implications. First, it means that by analysing Charles's representation in colonial context, this thesis can address a practical question significant not only to early modern English monarchical and colonial history, but to local and global historical narratives: 'how was Charles II king over colonial territories?'. Secondly, it suggests that the concept of the 'web of empire' cries out for re-development.²² For it was not just people but also audiences, written communiqués, and artefacts that constituted both 'the web['s]' tangible threads and the forces through which it was spun. The same goes for Braddick's idea of the seventeenth-century English state apparatus.²³ In its exploration of Charles's colonial representation, the thesis will begin to sketch an image of a new, more inclusive and thus comprehensive 'web of empire' Mark Two. Thirdly, the argument above begs crucial questions of the geographical categories and historiographical siloes that have typically contoured early modern English domestic and colonial history.

²⁰ A. Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560-1660* (New York, 2008), (title), esp. pp.3-15; M. J. Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England, c.1550-1700* (Cambridge, 2000), pp.16-17, 27-8, (45)-46.

²¹ Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, p.xix.

²² For the phrase beyond Games's work, J. Ohlmeyer, 'Eastward Enterprises: Colonial Ireland, Colonial India', *Past and Present*, 240: 1 (2018), 117.

²³ Braddick, *State Formation*, pp.45-46.

Past historiography has usually either fallen into one of three thematic siloes – English history, colonial and global history, or diplomatic history – or sought to draw the former two fields into productive dialogue. At the same time, with the exception of regional and local studies, historians have predominantly considered the major geographical units within and between these siloes to be England, or in some cases, London and either their respective ‘provinces’ and peripheries, or areas outside of English jurisdiction altogether.²⁴ However, these partitions miss a crucial determinant of how early modern monarchical government functioned: the proximity between the monarch and a particular individual or individuals. This proximity greatly affected the range of representational tools available to either party for presenting their case – or for the monarch, imposing their will - to the other. Crucially, if a party was within close proximity of the monarch, both parties could observe, interpret, and respond to one another’s words, actions, and material paraphernalia in real-time and potentially without mediation. Dynamic and personal exchanges were thus possible, irrespective of whether the encounter took place in London or in Liverpool. Beyond this but within sight and sound of one another, striking features of either party’s voice, person, and behaviour – a raised tone, a sweeping gesture, a bow – might continue to function as vehicles for representation. However, their ability to convey subtle meaning was likely significantly hampered by the possible din, publicity, and mass of bodies affecting communication on a broad stage, for instance at a court banquet or public occasion.

Most significantly, outside of visual and auditory range, all options for direct interaction naturally ceased. Communications became necessarily mediated, either through people who could traverse the distances separating the parties such as ambassadors or royal officials, or through written and cultural materials. This means that outside of a very limited spatial range, royal voices, faces,

²⁴ Braddick, *State Formation*, p.(379); cf. Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, p.192; Smith, ‘The Representation of Charles II in English Colonial Contexts’, pp.34-5.

gestures, and behaviours could only serve as representational tools in so far as they were captured and conveyed through re-telling either in person, print, or handcrafted written and visual media.

These details are neither surprising nor new. Awareness of them naturally lies behind existing work emphasising on the one hand, the importance, and the corresponding regulation, of access to Charles's person, and on the other, acknowledging the problems that territories' distance from the court posed for royal colonial government, for instance.²⁵ Such awareness can also be detected in Sharpe and Keay's arguments about London's supposed centrality to Charles's representation: Sharpe states, for example, that it was 'in London [that] Charles was seen – and made sure that he was seen' as it 'bec[a]me a magnet for the provincial squirearchy as well as the gentry[, and t]ravel to the capital became ever more common'.²⁶ Yet such notice has not been translated into a broad-scale model for thinking about Charles's government which recognises the differences that distance made to the modes of representation available to the Restoration monarchy and thus to the tools through which it could engage with both its subjects and its counterparts on the world stage.

Shrinking conceptions of the political 'centre' or 'the metropole' to the area immediately surrounding Charles provides a way to frame such differences. Its spatial bounds are deliberately inexact, as the area within which specific modes of in-person royal representation might be visible or audible to their intended audience naturally depended on environmental, structural, and human factors. Such bounds also become mobile: 'the metropole' in theory moved as Charles moved, though like him, it was predominantly based within a locus of sites in England's south-east. More dramatically, re-defining 'the metropole' in this way means that all areas beyond Charles's immediate vicinity can be classed either as peripheries under his jurisdiction or foreign territories

²⁵ Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch*, pp.94, 209; J. M. Sosin, *English America and the Restoration Monarchy of Charles II: Transatlantic Politics, Commerce, and Kinship* (Lincoln [Nebraska], 1980), p.75.

²⁶ Smith, 'The Representation of Charles II in English Colonial Contexts', pp.35-6; Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, p.192.

outside of it. In addition, it captures how irrespective of whether these areas were within England or outside of it, and irrespective of whether they were ruled by Charles or not, the methods available for royal representation and for communication with the king were broadly the same. It thereby takes onboard historians' point that Restoration colonial territories can be seen on a par with English localities,²⁷ and lays the ground for potentially fruitful future comparisons of representational media found across English, colonial, ambassadorial, and foreign settings. This means that its use is likely to aid answering recent calls for historiography that adopts broad, flexible, and cross-territorial lenses and to assist with dissolving the traditional thematic bounds that continue to segment historiographical inquiry. Moreover, it enables analysis of Charles's representation and his monarchy better to reflect the spatial considerations and challenges that shaped it.²⁸

With the above arguments in mind, this thesis proposes to explore Charles II as 'the metropolitan monarch'. Its aim is to examine how from his restoration in 1660, Charles II ruled over areas stretching from the ground under his feet to territories thousands of miles from where he stood by virtue of representational media. Analysis will focus specifically on his rule over colonial territories and thus on how he was represented in such contexts, though incisive attention to and reflection on Charles's English representation will be offered to bring comparative perspective to its conclusions. It also offers the opportunity to consider arguments made about Charles's English representation *in extremis* and to examine how analysis of Charles's colonial representation provides insight into English Restoration colonialism, the Crown's role within it, and local colonial actors' experiences of their head of state.

²⁷ Stanwood, *The Empire Reformed*, pp.25-6; see Smith, 'The Representation of Charles II in English Colonial Contexts', pp.34-5.

²⁸ Cf. Stephen Hornsby's call to reorient early modern English Atlantic spaces to reflect the role of the economy in shaping colonial relations, *British Atlantic, American Frontier: Spaces of Power in Early Modern British America* (Hanover and London, 2005), pp.1-7.

‘The Mediocre Monarch’?

To address its central question of how Charles II was king in and over colonial territories, this thesis will unpick two further questions. These are first, how did the Restoration Crown use Charles’s representation to project his presence and authority in colonial contexts? And, secondly, how did local colonial actors engage with and experience representations of their monarch? Greater attention will be given to the former question to allow for thorough interrogation of official uses of Charles’s representation in colonial contexts and by extension, of mechanisms of the Crown’s intended and actual involvement in Restoration colonialism. This is to enable the thesis to respond not only to the notion of Charles as ‘the magnificent monarch’ but to arguments hailing him as possessing and pursuing broad-ranging colonial ambitions. However, not least because of its importance to interpreting the impact of the Crown’s efforts to represent Charles in colonial territories, the second question – and so local engagement with royal representation – will also be considered throughout, with particular emphasis in Chapters Two, Three, and Four.

These questions and their answers challenge central tenets of established historiography. Analysis uncovers clear evidence that the Crown under-leveraged opportunities to represent Charles in English colonial territories. As will be explored, some such opportunities appear simply not to have been taken, such as providing royal portraiture for display by colonial governors and governments. Others still, like the decorative elements of royal colonial letters patent, failed to be used to their full potential. This is despite other historians suggesting that Charles and his ministers were likely aware of how such representational forms could be leveraged to the Crown’s advantage and were in theory able to exploit such potential.²⁹ Such findings cast serious doubt on several key historiographical arguments. In the first instance, they undermine the idea that Charles’s official representation – that is, his representation as explicitly or implicitly approved or used by the Crown

²⁹ See for example below, pp.24-38, 133-7.

– was deployed for political gain as adeptly and as unilaterally as historians have suggested. By extension, they bring into question what J. C. D. Clark suggests was Sharpe’s pioneering contribution to early seventeenth-century history: the idea that ‘[e]arly modern rulers... imposed and sustained their authority... by public relations – by the presentation and manipulation of images of themselves and their dynasties’.³⁰

Furthermore, analysis of Charles’s colonial representation undermines the long-standing contention that at one point or another, the Restoration Crown sought to increase its control over the broad swathe of colonial territories under Charles’s jurisdiction. In addition, it suggests that colonists’ engagement with Charles’s representation was far more contingent and broadly motivated than has typically been allowed. This complicates the twin notions that its use by groups and individuals can alone be used as convincing and generally straightforward evidence either of supposed loyalty to the Crown, or of alleged attempts to win royal favour.³¹

These findings are significant in and of themselves. They can also prompt a subversive thought: why is Charles II not then ‘the mediocre monarch’? If he and his ministers neither utilised royal representation with ubiquitous aplomb nor held grand colonial aspirations, why is *this* label not proposed to replace his ‘magnificent monarch’ moniker? It is certainly true that another of this thesis’s contentions is that greater attention should be paid to functional, quotidian, and even mundane forms of Charles’s representation than has been in the past. Besides lacking the historiographical benefits of the alternative ‘metropolitan monarch’ label outlined above, referring to Charles as ‘the mediocre monarch’ gives the impression that studying Charles II’s colonial representation, or indeed Charles II at all, may be dull. Opening this thesis with this phrase in the

³⁰ Clark, ‘Review of [*Rebranding Rule*]’, 1766.

³¹ For such implication, K. M. B. Gibson, “‘Best Belov’d of Kings’: The Iconography of King Charles II’ (3 vols, doctoral thesis, Courtauld Institute, University of London, 1997), i, pp.1, 68, 74-6; G. Pestana, *The English Atlantic in an Age of Revolution, 1640-1661* (Cambridge [Massachusetts], London, 2004), pp.214-16.

title might thus conjure visions of middle-of-the-road conclusions at best, and soporific ones at worst. However, the decision not to do so is not simply a strategic one. Creating the impression of Restoration royal colonial representation as banal would be misleading. Granted, there are certainly hurdles to identifying and interpreting evidence of Charles's representation in colonial contexts and in places, such evidence may be strikingly and meaningfully sparse. Nonetheless, analysis yields a rich and colourful, if at times frustrating, source base and as already noted, prompts consensus-challenging conclusions.

To leave the reader in no doubt of such claims, and to hint at the nature of the thesis to come, brief remarks on a notable example of Charles's colonial representation are offered below, before moving on to make additional comment on relevant historiography and to set out the thesis's core definitions, scope, methodology, and chapter structure.

Barbados's Restoration Colonial Deputed Seal

The Restoration Barbadian seal was a colonial deputed seal, or a seal which was intended as a substitute for the Great Seal of England and specifically as a signifier of royal authority used to facilitate government in Barbados.³² It was created by Thomas Simon, the royal engraver, likely after 16 April 1663 - the date of a royal warrant for Simon 'to p[re]pare' the seal - but naturally before Simon's death in 1665,³³ and so it can be considered an early example of Charles's official colonial representation. As shown by a modern painted casting (**Figure I.i, below**), its reverse depicts Charles II as a crowned, trident-bearing Neptune, riding the seas seated on a horse-drawn,

³² For additional discussion of the Barbadian colonial deputed seal and other Restoration colonial seals, below, pp.214-25, 251-92.

³³ *Walker's Grants* (2 vols), College of Arms (henceforth CoA), ii, R. R. XIX. E: 'The Bequest of Peter Dore [Esquire] Norroy King of Arms...', (f.6); G. Vertue, *Medals, Coins, Great-Seals, Impressions, from the Elaborate Works of Thomas Simon*, 2nd edn, (London, 1780), 'The Accounts of Thomas Simon', pp.92-3; for Simon's death, A. Warner, 'The Life of Thomas Simon', *History Today*, 24: 6 (1974), 431, cols a-b.

shell-like chariot.³⁴ Above him is the legend 'ET PENITUS TOTO REGNANTES ORBE BRITTANNOS'.³⁵ According to contemporary details printed by George Vertue, the seal's obverse showed a gartered and crowned image of the royal arms, Charles's title around its edge, and the words 'DOM. BARBADÆ ET INSUL. CARIB.'. ³⁶ As a whole, the seal carries promising initial hallmarks of both 'magnificence' and of strident colonial claims.

Most strikingly, its iconography bears resemblance to Antonio Verrio's *The Sea Triumph of Charles II*, a vast work not subtle in its evocation of grandeur (**Figure I.ii, below**). Though post-dating Barbados's seal and far more elaborate, Verrio's portrait is significantly noted by Sharpe as one



Figure I.i. After Thomas Simon, *Seal of Barbados showing King Charles II as Neptune*, 1960 (c.1665) (National Portrait Gallery, London). © National Portrait Gallery, London.

³⁴ Signification of the Restoration Barbadian seal's faces is based on **Figure I.i's** National Portrait Gallery (henceforth NPG) online catalogue entry suggesting that the face shown is the seal's reverse. (['Seal of Barbados showing King Charles II as Neptune'](#) (17 Aug. 2023)).

³⁵ Vertue, *Medals... of Thomas Simon*, 2nd edn, p.93.

³⁶ Ibid.

‘proclaim[ing] Augustan imperialism in no uncertain terms’ and celebrating ‘England’s emerging dominance of the seas’, likely specifically in response to the treaty concluding the Third Anglo-Dutch War.³⁷ The Barbadian seal’s reverse can be interpreted in a comparable vein. However, Vertue identifies that the reverse’s Neptunian imagery was identical to that of a seal intended for Charles’s Admiralty commissioners which ‘express[ed] the King’s sovereignty on the *British* seas’.³⁸ This is significant. Such commonality is one of several details through which the Barbadian seal signals that Restoration royal colonial ambitions were far more circumscribed and less politically strident than historians have suggested.



Figure I.ii. Antonio Verrio, *The Sea Triumph of Charles II*, c.1674 (RCT, Windsor Castle). © His Majesty King Charles III 2023.

³⁷ Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp.106, 108.

³⁸ Vertue, *Medals... of Thomas Simon*, 2nd edn, p.93, Plate XXXIII, p.53.

With reference to the imagery shared with the Admiralty seal and through scattered discussion, Benjamin Justice seems right to imply strongly that the seal's iconography laid claim to English sovereignty over Caribbean waters, and by extension Barbados, in the context of European competition for control over foreign territories and waterscapes.³⁹ It thus does indicate royal interest in regional colonial claims. Yet the seal's design gives no indication that these interests reflected what historians have alleged were the Restoration Crown's generalised 'ambitious, coherent plans for [English] overseas settlement' and '[post-1660] "imperial" tendencies toward centrali[s]ation and militari[s]ation'.⁴⁰ There are, for instance, no visual cues that Charles had – or hoped to have – a political role within Barbadian government, in ostensible contrast to Jamaica's near-contemporary seal (**Figure I.iii, below**).⁴¹ Interestingly, nor are there even visual cues for the island itself. For example, no outline of a landmass sits on the horizon behind the Barbadian seal's Neptunian motif equivalent to the ships shown in Vertue's sketch of a 1665 Restoration medal, which were presumably intended as emblematic of Charles's supposed naval strength (**Figure I.iv, below**).⁴² The opportunity to portray visually that the island sat under Charles's figurative trident and within his '*British seas*' is therefore not taken.⁴³ Instead, it is left to the words reported as inscribed on the seal's obverse, 'DOM. BARBADÆ ET INSUL. CARIB.', and to the fact that Barbados's official seal bears Charles's image and arms, to carry the point.⁴⁴

³⁹ B. Justice, 'The Art of Coining Christians: Indians and Authority in the Iconography of British Atlantic Colonial Seals, 1606–1767', *Journal of British Studies* 61: 1 (2022), esp. 111–13, 116 n.38, 126–7; for such European competition, E. Mancke, 'Empire and State', in D. Armitage and M. J. Braddick (eds.), *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800*, 2nd edn (Basingstoke, 2009), pp.193, 202–6; D. Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge, 2000), pp.100–4, 119–24.

⁴⁰ Second quotation referring to what Alison Games and Stephen Saunders Webb 'ha[d] detected' (p.13) of English colonialism generally. Glickman, *Making the Imperial Nation*, pp.(15) (14).

⁴¹ For the seal's dating and some suggestion of its political connotations, Justice, 'The Art of Coining Christians', 111, 126–7; for further discussion of the two seals, below, esp. pp.251–63, 274–9, 284–7.

⁴² Cf. **Figure I.i**, above, p.14.

⁴³ Vertue, *Medals... of Thomas Simon*, 2nd edn, p.53.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.93.

Figure I.iii. Great Seal of Jamaica, engr. G. Vertue, in Vertue, *Medals ... of Thomas Simon*, [1st edn], Plate XXXVI.



Figure I.iv. One face of 1665 medal of Charles II marking Second Anglo-Dutch war, engr. Vertue, in Vertue, *Medals... of Thomas Simon*, 2nd edn, Plate XXXVII (detail), p.63.



These undoubtedly do convey the message. However, overall the seal is not the bold declaration of grand or specific early Restoration royal colonial designs that it could have been, and that one would expect it to be, if such designs were in place. It is thus well-placed to be used to question such designs' existence. This conclusion accords with the sigillographer Adrian Ailes's argument that the Crown was uninterested in the business of colonial seals before the mid-eighteenth century.⁴⁵ However, whilst Ailes merely implies that this lack of interest reflected the peripheral role that the Crown played in colonial affairs until this juncture,⁴⁶ the Barbados seal can be used to lay fundamental challenge not only to recent claims that the Crown sought to pursue keen and broadly uniform colonial ambitions from as early as the 1660s. It can also be leveraged to cast doubt on older claims by notable revisionists that royal colonial interests took hold from the middle, rather than the beginning, of Charles's reign.⁴⁷ For in addition to another copy of Barbados's Restoration seal being ordered 'for the use of the Governor of Barbadoes and the rest of the Caribbee Islands' in December 1666,⁴⁸ the Neptunian motif on its reverse (**Figure I.i**) was recycled again in a Leeward Islands seal requested in October 1678. One face of this seal was 'to be engraven [sic] our effigies crowned in royal vestments holding a trident in one hand placed sitting on a chariot in the ocean drawn by two sea horses'.⁴⁹ Replicating an image shown on a colonial seal from the early 1660s nearly twenty years later is surely surprising if the years following 1675 marked a watershed in royal colonial policies as those such as Stephen Saunders Webb and Owen Stanwood have so stridently argued.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ A. Ailes, 'Signs, Seals and Symbols of Imperial Power 1600-1960. A View of H.M. Government', *The Coat of Arms*, 7: 221 (2011), 15.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 11, 15, 24.

⁴⁷ For both such claims, above, pp.5-6, below, p.33.

⁴⁸ *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series. America and West Indies [henceforth CSPC AWI], 1661-[8]*, ed. W. N. Sainsbury (London, 1880), p.433 ref.1355.

⁴⁹ *CSPC AWI, 1677-1680*, ed. W. N. Sainsbury and J. W. Fortescue (London, 1896), x, pp.(298)-9, ref.812.

⁵⁰ S. S. Webb, *The Governors-General*, p.447; *idem*, *1676: The End of American Independence* (New York, 1984), pp.409-10; Stanwood, *The Empire Reformed*, pp.25-6, 48-9.

Furthermore, there is evidence that local Barbadian government and not central Crown agents initiated the creation of the island's official Restoration seal. In Barbados in May 1661, minutes recorded the Council of Barbados as '[d]esir[ing] a common seal for the island, or else that the hands and seals of the Governor and two of the Council may be good in any law court in England'.⁵¹ The motivation behind the request is not known. Nevertheless, it seems to have been made too early for Justice to be entirely correct in implying that the island's seal changed from displaying proprietary arms to the Neptunian design in **Figure I.i** because Barbados 'became a royal colony' in the early 1660s.⁵² Committee for Plantations minutes suggest that it took until June 1662 for the preparation of a patent detailing Barbados's planned partial reversion to the Crown to get underway.⁵³ This was more than a year after the Council's request for a seal was documented and it was planned to be a further seven years before the island was to transfer from proprietary to royal purview.⁵⁴ In the meantime, a royal warrant was reportedly issued for Barbados's Restoration seal in April 1663.⁵⁵ It is not known whether it was prompted by the Council's request, or even if the latter was relayed to central royal authorities. Nevertheless, their expression of interest complicates reading the seal as necessarily indicative of royal – or rather, *only* royal - colonial attitudes, even if its commission bears the central Crown government's fingerprints. In a similar vein, it is also not known what exactly inspired the seal's iconography. Charles's depiction as a water-borne Neptune may have been drawn up at the king or a key policy-maker's specific request.⁵⁶ Equally, however, the seal's engraver, Thomas Simon, might simply have seen readily-available Neptunian imagery as fitting to symbolise Charles's rule over oceanic outposts and his designs then met with tacit official approval.⁵⁷

⁵¹ *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, ed. Sainsbury, p.29, ref.84.

⁵² Justice, 'The Art of Coining Christians', 116 n.38.

⁵³ *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, ed. Sainsbury, p.92 ref.309.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*; V. T. Harlow, *A History of Barbados 1625-1685* (Oxford, 1926), p.131.

⁵⁵ *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, ed. Sainsbury, p.433 ref.1355; *Walker's Grants*, CoA, ii, f.6.

⁵⁶ For evidence of Charles's personal involvement in his representation and the argument that Neptunian imagery was one of three tropes 'deliberately personali[s]ed' (p.15) for it, Backscheider, *Spectacular Politics*, pp.5-7, 9, 11-12, 14-18, 21-3.

⁵⁷ For the use of Neptunian imagery in the early Restoration, *ibid.*, pp.6, 14-17, 21.

Such considerations highlight the need for nuance and flexibility in interpretations of the intent and meaning of Charles's colonial representation. They also hint at how much is not known about it in light of extant sources and how much it might not be possible to know. Overall, there is in fact very little information and evidence available on the Barbadian Restoration seal. The only extant possible contemporary example of the seal identified in this research appears unlikely to be an instance of Charles's Barbadian deputed seal, for instance (**Figure I.v, below**). It is catalogued by The National Archives, London as either Charles II or James II's Barbadian Great Seal,⁵⁸ and as illustrated in **Appendix One**, there are key differences between the position of iconographical features in the extant seal's design and in two well-credentialled sources for the Restoration Barbadian seal's design, Vertue's engraving of the ostensibly identical Restoration Admiralty commissioner seal and the NPG's modern casting of the seal.⁵⁹ Furthermore, there is scant mention of Charles's Barbadian seal in *Calendar of State Papers Colonial*, *Calendar of Treasury Books*, and *College of Arms records*,⁶⁰ or in Barbadian archival and printed materials,⁶¹ and no known contemporary illustrations of it have been identified.⁶² Of course, exhaustive search of more specialist records connected in some way to the seal, such as papers related to Simon's career, may yield additional details on it. Nonetheless, it was not possible to invest such time in return for only possible information on a single representational instance in the context of a doctoral project on the broad topic of Charles's colonial representation. Barbados's Restoration colonial deputed seal is thus a good representational instance through which to highlight the methodological difficulties,

⁵⁸ **Figure I.v**, caption.

⁵⁹ See **Figures I.v, I.vi**, and **I.i, Appendix One**.

⁶⁰ Note that review of *Calendar of Treasury Books* (henceforth *CTB*) materials focused on vol. i (*CTB*, ed. W. A. Shaw (London, 1904), i). For mention identified, *CSPC. 1574-1660*, ed. W. N. Sainsbury (London, 1860), [i]; *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, idem, p.29 ref.84, p.433 ref.1355, p.624 ref.1872, p.185 ref.654, p.188, ref.668; *CSPC AWI, 1669-74*, idem (London, 1889), vii, p.608 ref.1349; *CSPC AWI, 1675-6, also addenda, 1574-1674*, idem (London, 1893), ix, p.303 ref.716; *CSPC AWI, 1681-1685*, ed. Fortescue, p.299 ref.812, Annex V, p.305 ref.828; *Walker's Grants*, CoA, ii, f.6.

⁶¹ For the only example found in Barbadian materials, see below, p.218.

⁶² In consultation with James Lloyd at the CoA archive, it was confirmed that the volumes of *Walker's Grants* consulted in this research are circa eighteenth-century transcriptions and not original Restoration documents. This means that the illustration of the seal that they include is not contemporary. *Walker's Grants*, CoA, ii, f.6.

and the evidentiary uncertainties and absences that litter the theoretically prolific potential source base of Charles's colonial representation.



Figure I.v.A & B. 'Barbados Great Seal Charles II or James II', 1660-8 [?] (The National Archives, London (henceforth TNA), SC 13/M6).

Accounting for Absence

Acknowledging and accounting for the absence of something can of course be of crucial importance to historiographical interpretation: J. M. Sosin, for instance, puts forward the absence of appropriate expertise, resources, and communication channels as key reasons behind the Restoration royal colonial government's alleged ineffectiveness.⁶³ In the case of Charles's colonial representation, it is possible for absences to provide evidence revealing not the failure of Crown

⁶³ Sosin, *English America and the Restoration Monarchy*, pp.74-7, 302.

personnel to enact grand royal initiatives but of the fact that there were no such initiatives to begin with. After all, it may be tenable to argue that practical issues such as the weight of past practice, ministerial ineptitude, lack of funding, rival interests, and distance as potentially significant obstacles preventing the Crown from successfully executing royal policies in colonial contexts.⁶⁴ It is tenuous, however, to claim that such factors might explain the absence of illustrious examples of Charles's representation in colonial seals and letters patent, for example, given that these were artefacts produced in England as a part of the royal court's normal administrative business and were theoretically subject to close royal oversight. Instead, the absence of ostentatious royal representation in such items is more likely explained by a lack of royal inclination than by practical issues, and as a result exposes both the Crown's colonial and representational priorities.⁶⁵

Generally, working with absences is of course challenging. It is notoriously difficult to distinguish between historical absences of evidence and absences in the modern historical evidentiary record, particularly in the case of source types central to the analysis of Charles's representation: visual-material artefacts now held in physical and digital heritage collections. Nevertheless, this is not a reason to shy away from engaging constructively with associated methodological challenges and addressing absences' potential significance. Past historiography on Charles's representation has lain silent on such significance. By contrast, this thesis contends that it is only by analysing the missing and the mundane alongside the 'magnificent' in Charles's representation – considering what does *not* feature in his representation alongside what does – that it can be rigorously examined and truly understood. Adopting such an approach leads to two conclusions to replace the consensus arguments that this thesis challenges. First, it suggests that the Crown's use of Charles's representation was far more circumscribed than existing assessments suggest. Secondly, it demonstrates that Restoration royal colonial objectives may have been far narrower and more

⁶⁴ See *ibid.*, pp.30-2, 74-8.

⁶⁵ See below, esp. pp.133-298.

chronologically- and geographically-targeted than currently credited. Crucially, evidence shows that they may have centred on colonies controlled directly by the Crown, alongside colonies in which the Crown otherwise had specific interest. It also indicates that Charles II did not indiscriminately seek to establish or augment the Crown as a presence within local colonial landscapes, challenging the well-established notion that he and his government sought to impose greater royal control.

This thesis thereby offers new and constructive directions for future scholarship on Charles's representation, his monarchy, and on later seventeenth-century English colonialism. It also seeks to make two specific, productive contributions to the development of historiographical practice. First, Microsoft Excel-based dataset tables provided alongside this thesis aim to offer data and tools to enhance this research's reproducibility and future use and act as a possible model for replication in the field. Such tables will be introduced further in due course. Secondly, the thesis adds a section for 'Cultural Artefacts and Collections' to standard bibliographical organisation by primary and secondary sources. This collates entries for key types and examples of cultural artefacts alongside entries for the collections and catalogues within which they might feature. Such an approach is intended to make it quicker and easier for readers to ascertain and understand key pools of representational instances informing the thesis's conclusions, given the task of unravelling such source bases may be a challenge with traditional frameworks.

Here, however, having outlined the thesis's conceptual framework, core arguments, and proposed outputs, it is now necessary to set out the definitional and analytical contours that will structure this thesis's analysis and explain how they are intended to re-shape existing historiographical landscapes.

New Contours for Existing Historiographical Landscapes

The first point to establish regarding existing historiographical landscapes is that there are two relevant to this thesis. The first relates to early modern monarchical representation and the second, to early modern English colonialism. The key features of both and the thesis's contributions to them will be outlined in turn. Alongside such discussion, the thesis's approach to concepts central to its research will be given, chiefly Charles II's representation, the Restoration Crown, and Restoration English colonial territories.

Early Modern Monarchical Representation

Core points regarding relevant representational historiography have already been established. These include the prevailing 'magnificent monarch' conceptualisation of Charles II and his representation; how Keay and particularly Sharpe have been central proponents of it, and key ways in which their arguments are found wanting. Just as Keay acknowledges that it is unnecessary to recapitulate historians' acceptance and exploration of royal ceremonial as a *bona fide* academic subject,⁶⁶ it also only needs to be stated here briefly that existing work on Charles II's representation of course sits in a broader body of work on the representation of early modern authorities and individuals in English, European, and global contexts. Such work includes texts that can be considered staples of undergraduate and taught postgraduate early modern history syllabi, such as Sharpe's aforementioned trilogy and Peter Burke's *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*.⁶⁷ Several additional points on representational historiography nevertheless remain pertinent to contextualising this thesis's arguments.

⁶⁶ Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch*, p.2.

⁶⁷ P. Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven, London, 1992).

First, it is important to note that as previously indicated, it was neither Sharpe nor Keay that first put forward the argument that royal representation was a political asset deployed by the Restoration Crown and at the disposal of both its loyal and oppositionist subjects. It appears at least fifteen years prior: as noted above, Backscheider explored early Restoration theatre as a form of royal representation in work of 1993, and in 1995 James Turner considered sexuality within Pepys's diary as a response to sexuality at court, arguing that 'Charles attempted to assert his power *both* by flaunting his illicit sexuality *and* by forcing his subjects to speak as if they had seen nothing'.⁶⁸ Eleven years later, Jessica Munns also addressed Pepys's diary, this time alongside other journals and approaching them as vessels through and within which individuals processed their personal responses to the Restoration. In so doing, she commented on how official and popular public forms of royal representation as well as those in individuals' personal reflections fashioned Charles's return.⁶⁹ In the period between the publication of Backscheider and Munns's work, historians also addressed Restoration royal representation from non-literary perspectives. This includes discussion both in scholarship dedicated to Charles II's representation such as that by Katharine Gibson and Blair Hoxby (produced in 1997 and 1999 respectively), and in scholarship concerned with English royal representation extending across and outside of the early modern period, as in the work of Roy Strong on coronations first published in 2005.⁷⁰

The significance of such work is not simply that it preceded that of Keay and Sharpe; it is that in some cases, it offers convincing arguments contrary to Keay and Sharpe's later conclusions, arguments which have been eclipsed by the 'magnificent monarch' thesis. Sharpe, for instance,

⁶⁸ Above, p.2; J. G. Turner, 'Pepys and the Private Parts of Monarchy', in G. M. MacLean (ed.), *Culture and Society in the Stuart Restoration: Literature, Drama, History* (Cambridge, 1995), pp.95-110 (107).

⁶⁹ J. Munns, 'Accounting for Providence: Contemporary Descriptions of the Restoration of Charles II', in D. Doll and J. Munns (eds.), *Recording and Reordering: Essays on the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Diary and Journal* (Lewisburg, 2006), pp.102-21, esp. 105-8.

⁷⁰ Gibson, "'Best Belov'd of Kings'"; idem, *The Cult of Charles II*, Royal Stuart Society (London, 1997); Hoxby, 'The Government of Trade', 591-627; R. Strong, *Coronation: A History of Kingship and the British Monarchy* (London, 2005). See also G. E. Aylmer's short discussion of 'symbols and emblems of state' (section title), *The Crown's Servants. Government and Civil Service under Charles II, 1660-1685* (Oxford, 2002), pp.243-9.

does cite Turner's work on Pepys but it is to support his suggestion that the court's overt sexualisation was perhaps on balance good for the Crown's image.⁷¹ This mischaracterises the fact that overall, Turner presents Charles's expression and manipulation of sexuality as pernicious and unsettling to Pepys and the wider Restoration public. Indeed, Turner's argument encourages broad scepticism that Charles's efforts to 'pursue popularity by means of an image of ordinariness' were largely politically successful and 'cultivated from and with a shrewd political sense', as Sharpe claims.⁷² However, it is Gibson's arguably overlooked thesis that most strikingly undercuts the grandiose impression of Restoration royal representation created by more recent historiography.

Gibson states that 'Charles II, being his father's son, might have been expected to introduce a clear policy for the arts, but in 1660 he was infinitely more concerned with the peaceful settlement of his country. He was content to let artistic matters find their own course.' Rather, she argues that '[h]is only positive policy was to make [his image] as widely available as possible' and suggests that beyond this and 'sanction[ing] [its] prototypes', he had little active interest or involvement in its production. For instance, she notes that Charles himself had little appetite for possessing portraits of himself; that in her view, there is convincing evidence that his bestowal of such a portrait on the Winchester Corporation in 1682 was the only example of him gifting his portraiture to parties such as towns, institutions, and corporations; and that there was certainly no 'Augustan programme' of official royal statuary comparable with that of Louis XIV. Instead, she points out that the Crown had three specific main uses for visual instances of Charles's representation. She contends that large portraits of Charles were used to facilitate his marriage to Catherine of Braganza; that jewelled miniature royal portraits were given as gifts, somewhat 'sting[ily]', to English ambassadors and more generously to important foreign monarchs, ambassadors, and visitors; and that medals bearing Charles's portrait were distributed as rewards for loyal service to the Crown and to minor

⁷¹ Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, p.172 n.166, pp.170-2.

⁷² Turner, 'Pepys and the Private Parts of Monarchy', pp.102-9, esp. 106-9; Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, (p.193).

foreign figures. Overall, she presents Charles's attitude to his official visual representation as lukewarm: she comments, for instance, that 'Charles did not require his own palaces to be decorated with his adult image in sculpture or in painting, but he was not averse to the strategic placing of his figure in public positions.'⁷³

Thus, even though Gibson acknowledges royal attempts to shape Charles's visual representation and deploy it for political purposes, her conclusions sit at odds with the tenor and import of Keay, Sharpe, and others' arguments that the Restoration Crown, and the king himself, played a significant and proactive role in crafting and disseminating Charles's representation.⁷⁴ In this regard, it presages Lorraine Madway's 2012 article on Charles's marriage celebrations. Whilst Madway calls explicit attention to how her work agrees with Keay's assessment of the importance that Charles ascribed to ceremonial representation, she suggests that through the official events staged to mark his marriage to Catherine of Braganza in 1662, 'Charles chose to communicate at best his distraction and at worst his indifference'. More broadly, she argues that from early on in his reign, he failed to maximise the political potential of royal ceremonial by not 'devis[ing] occasions of public intimacy for people to show their support for an idealis[ed] monarch that appeared grand yet approachable'. Indeed, her portrayal of Charles is for the large part scathing: she alludes to him being ineffective, lazy, duplicitous, greedy, and naïve.⁷⁵

Turner, Gibson, and Madway's arguments do much to tarnish the notion of Charles as a 'magnificent monarch', though this has not impeded it gathering force. Beyond Keay and Sharpe's

⁷³ Gibson, "'Best Belov'd of Kings'", pp.(198), 78-82, 88-9, 150-3, 161-4, 71-4, 76-7, (77), 83-6, (85), (76).

⁷⁴ Ibid., pp.1, 78, 80, 82, 83-6, 88-9, 102-4, 150-3, 161, 198; Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch*, pp.1-2, 95-101, 110-12, 119, 208-9; Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp.11-45, 93, 103-4, 106-11, 118-22, 129-35, 147-71, 191-3, 222; for example, Hoxby, 'The Government of Trade', 591, 593, 599-600, 603, 615, 622.

⁷⁵ L. Madway, 'Rites of Deliverance and Disenchantment: The Marriage Celebrations for Charles II and Catherine of Braganza, 1661-62', *The Seventeenth Century*, 27: 1 (2012), 79-103, esp. 79, (89), (98), 80, 82, 89, 91-2, 98.

work, it can be found incorporated into Helen Jacobsen's 2011 monograph on the material habits and environs of late seventeenth-century English diplomats. She writes, for instance, that:

The royal perquisites granted to ambassadors were intended to reinforce the diplomat's status as the monarch's representative abroad. For the period of his embassy, the diplomat lived in quasi-royal status, evidenced by a material world that bore close similarities to that of the king or queen.⁷⁶

Analysing Restoration as well as early Stuart coinage in 2019, B. J. Cook emphasises Charles II's concern over and involvement in both 'England's most significant monetary transformation of the early modern period' and 'the most fundamental reshaping of royal representation on British coinage in the [same] period' and suggests that the emergence of '[t]he Roman imperial theme' in Restoration coins betrays 'the particular [Francophile] version of royal authority adopted by Charles II'.⁷⁷ Recent work on Restoration royal sigillography has declared that it resumed pre-Commonwealth representational modes and flaunted 'overtly royal symbolism'.⁷⁸ There are also traces of the 'magnificent monarch' conceit in Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke's discussion of how 'the chapel royal... quickly resumed its role as a showcase for Laudian notions of ceremonial worship' from 1660.⁷⁹ Furthermore, that the concept of Charles II as the 'magnificent monarch' has broad academic acceptance is indicated by its presence in the public sphere. Digital materials accompanying the Royal Collection Trust (henceforth RCT)'s 2017-19 exhibition, *Charles II: Art and Power*, are evocative testament to the characterisation of Charles's representation as literally and figuratively magnificent.⁸⁰ Surprisingly, though, it takes no more than pushing past the headlines of

⁷⁶ Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, p.36.

⁷⁷ B. J. Cook, "'Stamp't with Your Own Image". The Numismatic Dimension of Two Stuart Successions', in P. Kewes and A. McRae (eds.), *Stuart Succession Literature: Moments and Transformations*, (Oxford, 2019), pp.311, 317.

⁷⁸ P. Dryburgh, *Royal Seals. The National Archives. Images of Power and Majesty* (Barnsley, 2020), pp.88-93; A. Ailes, 'Managing the Message: Royal and Governmental Seals 1050-1714', in J. Cherry, J. Berenbeim, and L. De Beer (eds.), *Seals and Status: The Power of Objects* (London, 2018), (p.101).

⁷⁹ K. Fincham and N. Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547-c.1700* (Oxford, 2007), pp.305-52, esp. pp.(307), 311-14.

⁸⁰ RCT, [Charles II: Art and Power](#) (exhibition online platform) (24 Mar. 2023), see esp. [Introduction](#).

historiography sustaining this conceptualisation of Charles to expose inherent weaknesses. Ironically, the chief issue is that it is not a representative assessment of his representation. There are serious and shockingly, often not subtle, limitations to the geographical coverage and evidentiary bases of core works outlined above.

The geographical imprecision of Sharpe and Keay's work has already been noted. Their analyses appear to privilege Charles's representation in London and the south-east of England unduly, even if both authors remark on how the Crown used official forms of representation to engage with a wide public.⁸¹ This likely gives an overblown impression of its splendour: this region played host to a disproportionate number of royal residences, artefacts, audiences, and ceremonies compared to other areas of the country, even if the court was not geographically static.⁸² Incidentally, Keay also openly acknowledges that her monograph 'is confined to those activities which were fundamentally about [Charles's royal] status rather than just tinged with it', meaning that 'royal theatregoing, hunting[,] and court entertainments, pastimes in which the king participated principally for personal pleasure, are not examined'.⁸³ This surely only compounds an inflated sense of how carefully orchestrated and splendid his official representation may have been.

More fundamental than limitations to existing representational historiography's geographical coverage are problems with its source bases. In the case of Jacobsen, her above-quoted summative remarks are not in fact justified by close attention to her analysis.⁸⁴ She implies that the Crown habitually 'equipp[ed] [its] representative[s]', in this case its diplomats, so as to project the authority and majesty of the monarch that they represented. Yet the fine print of her analysis acknowledges that such an approach was applied only to a variable and even questionable

⁸¹ Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, e.g., pp.28, 68-9, 129-30, 192-3; Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch*, pp.93-119.

⁸² Smith, 'The Representation of Charles II in English Colonial Contexts', pp.35-8.

⁸³ Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch*, p.2

⁸⁴ Above, p.28.

degree.⁸⁵ This is not least because she observes that ambassadorial representational grants were deliberately stratified according to 'the acknowledged hierarchy of the European powers'.⁸⁶ This introduces the possibility, and indeed probability, that only *high-ranking* diplomats were granted the items of plate, furniture, portraiture, and transport that Jacobsen discusses. This undercuts her quoted conclusion. It also necessarily circumscribes her generalisation that '[e]arly modern diplomacy... could not operate effectively without its lavish appurtenances... rulers went to great lengths to display their own magnificence... through the rich accoutrements with which they equipped their ambassadors'.⁸⁷

With Sharpe's work, there is an issue potentially more problematic than overreaching conclusions: his source base is vague. *Rebranding Rule* has an enormous number of footnotes and is renowned for the breadth and resourcefulness of its engagement with primary sources. Yet even Jenkinson, Scott Sowerby, and Jason White's determinedly positive reviews of the volume flag concern that its treatment of primary and secondary sources may not be representative.⁸⁸ Such concerns are hard to verify due to the very fact that the volume is missing a bibliography. Given that Sharpe's analysis of Charles II's representation covers more than two hundred pages and includes nearly 1,400 citations, there is therefore no feasible way to gauge whether it does or does not take account of a particular source. More broadly, Sharpe also does not comprehensively set out the forms of royal representation that his work does and does not cover, nor why such choices were made and with what consequences. Neither does he give an explicit definition of royal representation.⁸⁹ There is also no serious high-level discussion of the relative and likely variable

⁸⁵ Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, (title), pp.11-13, 24-6, 140.

⁸⁶ Ibid., pp.(12), 24-6. For the stratification of ambassadorial status and its reflection in representation more broadly, Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch*, pp.103-4; J. Hennings and T. A. Sowerby, 'Introduction. Practices of Diplomacy', in T. A. Sowerby and J. Hennings (eds.), *Practices of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World c.1410-1800* (London, 2017), p.5.

⁸⁷ Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, pp.11-36, (231).

⁸⁸ See Jenkinson, 'Review [Rebranding Rule]', 1499, 1501; Sowerby, '[Review, "Rebranding Rule"]', 523; Clark, 'Review of [Rebranding Rule]', 1766; White, '[Review. "Rebranding Rule"]', pgr.3.

⁸⁹ For comments closest to doing so, see Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp.xix-xx, 8.

importance, impact, and prioritisation of different representational forms during the Restoration, either as understood or experienced by the Crown and others.⁹⁰

As White suggests of other limitations of *Rebranding Rule*, it is possible that these oversights resulted from the volume being published after Sharpe's death.⁹¹ Nevertheless, they mean that it must be taken for granted that his sources are representative of Restoration royal representational media. Through exploring Charles's colonial representation, it becomes apparent that this is not the case.

Early Modern English Colonialism

The other historiographical field relevant to this thesis is of course that which addresses early modern English colonialism. This too naturally sits within a wider body of literature. Following on the heels of those such as Sir John Elliott who have compared early modern European colonial trajectories,⁹² there are in fact likely fruitful parallels to be made between English and Iberian forms of royal representation during the early modern period. It is certainly an interesting coincidence that Charles II of Spain ruled concurrently with Charles II of England, opening the future possibility of comparing the representation of two Charles-es in the context of colonial decline on the one hand and tentative yet emerging ascendancy on the other.

Unsurprisingly, there is a vast amount of scholarship simply covering English Restoration colonialism. Rather than attempt to recite its vicissitudes, several summative observations follow.⁹³

⁹⁰ For Sharpe's lack of attention to reception and to the complexities of executing official royal representation, see respectively Sowerby, '[Review, "Rebranding Rule"]', 523; Jenkinson, 'Review [Rebranding Rule]', 1501.

⁹¹ White, '[Review. "Rebranding Rule"]', pgr.3.

⁹² For the breadth of Elliott's comparative work, G. Marcocci (conven.) and various speakers including Sir John Elliott, 'Ideas that have Changed my Research: Thinking Iberian History with Sir John Elliott' (Iberian History seminar, held 25 Nov. 2020, University of Oxford).

⁹³ For variously succinct and sustained summative comments on relevant historiography, Stanwood, *The Empire Reformed*, p.28, n.8; Glickman, *Making the Imperial Nation*, pp.8-9, 11-15.

First, there is some logic to grouping relevant work published since the early twentieth century into two chronological tranches,⁹⁴ split roughly by the 1998 publication of the first volume of *The Oxford History of the British Empire*.⁹⁵ Work published from the mid-twentieth century until prior to the turn of the twenty-first century encompasses contributions by Sosin, Webb, David Ogg, K. G. Davies, Philip Haffenden, and Alison Olson.⁹⁶ It often has narrative rather than analytical focus, devoting considerable space to describing colonial socio-political landscapes and the unfolding of events connected to colonialism. It also typically grapples with rigid - if nonetheless frequently imprecise - interpretations of terms such as 'colonialism' and 'empire' which are usually based on traditional political, administrative, or developmental criteria. By contrast, work published since the late 1990s and early 2000s tends to have sharper analytical thrust. It also usually proposes or embraces looser definitions of 'the colonial' in this period, meaning that it often incorporates non-western geographies whereas previous scholarship typically does not. Work in this later chronological bracket includes that by Braddick, Games, Stanwood, Carla Pestana, Gabriel Glickman, Jane Ohlmeyer, Philip Stern, and Steven Pincus.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Relevant and perceptive, if in parts outdated, work published up to and during the early twentieth century includes Sir C. Lucas, 'Introduction', in J. H. Rose, A. P. Newton, and E. A. Benians (eds.), *The Old Empire: From the Beginnings to 1783* (Cambridge, 1929), see e.g., p.12; Harlow, *A History of Barbados*; Routh, *Tangier*.

⁹⁵ Canny, Low, and Louis (eds.), *Origins of Empire*.

⁹⁶ Sosin, *English America and the Restoration Monarchy*; Webb, *The Governors-General*; Webb, 1676; Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, ii, pp.657-91; K. G. Davies, *The Royal African Company* (London, 1960); P. S. Haffenden, 'The Crown and the Colonial Charters, 1675-1688: Part I', *William and Mary Quarterly* (henceforth WMQ), 15: 3 (1958), pp.297-311; A. G. Olson, *Anglo-American Politics, 1660-1775. The Relationship Between Parties in England and Colonial America* (New York, Oxford, 1973).

⁹⁷ Braddick, *State Formation*; Games, *The Web of Empire*; Stanwood, *The Empire Reformed*; C. G. Pestana, *The English Atlantic in an Age of Revolution, 1640-1661* (Cambridge [Massachusetts], London, 2004); idem, 'State Formation from the Vantage of Early English Jamaica: The Neglect of Edward Doyley', *Journal of British Studies*, 56: 3 (2017), 483-505; G. Glickman, 'Empire, 'Popery', and the Fall of English Tangier, 1662-1684', *Journal of Modern History*, 87: 2 (2015), pp.247-80; Glickman, *Making the Imperial Nation*; Ohlmeyer, 'Eastward Enterprises'; P. J. Stern, *The Company-State: Corporate Sovereignty and the Early Modern Foundation of the British Empire in India* (Oxford, 2011); S. Pincus, 'Rethinking Mercantilism: Political Economy, the British Empire, and the Atlantic World in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', WMQ, 69: 1 (2012), 3-34; idem, T. Bains, and A. Z. Reichardt, 'Thinking the Empire Whole', *History Australia*, 16: 4 (2019), 610-37.

Any supposed divisions between such brackets of scholarship are naturally inexact. It is indeed productive to think about them about as a *collective* body of literature reflecting changing historiographical approaches and shifting consensus. In fact, whatever their other differences of opinion, historians consistently agree that the Restoration Crown was a cash-strapped and often unsuccessful co-ordinator of colonial affairs, time and again proving itself to be an ineffectual colonial administrator, even if and as it attempted to implement a coordinated, centralised, and centralising colonial agenda.⁹⁸ Overall consensus also agrees that Charles and his government did engage with interest, attention, and ambition in Restoration colonial affairs, at least at some point during his reign. Opinions have varied as to whether through such engagement, the Crown attempted to pursue a broadly unvariegated and overarching colonial agenda across its overseas territories,⁹⁹ or whether there was little or no coordinated rationale behind royal colonial activities.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, as already indicated, there seems to be gathering insistence that such engagement can be dated to the early 1660s, rather than the mid-1670s, as once argued.

Historians addressing colonial themes have paid only limited attention to Charles's representation. Certainly, some have explored representation and even monarchical representation as a mechanism used by colonial and metropolitan parties alike to pursue agendas in Restoration colonial contexts.¹⁰¹ Yet such exploration has been typically the fodder and not the focus of their arguments. For example, Sosin considers both the content and meaning of Crown-colony communications in the context of Restoration '*English America*'. Nevertheless, he fails to analyse

⁹⁸ For a persuasive argument of the Crown's ineffectiveness, Sosin, *English America and the Restoration Monarchy*, esp. pp.24-38, 98-124, 253-72; Swingen, 'Labor, Empire, and the State', p.93; Games, *The Web of Empire*, pp.292-9.

⁹⁹ See for example Stanwood, *The Empire Reformed*, esp. pp.25, 27-8; Webb, *The Governors-General*, pp.xvi, xviii, 447; for particularly nuanced arguments with some suggestion that royal colonial goals may also have been geographically distinct, Olson, *Anglo-American Politics*, esp. pp.57-65; Weimer, *A Constitutional Culture*, pp.6, 276-7.

¹⁰⁰ N. Canny, 'The Origins of Empire: An Introduction', in Canny, Low, and Louis (eds.), *Origins of Empire*, esp. pp.21, 26; for such opinions side-by-side, Sosin, *English America and the Restoration Monarchy*, pp.2-3, 302-3; Braddick, *State Formation*, pp.397-419, esp. pp.413-15.

¹⁰¹ In addition to the overview below, see Smith, 'Representation of Charles II... Colonial Contexts', pp.10-15.

either the communications themselves, or what their contents divulge, as royal representational media to an extent or depth comparable with Sharpe or Keay's attention to Charles's English representation.¹⁰² Ian Steele's analysis of rhetorical and anthropomorphic forms of Crown-colony communications also makes a convincing case that their selective use by both Crown and colonial parties was politically-motivated, but assesses the high-level details of such materials rather than how later Stuart monarchs including Charles II may have been represented as sovereign within and by them.¹⁰³

Webb's occasional comments on colonial royal representational instances are in turn often fleeting, blinkered, and unsophisticated.¹⁰⁴ Similarly, Pestana's brief attention to Charles's colonial representation in his reign's opening years is reductive, and notably only at best a postscript to a monograph focused on other topics.¹⁰⁵ Conversely, brief reference to royal representation serves only as a precursor to Ohlmeyer's recent discussion of parallels between English colonial endeavours in early modern Ireland and Restoration Bombay. This is even as she argues that the use of representational media – language, coinage, colonial defences, public infrastructure, and even gardens – and the “anglici[s]ation” that it helped to facilitate, formed crucial components of both Ireland and Bombay's colonisation.¹⁰⁶

At this juncture, it is pertinent to note that as suggested in the author's previous work, there is an important distinction that has not always been made between colonial *royal* representation and simply colonial representation.¹⁰⁷ This thesis's proposed definition of the former will be set out

¹⁰² Sosin, *English America and the Restoration Monarchy*, (title), e.g., pp.94-7, 106-7, 109-11, 114, 116-24.

¹⁰³ I. K. Steele, *The English Atlantic, 1675-1740: An Exploration of Communication and Community* (New York, 1986), pp.229-50.

¹⁰⁴ Webb, *The Governors-General*, e.g., pp.359, 371-2, 454.

¹⁰⁵ Pestana, *English Atlantic*, pp.213-18.

¹⁰⁶ Ohlmeyer, 'Eastward Enterprises', esp. pp.83, (89, term in quotation marks), 97-9.

¹⁰⁷ Smith, 'The Representation of Charles II in English Colonial Contexts', pp.13-14, 58-9; see hints of Sharpe eliding these categories, *Rebranding Rule*, p.101.

below. Here, it is worth stating that Charles of course ruled over English colonial territories because he was the King of England and in that role, he was a cipher and arguably the ultimate instance of English sovereignty's representation.¹⁰⁸ By contrast, representations of English sovereignty were not necessarily reciprocal ciphers for Charles and his kingship. This is incidentally demonstrated by the fact that though in *The Company-State*, Stern considers the role that a range of representational forms played in the East India Company's colonial strategies, he makes negligible mention of instances of Charles's representation.¹⁰⁹

There are historiographical niches in which Restoration royal colonial representational media types are approached either in their own right or as sitting within wider pools of representational forms. Restoration colonial seals have received some such attention.¹¹⁰ Through painstaking consultation of individual works, it is possible to ascertain that between them, multiple authors have explicitly identified twenty-one colonial seals at work during the Restoration.¹¹¹ Ailes and Justice also respectively establish seals as important representational instances within colonial contexts.¹¹² Nevertheless, Justice is correct to pronounce that 'there is no single, comprehensive collection (never mind a scholarly historical study) of the deputed great seals of the British Empire'.¹¹³ Indeed, his statement applies to Restoration English colonial seals beyond those classified as deputed colonial seals. Through reference to existing scholarship and primary research, this thesis intends to address this oversight, with particular focus on identifying and analysing colonial seals with clear ties to the Restoration Crown.

¹⁰⁸ For the argument that Charles and the English monarchy was used as such a cipher, R. K. Batchelor, *London: The Selden Map and the Making of a Global City, 1549-1689* (Chicago, 2014), pp.154-5, 169.

¹⁰⁹ Stern, *The Company-State*, pp.29-36, esp. p.35

¹¹⁰ Above, pp.13-18.

¹¹¹ Vertue, *Medals ... of Thomas Simon*, [1st edn], pp.54, 62 and Plates XXXIV, XXXVI; Vertue, *Medals... of Thomas Simon*, 2nd edn, pp.84-5, 92-4; W. de G. Birch, *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (6 vols, London, 1887-1900), iii, p.711, iv, pp.703, 715, 716; Sir H. Jenkinson, *A Guide to Seals in the Public Record Office* (London, 1954), pp.45, 55; Ailes, 'Signs, Seals and Symbols', 15; Justice, 'The Art of Coining Christians', 124.

¹¹² Ailes, 'Signs, Seals and Symbols'; Justice, 'The Art of Coining Christians'.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 107-8 (108).

Existing work provides more cohesive insight into colonial coinage, including its dispersal, its representational potential, and its political uses and import. Numerous locally-, regionally-, and institutionally-focused studies can be found,¹¹⁴ complemented by works with broader geographical scope such as F. Pridmore's *The Coins of the British Commonwealth of Nations* and the discussion of colonial coinage within scholarship focused on other topics.¹¹⁵ This thesis amalgamates and builds on such work to provide the beginnings of an updated cross-territorial review of Charles II's colonial coinage. This enables it to offer wide-ranging perspectives on Restoration coinage as a royal representational medium and to reflect critically on existing assessments of English coinage as a form of Charles's representation and of Massachusetts and East India Company coinages as potentially politicised representational media. Its reflections ultimately call for the revision of key such assessments.

Other historiographical work has alighted on examples of additional forms of Charles's colonial representation including architecture, colonial charters, and placenames, though typically only in the context of wider-ranging discussion.¹¹⁶ A range of academic and non-academic work also provides sometimes detailed and invaluable insight into the existence, nature, and even absence

¹¹⁴ J. E. Barth, "'A Peculiar Stampe of Our Owne': The Massachusetts Mint and the Battle over Sovereignty, 1652-1691", *The New England Quarterly* 87: 3 (2014), pp.490-525; H. A. Parsons, 'The Bombay Pice [sic] Struck by the English East India Company During the Reign of Charles II', *The British Numismatic Journal*, 20 (1929), 251-9; ['The Coins of Colonial and Early America'](#), L. Jordan (images orchestrated by J. Spilman and the Colonial Newsletter Foundation) (11 Sep. 2023); T. Schwarz, *A History of United States Coinage* (1st ed., San Diego, London, 1980), esp. pp.13-25; E. Thomas, 'Coins of the East India Company, in Bombay, under the Charters of Charles II', *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society*, 3 (1883), 40-54. Though primarily focused on Restoration English coinage, for some discussion of colonial coinage see also H. W. Morrieson, 'A Review of the Coinage of Charles II', *The British Numismatic Journal*, 15 (1919), esp. 137-8.

¹¹⁵ F. Pridmore, *The Coins of the British Commonwealth of Nations to the End of the Reign of George VI, 1952* (5 vols, London, 1960-[75?]), i - iv (i); see for example Stern, *The Company-State*, pp.34-6.

¹¹⁶ For discussion of a broad range of media centred around architecture in Restoration Dublin, including instances which served as royal representation, R. Usher, *Protestant Dublin, 1660-1760: Architecture and Iconography* (Basingstoke, 2012), esp. pp.13-48; for focus primarily on colonial charters, K. MacMillan, "'Bound by Our Regal Office": Empire, Sovereignty, and the American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century', in S. Foster (ed.), *British North America in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Oxford, 2013), pp.79-92; for discussion of placenames as instances of Restoration royal representation, including reference to Linda Colley's brief allusion to the same, Smith, 'The Representation of Charles II in English Colonial Contexts', pp.60-6; see also for example Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, p.39; Webb, *The Governors-General*, p.202.

of potential types and instances of Charles's colonial representation.¹¹⁷ Whilst such material may assist with identifying or disqualifying particular artefacts as potential instances of Charles's colonial representation, it does not typically do so with especial, if any, interest in or comment on Restoration royal representation's existence, use, or meaning.¹¹⁸

Two specific and particularly notable historiographical lacunae also warrant comment. Remarks on how Restoration royal colonial representational forms functioned in colony-related diplomatic interactions can be found merged into both historiographical discussions of Charles II's representation and of Restoration colonialism.¹¹⁹ Nevertheless, how non-ambassadorial colonial agents may have functioned in roles akin to diplomats as they navigated and negotiated Crown-colony relations is not addressed. Charles's depiction in colonial portraiture also appears to have escaped discussion within existing work.¹²⁰ Explicit commentary on the presence or absence of Charles II's depiction is noticeably missing from work discussing portraiture within Restoration New England, for example.¹²¹ There is also no known work akin to the RCT's *Charles II: Art and Power* exhibition and catalogue showcasing colonial or pan-global instances of Charles's visual-material

¹¹⁷ See for example Major M. Hartland, *The Great Guns of Barbados. The Finest Collection of [Seventeenth] Century English Iron Guns Known to Exist Anywhere* (Edgehill, Barbados, 2009); Captain J. H. Lawrence-Archer, *Monumental Inscriptions of the British West Indies from the Earliest Date* (London, 1875); Routh, *Tangier*; Lawrence, *Trade Castles [and] Forts [West Africa]*; G. F. Dow, *Every Day Life in the Massachusetts Bay Colony* (New York, 1967); T. C. Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure: Lives and Possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (New Haven, London, 2004); idem, 'The Viceregal Court in Later Seventeenth-Century Ireland', in E. Cruickshanks, *The Stuart Courts* (Stroud, 2000), pp.256–65; H. Fraser and R. Hughes, *Historic Houses of Barbados*, 2nd edn ([Bridgetown], 1986); P. Sandham, '[Did You Know... the Evacuation of Tangier and the Tangier Plate](#)', Portsmouth Cathedral blog (30 March 2021) (16 Mar. 2023); Barbados Integrated Government, '[Coat of Arms](#)' (12 Sep. 2023).

¹¹⁸ As exceptions, Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, pp.1-20; idem., 'The Viceregal Court', pp.256-65; to a lesser extent, Routh, *Tangier*, pp.99-104, 109-11, 220-8.

¹¹⁹ See Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch*, pp.107, 118-19; Routh, *Tangier*, 99-104, 109-11, 220-8; K. M. Sheveland, *Anglo-Native Virginia: Trade, Conversion, and Indian Slavery in the Old Dominion, 1646-1722* (Athens, 2016), pp.56-8.

¹²⁰ For discussion of Charles's representation failing to feature in Peter's Moore's doctoral thesis, *British Graphic Art 1660-1735. An Atlantic Perspective* (University of York, 2013), Smith, 'The Representation of Charles II in English Colonial Contexts', pp.10-12.

¹²¹ See for instance, J. L. Fairbanks, 'Portrait Painting in Seventeenth-Century Boston: Its History, Methods, and Materials', in idem and R. R. Trent (eds.), *New England Begins: The Seventeenth Century* (3 vols, Massachusetts, 1982), iii, pp.413-55.

representation.¹²² Not every historiographical gap of course warrants filling. However, this thesis argues that overcoming the traditional segregation of historiographical discussion and considering parallels between colonial agents and their diplomatic counterparts opens productive historiographical insights.¹²³ Moreover, considering Charles's portraiture to include his depiction on media such as coinage, this thesis reveals that examination of the Restoration king's colonial portraiture problematises the fundamental components of existing historiographical narratives.¹²⁴

The landscapes of existing representational and colonial historiography are therefore rich but arguably roughly-hewn, difficult to navigate with precision, and in places uncharted. As such, building and interrogating a picture of Charles's colonial representation across a generous and deliberately inclusive range of media types offers the potential for incisive contributions to existing and future scholarship. Following the author's prior research into Charles's representation in the case-studies of Restoration Tangier and Carolina, this thesis will aim to redress the shortcomings outlined above and bring specificity to previously inexact mapped fields of exploration.¹²⁵

What Exactly is Charles II's Colonial Representation?

To that end, what *exactly* is Charles II's colonial representation? The answer relies on setting out several component definitions. First, this thesis will define Charles II's representation as instances of media with the clear intention of directly or indirectly expressing, depicting, or referencing the Restoration king's office, person, or authority.¹²⁶ Instances will be considered 'official' if they were explicitly or implicitly approved or used by the Restoration Crown. The term therefore incorporates

¹²² RCT, *Charles II: Art and Power* (exhibition, 8 Dec. 2017 – 2 June 2019, Buckingham Palace and Palace of Holyroodhouse); idem, [Charles II: Art and Power](#) (exhibition online platform) (24 Mar. 2023); R. Bird and M. Clayton (eds.), *Charles II: Art and Power* (London, 2017).

¹²³ See below, pp.59-132.

¹²⁴ See below, pp.325-89.

¹²⁵ Smith, 'The Representation of Charles II in English Colonial Contexts'.

¹²⁶ Ibid., pp.7-10. Other definitions set out below also share their roots with such work.

representational instances known to have been commissioned or produced directly by the Crown as well as those where a clear royal commission may be absent but where there is reason to believe that they were tacitly prompted or endorsed by the Crown. Such a definition is of course dependent on a definition of 'the Crown'. Here, this is understood as Charles II himself and those invested with his authority who regularly fell within the remit of the metropole, that is the king's immediate vicinity. It thus embraces and sharpens G. E. Aylmer's implicit distinction between 'the Crown' and '[its] servants'.¹²⁷ Notably, it typically classes officials such as royal commissioners, royal colonial governors, and military personnel amongst the latter. This is to distinguish between those charged with setting high-level royal colonial and domestic policy and those depended upon to execute it, even if the latter might inform and influence policy development.

The counterpoint to Charles's 'official' representation is his 'second-party' representation. This phrase is employed here to encompass examples of Charles's representation produced by any group or individual except the Crown and without clear royal assent. This is in preference to more natural alternatives such as 'unofficial' or 'non-official' as it avoids establishing them in implicit opposition. Distinguishing between representation associated with the Crown and with other parties does, however, allow for analysis of representational media as a component in royal politics and policy, as well as analysis of how other groups and individuals deployed and engaged with royal representation for their own purposes. It is also relevant to note that this thesis broadly considers Charles's representation within the period when he was officially acknowledged as England's monarch, 1660-85, and endeavours have been made to delineate explicitly where it has been pertinent to broaden or narrow analysis's chronological range.

This thesis focuses on Charles's *colonial* representation, and this will chiefly be considered instances of his representation whose primary creator or audience was intended to be those located in or

¹²⁷ Note Aylmer's title, *The Crown's Servants*.

near to contemporary English colonial territories, as well as the agents, rulers, or corporations representing such persons. This remit begs a simple question which has astonishingly gone unanswered by recent scholarship: what *were* Restoration English colonial territories? Current work fails to offer a clear, up-to-date definition or roll-call of English colonial territories during Charles II's reign.¹²⁸ However much historians have rightly examined, queried, and problematised the meaning and application of the terms 'colonialism' and 'empire' in this period, they have typically shied away from distilling their conclusions into proposals of *exactly* what either term may mean and from clearly delineating exactly which territories they incorporate.¹²⁹ This thesis intends to correct this.

Defining 'The Colonial'

In the first instance, it establishes the following definition of Restoration English territories that brings precision to revisionist understandings of 'the colonial' whilst retaining their inclusivity and flexibility. First, sites must be located outside of what are now the British Isles. Secondly, they must not have functioned chiefly as foreign embassies during Charles II's reign. These two criteria are designed to exclude territories not commonly understood as 'colonial' from the definition, such as Scotland, ambassadorial residences, and the likes of Guernsey and Jersey. Thirdly, they are not to encompass extra-territorial units where there are compelling grounds to consider underlying territories as sites in their own right, though sites may incorporate territories which do not warrant independent classification as 'sub-sites'. This is to ensure that the count of Restoration English colonies is not unduly inflated either by effectively including sites more than once, or by including sites with indistinct or unconfirmed credentials. Fourthly and finally, it must be able to be

¹²⁸ For an explicitly non-academic source that may do so, S. Luscombe, ['The British Empire'](#) (25 Sep. 2023), esp. ['Entering and Exiting the Empire'](#) (10 Aug. 2024), with interactive map created by D. Chalk.

¹²⁹ For a map and an incomplete list, Batchelor, *London: The Selden Map*, pp.[163-4], Figure [Thirty], see also p.173; for work failing to address the exact nature of Restoration English colonial territories, see Armitage, *Ideological Origins*, esp. pp.100-124; Stern, *The Company-State*, pp.6, 10; Games, *The Web of Empire*, pp.10-11, 14.

demonstrated that there was a contemporary claim, or contemporary grounds to make a claim, that Charles II of England held some form of authority as king in or over such sites and which was, or were, actioned during the Restoration.

Such 'actioning' is understood broadly and is a deliberately liberal substitute for a criterion once treated as a prerequisite of colonial sites, the existence of settlement or 'plantation'.¹³⁰ It thus follows in revisionist footsteps by dissolving prior distinctions between 'the colonial' and 'the commercial'.¹³¹ Similarly, it elides a specific possible distinction between colonial sovereignty and royal sovereignty: it assumes that claims of Charles's authority necessarily undergirded claims to authority in or over territory made by private individuals or corporations such as the East India Company.¹³²

Applying this definition to sites encountered within colonial historiography and calendared primary materials identifies seventy-six Restoration English colonies.¹³³ In addition to being referred to simply as 'colonies' and 'territories', such sites may be discussed as 'colonial contexts'. This is to reflect the fact that such sites' politico-economic and socio-cultural bounds often transcended their sometimes-imprecise geographical ones and that instances of Charles's representation associated with such sites were not always physically located *in* or *at* them.¹³⁴

¹³⁰ For discussion of such a criterion in the seventeenth century, MacMillan, "'Bound by Our Regal Office'", pp.82-4; for broader discussion of relevant contemporary theories of empire and sovereignty, Armitage, *Ideological Origins*, esp. pp.61-145; for historiographical notions of settlement and related practices as defining criteria for 'the colonial', see for example Hair and Law, 'The English in Western Africa to 1700', pp.260-1.

¹³¹ Jane Ohlmeyer both comments on Stern's work in this area and embraces a similar approach towards such labels. 'Eastward Enterprises', pp.86-7; Stern, *The Company-State*, pp.6-7.

¹³² For such a distinction and related discussion, including on the '[ambiguity] in both theory and practice' of royal authority in colonial contexts, and outlining points informing the distinction's elision within this thesis, Stern, *The Company-State*, pp.25, 23-6, 41-2, 46-60, esp. 57-8.

¹³³ Masulipatam and Kennebec were also declassified, and Hudson's Bay, Arcadia, and Nova Scotia classified, as Restoration English colonies on the basis of information regarding the firmness of their colonial credentials. See **Table A**, esp. **cols.C-M**.

¹³⁴ See for example below, p.239.

Such sites are listed in detail together with their salient features and relevant sources in **Table A**.¹³⁵

This table, together with the Excel workbook within which it sits, will be introduced and explained below. Necessarily a product of this research rather than its starting point, **Table A's** list of territories and accompanying information has chiefly been used to situate and assess the potential applicability of the thesis's findings. It is not intended to resolve all debate regarding defining 'the colonial' in this period; it is designed instead to progress it by providing a clear base point for future discussion and research. At a practical level, it is also intended to avoid duplicate research effort by providing easily navigable information on Restoration English colonial territories for those seeking to have it to hand.

Pertinent Related Findings

Though this thesis's emphasis is on royal representation and not English colonialism, it is pertinent to highlight several key findings related to defining Restoration English colonies as outlined above. Notably, Ireland satisfies the definition of a colonial territory in this period and is included within both **Table A** and this analysis. Nevertheless, as emphatically as its colonial status has been recently promulgated by Ohlmeyer, such status has not only been much-debated, as she acknowledges.¹³⁶ This analysis and its findings on Charles's representation ultimately calls for its reconsideration, as representational evidence suggests that the Crown considered it to be in key respects a Stuart realm rather than a colonial holding. In addition, nine Restoration English colonies were identified principally from primary rather than secondary material.¹³⁷ This includes three within the Caribbean

¹³⁵ For all dataset tables referenced in this thesis, see the Excel file accompanying this thesis.

¹³⁶ Ohlmeyer, 'Eastward Enterprises', 83-118 (for acknowledgement of debate, 88); idem, 'The James Ford Lectures 2021: Ireland, Empire, and the Early Modern World' (The James Ford Lectures, University of Oxford, held 22 Jan. - 26 Feb. 2021).

¹³⁷ In some cases, such sites may nevertheless have been sparingly encountered in secondary material. **Table A**; *CSPC. 1574-1660*, ed. Sainsbury, p.490 [no ref.]; *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, ed. Sainsbury, p.587 ref.1788, pp.319-20 ref.1042, p.294 ref.986, p.413 ref.936, p.266 ref.903; see mention of Satalone, *ibid.*, p.lxxx; for Anguilla, C. L. Petty, and editors of *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, '[Anguilla](#)' (4 Oct. 2023), *Britannica*, 'History of Anguilla'; R. K. Batchelor, 'London: The Selden Map and the Making of a Global City, 1549-1689' (Chicago, 2014), pp.[163-4], Figure [Thirty].

– Anguilla, St Eustatius, and Saba – which seem to have been broadly, if not entirely, overlooked by existing work. Whilst the latter two appear to have been Restoration English colonies only fleetingly, this is of course no reason to discount them from analysis.¹³⁸ Doing so would potentially skew related findings, creating the impression that colonial territories in Charles’s reign were more durable than they were, for example.

This principle is important to establish in light of the most significant finding that can be drawn out of identifying a precise list of Restoration English colonies. Such an exercise considerably expands the number of sites deemed Restoration colonial territories even by revisionist standards: in addition to the nine sites mentioned above, thirty-four territories (45% of those identified as Restoration English colonies) meet this research’s definitional threshold but are not construed as ‘colonial’ within existing scholarship. Of these, twenty-two – or nearly two-thirds – are West African. Such sites have been dismissed as colonial territories in this period by traditional and revisionist historians alike, including on grounds related to their impermanence.¹³⁹ This finding could of course suggest that the definition used to arrive at such a list requires revision. Yet as the definition is expected to be ultimately uncontroversial, it instead seriously questions the grounds for excluding these sites from past research. By extension, it also raises concerns about the reliability of conclusions that rely on such past foundations.

There is also a final finding particularly significant for research focused on Charles’s representation. Preliminary assessment based on core secondary literature and primary material suggests that sites with developed, and even well-developed, internal socio-cultural scenes constituted only just over

¹³⁸ *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, ed. Sainsbury, p.319 ref. 1042, p.587 ref.1788.

¹³⁹ See for example Hair and Law, ‘The English in Western Africa to 1700’, pp.260-1; for lack of explicit revisionist acknowledgement of an English ‘colonial’ presence in Africa during this period J. K. Osei-Tutu, and V. E. Smith, ‘Introduction: Interpreting West Africa’s Forts and Castles’, in J. K. Osei-Tutu and V. E. Smith (eds.), *Shadows of Empire in West Africa. New Perspectives on European Fortifications*, (Cham, 2018), see particularly ‘Forts and Castles Research: Perspectives and Sources’ section, esp. pgr.3, 5-7, 8, 13, 18, 38; as a near-exception, see Glickman, *Making the Imperial Nation*, pp.50, 51. **Table A**, esp. **cols.A-M, AF**.

a fifth of all seventy-six Restoration English colonies. Approaching three times as many had only fledgling or negligible internal socio-cultural environs.¹⁴⁰ Put another way, however established and vibrant the socio-cultural features of neighbouring indigenous or colonial communities may have been, the sites' equivalent landscapes were likely limited or almost non-existent. This suggests that royal representational media requiring a high investment of time, money, and artistic or artisanal skill such as portraiture and statuary would likely have circulated only in a minority of Restoration colonial contexts, those with developed or well-developed internal socio-cultural landscapes. This carries pertinent implications, including for the prospects of key traditional forms of Charles's representation having been found in colonial contexts.

This finding therefore leads neatly into the question of how this thesis approaches analysing the Restoration king's colonial representation in this vast and socio-culturally diverse, as well as politico-economically variable, territorial landscape.

Setting Out and Contextualising the Research's Scope

This thesis blends examination of media- and territory-focused case-studies, providing its analysis with global reach and local depth. Overall, the case-studies' geographical coverage is weighted towards locales with established colonial provenances and easily accessible digital, printed, and heritage source collections. This is predominantly due to time constraints and source considerations, together with initial investigation into West African territories, Bombay, and territories in present-day Asia as Restoration colonial contexts more broadly, offering unconvincing footholds from which to prioritise further study.¹⁴¹ Despite the theoretically global coverage of its

¹⁴⁰ 21% and 61% respectively. Not enough relevant detail was acquired within the scope of research to provide an assessment for the remaining 18% of Restoration English colonies. **Table A**, esp. **cols.N-P**.

¹⁴¹ Initial investigation considered sources including 'Original Correspondence, [1659-65]' (1659-68), British Library (henceforth BL), IOR/E/3/26-8, ff.178, 212-15, 236-43, ff.2, 46-7, 106-8, 110, 141-2, 145-6, 155-8, 165-

media-based case-studies and an authorial aspiration to push beyond conventional geographical limitations, this thesis therefore has more of an Atlantic than a truly global orientation. Nevertheless, such a focus carries undoubted advantages. Principally, not straying too far in practice from either the revisionist or even traditional understandings of ‘the colonial’ which remain only nominally global at best, serves to strengthen the challenge that this analysis’s conclusions bring to consensus arguments founded on such bases.

As there is little to no prior research dedicated to identifying and analysing Charles’s colonial representation as a whole, two tenets guided this thesis’s analysis: keeping its remit broad and focusing on representational areas which offered fresh and stimulating potential insight. The Restoration king’s representation was in turn understood as falling within the four core representational categories previously outlined: in-person audiences, people, written communiqués, and cultural artefacts. Such categorisation marks a shift from grouping royal representation into rhetorical, visual, and ceremonial buckets.¹⁴² It is derived from identifying the key methods of interaction open to the monarch and to others for communication either within or outside of the metropole. It also has the advantage of recognising that representational forms may have had overlapping rhetorical, visual, ceremonial, and material dimensions relevant to their interpretation.

8, ff.261-7, 268-83; ‘Cape Coast Castle’ (Apr.-Dec. 1678), TNA, T 70/657; *CSPC. 1574-1660*, ed. Sainsbury pp.491-2; *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, ed. Sainsbury, refs.173, 177, 316, 407, 417, 507, 543, 728, 788, p.266, 864, 1294, 408, 170, 618, 903, 206, 737, 934, 1168, 1536, 1537, 1538, 1780, p.710 ref.981; *CSPC AWI, 1669-74*, idem, refs.155-6, 1095-6, 1393, 937, 1433, 934-5, 426, 985; *CSPC AWI, 1675-6, also addenda, 1574-1674*, idem, refs.841, 1177, 768, 429, 433, 443, 445, 447, 464, 472, 479, 482, 507, 517, 529, 546 III, 550; *CSPC AWI, 1677-1680*, eds. idem and Fortescue, refs.394, 31, 889, 1649, 345, 227 I, p.82, 822; *CSPC AWI, 1681-1685*, ed. Fortescue, refs. 116, 948, 2026 (index reviews for all above-mentioned CSPC volumes); for sources related to relevant heritage collections research, see below, p.366.

¹⁴² Above, pp.6, 7; cf. Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp.9-222; Gibson, “‘Best Belov’d of Kings’”, i, p.5; Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch*, pp.1-3.

'In-person audiences' are understood as meetings between Crown officials, agents representing colonial locales or parties associated with them, and sometimes with Charles himself at the English court. They have naturally featured in narratives of specific colonial histories and as suggested previously, Keay has looked at the occurrence of in-person meetings with Charles generally and the protocols governing them.¹⁴³ Analysis of in-person audiences would likely not have been in keeping with the above-mentioned research principles, whilst demanding a significant investment of time to gain the knowledge required to contextualise them appropriately. They have therefore not featured in this thesis's research, though they may be touched on in its general discussion.

People can be considered as forms of Charles II's representation in so far as they were vessels of his authority: that is, invested with the power to speak and act on his behalf. This means that in theory, anthropomorphic representations of Charles in colonial contexts included the likes of colonial governors, customs officials, military personnel, and royal commissioners. To what degree such types of office-holder could be considered 'official' forms of royal representation is a pertinent question, though not one that will be addressed here. In line with the principles noted above and similar to in-person audiences, this thesis will not devote particular attention to individuals as royal representational forms.

Written communiqués, or correspondence, have received some focused attention during this thesis's research. The author has been mindful of the mountain of material that this representational form covers and of the risk of becoming mired in sources with minimal individual relevance to Charles's colonial representation. Outside of analysis focused on letters patent as a royal written communiqué case-study which will be discussed in due course, such records have

¹⁴³ For mention of such audiences in colonial historical narratives, Routh, *Tangier*, pp.223-4, 261; see also ['The Coins of Colonial and Early America'](#), Jordan (Spilman and the Colonial Newsletter Foundation (henceforth, CNF)), ['Chronological Listing'](#); Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch*, e.g., pp.93-119, for brief mention of the Moroccan ambassador in the context of royal audiences, p.107.

therefore principally been treated as source material potentially illuminating other royal representational instances rather than as instances in their own right. Nevertheless, it is possible for the thesis to offer several observations on written communiqués as a royal colonial representational form. The intention is for these to be taken as the grounds for further research.

As the media category deemed likely to deliver the richest and most interesting insights when examined, cultural artefacts have formed the core focus of the thesis's research. This category also incorporates representational forms that academics and members of the public alike may first think of in relation to royal representation, such as painted portraiture and ceremonial events. Moreover, such forms crucially encompass examples widely acknowledged as important to the projection of royal presence and authority in high-politics as well as in the public sphere: these include those such as royal gifts and grants on the one hand, and coinage on the other. As is likely clear from the examples mentioned above, the term 'cultural artefacts' is deliberately used to embrace all royal representational forms that cannot chiefly be classed as either in-person audiences, people, or written communiqués. It therefore refers to intangible royal representational forms such as place names and ritual observances as well as items more typically described as 'artefacts'. It also includes royal representational forms that can be considered traditional, such as portraits and those with particular – but far from exclusive – relevance in colonial contexts, such as ordnance and charters or letters patent, as well as those which to date appear to have escaped notice, such as legal warrants summoning individuals to court.¹⁴⁴

Research then adopted two main methodological approaches, on the one hand focusing on identifying Charles's representation in two colonial territories, Barbados and Massachusetts, and on the other hand, on investigating Charles's representation in particular media types. Such

¹⁴⁴ For some discussion but not representational analysis of legal writs in Massachusetts as forms of Charles's representation, see for example Weimer, *A Constitutional Culture*, pp.66-7, 76, 78-9.

approaches were not always entirely distinct, and research also took shape as several hybrid media- and territory-based case-studies. Core reflections on such approaches and related sources are outlined below. In particular, whilst key examples of case-study-based scholarship may decline to contextualise their case-studies,¹⁴⁵ it is naturally important to appreciate how the core characteristics of the thesis's case-studies may impact its analytical findings and how they illuminate Charles's colonial representation.

Territory-based Case-studies

Two territory-oriented case-studies assess Charles's representation in the specific contexts of Massachusetts and Barbados respectively. Massachusetts is of course well-known as a staunchly Puritan, early North American colony whose allegedly hostile dealings with the Restoration Crown culminated in the loss of its charter in 1684. Barbados, meanwhile, is renowned for its 'royalist inclinations' in this period, as well as the stupendous imbalances and inequalities of its sugar and slavery-based economy.¹⁴⁶ In fact, the territories counterpose one another on key points of politics, economy, demography, and religion.¹⁴⁷ Notably, however, both can be considered widely-known Restoration English colonies. Indeed, both were well-established English territories by 1660 and endured as such without disruption beyond Charles's reign. Both were also based in the Atlantic region, and respectively had well-developed and developed internal socio-cultural landscapes.

¹⁴⁵ See for example Webb, *The Governors-General*; Stanwood, *The Empire Reformed*, pp.26-53.

¹⁴⁶ Pestana, *The English Atlantic*, pp.214-15 (214); Greene, 'Changing Identity in the British Caribbean', pp.220-3.

¹⁴⁷ For political points, see for example below, pp.301-3, 308; for varying opinions on New England's prosperity, Sosin, *English America and the Restoration Monarchy*, pp.16-17; V. D. Anderson, 'New England in the Seventeenth Century', in Canny, Low, and Louis (eds.), *Origins of Empire*, pp.208-9; Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, ii, p.681; cf. Greene, 'Changing Identity in the British Caribbean', pp.220-3; Sosin, *English America and the Restoration Monarchy*, pp.77, 81; cf. Greene, 'Changing Identity in the British Caribbean', pp.226-7; Anderson, 'New England in the Seventeenth Century', p.204; cf. N. A. Zacek, 'The Caribbean and West Indies', in J. Gregory (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism. Volume II, Establishment and Empire, 1662-1829* (5 vols, Oxford, 2017), esp. pp.191, 192.

The distinction between 'well-developed' and 'developed' reflects such landscape's relative strength and sophistication. On the one hand, Massachusetts appears to have had a strong socio-cultural scene, including the presence of a university at Harvard, a printing press,¹⁴⁸ and – contrary to the notion that '[t]he Puritan character did not warm to the fine arts and austere living was the aim if not always the achievement of the time'¹⁴⁹ – a thriving artisanal and artistic culture.¹⁵⁰ On the other hand, Barbados had a solid but arguably more limited internal socio-cultural landscape. Greene may declare that '[b]y the 1670s, the proud boast of Barbados was that it was considerably farther into th[e] process of social articulation and replication than any other English colony in America'.¹⁵¹ Yet the island lacked both a university and a printing press until the eighteenth century.¹⁵² Its social diversity and dynamism was also stymied by the enslavement and indenture of great swathes of its population. Furthermore, it may be true that if the island's internal market could not cater to demand for certain artisanal and artistic goods, members of its wealthy elite could almost certainly have imported them.¹⁵³ However, the fact that they needed to rely on the great effort, expense, and risk of shipping items from - and even to - England to satisfy artisanal needs delineates clear gaps in Barbados's internal socio-cultural markets.¹⁵⁴ This said, Greene suggests that from at least the mid-1670s, the island had high-quality local infrastructure and 'all manner of artisans, including even goldsmiths, jewel[l]ers, and clockmakers, provid[ing] many of the same speciali[s]ed service enjoyed by the inhabitants of the largest English towns'.¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁸ For evidence of printing capabilities in Restoration Massachusetts, see for example Massachusetts Historical Society, ['The conditions for new-planters in the territories of his royal highness\[s\] the...'](#) (30 June 2024), 'Publisher', 'Notes'.

¹⁴⁹ G. F. Dow, *Every Day Life in the Massachusetts Bay Colony* (New York, 1967), p.45.

¹⁵⁰ See for instance evidence of settlers' material possessions in the early Stuart and English Civil War era in Dow's own work, *ibid.*, pp.32-8, 42-3, 45; see also Miller, 'The Puritan Portrait', pp.153-84.

¹⁵¹ Referring to cultivating English socio-cultural mores. Greene, 'Changing Identity in the British Caribbean', pp.228-34, esp. pp.231 (229).

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, pp.241, 232.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp.230, 224.

¹⁵⁴ See 1677 plans to repair St Michael's 'now crackt and unservicable... bell' by sending it to England, 'Records of the Vestry of St. Michael', *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society* (henceforth, *JBMHS*), XVI: 1-2, 63.

¹⁵⁵ Greene, 'Changing Identity in the British Caribbean', p.230.

The case-study territories' levels of internal socio-cultural development place them in a minority of Restoration English colonies, given that as outlined in the above statistics, most colonial locales had far less well-established equivalents. Importantly for the study of Charles's colonial representation, it means that in theory, Massachusetts and Barbados were more likely to have hosted sophisticated items of royal representation, such as his painted or sculpted portraiture or even elaborate ceremonies, than Charles's colonial territories on average. As a result, the thesis's territory-based case-studies are primed to illuminate Charles's colonial representation at its richest, its most abundant, and its most established rather than at its norm. There is also every reason for research to uncover clear parallels between what current scholarship leads us to understand of his English representation and Charles's representation in Barbados and Massachusetts.

A range of sources were used to inform such case-studies. Concentrated reviews of the *Calendar of State Papers Colonial* series sought to identify as well as analyse where possible instances of Charles's colonial representation and incorporated material including Crown and local colonial records as well as correspondence. In addition to browsing entries sighted *ad hoc* and identified as of possible interest,¹⁵⁶ such reviews made particular use of the volumes' indexes and their entries and focused on material spanning the period 1660-5 and related to Massachusetts and Barbados respectively.¹⁵⁷ Complementing such research into Restoration Massachusetts, N. B. Shurtleff (ed.)'s *Records of the Governor and Company of... Massachusetts* were comprehensively reviewed from 12 November 1659 up to the end of 1661. These records include copies of Crown-colony correspondence. Shurtleff's volumes were then surveyed more generally, initially to identify possible evidence of Massachusetts's observation of royal ritual days or lack thereof, and then to develop a high-level understanding of the nature and frequency of Crown-colony

¹⁵⁶ In the early stages of research, some initial interest was also paid to possible index entries related to the Board of Trade and Plantations and the Lords of Trade and Plantations in *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, ed. Sainsbury and *CSPC AWI, 1677-1680*, eds. idem and Fortescue.

¹⁵⁷ *CSPC. 1574-1660*, ed. Sainsbury; *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, ed. Sainsbury.

communications.¹⁵⁸ Records of colonial legal acts and a sample of settler diaries were also reviewed. Meanwhile, sources such as local governmental records, almanacs, and materials in the Barbados Museum and Historical Society and Barbados's Department of Archives were employed to gain insight into the Barbadian Restoration socio-cultural landscape, alongside in-person visits to key heritage sites, conducted in December 2022.¹⁵⁹ Relevant *Calendar of State Papers Colonial* volumes were also searched for entries relating to Barbados and a prospective mint, a potential post office, and ritual days.¹⁶⁰ Furthermore, following interest piqued through the author's prior research into Restoration Tangier as a case-study site for the analysis of Charles's representation, National Archives materials related to the colony were also browsed during research. Related investigation included focusing particularly on identifying the presence of seals and possible copies of letters patent within such materials.¹⁶¹

Hybrid Media- and Territory-based Case-studies

Three hybrid media- and territory-based case-studies also developed as the research was undertaken. One examined letters patent as an example of written communiqués as an official royal representational form. A large portion of those examined constitute those issued to the East India Company during the Restoration and made available through the Adams Matthew East India Company database.¹⁶² Letters patent not directly relating to colonial business were included for comparison to those directly relevant to colonial contexts. A small amount of written material in

¹⁵⁸ *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, ed. N. B. Shurtleff (5 vols, Boston, 1853-4), iv (i), iv (ii), v.

¹⁵⁹ Cursory survey was also undertaken of 'Commissions, instructions, Board of Trade correspondence etc.' [Barbados, Entry Books] (1627-74), TNA, CO 29/1; 'Commissions, instructions, Board of Trade correspondence etc.' [Barbados, Entry Books] (11 Aug. 1675 – 26 Mar. 1680), TNA, CO 29/2.

¹⁶⁰ *CSPC. 1574-1660 and CSPC AWI, [1661-85]*, ed. Sainsbury (and Fortescue).

¹⁶¹ 'Correspondence, original – Secretary of State' [Board of Trade: Tangier] (1661-2), TNA, CO 279/1; 'Proceedings of the Courts of Record and Sessions' (1668-71), TNA, CO 279/45, esp. ff.1-7; 'Proceedings of the Court Merchant' [Board of Trade: Tangier] (1679-83), TNA, CO 279/44, ff.[initial folios]; 'Register of complaints, warrants, recogni[s]ances, etc.' (1668-82), TNA, CO 279/41, ff.[esp. initial folios]; 'Correspondence, original – Secretary of State' [Board of Trade: Tangier] (June – Dec. 1678), TNA, CO 279/23, esp. ff.1-20.

¹⁶² '[East India Company](#)', Adams Matthew Digital database (27 July 2024).

the National Archives was also consulted in an attempt to locate the King's Bill for the Crown's grant of Bombay to the East India Company to inform letters patent research, based on details of the timing of such patents by Stern.¹⁶³ Non-East India Company letters patent were also analysed, though most relate to North American colonial charters identified through *ad hoc* digital research, conducted in order to build the pool of sources considered.¹⁶⁴ That this approach was taken and that the letters patent examined do not systematically reflect the Restoration colonial territories identified in other branches of this thesis's research is largely a result of the project's time constraints and practical or simply circumstantial details that influenced its direction. Related conclusions are thereby proposed as the grounds for additional research that may seek to identify further relevant colonial letters patent.

A second hybrid case-study considers Crown colonial ordnance as an official royal representational form with particular attention to Barbados as a colonial context. It will be noticed that no dataset table is provided alongside it. With further time, one may have been produced. However, such provision was de-prioritised given that the study's Barbadian portion focused primarily on extant ordnance in a limited number of locations on the island and also relied heavily on the information supplied by Major Hartland's work on Barbados's historic ordnance collection.¹⁶⁵ A third hybrid case-study assesses Charles's colonial visual representation in artefacts beyond his depiction on coinage, concentrating research on the thesis's two territory-based case-studies of Barbados and Massachusetts as well as on identifying relevant extant representational instances in specific

¹⁶³ 'Signet Office: King's Bills' (July – Dec. 1667), TNA, SO 7/20; 'Signet Office: King's Bills' (Jan. – June 1668), TNA, SO 7/21; Stern, *The Company-State*, p.23.

¹⁶⁴ For the sources examined, see **Table C**.

¹⁶⁵ Ordnance collection, Barbados National Armoury Museum, Barbados (henceforth BNAM) (viewed 8 Dec. 2022); ordnance seen at the following other locations in Barbados, 5-11 Dec. 2022: St. Nicholas Abbey, Charles Fort (now Hilton Barbados Resort), the Holetown Monument (Highway 1, Holetown), and the Garrison Historic Area Main Guard; Major Hartland, *The Great Guns of Barbados*.

heritage collections outlined in Chapter Four.¹⁶⁶ The rationale prompting all three case-studies is described briefly within discussion of the thesis's media-focused case-studies.

Lesser attention was also given to specific colonial locales beyond the thesis's two main territorial case-studies, to broaden the thesis's territorial outlook and to enrich discussion of particular representational forms. For example, printed Restoration records for Rhode Island were searched primarily for possible references to its letters patent, potential seals, and royal ritual observances.¹⁶⁷ Brief efforts were also made to attempt to identify the "'Conquest Day'" which Webb suggests was inscribed into Jamaican law 'as a holiday' during the Restoration by consulting printed copies of its laws.¹⁶⁸

Media-based Case-studies

The thesis's research also evolved to include three media-based case-studies. These centred respectively on royal colonial grants, colonial seals with particular emphasis on those with clear connections to the Crown, and coinage and as the case-studies' focus was determined by media-type rather than specific colonial locales, their geographical range can be considered global. Alongside the above-mentioned hybrid study of Charles's visual colonial representation, colonial grants and coinage were selected as case-studies particularly as such media types have featured prominently within key existing scholarship on Charles II's English and diplomatic representation. Indeed, as will be discussed, it has been insisted that they constituted integral components of how his official representation was orchestrated and how second-parties encountered their monarch. Seals and ordnance developed as media and hybrid case-studies respectively after chance

¹⁶⁶ Below, p.329.

¹⁶⁷ *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England [1636-1706]*, ed. J. R. Bartlett (3 vols, New York, 1856-8).

¹⁶⁸ Webb, *The Governors-General*, p.319; Jamaica, *The Laws of Jamaica... [23 Feb.] 1683...* (London, 1683); idem, *The Laws of Jamaica... [17 April], 1684...* (London, 1684); idem, *The Continuation of the Laws of Jamaica... [26 December], 1695...* (London, 1698).

encounters with relevant artefacts led to the realisation of the importance and potential value of examining such representational forms. Hybrid focus on colonial letters patent was in turn borne of analysis of several such patents' visual elements in the author's prior research and this case-study likewise concentrates primarily on patents' visual and artistic components.¹⁶⁹

Alongside extant artefacts, written sources were naturally also consulted during media-based case-study research. They include select entries in the Treasury Book calendars as well as tranches of Great Wardrobe and Jewel Office warrants used in the analysis of royal colonial representational grants.¹⁷⁰ Sources such as the aforementioned Treasury Book calendars, *Calendar of State Papers Colonial* materials, the contemporary account of 'The State of Jamaica under Sir Thomas Lynch', and modern records in The National Archives were then viewed during research into Restoration colonial seals, including to attempt to locate extant examples.¹⁷¹ More generally, heritage collections and associated catalogues were also in some instances treated as sources in their own right, typically in so far as they may be testament to the apparent absence of Charles's colonial representation in particular contexts. It is also pertinent to remark that as previously indicated, the thesis's coinage case-study relies principally on secondary literature rather than primary sources.¹⁷²

As a final note regarding the thesis's case-study sources, as suggested above, non-academic sources such as blogs or webpages published by national libraries, notable historians, or government departments, may also be used in this thesis's research. This stems from it leveraging digital

¹⁶⁹ Smith, 'The Representation of Charles II in English Colonial Contexts', pp.30-3.

¹⁷⁰ For additional detail, below, pp.62-4.

¹⁷¹ The Treasury Book calendars were reviewed with specific focus on identifying entries related to seals and Barbados, Tangier, St Christopher, and Henry Harris, the engraver. *CSPC* materials were consulted particularly to identify entries related to seals to the Leeward Islands and New Hampshire in addition to the above topics. *CTB*, ed. Shaw, i-v, vii; *CSPC. 1574-1660*, ed. Sainsbury; *CSPC AWI [1661-85]*, eds. Sainsbury and Fortescue, v, vii, ix-xi; Jamaica, *The Laws of Jamaica... April 17, 1684*, 'The State of Jamaica under Sir Thomas Lynch', in pp.i-xix; 'Flags, badges, and arms... Jamaica' (1936-7), TNA, CO 323/1377/11; 'Accession of King George VI: Public seals, Jamaica' (1937), TNA, CO 323/1522/9; 'Arms of Jamaica' (1937), TNA, CO 323/1468/10.

¹⁷² Above, p.36; see also below, esp. p.346.

channels of research to facilitate its inquiries and embracing the possibilities of access to information that it may be difficult, if not near-impossible, to acquire through traditional academic sources in the course of a doctoral project. Care has been taken to evaluate, use, and caveat such sources' credentials and conclusions as appropriate.

Accompanying Dataset Tables

Looking beyond this thesis, in spite of the abundant footnotes and the bibliographies that may accompany existing research into Charles II's representation, it can be very difficult to reconstruct associated primary source bases. This thesis demonstrates a new possible way to facilitate such reproducibility and to provide accessible datasets as jumping off points for future scholarship to avoid unnecessary duplication of research effort. This is the provision of Microsoft Excel-based dataset tables alongside research. Given that terms such as 'Excel' and 'dataset[s]' may immediately concern readers with primarily qualitative and non-technical historical expertise as being either unnecessary or inaccessible, it is necessary to explain why supplying the same or similar information in static, word-processed form is a poor and much-reduced alternative.

Take, for example, **Table B**, the dataset table presenting data related to Restoration royal colonial grants and found in the Excel workbook delivered alongside this thesis. The display formats available in Excel allow a vast amount of data on such grants to be presented and it is unlikely that an equivalent amount of data could be captured within a word-processed table appended within this document without it being exceptionally unwieldy, if the full complement of such data could be presented at all. Within the Excel-based table, whilst having all such data at their disposal, the reader can – and is expressly encouraged to – control and adjust exactly what they see.

The reader may be interested, for instance, in verifying the fact that, as alluded to below, more than two-thirds of the unique grants identified within the records sampled are associated with

Atlantic colonies (forty-nine of seventy-one grants), and nearly 60% are associated with Atlantic colonies under exclusive *royal* control (forty-two grants).¹⁷³ Normal historiographic practice would likely leave these specific statistics uncited, relying instead on other citations or a bibliography to gesture to the general body of sources that they were built from. If **Table B's** dataset was presented in a word-processed table, the reader could manually review each entry, identify those that met the relevant geographical and political criteria, and validate the claims. Excel's functionality allows the reader to by-pass such manual processing: applying appropriate filters to the table headings quickly and simply adjusts the dataset shown. Such functionality can be leveraged across the datasets to identify trends not necessarily addressed in the thesis's research. They can also be easily enlarged, including to facilitate comparative research. They are therefore intended primarily to maximise the thesis's contribution to existing scholarship and to open up dynamic opportunities for future study.

Whilst they may have innovative potential, the dataset tables have been designed to require minimal technical or quantitative expertise to consult and use effectively. General introductory details and brief usage guidance, alongside information specific to each table's interpretation, is also provided in the Dataset Tables List.¹⁷⁴ Nevertheless, it is course possible that the reader may be unable or unwilling to view the tables alongside the thesis. Although the tables are intended to enhance the thesis's analysis in critical ways, care has thereby been taken to ensure that the thesis can be read independently of them. To facilitate this, attention has been paid to structure the bibliography in order to aid the reader in identifying the key pools of cultural artefacts and associated heritage collections and catalogues that have informed the thesis's research. A 'Cultural Artefacts and Collections' section therefore precedes the bibliography's standard sub-division according to primary and secondary sources. This is further divided into segments according to

¹⁷³ For details relevant to interpreting this statistic, above, 'Dataset Tables List', pp.xxxi-xxxiv; below p.124; **Table B.**

¹⁷⁴ Above, pp.xxi-xliv.

broad source type, and specific source type where applicable, within which classification is generally ordered by location. Such organisation has been pursued as far as is feasible and economical to do so to enhance reader consultation, though along with the dataset tables, the bibliography as a whole, rather than only its opening main section, should be considered a comprehensive guide to the sources associated with cultural artefacts consulted within this thesis's research.

Mapping What Lies Ahead

In the following pages, this thesis will explore Charles II as a metropolitan monarch. Specifically, it will on the one hand examine how the Restoration Crown used Charles's representation to project his presence and authority in colonial contexts far beyond England, let alone his immediate vicinity. On the other hand, it will interrogate how local colonial actors created and engaged with Charles's representation as king. Chapter One will open discussion to address the first question outlined above and examine royal colonial grants as instances of Charles's official colonial representation. Initially embracing and appearing to corroborate the expectations generated by existing diplomatic and representational historiography, it will ultimately establish that interrogating royal colonial grants exposes not only the limitations of the Crown's use of royal representation in colonial contexts, and indeed its colonial agenda, but also of its associated priorities. In so doing, emphasis will be placed on the importance of considering ostensibly missed as well as 'magnificent' representational opportunities in analysis. **Table B** will also provide readers with access to datapoints relevant to the grants' analysis.

Chapter Two will broaden and deepen the arguments outlined in Chapter One. It will open by interrogating the agency behind official royal colonial representation and the involvement of second-parties within it. It will then turn to examine the extent to which practical representational forms not usually considered within analysis of Charles II's representation – such as letters patent,

seals, and ordnance – can and should be addressed as relevant representational forms. With their value as subjects of study confirmed, the aforementioned media types will be discussed as forms of official royal representation used and not merely received by colonial communities. **Tables C and D** providing data related to letters patent and colonial seals respectively are relevant to this chapter's discussion.

Chapter Three then turns to focus on pinpointing the meaning and messages behind both Charles's official and second-party representation. Detailed analysis of principally royal colonial seals uncovers a key link between aspects of royal representation and the importance that the Crown attached to particular places, persons, and objectives. This link is then followed to illuminate not only a clear hierarchy of royal colonial priorities, but to reflect on its representational agenda. Following such analysis, the chapter explores second-party examples of Charles's representation, specifically engaging with examples as indicative of more than allegedly binary political positions towards the Restoration Crown. Chapter Four draws together threads of argument from throughout the thesis and examines two renowned traditional forms of Charles's representation in colonial contexts: coinage and broader forms of Charles's visual representation. **Tables E and F** on coinage associated with Restoration English colonies and select findings of specific searches for instances of Charles's visual representation accompany its discussion.

Reflections on the thesis's findings and its recommendations for further research will then close the thesis. These emphasise the need to re-evaluate key elements of existing historiographical consensus concerning both Charles II's representation and Restoration colonialism, and propose specific starting points for future scholarship. It thus offers ways in which to continue the work of reconceptualising Charles II as 'the metropolitan monarch'.

Chapter One. Glittering Examples, Gilded Exceptions:

Official Representational Grants as Indications of

Royal Objectives

Cultural artefacts held the potential to act as tools essential to the exercise of royal government overseas. Whilst Jacobsen at least acknowledges this potential in her allusions to royal representational paraphernalia as part of ‘the visible expression of majesty abroad’, it is largely overlooked by Sharpe and other historians of Charles’s English representation.¹ They have of course examined how official representational instances including artefacts such as statues, medals, and portraits functioned to dovetail with and often strengthen aspects of the Crown’s political and religious agenda. They have also noted more briefly how second-party representational equivalents might express royalist loyalty or oppositionist politics, and perhaps interest in royalty and politics generally.² They have, however, failed to recognise royal representational forms as media which might not only support and supplement politics, but serve as standard mechanisms upon which its delivery depended. Crucially, in addition to conveying symbolic messages about the nature of royal authority, cultural artefacts could quite simply project and verify its presence.

It was not necessarily easy, after all, to tell who or what might be charged with genuine royal authority beyond the metropole, as illustrated by an episode reported to have taken place in Interregnum Massachusetts. In March 1661, Captain Thomas Breedon reported to the Council for Foreign Plantations that before his return to the throne, Massachusetts authorities had apparently made the mistake of believing themselves to be unwilling hosts to the exiled king, Charles himself:

¹ Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, p.12.

² Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp.xvi-222, esp. pp.124-9, 103-18, 129-33, 136-47; Gibson, “‘Best Belov’d of Kings’”, i, e.g., pp.68, 83-7.

he alleged that ‘they apprehended a gentleman not many yeares agoe (supposing him to be ye King) resolveing to send him for England, had not S[i]r Henry Moody [and] others better knowne his Maiesty’.³ Breedon was certainly disingenuous in his comment preceding this story, ‘it will not become me to say that [Massachusetts] ha[ve?] so much as a stincking breath’, as he clearly intended it to paint the colony in an unflattering and anti-royalist light.⁴ He also does not provide further details on the episode.⁵ He does not, for instance, elaborate on who the gentleman was, or on whether he was the enthusiastic or unwilling subject of these rumours. Nor does he mention what drove the suspicion that Charles had arrived in the colony. Whatever it was, Breedon’s account suggests that colonists felt that the source was initially credible enough to justify the presumably bold and expensive decision to ship the accosted party to England. It was not, however, authoritative enough to contest successful personal testimony-based counterclaims that the gentleman was not Charles.

In the case of the Interregnum imposter, it may therefore have been supposed royal artefacts as much as tales told, uncanny resemblance, or falsified papers which prompted the identification error. A 1664 exchange between Massachusetts’s General Court and New England royal commissioners in fact later explicitly confirmed both the importance of cultural artefacts as vessels of royal authority, and the expectation that they be treated as such. Since the commissioners had begun to probe Massachusetts’s affairs after arriving in Boston, the Court had doggedly, though disingenuously, queried the legitimacy of the commissioners’ royal mandate.⁶ Feeling thus pressed

³ TNA, CO 1/ 15, f.30.

⁴ For Breedon’s partisanship against Massachusetts, Sosin, *English America and the Restoration Monarchy*, pp.92-3.

⁵ ‘[Capt. Thos. Breedon to the Council for Foreign Plantations’ \(11 Mar. 1661\)](#), *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, North America and West Indies 1574-1739* (henceforth *CSPC NAWI*) (vol. v) (14 June 2024), ‘Full text’.

⁶ Questions about their credentials had been raised not upon their arrival, but upon their investigations into colonial affairs. *Records of... Massachusetts*, ed. Shurtleff, iv (ii), pp.157, 168-73, see also e.g., pp.223-5; see also Sosin, *English America and the Restoration Monarchy*, pp.110-12; *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, ed. Sainsbury, pp.198-9, ref. 706, pp.200-1 ref.713.

to 'say something to the trueth of... the foundation of our employment', they explained that their mandate's authenticity 'will manifestly appeare[s] to any rationall man by these undeniable arguments':

[First,... the king himself [and] the lord chancel[l]or told Mr Norton [and] Mr Bradstreet [the colony's own agents]... [and] seuerall others... that he intended shortly to send ouer com[m]issioners, [and] to many of... [them] wee brought letters either from the king or lord chancellor.

[Second] Ar[gument]. By comparing the king[']s reasons expressed in the com[m]issions w[i]th those mentioned in his gracious letters to this colony.

[Third] Ar[gument]. By being brought hither by three of the king's ffrigotts, this alone had been sufficient.⁷

Royal frigates – which can be deemed cultural artefacts representing Charles by virtue of carrying clear associations with the Crown - are outlined as the final representational form in a hierarchy testifying to the presence of monarchical authority. Yet they are nevertheless crucially noted as 'alone... sufficient' to identify when and where persons, texts, and political exchanges were imbued with Charles's authority. In other words, they could serve as vessels to authenticate and advertise royal power in non-metropolitan settings.⁸ It was therefore undoubtedly in the Crown's interest to 'equi[p] [its] representatives' and provide them with either grants or gifts of official royal representational artefacts to convey royal power in settings beyond Charles's immediate vicinity.⁹

⁷ *Records of... Massachusetts*, ed. Shurtleff, iv (ii), p.184.

⁸ For classifying functional artefacts not traditionally considered as forms of Charles's representation as royal representational media, below, pp.194-240.

⁹ Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, p.11.

Royal Authority in Colonial Contexts: ‘Say[ing] Something to the Truth of... [It]’

Whilst Jacobsen explores this strategy in relation to diplomatic personnel, there was naturally clear incentive for the Crown to provision its colonial agents in a similar manner.¹⁰ In the first instance and as suggested by the examples above, it was in theory necessary for the Crown to promulgate and establish or re-establish its authority in colonial jurisdictions after the Restoration just as it was in England. Historians have moreover argued that Charles aimed to *increase* royal authority in colonial contexts across his reign, meaning that there was ostensibly even greater reason for the Crown to have sought to provide its agents with monarchy’s material trappings.¹¹ Naturally, any such endeavours might have been tailored in response to factors affecting specific colonial contexts, such as war, internal unrest, or sites’ degree of internal socio-cultural development, and could certainly be expected to have been tempered by royal finances and foreign policy.

This primes the analysis of royal colonial representational grants as particularly pertinent for this research, for it suggests that such grants were likely to reflect specific Crown colonial priorities, if indeed there were any. Stanwood for instance memorably draws attention to Charles’s famed ‘waffling’ and ‘inconsistency’ in colonial matters even as he argues that the king and ‘[his] administrators... sought to build a new empire’.¹² In the context of Charles’s considerable general financial constraints, as well as the specific ‘frequent pecuniary embarrassments’ and deployment-based stratification that Jacobsen identifies behind grants made to diplomats, it is after all unlikely that grants would have been distributed across colonial territories indiscriminately.¹³ As extrapolated from the work of Jacobsen and Gibson, it is also possible to examine such grants

¹⁰ Sub-heading quotation, *Records of... Massachusetts*, ed. Shurtleff, iv (ii), p.184; Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, pp.11-36.

¹¹ See for example Stanwood, *The Empire Reformed*, p.25 and above, pp.5-6, 33.

¹² Stanwood, *The Empire Reformed*, p.28.

¹³ Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, pp.11-13 (12).

through warrants and other paperwork connected to the Great Wardrobe, the Jewel Office, and the Treasury.¹⁴ Such institutions were centralised, heavily bureaucratised, and at only relatively limited remove from the personal purview and remit of Charles and his core ministers. It is thereby reasonable to expect that as far as possible, relevant Great Wardrobe, Jewel Office, and Treasury documentation illuminate royal grants as they were intended to be allocated by the Crown. This is in contrast to how they might be shaped or indeed thwarted as they passed through the hands of those at further remove from the metropole, for example, even if the records in question might also provide insight into such transmutation.

The above triumvirate of records offers a wide, if not necessarily comprehensive, view into royal representational grants. Jacobsen and Gibson separately indicate that the often highly delegated nature of royal portrait commissions may mean that not all grants of Charles's portraiture to colonial agents may be reflected in such records.¹⁵ Other sources also provide possible evidence of grants that were made and yet do not appear in the records. For instance, a pamphlet prefacing 'The Laws of Jamaica' with an account of the 'state' of the island refers to '[t]he King ha[ving] been pleased to honour this Island with a large guilt Mace'.¹⁶ Whilst it is probable that if it was given at all such a gift would have been granted in the early 1660s, when Charles also granted arms and a seal to Jamaica, and maces to other parties, no corresponding order for a mace appears in relevant Great Wardrobe, Jewel Office, or Treasury records.¹⁷ Webb further suggests that whilst in Jamaica, the Earl of Carlisle attended church 'sat in a canopied chair of state'.¹⁸ Though it seems possible, if not likely, for any such a chair to have been granted and given to Carlisle by the Crown, no indication of a related royal grant was identified during this research.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp.11-36; Gibson, "'Best Belov'd of Kings'", i, e.g., p.86.

¹⁵ Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, p.27; Gibson, "'Best Belov'd of Kings'", i, pp.83-4.

¹⁶ Jamaica, *The Laws of Jamaica... April 17, 1684*, 'The State of Jamaica', p.ix.

¹⁷ Ibid., p.xi; see for example ['The Royal Society Mace'](#), The Royal Society, Royal Society Picture Library (accessed 20 Dec. 2023); TNA, LC 5/ 107, f.100.

¹⁸ Webb, *The Governors-General*, p.454.

Furthermore, the vast volume of the series' Restoration records rendered it infeasible to examine all such records within this doctoral project. Instead, a survey of select tranches of Great Wardrobe and Jewel Office series, supplemented by targeted searches of Treasury Book calendars, provides a keen view into royal representational grants at key junctures of Charles's reign, in particular periods in its opening, middle, and closing years (circa 1660-4, 1674-8, and 1682-5). Details of pertinent warrants and orders uncovered during the survey are provided in **Table B**.¹⁹ And what they ultimately show is not what existing historiography leads one to expect, even if initially they appear precisely to validate just such expectations.

What first seem a glittering range of representational examples validating notions of broad Restoration royal colonial ambitions can be revealed as gilded exceptions. For despite containing orders for magnificent items of state and other forms of royal representation, the records reveal that the Crown did not unilaterally provision colonial agents with royal representational artefacts. Nor is there convincing evidence that it habitually granted such persons funds intended for them to supply themselves with the same. Instead, the records illuminate two parallel conclusions. First, they suggest that Charles did not ubiquitously employ royal representation to support Crown objectives, contrary to the impression that Sharpe creates.²⁰ When it was so used – and there *is* evidence that it was in colonial contexts - royal grants suggest that it was used selectively. Secondly, they indicate that Charles's colonial interests were far narrower and more chronologically- and geographically-focused than historians tend to suggest. They reveal that the Restoration Crown pursued specific rather than sweeping colonial goals; that rather than '[seeking] to build a new empire' or action universally-applied 'ambitious, coherent plans for overseas [colonial] settlement', it targeted distinctly limited objectives.²¹ These include shoring up royal authority in reaction to

¹⁹ For the survey's sources and scope, including specific date ranges and data representativity, see also bibliography, **Table B**, and information outlined in the Dataset Table List, 'Table B', above, pp.xxxi-xxxv.

²⁰ Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, e.g., pp.11-28.

²¹ Stanwood, *The Empire Reformed*, p.25; Glickman, *Making the Imperial Nation*, p.15.

Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia in 1676, and strengthening the Crown's hand in negotiations and skirmishes concerning Tangier from 1664, for example.

As suggested, such conclusions are not immediately obvious. In the context of existing colonial and representational scholarship, there is in fact much initially to suggest that the grants can be held up as magnificent examples of clear and uncomplicated Crown efforts to use representation to support far-reaching royal colonial ambitions. Close analysis dismantles this impression and yet it remains valuable to interrogate them. Doing so unpicks what they *do* in fact indicate about the Crown and its colonial endeavours. It also emphatically demonstrates the need to engage with representational instances as far more than the finished, exhibition-worthy items that Sharpe presents them as.²² In the case of cultural artefacts, they were of course objects subject to commission and creation, financing, transportation, use, and maintenance, and might be lost, damaged, revised, repaired, transferred, commandeered, or revoked in the process. Their meaning and impact were therefore subject to change and by no means guaranteed. It is surely of the utmost significance, for instance, that it is not known if, how, or to whom John Michael Wright's state portrait of Charles was displayed (**Figure 1.1, below**), facts which Sharpe conveniently overlooks.²³ For even if he is right to argue that it presented the Restoration king 'as successor to the Tudors, as Solomon, and as Supreme Head of the Church', what does this truly tell us if we do not know who was intended to receive this message, or if they ever did receive it?²⁴

Furthermore, Sharpe does not treat who may have aimed to *send* such a message as a subject of importance. He simply implies that the portrait was an official instance of Charles's representation,

²² Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, esp. pp.103-18; cf. Sowerby's critique of how through his volume's 'comparative dimension across time', Sharpe '[a]t certain points... treat[s] the kings and queens of England as though they were pictures hung in a gallery', '[Review, "Rebranding Rule"]', pgr.5.

²³ John Michael Wright, *Charles II*, c.1671-6, oil on canvas, 2.82 x 2.39 m (support, canvas/ panel/ stretcher external) (RCT, Palace of Holyroodhouse); RCT, ['John Michael Wright, Charles II \(1630-\[85\]\)'](#) (5 Jan. 2024).

²⁴ Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, p.105.



Figure 1.1. John Michael Wright, *Charles II*, c.1671-6 (RCT, Palace of Holyroodhouse). Royal Collection Trust/ © His Majesty King Charles III 2023.

possibly - if by no means certainly - influenced by his input. The reader is consequently left with the impression that the Crown likely approved of, and may even have prompted its messaging, including Sharpe's echo of Sir Oliver Millar that it was "'as much a demonstration of restored monarchy and an illustration of the revived royal ceremonial apparel... and of the new regalia'" as 'a representation of Charles'.²⁵ Yet the RCT notes that in fact 'there is no evidence to suggest that it was a royal commission'.²⁶

This not only contests Sharpe's insinuation that the Crown may have sought to place central emphasis on the regalia and monarchy's material trappings in Charles's depiction as part of its wider representational agenda.²⁷ The RCT's alternative suggestion the commission was 'likely' Robert Vyner's also introduces another possible and personal rather than simply or

²⁵ Partly quoting Sir Oliver, *ibid.*, p.104.

²⁶ RCT, '[John Michael Wright, Charles II \(1630-1685\)](#)' (5 Jan. 2024), pgr.3.

²⁷ Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp.104-5, 108-11.

straightforwardly political explanation for such emphasis. That is that the regalia were present because of Vyner's personal ties to, and thus possible affinity with, them: they explain that Vyner 'supplied the regalia' for Charles's coronation and incidentally, that he is also believed to have owned a still-life of the regalia by Wright.²⁸ Evidence related to royal colonial grants reinforces the importance of as far as possible recognising and respecting representational artefacts as dynamic and symbolically-pliable instances of material culture. It illustrates that doing so is vital to assessing their role and success as tools of royal government reliably. It thereby raises questions about work on Charles's English representation which fails to do likewise.

'Severall Things for his Maties Service' to 'Most Infinitely Indere Your Royall Name and Memory Among Them'

At first glance, Great Wardrobe, Jewel Office, and Treasury records present orders for a glittering array of grants of traditional royal representational items with an intended link to an English colonial context.²⁹ These include grants for gold chains and medals; maces and miscellaneous items of state; liveries, trumpets, and fabric items; painted drums and military colours; religious items; a coach; and a portrait of Charles.³⁰ There is therefore a temptation to argue that these were surely designed to project Charles's presence and likeness into colonial arenas. Indeed, some grants bear clear indications that they were intended to further Crown colonial political interests, and patterns identifiable across the pool of grants as a whole seem to support the notion that such interests proliferated and intensified across the Restoration. Initially then, royal colonial grants seem to

²⁸ RCT, '[John Michael Wright, Charles II \(1630-\[85\]\)](#)' (5 Jan. 2024), pgr.4.

²⁹ Sub-heading quotations, TNA, LC 5/ 60, f.7 and TNA, LC 5/ 65, f.65v, deliberately mixing phrases from disparate sources; **Table B**, see **esp. cols.M, D**.

³⁰ E.g., TNA, LC 5/ 107, ff.103v, 140r, 69v; LC 5/ 60 f.7; LC 5/ 63 ff.33, 50; LC 5/ 107 f.91r; LC 5/ 60 f.182; LC 5/ 65 ff.27r-v, 92r; LC 5/ 66 ff.38v-39r; *CTB*, ed. Shaw, vi, Entry Book (henceforth EB), 15 Dec. 1679.

confirm rather than contest existing narratives both of how Charles II adeptly used representation to advance royal political agendas and of how he sought to pursue 'imperial designs'.³¹

Numerous items mentioned in the grants were in theory likely to have struck viewers as resplendent royal representational phenomena, or at the very least, as items clearly advertising connections to the English Crown. How far they may have done so in practice is discussed in due course. In the first instance, however, the items' latent potential as political vehicles is a natural starting point from which to assess the royal intentions that may have lain behind the Crown bestowing them on persons with direct and active connections to colonial contexts. And it seems that such intentions were to serve clear royal colonial interests.

Items Depicting Charles

Most straightforwardly, some artefacts depicted, or at least likely depicted, Charles himself.

'[H]is Majesty's Picture [Portrait]'

One grant amongst those found, courtesy of Gibson's mention of it, explicitly refers to an instance of Charles's portraiture.³² A money warrant for William Blathwayt in his capacity as a key administrator for the Lords of Trade and Plantations, the grant covered expenses for a range of items, including:

7l. 0s. 0d. for a public seal for th[e] [New Hampshire] Government with a press; 2l. 10s. 0d. for a book of the statute laws of England for the use of the President and Council of that [New Hampshire] Government; 9l. 10s. 0d. for his Majesty's picture [portrait] and frame sent to New Hampshire by order of Council; 7l. 10s. 0d. for his Majesty's arms and frame sent to New Hampshire by the said order[.]³³

³¹ Swingen, 'Labor, Empire, and the State', (p.90).

³² *CTB*, ed. Shaw, i, EB, (15 Dec. 1679); Gibson, "'Best Belov'd of Kings'", i, p.84.

³³ For Blathwayt's roles for the Lords from 1675, J. Black, 'The Blathwayt Atlas: Maps Used by British Colonial Administrators in the Time of Charles II', *Imago Mundi*, 22 (1968), 20; *CTB*, ed. Shaw, i, EB, (15 Dec. 1679).

Though its existence as an English colony pre-dated the Restoration, New Hampshire was formally adopted as a royal colony in 1679, settling hotly contested and drawn-out legal dispute over its ownership between Massachusetts and the heirs of Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason.³⁴ This was in the same year that the Treasury warrant was issued. It thereby seems that Charles's image was to be sent to the colony along with his arms as part of a panoply of items intended to mark the local advent of direct royal government. In fact, Otis Hammond draws attention to orders of Charles II and his council, quoting that:

[W]hereas His Matie is graciously pleased to send His Royall Portraiture together with his Imperial Armes unto His said President [John Cutt and] Councill of New Hampshire as a mark of His Royall favour and Protection to the Inhabitants thereof, [i]t is hereby ordered that the same bee kept and exposed to view within such place as shall bee appointed for the meeting of His maties said Councill.³⁵

The Crown thus explicitly framed the portrait as “a mark of His Royall favour and Protection” and gave firm instructions that it was to be displayed as just such “a mark”. Its mention of royal “Protection to [New Hampshire's] Inhabitants” may also reflect and respond specifically to an early awareness of local concerns that the colony's separation from Massachusetts's authority left settlers vulnerable to attack, voiced for example by its government in a later 1680 address to the King.³⁶

Beyond the portrait to be sent to New Hampshire, there is also evidence that several other grants are in fact likely to have incorporated Charles's image. The Great Wardrobe warrant for ‘A Present for the Emperor of Morocco’ connected to Lord Howard's embassy to the Emperor in 1669 may not mention a portrait of Charles, for example.³⁷ Routh, however, suggests that the gift was to

³⁴ Anderson, ‘New England in the Seventeenth Century’, i, p.202.

³⁵ Quoting orders of 19 Sept. 1679 within a copy of a colonial entry book, O. G. Hammond, *History of the Seal and Flag of the State of New Hampshire* ([Concord?], 1916), pp.6-7.

³⁶ *CSPC AWI, 1677-1680*, eds. Sainsbury and Fortescue, [30 June 1680], ref.1413.

³⁷ TNA, LC 5/ 63, f.33.

include amongst other things, 'two skins of vellum "curiously wrought in cratisco in high gold" with the portrait of King Charles in oils'.³⁸ This naturally prompts the conclusion that the intention was to show the Emperor a depiction of Charles, presumably as a way to enhance the sense of royal presence and gravitas associated with Howard's proceedings.

'Chaine[s] [and] Meddalls of Gold... as a Guift from His Majesty'

Likewise, evidence firmly supports the inference that Charles's portrait likely appeared on the thirteen gold medals mentioned in eight separate Jewel Office warrants.³⁹ The majority of such medals, accompanied in most cases by chains, are described as rewards for 'good and Acceptable Service to his Matie' or implied to be the same.⁴⁰ Six chains and medals of varying monetary values were ordered in June 1664 as 'guifts from His Maties unto certayne officers at Tangier for t[h?]ere good Service t[h?]ere'.⁴¹ Routh suggests that at least five made it en route to Tangier, intended to reward a Colonel Alsop, Sir Tobias Bridges, and others for their roles in 'the late fighting' against Moroccan forces and that they demonstrated Charles actioning his promise to Andrew Rutherford, earl of Teviot and governor of Tangier that "'that wee may remember to reward [Garrison officers and souldiers] accordingly when there is occasion for it'".⁴² They were not, however, 'the only recorded instance during [Charles's] reign of the conferring of medals as rewards for military service' as Routh asserts,⁴³ for Jewel Office records show that another chain and gold medal were to go to Sir James Hackett, major to the Earl of Dunbarton's regiment, 'as a Marke of his Maties Esteeme of his good service at [T]angier' in July 1681.⁴⁴ Both sets of medals were in fact to be worth 'the value of one Hundred pounds or thereabouts', and the 1681 medal notably over 50% more

³⁸ Partly quoting the *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Routh, *Tangier*, p.100.

³⁹ Sub-heading quotation, TNA, LC 5/ 107, f.114r.

⁴⁰ TNA, LC 5/ 107, ff.103v, 114r, 140r, 169r; TNA, LC 5/ 108, ff.(33r), 36r, 44r.

⁴¹ TNA, LC 5/ 107, f.103v.

⁴² Routh, *Tangier*, pp.(332), (quoting Teviot's royal instructions, pp.58-9 n.2).

⁴³ Citing Colonel Clifford Walton, *ibid.*, p.332 n.5.

⁴⁴ TNA, LC 5/ 108, f.44r.

valuable than the most expensive medal within the 1664 order, which was to be worth approximately sixty pounds.⁴⁵

Medals and chains were likewise requested for services rendered in connection with Hudson's Bay and Virginia. On 12 February 1670, Jewel Office warrants were created for medals worth roughly twenty pounds 'to bee presented as a guift from his Matie unto Monseieur Groselier' as well as 'Captaine Guillam, Com[m]ander of the Nonsuch Ketch... as a guift from his Matie for the discovery [or possibly discoveries they] lately made in Hudsons Bay in the Northwest parts of America'.⁴⁶ A Captain Radison was then to be awarded a medal and chain totalling thirty pounds for the same reason in the latter months of 1673.⁴⁷ Several months apart in 1679, warrants were similarly issued for medals and chains worth the substantial sum of approximately one hundred and fifty pounds for royal commissioners Sir John Berry and Colonel Francis Morrison's '[g]ood [and] acceptable Service to his Matie in Virginia' in the wake of Bacon's Rebellion.⁴⁸

Speaking generally, Gibson states that 'the King's profile featured on medals which signified his gratitude for services rendered' and there are reasonable grounds to assume that such medals, including those mentioned above, were very similar in form to the 'gold chain[s] and medal[s] with [Charles's] profile' that Gibson also notes were given by Charles to 'lesser [foreign ambassadorial] officials'. At least according to the pictorial example that she gives for the latter, such 'profile[s]' may thus have depicted Charles in Romanesque guise, complete with loose tunic, free-flowing hair, and possibly a laurel at one or more points during Charles's reign.⁴⁹ The reverse also likely carried

⁴⁵ Cf. TNA, LC 5/ 107, f.103v.

⁴⁶ Quotations from two distinct warrants, TNA, LC 5/ 107, f.140r.

⁴⁷ TNA, LC 5/ 107, f.169r.

⁴⁸ For the identification of Berry and Morrison as royal commissioners, Shefvland, *Anglo-Native Virginia*, p.57; TNA, LC 5/ 108, ff.36r, 33r.

⁴⁹ For how Charles's portraiture styles modulated throughout the Restoration, Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, e.g., pp.102-114; Gibson, "'Best Belov'd of Kings'", i, pp.88, 97-103.

the royal arms.⁵⁰ The grants to Tangier, Hudson's Bay, and Virginia all also have clear ties to royal colonial political objectives.

Over and above being simply for 'good Service', those gifted to Tangier servicemen were evidently intended to rally garrison morale and loyalty, thereby fortifying the Crown colony's military position against potential Moroccan adversaries.⁵¹ Meanwhile, according to a report in *The Examiner*, Captain Millington Synge noted in a nineteenth-century paper given to the Royal Geographical Society that the charter for Hudson's Bay, also known as Rupert or Ruperts Land, was awarded by Charles to the Hudson Bay Company in order 'to encourage them effectually to prosecute the discovery of a new passage to the South Sea... subsequently known by the name of the North-West Passage'.⁵² This places such discovery as a distinct interest of the Crown's, which the charter itself confirms. Dated 2 May 1670, it states that the grant of rights to trade and land in the area 'within the entrance of the Streights commonly called Hudson's Streights' was 'for [Prince Rupert and others'] further Encouragement in the... Design' of 'the Discovery of a new Passage into the South Sea, and for the finding some Trade for Furs, Minerals, and other considerable Commodities... by means whereof there may probably arise very great Advantage to Us and Our Kingdom'.⁵³ The medals were presumably awarded in a similar spirit.

Likewise, it seems logical that those to be given to Berry and Morrison for their work in Virginia were to be in aid of fostering and consolidating the re-imposition of royal authority in the colony following Bacon's Rebellion, wherein amidst tension with neighbouring indigenous communities, Nathaniel Bacon and his followers had seized control of the colony for several months in 1676 from

⁵⁰ Gibson, "'Best Belov'd of Kings'", i, pp.(83), 95-6, (85); for illustration, iii, no. 171B.

⁵¹ TNA, LC 5/ 107, f.103v; Routh, *Tangier*, p.58 n.2.

⁵² For the colony's alternative naming, Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation (henceforth, HBCHF), '[The Royal Charter](#)'; J. Forster, L. Hunt, and A. W. Fonblanque, 'Notabilia', *Examiner* (28 Feb. 1863), 141 cols.a-(b).

⁵³ Hudson's Bay charter, HBCHF, '[Text of \[Hudson's Bay Company\]'s Royal Charter](#)' (15 Jan. 2024).

its royal governor, Sir William Berkeley, and attempted to wield their own authority.⁵⁴ Clear lines can thus be drawn between discrete royal colonial objectives and gifts of medals which likely bore Charles's image - and which were intended as representational 'Marke[s] of his Maties Esteeme'.⁵⁵

Beyond Charles's likeness, explicit and implicit forms of royal imagery and symbolism also feature across royal colonial representational grants identified in **Table B**. This can be seen most emphatically in those connected to Ireland. Ireland was of course a Stuart kingdom and is naturally referred to in Great Wardrobe and Jewel Office warrants as such.⁵⁶ However, historians have for some time considered it to have possessed at least hybrid status as a colony and a kingdom up to and including in this period. Though segregating his discussion of state formation in early modern Ireland from that in other Atlantic colonial possessions, Braddick brands its early development as a kingdom a 'failure'. Instead, he goes on to suggest it was '[t]he restoration [that]... confirm[ed] the Protestant presence [in Ireland] as an essentially colonial one'.⁵⁷ More recently, Ohlmeyer has pushed for early modern Ireland's consideration as a colony rather than a kingdom.⁵⁸ In the spirit of embracing - and indeed testing - such arguments, royal grants made in connection with Ireland can be classified as 'colonial'. In the first instance at least, they thus deserve assessment as royal colonial representational instances.

⁵⁴ For details and narratives of the rebellion and its supposed consequences with differing emphasis, Shefveland, *Anglo-Native Virginia*, pp.44-60; Webb, *The Governors-General*, pp.329-72.

⁵⁵ TNA, LC 5/ 108, f.44r.

⁵⁶ E.g., TNA, LC 5/ 60, f.54; TNA, LC 5/ 107, f.69v.

⁵⁷ Braddick, *State Formation*, pp. pp.379-97, (379, 391).

⁵⁸ Ohlmeyer, 'Eastward Enterprises', esp. 85-6; Ohlmeyer, 'The James Ford Lectures 2021'.

Artefacts ‘for his Mats Service in Ireland’

Reminiscent of similar items Jacobsen suggests were habitually given to English diplomatic agents and which ‘help[ed] to enhance the image of the new Stuart monarchy abroad’,⁵⁹ canopies of state, chairs, footstools, hangings, and carpets were to be sent to Ireland in the early 1660s.

Items of State for Ireland

An August 1660 Great Wardrobe warrant ordered ‘[s]everrall things for his Maties Service in Ireland’, comprising:

[T]he King's Sword, the Royall Robes, Capp of Maintenance, two guilte Maces, the Purse for the [G]reate Seale, two Heraulds’ Coates - one for Ulster King at Armes and one ffor A throne Pursevant - three Pursurvants’ Coates, three Canopies of State with Chaires and Footstolles – one for the Chamber of Presence, one for the Dyning Roome, and one for the [U]pper [H]ouse of Parliament – [and] two Suites of hangings, one for the Chamber of Presence and the other for the Dyninge Roome[.]⁶⁰

Though the records themselves do not indicate if the items arrived in Ireland, nor how they might have been put to use, a warrant for 21 November 1660 shows the Crown instructing that they ‘bee cased and carefully packt up to preserve them from Damage in their Carriage into that Kingdom’.⁶¹ Robin Usher's discussion of ‘viceregal’ architecture and ceremony within Dublin’s cityscape then provides hints that such ‘Carriage’ was successfully actioned. His comments on the rituals accompanying the arrival of James Butler, the duke of Ormonde and lord lieutenant of Ireland, in Dublin in 1662 suggest for example that the sword at least may have arrived in the city and that it was received by Ormonde as had been intended. Likewise, Usher echoes Barnard's reference to two – rather than one - chairs of state as standing in Dublin Castle’s Presence Chamber during

⁵⁹ Sub-section heading, quotation referring to a trumpet that had ‘[been] taken’ from a royal trumpeter ‘for his Mats service in Ireland’, TNA, LC 5/ 107, f.91r; Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, pp.23-7, (24).

⁶⁰ TNA, LC 5/ 60, f.7 (punctuation added).

⁶¹ TNA, LC 5/ 60, f.59.

Ormonde's lieutenancy.⁶² Barnard describes these as made with fifty-six yards of 'branched velvet' and five hundred and twenty-five ounces of gold and silver fringe. Also noting that '[o]ne was embroidered with the sovereign's arms, badges and supporters', he continues that '[t]hese thrones proclaimed the monarch, on whose behalf Ormonde ruled Ireland' and that 'they had been paid for by, and so belonged to, the State'.⁶³ This implies that at least the chair mentioned in the warrant as being for 'the Chamber of Presence' may have been exhibited at Dublin Castle. In any case, the warrants decry Usher's claim that '[t]he first mention of anything specifically heraldic [for display in Dublin Castle, the centre of Ireland's royal court], a 'Canopie' of state, [wa]s on the occasion of a knight being dubbed in 1700.'⁶⁴

Between the autumn of 1660 and August 1662, four maces were also ordered for persons and entities in Ireland, including 'a Mace of the usuall Size [and] value for the use of Our house of Comons in Our Kingdom of Ireland... to be transported withall convenient Speed into Our Said Kingdom'.⁶⁵ Over the same period, so were '[a] Coller of Essees wit[h?] a Medall of gold and a Capp of Maintenance for the Ma[y]or of o[u]r City of Dublin' and 'three suites of good hangings thirteene foote deepe [and] three large foote Carpetts suiteable to the three Clothes of Estate formerly sent'.⁶⁶ What seem to be several repeat orders for a purse for the Great Seal of Ireland – 'of Crimson Velvett, fairly embroidered [and] adorned' – then appear in 1666, 1671, and 1674.⁶⁷

Such artefacts were freighted with royal symbolism. Visually, it seems likely that the 'Canopies of State' would have been 'embroidered lavishly in gold thread with the royal coat of arms', given this

⁶² Usher, *Protestant Dublin*, pp.13, 18, 24; Barnard, 'The Viceregal Court', pp.258-9.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, (p.258).

⁶⁴ Usher, *Protestant Dublin*, p.24.

⁶⁵ TNA, LC 5/ 60, (f.54), see also f.335; TNA, LC 5/ 107, ff.69v, 90v.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, f.62v; TNA, LC 5/ 60, f.258. Cf. Usher suggests that the Crown only 'permitted' Dublin's mayor to wear a cap of maintenance and a "'collar of SS'" as well as have a mace and sword carried before him from circa 1665. This suggests that this was in fact intended to be the case from 1660 and that a cap, collar, and mace were to be provided by the Jewel Office. Usher, *Protestant Dublin*, p.38, see also p.39.

⁶⁷ TNA, LC 5/ 115, (f.51), see also f.67; TNA, LC 5/ 64, f.16.



Figure 1.2. The Lord Mayor's Great Chain of Office, 1698 (Dublin City Council Ireland).

is how Jacobsen suggests that those allocated to diplomats from the Great Wardrobe were styled.⁶⁸ It is also probable that the medal for Dublin's 'Collar of Essees' depicted Charles, not only because such portraits were typical on similar medals distributed by the Crown but because the present-day Great Chain of Office for Dublin's Lord Mayor is likely a Williamite successor to earlier royal gifts and shows an image of the king (**Figure 1.2**).⁶⁹ Symbolically, maces of course carry strong associations with monarchical power. They have been traditionally considered to be so vested with royal authority that to this day, parliamentary sessions both within England and Jamaica cannot perform certain functions without them present and correctly positioned within parliamentary chambers.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, p.24.

⁶⁹ '[City Regalia](#)', Dublin City Council, (21 Dec. 2023).

⁷⁰ '[Mace \(The\)](#)', UK Parliament (8 Jan. 2024); '[The Ceremonial Mace](#)', Jamaica Information Service, (8 Jan. 2024).

They were also representational artefacts closely connected to Charles as monarch. As illustrated by Wenceslaus Hollar in John Ogilby's 1662 *The Entertainment of... Charles II in His Passage through... London to His Coronation* (**Figure 1.3, below**), they were incorporated into the procession through London prior to Charles's coronation. The carrying of maces before the Presidents of Munster and Connaught – the stated intention of the maces ordered for the same individuals in 1660 – therefore stood to elicit parallels between them and the king, underscoring their roles in representing the Restoration monarch. Other items drew similar connections to Charles's person. Suites of state – canopies, chairs, footstools, and accompanying pieces – naturally evoked Charles enthroned in state; 'the Royall robes', Charles dressed in the same attire, even if it is unclear who was to occupy and showcase them.⁷¹

⁷¹ There is no mention that Charles's 'viceroys' was to do so in Barnard's 'The Viceregal Court', pp.256-65, (p.260); see also Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, pp.1-20.

Figure 1.3. John Ogilby, *The Entertainment of His Most Excellent Majestie Charles II in His Passage Throughout the City of London to His Coronation*, engr. Wenceslaus Hollar (London, 1662), illustration of 'The Cavalcade or His Majesties Passing through the City of London towards his Coronation' preceding p.1. © 2019 ProQuest LLC. Author-added shapes (henceforth AAS) to indicate the following: orange, the detail excerpted; red, other maces shown preceding Charles; green, Charles himself.



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‘Rich Liverie’ and Trumpets, ‘the Said [Individuals]... being to Attend Upon His Grace’

Nineteen sets of liveries were also ordered in the decade between 1661 and 1671 for use in Ireland.⁷² Similar to maces appearing in Charles’s coronation cavalcade, liveries featured in the subsequent procession on Charles’s coronation day itself.⁷³ They were also used more generally to signal not only the presence of individuals within Charles’s service, but also more or less explicitly the nature of their role. Material was ordered from the Great Wardrobe for James, duke of Ormonde, as Charles’s Lord Steward for ‘Livirie due unto him at his Maties Coronation’, for example, in which he is presumably depicted in Hollar’s illustration (**Figure 1.4.B, below**).⁷⁴ Acting in a less glamorous role, Charles’s ‘Ratt Killer in ordinary’ in 1662, Ralph Holden, was for instance likewise to be given materials for royal livery, ‘to be made after the manner [and] fashion of his Maties Messengers’ [and] also to be embroydered w[i]th C. R. before [and] behind [and] sixe Ratts eating a wheate sheafe before [and] behinde on these [*sic*] Coa[t?]e’. Earlier that same year, John Webb, ‘Keep of his Maties Fowle in St James’ was similarly to be furnished with livery ‘made up after the manner [and] fashion of his Maties Coachman’ and with a coat also ‘laced... [and] to be embroydered before [and] behinde w[tr?] a fish [and] a duck’.⁷⁵

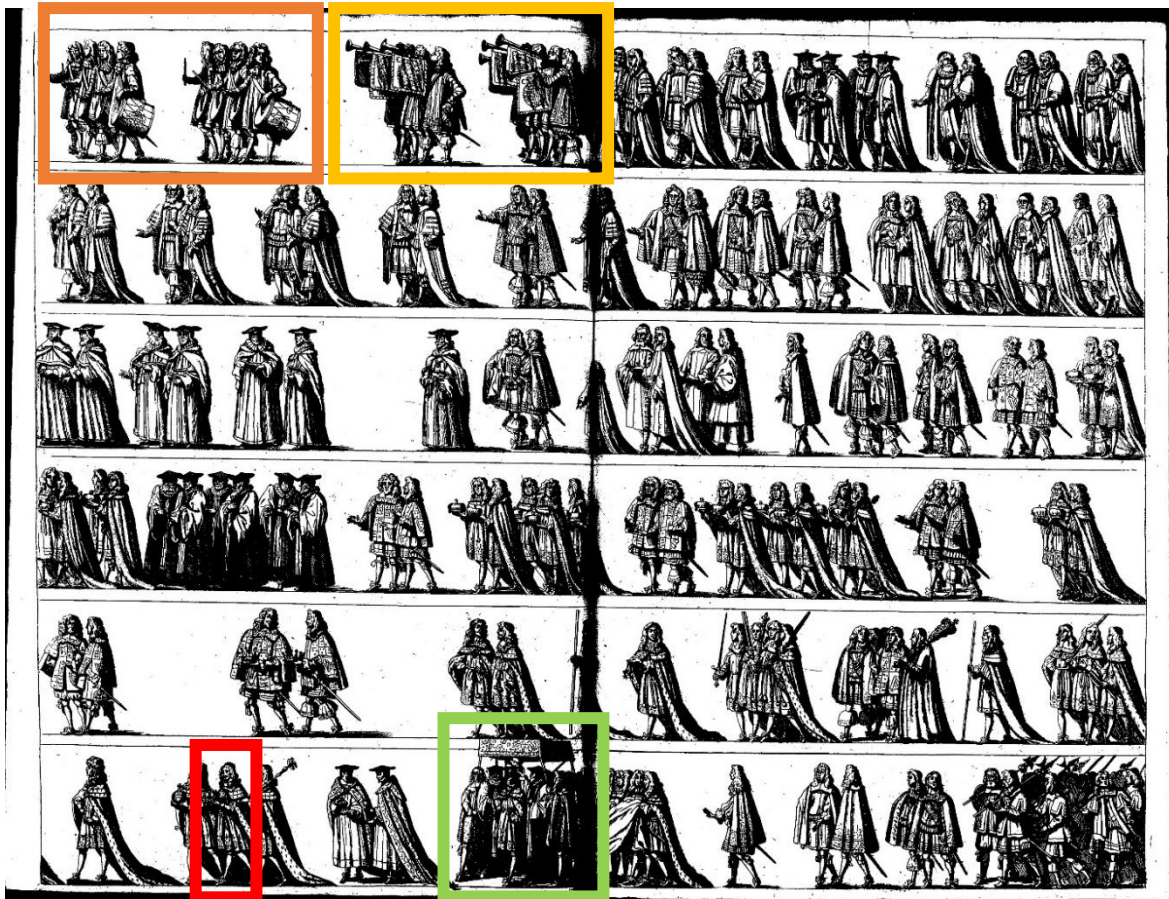
Figure 1.4.A (below). Ogilby, *The Entertainment of... Charles II*, illustration of ‘The Proceeding to the Coronation’ following p.170. © 2019 ProQuest LLC. [AAS] The red, orange, and yellow boxes correspond to Figures 1.4.B-D and indicate details excerpted. The green box indicates Charles himself (see also Ogilby, *The Entertainment of... Charles II*, p.172).

⁷² TNA, LC 5/ 60, ff.238, 293 (sub-heading quotations, 293); TNA, LC 5/ 61, ff.11, 12; TNA, LC 5/ 63, f.50; TNA, LC 5/ 64, f.32.

⁷³ See below, **Figures 1.4.A-D**, pp.80-1.

⁷⁴ TNA, LC 5/ 60, f.190; see Ogilby, *The Entertainment of... Charles II*, p.171.

⁷⁵ TNA, LC 5/ 60, ff.384, 278.



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Figure 1.4.A (above). See caption, p.79.
Figure 1.4.B (left). Detail of 1.4.A. ©
2019 ProQuest LLC.

Figure 1.4.C. Detail of 1.4.A. © 2019 ProQuest LLC.

Figure 1.4.D. Detail of 1.4.A. © 2019 ProQuest LLC.



Returning to items awarded from the Great Wardrobe in connection with Ireland specifically, several sets of liveries were ordered for use there in the 1660s and 1670s: seven in 1661, one in 1662, and eight in 1663 for trumpeters and kettle drummers 'to attend upon his Grace the Duke of Ormond Lord Lieutenant of Ireland', and three in 1670 and 1671 respectively for the Lords Berkeley and Essex filling the same role.⁷⁶ At least those requested in the 1660s were to have 'the

⁷⁶ TNA, LC 5/ 60, f.238, (f.293); TNA, LC 5/ 61, ff.11, 12; TNA, LC 5/ 63, f.50; TNA, LC 5/ 64, f.32.

same parcells and [particules?] as were provided and deli[vered] to his Maties Trumpeters [and] Kettledrume[rs?] for Liveries ag[ainst] his Maties Coronation', liveries which are again conveniently illustrated by Hollar in Ogilby's volume **(Figure 1.4.D & C, above)**.⁷⁷ The trumpeters' and kettledrummers' liveries shown in Hollar's illustration appear to lack the explicit royal symbolism of Holden's, though the trumpets are combined with hanging which clearly display the royal ciphers, 'C R', and the royal arms **(Figure 1.4.D)**. The drums shown also carry elaborate imagery, though it is unclear if they have specific royal representational ties **(Figure 1.4.C)**. It is likely that the Irish livery orders' 'parcells and [particules?]' were to include at least such banners.⁷⁸ Discussed further below, a 1669 warrant for liveries for trumpeters and a kettledrummer to accompany Lord Howard's embassy to Morocco explicitly included 'Double banner[s] of Crymson Damaske richly Embroydered with his Mates [sic] Letters [and] Armes' for each, including the drummer, for example, suggesting that such items might be classed as livery.⁷⁹ In any case, the liveries worn by trumpeters and drummers at Charles's coronation were the liveries of those who directly served the king and walked before him in his procession to his coronation. By modelling the liveries of Ormonde's trumpeters and drummers on those worn by Charles's own processional musicians, conscious parallels were drawn between Ormonde as Ireland's lord lieutenant and the king himself, emphasising the former's role as a royal representative.

The same can be said of 'the six [s]ilver trumpetts... appointed for [s]ix trumpeters that are to attend upon his grace [the Duke of Ormond Lord Leiute[nan]t of Ireland] for his Mats service there', ordered from the Jewel Office in early 1662. They were to be 'after the manner and fashion as the sergeant Trumpeters', so much so that there is a warrant within the Jewel Office records for a

⁷⁷ TNA, LC 5/ 60, f.238.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ TNA, LC 5/ 63, ff.29-(30).

replacement trumpet for a royal trumpeter in ordinary, 'his owne trumpett being taken from him for his Mats service in Ireland'.⁸⁰

'Our Badges to be Paineted [and] Gilded Thereon': Service Books and Military Colours

In addition to the panoply of trumpets, liveries, and state items ordered for use in Ireland, grants of service books and military colours were likewise issued.⁸¹ Great Wardrobe records show an initial order for the following for the Duke of Ormonde as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in March 1662:

Two large Bibles whereof one in two volumes of Imperiall Pap[er?] withall the [Sculp[s?]?], [t]wo dozen of large Comon prayer Bookes in quarto, one lesser Bible [and] one Comon prayer Booke in folio embroydered for the Comunion table w[ith] the King's Armes Sett upon them[.]⁸²

The order is then repeated for Lord Berkeley in the same role in April 1670.⁸³ This may have been because the former artefacts had materially deteriorated or were otherwise not available for Berkeley's use eight years after they were ordered for Ormonde. Equally, alongside some or all of the re-grants mentioned above, it may be an early instance of a trend akin to that which Jacobsen identifies in ambassadorial royal grants of furniture after 1689, that '[s]econd-hand [items were] no longer felt appropriate to grace an ambassadorial residence'.⁸⁴ In both cases, the folioed Books of Common Prayer were specifically requested to be adorned with explicit royal representation, the royal arms. Given these were to be embroidered rather than painted, it seems likely that the arms were to be included on the books' covers rather than pages and the books themselves were presumably those envisioned as used in services by the clergymen attending Ormonde and his chapel. Though primarily intended for the Duke of Ormonde therefore, in practice and indeed by

⁸⁰ TNA, LC 5/ 107, ff.87r, 91r.

⁸¹ Sub-heading quotation, referring to military colours, TNA, LC 5/ 60, f.289.

⁸² TNA, LC 5/ 60, f.275.

⁸³ TNA, LC 5/ 63, f.53.

⁸⁴ Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, p.27.

design the books and their royal representational motifs would probably have been encountered by those more broadly attending, provisioning, and administering Ormonde's chapel.

At almost the same time that the order for the first service books were made, colours, ensigns, and drums were also ordered to be delivered to Ormonde. These were to comprise twelve sets of royal-emblazoned yellow and crimson regimental colours displaying 'painted [and] gilded' royal 'Badges' and twelve crimson and gold ensigns on gilt-topped staves, along with twenty-five drums with '[o]ur Badges to be painted [and] gilded [there]on... after the Same Manner as the drums of Our owne Regimts of ffoote'.⁸⁵ Writing about royal and parliamentary military colours during the English Civil Wars, Clive Holmes incisively argues that 'the profound importance attributed to [such] banners...is over-stated'.⁸⁶ Yet whilst his denigration of civil war military banners as "'modern bumper stickers... designed to influence those who saw them'" is convincing, it falls flat when applied to banners like those granted to Ormonde in 1662. His critiques of the banners' 'propaganda value' focus largely on the fact that it is often extrapolated from cavalry cornet designs. He argues that these were elaborate to the point of obscurity, far more so than their infantry equivalents, ensigns, which he notes tended to be relatively plain. He likewise expresses scepticism concerning Ian Gentles's claim that their symbolism would have been patiently explained to the troops serving under them. Not only does he then explain that cavalry cornets also tended to be smaller and thus visible to narrower audiences than ensigns. He also suggests that the sources upon which historians' assessments of them have been based may be only 'the flights of fancy of herald painters and antiquaries' who simply made up the existence of at least some banner designs.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ TNA, LC 5/ 60, f.289.

⁸⁶ C. Holmes, 'The Banners of the English Civil Wars: "modern bumper stickers"?', in S. Cunningham, A. Curry, and P. Dryburgh (eds.), *Status, Identity[,] and Authority. Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Archives and Heraldry presented to Adrian Ailes* (London, 2021), pp.215-(23).

⁸⁷ Ibid., pp.216-23, (quoting Alan Young, 216), (217), (218).

Ormonde's banners escape such criticisms on several grounds. Whilst it is unclear if their intended designs became a reality, the warrant indicates that there was a clear official request for them; this establishes the proposal for such designs as more than a reported but dubious 'fligh[t] of fancy'.⁸⁸ Furthermore, though the records do not clarify whether they arrived in the lord lieutenant's care, it is known that Ormonde processed in his official role as lord lieutenant.⁸⁹ It is therefore not far-fetched to imagine that they were intended to adorn such ritualised parades and that if they arrived in Ireland, that they may have done so in practice. Whilst Holmes suggests that civil war banners may have had very narrow audiences if they had any at all, Ormonde's ensigns may have had comparatively broad exposure to public audiences on and around the streets of Dublin. As 'colo[urs?] for A Regim[en]t of ffoote', they were likely sizeable enough to have decent visibility and attract notice accordingly.⁹⁰ Yet contrary to Holmes's suggestion that such banners were relatively plain, the Ormonde banners' colouring and royal badges gave them flamboyance. They would likely have been striking in comparison to the dragoon colours depicted in an undated seventeenth-century black-and-white illustration, for example (**Figure 1.5, below**). Tiered design instructions specify four different types of colours are to be in variations of white and blue, with all including the plain insignia of a St. George's cross in an upper corner and all but those for lieutenant colonel and major troops to include the simple addition of a numerical 'Cypher' from one to nine in the middle.⁹¹ These – rather than Ormonde's banners – thus fit with the expectations that Holmes sets for pragmatic rather than propagandistic infantry colours' designs.⁹² By contrast, along with the caches of royal representational items sent to Irish lord lieutenants in the 1660s and 1670s,

⁸⁸ TNA, LC 5/ 60, f.289.

⁸⁹ Usher, *Protestant Dublin*, pp.33, 18-19.

⁹⁰ TNA, LC 5/ 60, f.289; cf. Holmes, 'Banners of the English Civil Wars', p.217.

⁹¹ TNA, LC 5/ 115, f.[N/K], v-r, 'Dragoons Colours'.

⁹² Holmes, 'Banners of the English Civil Wars', p.217.



Figure 1.5. Undated dragoon colours, TNA, LLC 5/115 f.[N/K], v-r, 'Dragoons Colours'.

the ensigns to be sent to Ormonde in 1662 were clearly intended to support re-establishing the presence and visibility of monarchical authority in Ireland after its Interregnum absence.

Advertising Royal Authority “[so] that No Person May Pretend Ignorance Thereof”

Orders for representational artefacts that did not explicitly depict Charles, but which are seemingly striking as literally and figuratively magnificent, were also made in connection with English overseas territories beyond Ireland.⁹³

⁹³ Sub-heading quotation, *CTB*, ed. Shaw, vi, EB, '[28 Oct., 9 Oct.] et priora' 1680, quoting primary source.

Artefacts Expected to Have Wide Audiences

Military colours were also requested for Dunkirk and Virginia, for example. Scant details are provided about the intended design and purpose of those to be sent to Dunkirk in March 1661, as is likewise the case with the painted drums that were to follow them in June. The former were simply to be 'of the same sort as those of Col[onel] Russell's'.⁹⁴ By contrast, the warrant for '[c]olours for the forces goeing to Virginia' give clear and direct instructions regarding their representation:

[F]or Captaine Herbert Jeffreys['s] Company in our regiment of gaurds under the Command of Collonell John Russell... a crowned Lyon passant upon the crowne... for Captaine Edward Pirks Company in the same Regiment... the Royall Oake Crowned[,] in Capt John M[utlowes?] company in our coldstream regiment of gaurds under the Command of William Earle of Craven... the grainne ble[w?] with a red cross in a white field[,] in Capt Charles Midletons['s] company in our most Deare brother James Duke of [Y]orke his regiment... the field waved with Lemon equally mixt with the red cross quite through whi[t?]h J:D:Y: in Cipher in gold[,] ffor Captaine William Meoles Company in our Holland regiment under the Command of John Earle of Mulgrave... the grainne greene with a red Cross in a White feild[.]⁹⁵

Even more so than Ormonde's ensigns therefore, collectively these were to carry royal emblems that draw emphatic associations between the Crown and its military forces. Three of the five companies' colours were to exhibit direct royal representation and of these, two carry specific connotations with the Restoration Crown rather than the English Crown more generally. The royal oak imagery to feature in Captain Pirk's colours conjures surely deliberate associations with Charles and the Royal Oak legend: the contemporary popularity, and both official and second-party use, of the story of Charles's escape from the Battle of Worcester in 1651 is well-established.⁹⁶ The colours for the Duke of York's regiment were more straightforwardly to display his personal cipher. Comparing descriptions of all of the colours with an account of English regiments' colours in late

⁹⁴ TNA, LC 5/ 60, ff.123, 182.

⁹⁵ TNA, LC 5/ 65, f.27r-v.

⁹⁶ See for instance Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp.88-90, 112-14.

1684 also suggests that there are at least some parallels between the two.⁹⁷ As in the case of the Irish liveries and trumpets, this draws representational connections between the Crown itself and its colonial agents.

It is debatable how far such connections may have been recognised as instances of royal representation by the colours' intended Virginian audience, as will be discussed in due course. The same is true of the cipher and the oak's exile-based symbolism. The crowned lion passant and the crowned oak can be nevertheless safely assumed to have been unambiguous advertisements of the English Crown's authority, particularly given the colours were to be carried by English military forces. As colours for foot regiments, it seems likely that they could also be seen from some distance.⁹⁸

It can also be inferred that such projections were intended not only to reach broad audiences. By signifying royal authority's embodiment in military personnel and equipment, they were also to aid impressing upon them the Crown's reach and its might. Based on when they were ordered – November 1676 - it is likely that the colours were to be a component of the sizeable military supply train that Geoffrey Parnell notes was compiled between July and December 1676 to suppress Bacon's rebellion.⁹⁹ Even if Parnell points out that the train arrived in Virginia only after the rebellion had wound down,¹⁰⁰ their intended if not actual audience thereby likely comprised Bacon's comrades, Virginia's settler community at large, and possibly indigenous persons caught up in the disturbance.¹⁰¹ In his tale of how Colonel Jeffreys wrested power from William Berkeley,

⁹⁷ *A General and Compleat List Military of Every Commission-Officer of Horse and Foot... As Also The Proper Distinctions of their Cloathings, Badges of Honours, and Colours [...]*, (London, 1684), pp.11, 17.

⁹⁸ See Holmes, 'Banners of the English Civil Wars', p.217.

⁹⁹ Neither the colours nor other traditional royal representational artefacts are mentioned. G. Parnell, 'The Building and Works of the Office of Ordnance at the Tower of London, 1660-1' (doctoral thesis, University of London, King's College London, 1995), i, pp.141, 141-2; see also Webb, *The Governors-General*, pp.352, 359.

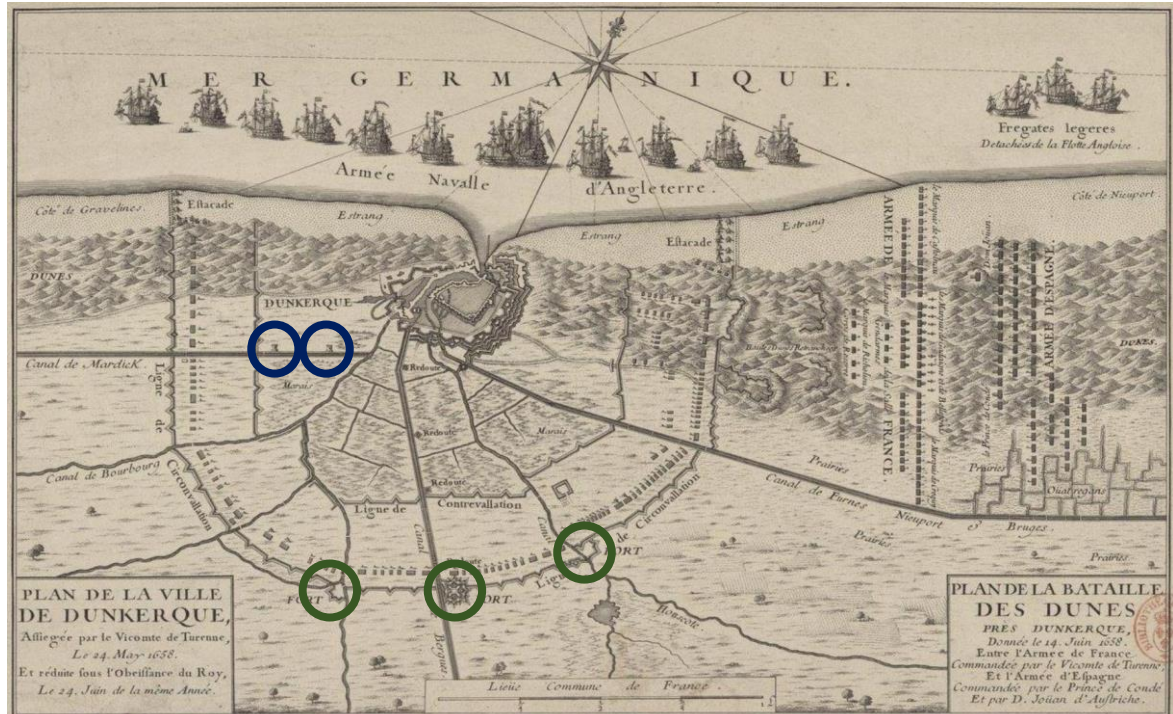
¹⁰⁰ Parnell, 'The Building and Works of Ordnance [Office]', pp.141-2.

¹⁰¹ For indigenous communities dragged into or otherwise involved in the rebellion, Sheffveland, *Anglo-Native Virginia*, pp.44-60.

governor of Virginia, and reconstituted local royal government following the rebellion, Webb certainly foregrounds Jeffrey's use of military display to compel First Nations rulers to sign the Middle Plantation peace treaty.¹⁰²

More speculatively, the Dunkirk colours' envisioned audience was likely similarly broad. They were presumably intended for display in and around the fort at Dunkirk, shown depicted during its siege in 1658 in **Figure 1.6**. As such, they may have been planned as catching the eyes of those aboard sea- or canal-borne vessels or perhaps in nearby fortifications which may or may not have been under English control (**see Figure 1.6.B & C, below**). In several instances, the Crown therefore appears to have been primed to have used military colours to project its presence and clout broadly into Restoration colonial settings.

Figure 1.6.A. *Plan du siège de Dunkerque... en 1658 (Map of Dunkirk... In 1658)*, Wikimedia Commons. [AAS], indicating forts (green) and possible fortifications (blue).



¹⁰² Webb, *The Governors-General*, pp.371-2.



Figure 1.6.B & C. Details of 1.6.A.

A series of Barbadian examples in turn illuminate the Crown using grants of traditional as well as non-traditional representational artefacts to convey politicised messages. For instance, early on in Charles's reign, Treasury calendars include several reimbursements of expenses for those 'importing and clothing divers honest and loyal persons who were sold for slaves into Barbados by the late usurpers for appearing in His Majesty's just right'.¹⁰³ Of course, such payments and by extension, the passage and the items that they purchased, must be considered royal representational instances with caution, for it is important to heed Davies's admonition against 'sweep[ing]' everything into a glutinous, and thus ultimately meaningless, representational bracket.¹⁰⁴ They can, however, be considered media which functioned as distinctions of merit bestowed by the Crown and thus which represented Charles II. As such, they can be seen as a little-discussed element of what is a well-known early Restoration Crown policy that Keay has considered in conjunction with Charles's representation: using patronage to reward those who had demonstrated loyalty or suffered for it during the Interregnum.¹⁰⁵ It can only be speculated how many islanders and English subjects may have been aware of such expressions of royal gratitude.

¹⁰³ CTB, ed. Shaw, i, Minute Book (henceforth MB) 12 Dec. 1660, EB, 8 Aug. 1661, (19 Nov. 1661), 31 Jan. 1662, 31 July 1662, 29 Sept. 1662; see also MB, 3 July 1663.

¹⁰⁴ Davies, 'Review[,] "Selling the Tudor Monarchy"', 1435; for relevant discussion, below, pp.194-240.

¹⁰⁵ Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch*, pp.85-9.

Nevertheless, a modest estimate puts the figure at more than two hundred.¹⁰⁶ The reimbursements can thereby be read as representational media used by Charles and his government to encourage loyalty amongst the Crown's subjects.

Other royal representational examples were more clearly intended to reach theoretically wide audiences. A Treasury Lords memorandum of 1680 noted that on William Blathwayt's prompting, a clause within the Governor of Barbados, Sir Richard Dutton's royal instructions was to stipulate that certain royal "commands" were "to be entered in the public register of that our island together with a duplicate of our said letters patent delivered unto you by the Commissioners of our Treasury, in case the said letters patent be not already entered there". This was to ensure local compliance with Crown orders, for it was noted as being "[so] that no person may pretend ignorance thereof and that the same be deemed good and effectual in the law to all intents and purposes whatsoever".¹⁰⁷ In other words, the representational dimensions of Charles's orders and letters patent were to be expressly enhanced through their incorporation into the public record in order to maximise royal orders' theoretical reach and to engender local compliance to metropolitan will, seemingly regarding revenue management.¹⁰⁸ Indeed, though it is unclear from the records examined what prompted this request and exactly which letters patent were in question, the order may speak to the Crown's awareness of the challenges and possible republican stirrings that Harlow suggests were brewing around royal Barbadian rule in this period.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Estimate assumes that a minimum four family members or close associates knew of them for each of the more than fifty 'divers... loyal persons' concerned, as well as the individuals who petitioned the Crown for intervention, Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Hunt and Captain Edward Strange. For Hunt and Strange's involvement in these affairs, *CTB*, ed. Shaw, i, MB, 12 Dec. 1660, EB, 19 Nov. 1661, 31 Jan. 1662, 31 July 1662, 29 Sept. 1662.

¹⁰⁷ *CTB*, ed. Shaw, vi, EB, '[28 Oct., 9 Oct.] et priora 1680', quoting original record.

¹⁰⁸ As indicated in *ibid.*, see also *CTB*, ed. Shaw, vi, EB, '[30 June and 5 July 1680]', '(a) (1)' and '(b) (1)'.

¹⁰⁹ Harlow, 'A History of Barbados', pp.243-5, 250-3.

A host of religious items to be dispatched to Barbados in 1681 were to strike more benevolent, patronal chords. Unlike the 'service books' ordered for Ireland in 1662 and 1670, the books and marriage tables 'for his Mats Service in the Iseland of Barbadoes' appear intended for use in the island's parishes and not the chapel of its leading political figure, in this case the governor.¹¹⁰ It seems unlikely to be a coincidence that fifteen each of folioed Books of Common Prayer and homily books, Church cannons and Thirteen Articles in quarto, and marriage tables were ordered, and a 1675-6 map of the island detailed that there were '[fourteen] Churches [and] Chapels' in Barbados.¹¹¹ The inclusion of marriage tables particularly suggests that they were intended for use amongst a broad and public community. It is tempting to read this order as demonstrating Charles proactively fostering Anglicanism amongst his Barbadian flock in his role as head of the Church. Likewise, it is easy to propose that it is an example of the Crown disseminating royal representational artefacts designed to conjure awareness of the monarchy, and connections to it, amongst a colonial community. Jeremy Gregory has after all urged that the Book of Common Prayer was 'the particular signifier of Anglican identity in the colonial world' and that its 'prayers said for the monarchs and the royal family... [were] a weekly reminder of the relationship between... colonial Anglican congregations and their monarchs in the mother country, helping to fashion an emotional bond between congregations and their Supreme Governor'.¹¹²

Two contextual points disrupt drawing linear conclusions like these between the artefacts and their supposed use by the Crown to serve royal ambitions. First, their dispatch may have been prompted by Dutton as Barbados's governor. It is around this time that Harlow suggests he attempted to

¹¹⁰ TNA, LC 5/ 60, f.275; TNA, LC 5/ 66, f.5r. For details of the Irish orders, above, pp.83-4.

¹¹¹ TNA, LC 5/ 66, f.5r; 'A New Map of the Island of Barbadoes wherein every Parish, Plantation, Watermill, Windmill [and] Cattlemill, is described...' [1675-6], in *The Blathwayt Atlas: A Collection of [Forty-eight] Manuscript and Printed Maps of the [Seventeenth] Century Relating to the British Overseas Empire in That Era [...]*, ed. J. D. Black (2 vols, Providence, 1970), i, Map 32.

¹¹² J. Gregory, 'Introduction', in idem, (ed.) *The Oxford History of Anglicanism. Volume II, Establishment and Empire, 1662-1829*, (Oxford, 2017), pp.15, 16.

rejuvenate the island's Anglican church.¹¹³ Whilst there is no evidence within the order's warrant that Dutton had requested the items, Treasury Book calendars suggest that he made a host of requests for items from the Crown to aid his ambitions during his governorship, discussed further below.¹¹⁴ The books may therefore signal the Crown simply agreeing to a request by one of its colonial agents rather than proactively attempting to nurture Caribbean Anglicanism or bolster Charles's presence in parish life. Secondly, their warrant fails to specify the inclusion of royal symbolism in their design. There is no mention that they were to be '[i?]mbroydered... with ye King[']s Armes Sett upon them', as is the case with at least the communion table Common Prayer Books ordered for Ireland.¹¹⁵ They could only function as royal representational artefacts that brought Charles's presence to Barbados in so far as parishioners were aware that they had been provided by the Crown. And as discussed in due course, there is good reason to doubt that this may have been the case, or that it even would have been expected to be.

Nevertheless, another Barbadian example illustrates that the Crown took the import of royal representational artefacts seriously. In March 1665, Charles wrote to Francis, Lord Willoughby of Parham, 'Commander-in-Chief of Barbadoes', that he had created several Jewish individuals denizens to encourage supposed efforts to locate and work a West Indian gold mine. However, he explained that it had come to his attention that their claims on which he had based his actions were fraudulent. Alongside instructing Willoughby to consider the individuals' status void and to ensure general restitution was made, Charles specifically requested that he secure the return of a gold chain given by him to one of their number 'for their encouragement'.¹¹⁶ Though a record of the chain does not appear in the Great Wardrobe, Jewel Office, or Treasury records surveyed in this research, it is reasonable to suppose that it was similar to the chains already discussed as awarded

¹¹³ Harlow, 'A History of Barbados', pp.249-50.

¹¹⁴ See for example *CTB*, ed. Shaw, vii, EB, 10 Dec. 1683.

¹¹⁵ TNA, LC 5/ 60, f.275; TNA, LC 5/ 63, f.53. See above, p.83.

¹¹⁶ *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, ed. Sainsbury, p.284 ref.948.

to others for their colonial services during Charles's reign, in particular that given to Captain Radison for his explorations in Hudson Bay in 1673.¹¹⁷ A medal of the king may therefore have been attached. Charles's request that its grant be revoked is significant. It indicates the Crown's judgement that it was not a static expression of royal favour but a dynamic one whose status could and should be updated to reflect royal feeling. Just as the circumstances of the Barbadian religious books' order raise doubts about the Crown's attentiveness to representation's potential in colonial settings, this example affirms it.

Objects Intended as Diplomatic Tools

Orders connected to Tangier and Virginia also clearly show the Crown leveraging representational artefacts to support colonial diplomatic endeavours. In Tangier's case, such orders are in fact testament to various attempts to assuage neighbouring communities' hostility towards the colony. It had come into English possession in 1661 via Catherine of Braganza's marriage dowry and had previously been a Portuguese colonial site. Despite being touted as a boon to the English Crown and to English trade, it was ingloriously abandoned in 1684 after becoming too expensive to maintain in the face of neighbouring communities' hostility.¹¹⁸ Whilst it was still in English hands, efforts were naturally made to reduce its vulnerability to external attack. One such effort was Lord Howard's 1669 embassy to the Moroccan court of Emperor Er Rasheed II, the individual also known as Taffilett, ¹¹⁹ and a significant number of resplendent items were ordered to support it. They were to include a host of items designed as 'a present for the Emperor' as well as items and funds to furnish Howard and his retinue.¹²⁰ A grant for his ambassadorial '[n]ecessaries' was to include:

¹¹⁷ TNA, LC 5/ 107, f.169r.

¹¹⁸ Glickman, 'Empire, 'Popery', and the Fall of English Tangier', pp.247-8, 251-3; T. Stein, 'Tangier in the Restoration Empire', *Historical Journal*, 54: 4 (2011), 985, 1007.

¹¹⁹ Routh, *Tangier*, pp.23, 99, see also 92-3.

¹²⁰ TNA, LC 5/ 63, f.33 (capitalisation adjusted); see also Routh, *Tangier*, 99-100.

One large Bible of Imperiall paper with the [sculpts?] richly bound in two volum[e]s[,] two Com[m]on Prayer books in folio[,] six in quarto[,] one Altercloth of cloth of Tissue [and] velvett [paned?][,] Twenty ells of fine Draper for Towells[,] two large Surplices of fine Holland[,] One Cloth of Estate of Crymson velvett [paned?] with his Mates [sic] Armes [e]mbroydered richly thereupon[,] a Greate Chayre[,] two highstooles [and] a footstoole [and] two Cushions suiteable trymed up for his Mates [sic] Service with cases of bayes [and] also a foote carpett of Turkey worke[.]¹²¹

Howard was also to receive a range of livery items for 'foure Trumpetters [and] a kettle Drumer that [we]re to attend [him]'. These were to include not only the banner emblazoned with Charles's personal cipher and the royal arms previously mentioned, but coats which were similarly 'to be richly Embroydered with his Mates Letters [and] Crowne... before [and] behind'; trimmings such as ribbon and lace; and accessories encompassing trumpet strings, gloves, hats, and hat bands.¹²² The same individuals, and possibly 'each of [therer?] men', were to be provided with far less elaborate sea livery materials in addition.¹²³ Both the sets of liveries and the '[n]ecessaries' may then have been separate to the 1,500 pounds allotted from the Treasury for his equipage and 1,200 for 'a quarter's ordinary'.¹²⁴ Howard's embassy was therefore seemingly intended to be well-equipped by ambassadorial standards: according to Jacobsen's figures for late seventeenth-century ambassadorial monetary allowances, its value from the Crown's perspective appears literally comparable with the strategically-important English embassies to France, Spain, and the Holy Roman Empire, which were also allocated the equivalent of 1,500 pounds for equipage and 1,200 for ordinaries.¹²⁵

Treasury Book calendars also provide evidence of grants for Sir James Leslie, who in February 1683 was noted as 'late ambassador to the Emperor of Morocco'. These were to cover various expenses, including Leslie's travels between Tangier and presumably England; an apparent reward for 'making

¹²¹ TNA, LC 5/ 63, f.16.

¹²² TNA, LC 5/ 63, ff.(29)-30.

¹²³ TNA, LC 5/ 63, f.33.

¹²⁴ *CTB*, ed. Shaw, iii, EB, 21 Apr. 1669.

¹²⁵ Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, p.12.

the marine Treatie at Sallee and the Treaty of Alcazar', and expenses related to 'the King [Charles II]'s presents'. The latter were shipped to Tangier and sent on 'to Mekanette [Mequinez]' seemingly at some point between late 1680 and early 1682, along with 'one case of pistols, one watch, [and] one carbine' 'given to the [Morocca[n]] King's son'.¹²⁶

Records reveal mention of other Crown gifts to those associated with the Moroccan court too. During his visit to Charles's court in 1682, the Moroccan ambassador was to receive a damask bed, cushions, a coach, hired furniture and furnishings at Newmarket, and money to the value of 1,350 guineas, and at the close of his embassy, his goods onboard the royal ship, 'Woolwich', were to be exempt from customs duties at Tangier.¹²⁷ At the opposite end of Charles's reign, it had also been 'his Maties Speciall Ord[e]r [and] comand' in February 1664 that crimson velvet trimmed with gold and silver lace and silk fringe and other necessary materials were provided to make 'One Padd Sadle houlster[,] Cappe [and] und[e]r Sadle Cloth w[i]th a black furniture richly gilt [and] Bitt Suitable... to be Sent for Gyland'.¹²⁸ Abd Allah Ghailán, or 'Gyland' as he was also known by the English, was the leader of Moroccan communities based closest to Tangier at the time or - as Routh puts it more directly - 'the foe with whom [the English] had at first actually to deal, for he commanded the effective fighting force of the [Moroccan empire] near Tangier'.¹²⁹ At around this time, relations between Tangier's community and Ghailán's forces were tense, and Routh refers to primary material suggesting that the Spanish had given the Moroccan commander an extravagant gift only a few months before.¹³⁰ It is reasonable therefore to interpret the saddle as an attempt to foster productive relations between the Crown on Tangier's behalf and Ghailán.

¹²⁶ *CTB*, ed. Shaw, vii, EB, [12] Feb. 1683.

¹²⁷ TNA, LC 5/ 66, f.38v; TNA, LC 5/ 66, ff.40r, 38v-39r, 47; *CTB*, ed. Shaw, vii, EB, 9 and 11 June 1682; for dating and discussion of the ambassadorial visit, Routh, *Tangier*, pp.220-35.

¹²⁸ TNA, LC 5/ 61, f.118.

¹²⁹ Routh, *Tangier*, p.23.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.50-2, 57-8, esp. 51.

This interpretation for the above-mentioned example – and indeed those before it – sits at ease both with literature on the early modern use of gift exchanges as commonplace diplomatic and commercial tools and with Routh’s discussion of gifts incorporated into Restoration English-Moroccan exchanges.¹³¹ Such purpose is nevertheless not spelled out in relevant primary Great Wardrobe and Treasury calendar materials. It is in the case of ‘presents’ to be sent to Virginian First Nations rulers, ordered in January 1678.¹³² This wide portfolio of gifts was to include assorted jewellery, robes, clothes, and personal weapons, as well as identification badges for native peoples ‘with the name of your Matie and the Tributary princes inscribed’.¹³³ Yet their centrepiece was to be ‘[f]oure small Crownes or Coronets of Thinne silver plate gilt’. These were to be:

[A]dorned with false stones of various Colours with this Inscription: A Carolo Secundo Magn[ae?] Britanni[ae?] Rege: being designed by his Matie as presents to the Indian Kings [and] Queenes now Tributary to his Matie within the Colony of – Virginia[.]¹³⁴

Royal commissioners Sir John Berry and Francis Morrison – the same commissioners noted above as rewarded for their services in Virginia following Bacon’s Rebellion – wrote a proposal for the said ‘presents’ appended to their Great Wardrobe warrant. In it, they provided justification for the gifts overall. They noted that they would:

[N]ot only greatly [e]xalt [the First Nations’ rulers’] service of your Mats: favour and indulgency towards them[,] most infinitely indere your royall name and memory among them but begett a reverence to them from their own people as well as your Mats: subjects in Virginia when they shall see thereby [that?] they are in your royall Esteeme as well as protection and ma[y?] tend to the making this peace [accorded by the Treaty of Middle Plantation] more firme and inviolable.¹³⁵

¹³¹ See for example Hennings and Sowerby, ‘Introduction. Practices of Diplomacy’, pp.4, 13-16; A. M. Carlos and F. D. Lewis, ‘Native-European Interactions in North America and the Trade in Furs’, in I. Gallup-Díaz (ed.), *The World of Colonial America. An Atlantic Handbook* (New York, London, 2017), pp.344, 345, 352; Routh, *Tangier*, pp.100, 221, 51.

¹³² TNA, LC 5/ 65, ff.64v, 65r, v.

¹³³ TNA, LC 5/ 108, f.28v; TNA, LC 5/ 65, ff.64v-(65v).

¹³⁴ TNA, LC 5/ 108, f.28v.

¹³⁵ TNA, LC 5/ 65, ff.64-5v, (65v); for the connection between the gifts and the Treaty of Middle Plantation, A. G. Gardner, ‘We Are Not Going to Go Away. Virginia’s Pamunkey Indians Greeted the Jamestown Settlers, but They Are Still Waiting for National Recognition’, *Colonial Williamsburg Journal* (2013), pgr.13-15.

They therefore explicitly stated their view that the artefacts would secure the Crown's hoped-for alliance with specific First Nations communities by advertising it to both indigenous and Virginian settler audiences.¹³⁶ They more specifically explained earlier in the proposal also that the crowns or coronets were 'to import that [the First Nations rulers] actually (as well as Confessorily) hold those their very Crownes of your Matie', reflecting in their view that under the recent 'Articles of peace [the Treaty of Middle Plantation]', they 'doe Expressly owne to have their Immediate dependance on... your Matie'. They further noted that the badges requested were intended to resurrect a method of identifying which indigenous Nation malcontents belonged to 'upon any breach of peace', 'by which meanes the former peace [prior to the Treaty] was [-] and the present peace may be [-] much preserved'.¹³⁷

It is questionable how far the rulers concerned truly, or at least freely, acknowledged that their leadership was dependent on the English Crown. K. M. Shefveld on the one hand suggests that the gift's premier target, Cockacoeske, *weronsqua* or in English terms, queen of the Pamunkey, attempted to manipulate her involvement in Virginian affairs to her own political advantage. On the other hand, Webb presents indigenous rulers as collectively cowed into submission before English displays of might.¹³⁸ In any case, what survives of the gifts suggests that the Crown subscribed to the interpretation of English-First Nations relations that Berry and Morrison presented. The Pamunkey Frontlet (**Figure 1.7, below**) is perhaps all that is left of the cache of artefacts.¹³⁹ It may have been attached to the Queen's prospective crown, have existed as a

¹³⁶ For the argument that the Crown hoped to widen the Treaty of Middle Plantation geographically and the implication that it organised the gifts discussed to facilitate this, Shefveld, *Anglo-Native Virginia*, p.57.

¹³⁷ TNA, LC 5/ 65, ff.64v, third quotation set at 65v.

¹³⁸ Cf. Shefveld, *Anglo-Native Virginia*, pp.56-8; Webb, *The Governors-General*, pp.371-2.

¹³⁹ See Gardner, 'We Are Not Going to Go Away', pgr.15. However, cf. an image of a striped robe 'sewn by journeyman tailor Mark Hutter [to] commemorate a 1677 treaty' accompanying Gardner's article. This suggests that at least a replica, if not the original, of the 'striped Indian gowne of gay colours' (TNA, LC 5/ 65, f.65r) that the Great Wardrobe warrant proposes was also to be given to the Queen of Pamunkey, may also have survived to the modern day. For additional sources leading to the conclusion that the frontlet was intended to be amongst the gifts mentioned in the Lord Chamberlain warrants, 'Queen of Pamunkey Frontlet

Figure 1.7.A-D. The ‘Pamunkey Frontlet’, c.1677, photography by Katherine Wetzel (B-D, details excerpted from A by author). [Courtesy of Preservation Virginia]



separate ‘pendant’, or – a possibility suggested by Andrew Gardener’s reference to it as a ‘badge’ – been intended as one of the Pamunkey tribe’s identification badges.¹⁴⁰ Measuring circa six-by-four inches, it is a sizeable artefact and its surface is dominated by the depiction of crown, Charles’s arms, and his royal style placed above the Queen of Pamunkey’s title.¹⁴¹ Visually, she is therefore

Tells History of Native Americans in Virginia’, *Preservation Virginia* blog, press release (13 December 2017); [The ‘Pamunkey Frontlet’](#), Encyclopedia Virginia, (23 Nov. 2021).

¹⁴⁰ Cf. ‘Queen of Pamunkey Frontlet Tells History of Native Americans’; Shefveland, *Anglo-Native Virginia*, (p.57); Gardner, ‘We Are Not Going to Go Away’, pgr.15; see also [The ‘Pamunkey Frontlet’](#), Encyclopedia Virginia.

¹⁴¹ Ibid; **Figure 1.7.**

presented as ranking below Charles. The frontlet's royal style also refers to Charles as 'King of England Scotland France Ireland and Virginia' (**Figure 1.7.B, above**). Whilst unusual in the context of his usual style which introduces Charles as 'by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, & c.',¹⁴² it is consistent with a local conceptualisation that Lyon Tyler draws attention to. He notes that Virginia had been conceived historically as a fifth Tudor and Stuart kingdom, and that the Restoration royal seal of Virginia included the phrase, '*En dat Virginia Quintum*'.¹⁴³ Tyler implies either that the phrase's inclusion on the seal was in praise of its loyalty to the Crown enduring into the early years of the Commonwealth, or a reaction to the perceived slight of Sir William Berkeley's supposed delay in proclaiming Charles in 1660.¹⁴⁴ Pestana's brief discussion of the nature and timing of Virginia's reaction to the Restoration in the context of other Atlantic colonies and the Crown's attitudes to them makes the latter seem unlikely.¹⁴⁵

In the case of the Pamunkey frontlet, the inclusion of a royal style referring to Virginia as Charles's fifth kingdom may be a deliberately emphatic statement of his sovereignty over the colony. This would be in keeping with the frontlet's visual positioning of Charles's authority over the Queen of Pamunkey's, and with historians' claims that the Crown's late-seventeenth-century colonial ambitions gathered force from the mid-1670s; the frontlet dates to circa 1677-8.¹⁴⁶ The reference may, however, only be practical sign-posting. The frontlet's primary audience was of course likely envisioned as those in the Pamunkey tribe, as well as perhaps individuals from other First Nations,

¹⁴² See for instance 'Letters Patents, granted to the Governor and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, bearing date [3] April... [1661]', in *Charters Granted to the East-India Company, from 1601; Also the Treaties and Grants, Made with, or Obtained from, the Princes and Powers in India, from the Year 1756 to 1772* (1774), p.54.

¹⁴³ L. G. Tyler, 'The Seal of Virginia', *WMQ* 3: 2 (1894), 84-7.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.85.

¹⁴⁵ Pestana, *The English Atlantic*, pp.213-18, esp. pp.214-15.

¹⁴⁶ See for example Haffenden, 'The Crown and the Colonial Charters... Part I', p.299; for the frontlet's dating, cf. [The 'Pamunkey Frontlet'](#), Encyclopedia Virginia, (23 Nov. 2021), TNA, LC 5/ 65, ff.64v-65v, and TNA, LC 5/ 108, f.28v.

who may have been unfamiliar with the relevance of Charles II, King of England, to their immediate political landscape. The style may simply have anticipated and looked to address such unfamiliarity. In either case, the style – as with the frontlet as a whole – suggest that the Crown took seriously Berry and Morrison’s suggestion that the artefacts could be used to advance political agendas.

Together with the examples laid out above, the Virginian First Nations gifts show that the Crown and its colonial agents intended to use a range of royal representational instances to advance colonial objectives.

Trends Appearing to Confirm Established Arguments

So far, analysis has focused on individual grants of representational artefacts and tracing the explicit and implicit royal intentions behind them. This provides evidence which looks set to confirm what the headlines of key representational scholarship prepare one to expect: that Charles adroitly deployed royal representational instances in the pursuit of his colonial agenda. Adopting a wider analytical lens provides sight of trends which in turn, notable colonial historians lead one to anticipate: that the said colonial agenda proliferated and intensified over time.

Viewed chronologically, the Great Wardrobe and Jewel Office grants surveyed fall into three geographically-centred phases. First, all unique orders of traditional representational artefacts identified with a connection to colonial contexts in the opening three-and-a-half years of the Restoration are associated – without fail - with Ireland and Dunkirk. Secondly, with the exception of a purse for Ireland’s Great Seal and the possible addition of christening plate awarded to Sir George Carteret, the grants pinpointed between 1664 and 1669 concern the interlinked contexts of Tangier and Morocco.¹⁴⁷ Then, from 1670 to 1685, those found broaden geographically to

¹⁴⁷ The warrant refers to Carteret as ‘vicechamberlayne to his Matie’, though he is known to have been involved with several colonial ventures, including Carolina and Tangier. TNA, LC 5/ 107, f.108r; C. H. Firth,

encompass Hudson's Bay, Barbados, Jamaica, and Virginia as well as Ireland, Morocco, and Tangier. The point must not be over-played. The number of grants identified in connection with Morocco in 1669 certainly reflect in part the survey's interest in specifically investigating grants associated with Lord Howard's embassy, for example. Yet having accounted for this, the trend stands. The geographic scope of traditional Lord Chamberlain representational grants surveyed expanded from only Ireland and Dunkirk in 1660-3 to an additional five locations by 1685.

Grants with Barbadian connections in Great Wardrobe, Jewel Office, and the Treasury Book calendar records corroborate this expansion in geographical coverage. No orders related to Barbados appear in the Great Wardrobe and Jewel Office records sampled before 1681, at which point the order for religious 'Bookes for Barbadoes' can be found.¹⁴⁸ In 1660-4, Treasury Book calendars contain no entries for representational orders or requests for Barbados, except the customs exemptions and reimbursements pertaining to 'loyal persons' mentioned previously and, to include a further possible example, a petition for certain customs treatment from a Sir Richard Ford, he 'conceiving he deserves well of His Majesty'.¹⁴⁹ By contrast, a number of artefacts which can be considered royal representational instances are mentioned in entries for 1680-4. These include the royal commands and letters patent to be entered into the public record mentioned previously; a yacht 'to attend [Dutton] at Barbados' 'for the King's service'; and '[forty] iron guns, culverins, and demi-culverins, to furnish the forts [Dutton] had newly built'.¹⁵⁰

Together with the general geographical spread of Great Wardrobe and Jewel Office grants surveyed, this appears consistent with a broadening and strengthening of Crown colonial interests across Charles's reign. It therefore seems to lend credence to historiographical arguments

'Carteret, Sir George, First Baronet', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (henceforth *ODNB*) (2004, revised 2008).

¹⁴⁸ TNA, LC 5/ 66, f.5r.

¹⁴⁹ *CTB*, ed. Shaw, i, EB, (19 Nov. 1661), MB, (6 Dec. 1661).

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, vi, EB, '[28 Oct., 9 Oct.] et priora 1680', vii, 10 Dec. 1683.

acknowledging such a development. This includes those reporting it with a positive inflection, like Braddick's claim that 'the later seventeenth century saw the government undertaking much more direct control of overseas trade and settlement', including during Charles's reign. Perhaps less obviously, it also includes those framing the same developments negatively, like Sosin's more chronologically-focused comment that it was '[o]nly after twenty years and more' of Charles's reign that 'the ministers of the crown [took] steps... to impose some unity on [North American colonies]'.¹⁵¹ Again then, initial analysis appears ready to confirm established historiographical conclusions.

Except astute readers may notice three things. As outlined in the introduction, arguments like Sosin's situating Restoration royal ambition only within the latter years of Charles's reign have become outmoded.¹⁵² Historians such as Games, Abigail Swingen, and Glickman have far more recently asserted that the Crown possessed and pursued colonial ambitions almost from the outset of the Restoration.¹⁵³ The evidence presented above not only harks back to arguments which are now relatively outdated. It actively *questions* current arguments locating royal colonial ambitions in the early 1660s. For almost without exception,¹⁵⁴ the only grants for 1660-3 connected to 'colonial' contexts found within the records surveyed were for Ireland and Dunkirk. More definitively, they were the only territories to receive *traditional* representational artefacts in the same period. This focus is too significant and too concentrated to be explained by vagaries associated with the historical record and historical survivals: all twenty of the unique colonial grants found in 1660-3 Great Wardrobe and Jewel Office records relate to either Ireland or Dunkirk. And as already noted, there are solid reasons for Ireland to be considered a Stuart kingdom as well as,

¹⁵¹ Braddick, *State Formation*, p.416, for comments focused on Charles's reign specifically, see pp.413-14; Sosin, *English America and the Restoration Monarchy*, pp.1-(3).

¹⁵² Above, pp.5-6, 33.

¹⁵³ Games, *The Web of Empire*, pp.289-99, esp. pp.291-6; Swingen, 'Labor, Empire, and the State', esp. pp.90, 93; Glickman, *Making the Imperial Nation*, esp. pp.13-16.

¹⁵⁴ For exceptions, see earlier discussion of Barbadian reimbursements for enslaved royalists and a Treasury warrant for Surat discussed below (pp.104-5), *CTB*, ed. Shaw, i, EB, 11 Mar. 1662.

if not indeed rather than, a colony. Furthermore, though Dunkirk was not a royal kingdom, it was in relatively close proximity to Charles's domestic realms and had been the site of parliamentarian-royalist conflict into the late 1650s.¹⁵⁵ It is therefore possible that the king sought to use representational grants to establish his authority within these two particular territories in order to enmesh and protect his authority in *domestic* rather than in colonial contexts and thus for domestic rather than colonial objectives.

This leads neatly into the third point that readers may have discerned in the evidence presented above. This is that it fundamentally suggests that the Crown's efforts to provision colonial sites and agents with representational artefacts were in fact very limited. The number of colonies intended to receive royal Great Wardrobe and Jewel Office grants may have increased from two to seven between 1660 and 1685 within the sample surveyed. Including relevant Treasury calendar records encountered during the survey may even bump this total to eleven territories. Yet as shown in **Table A**, there were seventy-six English colonies across the course of Charles's reign. Only a small portion of Restoration colonies were thereby planned as receiving such artefacts. Interpretations of this finding must account for the survey's limitations. It is of course possible that grants of representational artefacts to colonies beyond those counted above appear in the records not included within the survey's scope. The chance finding of a warrant related to Surat and dating to 1662 during research focused on Barbadian Treasury calendar material certainly hints at the need for a caveat to this effect.¹⁵⁶

Furthermore, this analysis and its accompanying dataset table, **Table B**, does not document every Treasury calendar entry containing mention of something which might feasibly be construed a royal representational artefact. As implied in the above discussion of Barbadian customs exemptions and

¹⁵⁵ See for example C. H. Firth, 'Royalist and Cromwellian Armies in Flanders, 1657-1662', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 17 (1903), pp.67-8, 85-6.

¹⁵⁶ *CTB*, ed. Shaw, i, EB, 11 Mar. 1662.

reimbursements, it is possible to consider payments and exemptions from fees as royal representational instances, for they expressed Charles's authority and signalled to at least small - and not necessarily insignificant - audiences that specific individuals enjoyed royal favour and attention. The Surat warrant is one such example: it granted Sir George Oxenden permission to take three thousand ounces of plate with him to the colony as President of the East India Company. The Crown's efforts to stock colonies with basics such as defensive supplies could be considered representational endeavours in a similar vein and how ordnance functioned as official royal representation is in fact returned to in Chapter Two. Yet practical and not representational drivers likely lay behind such monetary and provision-oriented grants, diluting the value of including them within this analysis. It would also have been impractical to have catalogued the full extent of such grants even within the study's limited scope. This analysis of royal representational grants therefore only includes what was felt to be a pertinent selection of grants of this nature. It is true that if all were accounted for instead, the number of colonies related to royal representational grants might surpass the eleven found within this analysis. It remains significant, however, that this analysis found such a narrow concentration of geographies associated with the grants that it considers.

For it cannot be adequately explained as the result either of haphazard Crown activity or of omissions in the historical record. If there was no logic behind the grants, one would expect them to have a broad and random geographical and chronological spread, which they do not. Crucially, nor can the grants' patterning be credited to sweeping royal policies or ambitions. If indiscriminating Crown colonial or representational agendas lay behind them, one would again expect a far broader set of colonies to be reflected in the grants – or if the sample was warped by issues with the historical record, at least a far more jumbled one. It is also likely that significantly more grants would have been found than the seventy-seven that were. This is itself a small figure relative to the number of English colonial territories, royal colonial agents, and the seventeen-and-

a-half years possibly encompassed by the survey.¹⁵⁷ To set it in perspective, Gibson identified ninety-two examples of chains and medals alone granted to low-ranking diplomatic personnel in the Jewel Office records covering the sixteen years between 1660 and 1676.¹⁵⁸ Trends discernible across the grants identified suggest that one or more rationales guided them, but that they were not ubiquitous enough to result in grants being consistently allocated across all colonial territories.

Rather than confirming established arguments within colonial and representational historiography then, this analysis's findings confound them. They challenge the lingering notion that '[n]o knowledge, no plan, no system... summed up the drift and incoherence in Whitehall's administration of the colonies' just as much as they discredit the idea that a blanket, cross-territorial plan lay behind it.¹⁵⁹ Equally, as explored below, they suggest that the Crown did not apply royal representation as a salve to all its political sores, nor use it to advance its authority indiscriminately as Sharpe implies. Broadening this research's analytical lens further reveals the examples outlined above to be gilded exceptions and not glittering examples of literally and figuratively magnificent official royal colonial representation. This casts serious doubt on prominent theories regarding the nature and extent of Charles's colonial and representational proclivities. Yet attention to these exceptions also begins to build a compelling case for alternative theses. They suggest that rather than pursuing an all-encompassing colonial agenda, the Crown simply undertook territory-specific colonial initiatives that may or may not have had common drivers and intended outcomes. They also demonstrate that Charles's use of royal representation was neither as centrally-controlled nor as adept as Sharpe has indicated.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ For the survey's chronological span, above, pp.xxxi-iv.

¹⁵⁸ Gibson, "'Best Belov'd of Kings'", i, p.86.

¹⁵⁹ Quotation implicitly referring to across the seventeenth century. D. A. Scott, *Leviathan: The Rise of Britain as a World Power* (London, 2013), p.392; for the notion of a blanket, cross-territorial plan, see work cited above, p.33 n.99.

¹⁶⁰ Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp.11-222.

Occam's Razor and Cutting Through Consensus

Occam's Razor is of course the philosophical theory that the simplest explanation is often the best. Applied to Restoration royal colonial representational grants, it supports two central conclusions. First, that they do not provide evidence of the Crown unilaterally and liberally provisioning its colonial agents with representational artefacts because it did not do so – and it did not intend to. Secondly, that they show representational gifts and loans pooling around particular locales and events because this is where royal colonial attention was focused. Further analysis suggests that this was indeed the case.

Exceptional Use of Traditional Royal Representation

One conclusion that is clear, for example, is that traditional royal representational items such as items of state and accompanying signifiers of royal credentials such as Charles's arms, maces, and liveries were only provided to colonial agents and contexts in exceptional cases. Key details of these cases – New Hampshire's royal arms, seal and statute books, Ireland's manifold items, diplomatic artefacts connected to Virginia and Tangier, and the possible Jamaican mace mentioned in records outside those surveyed – have already been outlined. What has not yet been pressed home is the corollary that there were many more cases where such artefacts held the potential to project and strengthen royal authority and yet were *not* deployed.

Why, for instance, were items of state only to be sent to aid enacting the Restoration in Ireland in 1660-3 and not at least to the eight other Restoration colonies with well-established colonial credentials and internal socio-cultural scenes in English hands from 1660?¹⁶¹ Did the sending of artefacts including Charles's portrait and arms to New Hampshire in 1679 in fact mark a shift in

¹⁶¹ The eight colonies are considered to be Barbados, Massachusetts, Jamaica, Virginia, Maryland, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Hampshire. For details and additional Restoration English colonies in 1660, see **Table A**.

Crown policy from the mid-1670s, indicating efforts from this point to increase its colonial presence through representational means? Why were such items not used to bolster royal authority in places where it struggled to take hold, such as in Massachusetts or in early Restoration Bombay?¹⁶² And why were royal representational items granted even only to *some* and not all colonies directly under Crown control?¹⁶³ To answer these questions, we will first briefly take closer looks chiefly at their use in connection with Ireland and New Hampshire.

Ireland: A Kingdom, Not a Colony?

As already noted, historians have emphatically argued that Ireland be considered a Restoration English colony. Yet an obvious answer to why it was the only colonial territory intended to receive items of state to underscore Charles's restoration was that it did not receive them as a colony at all. Whilst there are no clear parallels of other English colonies as beneficiaries of items such as chairs, canopies, and royal swords recorded in the Great Wardrobe and Jewel Office materials surveyed for 1660-3,¹⁶⁴ there are parallels with other Stuart kingdoms.

In England, for example, in 1661 Charles's principal King of Arms was to be given a silver and gilt 'Collar of SS', and the two principal Kings at Arms, as well as 'the six Heralds' at York, Lancaster, Windsor, Richmond, Sommerset, and Chester were each to receive the showier distinctions of 'silver not gilt' collars and silver gilt crowns, 'to be made in [facgfort?] as hath bene heretofore accustomed'.¹⁶⁵ 'One Canopie wth Silver bells... after the Manner as it hath beene formerly accustomed' was to be given to the Baron of the Cinque Ports in the same year, and purses for the

¹⁶² For the Crown's issues establishing a foothold in Bombay before granting it to the East India Company, Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, ii, p.660.

¹⁶³ **Table B**, cf. **Table A**.

¹⁶⁴ The mace said to have been given to Jamaica by Charles and yet not documented in these materials is a possible correlative example. Above, p.63.

¹⁶⁵ TNA, LC 5/ 107, f.73r.

seals of St George and the Privy Seal were also ordered.¹⁶⁶ Elsewhere, the Lord President of Wales was to receive ‘bastard Scarlett’ and velvet for pursuivant liveries and silver trumpets ‘after the same manner [and] fashion as any of his Mats trumpeters have received’ in 1661 and 1663 respectively.¹⁶⁷ A silver, two hundred-ounce mace was to go to Jersey’s bailiff in 1661 and much later, in 1682 a slightly heavier ‘Royall silver Mace... fairly guilt’ was ordered for the sergeant at arms of the Welsh Marches.¹⁶⁸ Religious books and items were also ordered for myriad locations and parties within and beyond the royal household across 1661-4. These included a bible and service book for the offices of ‘the Porters of his Maties Gate’, the Privy Buttery, and the clerk of the royal kitchens, and items encompassing Common Prayer books, bibles, fabrics, and plate – some of which were to be decorated with Charles’s arms – for Ludlow Castle’s royal chapel.¹⁶⁹

This litany of comparative examples is not intended to be exhaustive. It reflects instead pertinent representational grants connected to Stuart kingdoms and highlights three things. They demonstrate that Charles did not only outfit his own court and residences with representational items during his reign, even if grants such as those outlined have not attracted the notice of the likes of Sharpe and Keay.¹⁷⁰ The parallels that they have with Irish grants then encourage interpreting the latter as amongst a wider portfolio of grants to Stuart kingdoms in the Restoration’s opening and subsequent years, an interpretation only strengthened by the apparent dearth of possible colonial counterparts. They also point to a reason why this division between grants to Charles’s kingdoms and colonies may exist.

¹⁶⁶ TNA, LC 5/ 60, ff.133, 153, 191. See also 1663 orders for a Privy Seal purse, trunk, and ‘Barehide’, TNA, LC 5/ 61 ff.26, 51.

¹⁶⁷ TNA, LC 5/ 60, f.236; TNA, LC 5/ 107, f.98v.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., f.100v; TNA, LC 5/ 108, f.44v.

¹⁶⁹ TNA, LC 5/ 60, ff.189, 219, 235, 414; TNA, LC 5/ 107, f.85v; for religious items to be decorated with the royal arms, *ibid.*; TNA, LC 5/ 60, f.235.

¹⁷⁰ Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp.9-222; Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch*, see pp.96-102 for discussion of representational changes to royal residences themselves.

It is noticeable that some of the warrants mention precedent, stipulating in the case of the service books for royal buttery and kitchen officers, for example, that the grant was 'according to the ancient Custome'. Past grants are not referenced in all cases and therefore may not be relevant for all of the Restoration examples laid out above.¹⁷¹ Yet such calls on precedent introduce the possibility that the grants were not the proactive push to reactivate royal presence through representation that they first appear to be. They may indicate the Crown respecting tradition and no more. Sharpe has of course argued that Charles's fusion of respecting and innovating monarchical traditions was a core component of his representational success but suggests that it was part of a deliberate or at least intuited stratagem to navigate restoring the monarchy in a changed socio-political climate.¹⁷² Reflecting on grants' references to giving items 'after the Manner as it hath beene formerly accustomed' introduces the possibility that painting Charles's respect for tradition in such a way masks more pragmatic and reactive drivers behind related representation.¹⁷³ Such grants may have been undertaken simply to avoid causing disquiet and ill-will by disrupting previous norms. This research has not looked into Tudor and early Stuart precedents for royal colonial representational grants. However, if colonial traditional representational grants comparable to those made to English kingdoms, including Ireland, were missing in these earlier periods, it may partly explain why the Great Wardrobe and Jewel Office records viewed reveal their relative absence during the Restoration.

The 1679 New Hampshire Grant: A Frustrated and Under-leveraged Opportunity

Besides the examples associated with Ireland and diplomatic enterprises, the only other colonial grants including items of state in the records sampled were for New Hampshire.¹⁷⁴ The key details spelled out above cast the 1679 grant as a textbook example of what one might expect to find of

¹⁷¹ TNA, LC 5/ 60, (f.219); see also for example TNA, LC 5/ 107, f.73r; cf. e.g., TNA, LC 5/ 60, f.235.

¹⁷² Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, e.g., p.8.

¹⁷³ TNA, LC 5/ 60, f.133.

¹⁷⁴ *CTB*, ed. Shaw, vi, EB, 15 Dec. 1679, vii, EB, 4 Dec. 1683.

the Crown engineering representation to enhance its authority in its colonies from the mid-1670s. In reporting royal instructions connected to the granting of New Hampshire's royal seal, Hammond happens to relay that the Crown thought of the royal portrait and arms included within the grant as "'a mark of... Royall favour and Protection'" and specifically requested that they "'bee kept and exposed to view within such place as shall bee appointed for the meeting of His Maties said Council'"'.¹⁷⁵ As hinted previously, the order was clearly made in anticipation of the 1 January 1680 absorption of the formerly proprietary New Hampshire under direct royal government.¹⁷⁶

Given it was issued in the latter years of Charles's reign – around or after the time that the likes of Haffenden, Sosin, and Stanwood have suggested Restoration royal colonial activity gathered force – it is tempting to suggest that the grant may indicate a shift in royal colonial representational policy.¹⁷⁷ Stanwood in fact pronounces New Hampshire's transfer into royal hands to have been '[t]he first experiment in Stuart imperialism'.¹⁷⁸ Indeed, royal instruction directed that the royal arms and portrait were to "'be kept and exposed to view'" in the council's chamber.¹⁷⁹ In theory therefore, if Charles was not also on display to public audiences in such a location, he was to be figuratively watching over the colony's government. Within the above analysis, it has been established that Charles did not habitually grant traditional or even non-traditional royal representational artefacts to colonial territories at the Restoration's outset. It is possible that the 1679 New Hampshire grant then marked a royal turning point, indicating the Crown opting to use such artefacts upon the establishment of royal colonial government to gain a foothold within its colonial possessions. However, if this was the case, it was both a frustrated and under-leveraged opportunity.

¹⁷⁵ Above, pp.68-9; quoting orders within a copy of a colonial entry book, Hammond, *History of the Seal and Flag of... New Hampshire*, pp.6-7, (7).

¹⁷⁶ Dating assumed from details provided in *ibid.*, p.5.

¹⁷⁷ Haffenden, 'The Crown and the Colonial Charters... Part I', p.299; Sosin, *English America and the Restoration Monarchy*, pp.1-3; Stanwood, *The Empire Reformed*, p.25.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.30.

¹⁷⁹ Hammond, *History of the Seal and Flag of... New Hampshire*, p.7.

For it was reported that although the statute book and the seal arrived by June of 1680, '[w]e deeply lament that by the loss of the ship your Majesty's Royal effigies and Imperial arms, which you had sent us, are miscarried.'¹⁸⁰ It is possible that this was the truth. There are, however, grounds to suspect that the arms and portrait were lost by design. A preceding letter to Charles from the colony's president and council certainly made no secret of their disapproval of the colony's severance from Massachusetts's control and accommodation under direct royal government. They described themselves as 'deeply sensible of the disadvantages like to accrue to us' as a result of the change.¹⁸¹ Furthermore, whilst the items sent by the Crown that had purely symbolic value – the portrait and the arms – were those reported as lost, those which had value as practical tools of government – the seal and the statute book – were conveniently unscathed. It is admittedly questionable how genuinely useful the President and council perceived the seal and law book to be. The authenticity of their June 1680 report that they had been reviewing their laws 'with special regard to the Statute Book' is brought into doubt by their profession that – unfortunately – they had nothing to show for it: 'such has been the hurry... we have not had time to prepare anything for your Majesty's view'.¹⁸² There also appear to be very few extant New Hampshire seal impressions, possibly but by no means definitively suggesting low usage levels.¹⁸³ The lack of the colony's royal seal and a statute book may nevertheless have caused difficulties for the smooth functioning of government, however, whereas the lack of the royal arms and portrait were unlikely to prompt any. It is also unclear why the objects would have been transported separately and thus why the practical artefacts survived maritime disaster, but the purely symbolic did not.

¹⁸⁰ New Hampshire's President and Council writing to Charles II. *CSPC AWI, 1677-1680*, eds. Sainsbury and Fortescue, 30 June 1680, ref.1414.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, [30 June] 1680, ref.1413.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 30 June 1680, ref.1414.

¹⁸³ For mention of only two known examples, Hammond, *History of the Seal and Flag of... New Hampshire*, pp.7, 9; see also Jenkinson, *A Guide to Seals [Public Record Office]*, pp.42-5, 53-5, esp. p.45 n.3.

Such factors combine to suggest that Charles's portrait and arms may have been destroyed or deliberately misplaced by New Hampshire's new government rather than the casualties of shipwreck. Despite agreeing to act as the King's representatives within local government and presenting themselves as obedient and gracious in their acceptance of direct royal rule, it is conceivable that New Hampshire's President and council manufactured the loss of the royal artefacts designed to watch over them as a veiled act of political defiance.¹⁸⁴ It would of course have been bold to have lied to the King. Then again, who if anyone could have persuasively proved that they were *not* simply lost in transport?

If sending artefacts across to newly-royalised New Hampshire was intended as the beginning of a new policy to arm Charles's nascent colonial governments with instances of traditional royal representation, it was therefore not a successful one. In any case, it in fact seems unlikely that it was designed to inaugurate any such policy. It is known, for example, that the Crown received the New Hampshire government's letter reporting that the portrait and arms had ostensibly not made it to the colony successfully.¹⁸⁵ There is, however, no evidence within the Treasury Book calendars that the Crown attempted to replace the apparently lost royal portrait and arms, even though the creation and dispatch of an additional New Hampshire seal appears to have been arranged by Crown agents in the first half of 1682.¹⁸⁶ There is also neither evidence in the Treasury calendars nor in the Great Wardrobe and Jewel Office records analysed of similar grants to Bermuda and Massachusetts when they were transferred into direct royal government in the late Restoration.

¹⁸⁴ *CSPC AWI, 1677-1680*, eds. Sainsbury and Fortescue, [30 June] 1680, ref.1413.

¹⁸⁵ Editorial comment that it was received 20 Sept. 1680, *ibid.*, 30 June 1680, ref.1414.

¹⁸⁶ Index and digital free-text searches, *CTB*, ed. Shaw, vi, vii; *ibid.*, vii, EB, 4 Dec. 1683; for confirmation of second New Hampshire seal and the detail that it was sent to – and arrived in – New Hampshire, Hammond, *History of the Seal and Flag of... New Hampshire*, pp.8-9.

The colonies' corporate charters were vacated in June and October 1684 respectively, meaning that they came under such control approximately only seven and four months before Charles's death.¹⁸⁷ It may seem plausible therefore that the time lapse between the two events was simply too short to expect relevant artefacts to have been ordered under Charles's authority. Yet it was not. This is shown firstly by the turnaround of the New Hampshire grant. Hammond suggests that John Cutt, royal New Hampshire's president, was commissioned on 18 September 1679 and dates the letter mentioning Charles's intention to send the colony a seal along with his portrait and arms to 19 September 1679, the following day. By Hammond's account, Cutt's government was not due to commence until 1 January 1680, suggesting that the items were envisioned months in advance of the government's official changeover.¹⁸⁸ A money warrant to recompense William Blathwayt for their expense was even issued before the transition.¹⁸⁹ There is also evidence of the Crown issuing instruction for how the governments of Bermuda and Massachusetts were to be reconstituted in royal hands after the charters' revocation and before Charles's death.

In a royal letter to Bermuda's lieutenant-governor, Richard Coney, of 21 January 1685, Charles charged him with actioning a proposal about how the King was to take the island and its assets over from members of the old Bermuda Company. He was specifically to take over the Company's guns, slaves, and estates; 'apply [the] same to their respective uses in the support of the King's government there', Coney being 'accomptable for [the] same to the King'; and to arrange for a third of certain levies to be paid to Bermuda's treasurer to facilitate the Crown's agreed payment for the former acquisitions.¹⁹⁰ Regarding Massachusetts, another letter in the Treasury calendars demonstrates that the Crown had taken action to implement direct royal government in at most

¹⁸⁷ Haffenden, 'The Crown and the Colonial Charters... Part I', pp.303-4, 307.

¹⁸⁸ Hammond, *History of the Seal and Flag of... New Hampshire*, pp.5-6.

¹⁸⁹ *CTB*, ed. Shaw, vi, EB, 15 Dec. 1679.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, vii, EB, 21 Jan. 1685.

little over a month since its charter had been vacated.¹⁹¹ It can therefore be argued that if the Crown had intended to supply its new Bermudian and Massachusetts's governments with representational items, it is reasonable to expect evidence to appear within the Treasury records. The fact that it does not underscores the thesis that the Crown declined to pursue the New Hampshire grant as a precedent for disseminating Charles's official colonial representation.

Payments 'to be for [Their] Support during the Continuance of That Employment'

So far, analysis has focused on evidence of official royal orders for representational items connected to colonial contexts.¹⁹² However, Jacobsen's research points to how the Crown may in theory have provided funds in order to furnish its agents with representational artefacts and not the objects themselves.¹⁹³ She suggests, for instance, that despite the royal portrait being '[a] highly significant item of ambassadorial furniture' in the seventeenth century, evidence that they were provisioned by the Crown appears only in records of ambassadorial expenses and payments and specifically not in Great Wardrobe materials.¹⁹⁴ Investigation of whether the Crown 'equip[ped]' its colonial agents with royal representation must therefore also consider equivalent evidence sources.¹⁹⁵ Sampling Treasury records accordingly provides little evidence that payments to royal colonial agents for things such as diets, salaries, ordinaries, extraordinaries, equipage, or expenses were intended to fund expected purchases of royal representation.

There is certainly evidence of royal colonial agents being paid for various purposes within the Treasury records encountered. Mention is made, for example, of salary and allowance payments

¹⁹¹ Haffenden notes that decision against Massachusetts's charter was recorded in the Chancery Rolls on 13 Oct. 1684. 'The Crown and the Colonial Charters... Part I', p.307; *CTB*, ed. Shaw, vii, EB, 24 Nov. 1684, '[Henry Guy] to the Customs Commissioners'.

¹⁹² Sub-heading quotation, *CTB*, ed. Shaw, vi, EB, 17 Nov. 1680. Quotation referring to 1,200 pounds to be paid to Dutton as governor of Barbados.

¹⁹³ Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, pp.11-13, 27-8, cf. p.23; see also Gibson, "'Best Belov'd of Kings'", i, p.84.

¹⁹⁴ Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, p.27.

¹⁹⁵ Quotation and surrounding phrase adapt Jacobsen's chapter title, *ibid.*, p.11.

of 2,000 pounds a year for Lord Windsor as governor of Jamaica in 1661; £1,200 for Dutton as governor of Barbados in 1680; 800 for Sir Jonathan Atkins as the same in 1679; £700 for Colonel William Stapleton as governor of St Christopher in the same year, and £100 for Edward Randolph as 'collector, surveyor, and searcher of his Majesty's duties in New England' in 1678, 1679, and 1681.¹⁹⁶ Sir Gervase Lucas also appears likely to have been paid 1,000 as governor of Bombay in 1666-7.¹⁹⁷ Large sums intended to provision Jamaica, Ireland, Tangier, and Bombay appear,¹⁹⁸ complemented by small sums to finance travel expenses and a service-reward for Edward Randolph.¹⁹⁹ There are, however, no overt stipulations that any of the funds thus granted are to be used for the purposes of acquiring traditional items of royal representation.

The closest candidate for an entry giving this impression is a memorial of William Hewer as Treasurer of Tangier, dated to April 1683. It outlines a score of incomings and outgoings related to the colony and includes a note that:

Further there is due to me at Christmas last on a seal dated 30 [Sept.] 1681, the sum of 1,500l. for hangings delivered into the King's Wardrobe (besides interest) in full for 3,000l. principal money.²⁰⁰

Despite the possibility of the mentioned hangings holding representational significance in Tangier, it transpires that Hewer had loaned the King money in 1681 so that he could purchase seven tapestries known as 'Raphaels Designs'. These were signed over to Hewer's possession as security for repayment and the mention of their delivery to the Wardrobe reflects the fact that the debt

¹⁹⁶ Stapleton was also governor of the Leeward Islands overall. *CTB*, ed. Shaw, i, EB, 21 Feb. 1663, vi, EB, 17 Nov. 1680, vii, EB, 7 Feb. 1682, (v, EB, 18 Oct. 1678), vi, EB, 2 Sep. 1679, vii, EB, 16 Aug. 1681.

¹⁹⁷ *CTB*, ed. Shaw, ii, pp.vii-lxxxvii, 'Prize Ships and Goods Taken in the Dutch War', 'Paid to Sir Gervise [*sic*] Lucas for his employment to Bombay'; for the dates of Lucas's governorship, Webb, *The Governors-General*, p.474.

¹⁹⁸ All grants date to 1663 and in relevant Entry Books. *CTB*, ed. Shaw, i, 10 July, 10 and 24 Nov., 27 Feb., 10 and 13 Apr., 15 Oct., 19 and 27 Mar. [1663].

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, v, EB and MB, 8 and 13 Mar. 1676, EB, 12 June 1678, vi, EB, 4 July 1679.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, vii, EB, 17 Apr. 1683.

was settled.²⁰¹ There is no apparent connection between the tapestries and Tangier except that Hewer was the colony's treasurer.

It is also doubtful the degree to which royal colonial agents were expected to use their salaries 'to pay for the visible expression of majesty abroad', the purpose that Jacobsen asserts was '[c]learly' behind seventeenth-century ambassadors' 'bounteous recompense'.²⁰² Jacobsen maintains that ambassadors to the French, Spanish, and Imperial courts received more than £5,000 a year, not only in her view 'a generous allowance' but 25% higher than the sum "'to maintain [the earl of Sandwich's] dignity'" as an earl.²⁰³ She also explains that 'standardi[s]ed diplomatic remuneration' comprised the more modest sums of £70 for weekly diets – the presumed equivalent of £3,640 a year – and a single grant of £1,000 for equipage, to which costs for extraordinary expenses might be added.²⁰⁴ Elsewhere, she notes that ambassadors struggled to obtain such funds, and in fact suggests precisely that Great Wardrobe and Jewel Office grants were intended to help ambassadors to maintain lavish lifestyles that their salaries alone may not have afforded them.²⁰⁵

The figures introduced for colonial agents' salaries above fall vastly short of Jacobsen's diplomatic equivalents. The highest, Lord Windsor's as governor of Jamaica at £2,000 a year, is less than two-thirds the amount typically paid to ambassadors and the lowest intended for a colonel governor – Colonel Stapleton, in his capacity as governor of St Christopher – was just over a mere 20% of the same ambassadorial amount. According to Jacobsen's underlying source and another consulted in parallel, Stapleton's pay was even at best, less half that paid to the less prestigious diplomatic positions of envoy extraordinaries in 1669 and at worst, only three-quarters of the sum paid to

²⁰¹ Ibid., vii, EB, (22 Aug. 1681), 14 Apr. 1683.

²⁰² Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, p.12.

²⁰³ Second quotation citing *ODNB*, *ibid.*, p.12.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., pp.11-13, 13.

diplomatic residents in the same year.²⁰⁶ Residents' salaries were themselves already five times smaller than those of ordinary ambassadors to France, Spain, and the Holy Roman Empire. These comparisons firstly suggest that Charles in fact placed little importance on colonial agents as his representatives. Given the argument that ambassadorial grants were tiered to reflect the perceived importance they were allotted by the Crown, by extension this suggests that Charles valued colonial possessions comparatively little, even in the final years of his reign.²⁰⁷ In light of the weight of evidence within existing historiography of Charles's interest in colonial territories, further research is needed to probe this conclusion and to widen the evidence sample on which it is based before it is pressed too fully. Nevertheless, the parallels do again raise doubts regarding the strength and extent of the Restoration Crown's colonial ambition.

They also suggest that if royal colonial agents *were* indeed expected to have acquired items of royal representation using their salaries, it would likely have been a decidedly muted 'majesty' that they 'express[ed]... abroad'.²⁰⁸ Jacobsen of course notes the trouble that even ambassadors experienced in maintaining lifestyles deemed to befit their stations and this analysis demonstrates that royal colonial agents were typically without the benefits of Great Wardrobe or Jewel Office grants to ease the strains that such demands placed on their purses. In addition to the evidence already presented, it is worth noting that the Great Wardrobe and Jewel Office records surveyed were checked not only for mention of colonial contexts, but for mention of a tranche of in-post Crown colonial agents. This was to act as a counterpart and a partial cross-check to the survey's focus on

²⁰⁶ Envoy extraordinaires were to receive four, or possibly five, pounds a day (£1,456 *per annum*) and residents, two pounds and ten shillings (£910 *per annum*). Note that the 1 Apr. source cited below suggests that envoy extraordinaires for France, Spain, and the Imperial court were to receive five pounds a day, whilst that for 4 Apr. does not. 'Allowances for Forreigne Ministers as Setled at the Forreigne Committee the First Aprill 1669' [1 Apr. 1669], All Souls College, Oxford, University of Oxford, MS CCXL f.662r; 'Allowances for Foreign Ministers as Settled at the Foreign Committee' [4 Apr. 1669], All Souls College, Oxford, University of Oxford, MS CCIII, f.129v; for reference to the 1 Apr. source as that which Jacobsen refers to, *Luxury and Power*, p.12 n.6.

²⁰⁷ See above, p.30 n.86.

²⁰⁸ Quotations adapt a phrase from Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, p.12.

colonies themselves and it reinforces the conclusion that such agents were not habitually provisioned with traditional representational artefacts from the said departments.²⁰⁹

Moreover, Edward Randolph provides an example of how agents' salaries might be expected to cover practical incidentals beyond their own expenses. A 2 September 1679 Treasury warrant noted that his salary was to be advanced specifically so that it might cover the charges of deputies and other officers engaged with him. It then also reported the seemingly supplementary opinion of William Blathwayt that it should be advanced as New England duties may not cover all of his incurred charges and without a salary to offset them, he might be tempted to let customs breaches slide.²¹⁰ Randolph was clearly expected to meet the practical costs of his office out of his own pocket. He earned only £100 a year – or roughly 11% of what diplomatic residents had been paid more than ten years previously – and thus already had a limited budget for possible representational purchases.²¹¹ He was recommended for a pay rise in May of 1681, though a Treasury warrant explained that it was to fund expenses for a boat and two men to assist him in his duties instead, as it was 'not [thought] convenient [for an additional salary] to be established until some further effects of his service appear'. The fact that it solved the problem of being unable to pay for the assistants deemed likely 'often necessary to [the] said Randolph in the execution of his office' nearly two years before is not mentioned.²¹² Despite arguably being the Crown's chief agent in the crucial affairs that unfolded in New England, and specifically Massachusetts, in the later years of Charles's reign, the Crown appears to have made no effort to provide him with artefacts that reinforced and projected his royal credentials,²¹³ nor with sufficient funds to guarantee that he could acquire such items for himself.

²⁰⁹ For details regarding the search, above, p.xxxii.

²¹⁰ *CTB*, ed. Shaw, vi, EB, 2 Sep. 1679

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, v, EB, 18 Oct. 1678, vi, EB, 2 Sep. 1679, vii, EB, 16 Aug. 1681; see above, pp.117-8 n.206.

²¹² *CTB*, ed. Shaw, vii, EB, 16 Aug. 1681, cf. vi, EB, 2 Sep. 1679.

²¹³ Jewel Office records deemed to cover the entirety of Randolph's relevant postings and Great Wardrobe records covering 1682-4 were reviewed for representational grants containing specific mention of Randolph.

A Matter of Money?

Stretched finances could of course in theory be the reason why the Crown did not liberally distribute royal representational artefacts amongst its colonial agents. In practice, limited resources in terms of time as well as money do not sufficiently explain the patterns present across the grants uncovered. Hypothetically, for example, it could be argued that the neglect of colonial territories in grants made in the early 1660s reflected a necessary prioritisation on affairs within Charles's kingdoms: simply without the capacity to establish the Restoration at home and overseas simultaneously, the Crown chose to concentrate on domestic business first, even though it may already have had colonial designs, as historians have professed.²¹⁴ This argument stumbles at two hurdles.

There are key indications that the Crown *did* have the capacity to pursue colonial business from the earliest days of the Restoration and certainly the capacity to consider the issue of royal colonial representation if it had wished. It was able to deal with the hardly pressing but thorny matter of Francis, Lord Willoughby's, grant to the territory which became known as Willoughby Land from a mere six weeks after Charles resumed the throne.²¹⁵ In October and November of 1660, it also managed commissioning personnel, provisioning, and communicating with select Caribbean colonies, and in December, orders were given seemingly to aid establishing general relations with Charles's colonial possessions more generally.²¹⁶ Representation-wise, College of Arms materials date warrants for Jamaica, Virginia, and Barbados's colonial deputed seals to 3 February 1661, 9 August 1662, and 16 April 1663.²¹⁷ A focus on restoring the monarch within England did not thereby preclude royal attention to colonial political or representational matters.

TNA, LC 5/108, ff.25r-51v; TNA, LC 5/ 66, ff.38[v?]-74v; TNA, LC 5/ 67; for the dates of Randolph's postings, ['The Coins of Colonial and Early America'](#), Jordan (Spilman and CNF), 'Chronological Listing of Documents and Events relating to the Massachusetts Mint', '[20 Mar.] 1676' to '[16 July] 1684'.

²¹⁴ See Pestana's general comment to this effect, *The English Atlantic*, p.214.

²¹⁵ Also known as Guiana or Surinam. *CSPC. 1574-1660*, ed. Sainsbury, p.483 ref.16, see also ref.19.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.490 ref.[50.2], p.491 ref.52, p.492 refs.58, 59.

²¹⁷ Walker's Grants, CoA, ii, ff.5, 6.

Moreover, on 11 July 1661, a Great Wardrobe warrant was issued for '[a] Bedd [and] Furniture' for Robert Long, 'Marker of All his Maties Tennis Courts of England', so that seemingly as had been the case when Charles was a prince, he could be 'neere at hand to attend his Maties... wheresoever his Maties shall reside'.²¹⁸ This is a reminder that it was not only issues of political priority that governed where and how resources were allocated: it is difficult to envisage an urgent political objective motivating the employment and provision of someone to '[mark]' royal tennis courts, after all. In addition, the Crown's financial strength in the 1680s compared to the 1660s did not prompt an outpouring of colonial representational grants, even if as discussed, the number of territories receiving them did increase across the Restoration, particularly from 1670, the year which C. D. Chandaman describes as '[a] significant... turning-point in the financial, as in the political and diplomatic, history of the reign'.²¹⁹ As noted, the newly-formed Bermudian and Massachusetts' royal governments of 1684 were not assigned representational artefacts, for instance, nor were Dutton, Kirke, or the Earl of Dartmouth as they began their respective tenures as governors in Barbados and Tangier in the 1680s.²²⁰ Financial motivations alone therefore clearly did not drive the Crown's approach to colonial royal representational grants, even if they may have informed it.

The Potential Impact of Internal Colonial Contexts

Instead, it is theoretically possible that the Restoration Crown bestowed artefacts such as medals, religious books, and portraiture on particular colonies not because they correlated to specific colonial objectives but because the Crown deemed them the only ones fit to receive such grants. As noted in the introduction, it is likely that only a relatively small number of Restoration English

²¹⁸ TNA, LC 5/ 60 f.192.

²¹⁹ For royal finances as stronger in the 1680s than the 1660s, see C. D. Chandaman, *The English Public Revenue 1660-[88]* (Oxford, 1975), pp.263, (272)-4.

²²⁰ Note that only Jewel Office and not Great Wardrobe records were specifically reviewed for mention of Dutton in 1680-1 and thus covering the start of his posting. For additional review details, above, pp.xxxi-iv, esp. xxxii-iii. For the dates and locations of the governorships, Webb, *The Governors-General*, pp.470, 507, 508.

colonies had the internal socio-cultural landscapes conducive to the presence of royal representational media reliant on high investments of time, money, and artistic or artisanal skill.²²¹ Prior research focused on Restoration Carolina and Tangier also emphasised the impact of local socio-cultural contexts on the presence of Charles's colonial representation.²²² Moreover, the colonies which received grants of traditional royal representational items from the Crown were indeed predominantly those that had developed internal socio-cultural environments.²²³ Nevertheless, the possibility that colonies' levels of socio-cultural development was the only factor behind the patterning of royal representational grants can be quickly dismissed.

Not all colonies with well-developed or developed internal socio-cultural environs received such grants, though almost all *royal* ones with well-developed or developed internal socio-cultural landscapes did.²²⁴ This incidentally reinforces the argument proffered below, that royal colonial interest was particularly focused on colonies directly under Crown control.²²⁵ Rather, specific objectives appear to lie behind the clustering of colonial representational grants included within this analysis.

'Out of Particular Favour to His Lord[shi]pp, Not to be a President [*sic*] to Others': Drivers Governing Royal Colonial Representational Grants

More than a third (twenty-seven) appear designed to establish or reinforce general monarchical authority in the territories of Ireland, Dunkirk, New Hampshire, and Barbados.²²⁶ A further 20%

²²¹ Above, pp.43-4.

²²² Smith, 'The Representation of Charles II in English Colonial Contexts', pp.42-7.

²²³ Cf. relevant entries in **Table A, esp. cols.B, N-P; Table B, esp. cols.E-F.**

²²⁴ Exceptions being Massachusetts and Bombay, which were directly in royal hands for only relatively limited periods. See Haffenden, 'The Crown and the Colonial Charters... Part I', 307; Parsons, 'The Bombay Pice [*sic*]', 255; Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, ii, pp.660-1.

²²⁵ Below, p.124, see also pp.220-5, 273-92.

²²⁶ Sub-heading quotation, TNA, LC 5/ 65, f.92r (capitalisation and punctuation adjusted). Quotation referring to a grant of '[n]ecessaries' for the Earl of Carlisle's chapel whilst he was governor of Jamaica.

(sixteen) seem intended to strengthen the Crown's hand in its negotiations and skirmishes with Moroccan parties over Tangier. Additional flurries of grants carry associations with rewarding discoveries in the Hudson's Bay area and with reinforcing both the substance and image of royal authority in response to Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia. Between them, these goals can be postulated behind approximately 70% (fifty) of the unique grants tabulated in **Table B**.

Of the remaining grants shown in **Table B** (twenty-one) - some of which appear only to have been discussed and not necessarily made – a significant proportion (nine) are associated with Barbados under Dutton's governorship. The majority of these relate more specifically either to his person or his request, such as his appeal for 'a yearly supply of white servants not only for their plantation employments but principally for keeping up the Militia' in late 1683; in this case, the relevant Treasury calendar does not indicate if the request was granted.²²⁷ Another handful (three) concern Randolph in New England. Similarities can also be traced amongst some of the nine grants left over. The grants of christening plate to Carteret and Lord Berkeley, for instance, seem to accord with a broader policy of the Crown awarding such plate to esteemed persons upon the christening of their children.²²⁸ It should again be said that these figures are not offered as precise tallies, for the survey's attention to Treasury calendar materials in particular is selective and **Table B** does not include all grants encountered within it of items such as ordnance and funds that could be considered in some sense, non-traditional forms of royal representation. They are referenced instead to demonstrate the degree to which it is possible to see clear and specific motivations as lying behind royal colonial grants.²²⁹

Why these motivations in particular emerge as priorities for Crown attention is a natural question that emerges from such a finding. The case of Ireland and its seeming treatment as a kingdom and

²²⁷ *CTB*, ed. Shaw, vii, EB, (10 Dec. 1683).

²²⁸ TNA, LC 5/ 107, ff.108r, 90v, see also f.70v.

²²⁹ For specific grants and figures, see **Table B, esp. cols.M-N**.

not a colony with regards to representational grants has already been discussed. With the other grants, a logical conclusion is that they matched key royal colonial priorities and therefore, that as a whole, the grants open up a realm of questions about the Crown's Restoration colonial ambitions. It not only casts doubt on the notion that they were in place from the early 1660s, but on the argument that Charles pursued 'a campaign to augment the crown's power at the expense of the localities' in colonial as well as English spheres, for example: it seems to have ignored opportunities to embed its figurative presence in colonial landscapes through representational artefacts.²³⁰

They also query, for instance, the foundations of Haffenden's suggestion that the only mechanisms by which the Crown could bring Massachusetts's authorities into line with royal interests required significant investments of time and effort: it would surely have taken relatively little of either, for example, to arrange for Charles's arms to be sent to the colony to address proactively their implied absence from Massachusetts's court rooms in 1665.²³¹ They therefore raise possible issues with the chronology, and indeed validity, of Haffenden's claim that the Crown sought to affect a 'grandiose [imperial] schem[e]' that pursued the 'imperial reorgani[s]ation' of Massachusetts as only one target amongst several.²³²

Detailed investigation of the nature of the Crown's colonial priorities and the impact that this analysis has on existing estimations of them will be left to research focused on Restoration colonialism. It remains, however, to speculate on two guiding factors. First, there is a clear concentration of grants on Atlantic colonies, and indeed *royal* Atlantic colonies, suggesting that these featured heavily in the Crown's interests. Whilst unsurprising, it is also noticeable that this balance does not appear to shift markedly alongside Charles ostensibly pursuing a policy to bring

²³⁰ Stanwood, *The Empire Reformed*, p.25.

²³¹ Haffenden, 'The Crown and the Colonial Charters... Part I', pp.300-1; *Records of... Massachusetts*, ed. Shurtleff, iv (ii), p.211.

²³² Haffenden, 'The Crown and the Colonial Charters... Part I', pp.297-(8), 300-(1).

previously corporate and proprietary colonies under direct royal control.²³³ A not inconsiderable number of grants also appear to be destined for royal colonial agents of high social standing: the Duke of Ormonde, the Earl of Essex, Lord Berkeley, Lord Henry Howard, the Earl of Carlisle, and Lord Howard of Effingham.²³⁴ It is possible that such grants reflect the Crown honouring agents' social prestige and do not necessarily demonstrate it also investing in colonial projects of particular interest. In any case, the royal colonial representational grants analysed above dislodge the comfortable expectation that the Restoration Crown would have ubiquitously applied official representation to instil its authority in colonial contexts. They suggest that it was instead targeted and that such targeting may correspond to far narrower colonial priorities than modern historiographical consensus allows. Echoing elements of a caveat incorporated into the grant of chapel furnishings for the Earl of Carlisle as governor of Jamaica seems to capture how the grants functioned: they reflected 'particular favour' displayed towards certain colonial objectives. They were not initiatives intended 'to be a president [*sic*] to others'.²³⁵

A Brief Examination of Metropolitan Representational Management

Before moving focus onto other forms of official royal representation, final reflections on the Crown's management of Charles's representation through colonial grants are warranted. As much as a proportion of the aforementioned grants can be highlighted as magnificent artefacts, presented in different analytical lights at least some lose their resplendent sheen. They expose the fact that the Crown's representational initiatives were not always the smooth, centrally-orchestrated, and successful endeavours that Sharpe presents.²³⁶ Instead, they reinforce critics' arguments that they were open to manipulation by various potential interests and by no means

²³³ For arguments regarding such a policy, see for example *ibid.*, pp.297-9, 308.

²³⁴ See for example TNA, LC 5/ 60, f.238; TNA, LC 5/ 64, f.32; TNA, LC 5/ 63, f.53; TNA, LC 5/ 63, f.16; TNA, LC 5/ 65, f.92r; TNA, LC 5/ 67, f.18v.

²³⁵ TNA, LC 5/ 65, f.92r.

²³⁶ Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp.9-222.

guaranteed to work as intended.²³⁷ They also suggest that the royal intentions which lay behind such grants may have been more curtailed than one might expect.

Take, for example, the Pamunkey frontlet discussed earlier (**Figure 1.7**).²³⁸ As noted, it may be the only surviving artefact of the gift parcel intended for First Nations communities associated with Virginia. Rather than the result of clear loss over subsequent centuries, it appears possible that the other gifts' disappearance was contemporaneous. Secondary sources suggest either that aside from the frontlet, the gifts were lost at sea and never have made it to Virginia, or that though they might have made it into the hands of the colony's Executive Council, local officials interpreted them as ill-advised and may have forestalled their delivery to indigenous rulers.²³⁹ This naturally warns against presuming that they transmitted an air of royal grandeur and control to colonial recipients. After all, for all their potential pomp, to *whom* did these artefacts transmit such an air? What are we to make of the fact that the signal broadcast by these gifts might have been intercepted and stopped short by local royal colonial agents? These are standard questions that one would hope would be asked of such evidence. Yet this does not mean that such questions are easy to address, nor as argued above, that they have been satisfactorily asked and answered of English representational works like Verrio's *Sea Triumph* (**Figure I.ii**).²⁴⁰

Similar issues complicate the initial impression of splendour and strategy generated by the representational items granted to Lord Howard's embassy to the Moroccan court in 1669. Routh has noted that Howard's embassy was intended to inaugurate 'a treaty of peace and commerce... with the interior of Morocco' for the benefit of Tangier.²⁴¹ Yet were the English and European

²³⁷ See Jenkinson, 'Review [Rebranding Rule]', 1501.

²³⁸ Above, pp.98-101.

²³⁹ Gardner, 'We Are Not Going to Go Away', pgr.15; Sheveland, *Anglo-Native Virginia*, pp.57-8; cf. the absence of such suggestions in 'Queen of Pamunkey Frontlet Tells History of Native Americans'.

²⁴⁰ Cf. Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp.106-8; for **Figure I.ii** and discussion, above, pp.14-15, see also pp.65-7.

²⁴¹ Routh, *Tangier*, p.99.

populations of Tangier the primary intended and actual audiences of items ostensibly for an embassy to a foreign ruler? Interrogation quickly unravels the seemingly reasonable initial assumption that the elaborate liveries, equipage, and '[n]ecessaries' associated with the embassy and introduced above were chiefly intended to project an image of English majesty and sovereignty to Moroccan observers.²⁴² For instance, Jacobsen's discussion of late seventeenth-century English religious ambassadorial items suggests that Englishmen abroad may have been the only audience for ambassadorial chapel furnishings beyond embassy staff.²⁴³ Combined with the fact that those at the court of Emperor Er Rasheed II were also likely Muslims, it thereby seems unlikely that a substantial portion of artefacts ordered as Howard's '[n]ecessaries' would ever have been seen - and therefore had any immediate representational impact - on Moroccan courtiers. This includes a 'large Bible of Imperiall paper with the [sculpts?] richly bound in two volum[e]s', a '[velvett [paned?]] Altercloth', '[t]wenty ells of fine Draper... [and] two large Surplices of fine Holland'.²⁴⁴

For different practical reasons, it is also difficult to imagine that Howard's other '[n]ecessaries' ever had any real prospect of being seen by Moroccan audiences. Was there any concrete intention for a surely cumbersome and heavy 'Cloth of Estate of Crymson velvett [paned?] with his Mates [sic] Armes [e]mbroydered richly thereupon[,] a Greate Chayre[,] two highstooles [and] a footstoole [and] two Cushions suiteable trymed up for his Mates [sic] Service with cases of bayes [and] also a foote carpett of Turkey worke' to accompany the embassy from Tangier to the Emperor's court?²⁴⁵ After the embassy arrived in Tangier, Routh does suggest that a Mr Burghill, a member of an advanced party sent to negotiate with Moroccan authorities, secured permission for Howard 'to do as he please[d] as to his entry, equipage and chapel' for the embassy.²⁴⁶ However, they also note that due to a lack of suitable horses, Burghill was not only loath for Howard to use any horse for his

²⁴² For quotation, TNA, LC 5/ 63 f.16.

²⁴³ Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, pp.22-3.

²⁴⁴ TNA, LC 5/ 63 f.16.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ Glossing Burghill, Routh, *Tangier*, p.103.

journeying except one especially procured from Tangier, but quote him as saying that he considered the transportation of Howard's "'rich coach and litter'" as written off – "'condemned'" – even if "'[Howard's] little Chariott'" might remain a useable possibility.²⁴⁷ In addition, they suggest that despite initial English expectations, there was little Moroccan interest in the embassy and its visiting the emperor's court.²⁴⁸ It is therefore difficult to envision that Howard would have been granted a space and an audience at the imperial court for Moroccan courtiers to behold items such as the chair of state, 'a throne for the king's representative abroad'. If he had been, it is debatable whether what Jacobsen refers to as 'the chair's inherent meaning' would have been 'readily comprehensible to whoever saw it' as she suggests it would have been within European circles.²⁴⁹ Routh after all quotes Burghill as suggesting that the Emperor and his officials were not well-versed in European diplomatic practices.²⁵⁰

In any case, Howard never did visit the Emperor's court.²⁵¹ If the chair of state and other items did in fact make it to Tangier, their colonial audience would therefore likely have been Tangerine settlers, if any at all. The same could be said of the trumpeter and kettledrummer liveries for the embassy.²⁵² Moreover, there are indications that whilst at least a portion of the cache of gifts for the Moroccan emperor might have been delivered to, and even well-received by, their intended recipient,²⁵³ elements of it may have failed to meet expected standards. The Great Wardrobe warrant for the '[p]resent' outlines that amongst other things, the gift was to include dyed cloth and watches.²⁵⁴ It seems reasonable to deduce that these watches included one that Routh quotes Burghill as noting he "'sent backe... because it stood still if one side were upwards'", and that the

²⁴⁷ All quotations quoting Mr Burghill, *ibid.*, pp.104, 103-4.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p.101.

²⁴⁹ Both quotations, Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, p.24.

²⁵⁰ Routh, *Tangier*, p.103.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp.104-5, 107-8, 110-11.

²⁵² TNA, LC 5/ 63 ff.29-30.

²⁵³ For the gifts, TNA, LC 5/ 63 f.33; for indications of their reception, Routh, *Tangier*, p.103.

²⁵⁴ TNA, LC 5/ 63 f.33.

cloth was that which Routh explains was 'brought for the Emperor [and] left in charge of the Governor of Tangier until it became moth-eaten, when he announced his intention of selling it'.²⁵⁵

Alongside the other examples presented, these details underscore that instances of Charles II's official colonial representation often transpired to be far from magnificent items. Neither serving grand imperial ambitions nor uncompromisingly resplendent, they are not indicative of the Crown rolling out a smartly-organised 'Imperial Revolution' supported by a Sharpe-style portfolio of magnificent representational pieces.²⁵⁶ Yet they also unseat the contention that the Restoration Crown held 'ambitious, coherent [colonial] plans... but lacked the tools to bring [its] grander hopes to fruition'.²⁵⁷ The Crown *did* have 'tools' available to augment its presence in local colonial political landscapes, for instance; it simply did not leverage them or use them to their full potential. This signals that the barrier to realising supposed '[grand colonial] hopes' lay in an absence of ambition, not only or always in an absence of adequate resources.

This conclusion – particularly in referencing 'absence' – naturally calls to mind Sir John Seeley's famous adage and argument based along the same lines: that a much later iteration of the English empire was created amidst and despite governmental "'absence of mind'". Glickman and others are largely correct in dismissing the application to Charles's reign of Seeley's argument that the Crown was insensitive to colonial opportunities.²⁵⁸ As the discussion above shows, there is clear evidence of patterns and purpose behind official royal colonial representational instances, as the Crown attempted to use them particularly to institute the Restoration in Ireland, display its presence in New Hampshire, and support diplomatic endeavours connected to Virginia and Tangier and more generally deployed them in specific relation to Atlantic royal colonies. Nevertheless, so

²⁵⁵ Routh, *Tangier*, pp.(103, quoting Burghill), (111).

²⁵⁶ Webb, 1676, p.410; Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp.xvi-222.

²⁵⁷ Glickman, *Making the Imperial Nation*, pp.13-15, (17)-18; despite Glickman positioning his argument in opposition to Sosin's, cf. the latter's *English America and the Restoration Monarchy*, pp.2-3, 302-3.

²⁵⁸ Quotation referencing Seeley, Glickman, *Making the Imperial Nation*, p.15.

too is there evidence of the royal objectives underlying the grants being thwarted, abandoned, or pursued by the Crown only half-heartedly. Whilst the Crown might not have had an “absence of mind” about its colonial representation, it can be accused of displaying a variable studied indifference. This is highlighted by returning to another facet of Howard’s 1669 ambassadorial gift to the Emperor of Morocco.

As noted near the beginning of this chapter, Routh places a portrait amongst the items included in the gift.²⁵⁹ It might seem only reasonable to assume that its inclusion signals the Crown aiming to plant Charles’s image in the hands and minds of those it was negotiating with at the Moroccan court.²⁶⁰ The assumption would be misleading, however. The applicable Great Wardrobe warrant lists a whole range of ‘pert[i?]culers’ that might be included in the gift, including ‘ffine broad cloth robe bought white [and] dyed into several proper colours... fine Scarlett Cloth... Damaske of Diverse Colours[,] Gunns [and] pistols... Buff coates... Cases of knives[,] Looking glasses... Prespecti[v?]e glasses[s?]... Burning glasses ... [and] escritiores with drawers’. A royal portrait is not amongst them, though. Instead, it gives Howard not only latitude to order the precise quantities of such items ‘[p]rovided that the whole delivered out of yo[ur] Lord[ship]p[']s office... doe not [e]xceede... foure thousand pounds’. It also allowed him to add ‘what else his Excellencie knowes may be most acceptable for [the same] purpose’ to the listed items.²⁶¹ Routh finds the mention of a portrait associated with Howard and his embassy in the *Calendars of State Papers Domestic*. Though it does not provide details of how it came to be included in the gift, it is fair to deduce that it was included at Howard’s discretion.²⁶²

²⁵⁹ Above, pp.69-70; cf. Routh, *Tangier*, p.100.

²⁶⁰ For evidence of the Crown providing Charles’s image to foreign representatives, Gibson, “Best Belov’d of Kings”, i, pp.84-6.

²⁶¹ TNA, LC 5/ 63, f.33.

²⁶² Routh, *Tangier*, p.100 n.2; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic: Charles II* [henceforth, CSPD CII], 1668-9, ed. M. A. E. Green (London, 1894), 6 Aug. 1669, ‘Warrant for payment of 20*l.* to Gideon Roger’, ‘Request of Gideon Roger’.

This conclusion aligns with Jacobsen and Gibson's suggestions that the Crown's involvement in organising royal portraiture for its ambassadors was typically hands-off; that visual representations of Charles granted to diplomats may usually, if unreliably, have been Crown-financed, though the commissioning and thus exact content and style of portraits, left in ambassadorial charge.²⁶³ Yet it undercuts interpreting official royal representational instances such as the Emperor's gifts as crafted by the Crown alone and instead highlights the agency of its delegated colonial representatives. Moreover, scrutinising the *Calendars of State Papers Domestic* source underlying Routh's fleeting discussion of the portrait results in an unexpected discovery. The portrait was neither a miniature royal portrait surrounded by diamonds of the sort that Gibson suggests were given to highly-valued foreign personnel, nor did it take the form of the gold chains and medals given to those perceived to be less important.²⁶⁴ Instead, it was merely an addition to 'writing' covering 'two skins of parchment'.²⁶⁵ It was not therefore 'the portrait of King Charles in oils' that Routh's phraseology leads one to anticipate: chiefly, an oil painting on canvas.²⁶⁶

This raises an immediate question, followed closely by a counterpart. Did Howard not deem the embassy and its cause important enough for the bestowal of a standard *bona fide* royal portrait? Or did *the Crown* not think it significant enough? Howard was after all not only working on Charles's behalf but entrusted by him to exercise discretion in this capacity. The warrant to pay Gideon Royer (listed here as Roger) twenty pounds for his workmanship also demonstrates that the Crown had fiscal and conceptual, if not literal, oversight and responsibility for his endeavours.²⁶⁷ Yet as Games has emphasised of those whom she calls 'all the King's men' in colonial contexts – 'governors, consults, and ambassadors' – Howard represented interests other than only the Crown's, not least

²⁶³ Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, pp.27-8; Gibson, "'Best Belov'd of Kings'", i, pp.84-5.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ *CSPD CII, 1668-9*, ed. Green, 6 Aug. 1669, 'Warrant for payment of 20*l.* to Gideon Roger', *'Request of Gideon Roger'*.

²⁶⁶ Routh, *Tangier*, p.100.

²⁶⁷ Cf. Gibson, "'Best Belov'd of Kings'", i, p.89 n.8; *CSPD CII, 1668-9*, ed. Green, 6 Aug. 1669, 'Warrant for payment of 20*l.* to Gideon Roger'.

his own.²⁶⁸ He was also subject to a whole range of expectations: social, cultural, political, economic, royal, and – given the embassy’s trade-oriented mission – likely those of foreign, corporate, and even military parties.²⁶⁹ The portrait can be construed an official instance of Charles’s representation, as it was categorically, if implicitly, authorised by Charles and his government. But with all those involved and invested in its delivery, how far is such representation truly indicative of the Crown’s representational and colonial initiatives?

This and related questions deserve answering on a scale broader than can be applied to a single representational grant. They will thereby serve as the starting point for Chapter Two’s wider discussion of Charles’s official colonial representation. Their answers do not derail using official royal representation to discern Charles’s political agendas and priorities. They do, however, reposition and enrich associated findings.

²⁶⁸ Games, *The Web of Empire*, pp.147-79, esp. pp.148-9, 155-9, 166-7, 171-2, 174 (chapter title).

²⁶⁹ For the embassy’s intended mission, Routh, *Tangier*, p.99.

Chapter Two. Interrogating the Provenance and Use of Charles's Official Representation

Chapter One ended having introduced an instance of 'the King's portrait in oil' executed by Gideon Roger (also known as Royer).¹ The portrait accompanied 'flourishing' on the '[embellished]' pages that Lord Howard was due to give the Emperor of Morocco during his 1669 embassy to his court.² It is unclear what the pages looked like overall. They may have been similar to the decorated letter that Charles sent to Tsar Aleksei of Russia in August 1670.³ The Russian letter was itself 'prepared by [Royer]'.⁴ It is also easy to imagine parallels between the 'flourishing and writing... "curiously wrought in cratisco in high gold"' on Howard's document and the Russian letter's ornate, gilt-covered visual elements.⁵ However, neither Charles's August 1670 Russian letter, nor the other letters from the Restoration king to his Russian counterparts discussed by Maija Jansson, include extant royal portraits.⁶ In their stead, a suitable proxy for Roger's portrait on the Howard pages may be the image of Charles on the Hudson Bay Company's colonial charter of 1670 (**Figure 2.1, below**). The Hudson Bay charter portrait is almost certainly a copy of Samuel Cooper's 1665 portrait of Charles, possibly by a John Smith.⁷ It is notably engraved, which importantly Royer's image on

¹ Above, pp.130-2; for the equivalence of Gideon Roger and Royer, cf. *CSPD CII, 1668-9*, ed. Green, 6 Aug. 1669, 'Warrant for payment of 20l. to Gideon Roger'; Gibson, "'Best Belov'd of Kings'", i, p.89 n.8.

² *CSPD CII, 1668-9*, ed. Green, 6 Aug. 1669, 'Warrant for payment of 20l. to Gideon Roger'; above, pp.130-2.

³ For a reproduction of the letter to the Tsar, Jansson, *Art and Diplomacy*, pp.238-40, esp. p.240, Figure Fourteen; cf. details provided in *CSPD CII, 1668-9*, ed. Green, 6 Aug. 1669, 'Warrant for payment of 20l. to Gideon Roger'; note also Jansson's comment regarding being unaware of any equivalents to Charles's letters to the Russian tsars being sent to rulers elsewhere in the world, *Art and Diplomacy*, p.202.

⁴ Or Royer, as Jansson refers to him. *Ibid.*, p.240.

⁵ Seeming partly to quote the underlying source, *CSPD CII, 1668-9*, ed. Green, 6 Aug. 1669, 'Warrant for payment of 20l. to Gideon Roger', 'Request of Gideon Roger'; cf. the details and illustrations Jansson provides for the Russian letters, *Art and Diplomacy*, pp.201-57.

⁶ This discounts the partially anthropomorphised portrait of a lion, surely intended to represent Charles, included in the majuscule shown in Jansson's Figure Three (p.39). *Art and Diplomacy*, pp.201-57, esp. pp.210-57, for comments on a possible missing royal portrait on one early letter, pp.209, 213.

⁷ Based on comparisons with Gibson, "'Best Belov'd of Kings'", iii, esp. illustr. no.182, 80-2. Note there is reason to deduce that the portrait mentioned by Routh is similarly a copy of Cooper's 1665 portrait. See above, p.130; Smith, 'The Representation of Charles II in English Colonial Contexts', p.30; cf. above, p.131.

Howard's papers was not.⁸ Indeed, the comparison is ultimately speculative. From 1669, the same version of Cooper's portrait appears in eight Restoration English letters patent analysed in the course of this research.⁹ This timing coincides with Royer's unofficial appointment as Charles's "Writer, Flourisher[,] and Imbellisher"¹⁰ and it is certainly possible that on this basis, he may have been involved with producing the aforementioned letters patent as well as Howard's document and the Russian letter of 1670.¹⁰ Together, these details provide possible grounds for the portrait to have found its way onto the document for the Moroccan emperor.

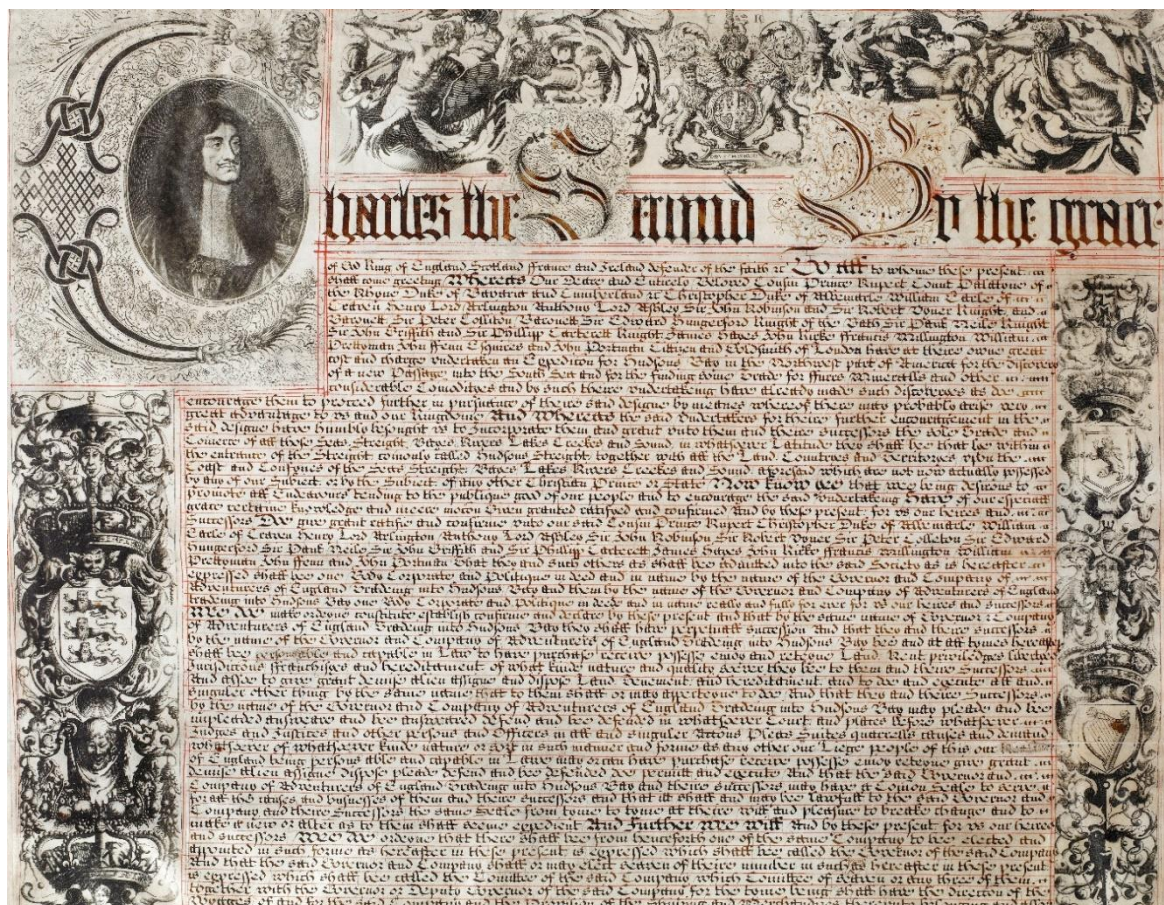


Figure 2.1. Hudson's Bay Company's Royal Charter (1670), first page. Image courtesy Hudson's Bay Company Corporate Collection.

⁸ HBCF, 'The Royal Charter' (26 Sept. 2023), 'Descriptive Details'.

⁹ Including those of Hudson Bay. For details of the colonial letters patent and comparative examples analysed in this research, as well as accompanying data, **Table C**.

¹⁰ For this appointment and the quotation, presumably quoting a primary source, Gibson, "Best Belov'd of Kings", i, p.89 n.8.

The point of briefly indulging in such speculation is not to attempt to argue that it *was* Cooper's portrait that adorned Howard's pages. It is instead three-fold. First, it is rather to acknowledge that it can be very difficult, and perhaps impossible, to ascertain who exactly was responsible for specific elements of Charles's official representation. Investigating, unpicking, and reporting on such details can be tiresome and unrewarding for writers and readers apiece. This chapter will therefore very deliberately avoid continuing down the path laid by the paragraph above. It will step down it only so far as it clears the way for other lines of argument. Nevertheless, the second point of glancing down it is to resume and widen focus on the questions posed at the close of Chapter One. For entertaining the notion that Howard's document for the Moroccan emperor might have displayed *Royer's* iteration of perhaps *Smith's* copy of *Cooper's* portrait of Charles brings to the fore a string of new, if expected protagonists in the creation of Restoration official colonial royal representation: artists and copyists. Such individuals' involvement raises a critical issue: to what extent can official royal representation be considered truly indicative of Crown colonial or representational policy if non-Crown agents and their agendas were involved in their fashioning? Does this very question not require reorienting the possible value of official representation's analysis?

The third and final point of this chapter's initial reflections is then to ground exploration of such questions and characters in discussion of specific representational forms and instances. Its example does so in relation to colonial letters patent. The chapter as a whole will supplement their analysis with interrogation of seals and ordnance as key examples of official Restoration royal colonial representation. Parallels to pertinent English Restoration and other representational examples will be made to contextualise discussion and crystallise its implications. Embracing questions about the agency behind them is not to digress into picking apart the finer points of definitions and artefacts' provenance. Put succinctly, the discussion that it produces enriches and advances arguments proposed in Chapter One. Furthermore, focusing on the media outlined enables simultaneous confrontation with another challenge to representational analysis's utility that has surfaced

previously: Davies's critique that it can '[unnecessarily mystify]... eminently practical measure[s]'.¹¹

To avoid it dogging upcoming discussion, it will be met summarily below. This reinforces not only the value behind recognising and exploring such media as instances of Charles's official colonial representation but the value behind analysing such representation at all.

Why Examine the Agencies and Agendas behind Official Royal Representation?

Historians have largely avoided seriously addressing questions of the non-royal agency and agendas behind Charles's official English representation. That is not to say that they do not acknowledge that others apart from Charles played a role in crafting and delivering representational instances explicitly or implicitly approved or used by the Crown. Rather, it is to say that they side-step dealing with its implications effectively. This leaves their arguments vulnerable to critique and stunts their trajectory. Those such as Keay and Backscheider, for example, take a blinkered approach to those who, apart from Charles himself, might have been responsible for developing instances of his official representation. They do not deny that such persons existed; they rather focus attention so resolutely on Charles as the ultimate force behind his royal representation that he comes across as a mix between a representational one-man-band and a master puppeteer.¹² Arguments of this nature have of course come under ready critique.¹³ In combination with the evidence of the management of royal colonial representational grants presented in Chapter One, Gibson's persuasive thesis that the Crown took a relatively hands-off approach to coordinating Charles's visual representation also reduces their potency.¹⁴ By casting Charles in the role of the singular

¹¹ Above, p.90; Davies, 'Review[.], "Selling the Tudor Monarchy", 1435.

¹² Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch*, see for example pp.94-102, 208-9; Backscheider, *Spectacular Politics*, pp. 5-12, 18-22.

¹³ See for example Jenkinson's critique of Sharpe's 'assumption... [of] the centrality of the monarch in devising and promoting their own image', 'Review [Rebranding Rule]', 1501.

¹⁴ Gibson, "'Best Belov'd of Kings'", i, pp.76, 78, 82, 198.

‘magnificent monarch’ rather than developing the concept of the institutional ‘magnificent *monarchy*’, Keay and others’ arguments foster the sense of their being impractical and unrealistic. As a result, the notion that the Crown leveraged official royal representation as a political tool gains an unfortunate, fanciful edge.

Where Sharpe’s arguments do not stray into similar territory – and they have certainly been critiqued for doing so – one notices that they are plagued with uncertainties.¹⁵ There are a surprisingly high number of ‘ifs’ and ‘maybes’ involved in his discussion of royal portraits that seem to be offered as official exemplars. In Sharpe’s own words, ‘[w]e cannot be sure’ that it was Charles who prompted Dirck Stoop to paint his imagined scene of Charles II’s entrance into London prior to his coronation; or that Hendrik Danckert’s depiction of John Rose, Charles’s ‘chief horticulturalist’, gifting him a pineapple ‘was freighted with symbolic meaning’; or of precisely what Verrio and Charles’s thinking was behind the former’s *Sea Triumph*, for example.¹⁶ This makes for unsatisfying reading, even if Sharpe balances such statements with counterclaims of ‘what seems certain’. His answer to the self-imposed question of ‘[m]ay we take the *Declaration [of Breda]*, though drafted by Hyde, as Charles’s – as it was received by contemporaries?’ – ‘I think we should’ – does not place his attention to questions of official royal representation’s agency on firmer ground.¹⁷ Such lines of argument again raise doubts about the validity and significance of the conclusions built on their foundations. For like Keay and Backscheider, Sharpe avoids facing their possible corollaries. Namely, that many different people created official royal representation; that many agendas and intentions thus came to bear on its content and meaning; and that it therefore cannot be read as only signalling *royal* intentions, if indeed with so many influencing factors it meaningfully signals them at all.

¹⁵ Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, e.g., pp.11-38; above, p.3.

¹⁶ Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp.103, 105, pp.106-8 (final iteration of the quotation, p.108).

¹⁷ Ibid., p.103, see comparable comments at pp.106, 108, 6.

Such conclusions conjure natural parallels with colonial historiography's shift away from conceptualising the early English empire as a centralised project and towards presenting it as a 'web' spun by many hands. It also echoes historians drawing attention to the devolved nature of early modern English government and to the many individuals who carried out the business of English *royal* government.¹⁸ There would therefore certainly be precedent for arguing along the same lines for official royal representation. One could concede that arguments should abandon focus on the Crown and its supposed objectives and instead concentrate on exploring how, and to what end, it was constructed by those beyond Charles and his principal advisers. This is also what Gibson's arguments might encourage. She ultimately contends that the Crown was largely uninterested in managing or disseminating Charles's representation and that the specifics even of instances commissioned and issued through royal channels were left up to artists and committees. Yet such precedent and the implications of Gibson's argument need not and should not be followed to such extremes. Gibson is right to argue that the Crown deployed Charles's representation for limited purposes and allowed second parties including royal artists to decide on its specifics. However, the objectives that the Crown used it to pursue were more numerous than she allows. It is also possible that the discretion which the Crown may have allowed second-parties to exercise over the creation of official royal representation may have been the result of distinct, priority-based choices, something for which she does not account.¹⁹

Tackling head on the questions of the agency behind official royal representation in fact marshals arguments from which the Crown emerges as its architect. This brings renewed force to the historiographical premise that official royal representation's artistic designs, and of course its other features, can be analysed to discern the Crown's colonial, representational, and ultimately political designs. It also stakes new ground. Modelling Charles and his ministers as official royal

¹⁸ Above, pp.6-7; see also Aylmer, *The Crown's Servants*.

¹⁹ For key argumentation, see Gibson, "'Best Belov'd of Kings'", i, pp.78, 83-7, 102, 161-4, 198.

representation's architects demands taking second-parties' role in creating and engaging with it seriously. Gibson provided the impetus for doing so in the late 1990s. Subsequent, successive reviews of Sharpe have grumbled about his inattention to questions of how those outside of the Crown were involved with official royal representation, both as its producers and its audience, or have raised issues with how he does address them.²⁰ Examining instances of Charles's official colonial representation brings to the fore that individuals and groups beyond the Crown did not simply construct, distribute, or 'receive' such representation. They *used* it. Interrogating it thereby uncovers insights into local colonial histories and experiences of monarchy as well as grand political and cross-territorial narratives. In so doing, it restores agency to groups and individuals well-known to have been traditionally overlooked by such narratives and recognises it as analytically and historically significant.

The conclusions drawn from such inquiry reinforce the argument made in Chapter One, that the Crown only leveraged Charles's representation in pursuit of select political objectives: it did not wield it to advance its interest in every possible arena or for every possible purpose. As becomes clear, this includes in English as well as in colonial contexts. Such choices *not* to utilise known representational potential corroborate the thesis again outlined in Chapter One, that Charles's colonial objectives were more limited than has been proposed. As shown both within this chapter and in Chapter Three, they also highlight precisely where ostensible royal colonial objectives seemingly lacked priority. Analysis of colonial letters patent suggests that the Crown did not feel an urgent need to tailor Charles's representation to colonial audiences or political agendas specifically, for example. As initially evidenced by royal colonial representational grants, representational majesty was also not always seized on to buttress royal authority. By the same token of course, where instances of official royal colonial representation *do* show signs of royal

²⁰ Davies, 'Review[,]' "Selling the Tudor Monarchy", pp.1443-4; Jenkinson, 'Review [Rebranding Rule]', 1501; Sowerby, '[Review, "Rebranding Rule"]', pgr.6.

interest and investment naturally identifies projects and agendas that did prompt its concern. Interrogating colonial seals confirms a pattern discerned amongst royal representational grants, that its interests lay mainly in royal and not corporate or proprietary colonies. To a degree this is unsurprising. Yet it compounds arguments against the notion that the Crown specifically sought to extend its control over non-royal colonies and against historians' broader implication that Charles's underlying colonial ambitions were geographically indistinct, even if the policies used to enact them might have varied by location.²¹

Analysis also draws attention to the practical and quotidian features of official royal representation. 'Magnificent' is not an adjective inspired by the ink-blotched, crossings-out-containing copy of Tangier's charter entered into its 'Register of the Court of Record and Sessions' for late 1668-71, for example (**Figures 2.2 & 2.3, below**).²² Yet it was such iterations of Charles's official representation that conjured – and in fact constituted – his formal presence in local colonial environs. Their interrogation thereby provides windows into how Charles was king in and over such contexts and into royal Restoration colonial government's lived dynamics. Looking into these dynamics and considering the roles of the Crown, second-parties, and royal representation within them, it becomes apparent that the current image of early English colonialism as a 'web of empire' crucially misses how things as well as people played a vital role in colonial endeavours.²³ To consider further the role that royal representation played within such a 'web', let us turn to the official representational media case-studies outlined above.

Figures 2.2 & 2.3 with detail (below). 'Copy of the Charter granted by his Mayestie to the Citty of Tanger', 'Proceedings of the Courts of Record and Sessions' (1668-71), TNA, CO 279/45, ff.[5v, 6r]. Quotations from ff.[3r, 1r] [AAS, author-added borders, henceforth AAB].

²¹ See for example Swingen, 'Labor, Empire, and the State', esp. p.93; Games, *The Web of Empire*, esp. pp.292-9.

²² TNA, CO 279/45, ff.[3r-7r], ([1r]).

²³ For the existing concept of the 'web', Games, *The Web of Empire*, esp. pp.3-15.

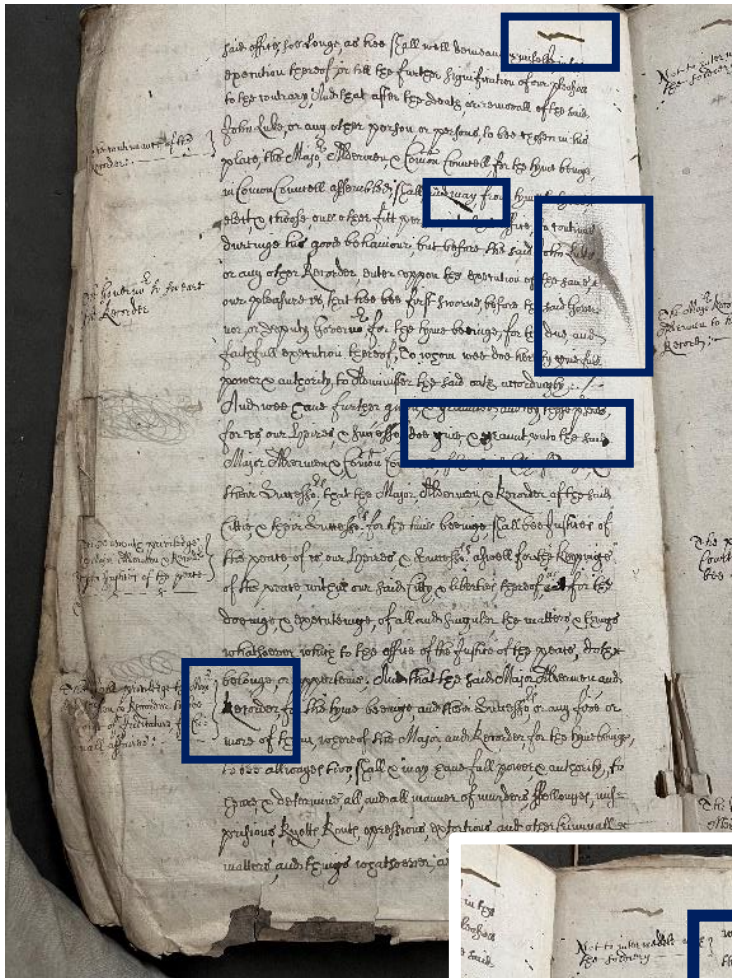
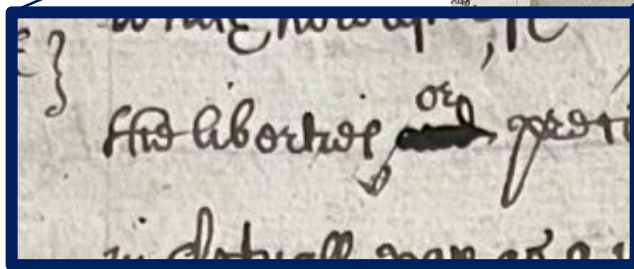
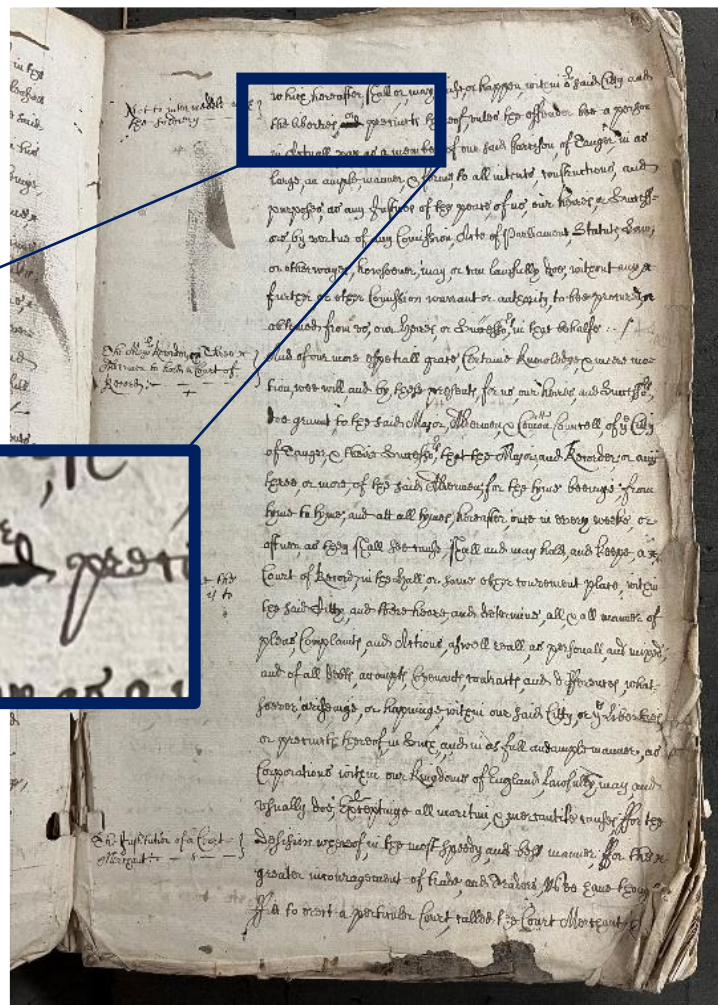


Figure 2.2. See caption, p.140.
Figure 2.3. Ibid.



The Crown as Official Royal Representation's Principal Architect

In a few select cases – Charles's speeches to Parliament or high-profile royal letters, perhaps – instances and forms of official royal representation may have been produced by the Crown directly; that is to say, created predominantly if not solely by the king and his chief advisers.²⁴ It is therefore easy as well as instructive to consider relevant instances as indicative of Crown attitudes and actions. However, it does not take much to realise that the vast majority naturally depended on a broader construction crew. This carries with it the possibility that except where the exact nature and extent of the Crown's direct input into specific instances can be ascertained, the details and iconography of Charles's official representation should be considered only as broadly indicative of the Crown's stance on particular topics and not read too closely as ostensibly revealing its political designs and intentions. Analysis of royal colonial representational grants avoids entanglement with such a possibility by focusing attention directly on the royal thinking and activity, and thus theoretical intentions, behind the artefacts that the grants may have resulted in. Avoiding the issue or accepting that uncertainty will taint conclusions are not the only ways forward, however. As demonstrated below, it is possible to interpret official royal representational forms and instances as reflecting the monarchy's stances towards particular issues and policies at specific moments with confidence, even if its precise role in their creation remains opaque. Examining royal colonial written communiqués, and specifically colonial letters patent, illustrates this.

As outlined in the introduction, written communiqués can be considered one of four principal categories of Restoration royal representation.²⁵ They constitute any handwritten or printed rhetorical material representing Charles II and thus include letters, pamphlets, warrants, and

²⁴ For this impression for Charles's parliamentary speeches, Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp. 11-38; for mention of the '[rarity and prestige]' of English holograph royal letters (letters handwritten by the monarch) in the sixteenth century, Sowerby, 'Sovereign Spaces', 390; see also the decorated Russian letters that Jansson discusses and whose production clearly involved second-parties, Jansson, *Art and Diplomacy*, pp.34, 54, cf. 204.

²⁵ Above, p.45.

meeting minutes, for example. Arguably, they are in fact a sub-category of another core representational types, cultural artefacts: the written word must be written *on* something to exist, after all. Charles's representation in them might not only take the form of text, as the visual components of Howard's pages, Charles's letters to the Russian tsars, and the Hudson Bay Company's letters patent illustrate. Of course, it might seem over-scrupulous or even tautological to unpack how *official*, *royal* written examples are indicative of the Crown's views. If they were used and approved by the Crown, potentially written in the royal voice, and perhaps even signed by Charles himself, how could they not be? Can we not, akin to Sharpe, simply 'think' that they surely convey how the king sought to represent himself and by extension, how the Crown sought to represent its Restoration figurehead? We could, but where possible we 'should' not.²⁶

For examining colonial letters patent as a case-study of royal written communiqués warns against simply assuming, rather than proving, that the Crown was proactive in its engagement with official royal communiqués' representational components and can therefore be deemed as more than passively associated with such components and their meaning. Selected largely due to ease of identification and access, the letters studied chiefly comprise select documents within the East India Company "Parchment Record" series at the British Library, accessed via Adam Matthew Digital; colonial charters for colonies on the North American mainland; and relevant comparative examples such as instances of pre-Restoration or English letters patent (**Table C**). Though the East India Company documents include at least two documents that can be considered colonial charters,²⁷ the majority examined may not strictly relate to colonial business at all. However, by involving the East India Company, a key colonial corporate body during Charles's reign, they are considered relevant to the study of Restoration colonial contexts. Their review is also deemed

²⁶ Both quotations, Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, p.6.

²⁷ 'Letters patent of Charles II granting to the Governor and Company of the Merchants of London, trading into the East Indies [henceforth, LP (CII EIC)], the island of Bombay', IOR/A/1/26, 'East India Company', Adam Matthew Digital database (henceforth, 'EIC' AMDD); 'LP (CII) granting the island of St Helena to the [EIC]', IOR/A/1/30, *ibid*; see also 'LP (CII EIC), the power to coin money at Bombay', IOR/A/1/34, *ibid*.

central to considering how the case-study's findings relate to documents beyond colonial charters. In line with the principles governing this thesis's scope outlined in the introduction, analysis also crucially focuses primarily on the letters as visual artefacts; their content and text have not typically been considered within analysis.²⁸

At first glance, investigation raises serious questions about how far the Crown itself was involved with, and invested in, such letters as forms of Charles's representation. Answering them is an intricate yet rewarding business, for it again demonstrates that the Restoration Crown did not blithely attempt to leverage every available representational means to its possible benefit. Instead, it shows clear prioritisation and variation in the levels of royal investment in the letters' specific representational components, and in particular, distinctions made between rhetorical and visual elements. Whilst it is not possible to apply a similar dissection of provenance to the other official representational case-studies considered within this chapter, the analysis below indicates its possible directions.

Who Was Responsible for Creating Royal Colonial Letters Patent?

In the case of colonial charters, perhaps the most renowned type of colonial letters patent, MacMillan has claimed that they were 'rife with imperial, sovereign, and prerogative force, and very much acts of central will'. He describes how Charles and key figures answering to him were involved in drafting, reviewing, and finalising them, noting for example that it was the attorney or solicitor general who ensured that they received 'the review of the king and council', were finalised, and 'engrossed and ultimately stamped with the Great Seal'.²⁹ Appearing to trace nineteenth-century practice back to the early seventeenth century in preparation for discussion of Massachusetts's 1629 charter, the nineteenth-century commentator Charles Deane further gives

²⁸ Above, pp.45-7.

²⁹ MacMillan, "Bound by Our Regal Office", p.80.

reason to believe that letters patent's royal review process was such that 'the greatest care [wa]s taken that nothing should be done [to alter them] surreptitiously'.³⁰ Yet key detail of such letters initially indicates that they may in fact only have been 'very much acts of central will' as textual rather than visual royal representational forms. This is the stage at which Charles's signature was added to the letters.

The Significance of the Royal Signature

Within diplomatic history, historians have noted the representational importance of a monarch's signature. Jansson remarks of English seventeenth-century decorated royal diplomatic letters, for example, that '[t]he king's signature provided legitimacy and authority to [them].' All twenty-five of the letters that she documents Charles sending to the Russian tsars are also recorded as bearing his signature.³¹ Referring to European sixteenth-century diplomatic letters more broadly, Tracey Sowerby discusses how the use and spatial arrangement of rulers' signatures and handwriting were engineered to convey the perceived relative status of the letters' senders and recipients. She likewise calls attention to how elements composed by English monarchs themselves – for example, producing a letter in holograph rather than autograph form – might signal a letter's importance.³² Further investigation is required to examine exactly how such protocols and related expectations may or may not have translated into other royal rhetorical media such as colonial and English letters patent. Nevertheless, it is easy to see how Charles's name appearing at the bottom of colonial letters patent would have enhanced their authority, bookending its printed appearance in the letters' headers and providing additional visual confirmation that they were issued with his authority, at least to those who could read.³³ Instead, minor officials' names conclude the vast

³⁰ C. Deane, 'The Forms in Issuing Letters-Patent by the Crown of England' (Cambridge [Massachusetts], 1870), pp.5-8 (8, second bracketed comment to add inferred meaning).

³¹ Jansson, *Art and Diplomacy*, pp.54, 212-57.

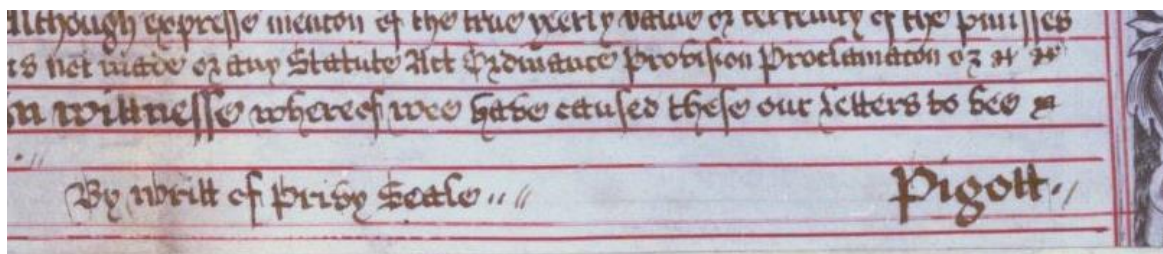
³² Sowerby, 'Sovereign Spaces', for latter point esp. 390.

³³ It is assumed that the letters' headers, borders, majuscules, and royal portraits were printed. For sources informing this conclusion, see for example '[Third Royal Charter](#)', Royal Society Picture Library (6 Feb. 2024), 'Description'; HBCF, '[The Royal Charter](#)', 'Descriptive Details'; Jansson, *Art and Diplomacy*, p.202.

majority of the Restoration English colonial letters patent studied in this research (**Figures 2.4.A & 2.5, below**).³⁴



Figure 2.4.A. Delaware's Restoration charter (1682) [AAS].



³⁴ Twenty-one or possibly twenty-two of twenty-five examples. Letters patent only seen in transcription discounted from statistic. **Table C**; for the conclusion that scribes or clerks' names subscribed English Restoration letters patent, see for example [‘First Royal Charter of the Royal Society’](#), Royal Society Picture Library (6 Feb. 2024), ‘Description’; Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission (henceforth PHMC), YouTube playlist, ‘William Penn’s Original 1681 Charter – A Virtual Display’, present. Joshua Stahlman, YouTube (5 videos, uploaded [2022?]), [‘William Penn’s Original Charter – A Virtual Display – Page \[Four\]’](#) (1 Mar. 2024), 0:13, 0:18 with subtitles.

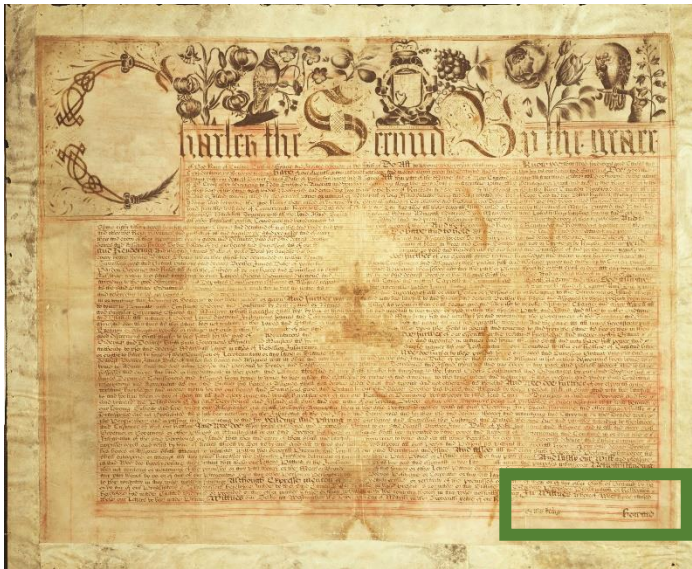
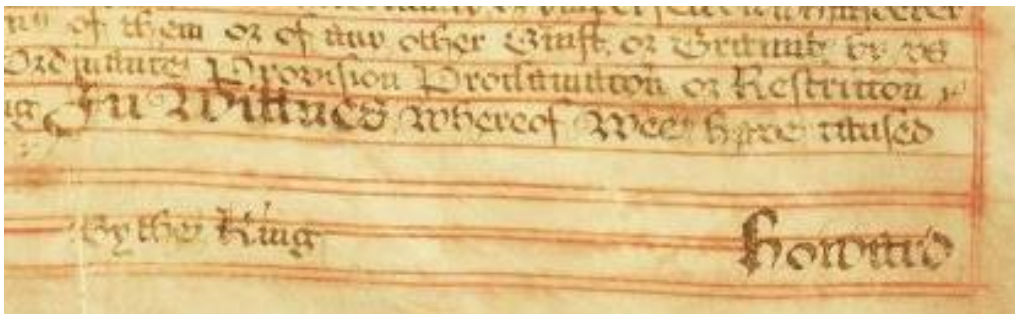


Figure 2.5. New York's Restoration charter (1664), New York State Archives [AAS].



In some but not all cases, these names were in turn followed by Charles's Great Seal.³⁵ Seals' role as royal representation will be discussed further in due course, but here, it is pertinent to note two relevant remarks by Paul Dryburgh. First, that royal seals 'truly represent the formal status and authority of the crown and, at certain moments, the personal will of the sovereign' and secondly, that across the early modern period, seals rather than signatures generally functioned as 'the primary medium' to 'authentica[t]e and valida[t]e... [individuals, communities, and institutions]' identit[ies] and intentions'.³⁶ In other words, a royal seal appending a document was an accepted substitute for a royal signature, and indeed, as will be discussed, a representationally significant one.

³⁵ See for example 'LP (CII) EIC, the power to ship bullion', IOR/A/1/21, 'EIC' AMDD; cf. 'LP (CII) to Commissioners of the Treasury [henceforth, CT] authorising payment of £92,000 to the [EIC]', IOR/A/1/27, *ibid*.

³⁶ Dryburgh, *Royal Seals*, pp.12, 7.

Nonetheless, MacMillan notes that it was the attorney or solicitor general who was responsible for ensuring that charters acquired the Great Seal; it does not seem to have been necessary for Charles himself to have seen or approved the version to which the seal was attached.³⁷ By contrast, documents which the king signed personally were naturally seen by him, even if a royal signature cannot prove that he was interested or diligent enough to *read* them. It is therefore significant that Charles likely signed final drafts of colonial letters patent, known as ‘the King’s Bill[s]’.³⁸ Deane in turn gives reason to believe that during the Restoration, such documents ‘contain[ed] the whole form and settled draft of the King’s charter, grant, or patent, in the words in which it [wa]s to pass the Great Seal, with the exceptions only of his Majesty’s style at the beginning and the testing clause at the end; but with the addition, at the foot, of the Docket’. This, Deane explains, was a summary of salient points for the King’s attention.³⁹ However, as can be seen in **Figure 2.6**, a King’s Bill seeming to relate to letters patent issued to the East India Company in 1668 suggests that they did not incorporate the *visual* components that appeared on the executed documents.⁴⁰ The bill provides no evidence of the decorative borders that appear in the executed letters, nor of a majuscule and royal portrait that may have been cut away from the final document.⁴¹

Nevertheless, as Deane leads one to extrapolate was the case with Restoration King’s Bills generally, it does appear to include Charles’s own signature.⁴² Great Wardrobe and Jewel Office warrants do show that it was clearly acceptable for persons other than Charles to sign his name on official records: the signatures shown in **Figures 2.7-10 (below)** are evidently made by different individuals. However, comparison with signatures matching that shown in **Figure 2.6 (below)** on

³⁷ MacMillan, “‘Bound by Our Regal Office’”, p.80; see also Deane, ‘The Forms in Issuing Letters-Patent’, pp.5-8.

³⁸ For this conclusion, see *ibid.*, esp. p.7 and below.

³⁹ Deane, ‘The Forms in Issuing Letters-Patent’, pp.(6)-7, 9.

⁴⁰ ‘Signet Office: King’s Bills’ (Jan. – June 1668), TNA, SO 7/21, f.11; cf. ‘LP (CII EIC), remitting £154,969 13s 5d...’, IOR/A/1/25[r], ‘EIC’ AMDD. Images for this and other ‘EIC’ AMDD documents can be found through applicable document references via [East India Company, Adam Matthew Digital](#) (6 Feb. 2024).

⁴¹ For discussion of such elements within Restoration colonial letters patent generally, below.

⁴² Deane, ‘The Forms in Issuing Letters-Patent’, esp. p.7.

original documents otherwise transcribed in various different hands suggests that logically, and in line with Deane's contentions, the signature on the East India Company King's Bill was executed by Charles himself (Figures 2.11-13, below).

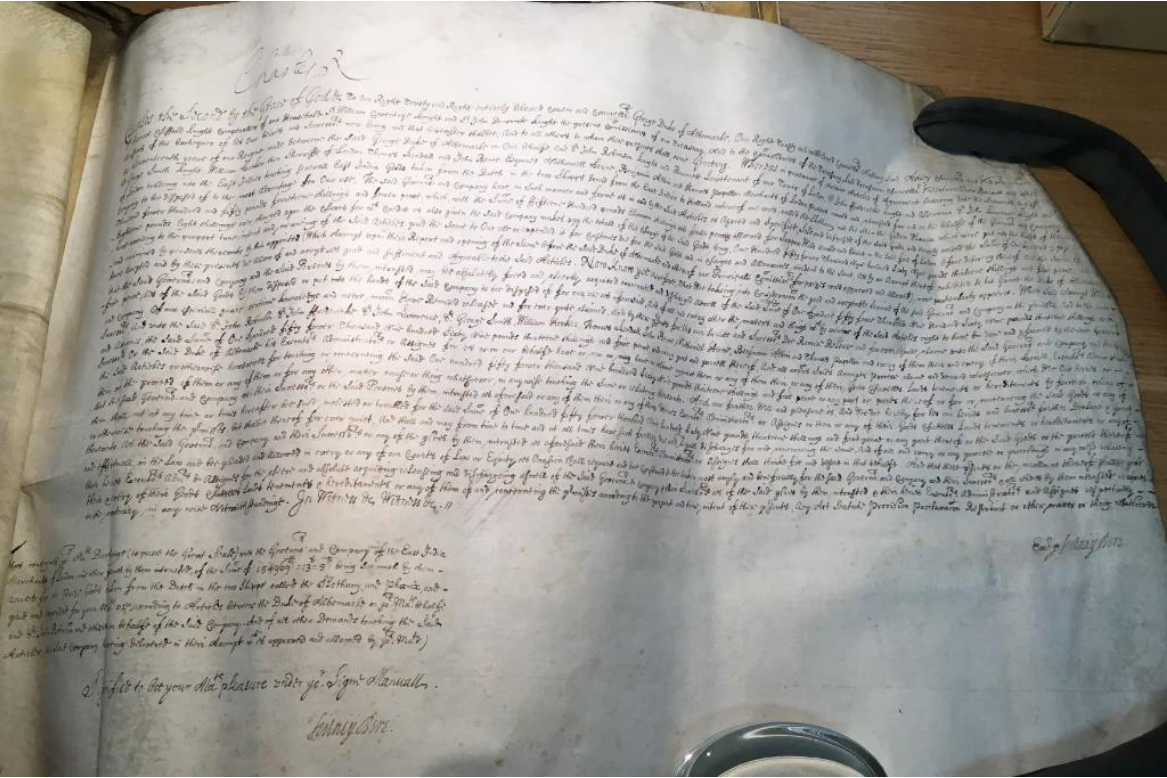


Figure 2.6. TNA, SO 7/ 21 f.11.



Figures 2.7-10. Apparent copies of Charles II's signature. TNA, LC 5/ 60, f.123, TNA, LC 5/ 64 ff.32, 16; TNA, LC 5/ 107 f.62v.

Figures 2.11-13. Apparent instances of Charles II's own signature. TNA, SO 7/ 21 f.11 (cf. **Figure 2.6**), TNA LC 5/ 115 f.51r, TNA CO 279/ 1 f.68r.

Together, the arguments and evidence above tell us two things. First, it confirms that whilst minor royal officials might have had the technical capacity to alter colonial letters patent's proposed text and were responsible for writing the executed documents, in practice this was in name only. To all intents and purposes, the letters' finalised text was likely personally seen and signed for by Charles. As instances of the Restoration king's official rhetorical representation therefore, as one might well expect, colonial letters patent can thus undoubtedly be considered to have reflected approved royal positions. By contrast, such evidence also suggests that the letters' visual elements were not deemed to need Charles's direct approval. Their absence from the East India Company 1668 King's Bill indicates that it was not felt necessary to include them in the documents specifically tailored to alert Charles to aspects of the letters that *did* need his attention. Not only does their likely inclusion only in the very final stages of the letters' review process suggest that they were subject to little direct Crown oversight and input, certainly in comparison to the letters' text. There is in fact evidence of letters' *petitioners* and other second-parties rather than the Crown shaping letters' decorative elements.

The Agency Behind Letters Patent's Visual Components

Details provided by the modern-day Royal Society about its Restoration English royal letters patents suggests that this was the case. It notes that George Savile, “stationer at the Crown under Sergeant’s Inn in Chancery Lane” supplied ‘[t]he printed template’ used to pattern the borders of its third charter (**Figure 2.14, below**).⁴³ Savile seems likely to have been a private purveyor of materials used for printing: “the Crown” appears to have been a shop on Chancery Lane.⁴⁴ The borders of the Society’s third charter display the same iconography as those in the Hudson Bay Company’s charter (**Figure 2.1, below**), as well as those in two further examples of Restoration colonial and English letters patent respectively.⁴⁵ This suggests that Savile, or another similar private seller, may have also had a hand in the decorative elements of other colonial and English royal letters patent. So too may respective petitioners. The Royal Society details that it paid the aptly-enough princely sum of £88 18s and 8d for its first royal charter.⁴⁶ By affecting the materials and work required to produce the letters, including or foregoing elements such as the use of colour – unusually visible in the Society’s second charter, for instance – surely varied their price.⁴⁷ If petitioners footed the bill for their letters patent, they may well therefore have expected to bear influence over their decorative elements.

⁴³ [‘Third Royal Charter’](#), Royal Society Picture Library (6 Feb. 2024) (first quotation, appearing to quote another source).

⁴⁴ [N. Billingsley], *Kosmobrephia or the Infancy of the World* (London, 1658), title page; [SOLO catalogue entry](#) (12 Mar. 2024) for I. Walton, H. Lawes, and P. Lombart, *The Compleat Angler or the Contemplative Man’s Recreation* (London, 1668).

⁴⁵ ‘LP (CII) to Commissioners of the Treasury [henceforth, CT] authorising payment of £92,000 to the [EIC]’, IOR/A/1/27, ‘EIC’ AMDD; Oswestry borough charter, England (1674), ‘Charter of Charles II, 1674’, Archives West Midlands.

⁴⁶ Royal Society Picture Library, [‘First Royal Charter of the Royal Society’](#) (6 Feb. 2024), ‘Description’; **Figure 2.15, below**.

⁴⁷ **Figure 2.16, below**; see also ‘LP (CII EIC), confirming and renewing privileges’, IOR/A/1/22, ‘EIC’ AMDD.

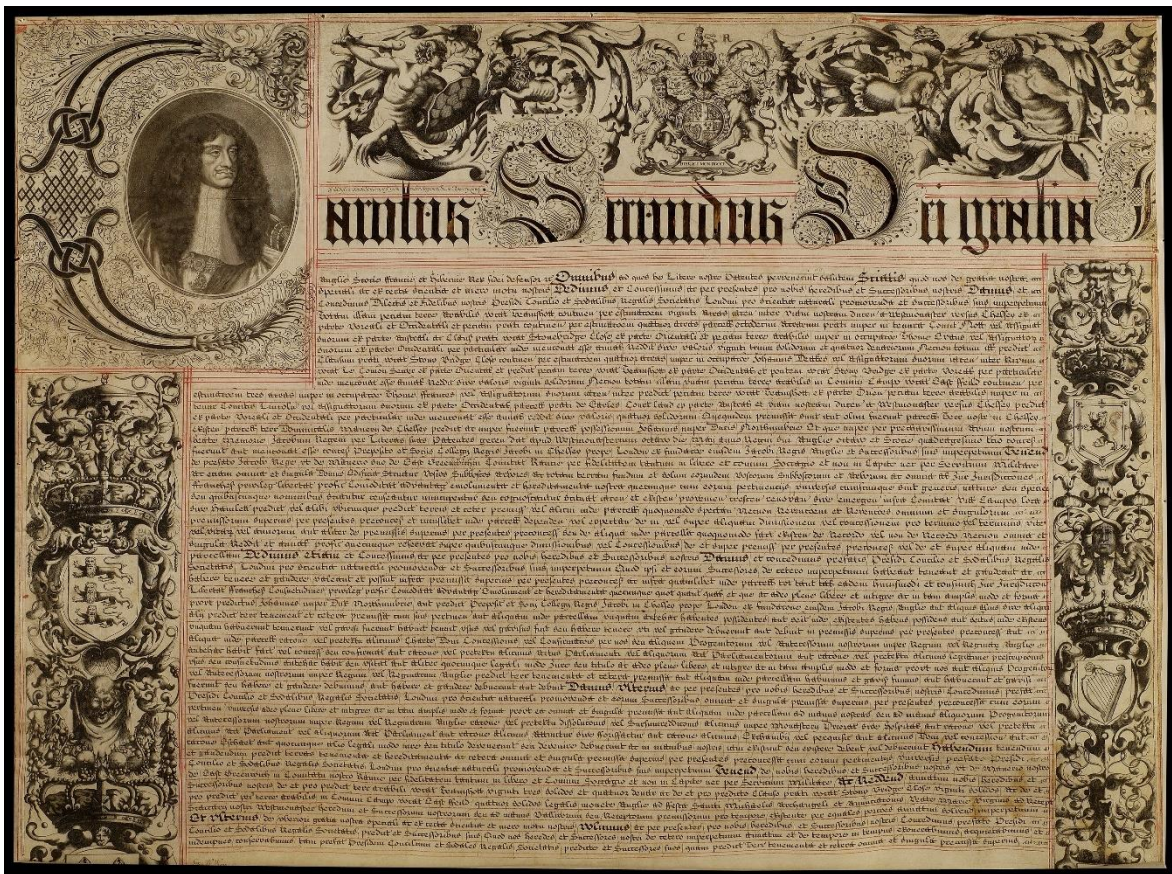


Figure 2.14. Third Royal Charter of the Royal Society, 1669 (ref. DC/1/3). The Royal Society. © The Royal Society.

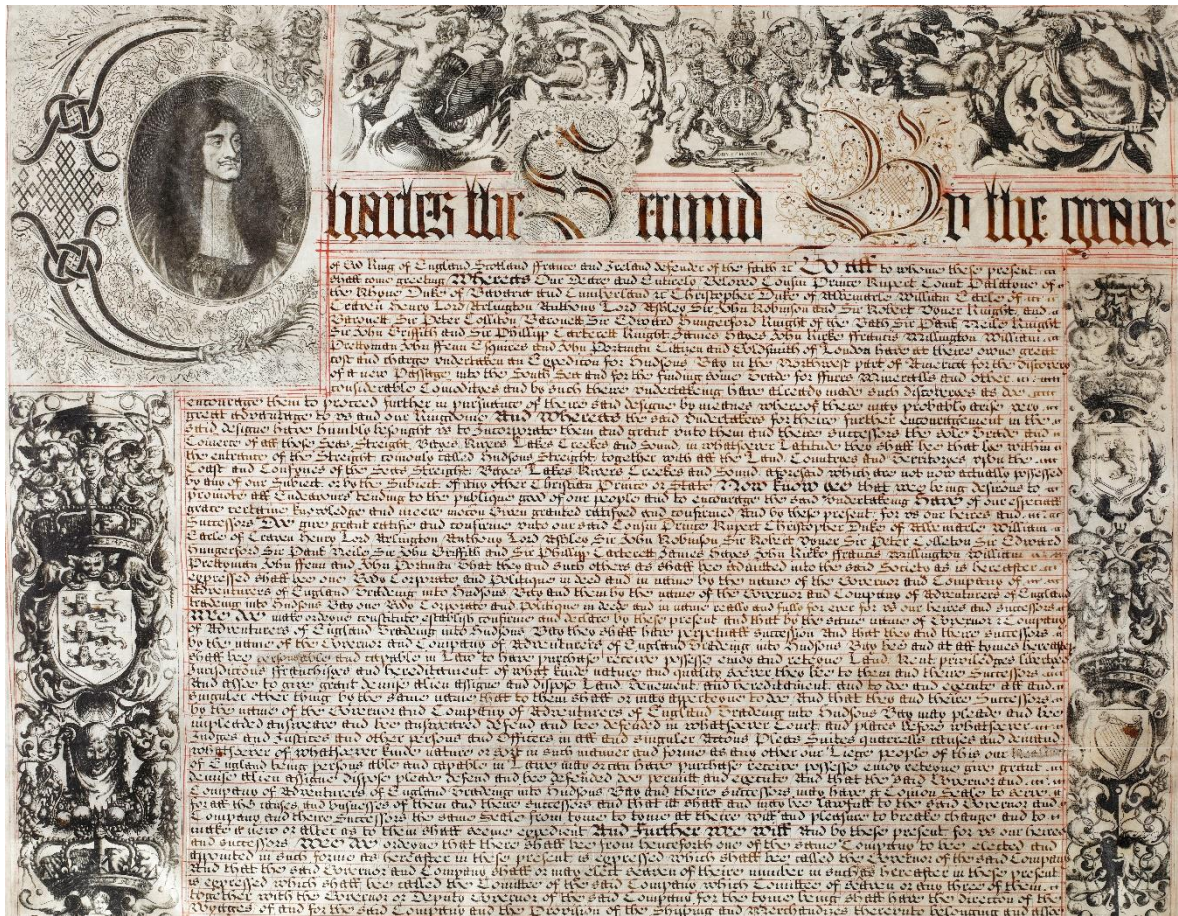


Figure 2.1. Hudson's Bay Company's charter (1670), first page. Image courtesy Hudson's Bay Company Corporate Collection.

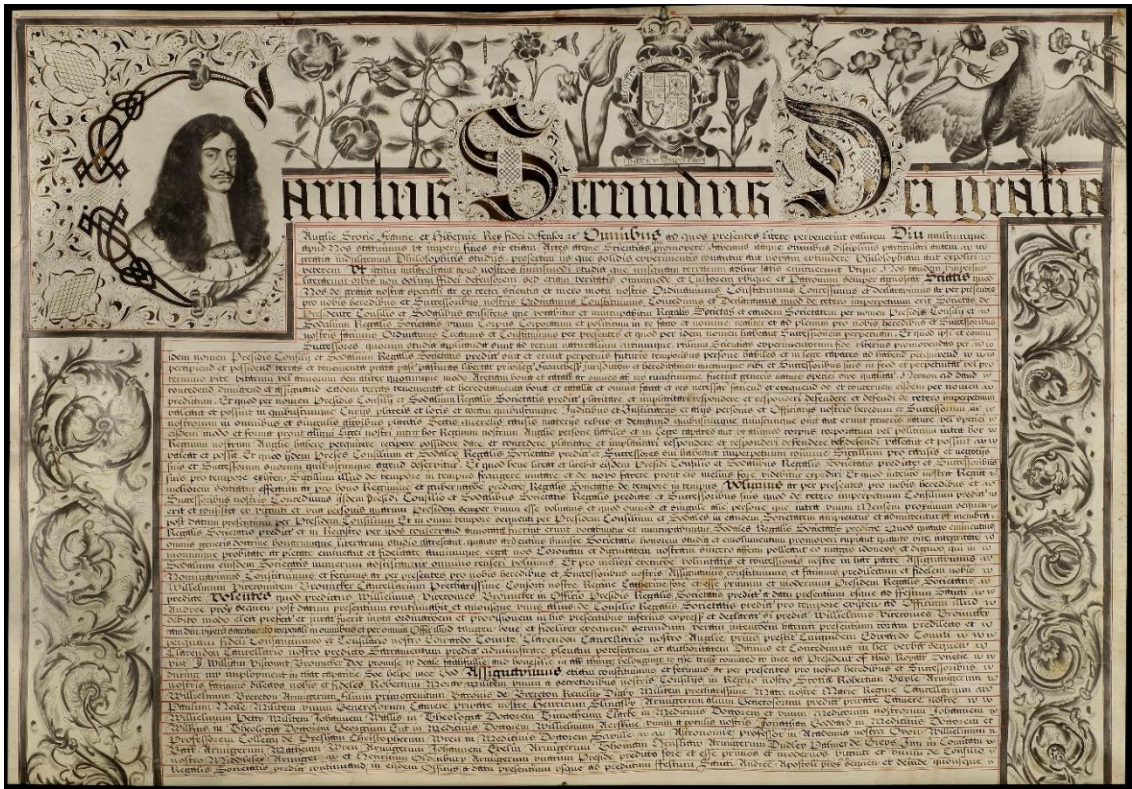


Figure 2.15. First Royal Charter of the Royal Society, 1662 (ref. DC/1/1). The Royal Society. © The Royal Society.



Figure 2.16. Second Royal Charter of the Royal Society, 1663 (ref. DC/1/1). The Royal Society. © The Royal Society.

Indeed, as shown in **Table C**, there is evidence that at least into the mid-1670s documents' decorative elements were mixed and matched. It is possible therefore that their components were picked by petitioners from a pool of options available through individuals like Savile. For instance, within a single year, different majuscules, royal portraits, and individual border designs can be found on Restoration colonial letters patent, executed perhaps by the same scribe.⁴⁸ Switching perspective and looking at designs recurring across letters executed in different years, the same portrait of Charles appears set within two different majuscules, one of which is in turn combined with two different sets of borders. Overall, the components create similar visual impressions, particularly when it is difficult to distinguish their details or when contrasted to the visual elements on Massachusetts's early Stuart charter (1629), for example. Nevertheless, their components are distinct.⁴⁹ This shows that the letters' visual aspects were not necessarily composed as holistic sets or deployed in singular combinations. 1667 Irish letters patent even provide seemingly exceptional evidence of visual components being stuck onto the paper on which the document's text was written, reinforcing the impression that the components may be mixed and matched (**Figure 2.21.A-D, below**). Combined with the evidence regarding the royal signature above,⁵⁰ such details make it feasible for petitioners and other second-parties to have determined the visual instances of royal representation that appeared on royal letters patent. They also warn that by comparison, the Crown may have had little involvement or even interest in them and therefore that reading them as indicative of royal political views may have weak foundations.

⁴⁸ Cf. letters studied dating to 1663, 1672, and 1673, **Table C**. Carolina's Restoration charter (1663), 'Carolina Charter of 1663', North Carolina Digital Collections; Rhode Island's Restoration charter (1663), 'Rhode Island Royal Charter granted by King Charles II, 1663', Rhode Island Department of State, Rhode Island State Digital Archives; IOR/A/1/27, 'EIC' AMDD; 'LP (CII EIC), quitclaiming certain sums of money...', IOR/A/1/28, *ibid.*; 'LP (CII) ratifying agreement between Prince Rupert... and the [EIC]...', IOR/A/1/29, *ibid.*; IOR/A/1/30, *ibid.*

⁴⁹ **Figures 2.17-19, below**, cf. esp. the portraits in all three figures, differences in the majuscules' centre and ends in Figure 2.19 compared to Figures 2.17 & 2.18, and differences in the borders in Figure 2.17 compared to Figures 2.18 & 2.19; cf. **Figure 2.20, below**.

⁵⁰ Above, pp.145-50.

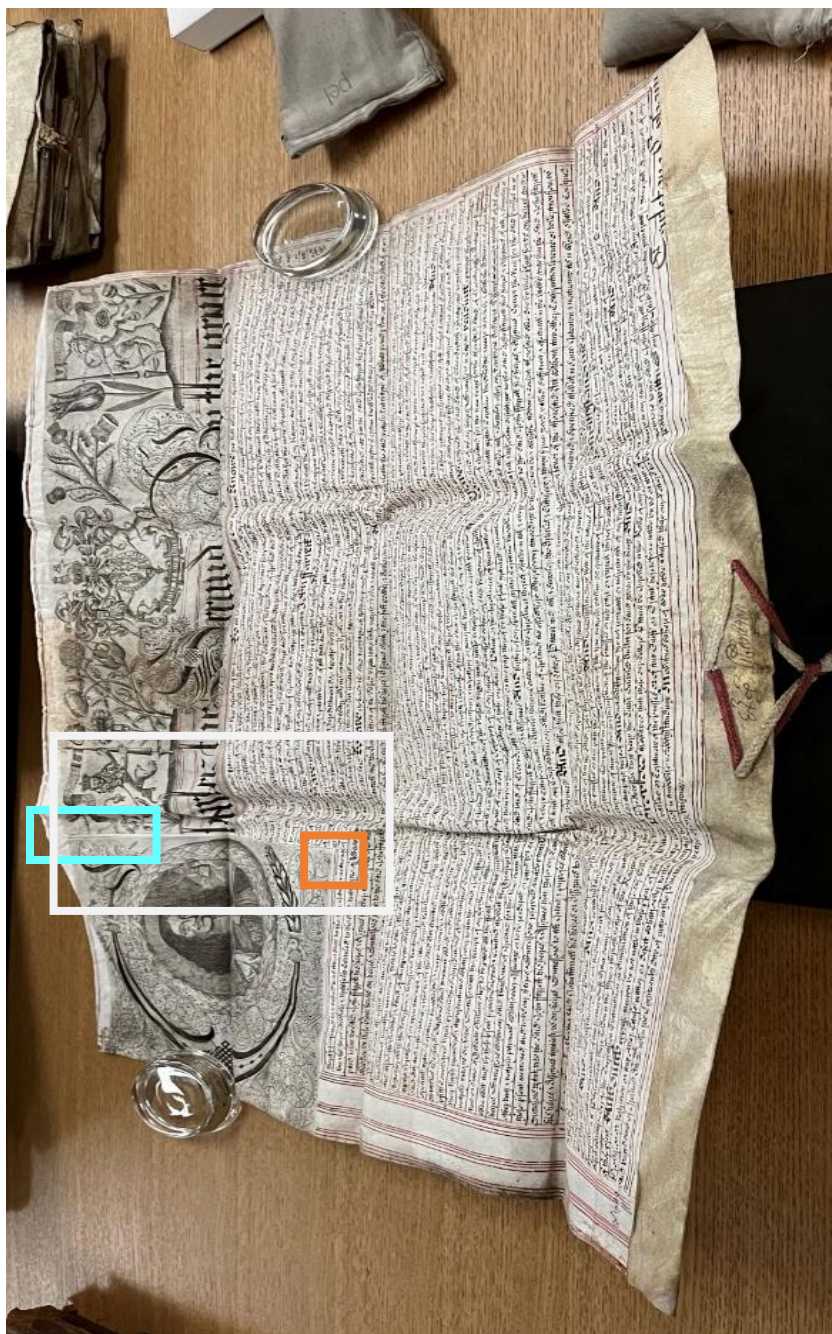


Figure 2.21.A. Irish royal legal document (1667), TNA, C 106/153, no.1. [AAS].

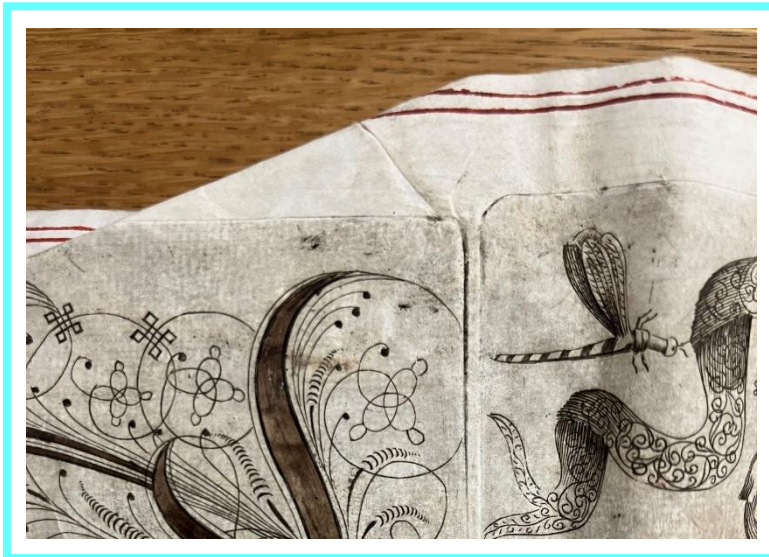


Figure 2.21.B (top).
Detail of 2.21.A.

Figure 2.21.C (middle).
Detail of 2.21.A.

Figure 2.21.D (bottom).
Detail of 2.21.A.

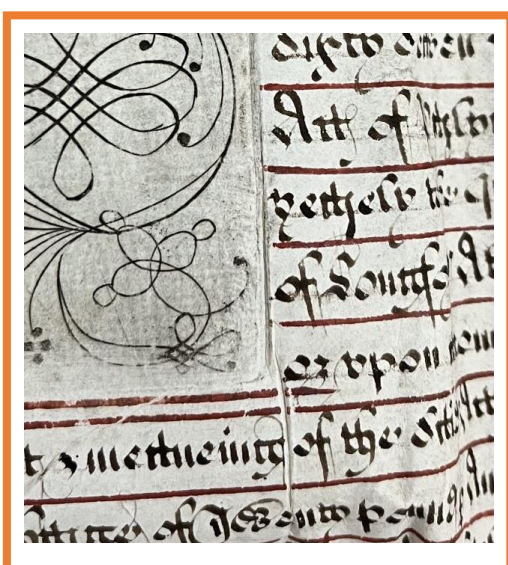




Figure 2.17. 'LP (CII EIC), the island of Bombay', IOR/A/1/26, f.1r (British Library, henceforth BL).
© The British Library Board.

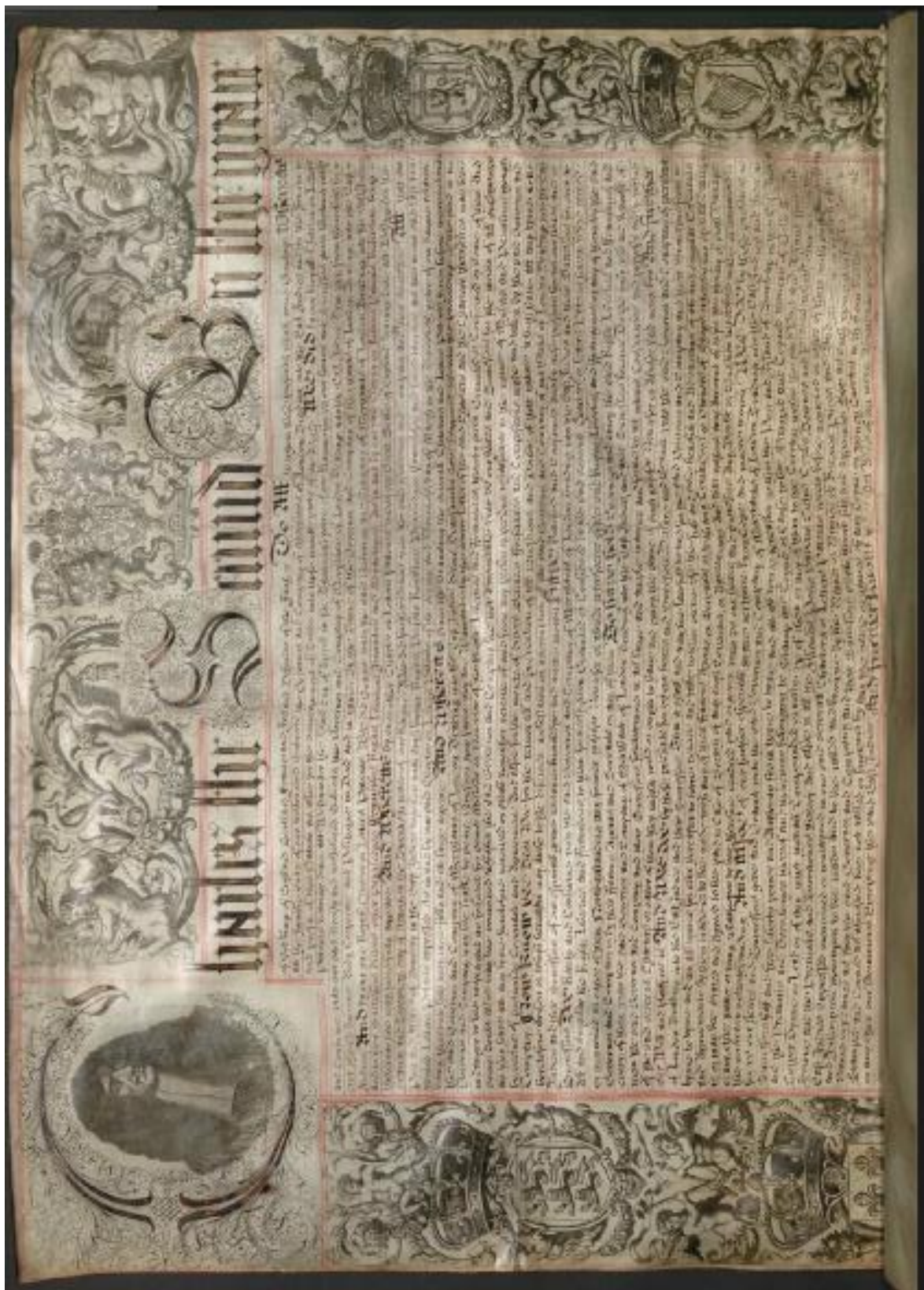


Figure 2.19. 'LP (CII EIC), the power to coin money at Bombay', IOR/A/1/34, f.1r (BL). © The British Library Board.



Figure 2.20. Massachusetts Bay Colony Charter (1629) (Commonwealth Museum, Massachusetts).

Key pieces of evidence dismiss such concerns. In the first instance, it seems that there was a 'house style' for Restoration letters patent which changed in consistent ways across Charles's reign. Examples suggest that this style varied by document type. The Duke of York's 1665 'mandates... to Commissioners for Reprisals' as Lord High Admiral and the 1674 letters patent of 'Prince Rupert and others' are visually very different from Charles's own letters patent produced at around the same times. The former lacks a majuscule and any decorative borders, and its opening calligraphy is not only minimal, but like the document's main text, is in Latin. The latter meanwhile possesses a majuscule but one filled with strapwork rather than a royal portrait; only its top border has any illustrative detail, and the document's opening greeting, not the royal title's opening words, is called out in its header (cf. **Figures 2.22, 2.5; cf. 2.23, 2.24, below**). The decorative style of colonial and English Restoration letters patent issued under Charles's name meanwhile changes over time.

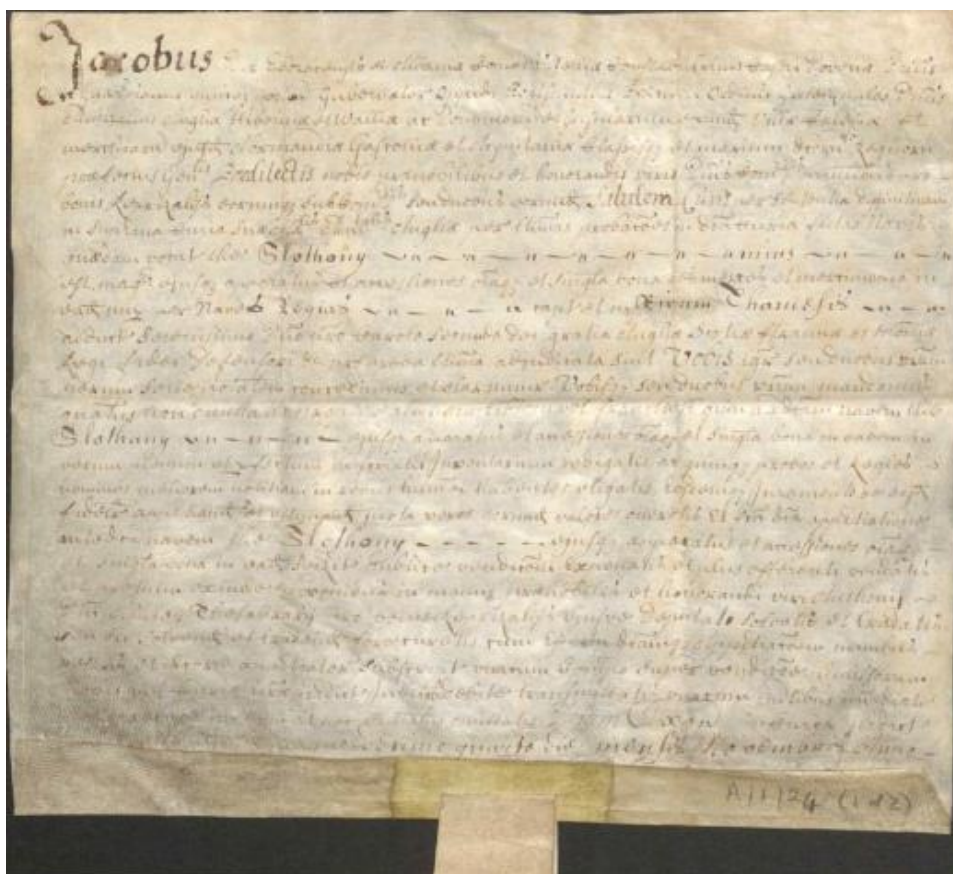


Figure 2.22. 'Mandates of James, duke of York, Lord High Admiral, to Commissioners for Reprisals...' (1665), IOR/A/1/24, f.1r (BL). © The British Library Board.

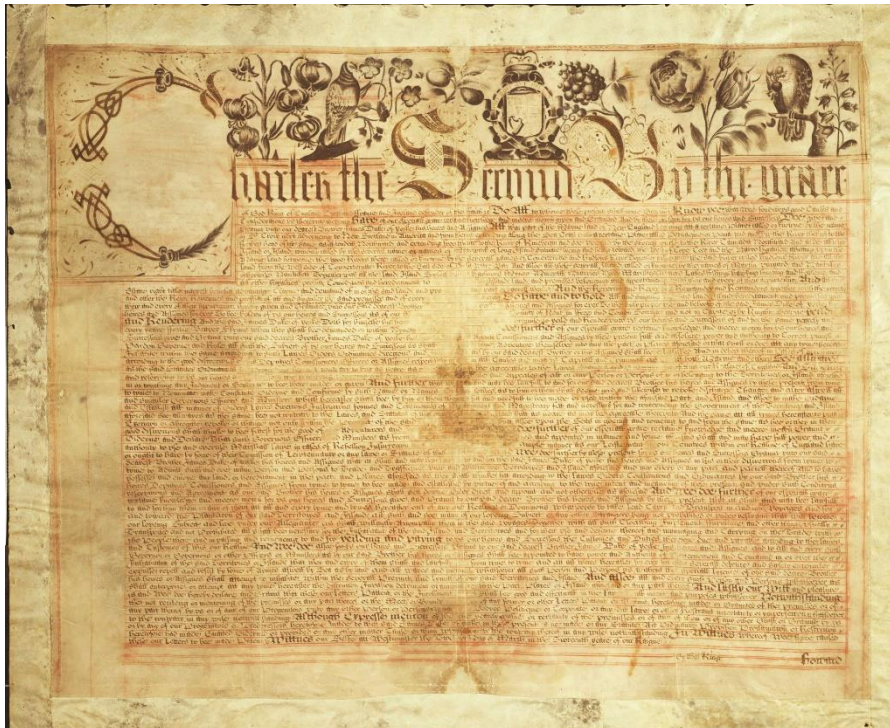


Figure 2.5. New York's Restoration charter (1664).

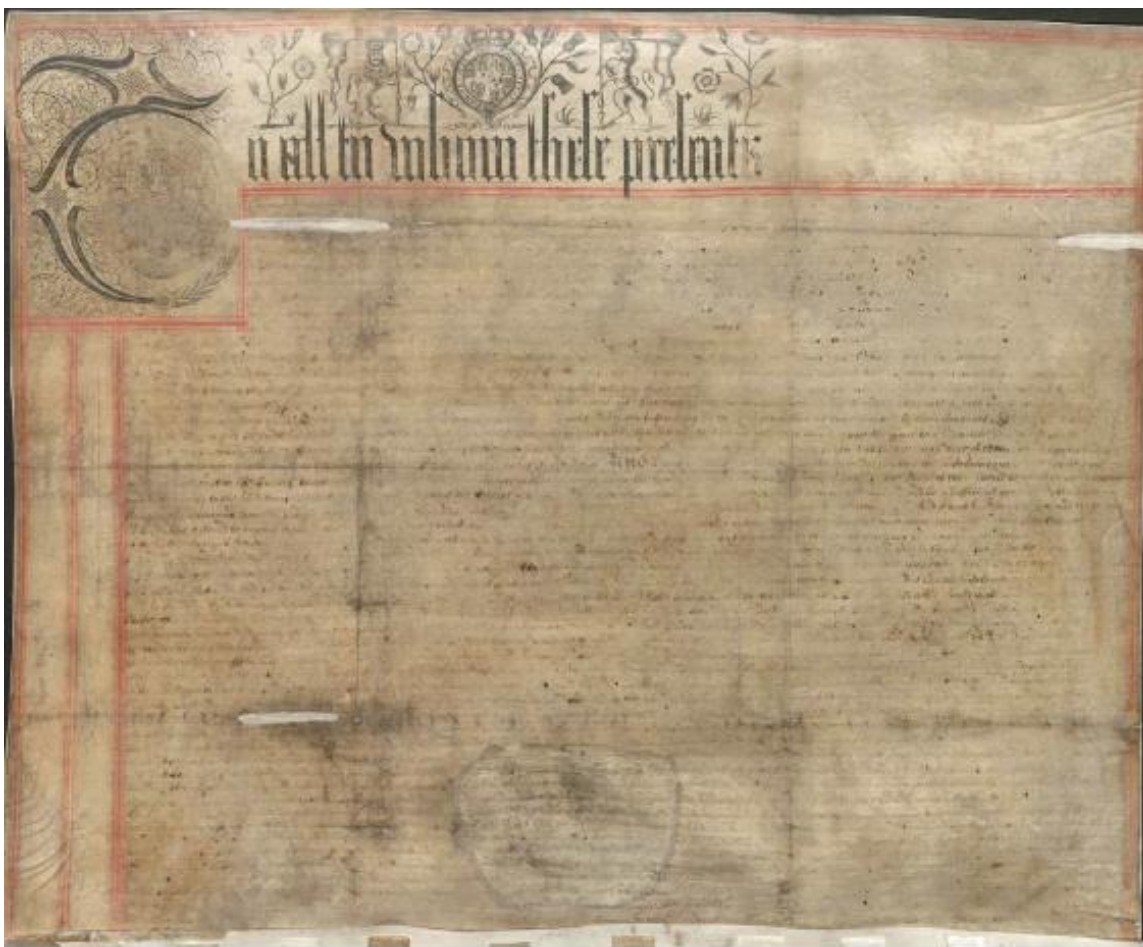


Figure 2.23. 'LP of Prince Rupert and others, releasing the [EIC] from further demands on money...' (1674) IOR/A/1/31, f.1r (BL). © The British Library Board.



Figure 2.24. 'LP (CII) releasing the [EIC] from further demands on money...' (1674) IOR/A/1/32, f.1r (BL). © The British Library Board.

The 'House Style' of Letters Patent Issued under Charles's Name

Overall, such letters patent's visual elements become increasingly impressive and coordinated as the reign progresses.⁵¹ In 1660-2, only the letters' top borders contain illustration. These illustrations are distinct from one another in the sample analysed and chiefly feature leaves, flowers, and birds. From 1662, decorative elements are initially sometimes but not always found in letters' left and right as well as top borders, and where there are designs in the former, they become both more plentiful and detailed over time. The top borders also begin to incorporate the royal arms. Whilst overall the border sets initially continue to feature iconography centred on flowers, birds, and horticulture, from 1663 they shift towards incorporating dynastic emblems:

⁵¹ See **Table C**, esp. cols. T-AF.

lions, unicorns, and fleur de lis. From 1669, the letters' visual aspects then become more ostentatious again. From this point onwards, all borders typically contain heavily-engraved, abundant iconography and settle into featuring dynastic symbolism. From 1670 until 1682, the top borders overall shift towards increasingly aggressive dynastic iconography, after which point the design assumes a more comfortable regal air. Over the course of the reign overall, the royal arms that appear in the top borders also become increasingly elaborate (cf. **Figures 2.25-2.27, 2.21, 2.28-2.31 and 2.4.A, below**).



Figure 2.25. 'LP (CII EIC), the power to ship bullion' (1660), IOR/A/1/21, f.1r (BL). © The British Library Board.



Figure 2.26.A. Carolina's 1663 charter (1663) (State Archives of North Carolina). Rights held by State Archives of [North Carolina].

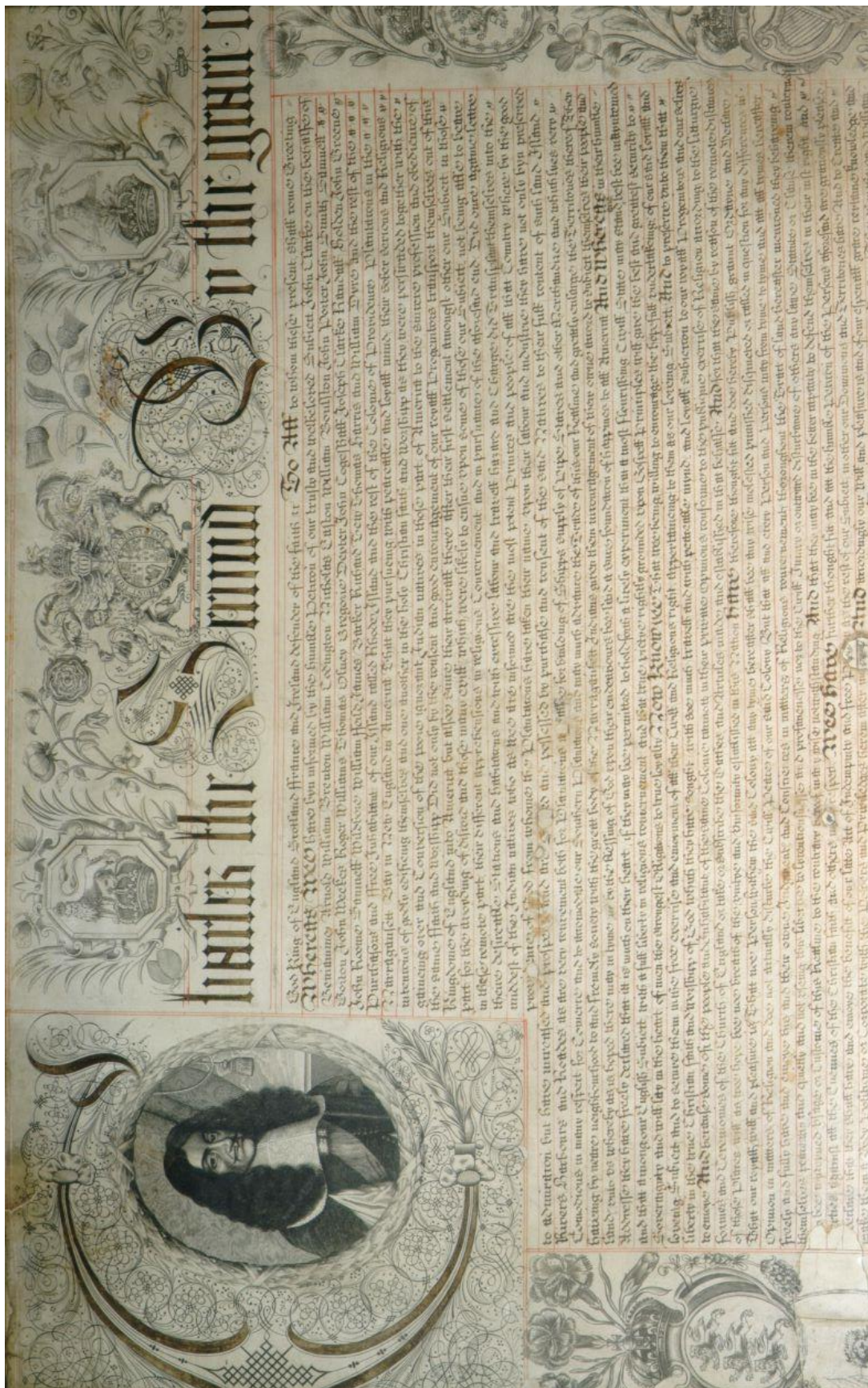


Figure 2.27. Partial image, Rhode Island's charter (1663), f.[1] (Rhode Island Department of State). Public domain.



Figure 2.21.A & E-G. Irish royal legal document (1667), TNA, C 106/153, no.1.

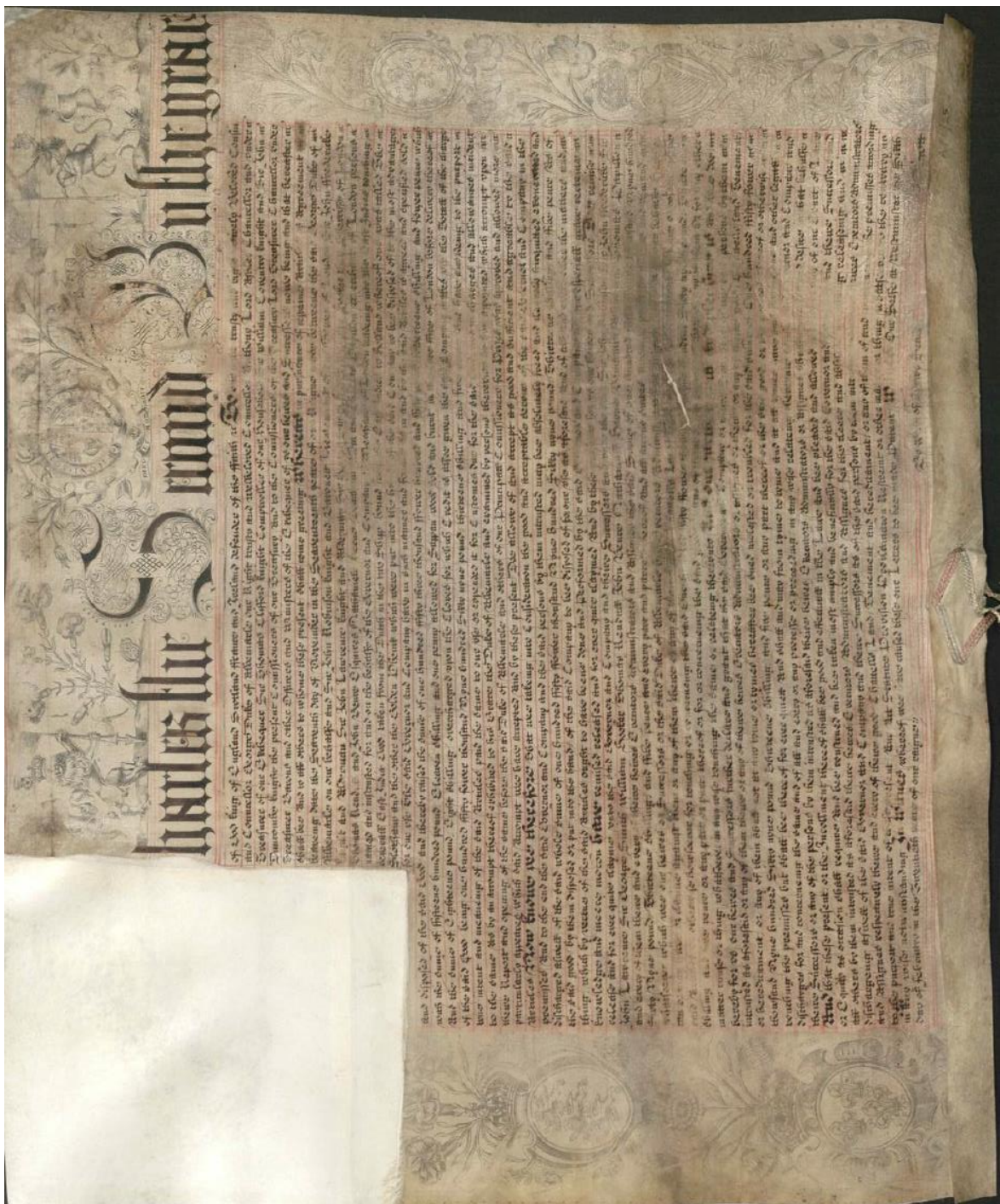


Figure 2.28. 'LP (CII EIC) remitting £154,969 13s 5d...' (1668), IOR/A/1/25, f.1r (BL). © The British Library Board.



Figure 2.29. 'LP (CII) to CT authorising payment of £92,000 to the [EIC]' (1672), IOR/A/1/27, f.1r (BL). © The British Library Board.

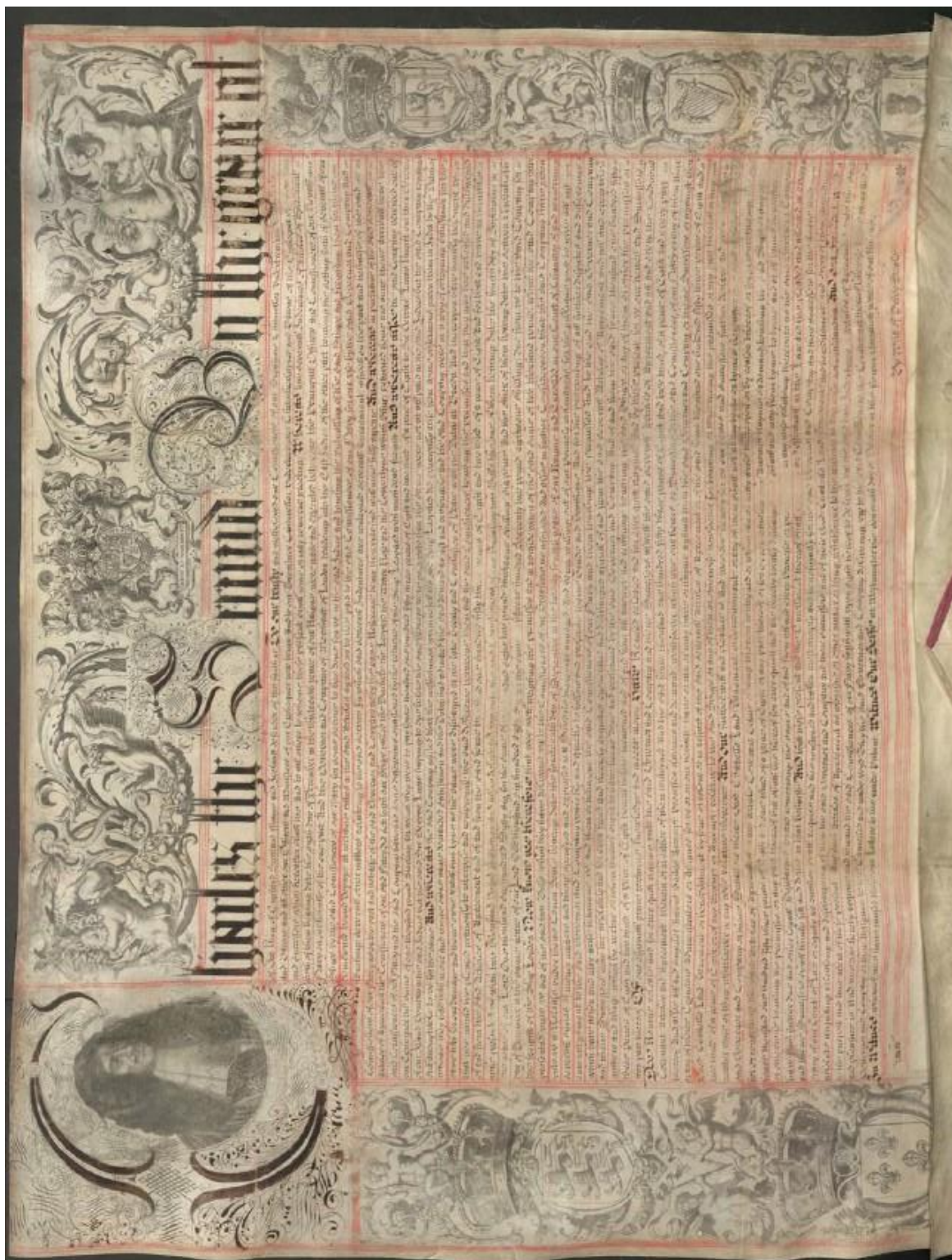


Figure 2.30. 'LP (CII EIC), quitclaiming certain sums of money...' (1672), IOR/A/1/28, f.1r (BL). © The British Library Board.

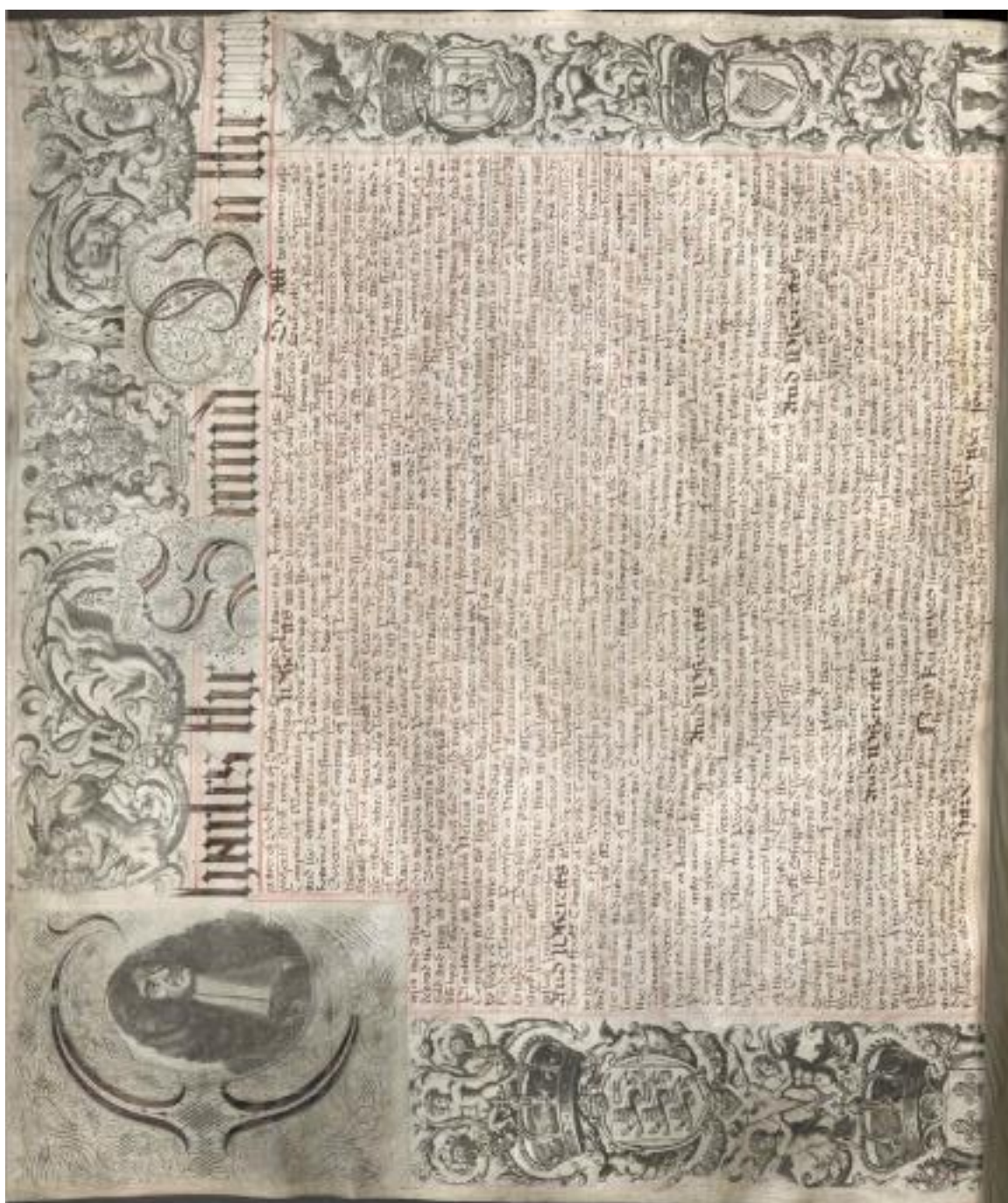


Figure 2.31. 'LP (CII) granting the island of St Helena to the [EIC]' (1673), IOR/A/1/30, f.1r (BL).
© The British Library Board.

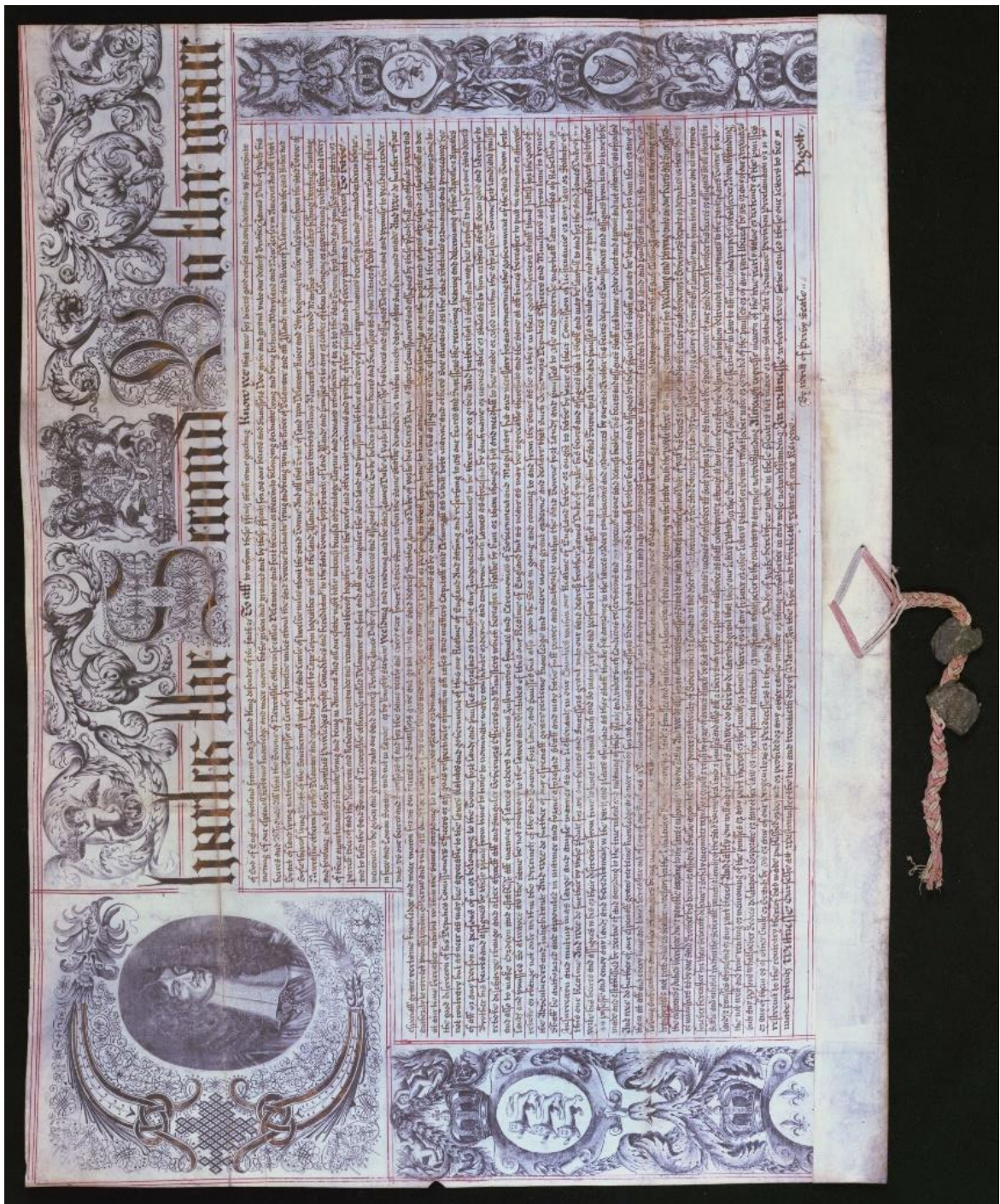


Figure 2.4.A. Delaware's Restoration charter (1682).

In addition to these noticeable stylistic shifts in the letters' borders, Charles's portraiture progresses through clear phases. Of the letters viewed, up until 1663 Charles's own letters patent waver chiefly between not including a royal portrait at all and showcasing a portrait in which Charles wears an ermine mantle (**Figure 2.32, below**).⁵² However, in mid-1663 the ermine mantle portrait disappears and is without exception replaced by Garter portraits in letters issued in Charles's name and which do carry his image. The first example appears on Rhode Island's charter (1663) (**Figure 2.33, below**) and despite its anterior dating, bears hallmarks similar to those found in Cooper's 1665 portrait of Charles and John Michael Wright's of c.1660-5 (**Figures 2.34-5, below**).⁵³ Later examples almost without exception appear to be versions of Cooper's 1665 portrait.⁵⁴ Key iterations are illustrated in **Figures 2.17, 2.29-30, and 2.4.A (below)** and do possess notable differences. Variations are particularly noticeable in the detailing of Charles's facial features; the Garter cross, motto, and surround on Charles's shoulder; the shape of the tassels on his Garter chain; and the stance of the equestrian figure on the same chain between what are referred to in **Table C** as 'Garter portrait (Design Two)' (**Figure 2.29**) and 'Garter portrait (Design Four)' (**Figure 2.4.A**).

⁵² Only letters whose visual elements were viewed and recorded in **Table C** are considered. For royal portraits' absence, IOR/A/1/21, 'EIC' AMDD; TNA, C 106/153, no.9; New York's Restoration charter (1664) '[New York] Government. Duke of York's Charter', New York State Archives.

⁵³ Assessment based on Gibson's description of Cooper's portrait, a comparison with images of what is believed to be one of Cooper's own iterations of the portrait and of Wright's painting, as well as forthcoming arguments regarding the apparent use of Cooper's 1665 portrait in subsequent letters patent. Gibson, "'Best Belov'd of Kings'", ii, p.302 cat. no. 345; **Figures 2.34-5**; for the suggestion that **Figure 2.34** is comparable with the version of Cooper's portrait in the Goodwood collection that Gibson describes, '[Charles II \(1630-1685\), King of England](#)' (16 Feb. 2024), The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 'Catalogue Entry'. The Rhode Island charter portrait (**Figure 2.33**) also appears to be the same image as that in **Figure 2.36 (below)**. For a variation of the Rhode Island portrait on Restoration colonial letters patent, see also 'Fox v Turner and Lanesborough: Deeds relating to lands...' (1584-1690), TNA, C 106/153, no.1 (**Figure 2.21.F, below**, p.191).

⁵⁴ Assessment based on consultation of Gibson, "'Best Belov'd of Kings'", esp. ii, p.302, cat. no. 345, iii, illustr. nos. 80-2, 182; **Table C, col.Y**.



Figure 2.32. Example of 'Ermine mantle portrait (Design One)' (Table C).
Detail, Connecticut's Restoration charter (1662). Public domain.



Figure 2.33. Example of 'Garter portrait (Design Five)' (Table C).
Detail, Rhode Island's Restoration charter (1663). Public domain. Image cropped.



Figure 2.34. Samuel Cooper, *Karel II (1630-[85]), koning van Engeland (1665)*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Public domain.



Figure 2.35. John Michael Wright, *King Charles II (c.1660-5)*, The National Portrait Gallery, London. © National Portrait Gallery, London.



Figure 2.36. David Loggan, *Carolus Secundus Dei Gratia Magnae Britanniae Franciae et Hiberniae Rex.*, c.1664 (RCT). Royal Collection Trust / © His Majesty King Charles III 2024.



Figure 2.17. With example of 'Garter portrait (Design One)' (Table C). 'LP (CII EIC), the island of Bombay', IOR/A/1/26, f.1r (BL). © The British Library Board.



Figure 2.29. With example of 'Garter portrait (Design Two)' (**Table C**). 'LP (CII) to CT authorising payment of £92,000 to the [EIC]' (1672), IOR/A/1/27, f.1r (BL). © The British Library Board.

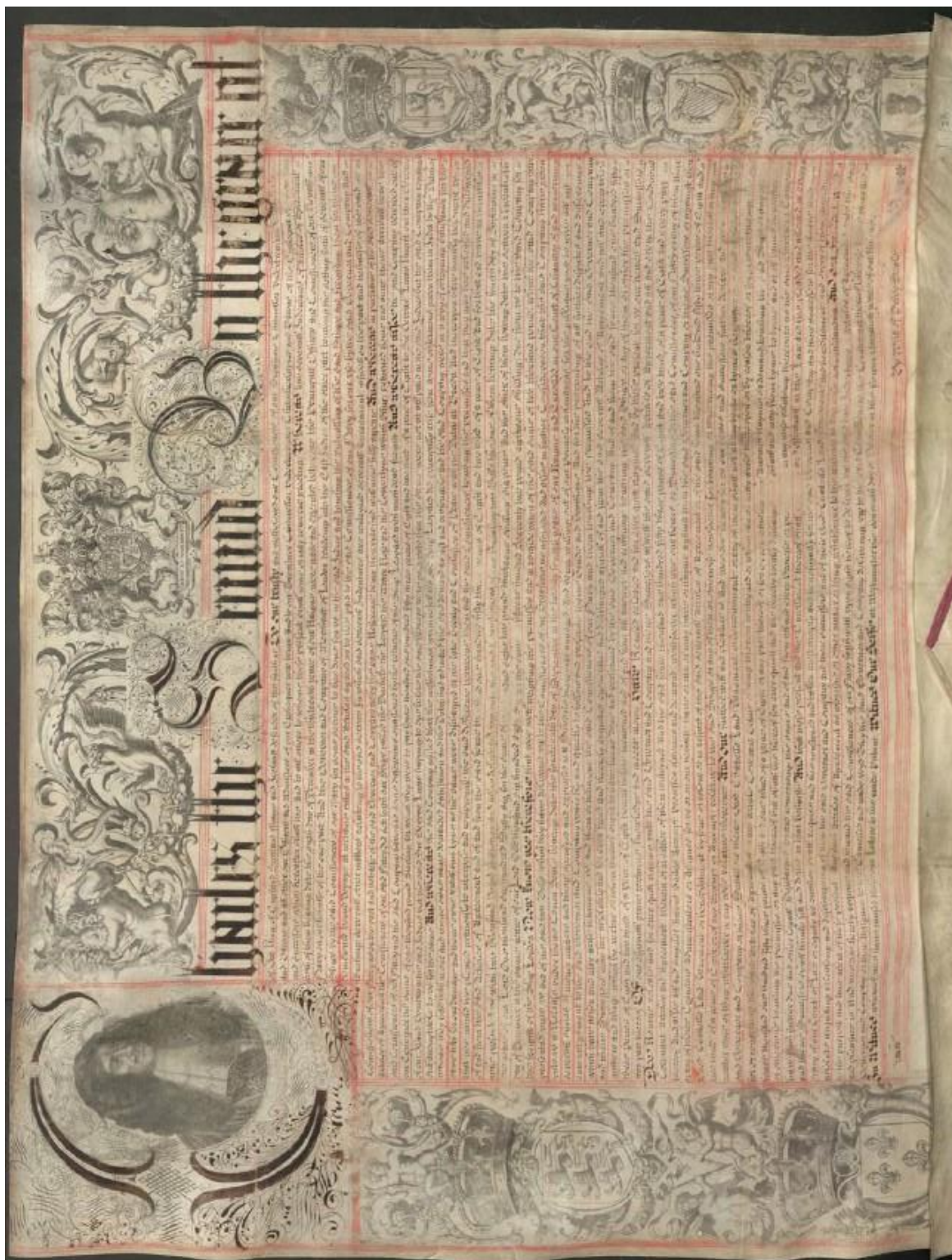


Figure 2.30. With example of 'Garter portrait (Design Three)' (**Table C**). 'LP (CII EIC), quitclaiming certain sums of money...' (1672), IOR/A/1/28, f.1r (BL). © The British Library Board.

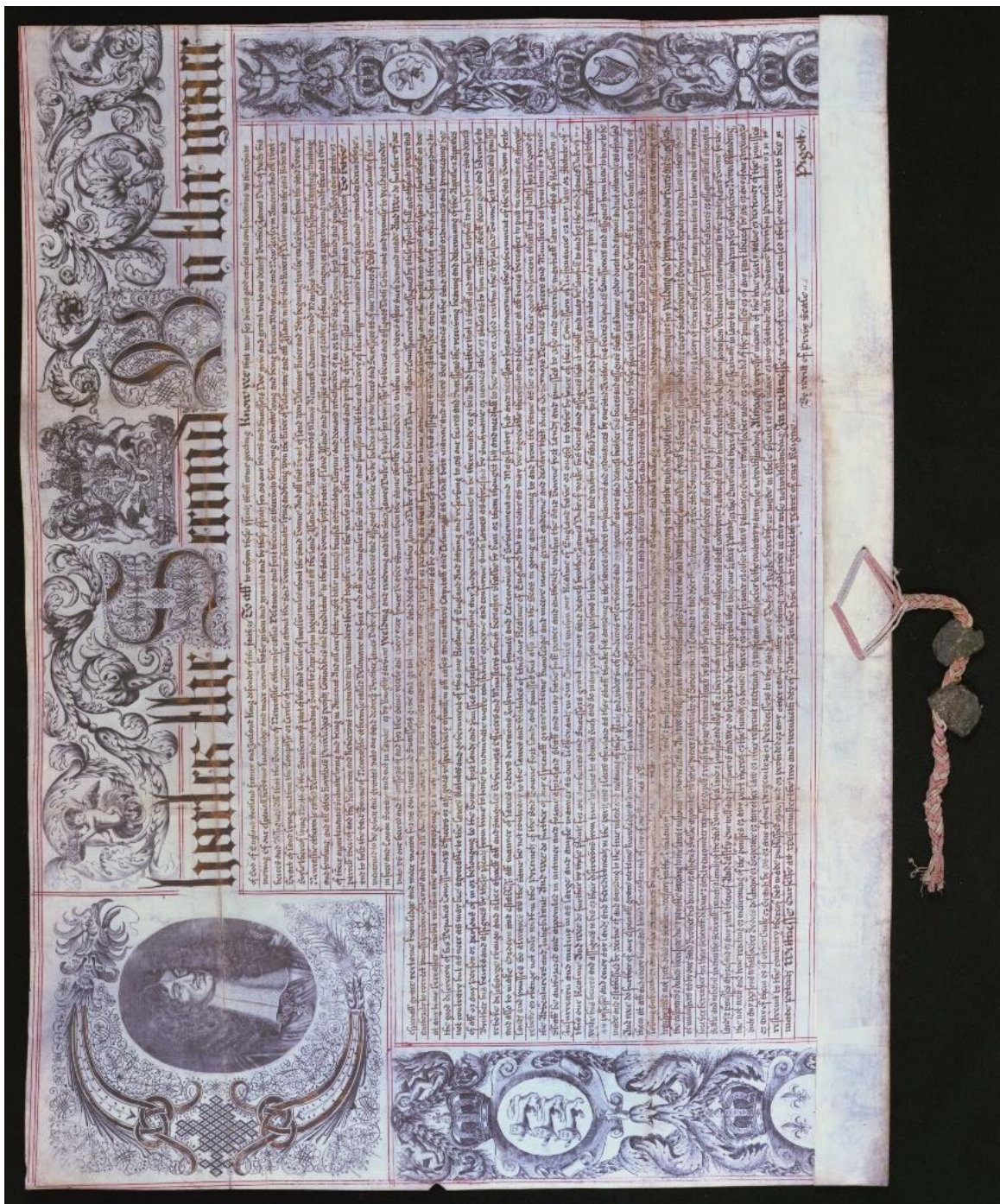


Figure 2.4.A. With example of 'Garter portrait (Design Four)' (Table C). Delaware's Restoration charter (1682).

The visual impact of the changes to Cooper's portrait is arguably minimal. After all, it is difficult to discern such details clearly even with the help of high-resolution digital images. However, their *analytical* impact is significant. First, they reveal that whilst Charles's portrait amongst letters patent was in effect continually tweaked and updated, likely as different engravers created their own versions of the same portrait, the central image that they worked from – Cooper's 1665 portrait – does not appear to have changed.⁵⁵ This leads to the fundamental question, why not? Why do neither the ermine mantle portrait, nor with an exception, the distinctive Rhode Island Garter portrait, reappear after 1663?⁵⁶ And why did new royal portraits apart from Cooper's fail to surface, taking inspiration from painted and engraved examples found in the present-day Royal Collection and shown in **Figures 2.37-41 (below)**? Royal portraits apart from Cooper's are known to have appeared on *other* types of royal legal documents beyond 1663.⁵⁷



Figure 2.37. Antonio Verrio, *Charles II (1630-85)*, c.1677-8 (RCT). Royal Collection Trust / © His Majesty King Charles III 2024.

Figure 2.38. Nicholas Dixon, *Charles II (1630-85)*, c.1673-8 (RCT). Royal Collection Trust / © His Majesty King Charles III 2024.

⁵⁵ See variations in the illustrations that Gibson suggests are of Cooper's 1665 portrait. Gibson, "Best Belov'd of Kings", iii, illustr. nos.182, 80-2.

⁵⁶ For the Rhode Island portrait exception, TNA, C 106/153, no.1.

⁵⁷ See Gibson, "Best Belov'd of Kings", iii, illustr. no.181, 'Plea Roll illumination of 1673 (P. R. O)'.



Figure 2.39. William Sherwin, *Carolus Secundus D: G: Magnae Britanniae...*, c.1660-85 (RCT). Royal Collection Trust / © His Majesty King Charles III 2024.



Figure 2.40. J. Chantrey, *Charles ye [Second] By the Grace of God King...*, c.1660-77 (RCT). Royal Collection Trust / © His Majesty King Charles III 2024.



Figure 2.41. After Sir Peter Lely, *Carolus II Dei Gratia ANgliae, Scotiae, Franciae et Hiberniae Rex Fidei Defensor [and] c.*, c.1660-77 (RCT). Royal Collection Trust / © His Majesty King Charles III 2024.

Secondly, though such evidence adds weight to some trends identified by Sharpe, it disrupts and revises others. It sharpens his assertion that the use of clear royal signifiers such as the regalia in Charles's portraiture fell away in the years following the Restoration: they indicate that this development was perhaps underway as early as the summer of 1663 (cf. **Figures 2.26.B, 2.33, below**). Yet they do not validate his argument that they reappeared in response to the political crises and then triumph of the late 1670s and early 1680s.⁵⁸ Rather, the conclusion emerges that whilst the letters' other visual elements become more ostentatious as the reign progresses, Charles's portraits become less emphatically regal and more understated.⁵⁹ Indeed, evidence suggests that instead of tracking the central domestic political fluctuations of Charles's reign, the inclusion and then absence of clear royal signifiers in Charles's letters patent portraiture may reflect a broader move away from spotlighting Charles's personal royalty to focusing on institutional Crown imagery, a conclusion considered in Chapter Three.⁶⁰



Figure 2.26.B. Detail, Carolina's 1663 charter (1663). Rights held by State Archives of [North Carolina].

Figure 2.33. Detail (cropped), Rhode Island's Restoration charter (1663). Public domain. Image cropped.

⁵⁸ Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp.98-9, 105, 108-11.

⁵⁹ See also below, pp.240-6.

⁶⁰ Below, pp.293-6, see also pp.263-84.

Such questions are to be explored in greater detail in due course.⁶¹ However, focusing here on why the letters' portraiture ultimately settled on a single base image, Cooper's 1665 portrait, the simplest and most likely explanation in part is that control over the letters' portraits was managed centrally. Private sellers may have been able to offer different iterations of a particular portrait to add to such letters and petitioners may have been able to select the specific image that appeared on the executed documents. Nevertheless, the choice of the *underlying* portrait appears to have been determined by a central co-ordinating authority, limiting the pool of representational options that second parties could choose from.

The above conclusion adds clout to an almost throw-away argument by Gibson: that there is '[a] case for a series of approved official images' of Charles. In directly if briefly tackling 'the question of authorised portraiture', she notes the lack of evidence not only of instances of Charles's portraiture being officially sanctioned by the Crown but of the creation and sale of Restoration art at all. Nonetheless, she suggests that the existence of 'a series of approved official images' is indicated by the fact that most images of Charles were copies of portraits known to have had royal authorisation.⁶² Restoration letters patent's portraits corroborate that there was a set portfolio of images depicting Charles that were deemed officially acceptable for his representation. For letters patent specifically, these appear to have been the ermine mantle portrait from c.1660-3; the Garter portrait showing the king in front of a curtain and window in 1663; and then variations on the theme of Cooper's 1665 portrait from 1668 until at least 1683.⁶³ Combined with more loosely yet likely centrally-coordinated border illustrations, they resulted in the existence of a clear 'house style' for the executed letters.

⁶¹ Below, pp.240-7, 293-6.

⁶² Gibson, "'Best Belov'd of Kings'", i, p.82.

⁶³ The last letters patent studied date to 1683. **Figures 2.32, 2.33**, and see for example **2.17**, above, pp.175, 177.

There is little question that the authority behind this 'style' was at least nominally the Crown. The letters' visual components seem to have been applied after Charles authorised the documents but were surely added before they may have been sealed with the Great Seal, for example, and formally taken force. There is also reason to believe that royal personnel were likely involved in such undertakings. Gibson comments on 'the office of the King's Flourisher' being involved in the creation of legal documents with handcrafted, if not printed, visual elements and she notes that Charles's copper engraver, William Faithorne, produced a copy of Cooper's 1665 portrait 'which was in turn used by the royal embellishers'. Her remarks open the possibility not only that one of Faithorne's official engravings may be one of those deployed in letters patent, but that royal *embellishers* like Royer further had a role in such deployment.⁶⁴ Moreover, it in fact may be that the two distinct versions of Cooper's portrait discussed above as 'Garter portrait (Design Two)' and 'Garter portrait (Design Four)' pulled respective elements *from* this very portrait by Faithorne, suspected to be **Figure 2.42** or one very similar (**cf. Figures 2.29, 2.4.A, & 2.42**).⁶⁵ This in turn suggests that as royal flourisher, he provided authorised *engravings* of approved portraits for replication. There is, however, a key detail which suggests that the Crown – Charles and his high-level advisers – and not just its lower-level functionaries were concerned about, and involved in orchestrating, the visual royal representation that featured in letters patent.⁶⁶ This is that two Irish Restoration letters patent executed by authorities *in Ireland* and encountered in The National Archives fit with the above trends.

⁶⁴ Gibson, "“Best Belov’d of Kings”", i, pp.(89, 151), see also iii, illustr. nos.81, 182; for the comment that Faithorne's engraving was 'duplicated on illuminated documents', Gibson, *The Cult of Charles II*, p.8.

⁶⁵ Cf. facial detailing with **Figure 2.4.A** and the Garter surround on Charles's sleeve with **Figure 2.29**.

⁶⁶ For a similar implicit distinction between the Crown and those that worked for it, note the title of Aylmer's *The Crown's Servants*.



Figure 2.42. William Faithorne, *Carolus II Dei Gratia Angliae Scotiae Franciae et Hiberniae Rex etc.*, c.1660-85 (RCT). Royal Collection Trust / © His Majesty King Charles III 2024.



Figure 2.29. With example of 'Garter portrait (Design Two)' (Table C). IOR/A/1/27, f.1r (BL). © The British Library Board.

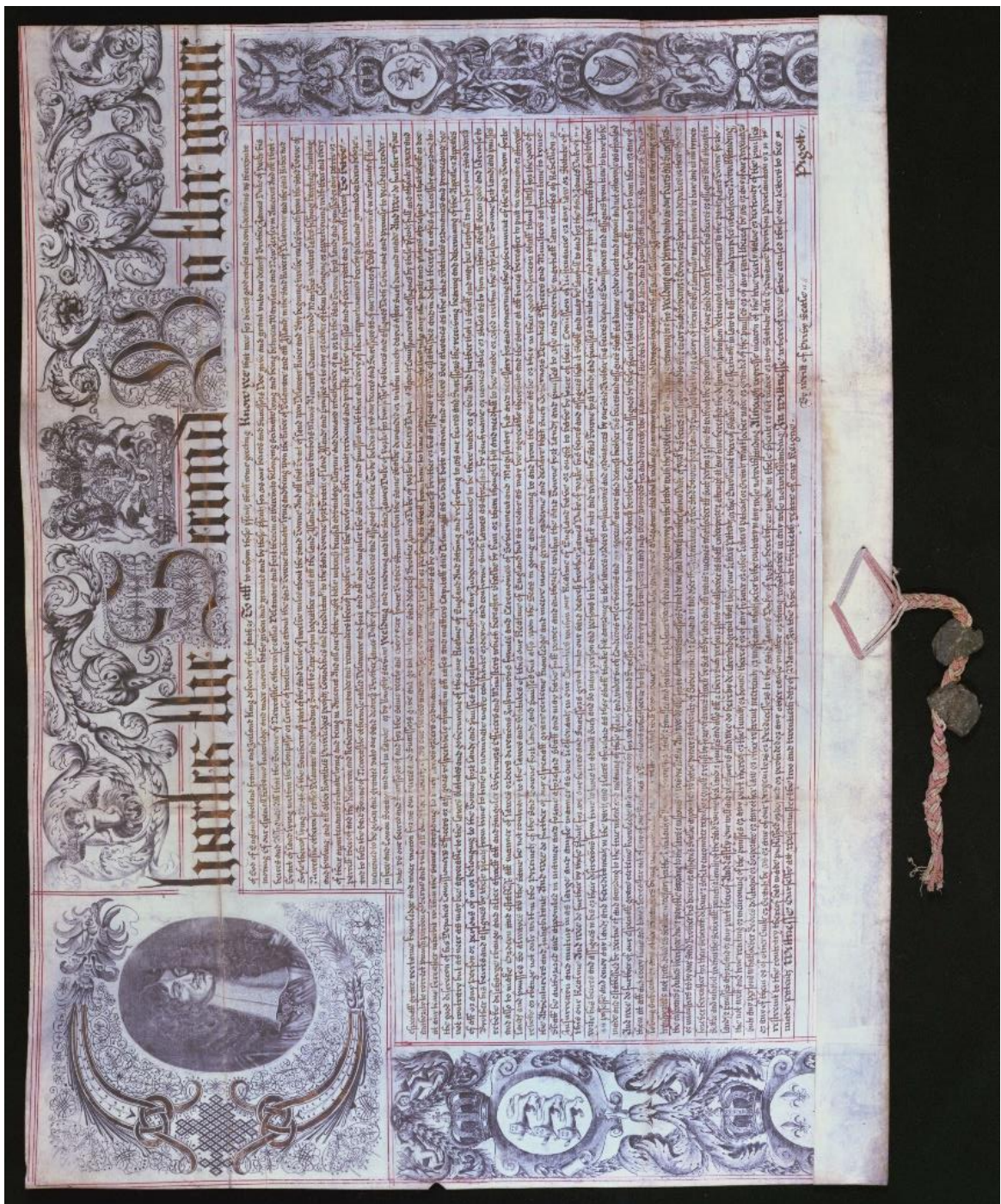


Figure 2.4.A. With example of 'Garter portrait (Design Four)' (Table C). Delaware's Restoration charter (1682).

The Crown Itself as The Coordinating Force Behind Letters Patent as Royal Representation

It is assumed after sampling the letters patent studied that apart from the two Irish letters, all others examined and issued in Charles's name were '[w]ittnesse[d] [by Charles himself] att Westminster'.⁶⁷ The Irish examples, meanwhile, were issued in 1661 and 1667 respectively by royal agents 'at Dublin'. They were executed with the Irish rather than English Great Seal, suggesting that they were finalised, and their visual elements added, in Ireland, rather than simply written there. Whilst almost all Restoration colonial letters patent examined bear evidence of being transcribed by the individuals 'Howard' or 'Pigott', the Irish letters are also the only two signed by '[C?]arlton and Evham', personnel whom it can be deduced likely worked in association with the Audit Office in Ireland.⁶⁸ There therefore seem to be key differences in how, where, and by whom these documents were created compared to the others analysed. They nevertheless conform to the same visual stylings.



Figure 2.43. 'Fox v Turner and Lanesborough: Deeds relating to lands...' (1584-1690), TNA, C 106/153, no.9.

⁶⁷ Delaware's Restoration charter (1682), Delaware Public Archives, (quotation); IOR/A/1/28, 'EIC' AMDD; 'Rhode Island Royal Charter granted by King Charles II, 1663', transcr. Rhode Island State Archives, ArchivesSpace; Hudson's Bay charter, HBCF, 'Text of HBC's Royal Charter'; see also IOR/A/1/27, 'EIC' AMDD; **Table C, col.AG**, Restoration letters with the Great Seal.

⁶⁸ TNA, C 106/153, (nos.9r, 1r); e.g., IOR/A/1/21 and IOR/A/1/26, 'EIC' AMDD; for the seal as the Irish Great Seal, cf. Vertue, 'Medals... of Thomas Simon', 2nd edn, p.54, Plate XXXIV, p.92.



Figure 2.25. IOR/A/1/21, f.1r (BL). © The British Library Board.

The first Irish example (1661) has no royal portrait and overall, its visual style is simple. Its majuscule, top border design, and lack of additional border illustrations are in fact very similar to those of the earliest Restoration letters patent studied (**cf. Figures 2.43, 2.25, above**). Through such features, it contributes to demonstrating that chiefly in 1660-1, there was an initial phase of letters patent visual design involving minimal and simplistic royal representation. The second Irish example (1667) has more complex visual elements. Its majuscule is more stylistically refined than in the 1661 Irish example and contains a royal portrait, clearly engraved from the same base portrait as Charles's image in Rhode Island's charter. Whilst its majuscule also matches that in Rhode Island's charter, its border illustrations differ (**cf. Figures 2.21.A & 2.21.F, 2.33, 2.27, below**). Its exact top border pattern is unique amongst the document sample reviewed but contains dynastic lion and unicorn-centred symbolism and it has no left or right border illustrations. It therefore fits with the trend found chiefly between 1663 and 1669 of borders beginning to feature

dynastic iconography but where there continued to be instances where left and right borders remained blank of decoration.



Figure 2.21.A. TNA, C 106/153, no.1.



Figure 2.21.F. Detail, TNA, C 106/153, no.1.



Figure 2.33. Detail, Rhode Island's Restoration charter (1663). Public domain. Image cropped.



Figure 2.27. Partial image, Rhode Island's charter (1663), f.[1]. Public domain.

The Irish examples' visual similarities to documents executed in Westminster is feasibly explained by a high-level royal expectation that the documents were visually consistent. It is highly unlikely that petitioners or private seller networks and related decisions happened to produce such symmetry. It also seems unlikely that such an initiative would or even could have been undertaken by lower-level royal officials such as the royal flourishers and embellishers, particularly as it is known that the individuals who transcribed the Irish documents were different to those who transcribed documents in Westminster, removing the scribes as a possible common thread in the document's final drafting. The second Irish example, however, does float the possibility that its visual elements were *produced* in Westminster and then sent to Dublin to be added to the document: as noted earlier, it bears the marks of its visual elements being stuck onto the paper of the underlying document.⁶⁹ Though currently only speculative, this would certainly fit with, and lend support to, the notion that the Crown increasingly aspired to consistency amongst Charles's representation in its letters patent. Indeed, together with the evolution of letters patent's

⁶⁹ Above, pp.155-7.

illustrative elements through clear and consistent phases, the Irish examples point to the Crown itself regulating and managing Charles's visual as well as textual representation in such documents.

Overall, the evidence presented above affirms that both the visual and rhetorical elements of colonial letters patent, including colonial charters, can confidently be interpreted as signalling the Crown's representational and colonial priorities to an active and not merely passive degree. Charles and his advisers seem to have carefully monitored both aspects of Charles's representation in colonial letters patent and to have engineered their conformity with certain patterns and expectations. Such evidence positions the Crown as the ultimate creator – the principal architect – of letters patent as multi-faceted forms of official royal representation, despite them being the work of a many-handed crew.

This conclusion not only establishes the value of analysing these specific documents as forms of Charles's official representation. Of greater consequence is how it alludes to the potential range and extent of the Crown's interest in managing Charles's representation. Of course, it is only to be expected that it exacted disciplined control over the wording of letters patent, not because such wording portrayed the king and his authority to both his subjects and potentially international audiences even though this was the case, but because these documents were legal instruments.⁷⁰ They were legally binding; may have bestowed vast privileges on the second parties involved and correspondingly removed such privileges from the Crown's gift; and they may also have had significant financial ramifications.⁷¹ Paradoxically, and the evidence above notwithstanding, this means that it is initially only too easy to conclude that the Crown's interest in letters patent as representational forms was in fact very low. Upon acknowledging that letters patent were first and

⁷⁰ For colonial charters' broad and even international audiences, MacMillan, "Bound by Our Regal Office", p.81.

⁷¹ For a direct example of letters' financial ramifications, see the title of IOR/A/1/25[r], 'EIC' AMDD: 'LP (CII EIC), remitting £154,969 13s 5d...'.

foremost legal instruments, a Davies-esque *dismissal* of analysing such letters as royal representation may seem to apply: are they not akin to exactly the kind of ‘surely... eminently practical measure’ that Davies critiques Sharpe for ‘striv[ing] too hard... to sweep... into the “representational” category’ in his analysis of Tudor monarchical representation?⁷²

Do Royal Colonial Letters Patent *Count* as Official Royal Representational Forms?

In line with the fact that royal letters patent were principally legal contracts and not aesthetic showpieces, for all the evidence of royal attention to their representational elements, how far were they really considered important as royal representational forms? Both their rhetorical and visual components contain rote elements, for example. Granted, even where letters patent were in theory likely to be very similar, there is evidence to query how far their language was simply, or at least entirely, formulaic.⁷³ Nevertheless, sample analysis of letters’ opening and closing text indicates that they deployed stock rhetorical components and indeed phrases, as MacMillan suggests that seventeenth-century colonial charters did.⁷⁴ Furthermore, though the Crown took care that letters patent’s visual components were regimented and updated throughout the Restoration, their visual ‘house styles’ were applied without apparent distinction beyond their chronological phasing and broad document type. And in turn, the fact that such representation does not appear to have been tailored to documents’ content or core anticipated audiences ultimately questions the importance that the Crown placed on it.

⁷² Davies, ‘Review[,] “Selling the Tudor Monarchy”, 1435.

⁷³ Cf. the opening sections of Rhode Island Restoration charter, transcr.; Carolina’s Restoration charter (1663), ‘Charter granted by Charles II, King of England to the Lords Proprietors of Carolina’, transcr., Colonial and State Records of North Carolina.

⁷⁴ Sample analysis conducted as far as feasible on IOR/A/1/30, ‘EIC’ AMDD; Delaware’s Restoration charter (1682); Hudson’s Bay charter, HBCHF, ‘Text’; Rhode Island Restoration charter, transcr.; IOR/A/1/21, ‘EIC’ AMDD; Carolina’s Restoration charter (1663), transcr.; ‘LP (CII CT) authorising payment of £15,372 to [EIC]’, IOR/A/1/37, ‘EIC’ AMDD; ‘LP (CII CT) authorising payment of £40,463 10s to [EIC]’, IOR/A/1/38, *ibid.*; MacMillan “‘Bound by Our Regal Office’”, esp. p.81.

Letters Patent: Untailored, Under-valued Royal Representational Media?

The documents analysed suggest that there was almost no difference between the visual royal representation and other imagery accompanying colonial charters and that decorating arguably mundane, chiefly administratively-focused colonial letters patent: compare Delaware's Restoration charter and the 'letters patent of Charles II to Commissioners of the Treasury authorising payment of £15,372 to [the East India Company]', for example (**cf. Figures 2.4.A, 2.44, below**).⁷⁵ There are exceptions to this pattern which seem to be correlated to letters' subject matter. It is surely no coincidence that the most significant example of the East India Company letters patent analysed – that 'confirming and renewing [its] privileges' in 1661 – is the only example of Restoration English colonial letters patent studied that clearly displays colour and gilding, as shown best by its final surviving page (**Figure 2.45, below**).⁷⁶ Nor is it likely a coincidence that of the fifteen East India Company letters patent issued by Charles II and whose visual elements were reviewed for this analysis, both of those bearing a metal rather than wax impression of a seal happen to concern the colony of Bombay, one executed in 1668 and one in 1677.⁷⁷ It is assumed that metal seals were more expensive and prestigious than wax ones and therefore that their application to the two Bombay letters signal their perceived value over other East India Company examples. On the one hand, such evidence suggests that colonial letters patent's perceived importance could be reflected in their visual components, either at their petitioners' or the Crown's request. On the other hand, this only highlights the fact that most colonial letters patent reviewed did *not* carry such distinctions, implying that they were not felt worthy of similar representational flourishes.

⁷⁵ Assessment of letters being 'administratively-focused' chiefly based on their titles. IOR/A/1/37, 'EIC' AMDD (title). Note that Delaware is not in fact classed as a Restoration English colony within this research, though its letters patent are pertinent to Restoration colonial contexts. **Table A**, esp. **cols.C-J**.

⁷⁶ IOR/A/1/22, 'EIC' AMDD (title). Note, however, that the only prior example of such letters – a seemingly administratively-focused document – is also the only example to display evidence of *possible* colouring and gilding, pointing to a possible chronological correlation to the use and subsequent disuse of colour, IOR/A/1/21, 'EIC' AMDD.

⁷⁷ Seven display evidence of a wax seal. Three have possible evidence of seal attachments. Three others do not appear to show evidence of a seal having been applied. **Table C**, **col.AG**; IOR/A/1/26, 'EIC' AMDD; IOR/A/1/34, *ibid*.



Figure 2.4.A. Delaware's Restoration charter (1682).



Figure 2.44. 'LP (CII CT) authorising payment of £15,372 to [EIC]', IOR/A/1/37, f.1r (BL). © The British Library Board.



Figure 2.45. ‘LP (CII EIC), confirming and renewing privileges’, IOR/A/1/22 (BL), f.6. © The British Library Board.

As already hinted, select comparisons between colonial and English letters patent suggest that there is in fact little to distinguish the two in visual terms. The Royal Society’s first charter has core elements in common with Carolina’s charter and both the Society’s third charter and Oswestry’s English borough charter share the same visual designs as those decorating the Hudson Bay Company’s charter, for instance.⁷⁸ Indeed, illustrations of Charles’s letters to Russia’s tsars provided by Jansson indicate that there was even visual overlap with letters produced for foreign diplomatic

⁷⁸ Cf. Figures 2.15, 2.26.A; cf. Figures 2.14, 2.46, and 2.1, below.

audiences.⁷⁹ This suggests that the decorative elements of all letters with such overlap were arguably dealt with as administrative embellishments; that they may have attracted royal attention at template level but were churned out as routine, bureaucratised replicas on individual documents. Their specific import does not therefore appear to have been a royal concern.

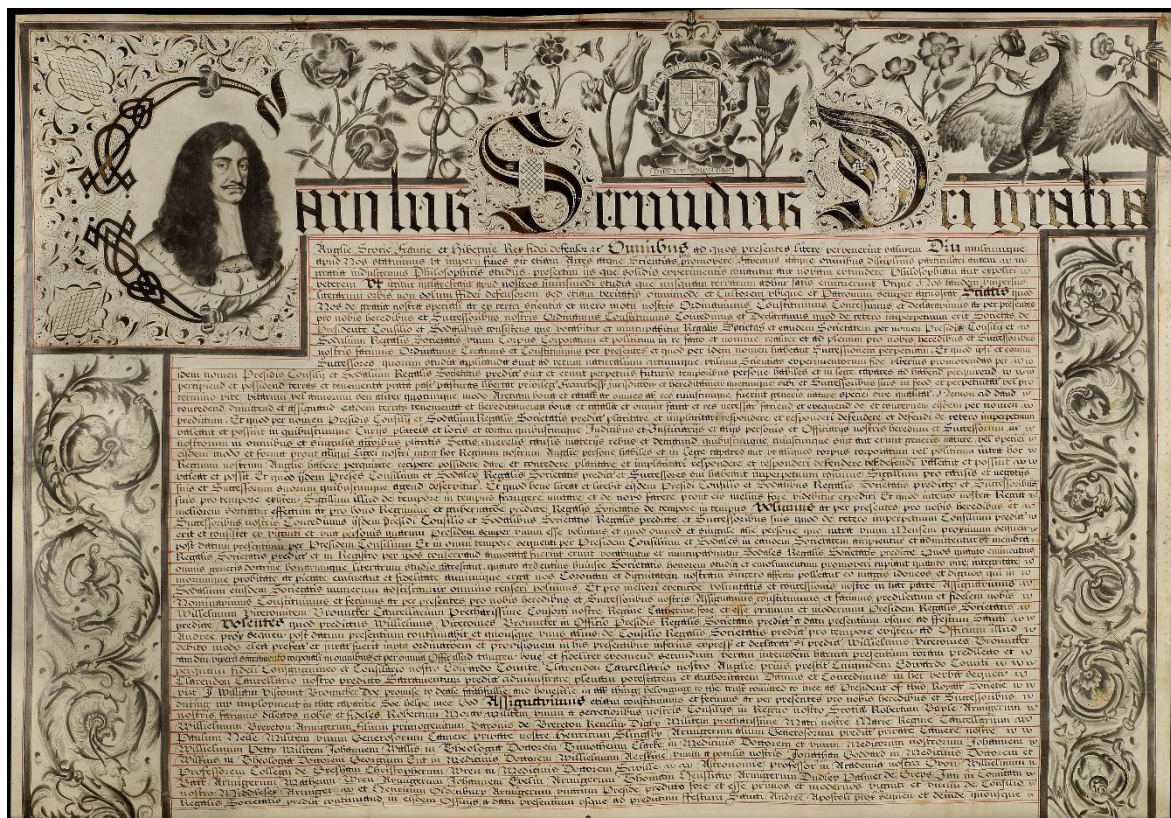


Figure 2.15. First Royal Charter of the Royal Society, 1662 (ref. DC/1/1) © The Royal Society.

⁷⁹ Cf. the borders of Rhode Island's charters with the illustrative excerpts shown in Jasson's Figure Three, for example. Figure 2.27, below; Jansson, *Art and Diplomacy*, p.39 (Figure Three); see above, p.133.



Figure 2.26.A. Carolina's 1663 charter (1663). Rights held by State Archives of [North Carolina].

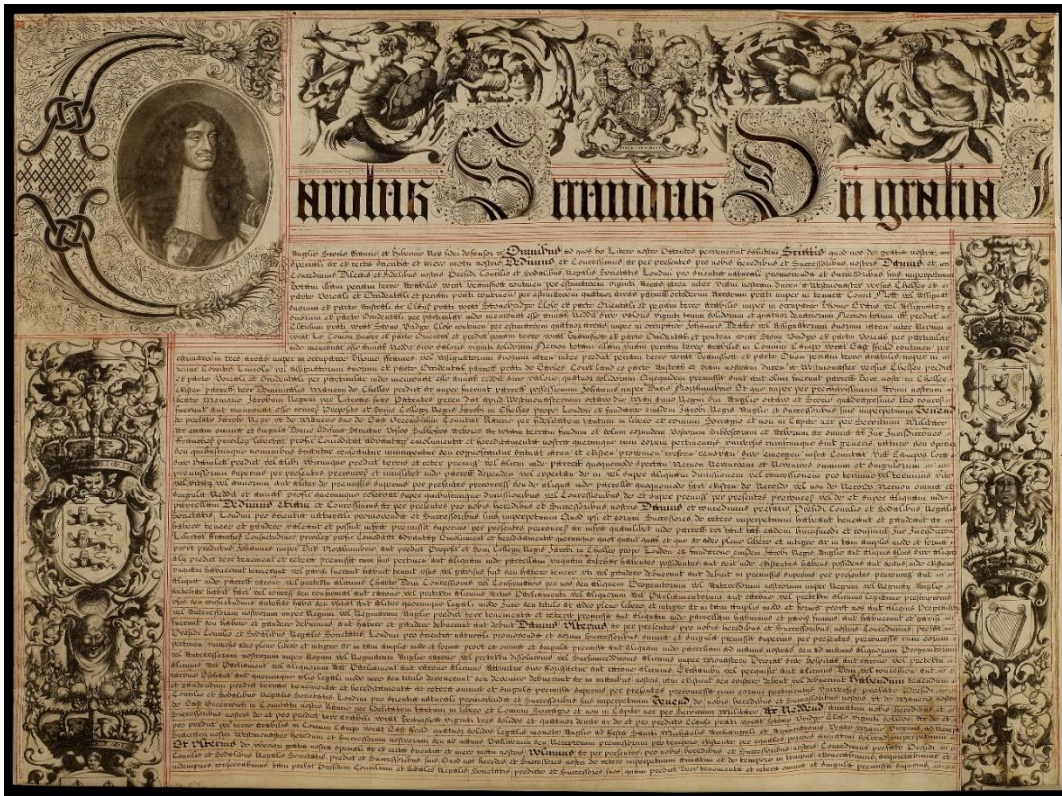


Figure 2.14. Third Royal Charter of the Royal Society, 1669 (ref. DC/1/3).
© The Royal Society.



Figure 2.46. Oswestry borough charter, England (1674), 'Charter of Charles II, 1674', Archives West Midlands. [Courtesy of Oswestry Archives].



Figure 2.1. Hudson's Bay Company's Royal Charter (1670), first page. Image courtesy Hudson's Bay Company Corporate Collection.



Figure 2.27. Partial image, Rhode Island's charter (1663), f.[1]. Public domain.

Furthermore, comparisons with Jansson's illustrations also draws attention back to how colonial letters patent were typically not as magnificent as they might have been: they generally lacked the colour shown in Jansson's Russian examples, even if they display possible evidence of gild work.⁸⁰ Evidence of a pre-Restoration grant of arms issued by Charles in 1650 drives this point home. Despite presumably having been produced under the auspices of Charles's harried, resource-limited, exiled court, this document is far more visually impressive than the earliest examples of royal letters patent issued after his restoration, with colour illustrations, careful detailing, gilding, and dynastic symbolism (cf. **Figures 2.47, 2.43, and 2.25, below**, for example). It even arguably visually surpasses later, more illustratively-ornate colonial letters patent.⁸¹ On different grounds, both Jansson and commentary by the Surrey History Centre on the 1650 grant of arms suggest that the quality of royal documents' artwork was correlated to their perceived value. Jansson even goes so far as to claim that '[n]o further embellishment, visual or verbal[,] was necessary' for Charles beyond 'the words of his title... "Charles II, King of England"' in the case of his Russian letters, a claim which of course the argument above casts doubt on and suggests was not the case with regard to letters patent.⁸²

⁸⁰ See for example 'LP (CII CT) authorising repayment of loan... to the [EIC]', IOR/A/1/35, 'EIC' AMDD. **Table C, col.V.**

⁸¹ For the document's ties to Charles's exiled court, ['A Prince of Many Virtues And Many Great Imperfections: A Loyalist's Relics of King Charles II in Exile'](#) (6 Feb. 2024), Surrey Heritage, Surrey County Council (reviewed 24 Jan. 2024); cf. **Figure 2.4.A (below)**, for example.

⁸² Jansson, *Art and Diplomacy*, pp.202, 201; ['A Prince of Many Virtues'](#), Surrey Heritage.



Figure 2.47. 'Letters patent of King Charles II, at Elizabeth Castle, Jersey, making a grant of arms to Sir Richard Browne...' (8 Feb. 1650), Surrey History Centre, 6330/7/4/17.

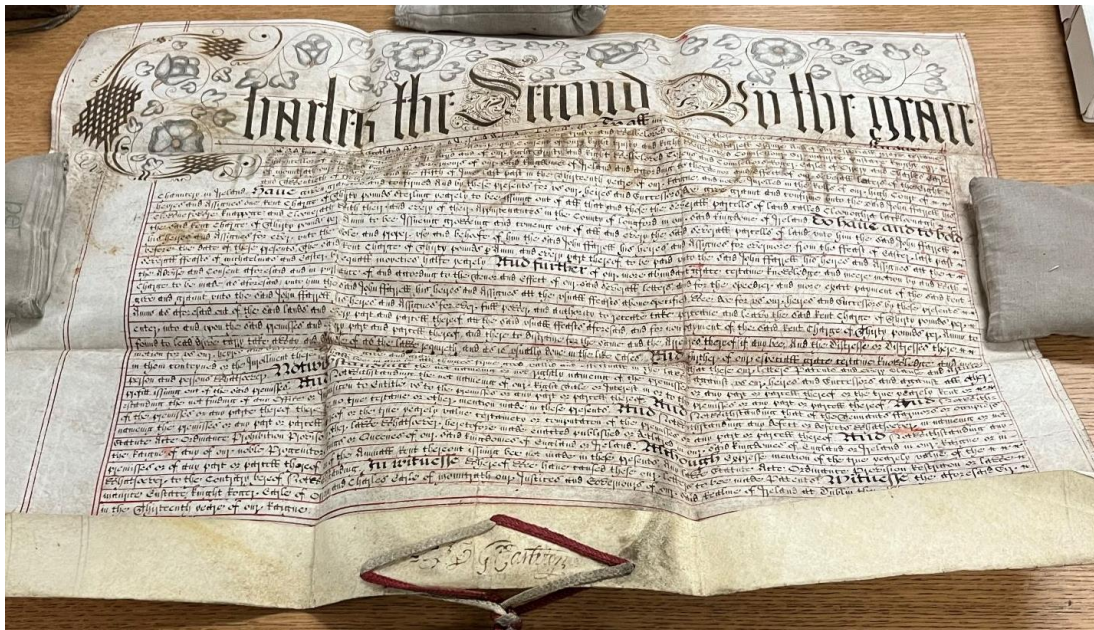


Figure 2.43. TNA, C 106/153, no.9.



Figure 2.25. IOR/A/1/21, f.1r (BL). © The British Library Board.



Figure 2.4.A. Delaware's Restoration charter (1682).

Yet other aspects of Restoration colonial letters patent do speak to a certain neglect. As Jansson identifies in the case of the Russian letters, there are instances of printing errors or 'careless[ness]',⁸³ shown for example in how the 1667 Irish letters patent's majuscule spills onto the borders of its royal portrait (Figure 2.21.F). Courtesy of blank borders, missing portraits, or scant illustrations, particularly early Restoration letters may even look like unfinished drafts.⁸⁴ These issues being the case, how far can the Crown really have cared about such letters as instances of Charles's visual representation?

⁸³ Jansson, *Art and Diplomacy*, p.225.

⁸⁴ See for example Figures 2.5, 2.48, below.



Figure 2.21.F. TNA, C 106/153, no.1.

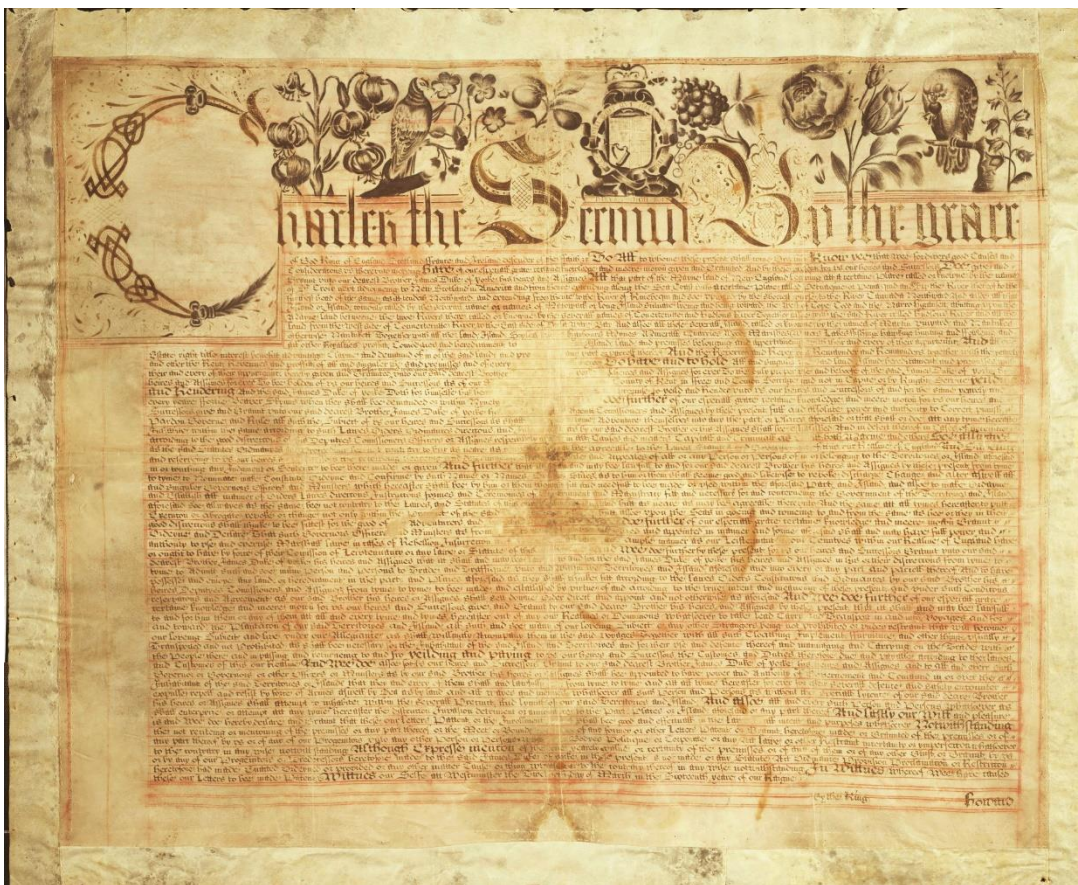


Figure 2.5. New York's Restoration charter (1664).

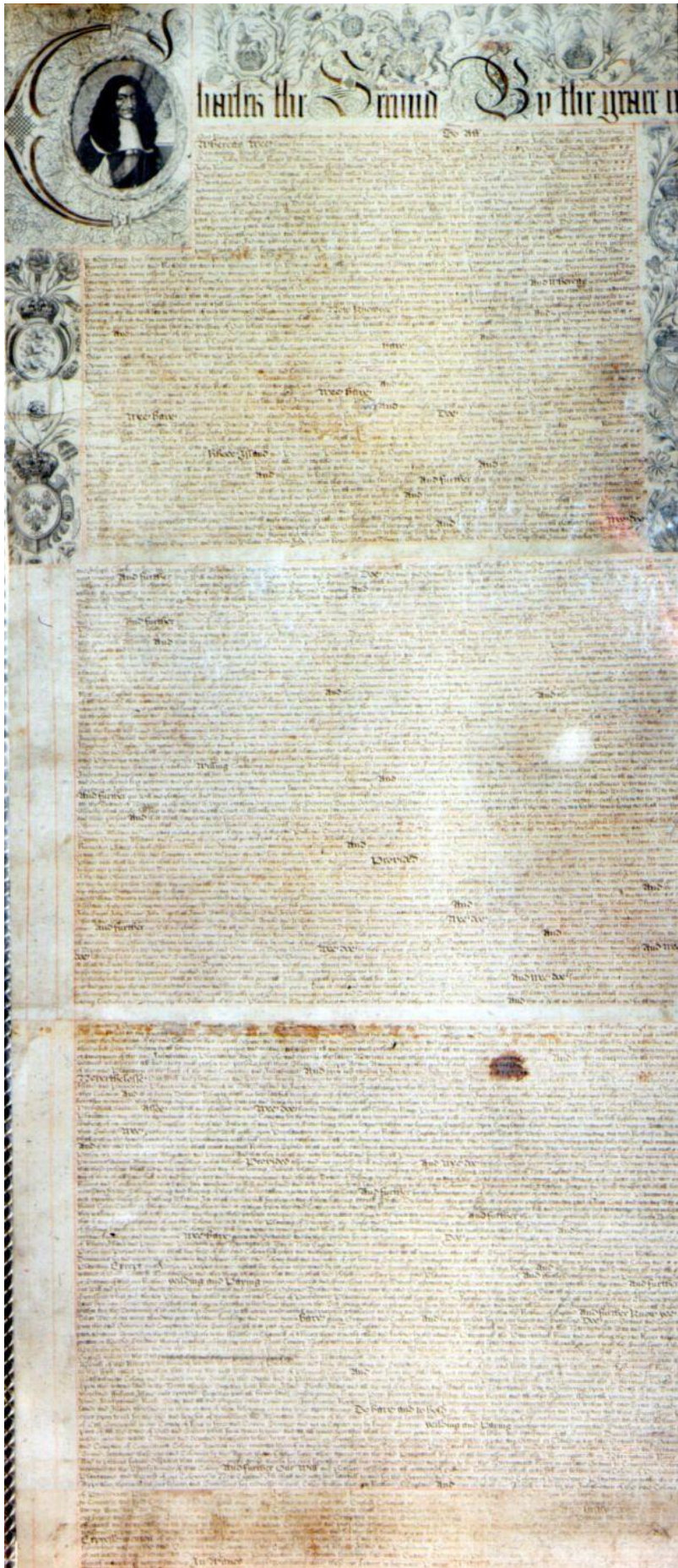


Figure 2.48. Rhode Island's charter (1663) (Rhode Island Department of State). Public domain.

On balance, the answer seems to be a little, but not a lot. It clearly recognised and respected the overall representational value of both English and colonial letters patent, including as visual artefacts. Nonetheless, it also demonstrably failed to maximise their representational and therefore political and perhaps even economic potential during the Restoration, despite seemingly having done so during Charles's exile. Surrey History Centre commentary on the 1650 grant of arms draws an implicit contrast between the grant's elaborate decoration and its possible facility in raising much-needed funds and the comparative plainness of a commission with little real economic prospects made to the same individual a month later.⁸⁵ Together, this evidence suggests that the Crown was attuned to the possible benefits of finetuning Charles's representation on letters patent to achieve its desired ends but pursued them half-heartedly. This aligns with the arguments concerning royal representational grants presented in Chapter One. For instance, it corroborates the conclusion that Charles did not unilaterally seek to augment his political authority via representational means, if at all. What Charles's visual representation on letters patent illuminates about royal representational priorities is briefly more fully elaborated in due course. However, at this juncture it is important to address the fact that the Crown's lukewarm attitude to letters patent as representational forms does not undermine the value of recognising them as such.

'Practical' Instruments of Royal Government as Key Royal Representational Media

Whilst letters patent may have been fundamentally – 'eminently' – 'practical' legal instruments, it has been shown that they were also treated, leveraged, and respected as official representational vehicles.⁸⁶ Their visual elements had no direct legal force and yet their form clearly concerned the Crown. The letters' legal function not only does not detract from their utility and their use as royal representational media. Such function *depended* on the letters' status as forms of royal representation. They carried legal weight because they expressed Charles's 'will and pleasure...

⁸⁵ '[A Prince of Many Virtues](#)', Surrey Heritage.

⁸⁶ Incl. sub-heading, Davies, 'Review[,] "Selling the Tudor Monarchy", (1435).

especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion' in order, for example, to constitute the petitioners of Rhode Island's letters patent and their associates 'a body corporate and politic, in fact and name'.⁸⁷ And they only did so by virtue of representational features such as being written in the royal voice; bearing Charles's title as their opening words; being marked as '[w]itnes oursselfe att Westminster', and being issued with the Great Seal or the Irish Great Seal.⁸⁸ It was through representational components – words and artefacts – and as instances of representational media – as documents with rhetorical, visual, and material components – that the letters could operate as legal mechanisms. It is not the case that scrutinising such letters and other core operational instruments of royal colonial government using representational lenses over-complicates and over-studies them. Rather, failing to do so *under-studies* them.

Some royal operational instruments may bear analysis more fruitfully than others. Nevertheless, even rote governmental instruments' potential analytical representational value should not be dismissed out of hand. Alongside mass-produced or mass-disseminated media such as print, coinage, and proclamations, such instruments were arguably the mechanisms through which most individuals were most likely to encounter and engage with Charles as king. Certainly, the chances seem small that one William Peast, a sergeant in Tangier, or one '[Joan?] Rice Com[m]ander of a Tuniseen [Patatch?] now rideing in the Bay of Tang[ie]r' ever saw Sir Peter Lely's original 'fine portraits' of Charles in Garter costume, for example, even if the chances that they might have seen them in copy are greater.⁸⁹ It also seems unlikely that they, and indeed tens of thousands of individuals like them whether living in England or abroad, would have personally benefited from the '[o]peness... encouraged at [the king's] palaces'. After all, surely only a relatively small sub-set of those subject to English royal authority ever enjoyed the opportunities for royal encounter that

⁸⁷ Rhode Island Restoration charter, transcr. Rhode Island State Archives.

⁸⁸ For quotation, IOR/A/1/21, 'EIC' AMDD.

⁸⁹ TNA, CO 279/23, f.3r; Gibson, *The Cult of Charles II*, pp.8-9, (second quotation, p.8), see also for brief discussion of reproduction of Lely and Cooper's paintings.

Charles's 'point of making himself as accessible as possible, walking daily in St. James's Park and dining frequently in public' may in theory have afforded them.⁹⁰ Royal representation beyond oil paintings and royal audiences was required to mediate the execution of Charles's government beyond the metropole and to prompt engagement with it.⁹¹ And in the cases of Peast and Rice, there is strong evidence that one channel through which such representation took form was the processes of Tangier's Court Merchant.

Peast was the addressee and Rice the subject of a warrant requiring the latter's presence before the court in the first week of January 1679 in order to answer the charge of 'Joan[s?] Secretary and George Marmer', as well as 'good security' to ensure that he would 'stand to [its] sentence'.⁹² The warrant itself is a small, plain document but carries two forms of Charles's representation (**Figure 2.49, below**). One is Tangier's Court Merchant seal. Though very difficult to see in the extant seal impression today, a crown is incorporated into its design. This is shown in an impression of the seal on another similar document to Peast (**cf. Figure 2.50, below**) and described in a catalogue source within The National Archives as '[w]ithin foliage a shield of arms, two hands clasped before a [huah?], a crown above'.⁹³ Royal symbolism presides over an image surely intended to depict peaceable, overseas commercial interaction. Charles's rhetorical representation also features in several places in the warrant: it is literally spelled out that the warrant was issued 'in his Maties name' and that the summons was specifically to 'his Maties hono[ura]ble Court Merch[an]t'. The summons alone therefore pressed the court's royal credentials. If Peast or Rice then attended the court – which for differing reasons, they had good reason to – papers at the front of the 1668-71 register of Tangier's Court of Record suggest that they and others attending the colony's courts of

⁹⁰ Ibid., p.6; for an example of such access being used, see below, p.309.

⁹¹ See above, pp.6, 8-10.

⁹² Cf. discussion of Massachusetts legal writs as forms of Charles's, for example in Weimer, *A Constitutional Culture*, pp.66-7, 76, 78-9. TNA, CO 279/23, f.3r.

⁹³ 'Index to seals: British Colonies and Dependencies (containing many American colonial seals); Official and Corporate', TNA QFA 1/10, [card 214].

record, sessions, or court merchant would have heard mention of the courts' royal provenance and the exclamation, 'So God save the King', in declarations for the courts' summons and adjournment.⁹⁴

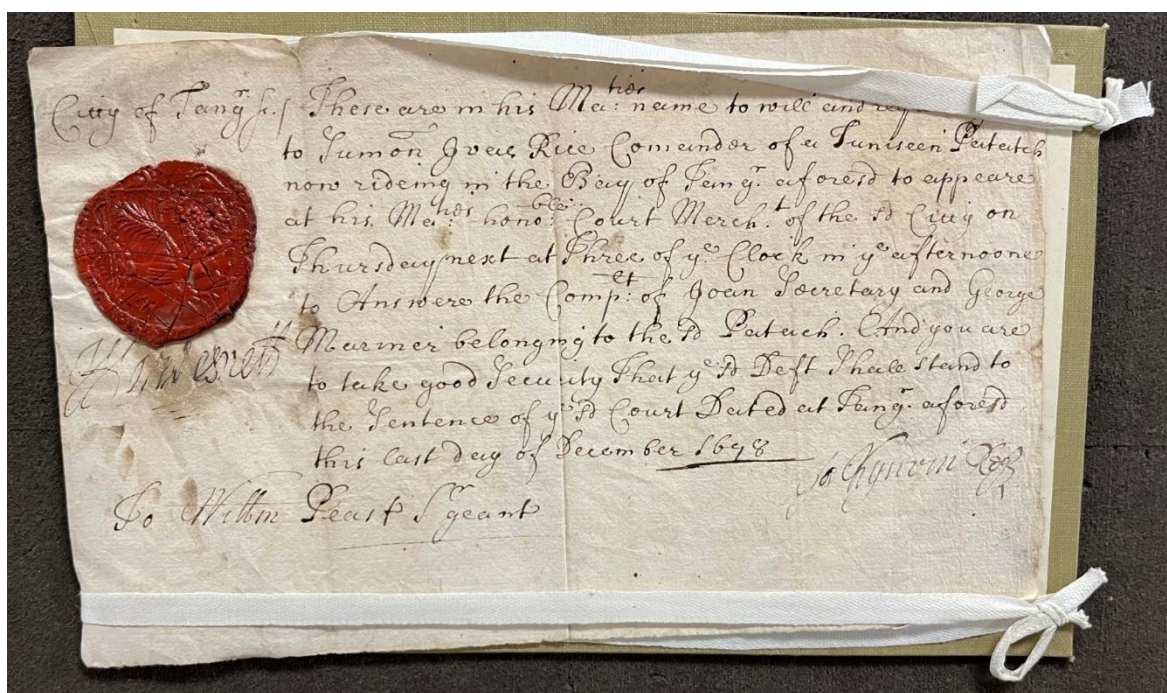
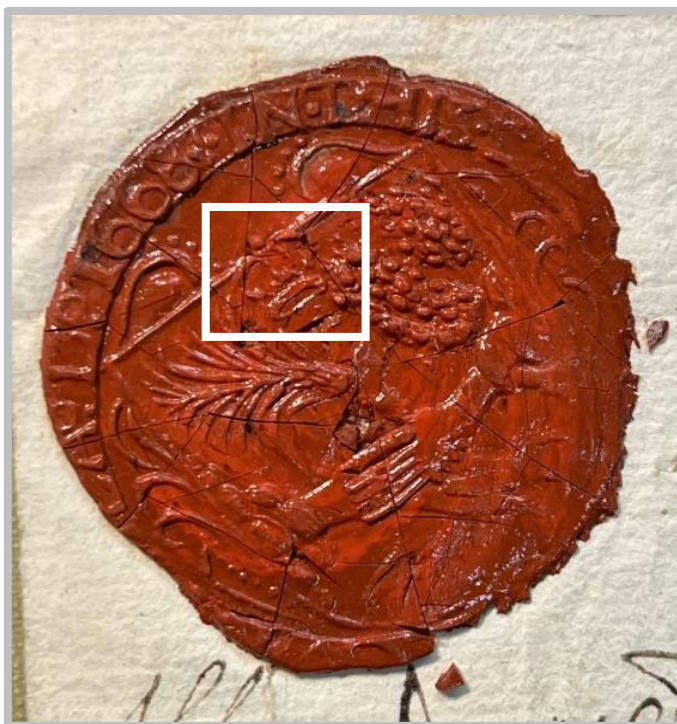


Figure 2.49 & detail. TNA, CO 279/23, f.3r.

(Right) Figure 2.50. Ibid., f.92r. [AAS, AAB].



⁹⁴ TNA, CO 279/45, f.[2r].

Such forms of Charles's representation may not have been as glamorous as Lely's oil paintings, nor their connections to the king as intimate as encountering him in St. James's Park. They nevertheless formed part both of the fabric of royal government at work and of how the monarchy featured within the communities and lives of its subjects. As quotidian forms of Charles's representation, they slowly but surely played essential roles in constructing his image amongst both English and colonial populations. In fact, Davies himself goes as far as to acknowledge that 'Dr John Cooper is surely right in suggesting that the most effective way of making subjects aware of the monarchy "was by the banal and everyday"; images on coins, the royal arms displayed (by order) in churches, the repetition of prayers in services... rather than by a propaganda campaign aimed at a tiny intellectual élite'.⁹⁵ Studying royal colonial letters patent and similar operational instruments of royal government brings much-needed nuance, context, and challenge to various existing notions of Charles as 'the magnificent monarch'.⁹⁶ To answer the question posed in a heading of this chapter therefore, yes, not only do royal colonial letters patent count as official colonial royal representational forms. Turning academic attention to them and other practical instruments of royal government is arguably one of the next frontiers of research in this field. To broach it, let us examine seals and ordnance as both key operational instruments of royal colonial government and primed forms of royal colonial representation.

The Use – Rather than Reception – of Official Royal Representation

Seals and ordnance can each be considered essential practical mechanisms of royal colonial government and official royal representational forms, even if they might traditionally and even under close examination be understood far more as functional mechanisms rather than royal representation. Acknowledging this and embracing its ramifications analytically not only builds a more comprehensive and granular picture of Charles's colonial representation than that made

⁹⁵ Davies, partly quoting Cooper, 'Review[,] "Selling the Tudor Monarchy", 1444-5.

⁹⁶ See above, esp. pp.1-4, 24-8.

possible by exploring only media typically examined as early modern royal representational forms. Whether or not the Crown can be established as official royal representational instances' chief architect, analysing practical representational forms makes it clear that it was not only the Crown that used them. It demonstrates that it is regrettable that the historiographical field has framed those who experienced official royal representation as 'audiences' who merely 'received' such media, and who may or may not have absorbed its supposed intended messages.⁹⁷ For certainly when taking form as pragmatic governmental instruments, official royal representation attracted local parties' proactive attention and involvement. Such parties were liable to seek out, display, deploy, disseminate, and mould such instances for their own practical and political purposes.

Seals as Potent Colonial Representational Vehicles

Seals illustrate how official royal representational media functioned in both practical and representational capacities and were used by the Crown and local second-party colonial actors alike. The term 'seal' refers both to seal matrices, which are the presses used to make seal impressions, and the impressions themselves, which were typically made out of wax, and more unusually, metal.⁹⁸ Seal impressions might also be wrapped in paper, as shown in **Figure I.v (below)**, or pressed onto wax sandwiched between two pieces of paper as shown in **Figure 2.51 (below)**. In the latter cases, such seals are known as wafer impressions. Mention of seals and associated paraphernalia may conjure notions of the medieval era rather than the mid- to late seventeenth century: certainly, Justice comments that '[m]ost extant research on seals *qua* seals focuses on medieval seals'. Indeed, he notably continues that when research has addressed early modern colonial seals, it has typically 'grow[n] out of the antiquarian tradition' and focused on cataloguing their details rather than analysing their designs.⁹⁹ Representational historiography does not appear

⁹⁷ See for example Davies, 'Review[.], "Selling the Tudor Monarchy", 1433, 1443-7; Sowerby, '[Review, "Rebranding Rule"]', 523.

⁹⁸ See the materials of the seals attached to colonial letters patent noted in **Table C, col.AG**, for example.

⁹⁹ Justice, 'The Art of Coining Christians', 107-8.

to have filled this gap for Charles II's reign: seals receive negligible mention in both Sharpe's work and Gibson's thesis.¹⁰⁰ Yet there is ample evidence to support Paul Dryburgh's suggestions that up until the eighteenth century seals remained a 'primary medium through which individuals, communities[,] and institutions authenticated and validated their identity and intentions', and that their function was perpetuated by the role they played in European colonial expansion.¹⁰¹



Figure I.v.A & B. 'Barbados Great Seal Charles II or James II', 1660-8 [?].

¹⁰⁰ Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, see index entries 'Great Seal' and 'Seals... of Charles II', pp.830, 842, see also pp.60, 332, 432-4; Gibson, "'Best Belov'd of Kings'", i, pp.5, 64, 84.

¹⁰¹ Dryburgh nevertheless explains that seals' importance did decline after the advent of signatures in the fifteenth century. *Royal Seals*, pp.(7), 10.

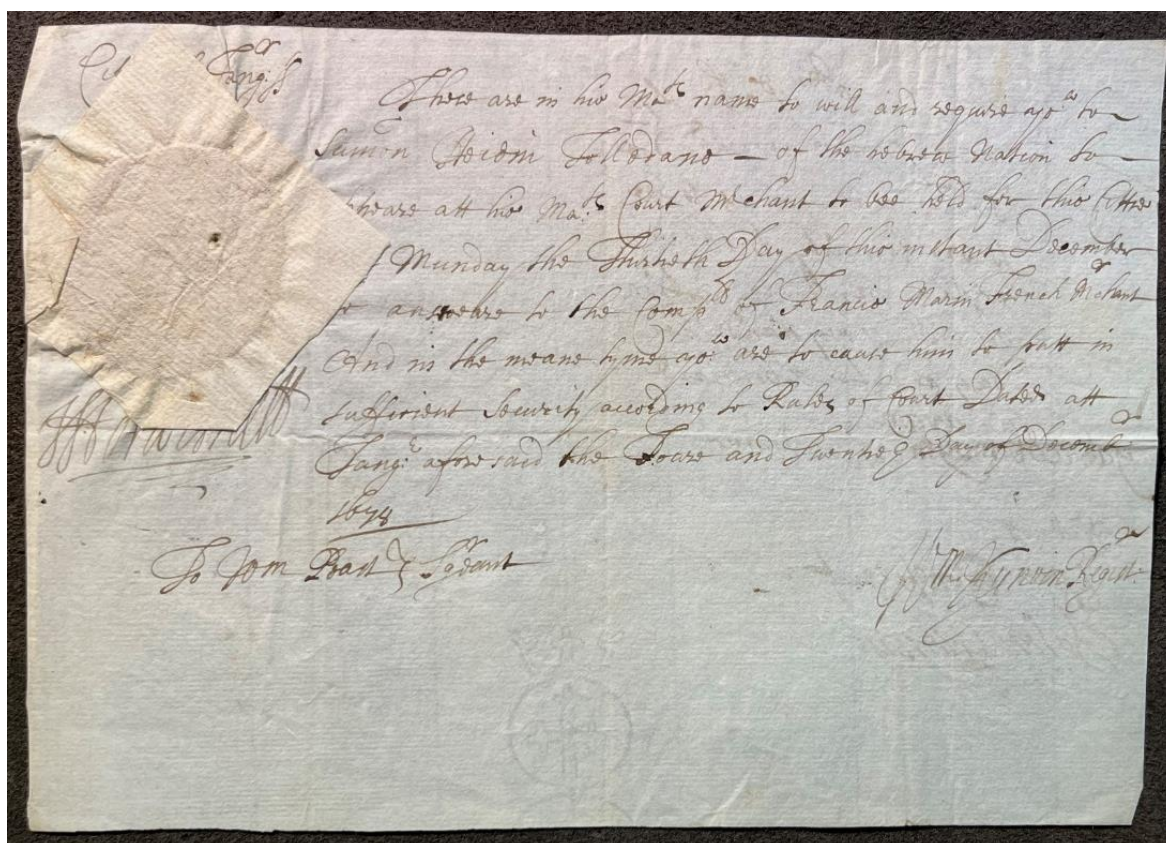


Figure 2.51. TNA, CO 279/23, f.7r.

By Charles's reign, the Crown conducted business through various seals and signets, as the early Restoration accounts of Thomas Simon, the royal engraver, published by Vertue, attest. These included England's Great Seal, which Dryburgh notes 'represented the highest authority in the land' and thereby carried 'a special status', and deputed colonial seals.¹⁰² Deputed seals generally were proxies for the Great Seal, created in order to enable business normally requiring the Great Seal to be executed in locations removed from where the Great Seal was kept, and deputed colonial seals were produced specifically to stand in for the Great Seal in colonial locations.¹⁰³ Though Jenkinson suggests that seals need to possess several material and visual characteristics to qualify as deputed seals, including being double-sided and displaying the monarch's portrait, these features should not be used as an exact guide for identifying deputed colonial seals during Charles's reign: both

¹⁰² Vertue, *Medals... of Thomas Simon*, 2nd edn, pp.85-95, Appendix Five; Jenkinson, 'The Great Seal of England; Deputed or Departmental Seals', p.293; Dryburgh, *Royal Seals*, p.18.

¹⁰³ Jenkinson, 'The Great Seal of England; Deputed or Departmental Seals', p.293.

Virginia and New Hampshire's Restoration single-sided deputed colonial seal depict the royal arms rather than the king's person.¹⁰⁴ Contemporary references to the seals and their nature must also inform identification. The Great Seal and its deputed equivalents are not the only royal seals that feature in colonial contexts, however: as suggested by upcoming examples, royal colonial agents might use their own seals to conduct royal business. Local colonial governments might also have their own seals separate to the Crown's.¹⁰⁵

There are clear examples of colonial parties noting and recording royal seals' literal presence or absence, demonstrating how they were used to evaluate and authenticate items supposedly carrying royal authority. In 1666, Rhode Island's General Assembly records testify to several named individuals being given by its 'late Gov'r' the colony's Restoration charter and several letters from the King, his advisers, and agents. It is then specifically noted that the same individuals confirmed that 'the Seales, both of the Charter and other letters [were] not... any waies defaced' and reported in such a way as to suggest the expectation that seals might be checked for damage as a way to verify documents' probity.¹⁰⁶ John Hull, a master of Massachusetts's mint and a diarist during the Restoration, also refers to the use of seals by New England's royal commissioners in his diary of public events. He deems it pertinent to mention that it was 'in their writings, given forth under their hand and seal', for example, that '[t]hey spake in their writing... of the United Colonies [of New England] as a usurped authority'. He then later discusses the colony's receipt in August 1666 of 'a significavit' relaying Charles's request for the presence in England of spokespersons from the

¹⁰⁴ See Jenkinson's own observations on variations in colonial deputed seal's characteristics. *Ibid.*, pp.335-6, cf. pp.293-4. For respective sources informing the assessment of Virginia and New Hampshire Restoration seals as deputed colonial seals, see Vertue, *Medals... of Thomas Simon*, 2nd edn, pp.92-3, Appendix Five; P. Walne, 'The Great Seal Deputed of Virginia', *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 66: 1 (1958), 7; Hammond, *History of the Seal and Flag of... New Hampshire*, p.6. See also **Table D**, esp. **cols.T, Z-AC, AQ**.

¹⁰⁵ Pauline Toole, for example, suggests that New York's boroughs possessed seals under pre-Restoration Dutch rule, indicating their possible presence during English Restoration rule. P. Toole, '[The Design for the Seal of the City of New York](#)' (4 Mar. 2024), blog (31 July 2020), NYC Department of Records & Information Services.

¹⁰⁶ *Records of... Rhode Island and Providence Plantations*, ed. Bartlett, ii, pp.151, 152.

colony 'to answer in [*sic*] the country's behalf'. He seems to note somewhat critically that it was 'under the hand of Secretary Morris, but not superscribed nor sealed'.¹⁰⁷

Furthermore, royal seals might be turned to in attempts to bolster or advertise colonial enterprises. In July 1679, minutes for St John's vestry, a local parish-oriented governmental administration in Barbados, note that the vestrymen intend to receive proposals to purchase the portion of land left over from sixty acres in their possession after the construction of a church and associated sites. Nevertheless, they also document that there were '[i]dle reports that have been cast abroad' questioning their capacity to make the sale. To address this, the minutes report that it is to be made known to the governor and his council that the vestrymen 'desire that such sale as they shall make shall be strengthened by his Majesties Grant under the broad seale of this Island'.¹⁰⁸ The vestry therefore explicitly affirm their belief that the application of Barbados's deputed colonial seal will assuage possible doubts about any sale's validity and imply that they might have advertised their intention to acquire one in order to confront any fears about it head-on.

In a similar vein, an account of 'The State of Jamaica under Sir Thomas Lynch' prefacing a 1684 work on the island's laws makes habitual reference to both England and Jamaica's seals in text which seems intended to advertise the island to its readers. It describes how the government's charter; assemblymen's elections; the island's ministers; 'all Publick Grants, Commissions, Patents, [etc.]', including those for settlers' land; the governor's role as the king's vice-admiral; and the Chief Justice of the island's 'Grand Court' are all authorised under either England's Great Seal or the island's seal.¹⁰⁹ Like St John's vestry minutes, it thereby echoes the sentiment of an October 1678 King-in-Council order reporting Charles's approval of deputed colonial seals for the Leeward Islands on the

¹⁰⁷ John Hull, *The Diaries of John Hull*, contrib. American Numismatic Society (Boston, 1857), pp.216, 222.

¹⁰⁸ *St John's Vestry Minutes. 1649-[99]* ([Barbados], 1649-99, Barbados Museum and Historical Society, ff.27v-(28r).

¹⁰⁹ Jamaica, *The Laws of Jamaica... April 17, 1684*, 'The State of Jamaica', pp.iii, vii, viii, xi-xii, xiv, xviii.

grounds that “‘nothing can prove of greater encouragement to planting than that the possessions of [the king’s] subjects may be made firm to them and their posterity’”.¹¹⁰ England’s Great Seal, its deputed colonial seals, and other royal seals appear to have been heralded as validating that documents, transactions, and offices had *bona fide*, trustworthy credentials.

The *Calendar of State Papers Colonial* also shows that colonies possessing deputed colonial seals had provisions, processes, and even controversies regarding how they were managed and used, and the text on ‘The State of Jamaica’ reports that ‘[t]he second Monday every Month this Court sits, and then is Sealing day, which is now punctually observed, [t]hat no body may be surprized, nor Pattents Sealed at any other time’, the seal in operation being the island’s deputed colonial seal.¹¹¹ Seals, and particularly colonial deputed and other royal seals, thus served as potentially both highly-visible and potent vehicles of royal representation, even if those likely to interact with royal and governmental seals as cultural artefacts were those wealthy enough to own property or hold political office.¹¹² This has several implications. It affirms how royal representational media might be far more than merely ‘received’ by colonial communities. And as the Crown appears to have been aware of the regard placed on seals in colonial, if not wider, circles, this particular representational form seems well-positioned to have been leveraged by the Crown to support colonial objectives. What such leveraging shows first, if not foremost, is that as indicated in Chapter One, royal colonial interests focused on royal colonies directly governed by the Crown rather than on proprietary or corporate colonies.

¹¹⁰ Appearing to quote the underlying order, *CSPC AWI, 1677-1680*, eds. Sainsbury and Fortescue, p.298 ref.812 (for quotation, Annex II).

¹¹¹ See for example *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, ed. Sainsbury, pp.624 ref.1872, 185 ref.654, 188 ref.668, 195 ref.692, 187 ref.664; Jamaica, *The Laws of Jamaica... April 17, 1684*, ‘The State of Jamaica’, pp.xi-xii.

¹¹² Note, however, Dryburgh’s point that those outside of the socio-political or economic elite might possess or even borrow seals. *Royal Seals*, p.10.

Indications that Royal Colonial Interests Centred on Select *Royal* Colonies

Unsurprisingly, it seems that the Crown predominantly became involved in the issuing and design of colonial seals only if the territories in question were royal colonies. This is illustrated partly by the evidence documented in **Table D**. The table logs a sub-set of all Restoration colonial seals known to have been encountered in this research: specifically, those where there is good reason to believe that their commissioning or design had more involvement from the Crown than simply its tacit approval. They constitute the majority of a slightly larger pool of Restoration colonial seals identified in this research, only a handful of which do not relate to colonies whose government was wholly or partly in the Crown's own hands at the time in question.¹¹³ Interestingly, only one – that for the Bahamas – has no immediately obvious ties to royal interests at all. Like the royal representational grants explored in Chapter One, seals appear to indicate that the Crown's colonial interests were firmly concentrated on territories under direct royal control, straying only exceptionally to encompass wider colonial geographies.¹¹⁴

It may initially seem that such a conclusion falls foul of tautological logic. After all, it is true that a firm reason for considering colonial seals' creation and designs to have had royal involvement is that they related to a royal colony. For example, Tangier's four known Restoration seals – its Court Merchant, Court of Record, Admiralty, and 'Cittie Seale' – are considered to have been at least

¹¹³ Twenty-six out of thirty-three examples, four of which do not relate to royal colonies. **Table D**; for the seven Restoration seals encountered but not logged in **Table D**, Birch, *Catalogue of Seals... in the British Museum*, vi, pp.715-16; Justice, 'The Art of Coining Christians', 124, see also 120-4; P. Bean, '[Seals!](#)' (4 Mar. 2024), Rhode Island Historical Society blog; see also H. M. Chapin, *The Seal, The Arms, and the Flag of Rhode Island* (Providence, 1913), pp.1-7; Secretary of the State of Connecticut, '[State of Connecticut. Sites. Seals. Symbols](#)' (5 Jan. 2023); 'The Large Seal of the Honourable East India Company', 1675 [modern seal cast?], Royal Museums Greenwich; E. C. R. Armstrong, 'Seal of the Town of Navan, Co. Meath', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Sixth Series, 10: 2 (1920), 179. Note that Irish seals were not reviewed in A. B. Tonnochy's *Catalogue of British Seal-Dies in the British Museum* (London, 1952).

¹¹⁴ For arguments suggesting such interests were geographically indiscriminate, see for example Haffenden, 'The Crown and the Colonial Charters... Part I', pp.297-9, noting also pp.308-11; for contrasting argument implying that colonial interest lacked clear geographical focus, Sosin, *English America and the Restoration Monarchy*, pp.2-3, 302-3, esp. p.3.

implicitly authorised and even used by the Crown on this basis.¹¹⁵ Yet this research sought out examples of all types of colonial seal, not only those tied to royal colonies and as noted above, it only identified four relating to non-royal colonies which did have associations with the Crown. These examples demonstrate that there was both precedent and potential for proprietary and corporate colonies to have seals which *were* tied to Crown involvement. In a warrant for the drafting of the Royal African Company's 1663 charter and in the Company's 1672 charter, the Crown stipulated design details for its seal. In 1663, it was to 'use a common seal, engraven with, on the one side an elephant supported by two blackamores, and on the other the image of our Royal person' and in 1672, one 'engraven on the one side with the image of his Majesty's royal person in royal robes, and on the other with an elephant bearing a castle supported by two negroes'.¹¹⁶ It is questionable whether such stipulations were heeded. A Company seal matrix and impression in the British Museum noted only as dating after 1663 suggests that the seal was in fact produced as one-sided at the expense of bearing Charles's image (**Figure 2.52.A-C, below**).¹¹⁷ Nevertheless, the Crown was interested enough in the seal in theory to prescribe design elements in material for the Company's corporate charter.

¹¹⁵ **Table D**; for examples, see TNA, CO 279/23, ff.92r, 19r; TNA, SP 9/198/1B/11; TNA, CO 279/45, [back cover, insert], incl. for quotation.

¹¹⁶ *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, ed. Sainsbury, p.121 ref.408; *CSPC AWI, 1669-74*, ed. Sainsbury, p.411 ref.934.

¹¹⁷ Royal African Company seal and seal impression, after 1663, bronze and wax, 3.35 cm length (The British Museum, London); for the possibility that the impression may be modern rather than contemporary, see also Birch, *Catalogue of Seals... in the British Museum*, iii, p.711 no.14,721.



Figure 2.52.A-C. Royal African Company seal matrix (A & B) and seal impression (C), after 1663
(The British Museum, London).
© The Trustees of the British Museum.

By contrast, other royal colonial charters do not carry the same prescriptions. Carolina's 1663 letters patent do not set out provision for a seal for the colony at all and simply refer to its proprietors using 'their seals' to enact their government.¹¹⁸ Nor do Pennsylvania's, despite dating to the end rather than beginning of Charles's reign and by modern state archive materials' account, as a result thereby including 'distinctive' provisions that earlier charters did not alongside

¹¹⁸ Carolina's Restoration charter (1663), transcr., [pp.23, 31].

‘standard’ ones.¹¹⁹ Letters patent of 1661, 1663, and 1670 for the East India Company, Rhode Island, and the Hudson Bay Company respectively do grant ‘that... the said Governor and Company... shall and may... have a common seal’ – to quote Rhode Island’s letters – but do not outline specific design features. Instead, the Crown explicitly handed responsibility for them over to colonial authorities: the aforesaid parties were ‘the same seal to alter, change, break, and make new, from time to time, at their will and pleasure, as they shall think fit’.¹²⁰ Connecticut’s present-day Office of the Secretary of State also suggests that it was the former colony’s assembly that determined that it keep its pre-Restoration seal in 1662 and implies that the Crown had no input in such a decision.¹²¹ A full review of all known Restoration charters’ text is needed to contextualise these examples. Yet by relating to both proprietary and corporate colonies founded at different points across Charles’s reign, they indicate that the king was not consistently interested in orchestrating what representation – royal or otherwise – should appear on proprietary and corporate colonies’ seals. Instead, the examples identified suggest that the Crown concerted itself with non-royal colony’s seals when it had strong, specific interests in the colonies themselves.

First, Charles was at least nominally concerned about the two Royal African Company seals’ designs, as shown above and the Company’s name alone is enough to testify to the Crown’s particular interest in its ventures.¹²² In turn, nineteenth-century commentary indicates direct royal interest in New York’s seal and seemingly its design, even raising the possibility that it may have constituted

¹¹⁹ Pennsylvania’s Restoration charter (1681), ‘Pennsylvania Charter to William Penn – [4 Mar.] 1681’, transcr. Pennsylvania State Archives, [Sections IV, VII, XIX]; idem, [‘Pennsylvania Charter to William Penn - \[4 Mar.\] 1681’](#) (19 Jan. 2023), ‘History’, pgr.6.

¹²⁰ The other letters’ text differs in precise detail. ‘Letters Patents, granted to the Governor and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the East-Indies, bearing date [3] April... [1661]’, in *Charters Granted to the East-India Company, from 1601; Also the Treaties and Grants, Made with, or Obtained from, the Princes and Powers in India, from the Year 1756 to 1772* (1774), p.56; (Rhode Island Restoration charter, transcr.); Hudson’s Bay charter, HBCF, ‘Text of HBC’s Royal Charter’, [Page One].

¹²¹ Secretary of the State of Connecticut, [‘Sites. Seals. Symbols’](#), ‘The Original Seal’.

¹²² For the Crown’s interest in and ties to the Royal African Company, Swingen, ‘Labor, Empire, and the State’, pp.90-4.

a 'Great Seal' and thus carried Charles's direct authority.¹²³ The royal heir, the Duke of York, was of course the colony's proprietor, providing clear reason for the Crown to have particular interest in it. It is then admittedly not immediately obvious why one of Charles's chief engravers, Henry Harris, recorded creating '[t]wo great seals of the Island of Providence', now known as the Bahamas, in February 1666.¹²⁴ The Bahamas were proprietary rather than royal holdings.¹²⁵ The Crown seemingly issuing deputed colonial seals for the territories is thus exceptional, alongside perhaps New York. Nevertheless, as explained in Chapter Three, there is reason to believe that the seal reflected the Crown's interest in the colony as a *Caribbean* territory.¹²⁶ There therefore seems to be a clear correlation between the Crown's representational interest in colonial seals and its broader colonial interests.

In consequence, colonial seals can be used to assess precisely which sites such interests might have encompassed. In particular, only six out of a total of twenty-one Restoration *royal* colonies appear to have been issued deputed colonial seals: Barbados, Jamaica, Virginia, the Leeward Islands, New Hampshire, and the kingdom of Ireland.¹²⁷ Notably, Tangier is amongst the colonies not granted a deputed colonial seal. Given that evidence presented in Chapter One and in other scholarship attests to the Crown's firm interest in affairs there, it is prudent to keep in mind that additional research may uncover new evidence of additional deputed and other colonial seals associated with the Crown, just as this research has done.¹²⁸ As it stands, however, the Crown's involvement with

¹²³ E. B. O'Callaghan, *The Documentary History of the State of New-York* (4 vols., Albany, 1851), iv, (p.2*), p.1*.

¹²⁴ *CSPC AWI, 1669-74*, ed. Sainsbury, p.608 ref.1349; for equivalence between 'the Island of Providence' and the Bahamas, see **Table A**; see also particularly D. Thornton, 'An English Puritan Colony in the Caribbean in 1630: The Providence Island Company Seal Matrix', in J. Cherry, J. Berenbeim, and L. De Beer (eds.), *Seals and Status: The Power of Objects* (London, 2018), p.16.

¹²⁵ Haffenden, 'The Crown and the Colonial Charters... Part I', p.309.

¹²⁶ Below, pp.276-9.

¹²⁷ **Table A**; *Walker's Grants*, CoA, ii, ff.6, 5; *CSPC AWI, 1677-1680*, eds. Sainsbury and Fortescue, pp.298-9 ref.812; Hammond, *History of the Seal and Flag of... New Hampshire*, pp.5-7; Vertue, *Medals... of Thomas Simon*, 2nd edn, pp.54, 92.

¹²⁸ Above, esp. pp.72, 94-7, 101-2, 122-3, cf. pp.126-32; see for example Stein, 'Tangier in the Restoration Empire', 985-1011.

the commissioning, designs, and delivery of colonial seals indicates that Charles's colonial interests and ambitions were far from broad. Like royal colonial representational grants,¹²⁹ it suggests instead that they were heavily weighted towards royal colonies and even then, were very narrow geographically.

Guns: Under-Appreciated Royal Representational Forms?

Guns with clear associations to the Restoration Crown can first be considered instances of official royal representation in so far as they were visceral reminders of its position at the apex of socio-political order. They could serve as indirect yet powerful visual cues for the Crown's presence in colonial landscapes, its theoretical capacity to dominate them, and its claimed sovereignty over them precisely because they were designed as weaponry.¹³⁰ Granted, Restoration royal military provisions might be reported as inadequate or as failing to materialise, and Secretary of State Lord Arlington did write to Francis Lord Willoughby, governor of Barbados, in 1665 that '[a]s for the firearms... desired, it has always been accustomed that settled plantations should purchase arms for themselves, as in the case of Jamaica'.¹³¹ Nonetheless, Charles's government played an undoubted role in furnishing English colonies with firepower.

Evidence suggests that it supplied at least fifty-nine and possibly seventy-one large guns to Barbados;¹³² four to New England;¹³³ twelve to Carolina;¹³⁴ and six to Virginia to quell Bacon's Rebellion.¹³⁵ Furthermore, despite Arlington's comment regarding provisioning Jamaica, the Crown

¹²⁹ Above, pp.122-5.

¹³⁰ Smith, 'The Representation of Charles II in English Colonial Contexts', p.59; cf. Parnell, 'The Building and Works of Ordnance [Office]', i, pp.151-4; for the theoretical capacity to dominate as a critical element of wielding early modern colonial power, Mancke, 'Empire and State', pp.201-2; see also Ohlmeyer's reference to 'MacMillan remind[ing] us of the "legal symbolism" of defences', Ohlmeyer, 'Eastward Enterprises', p.99.

¹³¹ *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, ed. Sainsbury, p.298 ref.992, p.297 ref.991.

¹³² The two counts may duplicate one another. Major Hartland, *The Great Guns of Barbados*, p.78, Appendix Two; see also *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, ed. Sainsbury, pp.267-8 refs.904, 906, 907, pp.279-80, refs.941, 940.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p.189 ref.673.

¹³⁴ See Smith, 'The Representation of Charles II in English Colonial Contexts', p.59.

¹³⁵ Parnell, 'The Building and Works of Ordnance [Office]', p.141.

was ultimately responsible for providing guns to stock royal colonies, like the '[f]ive... in the old Parado' at Tangier's York Castle and shown in Hollar's engraving (**Figure 2.53**).¹³⁶ For example, early 1664 instructions to Sir Thomas Modyford as governor of Jamaica note that he was '[t]o receive from Col[onel] Morgan... [three thousand pounds], with arms and ammunition', with six hundred pounds of the three thousand to be split between 'the pay of his body guard and the public magazine of arms'.¹³⁷

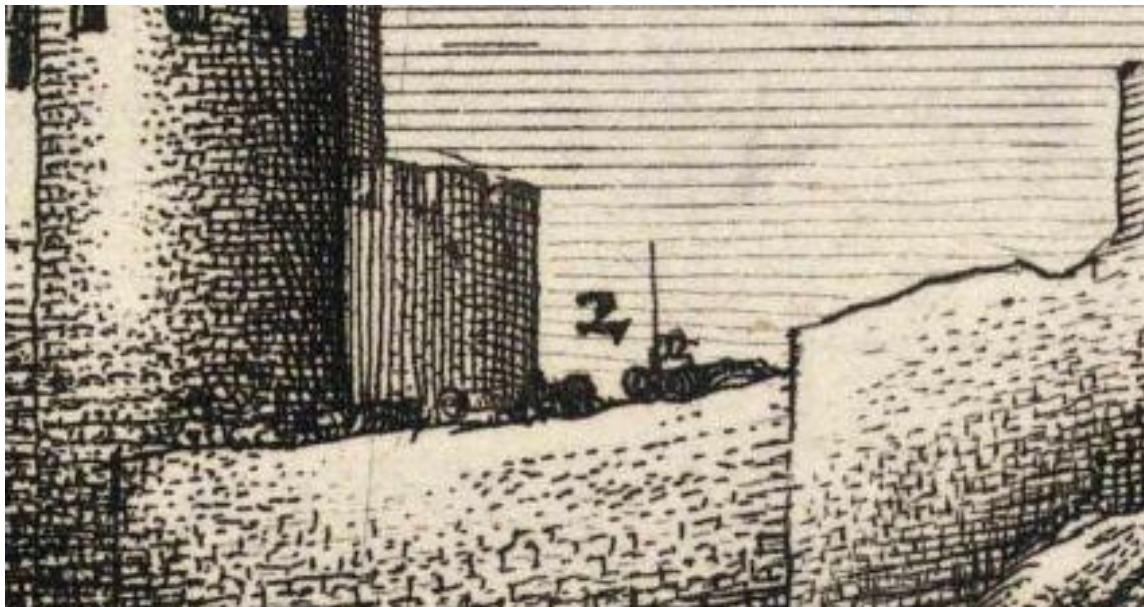


Figure 2.53 (and detail). Wenceslaus Hollar, *Prospect of York Castle. State [One]*, [1660-77] (Wenceslaus Hollar Digital Collection). Public domain. [AAS]

¹³⁶ See also Smith, 'The Representation of Charles II in English Colonial Contexts', p.59.

¹³⁷ CSPC AWI, 1661-[8], ed. Sainsbury, p.187 ref.664.

As noted, the very presence of such artillery and arms provisions could theoretically attest to English royal colonial might. Indeed, even though decommissioned, historical guns on display in modern-day Barbados are a reminder of the presence that ordnance might command in physical settings (**Figures 2.54, 2.55, and 2.56**). The Crown was also certainly aware of pieces of ordnance as figurative illustrations of such might as it deployed them to protect and defend English colonial sites.¹³⁸

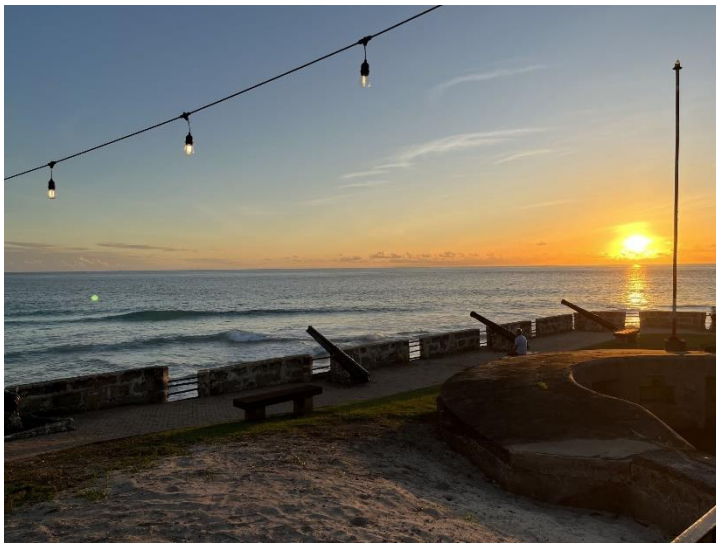


Figure 2.54. Historic guns, rear sea-ward perimeter of Hilton Barbados Resort, Bridgetown, Barbados. Site visit (5 Dec. 2022).



Figure 2.55. Historic gun, Holetown Monument, Holetown, Barbados (9 Dec. 2022).



Figure 2.56. Historic guns, Garrison Savannah, Garrison Historic Area, Barbados (8 Dec. 2022).

¹³⁸ For military action as a means through which Charles established the Restoration, J. L. Malcolm, 'Charles II and the Reconstruction of Royal Power', *Historical Journal*, 35: 2 (1992), esp. 307, 328.

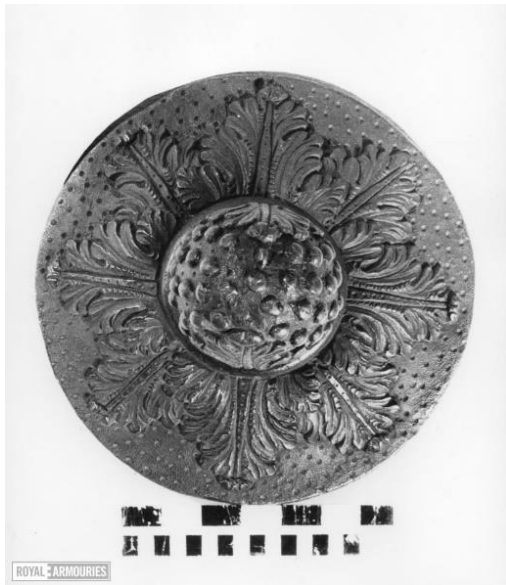
Yet ordnance could serve as literal as well as figurative royal representational forms. From the late sixteenth century, artillery pieces were displayed for show at the Tower of London as it assumed a role as ‘the foremost tourist attraction in the country’.¹³⁹ Furthermore, just as coins might be stamped with iconographic designs and rhetorical royal representation, Restoration ordnance might also carry even detailed ornamentation, as shown in **Figures 2.57.A-E (below)**.¹⁴⁰ As helpfully evoked in **Figure 2.53 (detail, above)**, such ornamentation would have been theoretically easily visible to those physically active in colonies’ defence, and quite possibly to notable political and military personnel, passing settlers and travellers, and even settlers’ adversaries – in other words, to groups whom a Crown seeking to consolidate its colonial power had reason to attempt to impress. Ordnance thus held considerable potential as an official form of Charles’s colonial



Figures 2.57.A-C. Four pounder, ‘Dutch bronze gun’, cast in the Netherlands for Charles II, no.978, 1676, Royal Armouries. © Royal Armouries. © Royal Armouries. (B & C) cropped, (C) rotated.

¹³⁹ H. L. Blackmore, *The Armouries of the Tower of London. I. Ordnance* (London, 1976), pp.11-13, 5 (11).

¹⁴⁰ See for example *ibid.*, pp.138-9 cat. no.176 (Plate 80), pp.15, 116 cat. no.135 (Plate 56), p.51 cat. no.7 (Plate 16).



Figures 2.57.D-E. See caption, p.228.
© Royal Armouries.

representation, and yet a study of extant Restoration Barbadian guns suggests the Crown distinctly under-leveraged such potential.

Under-leveraging Guns as Official Colonial Royal Representational Media

There are sixty-seven unique extant Restoration Barbadian ordnance pieces,¹⁴¹ and all can be considered official royal representational instances. Some may have been amongst the nineteen pieces that Hartland specifically catalogues as ‘purchased for Barbados’, or the fifty-nine large guns which he separately details were supplied to Barbados by the Crown between 1660 and 1670, but which may overlap with the aforementioned nineteen pieces.¹⁴² Yet even if supplied by second parties, they can be considered official representational examples as the Crown appears to have had the theoretical opportunity to view and veto ordnance before their installation on the island

¹⁴¹ Assuming that the pieces listed by Major Hartland remain extant today. The following analysis is based on information gathered from in-person on-site research related to five, possibly six Restoration pieces of ordnance and Hartland’s discussion, cataloguing, and images of sixty-seven examples. Hartland’s examples include all but possibly one of the Restoration examples seen in person. Analysis includes guns with date ranges up to and beyond 1660. Ordnance collection, Barbados National Armoury Museum, Barbados (viewed 8 December 2022); Major Hartland, *The Great Guns of Barbados*, pp.20-37, 41-2, 46, 58-61, 72-7. With thanks also to Peter Stevens for facilitating a Barbados National Armoury Museum ordnance collection visit and for providing information factoring into analysis.

¹⁴² For an example of the quoted phrase, *ibid.*, (p.29), p.78, Appendix Two.

via its customs agents.¹⁴³ As such official instances, they are undoubtedly underwhelming. Less than 30% seem to have carried ornamentation. The three examples in the Barbados National Armoury Museum that do are furthermore sorry-looking royal representational specimens, even if this is likely partly explained by their detailing being obscured in restorative work and lost over time. Their colouring also appears to be a modern addition (**Figures 2.58.A & B, 2.59.A & B, and 2.60.A & B, below**).¹⁴⁴ Notably, across these examples and the other sixteen extant guns displaying ornamentation, such additional representation neither visually nor rhetorically alludes to the Restoration monarchy specifically, for example through elements such as Charles's royal title, his initials, or an oak tree.¹⁴⁵ Instead, the ornamentations are only general examples of English royal representation: a Tudor rose and crown, or simply a rose.



Figure 2.58.A & B. Demi-culverin or twelve-pounder, ten feet six inches, cast by Thomas Western[e], 1678-9 (BNAM). BNAM signage (viewed 8 December 2022); cf. Major Hartland, *The Great Guns of Barbados*, p.37.

¹⁴³ See *CTB*, ed. Shaw, vii, EB, 22 Jan. 1685.

¹⁴⁴ For details informing this conclusion, Major Hartland, *The Great Guns of Barbados*, pp.23, 13, 72.

¹⁴⁵ Absence of mention or illustration of such details in Hartland is assumed to reflect their physical absence. Major Hartland, *The Great Guns of Barbados*; for the Restoration Crown's associations with oak trees, above, p.87.



Figure 2.59.A & B. Demi-culverin or twelve-pounder, nine feet six inches, cast by Thomas Western[e], c.1680 (BNAM) BNAM signage (viewed 8 December 2022).



Figure 2.60.A & B. Twelve pounder, ten feet, cast by Thomas Western[e], no. 3398, 13 Sep. 1669 (BNAM). Major Hartland, *The Great Guns of Barbados*, p.29; BNAM signage (viewed 8 December 2022).

It is not unprecedented for early modern English ordnance's representation to lack allusion to a specific monarch,¹⁴⁶ but it appears to be unusual.¹⁴⁷ In any case, it means that in the minority of cases where ornamentation was present on extant Restoration Barbadian ordnance, it appears to have been far from the clear statement of Charles's glory and pre-eminence that it might have been. This naturally raises the question of why it was not and with it, the possibility that for all the arguments outlined above, it might be ultimately unrealistic to expect Restoration colonial guns to have been adorned with royal representational ornamentation. After all, it might simply have been deemed infeasible – or just unwarranted – for the Crown to expend effort and resources in adding representational touches to its colonial weaponry. There were after all known issues with providing guns and related supplies deemed sufficient to protect colonial sites in the first place: in 1668, William Lord Willoughby, governor of Barbados, reported to the Lords of the Council of Barbados that 'for artillery no island in the universe of half such concernment is half so ill furnished'.¹⁴⁸

Nonetheless, a lack of magnificent royal ornamentation does not appear to be specific to colonial Restoration guns. English Restoration-era and post-Restoration guns,¹⁴⁹ and extant post-Restoration Barbadian guns,¹⁵⁰ demonstrate that generally, opportunities to use ordnance to herald the early modern English monarchy's brilliance might be passed over. This is firstly, a reminder that like other off-shoots of early modern royal policy and politics, representational potential might be quite naturally subject to reprioritisation and neglect, a conclusion lost in Sharpe, Hoxby, Keay, Backscheider, and others' narratives of Charles's supposedly seamless,

¹⁴⁶ See six of thirteen results returned for a digital search for 'Tudor rose and crown', [Royal Armouries collection](#) (11 Jan. 2023).

¹⁴⁷ See Blackmore, *The Armouries of the Tower of London*, pp.47-176, 206-9.

¹⁴⁸ *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, ed. Sainsbury, p.586 ref.1788, see also pp.298 ref.994, 498 ref.1576.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. **Figure 2.57**, above, pp.228-9 and Blackmore, *The Armouries of the Tower of London*, p.67 cat. no.42 (Plate 60), see also p.15; two rose and crown emblem guns, [1721?], Lincoln Castle (viewed 21 Jan. 2023), date as suggested by C. J. Trollope in 'Shedding Light on Castle Cannon', *Lincolnshire Echo* (30 Jan. 1999), 'Lincolnshire in the News – Preview' (25 Jan. 1999), p.6, col.b, with thanks to a Lincoln Castle volunteer for following up regarding the guns and sharing the above-mentioned source.

¹⁵⁰ See for example **Figure 2.61**, below.

zealous representational success.¹⁵¹ Secondly, it suggests that similar to other early modern English monarchs, Charles evidently did not care to ensure that ordnance advertised his authority beyond its intrinsic and straightforward demonstration of royal military clout, whether destined for England or colonial territories.



Figure 2.61.A & B. Possibly a John Armstrong-type, twenty-four pounder, nine feet six inches with King George II cipher, cast by John Fuller, c.1745 (BNAM). BNAM signage (viewed 8 December 2022).

Yet Charles and his advisors were clearly concerned about the possible symbolic potency of Commonwealth ordnance ornamentation lingering into the Restoration. Blackmore notes that ‘after the Restoration every effort was made to obliterate the [recent] past’ and specifically, the Commonwealth arms displayed on ordnance.¹⁵² Such efforts appear to have been considerable: he mentions a 1661 Board of Ordnance payment for the “cutting off the Harpe [and] Crosse” of the Commonwealth arms of more than a thousand pieces of ordnance at Woolwich and at the Tower of London, though his reference to another 1669 order to remove Commonwealth arms indicates that they dragged on.¹⁵³ Furthermore, Blackmore implies the lack of Commonwealth guns in the

¹⁵¹ Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp.xvi-222; Hoxby, ‘The Government of Trade’; Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch*; Backscheider, *Spectacular Politics*, pp.xi-xix, 1-31.

¹⁵² Blackmore, *The Armouries of the Tower of London*, p.14; see also ‘[Cannon Galore](#)’, Barbados.org (11 Apr. 2024), pgr.6.

¹⁵³ Blackmore, *The Armouries of the Tower of London*, p.14 (quoting a primary source).

Tower of London's collection may indicate such iconoclasm's success; the fact that there are indeed only two known extant Commonwealth guns globally (**Figures 2.62 and 2.63**) amplifies this conclusion.¹⁵⁴ The Crown was therefore acutely aware of the representational potential of ordnance's ornamentation and clearly willing to act to nullifying its application to the Commonwealth's legacy.



Figure 2.62 (and detail). Barbados's "Commonwealth gun", six pounder [prior to 1652-4], BNAM. Details from Major Hartland, *The Great Guns of Barbados*, pp.2, 26.

Figure 2.63 (and detail). Culverin drake, 'Commonwealth gun', cast by Thomas [F]oley and George Brown, c.1652, Royal Armouries. © Royal Armouries.

¹⁵⁴ Williams, *Barbados*, p.42; '[Cannon Galore](#)', Barbados.org, pgr.6; cf. G. M. Wilson, 'The Commonwealth Gun', *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration*, 17: 1 (1988), 87.

Blackmore does mention that the 1669 order to erase ordnances' Commonwealth arms included that they be replaced with 'engraving C R in their place' —¹⁵⁵ and thus instances of Charles's semi-personal representation, given the initials might also have referred to his father, Charles I. Nevertheless, there is insufficient available evidence to assess how far this was actioned within England.¹⁵⁶ There is, however, not a single 'C R' on Barbados's sixty-seven extant Restoration guns. Together, these trends show not that the Restoration Crown was uninterested in ordnance ornamentation, nor that it failed to leverage it in colonial contexts despite zealously doing so in England. Rather, they speak to a lack of Crown interest in projecting and reinforcing an image of royal might compared to quashing the Commonwealth equivalent.

Iconoclasm to destroy the Interregnum's representational imprint has not emerged as a major historiographical theme of Restoration royal representation. Specific initiatives have received notice, though as counterweights to proactive monarchical representational endeavours.¹⁵⁷ Destructive tendencies are not considered in their own right. Interestingly, however, ordnance evidence suggests that for this specific representational medium, the Crown's impulse to remove Interregnum representation was stronger than its commitment to promulgating monarchical representation. This tallies with the fact that more than 70% of extant Restoration Barbadian guns are not ornamented with royal representation at all.¹⁵⁸ First, this invites future consideration of how far destructive versus creative representational agendas played out across Restoration media.

Secondly, it suggests that Charles did not enthusiastically pursue ordnance as a decorative as well as a simply conceptual royal representational form because he and his ministers did not deem it necessary to do so. In other words, leveraging the full representational potential of guns at sites

¹⁵⁵ Blackmore, *The Armouries of the Tower of London*, p.14.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., pp.47-176, 206-9; [Royal Armouries collection](#) (10 Apr. 2024).

¹⁵⁷ Cook, "'Stamp't with Your Own Image'", pp.313-14; Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp.133-4, 150, 153, 173-4; Gibson, "'Best Belov'd of Kings'", i, p.61; Aylmer, *The Crown's Servants*, p.247; below, pp.332, 337.

¹⁵⁸ Forty-eight of sixty-seven. Above, pp.229-30.

critical to the defence and integrity of Charles's kingdoms and colonies, and which might be viewed by notable domestic and foreign audiences, was clearly not considered a royal priority. This may be initially surprising in the context of traditional notions of a king highly conscious of making himself available to his subjects, and attentive to orchestrating even minor details of his official representation.¹⁵⁹ It is, however, less unexpected in light of the evidence of official royal representational variation, absence, oversight, and poor follow-through outlined thus far, and of upcoming conclusions regarding seals and other artefacts as official royal representational media.¹⁶⁰

Integrating Letters Patent into Local Colonial Political Landscapes

Before exploring this, however, it is pertinent to make another point clear. Despite the impression that existing historiography creates, colonial subjects did not only engage with the charters governing their locales at milestone historical moments. Certainly, such charters were the subject of fractious Crown-colony exchanges: Charles in fact revoked several alongside equivalent English examples, perhaps most famously those of Massachusetts and of London.¹⁶¹ Historians have surely also been correct to draw attention to the importance and use of colonial charters as physical and even representational artefacts. For example, Ogg remarks on how after the Restoration Connecticut's authorities hid its charter in an oak tree in order to delay its absorption into the Dominion of New England.¹⁶² Furthermore, to inaugurate discussion of colonialism in Charles's reign, both Pestana and Ohlmeyer describe 'solemn ceremonies' involving Rhode Island and Bombay's respective Restoration charters.¹⁶³ Nevertheless, colonial letters patent might be integrated into everyday, and decidedly mundane, colonial political landscapes. In Rhode Island,

¹⁵⁹ See for example Gibson, *The Cult of Charles II*, p.6; Backscheider, *Spectacular Politics*, pp. 5-12, 18-22.

¹⁶⁰ Below, pp.248-98.

¹⁶¹ See for example Haffenden, 'The Crown and the Colonial Charters... Part I', esp. pp.303-11; for the suggestion of the trans-Atlantic nature of such royal action, Braddick, *State Formation*, pp.415-16; Stanwood, *The Empire Reformed*, pp.25, 49-50.

¹⁶² Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, ii, p.683.

¹⁶³ Pestana, *The English Atlantic*, (p.213); Ohlmeyer, 'Eastward Enterprises', pp.83-4.

the colony's letters patent were as Pestana quotes, 'taken forth and read... in the audience and view of all the people' in November 1663, with:

[T]he sayd letters with his Majestyes Royall Stampe, and the broad seale, with much becoming gravity held up on hygh, and presented to the perfect view of the people, and then returned into the box and lock vp by the Governor, in order to the safe keeping of it.¹⁶⁴

Yet authorities' activities concerning its charter did not stop here.¹⁶⁵ Across 1664, the colony's General Assembly issued a litany of orders regarding the charter's dissemination and use, including that it be carried into and out of its 'Court'; that 'the Charter be read' and 'ther[e] be notice given to all that are neare and atending, [that they] may come into Court to heare'; and that the charter be transcribed.¹⁶⁶ Notably, however, it appears that at some point before May 1686 and likely after the late 1664 order for the charter's transcription, it may no longer have been Charles's original letters patent showcased to Assembly audiences, but a probably locally-produced copy.¹⁶⁷ Certainly, by November 1678 a copy 'sealed with yellow wax' - rather than like the original, with 'his Majestyes Royall Stampe, and the broad seale' - had been kept by the colony's governor before being transferred to his successor,¹⁶⁸ and 1686 Assembly minutes then refer to 'the duplicate [charter]... safely in folio and seal, under the yellow wax' being transferred between outgoing and incoming deputy governors, seemingly 'according to former order and practice'.¹⁶⁹ Possibly a single copy may therefore have replaced the original within the workings of government. This may not only have borne an unknown yellow seal rather than the royal seal, but judging from a

¹⁶⁴ *Records of... Rhode Island and Providence Plantations*, ed. Bartlett, i, p.509; cf. Pestana, *The English Atlantic*, p.213.

¹⁶⁵ See '[Item - Container] Rhode Island Royal Charter granted by King Charles II', Rhode Island State Archives, (24 Mar. 2024), 'Biographical/ Historical Information'.

¹⁶⁶ *Records of... Rhode Island and Providence Plantations*, ed. Bartlett, ii, pp.(24, 24-5), 25, 61-2.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, ii, 25, iii, pp.24-5, 188.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, iii, pp.24-5 (25), (i, p.509).

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, iii, p.188.

contemporary copy of Tangier's charter, it may also have lacked the original charter's visual royal representational elements (Figure 2.64; cf. Figure 2.27).¹⁷⁰

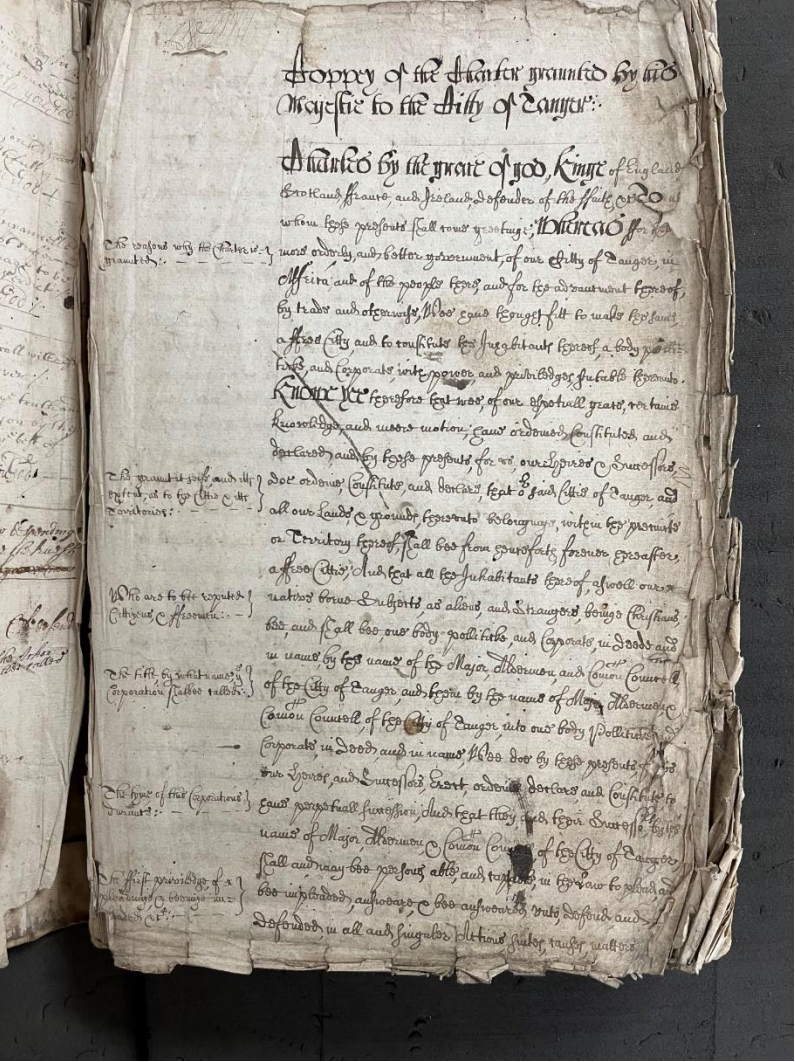


Figure 2.64.
'Copy of the Charter',
TNA,
CO 279/45, f.[3r].



Figure 2.27. Partial
image, Rhode
Island's charter
(1663), f.[1].
Public domain.

¹⁷⁰ It is likely, though unconfirmed, that the first page of Tangier's original charter contained visual royal representation.

Such evidence demonstrates both how colonial charters might be integrated into routine colonial political operations and how in the process, their royal representational profile might be fundamentally altered. Granted, colonial charters were not always proactively integrated into the political landscapes of the localities to which they related: some did not even make it to such localities during Charles's reign. In Pennsylvania's case, its Restoration charter is said in fact to have 'languished in a London warehouse with other Penn family possessions' – William Penn being the colony's founder – until the early nineteenth century.¹⁷¹ Together with how in duplicating its charter, Rhode Island's authorities likely significantly changed it as a royal representational instance, this flags another area of tension in interpreting official instances of Charles's representation, already spoken of in Chapter One.¹⁷² There was no guarantee that official royal representational instances would convey the messages that the Crown perhaps intended them to advertise. In the case of letters patent, any chance of this was necessarily stymied by them being folded up and left to succumb to rust and mould, as Pennsylvania's charter might have been from its earliest days.¹⁷³ Or the Crown's intended representation of Charles may have been thwarted by the letters being transformed into new visually, materially, and in theory potentially even rhetorically, very different copies.

These possibilities blur the boundaries between official and second-party royal representation. In so doing, they raise an important issue. At what point does a copy of a representational instance, or more broadly a work of art, become a new piece in its own right? Is Rhode Island's transcription of its letters patent still an official instance of Charles's representation, given it was originally

¹⁷¹ PHMC, present. Joshua Stahlman, YouTube, ['William Penn's Original Charter – A Virtual Display – The Journey of Penn's Charter'](#) (1 Mar. 2024), 0:13 with subtitles; see also HBCHF, ['The Royal Charter'](#) (26 Sept. 2023), 'Provenance of [the Hudson Bay Company]'s Royal Charter'.

¹⁷² Above, pp.125-32.

¹⁷³ PHMC, present. Joshua Stahlman, YouTube, ['William Penn's Original Charter – Page \[One\]'](#), 0:37 with subtitles; idem, ['William Penn's Original Charter – A Virtual Display – Page \[Four\]'](#), from 0:27 with subtitles; idem, ['William Penn's Original Charter... The Journey of Penn's Charter'](#), 0:13 with subtitles.

produced under the Crown's authority? Its rhetoric was presumably the same as the original but its visual, material, and even ceremonial components were necessarily new. This underscores that those engaging with royal representation were not simply 'audiences'. They were actors dynamically shaping and using its forms and potential messages.

Cooper's 1665 'Letters Patent' Portrait: Final Reflections and New Questions

Posing questions like the above also encourages attention to how Charles's representation changed as it was copied. This can lead to interesting discoveries. For example, returning to letters patent produced at court, the version of Cooper's portrait that the Crown engineered to appear on letters patent from the late 1660s cuts out details connecting Charles to the English monarchy and adding grandeur to it. According to Gibson, Cooper's original 1665 portrait of Charles II depicted him with an orb just visible underneath his right hand and with a '[s]ketchily finished' purple curtain behind him on the left and 'dark skies' on the right.¹⁷⁴ In a painted copy of the work by the artist himself which has semblance of being the version of the portrait that the letters patent engravings were based on (**Figure 2.34, below**), the orb – and thus a key element of the original painting's royal symbolism – is lost. The curtain also morphs colour, if not form. In the letters patent engravings (**Figures 2.17, 2.29, 2.30, and 2.4.A**, the orb, the curtain, 'skies', and significant portions of the king's Garter robes are then missing. Elements adding drama and perspective to the image and even identifying Charles as king are thus removed during its transition from Coopers' original work to the engravings.¹⁷⁵ By contrast, Gibson incidentally reports that 'the hint of the orb beneath

¹⁷⁴ Gibson, "'Best Belov'd of Kings'", ii, p.302 cat. no.345.

¹⁷⁵ This point contests Sharpe's suggestion that Garter symbolism alone was one of 'the symbols of a monarchy', *Rebranding Rule*, pp.98-(9).

[Charles's] hand' was a feature of copies of the same Cooper portrait 'surrounded by diamonds, and presented to ambassadors when they bid farewell to the King'.¹⁷⁶



Figure 2.34. Cooper, *Karel II (1630-[85])*, 1665 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam). Public domain.

¹⁷⁶ Gibson, *The Cult of Charles II*, p.8.



Figure 2.17. IOR/A/1/26, f.1r (BL). © The British Library Board.



Figure 2.29. IOR/A/1/27, f.1r (BL). © The British Library Board.

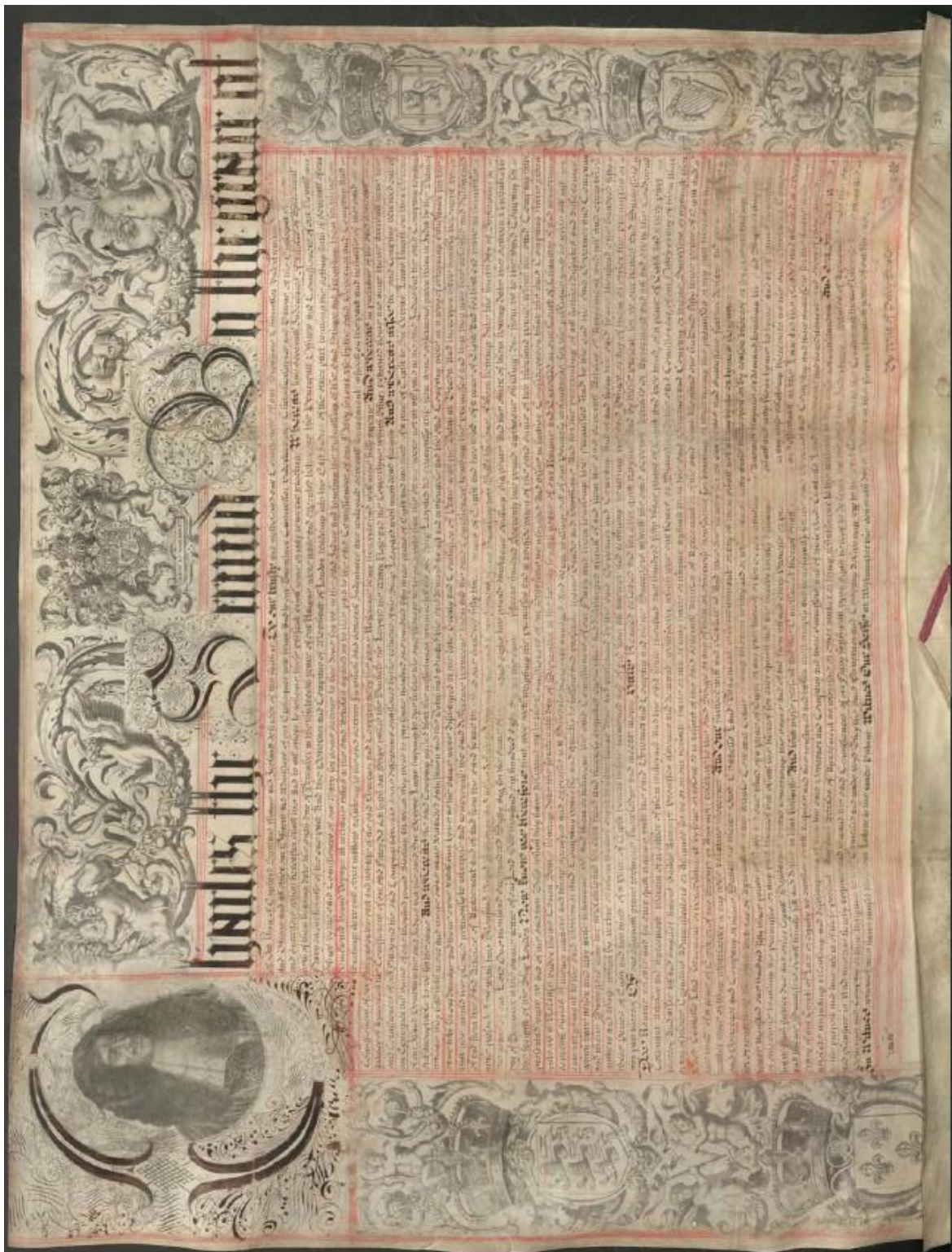


Figure 2.30. IOR/A/1/28, f.1r (BL). © The British Library Board.

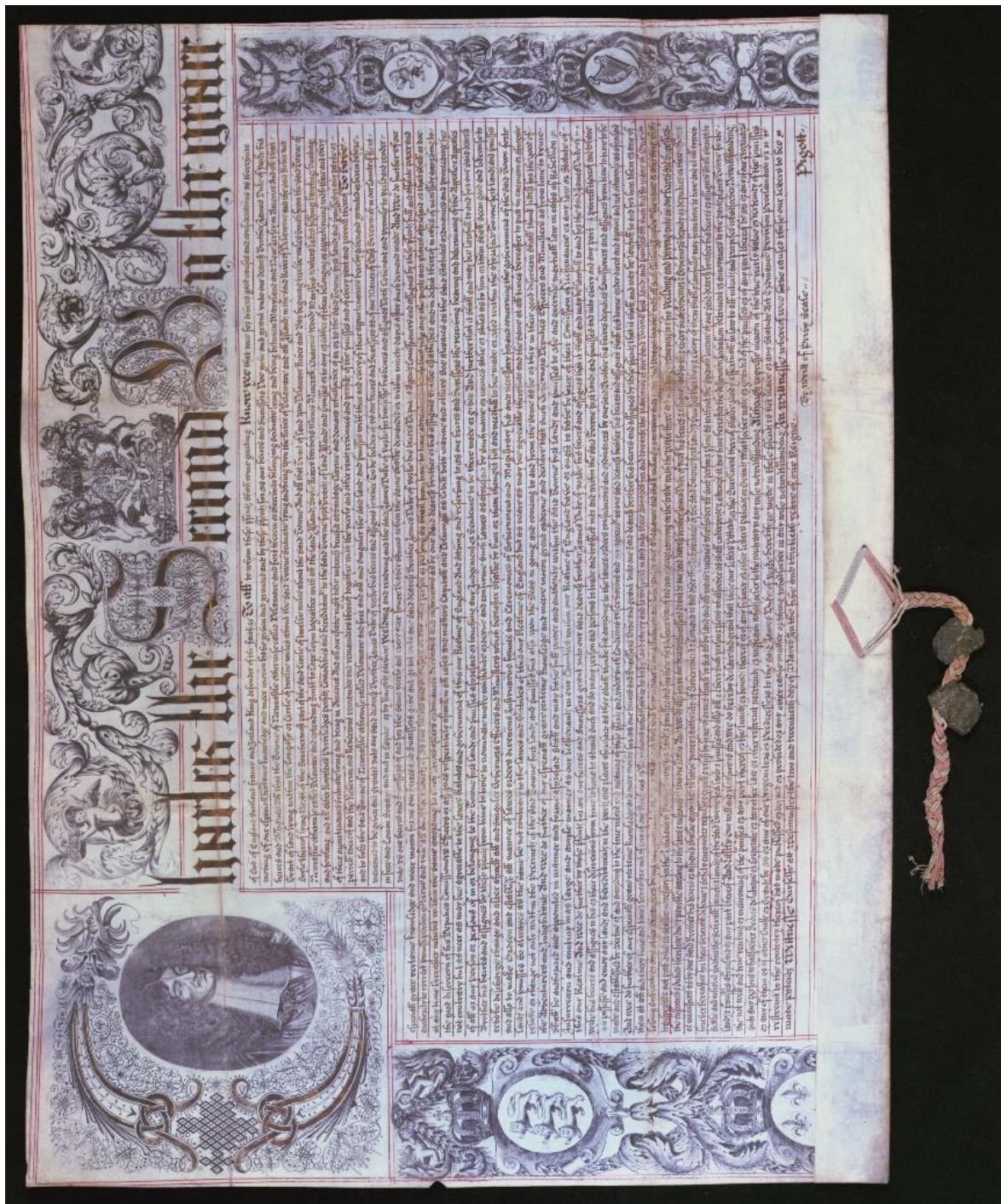


Figure 2.4.A. Delaware's Restoration charter (1682).

Without the classic visual symbols of monarchy to signal the sitter's identity, it is not obvious that the portrait showed the English Restoration monarch. Speaking to modern audiences about the portrait on Pennsylvania's charter,¹⁷⁷ Stahlman makes a fair point: he assumes that it will be mistaken for showing William Penn, the charter's recipient and modern state's founder, rather than the King, its issuer: 'the image... is, in fact, not William Penn, but rather King Charles II of England'.¹⁷⁸ Gibson in fact makes a similar point about Garter portraits of Charles generally: she suggests that like armour portraits, little distinction was made between royal and aristocratic sitters, thereby levelling the representational playing field.¹⁷⁹ It is unclear exactly how she reconciles this with the argument that '[u]pon the return of the monarchy, it was plain that distance between subjects and King had to be re-established'.¹⁸⁰ The removal of explicitly regal iconography from the Cooper portrait that the Crown very clearly had installed in letters patent from the late 1660s suggests at the very least that 're-establish[ing]' such 'distance' was not a goal consistent either across the entirety of Charles's reign or all official visual royal representational media. In fact, like the examples of Restoration ordnance ornamentation already discussed, it opens consideration of another conclusion altogether: that in some cases, the Crown deliberately foregrounded institutional rather than Restoration-specific symbolism in official royal representation and established representational distance between the restored monarchy and Charles's person.

Chapter Three will turn to examine this possibility. This chapter has determined that official royal representational instances could be the product of many hands and yet still ultimately indicative of Crown decision-making, and that practical tools of government hitherto overlooked as forms of Charles's representation could serve as powerful examples of the same within colonial contexts.

¹⁷⁷ See **Figure 2.65, below**.

¹⁷⁸ PHMC, present. Stahlman, YouTube, '[William Penn's Original Charter – Page \[One\]](#)', 0:12, 0:13 with subtitles.

¹⁷⁹ Gibson does detail minor distinctions between Charles and others' Garter costumes. However, few are likely discernible, if present at all, in the engraved letters patent portraits. "'Best Belov'd of Kings'", i, p.89, see also p.96; idem, *The Cult of Charles II*, p.8.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., p.7.

With this established, it is time to turn to consider the meaning and messages that might sit behind not only such examples, but the Restoration king's representation at large.



Figure 2.65. Pennsylvania’s Restoration charter (1681), Pennsylvania State Archives.

Chapter Three. Pinpointing Messages and Meaning in

Charles II's Colonial Representation

This thesis has exposed that it is difficult to pinpoint and thus dissect the intentions and meaning behind examples of Charles's representation. Such an argument stands in stark contrast to the more optimistic stances of Sharpe and other scholars in the field.¹ But this does not mean we must abandon hope of clear conclusions and smooth historiographical narratives. We must simply be efficient in how we embrace royal representation's complexity and diversity. Doing so reveals how royal representational analysis can not only uncover nuances in how the Crown approached colonial affairs and royal representational media. It also provides important insight into how second-parties engaged with Charles's representation and experienced the presence and authority of the Restoration monarchy.

Crucially, examining seals as an official royal representational form reinforces and extends Chapter One's arguments that the Crown had chronologically- and geographically-specific colonial priorities.² Contrary to what historians such as Stanwood and Glickman contend, such seals demonstrate that the Crown did not pursue a single-minded, overarching colonial strategy and certainly did not envisage instituting itself as a greater presence within local political landscapes.³ However, they also show how coordination, discernment, and prioritisation might lie behind its involvement in colonial affairs even from the early Restoration. This in turn contravenes another line of historiographical argument: that royal colonial activity was characterised by mismanagement and lack of interest.⁴ Colonial seals with clear Crown involvement highlight instead

¹ See for example Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp.11-222; Cook, "'Stamp with Your Own Image'"; Backscheider, *Spectacular Politics*, esp. pp.5, 8-9, 11-24, 30.

² Above, pp.101-25.

³ Stanwood, *The Empire Reformed*, p.25; Glickman, *Making the Imperial Nation*, pp.13-15; see also above, p.33.

⁴ For such arguments, above, p.33, esp. n.100, see also p.106.

a clear hierarchy of royal colonial interests, which confirms historiographical expectations in some respects and challenges existing contentions in others. It also suggests that there were distinct royal *visions* of the Crown's ties to colonial territories rather than one overriding notion of them. Reflecting on official royal representational media more broadly, variation in how the Crown viewed and prioritised the value of both different royal representational forms and different royal representational *types* can also be discerned. Charles's representation through personal signifiers such as his portrait can be shown to have been viewed by the Crown as more prestigious than institutional emblems such as the regalia, for example. This finding opens the door to using analysis of both Charles's official colonial and English representation to expose the importance which his monarchy accorded to pursuits beyond colonial affairs.

It also bears emphasising that Charles's representation extended beyond that explicitly or implicitly approved by the Crown itself. Chapter Two explored how second-parties were often integral to the creation of official royal representation; how they were active users rather than simply recipients of its instances; and how through such use distinctions between 'official' and 'second-party' royal representation become blurred.⁵ This chapter will interrogate the possible meanings and implications of second-parties' broad engagement with royal representation, chiefly by exploring how and perhaps why they fashioned representations of the Restoration king, and how the English monarchy was encountered, experienced, and perceived in colonial environments. Its analysis again challenges traditional understandings of 'royal representation'.⁶ It can certainly be debated, for example, whether a reference to a royal standard for charitable allowances or to the English Chancery Court in Barbadian parish government minutes stretches the definition of 'royal representation' too far.⁷ Yet such quotidian references provide tangible insight into how the Crown

⁵ Above, pp.145-93, 213-40.

⁶ See above, pp.194-239.

⁷ 'Records of... St. Michael', in *JBMHS*, XV: 4 (1948), 203; 'St Michael Vestry Minutes, vol. ii 1678-1743', 2017-13 (13 June 2022), f.15.

was manifested within parish life. They are concrete examples of how settlers encountered royal authority within their day-to-day lives and how it featured amongst and alongside other priorities and proclivities. Why should they not be considered examples of royal representation, if just as certainly as a portrait or a royal letter, they expressed, depicted, or referenced Charles's office, person, or authority?

Together with analysing how second parties engaged with classic forms of Charles's representation, recognising such media as *bona fide* components of the colonial royal representational landscape draws further attention to the practical drivers and contingent motivations behind interactions with Charles's representation. Again, it should be no surprise that such factors informed how subjects engaged with royal representation and thus deserve acknowledgement within representational analysis. This has not stopped historians such as Pestana, Ogg, and Sosin presenting Massachusetts settlers' engagement with Charles's representation chiefly, and even only, as components of the political saga played out between the Restoration Crown and the colony's authorities, for example.⁸ Nor has it prevented both colonial and representational historians from drawing *de facto* lines more generally between subjects' interactions with royal representation and their alleged political allegiances. However, only a few examples of how Charles's subjects in Massachusetts, Barbados, and even within England chose to engage with his representation are needed to show that drawing such lines is reductive. Ultimately, it obscures the multitude of messages and meaning behind how second parties constituted and encountered Charles's presence through representational means. In particular, it risks creating the impression that his representation was more infused with Crown-oriented partisan politics than it was.

⁸ Cf. Stanwood's notably hypocritical rejection of historians' tendency to characterise '[t]he [Restoration] battle over the Massachusetts's charter' as 'a contest between core and periphery, Puritanism and empire, America and England'. See for example Pestana, *The English Atlantic*, pp.216-18; Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, ii, pp.680-5; with some attention to local political dynamics, Sosin, *English America and the Restoration Monarchy*, e.g., pp.93, 96-7, 107, 117-24; Stanwood, *The Empire Reformed*, pp.49-50.

To begin to pinpoint the messages and meaning of Charles's colonial representation, however, let us look at royal colonial seals.

Three Deputed Colonial Seals and The Illumination of Royal Priorities

It is pertinent to start with the sole three examples of Restoration colonial deputed seals logged in College of Arms (CoAs)' records. These are Jamaica, Virginia, and Barbados's first Restoration deputed colonial seals (**Figures 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3**). The CoA records date their creation to royal warrants of 3 February 1661, 9 August 1662, and 16 April 1663 respectively and it is known from these and other records that they were created by Thomas Simon, Charles's royal engraver.⁹ Yet at first sight, there is slim evidence to demonstrate that the Crown was a significant force behind the creation of their designs and thus their royal representation. The variations in the nature of such representation do not fall into straightforward patterns explained by easily-tagged traits such as the seals' dating or engraver or the colonies' geography or English governance type. This makes it difficult to determine swiftly what whoever *was* behind the seals' designs intended them to say. And there is of course no guarantee that whatever these messages were, they were even noted - let alone understood and accepted - by those who came across them. Nevertheless, in line with the arguments made above, it is still possible to discern royal goals from these representational instances.

Figures 3.1, 3.2 & 3.3 (below). Drawings of Jamaica, Virginia, and Barbados's first Restoration deputed colonial seals. *College of Arms MS Walker's Grants [Two]*, [ff].5, 6. Reproduced by permission of the Kings, Herald, and Pursuivants of Arms.

⁹ Vertue, *Medals... of Thomas Simon*, 2nd edn, pp.92-3, Appendix Five.



Figure 3.1.A & B.
Obverse and
reverse, Jamaican
seal. See caption,
p.251. Reproduced
by permission of
the Kings, Heralds,
and Pursuivants of
Arms.





Figure 3.2. Virginian seal. See caption, p.251. Reproduced by permission of the Kings, Herald, and Pursuivants of Arms.



Figure 3.3.A & B.
[Reverse and
obverse],
Barbadian seal.
See caption, p.251.
Reproduced by
permission of the
Kings, Heralds, and
Pursuivants of
Arms.



By fitting the three seals into their rightful place within a wider pool of examples; by paying attention to geography as a factor in analysis; and by extending interpretation across established historiographical divides, clear determinations emerge.¹⁰ They suggest that Caribbean territories were a core royal colonial priority. They indicate that, specifically, the Crown's concern was establishing and advertising its sovereignty over such territories in terms of European international political spheres and that, by contrast, attempting to re-establish monarchical control over all three colonies in the Interregnum's aftermath was a lesser concern. These three representational instances are therefore excellent examples through which to draw out this chapter's principal themes. They demonstrate that simple lines often cannot be drawn between royal representation and politics and nor should they be. However, they also show that it is possible to discern particular motives - political and otherwise – behind its examples and to arrive at essential conclusions regarding the Restoration Crown, early English colonialism, and how both intersected with Charles's representation.

Muddled Magnificence?

Jamaica, Virginia, and Barbados's early Restoration deputed colonial seals are paragons of Charles's official colonial representation, yet precisely because they are not straightforwardly magnificent, the Crown's role in engineering their design is not transparent, and nor is it easy to read their underlying purposes. First, at an initial glance they present Charles in resplendent fashion to those who obtained and observed impressions of them, for example on Jamaica's reported monthly 'Sealing day' or as St John's vestry in Barbados planned to for its intended sale of land in 1679.¹¹

¹⁰ For focus on media type, see Jenkinson's criticism of the structure of Sharpe's volume, Jenkinson, 'Review [Rebranding Rule]', 1501-2, see also above, pp.3-4.

¹¹ Above, pp.219, 218.

The Jamaican deputed seal's obverse depicts an indigenous person kneeling before Charles, offering him pineapples as he sits in state overlooked by cherubs; its reverse showcases the colony's recently awarded arms, which carried implicit connections to the Crown.¹² The grant of such arms was reported in the contemporaneous 'State of Jamaica' as a sign of royal esteem for the island and heraldic commentary within early twentieth-century state papers pitches their apparent inclusion of a royal helmet as likely 'a special concession' made by the Restoration Crown to reflect Jamaica being 'one of the most – if not the most – important Colony'.¹³ The seal's grandeur may not be done justice by the crudity of the College of Arms drawing; it is better illustrated by the proof impression of the seal in The British Library – presumed to be the seal offered for royal approval before the design was finalised (**Figure 3.4, below**).¹⁴ Rhetorically, grand statements are made. The obverse depicting Charles enthroned is circled by his title 'with the addition DOMIN. JAMAICAE', which in 1937 an unnamed modern governor of Jamaica apparently interpreted with reported '[pride]' as the Restoration king '[taking] the title "of Jamaica, Lord"'.¹⁵ According to Justice's translation, it is then footed by the phrase, 'How sweet the fruit the hard rind yields'. The reverse's circumference meanwhile is said by Justice to declare that 'Behold, the cross hath spread its arms into another world, and beareth fruit' and Jamaica's arms sit above the phrase he reads as 'Both Indies will serve one'.¹⁶

¹² For details of the seal's design, including the obverse showing pineapples and the reverse, Jamaica's recently acquired arms, see for example Justice, 'The Art of Coining Christians', 126; see also Vertue, *Medals... of Thomas Simon*, 2nd edn, pp.92-3.

¹³ Jamaica, *The Laws of Jamaica... April 17, 1684*, 'The State of Jamaica', p.x; TNA, CO 323/1522/9, ff.[10r-(11r)], see also [19r-20r].

¹⁴ Cf. **Figure 3.1**, above, p.252.

¹⁵ Vertue, *Medals... of Thomas Simon*, 2nd edn, p.93; TNA, CO 323/1522/9, ff.11r-12r, (11r, 12r).

¹⁶ Justice, 'The Art of Coining Christians', 126.



Figure 3.4.

Thomas Simon, 'Proof Impression of Charles II's Seal for the Island of Jamaica', 1661-5 (BL).

Virginia's one-sided seal is adorned with a simpler design: it represents Charles through the Gartered royal arms encircled by the phrase, 'EN. DAT. VIRGINIA. QVINTVM' (**Figure 3.2**),¹⁷ a phrase which, as noted in Chapter One, Tyler interprets as reflecting the colony's perceived status as a fifth Stuart kingdom.¹⁸ Barbados's deputed seal then depicts Charles as Neptune on one side and Gartered royal arms on the other, as detailed in the introduction.¹⁹ The two sides respectively bear phrases which roughly translate as 'Within the orbit of British rule' and 'Domin[ion] of Barbados and the Caribbean [interior?]'. As also noted in the introduction, this particular seal carried the same design as an Admiralty seal and parallels with Verrio's subsequent portrait of Charles, *The*

¹⁷ Above, p.253.

¹⁸ Above, p.100.

¹⁹ Above, pp.13-14.

Sea Triumph (cf. **Figures 3.3.A and I.ii**).²⁰ And yet both because of and despite these features, its message of representational magnificence and royal colonial might not be as resounding as initial impressions suggest.²¹ This is also true of the Jamaican and Virginian seals. Like Barbados's seal, Jamaica's has a parallel with an English royal portrait which Sharpe connects to the Restoration king's colonial inclinations: *John Rose... presenting Charles II... with a pineapple*, attributed to Hendrik Danckerts and said by Sharpe to carry 'a hint of the fruits or homage to empire' (cf. **Figures 3.1.A, 3.5, below**).²² Indeed, for Justice, Jamaica's seal is an emphatic declaration of Charles's aspiration to rule '[b]oth Indies'.²³ Nevertheless, there is reason to question how far such a declaration was picked up by observers.



Figure 3.3.A. [Reverse], Barbadian seal. Reproduced by permission of the Kings, Herald, and Pursuivants of Arms.

Figure I.ii. Verrio, *Sea Triumph*.

²⁰ Above, pp.14-15.

²¹ Above, pp.15-19.

²² Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, p.106.

²³ Quotation relating to Justice's translation of the seal's legend, 'The Art of Coining Christians', (126)-7.



Figure 3.1.A. Obverse, Jamaican seal. Reproduced by permission of the Kings, Herald, and Pursuivants of Arms.

Figure 3.5. Attributed to Hendrik Danckerts, *John Rose... the King's Gardener, presenting Charles II... with a pineapple...* [1660-80], oil on canvas, Ham House, The Stapleton Collection.

For all the information and emphasis on the Jamaican seal and its integration into colonial life provided in 'The State of Jamaica',²⁴ the author mistakes a basic detail. They explain that the side depicting the King showed him 'seated on his Throne, with two *Indians* on their knees', whilst as shown in the figures provided above, only one indigenous person is illustrated.²⁵ This apparent misreporting does not fundamentally change potential readings of the seal. It does, however, point to how essential components might be misremembered and conveyed incorrectly, serving as a reminder that there was no guarantee that observers would take away what was intended from royal representation.²⁶ This possibility of course carries into the modern age: a pencilled note on a 'Memorandum on the Jamaica Seal' included in the early twentieth-century state colonial papers referenced above appears to question whether the pineapple held by the indigenous person at least in post-Restoration iterations of the seal is in fact a raspberry. The memorandum itself also appears to imbibe the error printed in 'The State of Jamaica' regarding the number of indigenous

²⁴ Above, pp.218-19.

²⁵ Jamaica, *The Laws of Jamaica...* April 17, 1684, 'The State of Jamaica', pp.(x)-xii.

²⁶ For discussion of an example of such lack of guarantee, Gibson, *The Cult of Charles II*, p.11.

persons in Jamaica's Restoration seal.²⁷ In a similar vein, Walne comments that Charles's initials in fact appeared on Virginia's deputed seal despite their absence in the CoA's depiction of it.²⁸ This omission may be a contemporary error or one of transcription; today's CoA records and arguably likely those that Walne saw are a circa eighteenth-century transcription of Restoration records.²⁹

In any case, at least to modern eyes, if not also contemporary ones, the Virginian seal's visual royal signification is rather underwhelming. Gibson may suggest that by this period, contemporaries perceived the royal arms to embody royal authority more directly than royal portraits.³⁰ This means that Virginia's seal may have been read as a particularly decisive statement of Charles's power compared to Jamaica's seal as the former displayed the royal arms and the latter a royal portrait.³¹ However, compared not only to the visual royal representation visible on both Jamaica and Barbados's Restoration seals, but also that on the colony's early Stuart seal, the Restoration Virginian seal's imagery is arguably less emphatically regal and simply less splendid (**cf. Figures 3.2, 3.6, below**).

²⁷ TNA, CO 323/1522/9, f.[23r]; for evidence suggesting that the papers' reporting of the error may stem from Jamaica, *The Laws of Jamaica... April 17, 1684*, 'The State of Jamaica', see the work's extended quotation by F. Cundall in an apparent extract from his work of 1900. This is included within papers discussing Jamaica's historic seals in the context of early twentieth-century debates about a new Jamaican seal. TNA, CO 323/1377/11, ff.[1-9], esp.[8].

²⁸ Walne, 'The Great Seal Deputed of Virginia', 8, also cf. Figure II; **Figure 3.2**.

²⁹ Again, with thanks to James Lloyd at the College of Arms for discussion of this point regarding relevant CoA records.

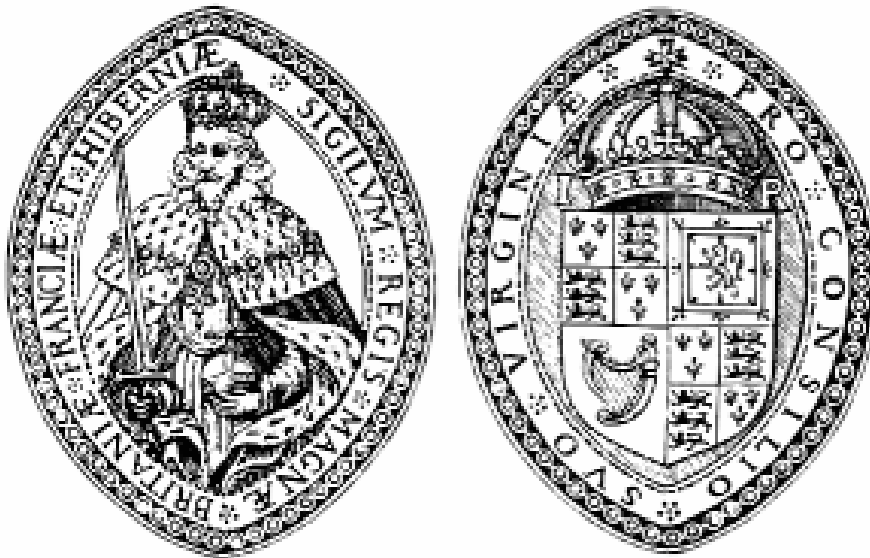
³⁰ Gibson, "'Best Belov'd of Kings'", i, p.74.

³¹ Cf. the argument below, that the Crown in fact used personal rather than institutional royal representation to signal greater alignment with royal authority, below, esp. pp.263-87.



Figure 3.2. [Restoration] Virginian seal. Reproduced by permission of the Kings, Heralds, and Pursuivants of Arms.

Figure 3.6.[A & B]. Virginia's deputed colonial seal (1606-24), printed depiction, Wikimedia Commons. Public domain, including in the United States.



Moreover, it is difficult to establish the Crown as having a definitive role in commissioning the seals' designs. The College of Arms records suggest as noted above, that royal warrants were issued for the seals but in the case of Jamaica's seal, according to early twentieth-century investigations and this research's consideration of the State Papers Colonial calendars, no such warrant has been unearthed.³² In fact, Ailes reports that Jamaica's seal was 'designed neither by government officials nor by the heralds at the College of Arms [but] [i]nstead... William Sancroft, later archbishop of

³² TNA, CO 323/1522/9, ff.[3r-v, 10r]; *CSPC. 1574-1660*, ed. Sainsbury, pp.479-98; *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, ed. idem., index entries, 'Jamaica', and entries spanning 3 February 1661, refs.14-15; for date of the relevant seal warrant as 3 February 1661, above, p.251.

Canterbury'. He also suggests that Virginia's government 'opted for [the colony's] seal', implying that it had primary agency over what that seal should be, not the Crown.³³ As indicated in the introduction, there is likewise evidence that Barbados's local authorities may have provided the impetus for the creation of the island's deputed seal.³⁴ Nonetheless, the fact that warrants were reportedly issued for each of the seals suggests that the Crown had at least a degree of active interest in them. Indeed, in 1937 the incumbent King of Arms ultimately reported that they were 'incline[d]... to think that the [Jamaican seal's] design received official approval' on the basis of it having been logged in the College of Arms's records by his Restoration predecessor,³⁵ and the Barbadian and Virginian seal designs are of course also included in such records, meaning that the argument can be extended to encompass them also. In addition, a key visual pattern discernible behind the designs – discussed below – supports the conclusion that like letters patent's visual components, the Crown played a coordinating role behind the royal representation that they displayed.

Yet what is such a pattern? Taking inspiration from Sharpe and attempting to fit these representational instances into a single-track, chronological, political narrative does not make for clean interpretation. Whilst the imagery of Jamaica's seal might fit with a tale of declarative early Restoration royal colonial ambitions that nevertheless recognised second-party colonial partners, that of Barbados's seal drops apparent recognition of such possible partners and that of Virginia's seal suggests comparatively muted and nondescript royal colonial aspirations. Interpreted in this way, this means one of two things. The seals either tell very *different* stories of the Crown's colonial interests during a period of just over two years. Or they tell a *single* story of royal colonial inconsistency, akin to what Stanwood describes as its general bureaucratic 'waffling' over colonial

³³ Ailes, 'Signs, Seals and Symbols', 14, 12.

³⁴ Above, p.19.

³⁵ TNA, CO 323/1522/9, f.[10r].

policy.³⁶ Justice's interpretative framework for Restoration seals is also of little help here. According to his analysis, the trope conveyed by the depiction of an indigenous figure on the Jamaican seal's obverse attests to the Crown's perception that it commanded *imperium* – or by Justice's telling, control over the colony's people rather than simply its territory. Nonetheless, it effectively has nothing to say about seals which do not include illustrations of indigenous persons – and thus Barbados and Virginia's Restoration seals – at all.³⁷

The more features that are turned to in order to attempt to explain the variations in the three seals' imagery – the type of possession and broad geographical area of the colonies that they relate to; the possible parties behind the designs – the more it seems that there may be no overarching interpretative framework and explanation that encompasses them, except that they are all designs requiring explanation in and on their own terms.³⁸ Nonetheless, setting them in the wider context of colonial seals and other media types as royal representational forms, and heeding geography as a significant analytical factor, brings just such a framework into focus. It centres on Charles's personal versus institutional representation. And the key to unlocking it is considering Charles's representation on Irish seals.

Reading Restoration Irish Seals

The three deputed colonial seals discussed above may be the only Restoration colonial seals recorded in the supposedly comprehensive CoA records and the only ones given as 'Seals for his Majesties foreeigne Plantations' in 'The Account of Thomas Simon...' printed by Vertue.³⁹ This primes analysis for interpreting and presenting them on their own terms. So too do two

³⁶ Stanwood, *The Empire Reformed*, pp.27-8, (p.28).

³⁷ Justice, 'The Art of Coining Christians', esp. abstract, 111, 126-7, for brief discussion of Virginia's early Start seals, 114-15, for off-hand mention of Barbados's seals, 116 n.38, see also 126-7.

³⁸ For relevant such features, **Tables A and D, esp. cols.K-S** for the latter and above, p.251.

³⁹ See for example P. Walne's comment that 'one of the duties of the officers of the College [of Arms] [was] to record and register all colonial seals'. 'The Great Seal Deputed of Virginia', 7; note that Vertue lists Irish seals separately, Vertue, *Medals... of Thomas Simon*, 2nd edn, pp.(92)-3, (85), for Irish seals, p.92.

representational historiographical penchants. First, failing to enumerate the extent of the representational instances under investigation and secondly, then avoiding positioning specific examples within such context. Yet the three seals are part of much wider pools of colonial seals. As already shown by introducing the seals catalogued in **Table D**, they are, for example, only a small proportion of the total number of Restoration seals that stood as proxies for England's Great Seal in colonial territories. They are also only a handful of the broader Restoration colonial seals in whose commissioning or design the Crown is believed likely to have taken an active interest. They are again then only a sub-set of the wider pool of known Restoration colonial seals overall.⁴⁰ Precisely as the above discussion helps to demonstrate, failing to acknowledge and embrace this explicitly restricts analysis. For when seals with clear royal associations are considered as a whole, a distinct pattern emerges. And it does so by focusing first on the features of Irish seals specifically. Though the argument has been put forward in Chapter One that representational evidence suggests that Ireland was firmly seen as a kingdom rather than a colony by the Restoration Crown, its classification as the latter for the purposes of this research has drawn attention to its seals alongside those of *bona fide* Restoration colonies.⁴¹ What they show is a clear correlation between the seals' material and visual features, and the perceived importance of the institutions to which the seals related.

Compare, for example, Ireland's Great Seal of c.1661 with the c.1660-5 seals for the Irish Court of Exchequer, King's Bench, and Common Pleas.⁴² The Irish Great Seal is equivalent to a deputed colonial seal and therefore the kingdom's most illustrious seal. According to details printed by Vertue, it is also the most expensive known example of an Irish Restoration seal at one hundred

⁴⁰ There are ten known iterations of Restoration deputed colonial seals; twenty-six Restoration seals which likely can be tied to active royal interest; and thirty-three known Restoration colonial seals overall. Above, p.220.

⁴¹ Above, pp.42, 108-10.

⁴² For the Great Seal's approximate dating, TNA, C 106/153, no.9; for all four seals and relevant details, Vertue, *Medals... of Thomas Simon*, 2nd edn, p.92, for details used to approximate the seals' dating, see also p.85; for the date of Simon's death, Warner, 'The Life of Thomas Simon', 431, col.a-b.

and fifty pounds. Furthermore, it is double-sided; its matrix is made of silver; and it depicts Charles in a fashion similar to England's Restoration Great Seals.⁴³ As shown in **Figure 3.7**, not only does it display him on horseback on one side – in this case, above a greyhound and Dublin's cityscape – and enthroned on the other. More essentially, it depicts him *personally* on both sides. By contrast, the Irish Court of Exchequer, King's Bench, and Common Pleas seals are less materially impressive. Their royal representation is also different in its configuration. Courtesy again of information provided by Vertue, it is known that they were double-sided and their matrices to have been made of silver. Yet whilst they are recorded by Simon as weighing slightly more than the Irish Great Seal at eighty-nine rather than seventy-eight ounces, they may have each only cost a third of its price: Simon lists them together as costing one hundred and fifty-five pounds. In terms of Charles's representation, on one side each, they are also said to have shown the king in person: 'sitting in a shipp robed and crowned, with his scepter and globe on one side' on the Court of Exchequer seal and enthroned in the case of the other two seals. Yet notably and unlike the Irish Great Seal, the seals' other sides are described as showing only *institutional* royal representation: the royal arms with supporters.

Figure 3.7.A & B (below). Irish Great Seal, as attached to TNA, C 106/153, no.9.

Figures 3.8, 3.9, & 3.10 (below). Charles II's Second, Third, and Fourt Great Seals. A. B. Wyon, with contributions from A. Wyon, *The Great Seals of England* (London, 1887), Plates XXXVI, XXXVII, XXXVIII.

⁴³ Ibid.; cf. **Figures 3.7-10**.



Figure 3.7.A & B. See caption, p.265.



Figure 3.8. See caption, p.265.



Figure 3.9. See caption, p.265.



Figure 3.10. See caption, p.265.

Moving on to other Restoration Irish seal examples, six more have been encountered in this research. One also dating to c.1660-5 and engraved by Simon is for the Irish Court of Wards. Like the other Irish judiciary seals listed above, its matrix is reported in Vertue as made of silver. However, it was to be far cheaper than such counterparts at only thirty-five pounds; it was to be only single-sided and weigh just sixteen ounces; and this side was to depict only institutional royal representation: the royal arms with supporters. Three similarly dated seals listed in Vertue as destined for unspecified purposes then appear to have likewise been only single-sided but their matrices made in ivory rather than silver. At only ‘the bigness of a half crown silver’, they also seem to have been far smaller than even the Court of Wards seal and are noted as costing less than a third as much between them. Whilst one apparently displayed ‘the rose and crown’, the others are noted as bearing the royal arms with no mention made of supporters – again, only institutional royal representation.⁴⁴

In turn, though few details are available for a seal with an impression labelled ‘[Lord-lieutenant] [and] Councell of Ireland 1676/7’ in The National Archives, it appears single-sided. Yet interestingly it also displays Charles II’s initials astride a rose and crown (**Figure 3.11.A & B, below**).⁴⁵ Another seal is then catalogued by W. de G. Birch as for James Butler, Duke of Ormonde as ‘Lieutenant-General’ and dated to between 1681 and 1688.⁴⁶ Whilst also apparently single-sided, in contrast to the 1676-7 lord-lieutenant and council seal, its royal representation is scant, if present at all. Birch describes the seal as depicting items including a shield, mythical creatures, a name, a place name,

⁴⁴ Only one of the matrices may be in ivory. For seals’ details, Vertue, *Medals... of Thomas Simon*, 2nd edn, p.92, for dating, above, p.264 n.42; for size approximation, a silver 1660 half-crown is catalogued as weighing 14.99 grammes or less than one ounce. ‘[Coin \[museum number 1919,0918.57\]](#)’, The British Museum (27 Mar. 2024).

⁴⁵ TNA, SP 9/198/1B/[6? 9?]; for the possibility of a second side, cf. an early Stuart Virginia seal impression in the same collection which may in fact have been double-sided, **Figure 3.12.A & B (below)**; cf. Walne, ‘The Great Seal Deputed of Virginia’, 4 and Figure I.

⁴⁶ It is presumed that Birch intends to refer to Ormonde’s role as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland within this period. Birch, *Catalogue of Seals... in the British Museum*, iv, p.703; see T. Barnard, ‘[Butler, James, First Duke of Ormond \(1610–1688\)](#)’, *ODNB* (2004, revised 2008) (4 May 2023), ‘Office in England and Ireland, 1660–[88]’, pgr.12.



Figure 3.11.A & B. Irish Lord-lieutenant and Council seal. TNA, SP 9/198/1B/[6? 9?].

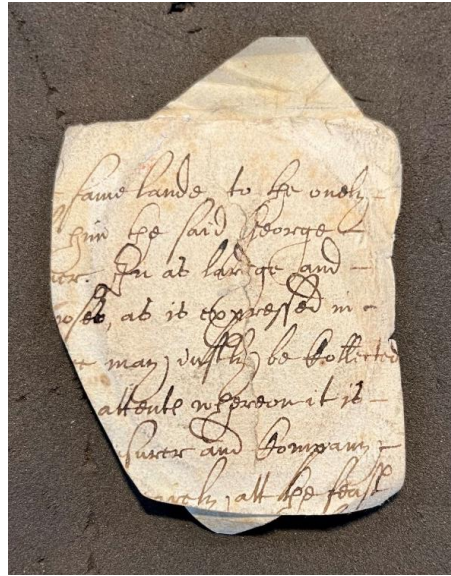


Figure 3.12.A & B. '[C?]olony –
Seale of
[ye Governor
[and]
[indecipherable]
... of?] Virginia...
1620', TNA,
SP 9/198/1A.

a motto, and ermine. Given its connections to royalty, the latter feature can be considered institutional royal representation but only at a stretch.

From these details, two things emerge. First, a broad correlation between features of the seals that would naturally be considered indicative of their importance – their number of sides, their materials, their weight, and their cost – and the nature of their royal representation. The scale of the latter appears to start with double-sided seals and move from two sides of the seal displaying personal royal representation at the top of the scale to one side showing personal and the other, institutional. It then seems to progress to single-sided seals. Here, the scale's starting point is more difficult to determine given the lack of details available regarding the lord-lieutenant and council seal. However, it would fit the general direction of the emerging pattern for it to start with Charles's semi-personal representation, moving to institutional royal representation in the order of royal arms with and then without supporters. The latter form of royal representation is, as noted above, what appears on two seals possibly made of ivory rather than silver seals and of unknown miscellaneous purpose, small size, and low cost. It can be speculated that the scale ends with barely any institutional royal representation at all, in this case in the form of the ermine on the duke of Ormonde's seal presumed to be for his role as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Thus, Charles's personal

representation appears to feature alongside material and visual characteristics denoting seals' perceived value and importance; royal institutional representation, in combination with seals deemed less significant.⁴⁷

Secondly, another, ultimately unsurprising correlation can be detected. As suggested above, characteristics indicating seals' perceived importance appear to correlate to the likely perceived importance of the institutions and parties to which they relate. As already noted, the most splendid seal carrying the greatest array of personal royal representation is Ireland's Great Seal, imbued with the monarch's direct authority; the seals with the least impressive material features and relatively bare institutional royal representation are those whose purpose does not warrant comment in Simon's '[a]ccount'.⁴⁸ By itself, this conclusion is unremarkable. In combination with the above and applied across the pool of known Restoration colonial seals overall, it is telling. For it provides insight into the priority to which the Crown assigned colonial and related territories.

A Hierarchy of Royal Colonial Interests

Interpreted according to the grandeur of their material components and their degree of personal rather than institutional royal representational, a hierarchy of royal colonial interests that tallies with Chapter One's conclusions on royal colonial grants is evident.

Ireland: A Kingdom and Not a Colony

Seals carrying associations with the Crown mark Ireland as clearly distinct from colonial territories.

The kingdom's Great Seal is not only distinguished as a 'Great Seal' rather than simply a 'seale for

⁴⁷ Appearing to discuss colonial deputed seals generally, Jenkinson does suggest that monarchical portraits begin to disappear amongst examples over time, though does not speculate on this shift's meaning. Jenkinson, *A Guide to Seals [Public Record Office]*, p.42 n.8; see also idem, 'The Great Seal of England; Deputed or Departmental Seals', p.336.

⁴⁸ Vertue, *Medals... of Thomas Simon*, 2nd edn, p.92, (85).

[Ireland]’ by Simon.⁴⁹ The same seal costs more than twice as much as that of any other seal for which the price is known and it is the only one which carries Charles’s personal representation on two sides rather than merely one. It is also the only Great or deputed seal with iconography known to mirror that of the contemporary Great Seal of England.⁵⁰ This reinforces the conclusion presented elsewhere in the thesis, that Ireland was primarily thought of by the Restoration Crown as a kingdom rather than as a colony, like Barbados, Jamaica, Virginia, or other such territories.⁵¹ The existence of a cache of other seals for Ireland’s judiciary adorned with Charles’s personal representation, made by Simon as royal engraver, and of not inconsiderable expense also speaks to the territory being of especial and distinct importance to the Crown. It thereby buttresses Usher’s fleeting contentions to similar effect and knocks others’ definitive branding of Restoration Ireland as ‘colonial’.⁵²

Prioritised Royal Interest in the Caribbean

Caribbean territories then emerge as of particular royal note. Apart from Ireland’s Great Seal and the seal designated and described by the Royal African Company’s 1663 charter, Jamaica, Barbados, and the Leeward Islands are the only territories that appear to have been granted, at the Crown’s behest, double-sided seals displaying Charles’s personal representation.⁵³ The royal engraver – first, Simon and then Henry Harris – engraved such seals for Jamaica in 1661; Barbados in 1663; Barbados and the Leeward Islands jointly in 1667; and the Leeward Islands by themselves in 1678.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Cf. Vertue, *Medals... of Thomas Simon*, 2nd edn, pp.92 and 93, quotation adapted from the equivalent phrase for Virginia’s seal, p.93.

⁵⁰ The Bahamian deputed colonial seals’ designs are not known: only that there were to be of ‘a certain model and draught’. *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, ed. Sainsbury, p.433 ref.1356. **Table D.**

⁵¹ Above, esp. pp.108-10.

⁵² Usher, *Protestant Dublin*, pp.3, 204, see also pp.13-16; above, p.73.

⁵³ The number of sides of the Bahamian seal and the nature of any royal representation if present, is not known from the sources consulted. *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, ed. Sainsbury, p.433 ref.1356; *CSPC AWI, 1669-1674*, idem, p.608 ref.1349.

⁵⁴ For details for such seals, including those outlined below, Vertue, *Medals... of Thomas Simon*, 2nd edn, pp.85, 92-93, 94; *CSPC AWI, 1669-74*, ed. Sainsbury, p.608 ref.1349; cf. Vertue, *Medals... of Thomas Simon*, 2nd edn, p.93; *CSPC AWI, 1677-1680*, eds. Sainsbury and Fortescue, pp.82 ref.225 pp.298-9 ref.812; *CTB*, ed. Shaw, v, EB, 28 Dec. 1678.

Their matrices were of silver. Out of the known costs for the above seals, they were consistently priced at around seventy pounds,⁵⁵ and therefore decidedly the second most expensive of those with clear Crown involvement.⁵⁶ The 1667 joint Barbadian and Leeward Islands seal and the 1678 Leeward Islands seal are also known to have depicted designs equivalent to Barbados's 1663 deputed seal: Charles shown as Neptune on one side and on the other, the royal arms without supporters on the earlier seal and with them on the later seal – personal royal representation backed by institutional royal representation.⁵⁷

According to the scale matching seals' representational facets to denotations of royal importance outlined above, this puts the seals and the clout that they carried in between that of Ireland's Common Pleas and its Court of Wards: the former and the latter both bear royal arms with supporters but only the former is double-sided and like the Caribbean seals, carries Charles's personal representation. Such comparison is not intended to suggest legal parity between the seals' force nor seriously to stipulate that the importance of Caribbean colonial territories was considered by the Crown as sitting precisely between two Irish judicial institutions. The comparison is made to illuminate where colonial, and particularly Caribbean, royal priorities may have sat in relation to ones focused on royal kingdoms. It also highlights how they intertwined with them even in the reign's opening years. By 1664, seals for Ireland, Jamaica, Virginia, Barbados, the Royal African Company, and even perhaps St Christopher had been arranged having had Crown involvement.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ The 1667 Barbadian and Leeward Islands' seals costing thirty and twenty pounds respectively are considered exceptions, on the assumption that the seals, their designs, and costs relied on the existence of the 1663 Barbadian deputed seal. Vertue, *Medals... of Thomas Simon*, 2nd edn, p.93; *CTB*, ed. Shaw, v, EB, (28 Dec. 1678), though cf. *CSPC AWI, 1677-1680*, eds. Sainsbury and Fortescue, pp.298-9 ref.812, esp. Annexes III-V; *CSPC AWI, 1669-74*, ed. Sainsbury, p.608 ref.1349; see also *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, ed. Sainsbury, p.433 ref.1355.

⁵⁶ **Table D.**

⁵⁷ *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, ed. Sainsbury, p.433 ref.1355; *CSPC AWI, 1677-1680*, eds. Sainsbury and Fortescue, p.298 ref.812.

⁵⁸ For details for St Christopher's seal, TNA QFA 1/10, [card 117]; see also Jenkinson, *A Guide to Seals [Public Record Office]*, p.55. Note it is not known when the Royal African Company's first seal was executed as opposed to its design stipulated in the Company's charter, *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, ed. Sainsbury, p.121 ref.408.

Further, it is notable that by 1667, all Caribbean territories widely or traditionally acknowledged as colonial sites were covered by a deputed colonial seal: Jamaica; Barbados; the Leeward Islands of Antigua, St Christopher, Montserrat, and Nevis; and the Bahamas.⁵⁹ Though the latter seal's designs and possible royal representation are unclear, the Crown's ties to its commissioning are definitive, for it is described as having been engraved by Henry Harris, royal engraver, 'by virtue of the King's warrant and the direction of the Earl of Arlington' by February 1666. At only twenty pounds, its cost was also low compared to most other orders for Caribbean deputed seals, though similar to that of the 1667 seal reproducing the 1663 Barbadian seal for Barbados and the Leeward Islands. This, along with the two seals' comparable dating, and the fact that they were described in the same '[a]ccount of Henry Harris, chief graver to his Majesty' fuels the suspicion that the Bahamian deputed seal's 'certain model and draught' may also have replicated the 1663 Barbadian seal and its blend of Neptune-based personal royal representation and royal arms institutional design.⁶⁰ If so, at the very least with royal assent, if not in fact by royal design from 1667, all historiographically renowned Caribbean territories would have had seals depicting Charles according to the personal and institutional designs shown in **Figures 3.1 and 3.3 (below)**.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Cf. **Table D; Table A.**

⁶⁰ *CSPC AWI, 1669-74*, ed. Sainsbury, p.608 ref.1349; *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, ed. Sainsbury, p.433 ref.1356; see also above, p.224.

⁶¹ Note that in 1664, St Christopher's seal is catalogued as depicting 'St Christopher bearing the Child across the water' instead. TNA QFA 1/10, [card 117].



Figure 3.1.A & B.
Jamaican seal.
College of Arms
MS Walker's
Grants [Two], [f].5.
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Pursuivants of
Arms.





Figure 3.3.A & B.
Barbadian seal.
College of Arms
MS Walker's
Grants [Two], [f].6.
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Arms.



This and the seals' other notable characteristics suggest not only that such territories were well-esteemed by the Crown as territories in and of themselves *and* grouped as a collective in its eyes. It affirms first what is only to be expected: that they were more highly prized colonial possessions than other Caribbean territories, namely the Windward Islands of St Vincent, St Lucia, and Tobago; Anguilla; Barbuda; St Eustatius; and Saba.⁶² There is clear evidence suggesting that royal interest in such territories was likely minimal. For instance, William, lord Willoughby, described St Vincent as 'inhabited only by Indians and blacks' in July 1668, and St Eustatius and Saba were only in English hands for a maximum of three years between 1665 and 1668 and even then, perhaps not continuously given their embroilment in the action of the Second Anglo-Dutch War.⁶³ Secondly, it indicates that the territories with such seals – Barbados, Jamaica, the Leeward Islands, and likely the Bahamas – were valued over and above other North American territories both with and without deputed colonial seals.

North American Mainland Colonies

As pointed out in Chapter Two, the Crown only literally and figuratively invested in seals for some colonial territories. It has therefore already been established that colonial seals bearing royal involvement demonstrate again that throughout his reign, Charles's colonial priorities were angled towards specific royal colonies as opposed to either all colonies under direct royal rule or corporate and proprietary colonies.⁶⁴ Yet such seals also strengthen indications from royal colonial grants that there was clear royal prioritisation *between* colonies that were singled out by Crown attention. Notably, mainland North American colonies ranked lower amongst Charles's colonial interests than

⁶² Note, for example, Hilary Beckles's comment that Barbados and the Leeward Islands (St Christopher, Nevis, Monserrat, and Antigua) were 'the backbone of England's seaborne Empire, and the primary location of capital accumulation' prior to the Cromwellian 'Western Design' and the acquisition of Jamaica in 1655. H. M. Beckles, 'The "Hub of Empire": The Caribbean and Britain in the Seventeenth Century', in Canny, Low, and Louis (eds.), *Origins of Empire*, pp.221-2.

⁶³ *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, ed. Sainsbury, p.587 ref.1788, p.319 ref.1042, p.587 ref.1788. **Table A**, esp. **col.H-J, S-AA**.

⁶⁴ Above, pp.220-5, see also pp.122-5.

Caribbean territories. Proportionally fewer merited coverage by a seal with royal backing. The seals bearing marks of royal involvement that were attached to North American mainland sites are typically less materially and visually impressive than those for Caribbean equivalents.

It is thus only Virginia, New York, and New Hampshire that have seals in which the Crown had some definitive or likely involvement.⁶⁵ Materially, evidence suggests that all four seals – for there are 1679 and 1682 iterations of New Hampshire’s deputed seal – were less eminent than their Caribbean counterparts.⁶⁶ They were single-sided;⁶⁷ Virginia’s 1662 seal was made of steel rather than silver and cost twenty rather than around seventy pounds; New Hampshire’s 1679 seal cost only seven pounds; and even if it was to be ““of Silver””, the seal’s 1682 iteration cost even less at two pounds.⁶⁸ Visually, none display Charles’s categorical personal representation: Virginia’s comes the closest by including the King’s semi-personal representation in the form of his initials.⁶⁹ New Hampshire and New York’s display only the Gartered royal arms without and with supporters respectively (**Figure 3.13, 3.14, and 3.16, below**).⁷⁰ Accordingly, these North American colonies’ seals suggest that they ranked less highly than the esteemed Caribbean territories noted above. Moreover, within the trio of colonies, Virginia emerges as the most distinguished, followed by New Hampshire with supporters incorporated into its seal’s royal arms, and then New York. The latter conclusion notably dovetails with the relative distribution of royal colonial grants outlined in Chapter One.⁷¹

⁶⁵ For evidence of such involvement, above, pp.251-63, 217, 223-4, 68-9, see also pp.110-13.

⁶⁶ Hammond, *History of the Seal and Flag of... New Hampshire*, pp.5-8.

⁶⁷ Deduction based on **Figure 3.2**, above, p.253; O’Callaghan, *The Documentary History of the State of New-York*, iv, p.1*; Hammond, *History of the Seal and Flag of... New Hampshire*, p.8, also Plate [I], facing p.6.

⁶⁸ Vertue, *Medals... of Thomas Simon*, 2nd edn, p.93; *CTB*, ed. Shaw, vi, EB, 15 Dec. 1679; (Hammond, *History of the Seal and Flag of... New Hampshire*, p.8, quoting primary source); *CTB*, ed. Shaw, vii, EB, 4 Dec. 1683.

⁶⁹ Above, pp.259-60; **Table D, cols.Z-AC**.

⁷⁰ Hammond suggests that the 1679 seal may also have been used by King William III in 1695, for which he provides another illustration (**Figure 3.15, below**). This suggests that despite the poor quality of the seal shown in **Figure 3.13**, the 1679 seal did not bear Charles’s initials. Hammond, *History of the Seal and Flag of... New Hampshire*, p.13.

⁷¹ Above, pp.68-9, 71-2, 94-106, 122-4.

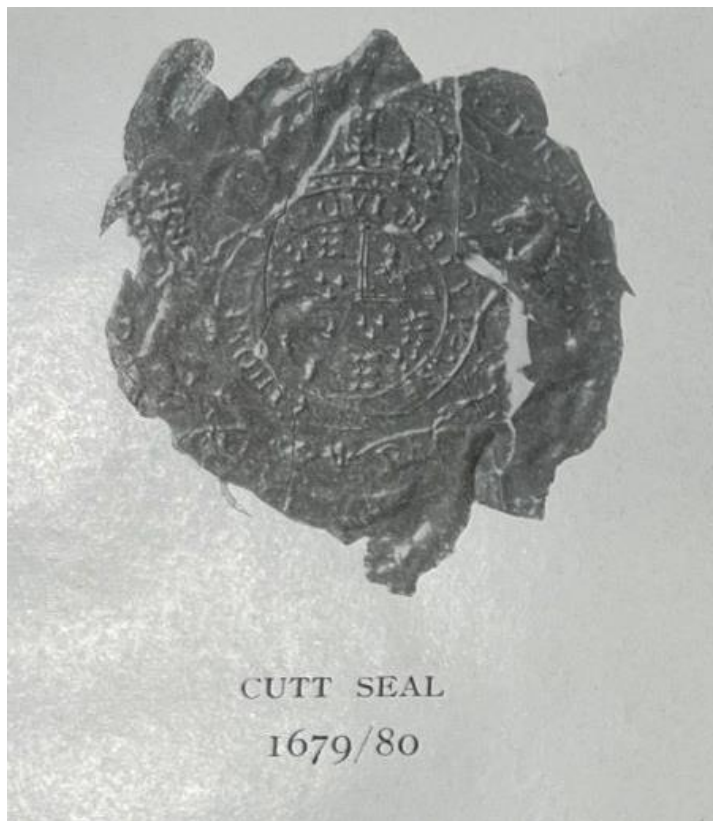


Figure 3.13. New Hampshire's deputed colonial seal (1679). Hammond, *History of the Seal and Flag of... New Hampshire*, Plate [I], facing p.6.

Figure 3.14. New Hampshire's deputed colonial seal (1682). Ibid., Plate [II], facing p.12.

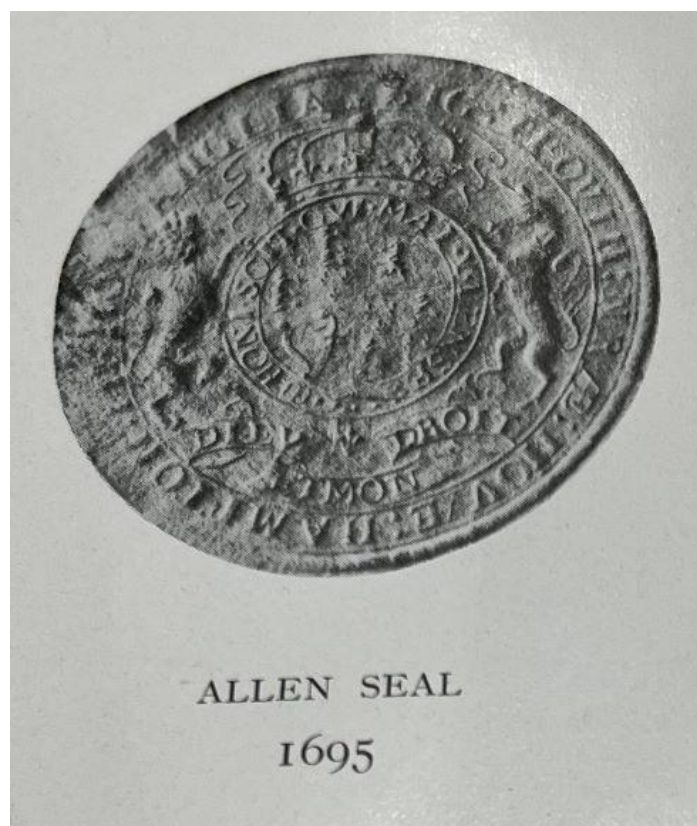


Figure 3.15. New Hampshire's deputed colonial seal (1695). Ibid., Plate [IV], facing p.14.

THE
 CITY OF ALBANY
 1720-1723.
 1724-1767.



Seal of the City of Albany
 1720-1723.
 1724-1767.

Reproduced & Engraved by J. F. Lewis

Figure 3.16. New York's deputed colonial seal (?), (1669). O'Callaghan, *The Documentary History of the State of New-York*, iv, Plate [II]. Courtesy of HathiTrust.

It must be acknowledged that the Crown cannot be positively identified as the clear architect behind the specifics of these seals' royal representation. Nevertheless, it is surely no coincidence that the seals' representational facets appear to betray the colonies being accorded a lack of distinction in comparison to Barbados, Jamaica, the Leeward Islands, and likely the Bahamas. It would similarly surely be unlikely for this to have reflected second parties' intentions, for with money and reputations at stake, who would voluntarily advertise lack of colonial prestige? This suggests that such facets reflected the Crown's perspective on colonies' relative merits, either by its direct intervention in representation or through the effect of implied expectation.

Establishing International Far More Than Internal Royal Colonial Credentials

Relatedly, further reflections on the three deputed colonial seals that open this chapter are warranted. It has been demonstrated above that the nature of Virginia's seal and its royal representation positions the colony as a lower royal priority than Jamaica and Barbados. Yet what more do the seals' iconographies signify? Virginia's seal can be read as a straightforward declaration of royal authority, indicating that the seal carried Charles's sovereign power. Indeed, despite need for interpretative flexibility, open-mindedness, and nuance in royal representational analysis, there seem few other obvious ways in which to dissect the seal's likely intended meaning. The seal's iconography therefore appears to be focused on representing Charles to convey his authority within the colony's internal landscape and the seal's role within the practical workings of its government. Re-examining and adapting a thesis put forward by Justice,⁷² it seems likely that the Jamaican and Barbadian seals' royal representation was designed to establish Charles's colonial authority in an international context.⁷³

⁷² In addition to below, above, pp.258, 16.

⁷³ For discussion of uncertainty regarding England's continued sovereignty over Jamaica at the Restoration's outset and how the arms displayed on the colony's seal may have been interpreted in this context, Robertson, 'Re-writing the English Conquest of Jamaica', 824-5.

For Justice contends that the Jamaican seal's iconography heralded a shift from claiming sovereignty over colonial land to colonial *peoples*. He notes that this was principally through the introduction of its obverse's central conceit: an indigenous person kneeling in supplication before Charles II.⁷⁴ What he leaves only implied is that there was no indigenous community in Jamaica by the Restoration.⁷⁵ Indeed, it can be teased out of his argument that the indigenous person was used as a cipher to obliterate Spanish claims to the island by conjuring the impression that such persons acknowledged Charles's authority and not his Spanish equivalent's. After all, he claims that '[t]he right of dominium in the Caribbean, as far as the English were concerned, had been obtained through war with another European power [Spain]' and immediately goes on to reflect as an aside that 'seals for other English Caribbean possessions henceforth [from Jamaica's seal] used the iconography of the Admiralty, not Indians'.⁷⁶ James Robertson also suggests that at least by 1672, attacks on the legitimacy of Spain's claim to the island centred on tracing Jamaican sovereignty to indigenous peoples 'were legal issues that leading merchants and returned colonists in London recogni[s]ed needed to be addressed', lending possible credence to this argument. So too does his interpretation of the colony's arms in relation to the international context.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, Justice tramples such arguments' finer implications by weaving the Jamaican seal iconography into a narrative of the English Crown ostensibly attempting to increase *internal* control over both colonial and domestic polities. This skips over a crucial point waiting to be drawn out of the examples he presents.⁷⁸

The Jamaican and Barbadian seals make clear claims to English royal political sovereignty over the islands' respective geographies but precisely *not* their internal populations. Interestingly, Justice

⁷⁴ Justice, 'The Art of Coining Christians', 126-7, see also 128.

⁷⁵ Though there were recognised communities of former enslaved peoples, A. Sutton and C. W. Yingling, 'Projections of Desire and Design in Early Modern Caribbean Maps', *Historical Journal*, 63: 4 (2019), 19-20.

⁷⁶ Justice, 'The Art of Coining Christians', pp.(126), (126-7).

⁷⁷ Robertson, 'Re-writing the English Conquest of Jamaica', 828, 824-5.

⁷⁸ Justice, 'The Art of Coining Christians', pp.127-8.

himself notes that James II's 1686 Dominion of New England seal iterated the iconography that had appeared on Jamaica's seal, 'put[ting]... both', as he refers to them, 'the Indian... [and] the evangelical colonist', 'on their knees, side by side, before a Roman Catholic king' (**Figure 3.17**). He claims that '[i]ts meaning concerned the ordering of settlers and Indians alike, from the unregulated and ineffective (from the crown's perspective) charter governments of initial settlement to the strong and efficient central force of direct royal rule'. What he does not reflect on is what he nonetheless implies: that a colonial settler was *not* present in the Jamaican seal produced twenty-five years previously.⁷⁹ As noted in the introduction, Barbados's deputed seal also does not contain visual references to the colony that it pertained to, nor its internal political actors. Instead, as Justice even implies, it appears to signal England's claim over its territory and surrounding waters amidst possible rival European contentions.⁸⁰



Figure 3.17. Engraving of the obverse of the Dominion of New England's seal (1686) (engraving, 1879). Runge, engr. Clement, originally published in W. C. Bryant and S. H. Gay, *A Popular History of the United States*, Vol. III (1879), image sources from U. S. Diplomacy Center (State Department) exhibition poster, *Seals and Symbols in the American Colonies*, accessed via Wikimedia Commons.

⁷⁹ Fourth quotation contextualised by discussion of an earlier Massachusetts Bay colonial seal. Ibid., p.127.

⁸⁰ Above, p.16.

Whatever similarity the Jamaican seal may have with later seals, and however conveniently it may therefore fit with Justice's narrative of colonial interests developing to incorporate control over people as well as territory, it does not engage with symbolism alluding to the colony's contemporary, internal political environment, only its external political one.⁸¹ This in itself disrupts Justice's argument. Moreover, as suggested above, with the exception of Jamaica's seal, Restoration Caribbean seals associated with royal involvement typically appear to have mimicked the iconography of Barbados's 1663 seal, even as late as the Leeward Islands' seals of 1678.⁸² Justice gestures vaguely to just such evidence. It nonetheless mars his insinuation that the production of Jamaica's seal in 1661 ushered in a 'fundamental change in claims to just authority in royal seal iconography'.⁸³

Analysis of Restoration colonial seals associated with the Crown thereby showcases the importance of evaluating royal representation geographically as well as chronologically. The Caribbean examples discussed above can be read to express consistent royal aspirations and anxieties about international issues and not internal politics, despite the extent to which such seals were instruments used to facilitate internal colonial affairs. Elsewhere, and as extrapolated based on discussion of the Virginian seal above, royal representation on North American mainland colonial seals tied to the Crown is seemingly utilised precisely to assert the seals' authority as such instruments, media bestowing Charles's authority in local environs. However, in neither geographical bracket does the royal representation on colonial seals associated with the Crown press home a clear image of the Crown's perceived or desired place in colonial politics relative to local institutions and actors.

⁸¹ Justice, 'The Art of Coining Christians', esp. 127.

⁸² Above, pp.274-8; see *CSPC AWI, 1677-1680*, eds. Sainsbury and Fortescue, p.298 ref.812.

⁸³ Justice, 'The Art of Coining Christians', 126-7, 116 esp. n.38 (127).

Questions Over The Place of African Colonies Amidst Royal Colonial Priorities

This can also be said for the representation displayed on seals involving the Crown and linked to African colonies: Tangier and those administered by the Royal African Company respectively. Evidence also illuminates that such places – and even Tangier – were considered of lesser priority than both Caribbean and North American mainland colonies. As noted above, documents related to the latter Company's 1663 and 1672 charters did stipulate that its seals were double-sided and depicted Charles's personal royal representation on their reverse and obverse in turn.⁸⁴ According to the premises applied above, this would have placed the seals and the endeavours that they related to very high within royal esteem, outstripping any other colonial seal and on an approximate par with Irish judicial seals.⁸⁵ It also would have meant that perhaps distinctly royal images of Charles would have been advertised by such seals, given they were to show 'the image of our Royal person' and 'his Majesty's royal person in royal robes' respectively.⁸⁶ Yet as also noted above, it is unclear if either seal was ever made to the stipulated designs. The only known version of a Royal African Company seal that was produced is simply dated to after January 1663 and was only one-sided, ditching any royal representation at all to showcase the Company's own arms **(Figure 2.52, below)**.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ The sides designated for carrying Charles's personal representation are assumed based on the order of the discussion of the seals' sides. *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, ed. Sainsbury, p.121 ref.408; *CSPC AWI, 1669-74*, ed. Sainsbury, p.411 ref.934; above, pp.221-2. For the Company's post-January 1663 seal, **(Figure 2.52)**.

⁸⁵ Above, pp.273-84.

⁸⁶ *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, ed. Sainsbury, p.121 ref.408; *CSPC AWI, 1669-74*, ed. Sainsbury, p.411 ref.934.

⁸⁷ Though Dora Thornton appears to misidentify the post-January 1663 Company seal matrix for one of c.1672, she describes it as bearing the Company's arms. Thornton, 'An English Puritan Colony', pp.18, 16; cf. Royal African Company seal and seal impression, after Jan. 1663, bronze and wax, 3.35 cm length (The British Museum, London).



Figure 2.52.A-C. Royal African Company seal matrix (A & B) and seal impression (C), after 1663. © The Trustees of the British Museum.



This leaves the position of such colonies amid royal interests unclear, for if judged based on contemporary seals and their royal representation, on paper they were ranked highly and yet in practice, they almost seem to have failed to register at all. How this tallies with the Crown's other involvement with the Company, its business, and its colonies is an area for exploration by future research. So too is the fact that Tangier's seals suggest that the Crown set little stock by it, for this contradicts the reputation it has been accorded by historians as well as by the evidence of the

Crown's broader engagement with the colony that they present.⁸⁸ The colony's Court Merchant, Court of Record, Admiralty, and 'Cittie Seale' all have minimal royal visual and rhetorical signifiers.⁸⁹ A crown is incorporated into the Court Merchant seal (**Figure 2.50**). On the Admiralty seal, a crown tops the anchor shown and its legend, '[?] C MAG ADMIRALL[?] TANGER[?] [?] C . ILLVSTRISS PRINC[PPS?][ACOB[?] OV[X?]EBCB', presumably refers to James, duke of York, and thus the royal heir (**Figure 3.18.A**). More tenuously, it is unclear if a helmet displayed on the Court of Record seal may constitute royal representation,⁹⁰ though it is clear that the arms that it depicts are not royal ones (**Figure 3.19**). And though it is difficult to decipher either the visual symbolism or rhetoric present on the City seal, no clear royal representation is visible (**Figure 3.20**). This, and the fact that the seals are all single-sided, places Tangier low amongst the Crown's colonial interests.⁹¹



Figure 2.50. Tangier Court Merchant seal. TNA, CO 279/23, f.92r. [AAS, AAB].

Figure 3.18.A. Tangier Admiralty seal. TNA, SP 9/198/1B/11.

⁸⁸ See for example Glickman, 'Empire, 'Popery', and the Fall of English Tangier'; Stein, 'Tangier in the Restoration Empire'.

⁸⁹ Quotation from TNA, CO 279/45, [back cover, insert].

⁹⁰ For such a possibility, cf. above, p.256.

⁹¹ Note the possibility that the Admiralty seal's second side may have been obscured by curation. See above, pp.270-1 n.46; cf. **Figures 3.18.A, 3.18.B**, below.



Figure 3.19. Tangier Court of Record seal. TNA, CO 279/23, f.19r.



Figure 3.20. Tangier 'Cittie Seale'. TNA, CO 279/45, [back cover, insert], incl. quotation.

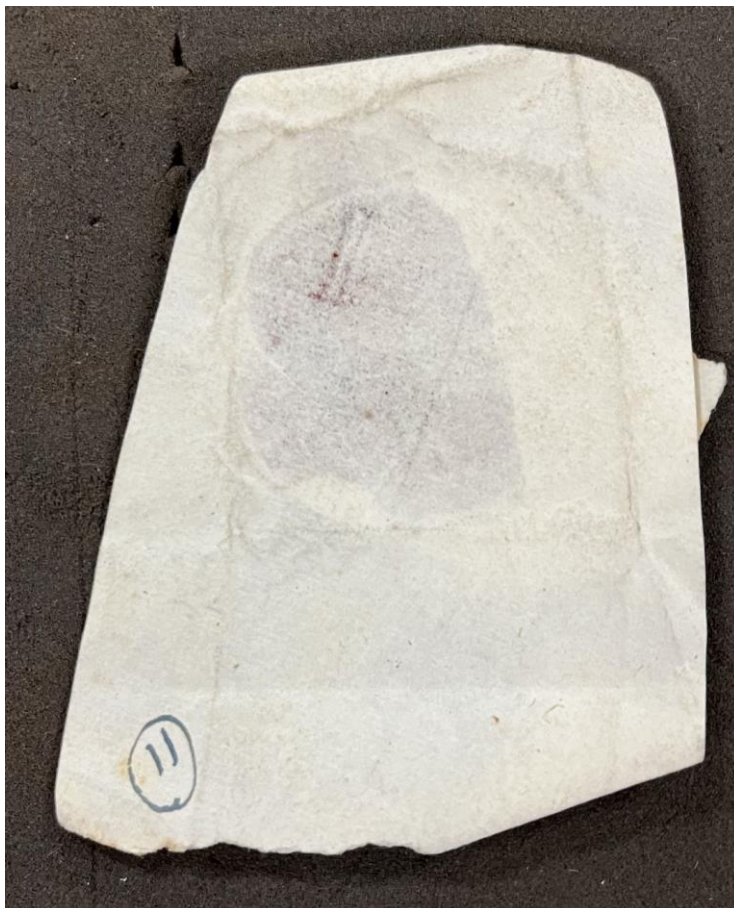


Figure 3.18.B. Reverse of the Tangier Admiralty seal. TNA, SP 9/198/1B/11.

Such a controversial contention deserves greater reflection and interrogation than can be offered here. Yet it aligns with conclusions outlined in the author's prior research, noting not only the scarcity of royal representational artefacts identified with Restoration Tangier, but the often functional nature of those found, and the fact that royal representation was not used to increase the Crown's local clout so much as to support the colony's overall standing. Similar findings from the same research pertained to Restoration Carolina.⁹² It is also consistent with the conclusions presented in Chapter One, suggesting that the Crown's concern regarding providing royal representational artefacts for deployment in Tangier was insubstantial and that it appeared to lack vaulted colonial *ambitions* rather than simply ways in which to realise them.⁹³

Overall, this evidence suggests that there was not, as Stanwood suggests, one 'grand imperial vision' that from the 1670s Charles and his officials desired to be 'translate[d]... in dozens of local contexts' and yet implemented haphazardly. Nor that as Glickman argues, 'a common strategic and ideological endeavour' sat behind the Crown's activities in colonial and 'foreign affairs'. It certainly belies the notion propounded and discussed in such work that the Restoration Crown's colonial priorities centred on attempting to refashion its role within such local landscapes to enhance its control over them.⁹⁴ Yet it also contradicts arguments that there was minimal order, interest, or overarching designs behind royal colonial activities.⁹⁵ Instead, the evidence above indicates that there were distinct *visions* of royal engagement with colonial territories and that some – and not always those that one might expect – were held dearer than others. It also affirms that as captured through colonial seals clearly involving the Crown, no such visions prioritised carving out a greater role for Charles within internal colonial politics.

⁹² Smith, 'The Representation of Charles II in English Colonial Contexts', pp.26-9, 54-74.

⁹³ Above, pp.126-32.

⁹⁴ Glickman's position on the exact nature of this ostensible 'common... endeavour' and its possible centralising ambition is less clear than Stanwood's. Stanwood, *The Empire Reformed*, p.25; Glickman, *Making the Imperial Nation*, p.15, emphasis added, see also pp.13-15; for other relevant historiographical arguments, above, p.33.

⁹⁵ Above, pp.33, 106.

Casting a Broader Net: Cross-media-based Reflections

The above discussion has focused on a deep-dive into colonial seals with identifiable royal input and been framed even more narrowly by the examples of three deputed colonial seals. Reflections that adopt a wider lens are therefore due. One of the key trends identified by the above is that the precise nature of Charles's official representation – chiefly, its level of personalisation – was deployed on a scale signifying the perceived importance of artefacts and the institutions, persons, or places associated with them. Though explored above in relation to seals, this conclusion has broader application.

The Crown's Position on Royal Portraiture

For example, it can be used to harmonise Sharpe and Gibson's theses on Charles's attitudes to his portraiture.⁹⁶ It suggests that the Crown's direct involvement in, and bestowal of, such media may have been minimal not because Charles and his ministers were uninterested in it but because they reserved its official deployment for high-priority endeavours. How this argument fares when applied to portraits considered examples of Charles's official English representation warrants inquiry elsewhere. Nevertheless, it finds possible synergy with the evidence discussed in Chapters One and Two relating to the official use of royal colonial portraiture – or lack thereof.⁹⁷ It suggests that this dearth reflected a lack of perceived importance attached to even royal colonial territories, or at least to the perceived importance of advertising the Crown's presence and prowess in such locales. It does not indicate that they were considered entirely *unimportant*. It must be remembered that contrary to historiographical headlines, not all diplomats received grants related to royal portraits and the very fact that such diplomats were appointed reflects that the Crown believed their work to be significant.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Above, pp.137-9.

⁹⁷ Above, esp. pp.68-73, 110-15, 162-209.

⁹⁸ Above, pp.29-30.

It does, however, reinforce conclusions presented elsewhere in this thesis. First, that Charles generally seems to have valued royal colonial agents, and arguably the contexts that they helped to govern, as considerably less deserving of royal attention than their diplomatic colleagues and related affairs.⁹⁹ Secondly, that advertising his presence in colonial contexts, lending it tangibility, and reinforcing or even inflating accompanying royal authority was not a priority of the Restoration Crown.¹⁰⁰ Together, these put paid to the notion of sweeping royal colonial grand plans and question the existence of an unrestrained 'desire for greater centrali[s]ation and control of colonial administration on the part of the English [Restoration] government', for example.¹⁰¹ It also explains a curious feature of the royal representation amongst the letters patent studied.

As explored in Chapter Two, whilst that within the letters' borders becomes steadily more elaborate, their royal portraiture becomes less explicitly 'royal' over time.¹⁰² On the one hand, royal arms first emerge in the letters' top border and then modulate into ornate versions with royal supporters, and the borders' iconography overall grows in its allusions to dynastic presence, strength, and eventually, triumph. On the other hand, what scant allusions to Charles's royal pedigree can be detected in early Restoration letters patent portraiture are lost by 1667, when it stalls on versions of Cooper's 1665 Garter portrait.¹⁰³ This displays Charles as visually akin to no more than a gentleman.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ Above, pp.115-19.

¹⁰⁰ See also below, pp.370-4.

¹⁰¹ Swingen, 'Labor, Empire, and the State', p.(93).

¹⁰² Above, pp.164-83.

¹⁰³ Cf. **Figures 2.32-3** and e.g., **2.4.B**.

¹⁰⁴ For implicit mention of the egalitarianism of Charles's Garter portrait on Pennsylvania's Restoration charter, PHMC, present. Stahlman, '[William Penn's Original Charter – Page \[One\]](#)', 0:12, 0:13 with subtitles; for its explicit mention more generally, Gibson, "'Best Belov'd of Kings'", i, p.89, see also p.96; idem, *The Cult of Charles II*, p.8.



Figure 2.32. Detail, Connecticut's Restoration charter (1662). Public domain.



Figure 2.33. Detail, Rhode Island's Restoration charter (1663). Public domain. Image cropped.



Figure 2.4.B. Example of an iteration of Cooper's 1665 portrait. Detail, Delaware's Restoration charter (1682).

These divergent trends and indeed, other intriguing features of such portraiture, can be reconciled if thought of as the letters' royal representation being steered away from displaying personalised visual royal representation and towards emphatic, institutional royal representation. Importantly, key moments in such steering – the respective springs of 1663, 1668-9, and 1682 ⁻¹⁰⁵ appear to

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Royal Society's Second Charter (1663) and Rhode Island's Restoration charter (1663); cf. IOR/A/1/25, 'EIC' AMDD; IOR/A/1/26, *ibid.*; see also for example Delaware's Restoration charter (1682).

correlate to changes in the royal “Writer, Flourisher[,] and Imbellisher” noted by Gibson: the appointment of George Tomlins to this position in March 1663 (she does not mention anyone filling it prior to this date); Royer’s unofficial appointment to the same role in 1669, presumably replacing Tomlins; and Royer’s official appointment in 1682.¹⁰⁶ Correlation of course does not prove causation. However, it is persuasive in affirming the need to recognise and interrogate second-parties’ influence on official royal representation’s development, even in instances principally engineered by the Crown itself.

The Relative Priority of Official Royal Representational Forms

One final reflection on the use of personal versus institutional royal representation in official media returns us to ordnance. Chapter Two exposed how guns were under-leveraged as a potentially powerful official representational medium, typically bearing either institutional or only semi-personal royal representation if they bore any at all.¹⁰⁷ Such evidence initially jars with the trend above, for it could be seen to suggest that ordnance was deemed of low royal priority. This conclusion is of course reductive and certainly incorrect. The Restoration Crown may have struggled to supply and equip them in the manner which at least the Lords Willoughby wished as governors of Barbados, but the fact that royal funds and effort were expended to station guns in certain locales alone suggests that it recognised them as important defensive equipment.¹⁰⁸ This means that flexibility and nuance is required in reading what the display of institutional versus personal royal representation may mean on particular representational instances. It is after all incongruous to argue that Barbadian guns flaunting the Tudor rose and crown rather than a portrait of Charles suggested that he valued these particular guns and the Caribbean island as low royal priorities, not least given the evidence of the Barbadian seal above indicating the *high* esteem that

¹⁰⁶ Gibson, “Best Belov’d of Kings”, i, p.89 n.8, quoting a presumed primary source.

¹⁰⁷ Above, pp.225-36.

¹⁰⁸ See above, pp.225, 232.

he placed on the colonial locale.¹⁰⁹ This points to needing to consider how just like colonial territories, representational media were not necessarily accorded the same blanket level of prioritisation by the Crown.

Though the details must be fleshed out in another forum, it is clear from interrogating Charles's colonial representation and select English equivalents that the Crown held different representational media in different regard. This is no less than what common sense suggests and yet this conclusion and more importantly, its import have not made it into the core arguments of key existing scholarship.¹¹⁰ It has already been proposed that as an essential form of Charles's personal representation, Restoration royal portraiture was set in particularly high esteem by the Crown.¹¹¹ A note from the Treasury Lords Commissioners of 18 August 1660 and printed by Vertue suggests that the Crown likely gave officially-minted English coinage precedence over even likely highly-rated royal seals.¹¹² For the Commissioners rebuked Simon as royal engraver for allegedly blaming a delay in producing the coinage desired 'by reason... hee had other warrants for graving several seales for Scotland and Ireland' and by asking him to make haste with preparing the Mint to go into action, implicitly instructed him to prioritise coinage over the Scottish and Irish seals.¹¹³

In turn, and more speculatively, the effective production of seals that piqued the Crown's interest appears to have been valued above developing the visual components of letters patent as official royal representational forms. Whilst colonial seals with Crown involvement were commissioned from as early as 3 February 1661, features such as a royal portrait only start to appear in the letters patent studied from 1662, for example.¹¹⁴ Not all representational forms were therefore perceived

¹⁰⁹ Above, pp.274-9.

¹¹⁰ In particular Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp.xvi-222; Gibson, "'Best Belov'd of Kings'", i.

¹¹¹ Above, pp.263-73.

¹¹² It is assumed that Scottish seals were accorded similar prestige to Irish seals.

¹¹³ Printed in Vertue, *Medals... of Thomas Simon*, 2nd edn, p.84, Appendix II.

¹¹⁴ The Jamaican deputed colonial seal. *Walker's Grants*, CoA, ii, f.5; above, pp.164-74.

as equally valuable by the Crown. Just as official royal representation can be used to discern the Crown's colonial priorities, the deployment of official royal representational media types can therefore be used to illuminate Charles's wider priorities overall.

But what about second-party royal representation? It was suggested at the beginning of this chapter that like the analysis of official royal representation, attention to how Charles's colonial subjects engaged with royal representation illuminates its drivers were not unilaterally tied to Crown-colony politics or disingenuous interest. Such engagement might naturally correlate to the nature and extent of parties' allegiance to the English monarchy and it might often be used in attempts to gain personal or institutional advantage. Yet there are clear indications that it was informed by more nuanced considerations than simple political stances either for or against the monarchy. Examples of second-parties' engagement with royal representation thus not only betray the diversity and complexity of colonial political responses to the Crown. It also demonstrates how such engagement was affected by specific agendas, dynamics, and priorities that might have had little or nothing to do with English, or even colonial, partisan politics.

The Range and Complexity of the Agendas Behind Second-party Royal Representation

At one level, it is obvious that a range of agendas likely informed how second-parties chose to create and engage with royal representation, and that such second-party royal representation may reveal the nuance and complexity of subjects' attitudes towards the Crown. Nevertheless, such points have been glossed over by representational and colonial historians alike. It has already been pointed out, for example, how Charles's subjects have been styled as 'audiences' of his representation rather than as 'users' of it.¹¹⁵ Yet as outlined below, historians also foster grand

¹¹⁵ Above, p.214.

narratives and blanket correlations around the notion that subjects' engagement with royal representation was tied to either political ardour or political utility.¹¹⁶ This tramples nuance and obscures how subjects' engagement with royal representation might reveal precisely the subtleties and complexities of how they related to the English monarchy. It also leaves little room for the possibility that it was informed by – and thus might tell us about - anything else. This means that the essential first task of pinpointing the messages and meaning of Charles's second-party colonial representation is therefore re-centring its analysis on the fact that it reflected myriad political and non-political agendas.

We will begin by considering key existing historiographical approaches to second-party royal representation and examining their limitations when attempting to apply their underlying principles. This can best be done through a specific example: how subjects engaged with two royal anniversaries, 30 January – the date of Charles I's execution – and 29 May – the date both of Charles II's birthday and the restoration of the monarchy. This brings analysis back to the obvious, though overlooked, need to pay attention to relevant evidence's detail and context to avoid extrapolating incorrect conclusions from it. With this groundwork laid, and key tenets of lingering consensus queried, it is worth illustrating the conclusions to which effective representational analysis can lead us. Two colonial case-studies serve to do so.

The first looks at an ostensibly already well-covered topic, how the Restoration was acknowledged by Massachusetts's authorities in the wake of Charles's return to the throne. It establishes that contrary to traditional narratives and in line with revisionist trains of thought, such acknowledgements show local government adjusting to the political reality of monarchical rule rather than simply attempting to reject it and cover their tracks whilst doing so. In other words, it demonstrates how representational analysis reveals nuanced political responses towards Charles's

¹¹⁶ Below, pp.300-4.

monarchy rather than binary ones. The second case-study considers how Charles II and the English monarchy were represented in two particular sources, the vestry minutes - and thus local government records - of St Michael's and St John's parishes in Barbados.¹¹⁷ In line with arguments presented throughout this thesis, it suggests that the Crown likely featured in its subjects' lives through means often far subtler than grand portraits and elaborate ceremonies.¹¹⁸ It thus reinforces the need to re-assess the evidentiary focus of historiography on Charles's representation. More broadly, it underscores that it is time to approach Charles II as a monarch whose representation was the fundamental mechanism through which he ruled over, and was encountered by, subjects located far beyond his personal remit, and not simply a tool for political manoeuvring. Stated another way, it illustrates that it is time to move beyond the idea of Charles as 'the magnificent monarch' and reconfigure him as 'the metropolitan monarch'.¹¹⁹ Before arriving at such conclusions, however, let us address historians' tendency to frame representational analysis, and even colonial historiography, in terms of subjects being starkly – even if disingenuously - for or against the Crown.¹²⁰

Reframing Second-party Royal Representation

Existing scholarship creates the impression that more or less binary political attitudes towards the Crown are the key thing to be gleaned from analysing second-parties' engagement with royal representation. Pestana provides a good individual example of this in the final chapter of *The English Atlantic in an Age of Revolution, 1640-[61]*. She aligns examples of how, in 1660-3, colonial territories responded to the Crown's expectation that they 'duly acknowledg[e] its authority'

¹¹⁷ '[St Michael] Vestry Minutes, vol. i 1655-[77]', handwritten transcription, date unknown (Bridgetown, Barbados, BMHS), viewed 5 Dec. 2022), pp.1, 24-41; 'St Michael Vestry Minutes, vol. ii 1678-1743', 2017-13 (13 June 2022), esp. ff.1-30; 'Records of the Vestry of St. Michael', in *JBMHS*, XV: 1-4, XVI:1-2 (1947-9), 17-23, 89-102, 119-31, 201-15, 54-65; *St John's Vestry Minutes. 1649-[99]* ([Barbados], 1649-99).

¹¹⁸ See esp. above, pp.194-213.

¹¹⁹ For the moniker 'the magnificent monarch', Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch*, title; for broader discussion of both concepts, above, pp.1-10.

¹²⁰ Cf. Stanwood's general argument against framing the historiography of Restoration Massachusetts in grand oppositional terms. *The Empire Reformed*, esp. pp.48-9.

through representational channels with three specific political impulses: long-held 'royalist inclinations', awareness of heavy reliance on the Crown's goodwill, and reticence towards royal government. She allows for vested interest motivating seemingly positive engagement with royal representation in the latter two cases. However, ultimately she suggests that alacrity and enthusiasm in such engagement indicated loyalty to the Crown, whilst hesitations and ambiguities broadly signalled opposition – just as commonsense might dictate.¹²¹

Historiography on Restoration Massachusetts demonstrates a similar logic. Traditional narratives of Crown-colony relations have painted the relationship as politically fraught, a tug-of-war between a colony looking to assert local independence and a Crown looking to rein it in, or in Stanwood's terms, 'a contest between core and periphery, Puritanism and empire, America and England'.¹²² Examples of how authorities engaged with royal representation - or rather, allegedly deliberately *failed* to engage with it – have then been touted as illustrating the alleged nature of this relationship. This can be traced to the Restoration itself. Captain Thomas Breedon reporting to the Council for Foreign Plantations in 1661; royal commissioners sent to New England in 1664-5; and subsequently the notorious Restoration royal commissioner, Edward Randolph, all accused Massachusetts's authorities of representational misdemeanours. These included failing to proclaim the King; to 'act in his name'; display the royal arms; and administer the oath of allegiance, as well as "'as a marke of sovereignty... coin[ing] mony'".¹²³ Such allegations were also framed by the notion that settlers 'look[ed] on themselves as a free state... there being so many against owning the King or having any dependence on England'.¹²⁴ Historians have echoed such sentiments.

¹²¹ Pestana, *English Atlantic*, pp.214-18.

¹²² Referring specifically to '[t]he battle over the Massachusetts charter' (p.49) during the Restoration. Stanwood, *The Empire Reformed*, pp.48-9 (49).

¹²³ '[Capt. Thos. Breedon to the Council](#)', *CSPC NAWI* (14 June 2024), 'Full text' (including for first quotation); *Records of... Massachusetts*, ed. Shurtleff, iv (ii), p.211; '[The Coins of Colonial and Early America](#)', Jordan (Spilman and CNF), 'Chronological Listing of Documents and Events relating to the Massachusetts Mint', '[6 May] 1677', '[12 Oct.] 1676' (including for second quotation, quoting another source).

¹²⁴ '[Capt. Thos. Breedon to the Council](#)', *CSPC NAWI* (14 June 2024), 'Full text'; see also *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, ed. Sainsbury, 14 Dec. 1665, ref. 1103.

Between them, for example, Ogg, Pestana, and Sosin may acknowledge that local authorities did engage positively with representational media to gain political leverage in its dealings with the Crown, and that some in the colony, and indeed its government, either favoured royal influence or at least compelled compromise with it. Nevertheless, they have sustained the idea that Massachusetts's authorities ultimately deployed royal representational media – and delays with interacting with it – as means to parry royal rule, including in forms such as communications with Charles's government and its agents, acknowledgment of Charles in the colony's judicial writs, and even acknowledgement of him as king in the Restoration's wake.¹²⁵

Meanwhile, others as far back as Olson in the 1970s have pointed out that characterising Crown-colony relations in fundamentally adversarial terms is misleading. Collectively, they have persuasively established that monarchical government was Massachusetts' presumed political *modus operandi* and that advocates both across its political spectrum and within its General Court were typically in principle never truly *against* royal rule.¹²⁶ Stanwood has also noted that relative to New Hampshire and Bermuda, '[Massachusetts's] long process of royali[s]ation appeared both moderate and more or less consensual'. Revisionism has thus critiqued the idea that Massachusetts's government was essentially opposed to the Crown, though it continues to linger. Stanwood himself still refers to '[t]he [Restoration] battle over the Massachusetts's charter', for example.¹²⁷ And the notion that authorities might have attempted to embrace royal government productively rather than simply wriggle out from under it has not convincingly filtered into interpretations of representational media. Richard Bushman's monograph chiefly focused on

¹²⁵ See for example Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, ii, pp.680-1; Pestana, *The English Atlantic*, pp.216-18; Sosin, *English America and the Restoration Monarchy*, pp.89-97, 110-121, esp. 111, 116-21; see also above, p.250.

¹²⁶ Olson, *Anglo-American Politics*, pp.39-74; R. L. Bushman, *King and People in Provincial Massachusetts* (Chapel Hill; London, 1985), pp.4, 11-14, 16-36, 46-51; A. C. Weimer, 'The Resistance Petitions of 1664–1665: Confronting the Restoration in Massachusetts Bay', *The New England Quarterly*, 92: 2 (2019), 261-2; see also idem, *A Constitutional Culture*, pp.5-8, 10, 274-5.

¹²⁷ Stanwood, *The Empire Reformed*, p.49; see also Weimer's language, 'The Resistance Petitions of 1664-1665', e.g., pp.228, 237-8, 248-9, 255-6 and idem, *A Constitutional Culture*, e.g., full title, pp.6, 7, 8.

eighteenth-century Massachusetts takes steps in this direction, but its Restoration representational examples are minimal, over-wrought, and sometimes incorrect.¹²⁸

More recently, Adrian Weimer's examination of political culture in Restoration New England presents examples of royal representation as prominent and variegated features of day-to-day colonial politico-cultural life which aided the formulation, as well as expression, of attitudes towards the Crown.¹²⁹ Her accounts of settlers' engagement with royal government and its officials, with Charles's representation in local judicial writs, and with his local proclamation more closely reflect the picture of such engagement that emerges from examining key primary sources than the remarks of Ogg, Pestana, and Sosin.¹³⁰ And there are hints of representational analysis's potential to bring nuance to readings of politics in Restoration Massachusetts.¹³¹ Nonetheless, such potential is arguably squandered by two things: her seemingly resolute insistence that settlers' engagement with royal representation 'could easily be mapped onto political affinities', and by framing such engagement as part of a 'constitutional narrative' revolving around an 'increasingly tense' Crown-colony relationship – or indeed 'struggle', as she terms it.¹³² We predominantly remain then, with the notion that public engagement with royal representation in Massachusetts expressed little but antipathy towards the Crown or attempts to disguise it.

Representational historians have also been guilty of approaching second-parties' engagement with Charles's representation in type-cast, chiefly political terms. Sharpe's analysis of Charles's English royal representation neatly straddles consideration of how the Crown may have engaged with it;

¹²⁸ Bushman, *King and People*, pp.4, 12-14, 17-34.

¹²⁹ Weimer, *A Constitutional Culture*, pp.1-10, 273-7, 78-9, 86-110.

¹³⁰ Ibid., pp.1-2, 204-6, 78, 86, 70-1, 87-110, 3; for evidence broadly dovetailing with Weimer's general and specific arguments, *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, ed. Sainsbury, pp.305-6 ref.1009; *Records of... Massachusetts*, ed. Shurtleff, iv (ii), pp.58, 70, 72-3, 265-7; Massachusetts, *The Charters and General Laws*, p.211; Hull, *Diaries*, pp.216-17 (for editorial comments key to informing interpretations of Hull's remarks on the 1664-5 royal commissioners, esp. p.217 n.2, see also p.143 n.2), 203-4; see above, p.302.

¹³¹ Weimer, *A Constitutional Culture*, e.g., pp.1, 71, 108-9.

¹³² Ibid., pp.(109, quotation specifically referring to 'modes of prayer'), (6), (title).

how those loyal to the Crown leveraged it to support royal agendas; and, far more briefly, at least the theory, if not the practice, of how the monarchy's opponents might use representational media such as print to express their political antagonism.¹³³ Similarly, Gibson squarely ties second-parties' acquisition of Charles's portraiture to how it was an expected display of loyalty to the Crown. Furthermore, even if she acknowledges critical and even jocular responses to public examples of Restoration royal statuary, elsewhere she seemingly implies that individuals' enthusiasm for royal representation expressed a blend of a quasi-spiritual yearning to connect personally with their monarch and a desire to contribute to his "'certain Omnipresency'".¹³⁴ Like their colonial counterparts therefore, both historians create the impression that how Charles's subjects interacted with his representation was essentially predicated on, and uncompromisingly reflected, their political attitudes towards the monarchy.

This impression is blinkered and encourages an incorrect logic. This is that on the one hand, if second-parties responded enthusiastically to particular instances of Charles's representation, they were either politically well-disposed towards the Crown; needed something from it; or wished to feel connected to it. And that on the other hand, if they responded hesitantly or not at all, ill-feeling towards the monarchy clearly trumped the above impulses. Such deductions might only seem sensible. And they are in fact initially supported not only by the weight of the historiography outlined above, but surface-level comparisons of English and colonial subjects' engagement with the royal anniversaries of 30 January and 29 May.

Interpreting The Meaning of Subjects' Engagement with Two Royal Anniversaries

In 1660, royal statutes made it clear that the Crown expected 30 January and 29 May – the dates of Charles I's execution, and Charles II's birthday and the Restoration respectively - to be 'for ever

¹³³ Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp.9-222, for representation as a possible vehicle of opposition, esp. 194-218.

¹³⁴ Gibson, "'Best Belov'd of Kings'", i, pp.61-77; idem., *The Cult of Charles II*, pp.5-6 (6, quoting Edward Chamberlayne (1669)).

hereafter sett apart to be kepte and observed in all the Churches and Chappells of these Your Majestyes Kingdomes... and all other Your Majestyes Dominions as... Anniversary day[s]'.¹³⁵ In other words, they were to be marked by annual ritualised instances of royal representation both in England and beyond. Starting with England then, one might quite naturally look to the famed diaries of Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn for evidence of the existence of such instances and individuals' engagement with them. Whilst Pepys does not habitually record the anniversaries being observed in churches, both diaries create the impression that the two occasions were generally respected as royally and ritually significant by the authors.¹³⁶ There are, however, some exceptions: across the diaries' sampled entries, there are seven definite occasions where the diaries do not allude to the days as ritually significant.¹³⁷ This could of course be either because Pepys and Evelyn failed to pay heed to such significance at the time, or because they simply did not record the fact that they had. The diaries thus suggest that Pepys and Evelyn typically acknowledged the royal anniversaries in some way, but not always.

A similar picture emerges from the journal of John Luke, judge advocate, unofficial city accountant, and secretary to the governor in early 1670s Tangier.¹³⁸ It records all four anniversary dates across 1671, 1672, and 1673 that its coverage spans as at least implicitly ritually significant in connection

¹³⁵ 'An Act for the Attainder of Severall Persons Guilty of the Horrid Murther of His Late Sacred Majestie King Charles the First (12 Car. II. c.30)', in *The Statutes of the Realm*, ed. John Raithby *et al.* ([London], 1819), v, (p.288); 'An Act for a Perpetuall Anniversary Thanksgiveing on the Nine and Twentyeth Day of May (12 Car. II. c.14)', in *ibid.*, p.237.

¹³⁶ Assessment based on reviewing entries for 29-31 January and 28-30 May for the years covered by Pepys's diary (1660-9) and for a sample of years for Evelyn's longer diary (1660-5, 1667-8, 1674-8, 1680-5). Samuel Pepys, *Diary and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys [...]*, ed. contrib. Lord R. Braybrooke (4 vols, London, 1885-90); John Evelyn, *Diary of John Evelyn... Kalendarium (1650-1672) and (1673-1689)*, ed. E. S. de Beer (vols. iii and iv, Oxford, 2003).

¹³⁷ For absence of mention of the days being ritually significant, Pepys, *Diary and Correspondence*, iii, pp.359-62, 137-9; Evelyn, *Diary*, pp.372, 409, 437, 482, 510, iv, 271, 314 (for a debatable indication of relevant ritual significance, iv, 105).

¹³⁸ For discussion of Luke's diary and its 30 January and 29 May entries, see also Smith, 'The Representation of Charles II in English Colonial Contexts', esp. pp.19, 68-9.

with the Crown.¹³⁹ The entry for 29 May 1672, for example, reads that '[b]eing a day of great solemnity, the Court of Admiralty did not sit. It was observed with great gallantry; almost the whole town who are of any quality being there [the Governor's Castle]' – the implication being, of course, that the 'solemnity' concerned Charles and the Restoration.¹⁴⁰ By contrast, awareness of neither anniversary is recorded in key sources for Restoration Massachusetts: its General Court records; *Calendar of State Papers Colonial* records for 1660-5; the diaries of John Hull, Samuel Sewall, and the surviving 'fragments' of that of Reverend Noahdiah Russell; and a copy of Massachusetts's charters and laws covering relevant legislation up until at least 1672.¹⁴¹ This both corroborates and is in spite of the fact that following a review of Massachusetts's laws in 1665, royal commissioners expressly required that 'there ought to be inserted [and] ordeined to be kept... the nine [and] twentjeth of May, as [a] daj[e] of thanksgiving... also the thirtieth of January a day of fasting [and] praying', for example.¹⁴² This suggests that public observance of the anniversaries was not mandated locally prior to this point. It also means that there was little excuse for such observances not to have taken place in Massachusetts from 1665 and yet there is still no trace of them in the sources reviewed.

¹³⁹ For details of Luke's occupation and the journal's chronological coverage, Kaufman (ed.) in [John Luke], *Tangier at High Tide. The Journal of John Luke, 1670-1673*, ed. H. A. Kaufman, collab. P. Kaufman (Genève, 1958), 'Introduction', pp.14-15, 20; [Luke], *The Journal of John Luke*, pp.56, 94, 130, 195.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.130.

¹⁴¹ Note that the review of Massachusetts's laws focused chiefly on 29 May. *CSPC. 1574-1660*, ed. Sainsbury, pp.479-98; *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, *idem.*, esp. p.66 ref.209, pp.93-4 ref. 314, p.143 ref.493, p.179 ref.625, pp.198-203, refs.706, 713, 715, 721, pp.205-6 ref.735, pp.247-9 refs.831-2, p.288 ref.963, pp.305-6 ref.1009, pp.317-19 refs.1034, 1040, p.336 ref.1090, [22 Nov. 1665] ref.1091; Hull, *Diaries*, pp.141-265; Sewall, *Diary*, pp.1-69; [Noahdiah Russell], 'Copy of the Diary of Noahdiah Russell, Tutor at Harvard College, Beginning Anno Dom. 1682', ed. S. G. Drake, *The New England Historical & Genealogical Register and Antiquarian Journal*, vii (1853), 53-9, (53); Massachusetts, *The Charters and General Laws of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay [...]* (Boston, 1814), for the work's coverage, pp.iii, v-vii.

¹⁴² *Records of... Massachusetts*, ed. Shurtleff, iv (ii), p.212.

Unravelling The Logic of Viewing Evidence of Engagement with the Anniversaries as Indicative of Allegiance to the Monarchy

So far, such evidence seems to fit with, and thus ratify, the logic outlined above. It provides proof that the anniversaries were recognised in England and Tangier, whilst presenting a resounding absence of their recognition in sources for Restoration Massachusetts. Furthermore, England and Tangier could be considered territories whose governments ultimately supported Crown rule, if only by necessity, whilst as noted above, Massachusetts's authorities have been traditionally poised against it. This seems to confirm the pattern that existing representational and colonial analysis insinuates: that second-parties who engaged with Charles's representation were generally positively inclined towards the Crown for reasons of politics, personal ardour, or simply needing something from it, and that second-parties who declined to embrace royal representation held anti-monarchical sentiments strong enough to override any of the former impulses, at least at the particular moment in question. It is tempting therefore to leave analysis here, chalking it up as providing further alleged examples of how second-parties' interactions with royal representation are indicative of their allegiance to the monarchy. When one does broaden and deepen analysis, however, it exposes this very conclusion's fundamental limitations.

Most obviously, Barbadian evidence does not align with it. Like in Massachusetts's case, there is no evidence of either 30 January or 29 May being recognised as ritually significant in key Barbadian sources.¹⁴³ Such sources are less abundant than those for Massachusetts and do not include settler diaries to provide an alternative perspective to governmental records, as none are extant.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ Records of the Vestry of St. Michael', in *JBMHS*, XV: 2-4, XVI: 1-2 (1948-9); *St John's Vestry Minutes*, BMHS; *CSPC. 1574-1660*, ed. Sainsbury, pp.479-98; *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, idem., entries listed on pp.648-52 for 'Barbadoes' and covering 1660-5; *CSPC AWI, 1669-74*, idem., esp. index entries for '[Barbadoes]... general fast in', p.644 and p.157 ref.391, p.172 ref.442, p.172 ref.443, p.219 ref.533 alongside index entries for '[Barbadoes]... day of thanksgiving in', p.644 and pp.223-4 ref.549, p.219 ref.533.

¹⁴⁴ For an apparent lack of extant settler diaries, J. S. Handler, with contributions from M. J. Chandler, *A Guide to Source Materials for the Study of Barbados History, 1627-1834* (Carbondale, London, 1971); M. J. Chandler, *A Guide to Records in Barbados* (Oxford, 1965). For the possibility of letters providing such alternative insight, below, p.368, n.147.

However, the prime reason to halt following the logic above and deduce that Barbadian authorities were thus inclined against the monarchy is that this jars with other evidence. Pestana in fact refers to Barbados and authorities' early Restoration engagement with royal representation as a prime example of how they leapt at the chance to embrace the return of the Crown, being as they were 'finally free to act on royalist inclinations'.¹⁴⁵ Moreover, Harlow confirms the place of the island's renowned Interregnum and early Restoration royalist sympathies in at least its pre- and early Restoration history. This is precisely even as he suggests that such royalist sentiment extended only as far as it aligned with planters' commercial and political interests, and that it fell increasingly short of such interests as the Restoration progressed.¹⁴⁶ Indeed, there is good reason to think that observances to mark the anniversaries might have been held without leaving traces in the sources consulted.

Calendar of State Papers Colonial records do document other ceremonial observances. Council of Barbados minutes for 24 January 1671 order 'a general fast be proclaimed to be kept on Wednesday next [1 February]'; those of 17 May 1671, a day of thanksgiving on 'the first Thursday in June'.¹⁴⁷ Despite their proximity to the 30 January and 29 May royal anniversaries, they appear to have had no association with them. However, these ritual occasions are arguably only visible in these records because central governmental authorities ordered them. At least for the June celebration, this was because it responded to *ad hoc* circumstance: 'God... removing a grievous sickness and pestilential distemper'.¹⁴⁸ By contrast, if the royal anniversaries were habitually 'kept and observed in all... Churches and Chappells', there is not necessarily any reason for them to have prompted comment in the local central or parish-level governmental records examined.¹⁴⁹ Similar

¹⁴⁵ Pestana, *The English Atlantic*, pp.214-15 (214).

¹⁴⁶ Harlow, 'A History of Barbados', pp.81-127, see e.g. pp.100, 114, 124, pp.212, 220-1, 240.

¹⁴⁷ *CSPC AWI, 1669-74*, ed. Sainsbury, p.156 ref.391; for use in pinpointing the date referenced in the January entry, I. MacInnes, '[Calculate the Day of the Week for Any Given Date](#)' (9 May 2024) (17 Apr. 2017); *CSPC AWI, 1669-74*, ed. Sainsbury, p.219 ref.533.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ Quotation from 'An Act for... Attainder', ed. Raithby *et al.*, v, title.

reasoning does not quite plausibly explain the anniversaries' lack of mention in the Massachusetts sources reviewed, given such sources include personal diaries. Nevertheless, another English autobiographical work – the eighteenth-century 'remembrances' of 'Norfolk gentry woman', Elizabeth Freke – is a reminder of another obvious possibility.¹⁵⁰

As she writes about her life during the Restoration, the way in which she represents the monarchy is quite clearly coloured by highly *personal* political views and encounters dating both to Charles's reign and after it. Her references to 'King James' during Charles's reign, and to events ostensibly evidencing a royal vendetta against her and her husband in the same period, are certainly informed by post-1685 developments and her husband's stance against James II.¹⁵¹ One of her handful of references to the Restoration king himself is of when he apparently personally stopped a 'quar[r]ell' after her husband challenged 'my lord of Roscomon either to fight him... or pay him [money]... owed' in St James's Park.¹⁵² Furthermore, unlike Pepys and Evelyn, she does not refer to 30 January and 29 May as royal ritual occasions, yet this is unsurprising given the *Remembrances'* retrospective nature and overall tenor.¹⁵³ Freke's writings therefore make a case for extending arguments regarding interpretations of early modern diaries to royal representation. Scholars have argued that diaries were forms of processing as well as expressing political opinions,¹⁵⁴ and Jessica Munns in particular implies that diaries reveal that responses to the Restoration were highly personal and related to personal circumstances, views, and indeed diarising tendencies.¹⁵⁵ Freke's work is an excellent example of how second-party royal representation was generally likely similarly affected by personal, as well as simply political, priorities and proclivities.

¹⁵⁰ Elizabeth Freke, *The Remembrances of Elizabeth Freke, 1671-1714*, ed. R. A. Anselment (Cambridge, 2001), (title, p.1), for dating, pp.2, 20.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., pp.44-45, 50, 51, 216-17; for details of post-1685 developments, Anselment in *ibid.*, p.12.

¹⁵² Freke, *Remembrances*, p.212, see also 53, 224, 217.

¹⁵³ For the *Remembrances'* dating, style, and key themes, Anselment in *ibid.*, pp.1-4, 9-31.

¹⁵⁴ See esp. Munns, 'Accounting for Providence'; Turner, 'Pepys and the Private Parts of Monarchy'; D. Doll and J. Munns, 'Introduction', in *idem.* (eds.), *Recording and Reordering: Essays on the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Diary and Journal* (Lewisburg, 2006), pp.10-13, 17-18, 19.

¹⁵⁵ Munns, 'Accounting for Providence'.

Indeed, this is further suggested by looking into the detail of how Pepys, Evelyn, and Luke engaged with 30 January and 29 May as royal ritual occasions. Pepys and Luke's diaries testify to limits and lapses in their authors' and others' commitment to the anniversaries' ritual acknowledgement. For 30 January 1671, for example, Luke notes that:

[E]veryone as in duty and conscience bound observed it as a day of fasting. But M[r] Turner did not favour us with [a sermon], having performed that part yesterday... His Excellency [presumed to be the Governor of Tangier, Lord Middleton], finding the weather exceeding cold and knowing there was no sermon, did not go to church.

I forbore eating (except two eggs) till night, then stayed with his Excellency where [I] supped[...].¹⁵⁶

In his turn, as the editor of his diary points out, Evelyn more than once records his remarks on the anniversaries' observances for the wrong dates.¹⁵⁷ This suggests that 30 January and 29 May did not automatically occur to him as days associated with the Crown, indicating that his associations with the anniversaries' representational significance was also circumscribed. Such diaries thus underscore the obvious, though over-looked, need for analysis to move past first impressions of second-parties' relationship with royal representation.¹⁵⁸ They indicate that detailed and wide-ranging rather than simply politically-focused analysis is poised to enrich our understandings not only of how such parties related to the English monarchy in political and non-political terms. It stands to shed light on how individuals and institutions considered and prioritised the Crown within their everyday conduct.

¹⁵⁶ [Luke], *The Journal of John Luke*, p.56, see also pp.94, 195; for inferences regarding Lord Middleton, Kaufman, in *ibid.*, 'Introduction', pp.12, 14; Pepys, *Diary and Correspondence*, i, pp.379, 426, ii, pp.380-81, iii, p.54.

¹⁵⁷ Evelyn, *Diary*, iii, pp.320-1, esp. p.321 n.4, , iv, pp.283, 381.

¹⁵⁸ For analysis of Pepys's diary paying insightful attention to sexuality and reactions to it as a feature of Charles's representation and self-representation, Turner, 'Pepys and the Private Parts of Monarchy'.

Such arguments alone provide the impetus to re-think the interpretative logic that arises from - and may even undergird - existing analysis of Charles's second-party representation. Another consideration only supports this conclusion. It would of course be absurd to argue that the seven occasions where Pepys and Evelyn do not recognise the 30 January and 29 May royal anniversaries within their diaries indicate them wavering in their loyalty to the Crown.¹⁵⁹ It is therefore equally absurd simply to assume that apparent absences of evidence demonstrating that colonial second-parties embraced royal representation indicate their lack of allegiance to the monarchy. Nonetheless, as discussed above, such assumptions may well lie beneath existing historiography, particularly in Massachusetts's case.¹⁶⁰

In summary therefore, it would be a clear mistake to read evidence of the Barbadian and Massachusetts's governments' apparent lack of engagement with the 30 January and 29 May royal anniversaries in starkly political terms. It seems likely to tell us more about the limited visibility of any such potential engagement within Barbadian sources on the one hand, and how the English Crown's representation may have featured amidst Massachusetts settler experience on the other than it does about authorities' political stances towards their king. More broadly, the arguments and evidence above demonstrate that framing representational analysis in binary political terms risks arriving at stunted and even incorrect conclusions. Given the prevalence of such framing within both existing representational and colonial historiography, this raises serious concerns about the possible value of their conclusions. On what grounds, for example, does Gibson base the assertion that '[t]he public needed to know their monarch, and he, no less, wished to be recognisable to them'?¹⁶¹ It also presses home the need to ensure that analysis appreciates the range of agendas that second-party royal representation both responded to and reflected.

¹⁵⁹ For such occasions, above, p.305.

¹⁶⁰ Above, pp.300-4.

¹⁶¹ Gibson, *The Cult of Charles II*, p.6.

With this firmly established, let us turn to case-studies of just such representation in Restoration Massachusetts and Barbados. They illustrate the utility and the richness of the conclusions that nuanced analysis of Charles's colonial representation can uncover.

Proclaiming and Processing the Restoration in Massachusetts

Analysis of specific representational instances in Restoration Massachusetts highlights how local engagement with the Charles's representation was proactive, complex, and nuanced in what it reveals about the two parties' relationship.¹⁶² Both high-level analysis and close interrogation suggest that it is misleading simply to cast authorities' communications with Charles's government and agents as a 'systematic pattern of evasion and procrastination', for example.¹⁶³ First, written communications either received from or to be sent to royal parties are mentioned in records for nearly half (49%) of the General Court's Restoration sessions, even with an apparent hiatus in communications between the summers of 1672 and 1676.¹⁶⁴ Engagement with royal rhetorical representation was thus a norm within central Massachusetts's politics. Whilst this is only to be expected for a territory subject to royal authority, historians' emphasis on authorities' supposed *disengagement* with royal communications has obscured sight of this.¹⁶⁵

Secondly, attention to the imagery of authorities' first letter to Charles II (19 December 1660) showcases both the possible sophistication and contradiction of authorities' engagement with royal representation and the relationship between the colony and the Crown that it constructed.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² See also features of Weimer's discussion. *A Constitutional Culture*, esp. pp.1, 70-1, 86-109.

¹⁶³ Sosin, *English America and the Restoration Monarchy*, pp.93-4 (94); cf. Weimer, *A Constitutional Culture*, pp.78-81.

¹⁶⁴ Note evidence in the General Court's records for May 1672 (p.517) appearing to contravene Richard Dunn's reported claim that there was a gap in 'official' Crown-colony communications spanning 1666-74. *Records of... Massachusetts*, ed. Shurtleff, iv (i), iv (ii), esp. pp.517, 532-77, v, esp. pp.1-98; Braddick citing Dunn's work, *State Formation*, p.416.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Weimer, *A Constitutional Culture*.

¹⁶⁶ *Records of... Massachusetts*, ed. Shurtleff, iv (i), pp.450-3; for brief attention to this and other letters, including their imagery, Weimer, *A Constitutional Culture*, e.g., pp.60-2, 70.

It demonstrates how fully embracing the approach to royal representation encouraged, but not executed, by Weimer challenges the teleological interpretative framework of Massachusetts politics centred on a seventeenth-century Crown-colony ‘contest’ that she sustains: it reveals settlers attempting to work out, or at least accommodate, attitudes and anxieties about royal government during the Restoration, rather than showing them as simply expressing crystallised and pre-determined ‘resistance’ to it.¹⁶⁷ Furthermore, examining details of Charles’s local proclamation shows the colony’s authorities proactively adjusting to, and even embracing, the realities of the Restoration for purposes beyond only navigating Crown-colony politics.

Contextualising Charles’s Belated Proclamation as King

There is no doubt that Charles’s proclamation in Boston was overdue by some margin. He had returned to England in May 1660 and been crowned in April 1661, but it was only on 8 August 1661 – and ostensibly ‘after a committee had considered the colony’s rights and duties... (and after the colony had heard that it was being critici[s]ed for disloyalty)’ - that he was proclaimed in the colony.¹⁶⁸ Pestana and an editor of Hull’s diary, Samuel Jennison, are incorrect to imply that such proclamation was authorities’ first meaningful acknowledgement of the Restoration Crown, however.¹⁶⁹ By this point, the General Court had sent at least two letters to the Crown.¹⁷⁰ Two charges had been allegedly prosecuted against individuals expressing opinions ‘justly offencieue, [and] in speciall relating to kingly gouernment in England’.¹⁷¹ A ‘solemne day of thanksgiving’, documented as partly in response to ‘[the Lord]... giuing vs favor in the eyes [and] heart of our soueraigne lord [and] king expressed in his gracious acceptance [and] answer of our late addresse to his majty’ had been ordered.¹⁷² And the committee which Pestana notes preceded the

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., e.g., pp.109, 71, 60-1, 86 cf. full title, pp.109, 6-(7), 9; Weimer, ‘The Resistance Petitions of 1664-1665’, title, e.g., pp.(228)-32, 251-3, 237-8, 248-9, 255-6, (262), for teleology, see in particular p.262.

¹⁶⁸ Pestana, *The English Atlantic*, p.216.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., p.216; Hull, *Diaries*, p.204 n.1.

¹⁷⁰ *Records of... Massachusetts*, ed. Shurtleff, iv (i), pp.450-3; *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, ed. Sainsbury, ref.153, 162.

¹⁷¹ *Records of... Massachusetts*, ed. Shurtleff, iv (ii), pp.5, 7.

¹⁷² Ibid., p.20.

proclamation did consider the Court's patent and 'our dutjes of alleagience to our soueraigne lord the king', as she suggests. Yet it chiefly considered a royal warrant for the regicides Edward Whalley and William Goffe's arrests, not proclaiming the King. Its unabashed claims for Massachusetts' independent authority were also crucially balanced by observations of its duty to the Crown.¹⁷³

Whether such resolutions were sincere or actioned is questionable at best.¹⁷⁴ In representational terms, however, this is irrelevant. As Bushman argues, 'the sincerity of the assembly's devotion to the king [is]... in the last analysis... unnecessary' because '[t]he point is that [settlers] conducted themselves according to the political imperatives of the culture of monarchy.'¹⁷⁵ Up to nearly eight months prior to Charles II's local proclamation, the colony's official public position towards the restored monarchy was advertised as one of allegiance. Thus, certainly the proclamation's delay may have been a reflection and even a deliberate demonstration of the fact that such allegiance came with reservations.¹⁷⁶ Yet omitting representational evidence indicating official acceptance of royal rule prior to the proclamation, or failing to make it clear, creates the impression that authorities' reticence to Charles's government was more emphatic and thus belligerent than it was.¹⁷⁷

In fact, details of how as well as when the proclamation unfolded indicate authorities' attempts to accommodate the Restoration's political reality. Hull notes, for example, that after ceremonial proceedings to proclaim the king – including 'sundry volleys of shot' – '[a]ll the chief officers feasted that night at the charge of the country'.¹⁷⁸ It seems odd and unnecessary for the colony's political elite to have feasted at public expense in honour of the king's proclamation if they were typically

¹⁷³ Ibid., pp.24-6; see also Hull, *Diaries*, pp.202-3.

¹⁷⁴ For example, for the suggestion that at least some settlers knew that Whalley and Goffe remained in Massachusetts from October 1664, Weimer, 'The Resistance Petitions of 1664-1665', 255.

¹⁷⁵ Bushman, *King and People*, p.31.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Pestana, *The English Atlantic*, pp.216-18.

¹⁷⁷ For unclear allusion to some such evidence, *ibid.*, pp.217-18.

¹⁷⁸ Hull, *Diaries*, pp.203-4.

ultimately resentful of it. Indeed, an order expressly forbidding drinking the King's health as part of the proclamation's festivities confirms revisionist arguments placing local authorities at work *within* and not outside of monarchical political culture.¹⁷⁹

Referencing the Crown and Limiting Drunken Disorder

The order in question explained that:

... [F]or asmuch as his most excellent majty hath by his proclamation signified his pleasure for suppressing... excesses [and] profanes, this Court doth hereby strictly forbid all disorderly carriages at or after that solemnity... [and] in particular, that no person p[re]sume to drinke his matys health, wch he hath in special forbid[.]¹⁸⁰

The claim that it was grounded in royal authority may be surprising given that drinking is a well-known feature of English celebrations of the Restoration: Evelyn, for example, reported on 'fountaines running with wine' during Charles's 29 May 1660 entry into London.¹⁸¹ It nevertheless appears to have foundation.¹⁸² Twice-cited, the appeals to royal authority may show 'monarchical culture... shap[ing] politics by prescribing the kind of arguments available to politicians' and authorities using them to their advantage.¹⁸³ Here, royal precedent may be leveraged to prevent alcohol-fuelled unrest. This tallies with seemingly similar General Court initiatives against such disorder; hints elsewhere that Massachusetts's authorities attempted to use references to royal authority to strengthen its political hand, such as styling their jurisdiction as 'his majestjes colony of the Massachusetts'; and possible Barbadian parallels to both behaviours.¹⁸⁴

¹⁷⁹ Note the mention but not discussion or analysis of officials '[a]ll agree[ing]... to forbid "drinking of healths"' in Weimer, *A Constitutional Culture*, p.70 (partly quoting another source).

¹⁸⁰ *Records of... Massachusetts*, ed. Shurtleff, iv (ii), p.31.

¹⁸¹ Evelyn, *Diary*, p.246; see also Sharpe's note of such fountains as 'the traditional symbol of liberality' and their presence in the 'cavalcade' before Charles's coronation, Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, (pp.157, 155).

¹⁸² See A. McShane, 'Drink, Song and Politics in Early Modern England', *Popular Music* 35: 2 (2016), 176.

¹⁸³ Bushman, *King and People*, p.4.

¹⁸⁴ *Records of... Massachusetts*, ed. Shurtleff, iv (ii), pp.97, 463, (157), 245-7; for context in which to interpret the example in the latter pages, Sosin, *English America and the Restoration Monarchy*, pp.109, 115-21; cf. Barbadian example, below, p.320.

Yet alternatively, allusions to royal authority might have been used as political cover for an order which might have been used as a way to signal clear anti-royalism in a theoretically pro-royalist ritual event. Angela McShane has pointed out that drinking, and particularly health-drinking, carried heavy royalist and later Tory associations in late seventeenth century England, whilst sobriety had parliamentary and Whig connotations.¹⁸⁵ Such associations may well have travelled across the Atlantic. Alongside the delay to Charles's proclamation, the order against drinking to his health may therefore show Massachusetts's authorities turning to royal representation precisely to express *opponentist* attitudes. If so, it reinforces revisionists', and particularly Bushman's, arguments both that Massachusetts politics operated within 'the political imperatives of the culture of monarchy' and that even 'instances of resistance [to English monarchical government]' could be framed within such a 'culture'.¹⁸⁶ By demonstrating how political opposition might be cloaked with appeals to royal authority, it would also reconcile Stanwood's already-quoted argument that 'the long process of royali[s]ation [in the colony] appeared both moderate and more or less consensual' with his near-contradictory suggestion that 'people in Massachusetts divided into two more or less evenly matched parties' for and against royal government.¹⁸⁷

In any case, under either of the readings above, the order provides an example of local authorities embracing the realities of royal rule to achieve its own ends. It therefore draws out an important facet of how second-parties more broadly may have engaged with Charles's representation. Research into Charles's representation in Restoration Carolina and Tangier has demonstrated that it was primarily used by the Crown and by settlers to strengthen and support the colonies' nascent sovereignty and societies.¹⁸⁸ In Massachusetts's case, colonial authorities seem to have been willing

¹⁸⁵ McShane, 'Drink, Song and Politics in Early Modern England', 166-190.

¹⁸⁶ Bushman, *King and People*, pp.(31), (37), see also esp. pp.36-54; see also esp. Weimer, *A Constitutional Culture*, e.g., pp.5, 274-5.

¹⁸⁷ Stanwood, *The Empire Reformed*, pp.48-53, (p.49).

¹⁸⁸ Smith, 'The Representation of Charles II in English Colonial Contexts', esp. pp.67-74.

to leverage royal representation to suit their own purposes, even if and as they expressed disagreement with Crown rule.

Overall, evidence clearly suggests that it is reductive to present instances of second-party royal representation in Restoration Massachusetts as inflexible reflections of alleged anti-Crown feeling, or even only as responses to Crown-colony relations. It instead reveals them to be dynamic mechanisms through which settlers proactively and constructively engaged with, acclimatised to, and even leveraged the political realities of Charles's return to the throne from far earlier than some historians have suggested, including to achieve local and possibly even oppositional objectives. It must of course be remembered that just as the Crown's official royal representational efforts could be unsuccessful, half-hearted, and even lacking, it is a possibility – if not an inevitability – that second-party equivalents were imperfect.¹⁸⁹ For example, the fact that royal representation within authorities' 19 December 1660 letter to Charles both threatened and appealed to his authority was arguably strategically ill-advised,¹⁹⁰ and consciously or not, it could perhaps be read as betraying uncertainty and disagreement within the General Court over how to process and respond to the Restoration.¹⁹¹

Again, analysis reveals that second-party royal representation can be considered the product of how the Crown and its representation featured amongst the politico-cultural priorities and proclivities of its subjects and, ultimately, of how second-parties experienced and related to the monarchy and its representation. This second conclusion prompts a fundamental but arguably

¹⁸⁹ Above, pp.103-32.

¹⁹⁰ See particularly its Davidic, Mephibosheth, familial, and exile-based imagery, *Records of... Massachusetts*, ed. Shurtleff, iv (i), pp.450, 452, considered in light of W. R. F. Browning (ed.), 'Mephibosheth', in [A Dictionary of the Bible](#), 2nd edn ([Oxford], 2009), idem, 'David', in *ibid.*, and Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, e.g., pp.7, 47, 54, 69-71, 74, 77, 79-80, 90, 211.

¹⁹¹ Cf. Weimer, *A Constitutional Culture*, pp.60-2.

neglected question: how *did* second-parties encounter and connect with the Crown and its presence? Attention to specific Barbadian sources helps to sketch out an answer.

Barbadian Sources and Re-assessing the Restoration's Representation

Reading the records of St Michael and St John's vestries, it is immediately striking that the news of the Restoration goes unremarked.¹⁹² Nothing within them indicates that a fundamental shift in English and indeed Barbadian government had occurred; nothing categorically establishes that a tired republican regime had been peacefully replaced by the once-overthrown Stuart dynasty. St Michael's vestry minutes for 13 August 1660 do record an order that 'ye Churchwardens doe forthw[i]th cause ye *Kings Arms* to be drawne fayrely [and] sett up in ye *Church* and ye Charge to be allowed by ye parish'.¹⁹³ Such royal arms were presumably to replace those of the recently-disbanded Commonwealth in line with the Council of Barbados's 16 July 1660 stipulation that 'the States arms... be taken down and the King's arms put up in their place'.¹⁹⁴ Yet there is no indication that this was the case within the minutes. Despite being the clearest sign within either set of vestry records that the Restoration had taken place, the order is framed simply in terms of parish life continuing as usual.

Elsewhere within St Michael's records, Charles and his representation similarly feature only in passing, seemingly as the Crown fell within the compass of local political business. A handful of mentions are made of the royal credentials of specific St Michael's vestry meeting attendees, chiefly 'Isaac Roet [or Roett,] minister [per?] His Maties Special Command [and] by order of ye Governor' and Mr James Fawket, his apparent successor and '[r]ector, [b]y his Maties special

¹⁹² '[St Michael] Vestry Minutes, vol. i 1655-[77]' (BMHS), pp.1, 24-41; 'St Michael Vestry Minutes, vol. ii 1678-1743', 2017-13 (13 June 2022), esp. ff.1-30; 'Records of the Vestry of St. Michael', in *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society* (henceforth, *JBMHS*), XV: 1-4, XVI:1-2 (1947-9), 17-23, 89-102, 119-31, 201-15, 54-65; *St John's Vestry Minutes. 1649-[99]* ([Barbados], 1649-99.

¹⁹³ '[St Michael] Vestry Minutes, vol. i 1655-[77]' (BMHS), f.27, original emphasis italicised.

¹⁹⁴ *CSPC. 1574-1660*, ed. Sainsbury, p.484 [ref.20.B].

command', in the 1680s.¹⁹⁵ There is reference to 'ye King[']s allowance at sea' as a benchmark for parish poor relief; to '[H]is Majties Court of Chancery' as the venue for a case and desired appeal concerning Colonel Christopher Codrington and his stewardship of a legacy left to the parish; and to arrangements for the collection of a list of the town's population 'to be sent home to his Magty'.¹⁹⁶ Within St John's vestry minutes meanwhile, the Crown's only mention is in relation to '[H]is Majestie[']s Grant under the broad Seale of this Island' that as noted in Chapter Two, the vestry hoped to secure in order to 'strength[en]' the prospects of a sale of parish land in 1679.¹⁹⁷ The Crown appears to be represented in these records when it held specific relevance to local government. And interestingly, such representation is trifling rather than monumental.

It is true that this may be a consequence of the records themselves. It is perhaps inevitable that representations of Charles appearing in documents detailing the everyday affairs of local administration were correspondingly humdrum and locally-oriented. It is, however, telling. The point of drawing attention to Charles's representation in these records is not to suggest that more effusive and emphatic representation was unimportant or non-existent. It is instead to illustrate that seemingly inconsequential instances may in fact be as, if not more, important and present in shaping how individuals and institutions experienced Charles's monarchy. For example, comprehensive attention to *Calendar of State Papers Colonial* material corroborates aspects of Pestana's account of how central Barbadian authorities recognised the Restoration in the last six months of 1660. This includes the King being proclaimed on the island not once, but twice, and action being taken to institute the oath of allegiance and to substitute the Commonwealth's arms with royal arms.¹⁹⁸ However, such attention also shows that Barbadian and even central island

¹⁹⁵ 'St Michael Vestry Minutes, vol. ii 1678-1743', 2017-13 (13 June 2022), ff.9, 12, 14, 17, 18, (16, 20), see also 22.

¹⁹⁶ 'Records of... St. Michael', XV: 4, 203; 'St Michael Vestry Minutes, vol. ii 1678-1743', 2017-13 (13 June 2022), ff.15, 19, see also 24.

¹⁹⁷ *St John's Vestry Minutes*, BMHS, f.28r; for discussion, above, p.218.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Pestana, *The English Atlantic*, pp.214-15; *CSPC. 1574-1660*, ed. Sainsbury, p.484 [ref.20.B], p.486 [ref.28.C], p.496 ref.63, p.494 [ref.61.B].

authorities' reactions to the Restoration were not only more politically and locally nuanced than she suggests, but incorporated quotidian elements.¹⁹⁹

This is shown in 1 August 1660 Council of Barbados minutes, for instance. As well as reporting that '[t]he King's Act of free and general pardon, indemnity, and oblivion [were] to be published throughout the island', these mention an '[a]ct concerning the levy upon land' and the 'pass[ing]' of a 'declaration to give satisfaction to all inhabitants of the island concerning His Majesty's government'. They also order that '[t]he King's two proclamations against debauched persons, and against riots and routs... be published at the usual place, S[t] Michael's Town'.²⁰⁰ Central and local Barbadian authorities thus deemed low-key, locally-sensitive responses to and representations of the Restoration monarchy as worthy of attention alongside more broadly significant equivalents. This cries out for historians to investigate and evaluate quotidian and even mundane representations of Charles alongside more traditionally-acclaimed instances in order to understand fully how colonial second-parties engaged with the Restoration king and Crown. It also begs questions of parallels with Charles's English second-party representation. It points to the importance of locality and geography in shaping royal representation.²⁰¹ And it raises fundamental queries about the relative extent, nature, and impact of different types of royal representational media. Indeed, Barbadian and wider Caribbean sources beyond governmental records point to further types of royal representation that have broadly escaped notice.

¹⁹⁹ See *CSPC. 1574-1660*, ed. Sainsbury, p.486 [ref.30.B], p.486 refs.29, 30.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p.486 [ref.30.B].

²⁰¹ For arguments regarding such importance, Smith, 'The Representation of Charles II in English Colonial Contexts', esp. pp.20, 38-47, 75-6.

A striking example of Restoration royal representation sits in the floor of today's Cathedral Church of Saint Michael and All Saints (**Figure 3.21**). A gravestone headed by an encircled heraldic shield, the epitaph declares that the 'Honourable Colonel Edward Chamberlaine' was 'one of His Majesties Councill of this Island'. Chamberlaine or his descendants clearly felt that his presence on this local royal council was significant enough not only to mention on his gravestone but to feature as the first personal detail to follow his shield, title, and name. A broad-stroke map of Barbados in John Seller's c.1684 Barbadian almanac calls notice to how colonial conceptual geographical landscapes could incorporate instances of royal representation through its reference to 'Charles Town' (**Figure 3.22, below**).²⁰² Whilst it is not guaranteed that the town's name referenced the English monarch Charles II or even Charles I, this seems likely given the 'Carli[s]le Bay' opposite was presumably so-named after the earl of Carlisle, who had early Stuart proprietary claims to the island that lingered

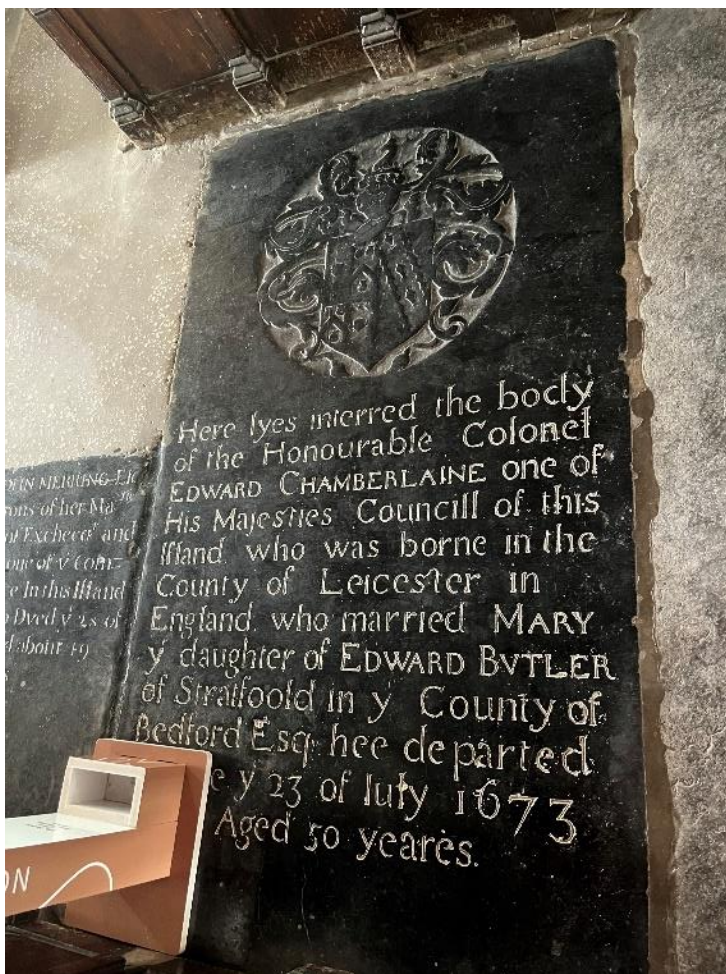


Figure 3.21.

Gravestone, The Cathedral Church of Saint Michael and All Saints [St Michael's Cathedral], Bridgetown, Barbados, likely north-side of the isle.

²⁰² For broader discussion of this theme, below, pp.370-2; Smith, 'The Representation of Charles II in English Colonial Contexts', pp.60, 62-4, 66.



Figure 3.22. Detail, map within John Seller, 'Barbados Almanack for XXX Years, [e]tc. [with a Map]' (Wapping, [1684]), BL, BLL01003333169, f.29r.

into the Restoration.²⁰³ With Charles II on the throne, the town's name surely also quite naturally called to mind the sitting monarch.

Likewise, the same principle fashions pineapples as tangible possible royal representational instances in Jamaican, if not wider, contexts. In an almanac intended for use in connection with Jamaica and the West Indies, Sir Thomas Modyford – 'sometimes *Governour* [in the former]' – allegedly reported that Jamaican fruits known as 'the *Pine*' were 'all that is excellent in the superlative degree' and came in 'two sorts... the *King* and the *Queen-Pine*'.²⁰⁴ Sharpe may therefore

²⁰³ See for example Williamson, 'The Colonies After the Restoration', pp.241-2.

²⁰⁴ J. Gadbury, *Diarium Astronomicum, or, a West-India Almanack for the Year of Our Lord 1675* (London, 1675), title page and 'The West-India or Jamaica Almanack... The Second Part', pp.[24-7, (17, 24, 24-5, 26)].



Figure 3.5 (detail). Danckerts, *John Rose... presenting Charles II... with a pineapple....*

briefly acknowledge pineapples as carrying possible royal associations in his discussion of the depiction of one in Danckerts' *John Rose... presenting Charles II... with a pineapple... (Figure 3.5 (detail))*.²⁰⁵ Yet through their name and their so-called 'crown' that Sharpe suggests led a Father Duterte to 'describ[e the fruit] as "the king of fruits"' in 1667,²⁰⁶ Modyford's comments point out that pineapples could just as easily have functioned as indirect royal representational forms in the markets and on the tables of Jamaicans, perhaps other English Caribbean settlers, and even Englishmen as they did as tropes in a portrait.

In varying degrees, such sources substantiate an echo of arguments made in Chapter Two, drawing attention to the existence and analytical implications of potent yet to date overlooked official royal representational forms. In the context of Charles's second-party representation, they add colour and dynamism to current impressions of how individuals and institutions may have interacted with and encountered Charles's presence and authority as king. In conjunction with other evidence presented in this chapter, they also emphasise that second-party royal representation was literally

²⁰⁵ Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp.105-6.

²⁰⁶ Gadbury, *Diarium Astronomicum*, 'The West-India or Jamaica Almanack... The Second Part', p.[26]; Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, p.106, partly quoting another source.

and figuratively the product of myriad personal and institutional agendas, and that royal representational instances were not only tools for manoeuvring within grand political schemes, but more fundamentally were means through which royal government was experienced, conducted, and conceptualised.

Drawing out the implications of this conclusion in detail calls for greater study of Charles's colonial and English representation than possible within this thesis. Nevertheless, it is feasible to step back and examine one potential impact of this thesis's broad arguments: do consensus understandings of traditional forms of the Restoration king's visual representation fall away after analysis of colonial instances? Or indeed, like other aspects of existing arguments on Charles's representation, do they dissolve simply on close inspection?

Chapter Four. Picturing the King in Colonial Contexts:

Coinage, Portraiture, and Reconfiguring the Royal Representational Landscape

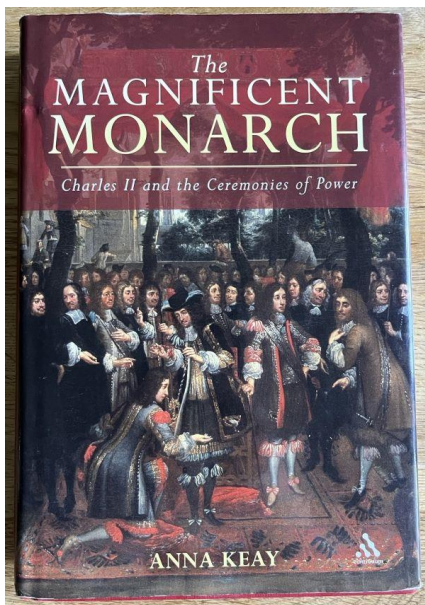
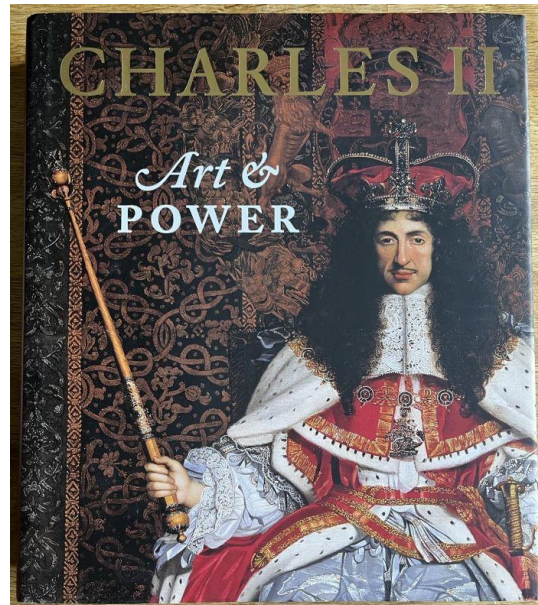
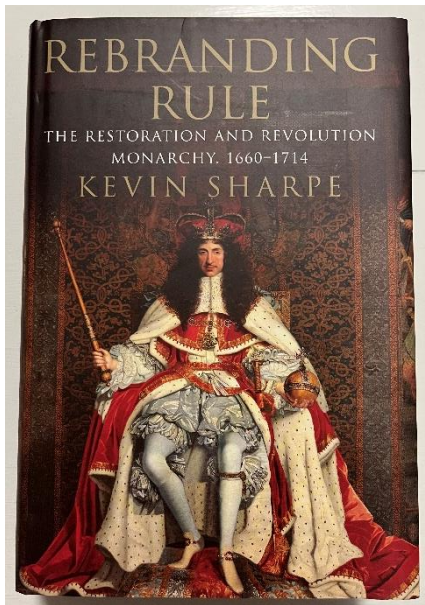
Grand images have been a recourse for historians looking to capture the essence of arguments on Restoration royal representation.¹ Sharpe uses Wright's state portrait of Charles to begin his exposition of royal representation and 'the Restoration and Revolution monarchy'. Bird and Clayton use the same image for the book jacket of the RCT's *Charles II: Art [and] Power* exhibition catalogue, whilst excerpts from Verrio's *Sea Triumph* head the exhibition's webpages. Keay's work on Charles's ritual representation is covered with a copy of a lesser-known portrait, *Charles II presenting his brother with... the insignia of Saint Barbara*.² In modern historiographical context, all three images are designed to convey Charles as 'the magnificent monarch', a monarch adept at using royal representation – including portraiture – to achieve political ends, the most fundamental amongst them of course being re-establishing the Crown as the pinnacle of English government and society after the Interregnum.³ Such arguments have in turn made grand claims for the 'vital role' that the portraits noted above and other images of Charles played 'in representing the king'.⁴

¹ For an earlier iteration of a similar argument, Smith, 'The Representation of Charles II in English Colonial Contexts', pp.1-4, 15, 20.

² For images accompanying the preceding text, **Figures 4.1-4 (below)**. Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule* (title); Bird and Clayton (eds.), *Charles II: Art and Power*; RCT, [Charles II: Art and Power](#) (exhibition online platform); Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch*.

³ For quotation, Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch*, title; also see above, pp.1-3, 24-9.

⁴ Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, p.96.



Figures 4.1-3. Book jackets, Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*; Bird and M. Clayton (eds.), *Charles II: Art and Power*; Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch*.

Figure 4.4 (below). [RCT exhibition webpage header](#) (15 May 2024).



This thesis has, however, frustrated the notion of Charles as ‘the magnificent monarch’. It reconceptualises him as ‘the metropolitan monarch’ and emphasises how royal representational media functioned as *practical* tools of government and as means of interacting with the monarchy, rather than simply as decorative pieces.⁵ In the course of such arguments, it has specifically problematised the alleged pre-eminence of media traditionally considered to constitute royal representational forms, including painted portraiture, and drawn attention to the existence and importance of outwardly more prosaic representational media such as letters patent and seals.⁶ It has also encouraged interrogating the provenance and the *use* of royal representational instances, and flagged the value of recognising them as dynamic objects with meanings (plural) rather than *meaning* (singular). One consequence of such arguments is thus questioning approaching royal portraits precisely in the way that reproducing them on book jackets invites: as static, 2-D images that serve as natural advertisements of and entry-points into the themes and conclusions of Restoration royal representational analysis. Another is questioning portraiture’s supposedly quintessential role in representing Charles II altogether.

Attempting to establish portraiture’s place within Charles’s colonial representation was one of this research’s starting points. Yet it is fitting to reflect on it within this thesis’s final analysis. For whilst its findings problematise existing assessments of portraiture’s impact and importance as a form of Charles’s representation, they also highlight potentially rich alternative avenues for research. In addition, they flag specific methodological challenges facing research of this nature. This chapter will therefore turn specifically to consider the place of a traditionally much-vaunted form of Charles’s representation in colonial contexts: portraiture. The preceding chapters have between them shown that painted and other forms of royal portraiture played a minimal role within Charles’s official colonial representation. In turn, Chapter Three in particular has explained that this

⁵ For ‘the metropolitan monarch’ concept, above, pp.8-10.

⁶ See above, esp. pp.125-32, 194-240.

paradoxically reflects the prestige that the Crown accorded it as an essential form of Charles's personal rather than institutional representation and the relative lack of importance that the king placed on instituting royal presence within colonial contexts.⁷ Yet Restoration royal portraiture was far from only an official representational medium, a fact which Gibson in particular establishes.⁸ As is by now well-established, it also might manifest in a variety of forms: paintings, engravings, medals, coins, and seals; indeed, it might be present in any form of media that might display visual royal representation, including 3-D artefacts. How then, did Charles's visual representation appear in colonial territories? And given the conclusions raised in previous chapters, what does this tell us about the interests and priorities of both Charles and his subjects in such environments?

This question will be addressed from two focal points: re-assessing coinage as an official royal representational medium and reflecting on targeted investigations into Charles's visual representation in specific colonial contexts. The former will chiefly deconstruct the strident claims made about coinage's representational potency within existing literature. By outlining what can be discerned of its distribution throughout Restoration colonial contexts both as a currency medium generally and a royal representational form specifically, it will establish that its potential reach and its perceived symbolic import were less pervasive than has been claimed. In combination with conclusions from Chapter Three, this drives home the need for critical re-evaluation of precisely how and why historians have deemed particular representational media as worthy of consideration, or indeed simply as important, as forms of Charles's representation.

Meanwhile, attempting to locate Charles's contemporary colonial portraiture in extant heritage collections in the first instance presents specific configurations of a well-established historiographical problem: distinguishing between evidentiary absence and historical absence, or

⁷ Above, pp.293-4.

⁸ See for example Gibson, "Best Belov'd of Kings", i, esp. pp.61, 63, 66-8, see also p.76.

between an absence of *evidence* of a particular item within modern sources and the definitive absence of an item within the period under study. First therefore, brief reflections will be offered on the nature and import of such absences as encountered through preliminary assessments of potentially relevant holdings at select West African and Indian heritage institutions; through case-study research related to Barbados and Massachusetts; and through digital searches of specific modern-day North American heritage collections. Notably, some such North American collections do yield contemporary instances of Charles's visual representation, including painted portraiture. high-level research of this geographical and topical extent simply cannot categorically establish that such instances constituted Restoration *colonial* representation: in other words, it cannot find evidence that they were tied to English colonial territories during the Restoration, even if their creation can be confidently dated to this period. Nevertheless, examining such examples and analysing Charles's colonial portraiture overall draws attention to seemingly as-yet untapped seams of potential representational material that future research might productively mine. It also hints at the conclusions that such research might reveal. Principally, it underscores the value of reconceptualising Charles II as 'the metropolitan monarch'.⁹ Charles II was not a monarch whose representation was deftly wielded by the Crown as a political panacea and engaged with by his subjects only as a badge of loyalty or dissent. He was a monarch whose representation was a fundamental, practical component of how his government was exercised and experienced.

The Status Quo regarding 'Redrawing Regality' at the Restoration

Historians have typically been guilty of making blanket statements about representation's supposed meaning, origins, and impact, often with little apparent justification.¹⁰ This is certainly the case with Charles's visual representation. Sharpe is clear that in manifold forms and - at least for the Crown - for both better and worse, Charles's portraiture played a fundamental role in his

⁹ Above, pp.5-10.

¹⁰ Sub-heading quotation, Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, p.94 (chapter title).

contemporary representation. He declares, for example, that royal portraiture played a 'vital role in representing the king' and that coins 'circulated the royal image universally'.¹¹ Indeed, to read his argument, the pull to produce or possess the king's image was ubiquitous to the point of being unavoidable. Cook echoes Sharpe's expansive comments on coinage as a 'universal' medium, suggests in his discussion of Restoration coinage that '[t]he subjects of the monarch of early modern England... knew what their ruler looked like from his or her coins, by far the most common and familiar image of monarchy available to the population at large'.¹² Universalising tendencies even lie within the Royal Stuart Society paper that seems to condense Gibson's doctoral work. Like Sharpe and Cooke, her arguments leave no room for exception or variability in responses to Charles's visual representation according to time, place, or person.¹³

Yet this thesis has already demonstrated that portraiture appears to have played a very different role in Charles's official representation than that which either Sharpe or Gibson give it.¹⁴ Regarding minted coinage as a specific form of Charles's portraiture, it can also be estimated that it may only have circulated widely in just under 40% of such territories. It can be further approximated that coinage only likely served as a staple royal representational medium in approximately 3% - or in real terms, two territories. In addition, it can be deemed that it *possibly* served as such a medium in just over 10% of English Restoration colonies, or ten sites.¹⁵ This severely undercuts the notion that coinage was truly likely to have regularly brought Charles's image to *all* of his subjects, as Sharpe and Cooke maintain. The Restoration king's subjects incorporated tens of thousands of persons settled in England's seventy-six colonies, after all.¹⁶ Yet as will be shown, doubt can even

¹¹ Ibid., pp.98-147 (96, 135).

¹² Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, p.133; Cook, "'Stamp with Your Own Image'", p.304.

¹³ See for example Gibson, *The Cult of Charles II*, pp.1, 6; cf. idem., "'Best Belov'd of Kings'", i; see also above, pp.136-9.

¹⁴ Above, pp.65-132, esp. pp.65-73, 110-15, 130-2, 136-9, 174-84, 293-7.

¹⁵ First statistic equates to twenty-eight of seventy-six territories (37%). Note that the circulation for twelve sites (16%) is deemed unknown or unclear. **Table E, cols.D-O.**

¹⁶ Above, p.5 n.16.

be raised as to how far coinage habitually distributed Charles's image even amongst his *English* subjects.

Such evidence demands a closer look at the overall presence of Charles's portraiture and coinage within Restoration colonial contexts. This is not only to investigate their roles within colonial territories. It is also to address the suspicions that they raise about the veracity of existing notions of their role and impact as forms of Charles's representation within England, as well as to consider where this leaves us regarding conclusions on and research into Restoration royal representation and colonialism overall.

Re-assessing Coinage as an Official Royal Representational Form

Historians' claims about minted coins' representational importance and impact have often been grandiose. According to Sharpe, up until the Commonwealth, '[t]he right of coinage had been an uncontended prerogative of the crown... because the image on it was held to represent the royal authority', and both he and Cook argue that, in Sharpe's words, following the Restoration 'it was vital for Charles to quickly replace Cromwellian and republican coinage with his own', '[b]ecause the face and superscription of the king on coin were the most public manifestations of authority'.¹⁷ Writing about Restoration locally-minted Massachusetts coinage and, as we shall see, the alleged controversies that it provoked with the Crown, Barth places such coinage at the centre of high-stakes representational drama. In his view, at least prior to the Restoration, Boston's mint constituted 'the most powerful, tangible symbol of the colony's quest for autonomy'. During the Restoration, '[t]he matter of the [coins'] stamp was not negotiable'; '[t]he mint controversy was a battle over symbols'; and '[t]he mint's greatest offense... was... its symbolic import'.¹⁸ Comments

¹⁷ Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp.133, 134; Cook, "'Stamp'd with Your Own Image'", pp.304, 311-14.

¹⁸ Barth, "'A Peculiar Stampe of Our Owne'", 499, 510, 511, 501.

on coinage as a royal representational medium in the heritage sphere mimic such assessments. RCT remarks on the 1660-2 Samuel Cooper portrait of Charles note that it:

[W]as drawn from the life in the process of updating the nation's coinage. It was important that Charles's image be circulated as a tangible expression of his restored royal authority.¹⁹

Convincing evidence is presented to support some elements of such claims. Morrieson's broad though not comprehensive 'review of the coinage of Charles II' does suggest that all major, Crown-issued pieces of Charles's coinage displayed some form of visual royal imagery and usually a royal bust.²⁰ Moreover, Chapter Three established that the Crown used personal royal representation – representation depicting or referring to Charles specifically – over institutional royal representation to indicate media and objectives' perceived importance. By extension, this suggests that the Crown held minted coins in high esteem as a representational medium.²¹ Indeed, the same conclusion is also presented above in terms relative to other representational media – specifically, seals – and Cook provides persuasive evidence that both contemporaries and the Crown placed significance on the monarchical image replacing Commonwealth symbolism on early Restoration coinage.²²

Barth is also correct that Massachusetts minting its own coinage in Boston was a point of contention in its relationship with the Restoration Crown. Its authorities did not possess royal permission to mint coinage. As the royal commissioners dispatched to New England in 1664-5 – and according to Sosin, charged in part with 'the submission of Massachusetts to... Charles II' - pointed out in May 1665, 'coyning is a royall prerogatiue, for the vsurping of which ye act of

¹⁹ RCT, '[Samuel Cooper, Charles II \(1660-2\)](#)' (17 May 2024); see also The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York), '[Charles II: Royal Coat of Arms](#)' (17 May 2024).

²⁰ Morrieson's review does not cover Charles's colonial coinage, though some Irish and even New Jersey coinage. 'A Review of the Coinage of Charles II', (title), for Irish and New Jersey examples, see 133-4, 137-8.

²¹ Above, pp.263-84.

²² Above, p.297; Cook, "'Stamp with Your Own Image'", pp.311-13.

indemnity is only a salvo'.²³ The very act of coining could in theory therefore be both flaunted and interpreted as a defiance of royal authority.²⁴ Louis Jordan's careful chronology of 'documents and events relating to the Massachusetts Mint' is also certainly testament to how the issue of Massachusetts's coinage recurred in communications between the colonies' authorities, the Crown, and their respective agents.²⁵

Nevertheless, looking at Restoration colonial – and indeed English – coinage suggests that neither the Crown nor second parties vested coins with quite as much import as it has been suggested. Nor was its impact as widespread. A preliminary survey suggests, for example, that as shown in **Table E**, minted coinage can in fact be deemed likely to have circulated widely in only 5% of Restoration colonial contexts, or stated plainly, four such territories.²⁶ Contrary to the impression created by Barth's work, one of these in which coinage may possibly have served as a staple royal representational medium is Massachusetts. The colony therefore presents an interesting case from which to unpack the role that coinage played within Charles's representation in colonial contexts.

Lowering the Stakes Attributed to Massachusetts Coinage

Jordan documents that during the Restoration, coins with one of four core designs were produced at the Boston mint (**Figures 4.5-4.8, below**). Minted in the following periods, their obverses either bore 'NE' for New England (circa June – October 1652), a willow tree (circa October 1652 – 1660 or 1662), an oak tree (circa 1660 or 1662 – 1667[?]), or a pine tree (1667-82). Differing accompanying details on their obverses and reverses included raised dots, denominational marks, variations of the legends 'Masathvsets In' and 'New England An. Dom', and either the date '1652' or '1662'. They

²³ Sosin, *English America and the Restoration Monarchy*, p.110; *Records of... Massachusetts*, ed. Shurtleff, iv (ii), p.213.

²⁴ Barth, "'A Peculiar Stampe of Our Owne'", 501, 506-7.

²⁵ ['The Coins of Colonial and Early America'](#), Jordan (Spilman and CNF), 'Chronological Listing', (title).

²⁶ **Table E**, cols.E-L.

display regionally-specific legends and symbols and carry no obvious emblems of royal representation.²⁷ Sir Thomas Temple – '[g]overnor of Nova Scotia and an ardent supporter of Massachusetts Bay' – is purported to have convinced Charles II in 1662 that Massachusetts's oak tree coin was intended to carry royal connotations based on the king's personal associations with such trees, the most well-known of course being him hiding in what became known as the Royal Oak after Royalists were routed by parliamentarians at the 1651 Battle of Worcester. However, Jordan seems likely right that the tale was '[an] embellish[ment]' produced by '[la]ter retellings' of the meeting between Temple and the King.²⁸



Figure 4.5. Massachusetts 'N E' shilling (modern reproduction), [1652], 31.3 mm (private collection).

Figure 4.6. Massachusetts Willow Tree shilling (modern reproduction), [1652], 25.1 mm (Cliffon Gilchrist (Mishawaka, Indiana)).

²⁷ For details, [‘The Coins of Colonial and Early America’](#), Jordan (Spilman and CNF), introductory and example coin pages for each denomination; see also Barth, “‘A Peculiar Stampe of Our Owne’”, 493-5, 506-8.

²⁸ [‘The Coins of Colonial and Early America’](#), Jordan (Spilman and CNF), ‘Chronological Listing’, ‘[27 Feb.] 1662’, ‘[Sometime during the 1662 Negotiations]’; see also Barth, “‘A Peculiar Stampe of Our Owne’”, 501-2; for evidence of the story dating to after the Restoration, see Jordan’s discussion of pre-nineteenth century failure to distinguish between ‘willow’ and ‘oak’ coinage, [‘The Coins of Colonial and Early America’](#) Jordan (Spilman and CNF), ‘Willow Tree Coinage: Introduction’.



Figure 4.7. Massachusetts Oak Tree two-pence, 1662, 15.2 mm (Robert H. Gore, Jr. Numismatic Collection).

Figure 4.8.A & B (top right & left). Obverse with reverse indicative of design on other Restoration Boston-minted coins. Massachusetts Pine Tree shilling (small planchet), [c.1667-82?], 23.7 mm (Robert H. Gore, Jr. Numismatic Collection).

The Alleged Controversy Provoked by Bostonian Coins' Designs

By Barth's account, Temple made the claim about Massachusetts's oak coinage in an attempt to assuage '[t]he king's wrath' that an example of it provoked. However, just as the evidence used to justify reporting this episode is tenuous,²⁹ the drama which he builds around coinage as a representational form in Massachusetts has weak foundations. The Crown did eventually take issue with the colony minting coins,³⁰ but there is little to suggest that either side was truly as attached

²⁹ Barth himself notes that his re-telling of the incident is based on a 1768 account of it. The evidence he offers to support its reliability is unconvincing. "'A Peculiar Stampe of Our Owne'", 501-2, esp.n.27, (501).

³⁰ See for example ['The Coins of Colonial and Early America'](#), Jordan (Spilman and CNF), 'Chronological Listing', '[27 July] 1677'.

to the coins' impresses and related symbolism as Barth suggests. In the first instance, there is evidence that the Crown was willing for Massachusetts's authorities to continue to mint coinage locally, with the possible proviso that their design be changed to one approved by the Crown.³¹ Despite his very own suggestion that the colony's General Court was steadfastly against acceding to any such alterations, Barth himself goes on to explain that it did possess a 'moderate faction' in favour of them.³²

Indeed, in a letter to the colony's agents in England of October 1678, having expressed its confidence that the King would recognise the value of allowing the mint's continued operation, the Court noted that 'and for the impress put vpon it, wee shall take it as his matjes signall ouning vs, if he will please to order such an impresse as shall be to him most acceptable'.³³ Barth may imbue this declaration with defiance and a sense of refusal, yet there is every reason to read in it tones of compromise instead.³⁴ The letter reports the colony making other representational overtures to Crown authority, specifically in the form of swearing the oath of allegiance and ordering that the royal arms be added to the colony's court house, for example.³⁵ Of course, it is debatable whether Massachusetts' authorities were *really* prepared to compromise over their coins' impress. The letter's very attestation that the oath of allegiance was diligently administered in 1678 only belies their earlier claim that it had been instituted into local procedures in 1665.³⁶ Nevertheless, if their reason for not wishing to change their coins' design was that, as Barth contends, '[i]ndependence was a precious commodity, and it was not to be relinquished in fact or in form', it was rather undercut by officially seeming open to change.³⁷

³¹ See for example *ibid.* as well as '[24 Oct.] 1677'.

³² Barth, "'A Peculiar Stampe of Our Owne'", 510, (511).

³³ *Records of... Massachusetts*, ed. Shurtleff, v, pp.201-3, (203).

³⁴ Barth, "'A Peculiar Stampe of Our Owne'", 510-11.

³⁵ *Records of... Massachusetts*, ed. Shurtleff, v, p.203.

³⁶ *Records of... Massachusetts*, ed. Shurtleff, iv (ii), p.200, see also pp.206, 220.

³⁷ Barth, "'A Peculiar Stampe of Our Owne'", 511.

Just as there is reason to doubt Massachusetts's commitment to the coins' representational designs, there is reason to question the Crown's. Again, though Barth claims that it was one of the parties '[waging] battle over [the mint and its coins'] symbols', it is he who remarks that Charles himself 'seemed not to be terribly concerned about the issue [of Massachusetts's unlicensed minting]', and notes that the Lords of Trade's 1677 verdict on alleged misdemeanours by the colony, including its minting practices, 'was surprisingly moderate'.³⁸ Crucially, Charles and his ministers also do not seem to have been unduly concerned about what was on the coins, simply that local Massachusetts authorities were producing them when they should not have been.³⁹ No evidence has been found that the Crown ever formally asked that Bostonian coins' designs were changed or offered any proposals for what they should be changed to. Furthermore, Cook may stress the largely successful efforts that the Restoration English government went to in order to remove any traces of Cromwellian coinage in England. In doing so, he quotes from the 7 September 1661 proclamation that recalled all Commonwealth currency that "'We cannot but take notice that these Coyns were Stamped, not onely without, but against Our Authority, and were intended by the late *Usurpers* as a high Contempt of Us, Our Crown, and Dignity"''.⁴⁰ Nonetheless, there seems to be no indication that the Crown ever requested that Massachusetts' authorities issue a similar recall for coinage bearing their impress. In summary, Barth seems wrong to declare that the 'real objections from England [that arose after the Restoration regarding Massachusetts's coinage]... lay not in... economic rationale but in the subversive, political challenge inherent within the coin's very stamp'.⁴¹

³⁸ Ibid., pp.511, 502-3 (503), 508-10 (510).

³⁹ For evidence of concern over continued production of local coinage, see for example Barth, "'A Peculiar Stampe of Our Owne'", 513.

⁴⁰ Cook, "'Stampd with Your Own Image'", pp.312-16 (partly quoting proclamation with Cook's emphasis, 314); for similar views on Charles's English coinage and its alleged importance to the king, Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp.129-35.

⁴¹ Barth, "'A Peculiar Stampe of Our Owne'", 499.

Noting the Array of Minted Coinage

Flexibility and toleration regarding Bostonian coins' representation becomes understandable when a key fact is remembered: they were far from the only ones that circulated in the Restoration colony. Virginia Anderson in fact refers to 'an influx of English specie' in New England from the 1660s, which suggests that it is likely that coins with Charles's image at least arrived in Massachusetts even if they were not produced locally.⁴² Jordan also provides evidence indicating it is likely that Dutch coins circulated widely during the Restoration, as did substitutes for minted coinage, such as agricultural goods and wampum, small beads produced from shells used as currency by neighbouring indigenous peoples.⁴³ Such context is largely missing from Barth's article, at least in discussion of Restoration Massachusetts minting.⁴⁴ It also crucially makes it difficult to imagine that the designs of Massachusetts' local minted coinage were symbolically-freighted in the highly-charged, bi-lateral way that he contends. After all, settlers' pockets may have been filled with minted coins depicting Massachusetts symbolism *and* minted coins carrying English royal representation. They also might not have been filled with any coins at all.⁴⁵

Moreover, the three Massachusetts settler diaries alluded to previously – including that of John Hull, Boston's mint master – provide no indication that currency was a politically-wrought issue for their authors. Rather, particularly in the Restoration portion of Sewall's diary and in Russell's diary excerpts, the main preoccupations with money in fact seem to be with having it, not having it, and what was done with it.⁴⁶ In Massachusetts, therefore, minted coinage seems to have been a

⁴² Anderson, 'New England in the Seventeenth Century', i, p.213.

⁴³ ['The Coins of Colonial and Early America'](#), Jordan (Spilman and CNF), 'The Rix Dollar and Silver Rider: Introduction', 'Commodity Money: Introduction', 'Wampum: Introduction'.

⁴⁴ For some exception, see Barth, ""A Peculiar Stampe of Our Owne"", 492-3, 500-1, 520-3.

⁴⁵ Cook provides inspiration for thinking specifically about how coins might be present in contemporaries' pockets and generally about their day-to-day interactions with them. "Stampt with Your Own Image", pp.311, 305.

⁴⁶ Above, p.306; Sewall, *Diary*, pp.1-69, esp. 3, 18-19, 21; Hull, *Diaries*, pp.141-265; [Russell], 'Copy of the Diary', esp. 55-6.

representational medium neither as profusive nor as politically charged as historians have claimed. Looking further afield leads to similar conclusions.

Irish Coinage and Trade Tokens

One of the few other Restoration territories where it can be said with confidence that minted coinage likely circulated widely is Ireland.⁴⁷ An online search of the British Museum's collection for coins produced from 1660-85 and associated with 'Charles II' uncovers a range of coins issued in Dublin, examples of which show that they might display different permutations of the King's personal and institutional representation (**Figures 4.9, 4.10, 4.11, below**).⁴⁸ Alongside a second, broadly similar iteration of the same type of coin (**Figure 4.12, below**),⁴⁹ the coins depicted in **Figure 4.10** and known as St Patrick's coppers are particularly interesting to consider as instances of Restoration coinage. First, they not only had prolific circulation in Ireland from roughly the middle of the 1670s and may have served as quasi-official coins there between 1672 and 1677.⁵⁰ According to Jordan, a Mark Newby (or Newbie) imported around at least 10,800 into New Jersey between his immigration there in 1681 and his death in 1682.⁵¹ Whilst it is unclear how far these circulated in the colony in the remainder of Charles's reign, their vast number speaks to how widespread the total number of such tokens may have been both before and after 1672, and both within and without the Stuart kingdoms. Indeed, Morrieson also notes that they circulated on the Isle of Man in 1678-9.⁵²

⁴⁷ **Table E, col.E.**

⁴⁸ The British Museum, [digital collection](#) (30 May 2024). Morrieson suggests that the type of coin depicted in **Figure 4.9** may never have circulated. 'A Review of the Coinage of Charles II', 133-4.

⁴⁹ For relevant details, '[The Coins of Colonial and Early America](#)', Jordan (Spilman and CNF), 'St. Patrick Coppers 1674-5 (1681): Introduction'; Morrieson, 'A Review of the Coinage of Charles II', 137-8.

⁵⁰ '[The Coins of Colonial and Early America](#)', Jordan (Spilman and CNF), 'St. Patrick Coppers 1674-5 (1681): Introduction'; see also Morrieson, 'A Review of the Coinage of Charles II', 137.

⁵¹ Jordan (Spilman and CNF), 'St. Patrick Coppers 1674-5 (1681): Introduction'.

⁵² Morrieson, 'A Review of the Coinage of Charles II', 137.



Figure 4.9. Farthing, crown crossed with sceptres and crowned harp, 1660-1, minted in Dublin, alloy, 1.390 grammes (weight) (The British Museum, London). © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 4.10.A (above), B, & [C & D] (below). 'St Patrick's Coinage' or St Patrick's copper, figure with church and figure with crown and harp, 1674 (?), alloy, 4.810 grammes (weight) (The British Museum, London). © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 4.10.B. See caption, p.341. © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 4.10.[C & D]. See caption, p.341. © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 4.11.[A & B]. Halfpenny, Charles II laurel portrait and crowned harp, 1680, minted in Dublin, alloy, 7.910 grammes (weight) (The British Museum, London). © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 4.12. St Patrick's copper, large planchet, Vlack 5-D [1641-2], [copper], 130.3g weight, 28.1 mm diameter, (Robert H. Gore, Jr. Collection).

It is thus noteworthy that neither iteration of the coppers represents Charles II personally, either visually or rhetorically. Instead, at most the obverse refers to the English monarchy as an institution: '[an] English crown' hovers above King David and its legend reads 'FLOREAT REX (May the king flourish)' – though there is some ambiguity as to whether the king in question may be Charles or David.⁵³ They thereby buck the expectation that Restoration coins show Charles's 'face and superscription'.⁵⁴ This is likely explained in part by the fact that they are second-party-issued trade tokens. Though Morrieson suggests that such tokens 'flooded [England]' at the outset of Charles's reign, Sharpe skips over their significance as a feature of the Restoration landscape of minted coinage: he mentions them only to discuss how they were phased out of circulation from 1672 as new, low-value 'royal coins' were produced. Whilst he alludes to such tokens not carrying 'the royal image', the point that they may not have functioned as royal representational instances

⁵³ Both for quotation as well as transcriptions and translations of the coins' legends, '[The Coins of Colonial and Early America](#)', Jordan (Spilman and CNF), 'St. Patrick Coppers 1674-5 (1681): Introduction'; see also Morrieson, 'A Review of the Coinage of Charles II', 138.

⁵⁴ Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, p.134.

at all is lost even for one of his mentioned examples, the ‘private coins... manufactured by the Cambridge chandler Thomas Edwin’ (**Figure 4.13**).⁵⁵



Figure 4.13. Thomas Ewin, halfpenny, 1668 (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge). © The Fitzwilliam Museum.

What is uncertain even from Morrieson’s work is the exact scale of such tokens and what proportion may have served as royal representational forms – like the St Patrick’s coppers – or may not have, like Ewin’s tokens. Whilst further discussion and research is therefore needed to tease out the extent to which second-party coinage may diminish or enrich coinage’s current status as royal representational media, it is already clear that it was not as paramount as present consensus leads one to expect.

⁵⁵ Morrieson, ‘A Review of the Coinage of Charles II’, p.133-8 (133); Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp.133-4 (134).

Considering Restoration Coinage in Pan-Colonial Context

As shown in **Table E**, high-level surveys of existing literature suggest that both overall and as a royal representational medium, coinage had generally limited presence in English colonial landscapes.⁵⁶ It is of course well-known within colonial historiographical circles that coinage was in short supply in Restoration colonies largely as a result of the Navigation Acts, and that local economies often relied on non-minted substitutes such as wampum and goods to facilitate exchange.⁵⁷ Despite Royal African Company-marked coinage (**Figure 4.14, below**) being used as English currency, bullion and goods were ‘the currency of the region’ in West Africa, for example.⁵⁸ Yet even if there is only definitive evidence that minted currency circulated widely in four Restoration colonial territories – two of which, Massachusetts and Ireland, have already been discussed –⁵⁹ coinage did have a footprint elsewhere.

Crown-issued English Coinage

Such coinage included English royal issues. Routh suggests that English shillings, crowns, half-crowns, and angels found their way to Tangier and there is evidence that official English coinage may have operated in Barbados: in August 1675, for instance, St Michael’s vestry was to ‘furnis[h] [William? Trusdell] with ten galls rum and [t]wenty pounds of sugar and five shillings in money

⁵⁶ Sources include [‘The Coins of Colonial and Early America’](#), Jordan (Spilman and CNF); *CSPC AWI, 1661-1680*, ed. Sainsbury, v, pp.495 ref.1565, 601 ref.1816, 223 ref.784; *CSPC AWI, 1669-74*, ed. Sainsbury, p.96 ref.264 III; Anderson, ‘New England in the Seventeenth Century’, i, p.213; Stern, *The Company-State*, pp.34-6; Horn, ‘Tobacco Colonies’, p.213; E. Thomas, ‘Coins of the East India Company, in Bombay, under the Charters of Charles II’, *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society*, 3 (1883), 46-7, 41-5, 49, 50; Davies, ‘The Royal African Company’, pp.181, 225-6; Hair and Law, ‘The English in Western Africa to 1700’, p.256; Barth, ‘“A Peculiar Stampe of Our Owne”’, 497, 501-2; Smith, ‘The Representation of Charles II in English Colonial Contexts’, pp.26-7, 44-6; Pridmore, *The Coins of the British Commonwealth*, i-iv (i); Routh, *Tangier*, pp.32-4; Morrieson, ‘A Review of the Coinage of Charles II’.

⁵⁷ Smith, ‘The Representation of Charles II in English Colonial Contexts’, pp.45-6; [‘The Coins of Colonial and Early America’](#), Jordan (Spilman and CNF), esp. ‘Commodity Money: Introduction’ and ‘Wampum: Introduction’.

⁵⁸ Davies, ‘The Royal African Company’, esp. pp.(quotation regarding gold, 225-6), 181; Morrieson, ‘A Review of the Coinage of Charles II’, 125-6.

⁵⁹ Surat and Bombay are to be discussed.



Figure 4.14.A & B. Guinea, Charles II imperial portrait and crowned shields with elephant mark, 1663, minted in London, gold, 25 mm (diameter), 8.410 grammes (weight) (The British Museum, London). © The Trustees of the British Museum.

towards setting him and his wife in stock for a livelihood'.⁶⁰ It was likely also found in New England and New York, and more tentatively in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and contemporary English colonies in present-day India.⁶¹ Yet there is no guarantee that such coinage represented Charles II. It is true that Jordan and Morrieson collectively give reason to believe that the royal English halfpennies and farthings likely circulating in Restoration New York, and perhaps Pennsylvania and Virginia, carried the particularly imperialistic representation of Charles shown in **Figure 4.15 (below)**.⁶² Nevertheless, such overt imperial symbolism seems to have been a representational coincidence, given they were seemingly imported, or potentially imported, for their literal and not

⁶⁰ Routh, *Tangier*, p.33; 'Records of... St. Michael', XVI: 1-2, 56-7 (56), see also XV: 4, p.211; *St John's Vestry Minutes*, BMHS, f.19[r].

⁶¹ See Anderson, 'New England in the Seventeenth Century', p.213; ['The Coins of Colonial and Early America'](#), Jordan (Spilman and CNF), 'Regal British Copper Coinage: Introduction', 'Seventeenth Century Patent Farthings and Trade Tokens'; see Thomas, 'Coins of the East India Company, in Bombay', 49.

⁶² ['Coin – Halfpenny, Charles II, Great Britain, 1673'](#), Museums Victoria, (19 May 2024); Morrieson, 'A Review of the Coinage of Charles II', 133-7, esp. 134.



Figure 4.15.A & B. Halfpenny, Charles II laurel and armour portrait and Britannia, 1673, minted in London, copper, 11.495g (weight), photograph Justine Philip (Museum Victoria, Australia). <https://collections.museumsvictoria.com.au/items/78260> (19 May 2024). © Museums Victoria/ Creative Commons BY 4.0 International.

representational value.⁶³ Furthermore, Cook reminds us that multiple monarchs' coinage circulated within English currency so that by the later Stuart period, 'a century of successions could run through the hands in a single transaction' within England. He also notes that it took until at least early 1662 for the Crown to recall English Cromwellian coinage.⁶⁴ Not only does this mean that even royally-issued English coinage imported to Restoration colonies did not necessarily represent Charles II. It also theoretically introduces the possibility that English coinage imported in the early 1660s might instead have represented the Commonwealth – and this notably may only have potentially comprised the 'influx of English specie' that Anderson notes made its way to New England from the 1660s.⁶⁵

As already indicated by Massachusetts, state-issued English coinage was also not the only type of coinage that operated in Restoration colonial contexts.⁶⁶ Foreign coinage was an important

⁶³ See ['The Coins of Colonial and Early America'](#), Jordan (Spilman and CNF), 'Regal British Copper Coinage: Introduction', 'Seventeenth Century Patent Farthings and Trade Tokens'.

⁶⁴ Cook, "'Stamp't with Your Own Image'", pp.(305), 315.

⁶⁵ Anderson, 'New England in the Seventeenth Century', p.213.

⁶⁶ Above, p.338.

component of some colonial economies. It often featured in North American mainland contexts and was found in parts of the English Caribbean.⁶⁷ F. Pridmore notes that the East India Company regularly dealt in Spanish dollars, the coins of Mughal rulers, and Portuguese ‘xerafins, pice[,] and bazarucco’s’ in their operations,⁶⁸ and Routh suggests that Spanish pieces of eight and various Portuguese coins were found in Tangier.⁶⁹ Such coinage quite naturally did not display Charles’s representation. More notably, typically nor did coinage intended for circulation in colonial territories and issued by English or colonial second-parties.

Second-party-issued Colonial Coinage

Beyond St Patrick’s coppers and Massachusetts’s Bostonian coinage, which incidentally likely circulated in Antigua and Montserrat as well as perhaps Maryland, Virginia, Carolina, Nevis,⁷⁰ second-party issued coinage intended for colonial circulation had a notable footprint, even if this footprint was larger in aspiration than in practice. Lord Baltimore endeavoured to introduce the coinage depicted in **Figure 4.16 (below)** into his proprietary colony of Maryland from 1659, though the fact that tobacco leaves remained the Chesapeake’s principal currency suggests its incorporation into colonial life was limited.⁷¹ Indeed, Jordan suggests that it ceased circulating from 1673, which is surely notably only a year after private coinage was disavowed by the Crown.⁷² Whilst featuring a ‘palatine coronet’ that gestures towards regalia, it did not represent Charles directly.⁷³ There was also an attempt to coin a representationally-sophisticated ‘New Yorke in

⁶⁷ [‘The Coins of Colonial and Early America’](#), Jordan (Spilman and CNF), ‘The Rix Dollar and Silver Rider: Introduction’; Smith, ‘The Representation of Charles II in English Colonial Contexts’, pp.26-7; Pridmore, *The Coins of the British Commonwealth*, iii, p.120.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, iv (i), pp.96-9 (99).

⁶⁹ Routh, *Tangier*, pp.33-4.

⁷⁰ Pridmore, *The Coins of the British Commonwealth*, iii, p.120; Barth, “A Peculiar Stampe of Our Owne”, 497.

⁷¹ [‘The Coins of Colonial and Early America’](#), Jordan (Spilman and CNF), ‘Lord Baltimore Coinage 1658-9: Introduction’; Horn, ‘Tobacco Colonies’, p.183.

⁷² [‘The Coins of Colonial and Early America’](#), Jordan (Spilman and CNF), ‘Lord Baltimore Coinage 1658-9: Introduction’, for the Crown ‘demoneti[sing]’ private coinage in 1672, ‘Seventeenth Century Patent Farthings and Trade Tokens’.

⁷³ For the quotation and transcriptions and translations of the coins’ legends, *ibid.*, ‘Lord Baltimore Coinage 1658-9: Introduction’.



Figure 4.16.A. & B. Sixpence, Lord Baltimore issue [1659, minted in London], [silver], 41.5 grammes (weight).

America' token on behalf of the said colony's governor, Francis Lovelace, in 1668-73 (**Figure 4.17.A & B, below**), yet Jordan explicitly notes that this was thwarted by the Crown's move against private coinage and never made it to the colony.⁷⁴ Whilst this raises the possibility that similar tokens produced in honour of previous governors circulated prior to the change in Restoration monetary policy, none have been encountered in this research. As the Lovelace token also contained no royal representation,⁷⁵ it again underscores common themes: the failure of coinage to serve as a royal representational medium in Restoration colonial contexts, and its limited function as a form of colonial currency overall.

Turning to Barbados and Jamaica continues these themes whilst also demonstrating clear thwarted demand for coinage. From 1661, Barbadians repeatedly requested that 'they may have liberty to... advance the value of foreign money, and re-coin it, as well as bullion, to any value they think fit' to

⁷⁴ ['The Coins of Colonial and Early America'](#), Jordan (Spilman and CNF), 'The New Yorke in America Token, between 1668 and 1673: Introduction'.

⁷⁵ See *ibid.* and related example token page.



Figure 4.17.A & B. ‘New Yorke in America’ token [1668-73]. [Rights associated with Early American History Auction online catalogue, 17 Jan. 1998 auction].

no avail.⁷⁶ Though a Barbadian coinage seems to have raised no official concerns in a response to one such petition in 1668,⁷⁷ revisions to an Assembly petition across 1668-71 suggests they encountered enough royal sensitivity over the issue to drop the subject temporarily.⁷⁸ More categorically, a Jamaican proposal ‘[f]or power to coin money’ in 1664 was specifically ‘denied’,⁷⁹ and Pridmore notes that subsequent requests were similarly refused.⁸⁰ Such evidence begs the question of why the Crown allowed an appetite for coinage, ‘the only true measure and encouragement of trade’, to remain unrequited in arguably the Caribbean’s two most important Restoration colonies.⁸¹

Together with the issues regarding Massachusetts’s coinage and the Crown’s de-privatisation of coinage in the early 1670s, it is initially possible to speculate that the Crown was intent on gathering

⁷⁶ *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, ed. Sainsbury, pp.29-30 ref.85 (p.30), p.495 ref.1565, p.601 ref.1816; *CSPC AWI, 1669-74*, idem, pp.506-7 ref.1116; see also Pridmore, *The Coins of the British Commonwealth*, iii, pp.75-90.

⁷⁷ *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, idem, p.543 ref. 1682.

⁷⁸ *CSPC AWI, 1669-74*, idem, pp.199-201 ref.501, cf. pp.506-7 ref.1116.

⁷⁹ *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, idem, (p.223 ref.784).

⁸⁰ *CSPC AWI, 1669-74*, idem, p.96 ref.264 III; Pridmore, *The Coins of the British Commonwealth*, iii, p.92.

⁸¹ Quotation originally referring to ‘a control of the currency’ in a 1661 Barbadian petition including a request for minting privileges, *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, ed. Sainsbury, pp.29-(30) ref.85.

control of coinage under royal auspices as simply another ‘strand of a campaign to augment the crown’s power at the expense of the localities’, gathering force as its administration of colonial affairs tightened and its interest in them strengthened.⁸² Indeed, Charles may have licensed Sir Thomas Armstrong to mint coinage in Ireland both 1660 and 1680 ‘to get rid of... St Patrick’s [coppers]’ – in other words, to replace second-party coinage with an official equivalent.⁸³ His decision was perhaps even influenced by the fact that both iterations were to display more extensive and prominent royal representation than the St Patrick’s alternatives, though this point is speculative as it is not known that he was aware of their prospective designs when the licences were granted (cf. **Figures 4.9, 4.11, 4.10, 4.12, above**).⁸⁴ Nevertheless, similar to arguments made elsewhere within this thesis, evidence easily problematises the notion of grand trans-Atlantic royal programmes regarding coinage.

In the first instance, with regard to Armstrong’s Irish coinage Morrieson also points out that at least the first proposed issue was to be ‘similar to those issued by the King’s predecessors, only heavier’.⁸⁵ As much as a possible desire to bring Irish coinage under a royal aegis, bringing Irish coinage into line with precedent might thus also have influenced Charles’s decision to grant Armstrong minting privileges. Furthermore, Morrieson’s comment that the first licence did not result in any coinage because the Duke of Ormonde, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, was against it is also surely relevant.⁸⁶ It implies that Ormonde wagered that Charles was not concerned enough about such coinage to make the political risk of opposing Armstrong’s 1660 royal grant untenable. Similarly, seemingly officially-prompted 1668 ‘[o]bservations’ on Barbadians ‘set[ting] up a mint to coin money... as in New England and elsewhere’ notably advised that ‘conveying money... [and]

⁸² Cf. Stanwood, *The Empire Reformed*, (p.25); Haffenden, ‘The Crown and the Colonial Charters... Part I’, 298.

⁸³ Making this point in reference to the 1680 grant, Morrieson, ‘A Review of the Coinage of Charles II’, (137), for the 1660 royal grant, see 133.

⁸⁴ Above, pp.340-4; for descriptions of the designs, Morrieson, ‘A Review of the Coinage of Charles II’, 133-4, 137-8.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 134.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

melt[ing] down English money [o]r stamp[ing] it under base alloy' might 'prejudice England', yet did not object to such a coinage overall, nor flag potential iconographical concerns.⁸⁷ Alongside the fact that the Crown did not seem overly concerned about Bostonian coins' representation,⁸⁸ such details frustrate the twin possibilities that Charles coveted strong general ambitions to centralise all coinage under a royal aegis and to ensure that it served as a royal representational form to the greatest possible extent. Yet they are altogether discouraged when considered in conjunction with the Crown's behaviour towards an important final tranche of second-party coinage, that of the East India Company.

Delineating and Interpreting East India Company Coinage's Potential as Royal Representation

The Company minted coinage at Bombay, Surat, Madras, and possibly Masulipatam in this period, though as the latter three's iconography accorded principally with either designs deployed by local non-colonial authorities or local indigenous culture,⁸⁹ only its Bombay coinage is of potential royal representational interest. Seven main design types can be identified confidently, two of which bore explicit royal representation.⁹⁰ One of the latter examples is the 1674 Anglina (or rupee). This had the Company's title and arms on one face and the initials 'CC' on the other. The initials apparently stood for 'Charles' and 'Catherine' in response to Portuguese objections that a previous issue 'contained no reference to the King or Queen of England', objections presumably motivated by the Queen's Portuguese heritage.⁹¹ The other example displaying explicit royal representation is **Figure 4.18's 'rupee of Bombaim [1678]' (below).**⁹²

⁸⁷ *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, ed. Sainsbury, (all but the second quotation, p.543, ref. 1682), (p.495 ref.1565).

⁸⁸ Above, pp.335-7.

⁸⁹ In the case of Madras coinage, Pridmore does suggest that various issues bore the East India Company's "balemark" (p.11), and that some including a 'kingly title' (p.15) relating to local authorities. *The Coins of the British Commonwealth*, iv (i), pp.96-107, 10-11, 13-16, 57, 62-3, 47; see also Stern, *The Company-State*, pp.35-6.

⁹⁰ Pridmore, *The Coins of the British Commonwealth*, iv (i), pp.100-7.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp.104, (101).

⁹² *Ibid.*, p.105.



Figure 4.18.A & B. Rupee, crowned shield and legend, 1678, minted in [Bombay], silver, 11.820 grammes (weight) (The British Museum, London). © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Another two East India Company Bombay coins are catalogued by the nineteenth-century commentator, Edward Thomas. One is given as a 1674 farthing displaying the legends 'CAROLVS A CAROLO' and 'REX BRITANNIA', '[r]estruken with the die' of what appears to be the 1678 Bombay rupee. The other is listed as an 'Indian Fanam' showing two interlinked 'C's, '(the monogram of Charles [II])' on the obverse and 'the ordinary standing figure of the Indian god (*Vishnu*?)' on the reverse.⁹³ Nevertheless, whilst one of his cited sources testifies to the fanam's possible existence,⁹⁴ no definitive trace of either coin has been identified beyond Thomas's article. If Thomas's work is correct, however, this suggests that four of nine main East India Company coin designs represented Charles directly. Two, possibly three, more designs carried the King's indirect representation, all variations on the coin shown in **Figure 4.19 (below)**. Pridmore suggests that the first silver Anglina, the copperoon (or pice), and perhaps the tinny (or buzerook), carried an abbreviation of '*Anno Septimo*', 'A[°.]7[°.]', or an equivalent phrase, and it seems to be established that such dating started at 1665 because this was 'when Bombay actually became a possession of the English

⁹³ Thomas, 'Coins of the East India Company, in Bombay', 47.

⁹⁴ Ibid.; Reverend R. Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage of Britain and Its Dependencies [...]* (London, 1819), p.296.



Figure 4.19.A & B. Rupee, East India Company arms and legend, 1672, minted in India, silver, 11.470 grammes (weight) (The British Museum, London). © The Trustees of the British Museum.

crown'.⁹⁵ This both renders it a subtle allusion to the Crown's ultimate sovereignty of the colony, the management of which was transferred to the Company in 1668, and the coins bearing it indirect royal representational instances.

In addition, Pridmore suggests that the Company planned or at least discussed issuing two further design types which would have constituted royal representational examples. These were first, a gold "*Carolina*", which in addition to the dating noted above, would have represented Charles by virtue of its name being "in remembrance of our Kings Majesty". Such coins were never produced.⁹⁶ Pridmore then suggests that the second coin, one proposed in 1674 by the President of Bombay, Gerald Aungier, never made it into production because Company agents were concerned that '[one of its intended inscriptions,] "Charles the Second, King of England", might subject the Company to a writ of *praemunire* as having too close a reference to King's coin'.⁹⁷ He implies that this resulted not only in the coin being substituted for one without royal

⁹⁵ Pridmore, *The Coins of the British Commonwealth*, iv (i), pp.(100)-4, (102), (101); see also Parsons, 'The Bombay Pice [*sic*]', pp.255-6.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.100-1 (quoting Gerald Aungier, President of Bombay, p.100).

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.104 (appearing to quote the proposed inscription).

representation, but in the Company's authorities doubting its entire minting enterprise at Bombay, so much so that they formally asked Charles II for a grant of relevant minting privileges.⁹⁸ These were duly granted allegedly in October 1676.⁹⁹ Even then, the doubt stirred over its minting processes seems to have prompted the Company to seek royal approval for the Bombay mint's next issue, the 1678 Bombay rupee, possibly not once but twice.¹⁰⁰ It also presumably motivated its emphatic inclusion of both visual and rhetorical royal representation.¹⁰¹

Where does this leave us in terms of East India Company coinage as a form of Charles's second-party representation? First, there is persuasive but not conclusive evidence to suggest that the Company only included English royal representation on its coinage when it felt it to be politically and legally expedient. To mint its coinage in Surat, Madras, and perhaps Masulipatam, the Company depended on the assent of native local authorities, not the English Crown.¹⁰² Correspondingly, though unsurprisingly, such coinage did not display English royal representation. Meanwhile, Pridmore suggests that in its Bombay coinage, the Company skirted away from including mention of the King on its 1674 angina as 'such an inscription might involve the Company in difficulties at home' and thus might have given the impression of the coins' non-existent royal approval.¹⁰³ It then seems that it *included* both rhetorical and visual royal representation as a show of deference to such approval once it was gained in 1676. This calls for adjustment to Stern's comment that overall, '[t]he Company's coins... reflected the multiple and overlapping sources of... sovereignty' with which it engaged. It suggests that, as his and Pridmore's arguments imply, the

⁹⁸ Ibid., p.105.

⁹⁹ Whilst Parsons, Stern, and Pridmore date the grant to 1676, letters patent titled as granting it 'the power to coin money at Bombay' date to 5 October 1677 (see **Table C**). Parsons, 'The Bombay Pice [sic]', 258; Stern, *The Company-State*, p.34; Pridmore, *The Coins of the British Commonwealth*, iv (i), p.105; IOR/A/1/34, 'EIC' AMDD.

¹⁰⁰ See Pridmore, *The Coins of the British Commonwealth*, iv (i), p.106.

¹⁰¹ **Figure 4.18**, above, p.354; Parsons, 'The Bombay Pice [sic]', 258; for a more sceptical interpretation and the suggestion that the rupee alone of Restoration Bombay issues carried royal representation, Stern, *The Company-State*, pp.34-5.

¹⁰² Pridmore, *The Coins of the British Commonwealth*, iv (i), pp.96-7, 105, 47.

¹⁰³ Ibid., pp.104-(5).

Company used the representational potential of its coinage to *navigate* the sovereign nexus that it operated in and to strengthen its position within it.¹⁰⁴

Yet just as Chapter Three suggests that second-party royal representation more generally correlated to more than high-brow political concerns,¹⁰⁵ evidence suggests that the Company's inclusion of royal representation on its coinage was influenced by considerations beyond political sovereignty, calling for moderation of Stern's argument that '[e]ven the most apparently practical commercial instruments, like coins, served distinct political purposes'.¹⁰⁶ Pridmore implies, after all, that the decision to include King Charles and Queen Catherine's initials topped by a cross and a crown on one of the 1674 anglinas in order to appease Portuguese objections to the earlier anglina was commercially- rather than politically-motivated: their 'dislike' apparently depressed circulation.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, as suggested above, royal representation was incorporated into coins' designs well before Aungier's proposed reference to Charles in an inscription in 1674 prompted concerns about the Company's authority to mint coinage in Bombay. This was not only in the form of the name proposed for gold issues, 'Carolinas', but in the logic of the date markers at least intended for gold, silver, copper, and tin issues.¹⁰⁸ In addition, something beyond the consternation it resulted in of course prompted Aungier to propose the inscription "'Charles the Second, King of England'" in the first place.¹⁰⁹ This and modulations in coins' inclusion of royal representation overall might still reflect the Company and its agents attempting to resolve perceived tensions in its right to mint coinage at Bombay, simply earlier than Pridmore allows. However, equally it may signal other political, practical, professional, or even personal inclinations filtering into

¹⁰⁴ Stern, *The Company-State*, pp.(34)-6; Pridmore, *The Coins of the British Commonwealth*, iv (i), pp.101-6; see also Parsons, 'The Bombay Pice [sic]', esp. 251-2, 257-9.

¹⁰⁵ Above, pp.298-324.

¹⁰⁶ Stern, *The Company-State*, p.34.

¹⁰⁷ Pridmore, *The Coins of the British Commonwealth*, iv (i), pp.(104), 101.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., pp.100, 101-4.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p.(104, appearing to quote the proposed inscription).

representational decisions. In any case, it highlights again how Charles's appearance on Restoration colonial coinage was far from guaranteed and may not only have been influenced by politics.

East India Company coinage also affirms two key conclusions regarding coinage as a form of both Charles's colonial and English representation. First, sources concur that overall, the production and circulation of its Restoration Bombay coinage was chronologically and geographically limited.¹¹⁰ Pridmore also provides details suggesting that of issues which made it into production, those carrying only indirect royal representation, or no royal representation at all, were likely more abundant than those exhibiting explicit and direct royal representation.¹¹¹ Thus, even in the context of East India Company operations, where 'coinage was a crucially important aspect of [its] trade', coinage was not a universally accessible medium and certainly not a guaranteed form of Charles's representation.¹¹²

Furthermore, the Company's coinage highlights that the Crown's attitude to second-party-issued coinage was not uniform. It was, after all, happy to license the Company issuing private coinage ostensibly in 1676 not only after its general prohibition of second-party minting in 1672, but in nearly the same period in which it was taking issue with Massachusetts's private minting practices.¹¹³ This was despite the fact that the Company had been minting coinage at Bombay without royal sanction since 1672, surely a parallel with authorities effectively doing the same, though for a longer period, in Massachusetts.¹¹⁴ It is true that as discussed above, had negotiations with Massachusetts's authorities gone differently, its coinage may have been granted a royal licence just like the East India Company's. Nevertheless, as also noted above, Charles and his

¹¹⁰ Ibid., pp.100-7; Thomas, 'Coins of the East India Company, in Bombay', 41-2, 44; Stern, *The Company-State*, pp.34-5.

¹¹¹ Pridmore, *The Coins of the British Commonwealth*, iv (i), pp.100-7.

¹¹² Stern, *The Company-State*, p.34.

¹¹³ Above, pp.335-7.

¹¹⁴ For minting starting in 1672, Pridmore, *The Coins of the British Commonwealth*, iv (i), pp.99-101; above, pp.332-3.

government refused to grant Barbadian and Jamaican authorities minting privileges throughout the 1660s and 1670s and moved against English second-party coinage in 1672. Such decisions appear indicative of the Crown again pursuing colonial action based on specific chronologically- and geographically-focused objectives rather than a blanket ‘grand imperial vision’.¹¹⁵

In addition, East India Company coinage points to the Crown seeming to consider coins’ iconography as a matter of possible but not unequivocal importance. Granted, the East India Company *thought* that Charles might consider it a matter of great importance. He was also willing to invest time in viewing and approving the Company’s 1678 Bombay rupee design, perhaps even twice.¹¹⁶ Nevertheless, Bombay coinage’s c.1676 royal licence seems to have allowed it simply to have “such Impression and Inscription there upon to bee made”; it did not specify, for instance, that it needed to carry any acknowledgement of royal authority.¹¹⁷

Coinage as a Contingent Royal Representational Form

Overall, as illustrated in **Table E**, investigation into Restoration colonial coinage suggests two main conclusions. First, coinage was far from a ‘universal’ form of currency, let alone a ‘universal’ royal representational medium.¹¹⁸ Secondly, it suggests that though there is clear evidence that both the Crown and second-parties were at times and perhaps even often sensitive to and interested in coins’ iconography and royal representational potential, such interest was more contingent than historians have suggested. Attention to colonial coinage therefore fundamentally questions assumptions and conclusions at the heart of current assessments of coinage during Charles’s reign, including those related to both English and Massachusetts’s issues. In the former case, for instance, it specifically forces attention to how an unknown yet likely significant quantity of English second-

¹¹⁵ Stanwood, *The Empire Reformed*, p.25.

¹¹⁶ See Pridmore, *The Coins of the British Commonwealth*, iv (i), p.106.

¹¹⁷ See the licence partially quoted in *ibid.* (quoted text).

¹¹⁸ Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, p.133.

party-issued coinage which may not have carried any form of royal representation was tolerated, if not sanctioned, by the Crown until 1672, despite Sharpe and Cook having suggested that it was very important that coinage carry Charles's 'face and superscription'.¹¹⁹ In the latter case, it again calls for scholarship to move away from incorporating interpretations of royal representation into narratives of alleged high-stakes Crown-colony political drama.¹²⁰ These conclusions form natural starting points for more extensive media- and territory-specific research.

Yet so too do the royal representational instances that *are* described above as appearing on Restoration colonial coinage. It is, for example, intriguing to reflect on the representational and politico-religious implications of one of the coins supposedly minted at Bombay catalogued by Thomas. This is the coin which Thomas suggests possessed an obverse showing interlinked 'C's as ciphers of Charles's name and a reverse depicting 'the ordinary standing figure of the Indian god (*Vishnu?*)'.¹²¹ If his cataloguing can be trusted,¹²² the coin has important representational implications: Charles, head of the Anglican Church, was depicted on the same coin as a non-Christian deity, possibly the Hindu god Vishnu. This possibility prompts a number of potential questions. Did the East India Company attempt to make a diplomatic point about English colonial sovereignty and non-colonial religious culture through these iconographies' union? Were groups in England outside of the Company aware of such representation, and if so, how did they situate it within debates about English colonial activity, religious toleration, and Charles's personal religious sympathies? What in turn does such awareness – or lack of awareness - say about the dissemination of the king's representation both in coinage and in general, about interest in it, and indeed, about the nature and focus of global communication networks?

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p.134; Cook, "Stamp'd with Your Own Image", pp.304, 306, 313.

¹²⁰ Above, pp.301-3, 312-17.

¹²¹ Thomas, 'Coins of the East India Company, in Bombay', 47.

¹²² See above, p.354.

Such lines of questioning are only made more intriguing by parallel lines of inquiry provoked by an instance of Charles's representation outside of coinage: his depiction in a late seventeenth-century Islamic text, the *Nan va Halva (Breads and Sweets)*.¹²³ It is this depiction, Charles's visual representation beyond coinage, and the themes that these unlock to which we will now turn.

Locating Charles's Portraiture within Restoration Colonial Landscapes

Charles II's portrait in the work of Muhammad Baha' al-Din al-'Amili, *Nan va Halva (Breads and Sweets)* frames two core themes associated with locating Charles's portraiture within Restoration colonial landscapes (**Figure 4.20, below**). First, it highlights *in extremis* the dangers of making assumptions regarding artefacts' credentials as contemporary colonial royal representational instances. It thus draws attention to noteworthy methodological issues in attempting to identify Charles's colonial visual representation. Yet it also showcases the value of such attempts even if they run into issues in verifying artefacts' Restoration colonial credentials by demonstrating the avenues of insight and inquiry that they might open.

A Needle in a Haystack: Charles's Contemporary *Colonial* Visual Representation

The *Nan va Halva*, and thus the image of Charles II depicted below, was 'probably produced in Aurangabad [in present-day India] soon after the Mughal conquest of the Deccan' and is currently in the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art's collection.¹²⁴ In theory, there is therefore the initial possibility that it possesses connections to either, or both, Restoration East India Company colonies

¹²³ **Figure 4.20, below.**

¹²⁴ The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) (henceforth, MMA), ['Nan va Halva \(Breads and Sweets\)'](#) (30 June 2023), 'Catalogue Entry'.

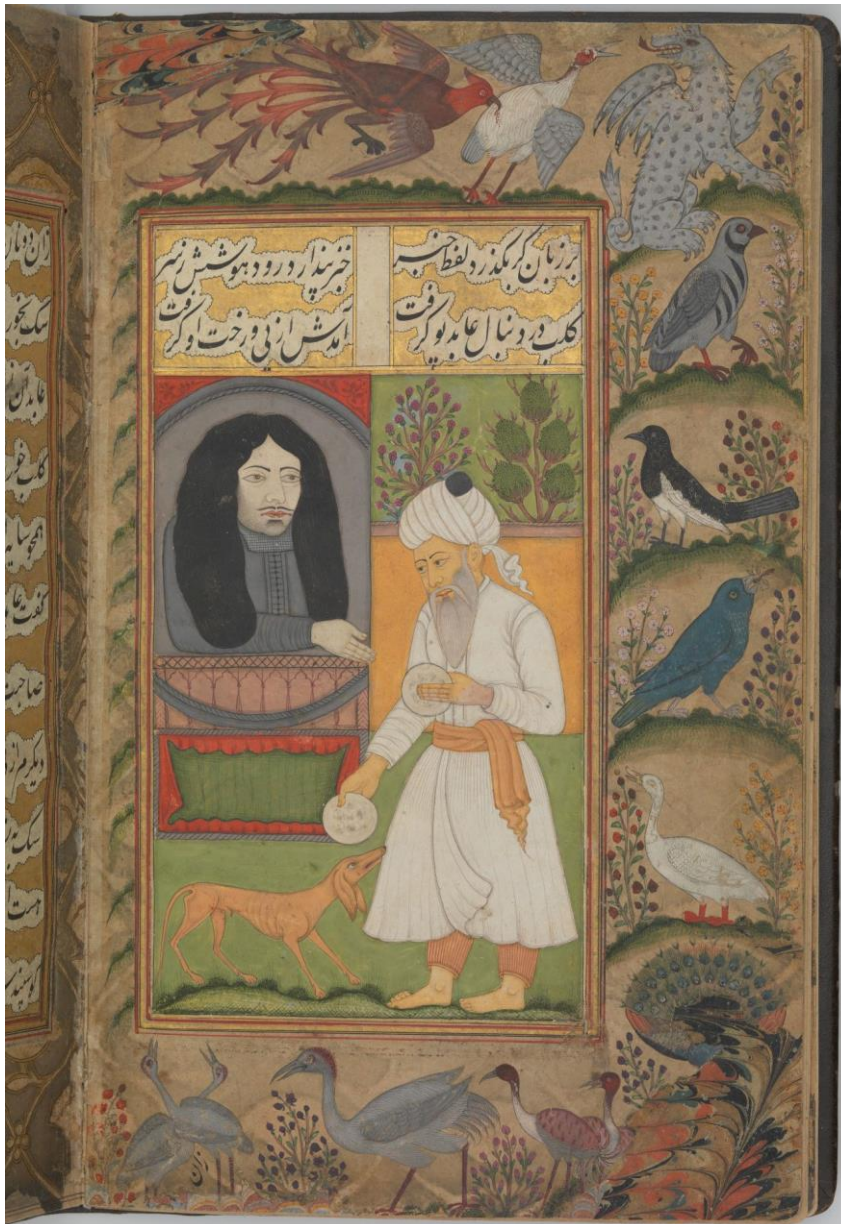


Figure 4.20. Image within *Nan va Halva (Breads and Sweets)*, Muhammad Baha' al-Din al-'Amili, c.1690 (The Metropolitan Museum, New York City). Public domain.

and Restoration New York. Nevertheless, such a possibility is quickly dashed by the work being dated to c.1690, the lack of clear known connections between Aurangabad and the East India Company during Charles's reign, and the fact that the artefact may only have come to New York from London, England in 1999 when it was sold to the museum.¹²⁵ The artefact thus serves as a clear warning of an outwardly obvious point: that artefacts' presence within modern collections in

¹²⁵ Ibid., 'Overview', 'Provenance'.

territories with Restoration colonial histories, or even their historical ties to regions with early modern English colonial associations, are not reliable grounds on which to pronounce them instances of Charles's contemporary *colonial* representation.

These tenets are easy to appreciate divorced from practical application. They may seem to offer reasonable interpretative possibilities, however, given that some North American collections do yield contemporary instances of Charles's visual representation, including painted portraiture,¹²⁶ and given that high-level research of this geographical and topical extent simply cannot categorically record all such instances and establish that they constituted Restoration *colonial* representation due to the difficulty and extent of such a task. Such difficulty stems chiefly from the fact that they of course might *not* have had ties to English colonial territories during the Restoration, even if they are held within modern collections based in locations that were English colonies during Charles's reign and unlike the *Nan va Halva*, their creation can be confidently dated to this period.

For example, the United States' National Gallery of Art holds several Restoration medals depicting Charles II personally as well as those displaying the crown and the Restoration Queen, Catherine of Braganza, two of which are shown in **Figures 4.21 and 4.22 (below)**.¹²⁷ Yet their contemporary colonial credentials cannot be discerned from their catalogue information, if any exist at all. More broadly, four case-study digital searches for Charles's Restoration visual representation in present-

¹²⁶ See for example After Sir Peter Lely, 'Painting, Charles II' [1660-99], oil on canvas, 49.25 x 40 inches, [Virginia Museum of History & Culture](#) (3 July 2023); **Table F**.

¹²⁷ For the medal depicting Catherine of Braganza, Jan Roettiers, [Medal Three] 2002.146.13.b, *Catherine of Braganza, 1638-1705, Wife of Charles II, King of England, 1661 [reverse]* (1662), silver, 4.32 cm (diameter) (The National Gallery of Art, United States); see also idem, [Medal Two], 1998.108.18.a (*Charles II, King of England: Proclamation of the Peace of Bredha [obverse]*) and 1998.108.18.b (*Armed Britannia Surveying Her Navies [reverse]*), (1667), silver, 5.67 cm (diameter) (The National Gallery of Art, United States).



Figure 4.21. Jan Roettiers, *Allegorical Scene [reverse]* (c.1661), (National Gallery of Art, United States). Courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, United States. Public domain.



Figure 4.22.A & B. Thomas Simon, [Medal One] 1995.27.7.a (*King Charles II in Coronation Robes [obverse]*) and 1995.27.7.b (*King Charles II Enthroned, being Crowned by Peace [reverse]*) (1661) (The National Gallery of Art, United States). Courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, United States. Public domain.

day North American heritage collections failed to identify clear colonial instances of such representation.¹²⁸ Between those focused on the Museum of Fine Arts Boston and the

Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) collections, and that seeking to pinpoint twelve instances of Charles's Restoration portraiture identified by Gibson within various modern North American collections, nearly one hundred and fifty potentially relevant artefacts were identified.¹²⁹ Over a third of this artefact sample can be confidently dismissed as instances of Charles II of England's representation. A small tranche can in turn be clearly dated to after the Restoration, rendering them non-contemporaneous representations of the king. Nevertheless, having established more than half of the artefacts as either direct or indirect instances of Charles's representation created before or during the Restoration, associated catalogue information does not demonstrably associate a single one with English colonial contexts during Charles's reign.¹³⁰

This of course does not prove that the artefacts were *not* Restoration colonial visual royal representational instances. However, conversely it does not prove that they were. It is therefore unwarranted to use the analysis of such artefacts to arrive at conclusions about Charles's colonial representation, and how second-parties may have encountered his visual representation, for example. Preliminary investigation into a 1638 School of Sir Anthony van Dyck portrait of Charles as a young man in North Carolina Museum of History and Museums Collections, for example, suggests that this would be incautious. A detail within its catalogued provenance information may pinpoint it to 'the collection of John Loveday, listed in 1763 at the Old Rectory'.¹³¹ Yet a Wikipedia article gives reason to suspect that this is likely to have been in the old English county of

¹²⁸ The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, [digital collection](#) (8-9 June 2022), "Charles II"; MMA, [digital collection](#) (28-30 June 2023), "Charles II", filtered to 1600-1800; Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission museum collection [digital collection](#) (19 Jan. 2023), "Charles II"; miscellaneous searches to identify artefacts outlined in Gibson, "Best Belov'd of Kings", ii, p.356 cat. no. 858, p.322 cat. no.566, p.381 cat. no. 1006, p.358 cat. no. 890, p.270 cat. no.63, p.264 cat. no. 12, p.280 cat. no.168, p.358 cat. no.891, p.335 cat. no.709, p.317 cat. no.511, p.332 cat. no.677, p.304 cat. no.360 (search not possible for cat. no. 645, see also p.396).

¹²⁹ It was not felt pertinent log results related to the Pennsylvania search. Note also that such examples include both pre-Restoration and post-Restoration items. **Table F.**

¹³⁰ Fifty-six, thirteen, and seventy-seven out of one hundred and forty-seven artefacts. **Table F.**

¹³¹ [Portrait \[H.1990.155.1\]](#) North Carolina Museum of History (4 July 2023).

Oxfordshire, and additional catalogue information outlines that it was produced in England.¹³² The artefact was therefore in fact likely only associated with Carolina from the late eighteenth century at the earliest.

Looking elsewhere, the little information found about the collections of the National Museum of Ghana and Cape Coast Castle Museum – institutions potentially relevant to identifying contemporary instances of Charles’s representation with potential connection to West African colonial sites¹³³ – suggests that neither was likely to hold a great number of potentially relevant artefacts, if any at all.¹³⁴ Secondary sources create the impression that this might also be the case for West African heritage sites more generally.¹³⁵ Attempts to search the holdings of the National Museum of India, New Delhi digitally proved infeasible, whilst initially more promising efforts to identify coinage, paintings, or other decorative artefacts in the Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya (The Museum, Mumbai)’s digital collection nonetheless failed to encounter any.¹³⁶ Again, this far from proves the historical absence of Charles’s colonial visual representation, but it problematises its identification in ways that do not appear to have typically hindered research into Charles’s English representation.

Such evidence prompts a fundamental question: where *is* Charles’s colonial Restoration portraiture? Indeed, does the difficulty in locating it literally query its significance within Charles’s

¹³² [‘Caversham Court’](#), Wikipedia (4 July 2023); [‘Portrait \[H.1990.155.1\]’](#) North Carolina Museum of History; for comment on the lack of portraits previously identified in modern North Carolinian collections, Smith, ‘The Representation of Charles II in English Colonial Contexts’, p.26.

¹³³ For example, Accra and Cape Coast, **Table A**.

¹³⁴ See for example [\[‘National Museum’\]](#), Ghana Museums & Monuments Board (29 May 2025); Museum of Modern African Art (MOMAA), [‘National Museum of Ghana’](#) (12 July 2021); Ghana Museum & Monuments Board, [‘The Cape Coast Castle Museum \(1974\)’](#) (29 May 2024).

¹³⁵ See particularly J. K. Osei-Tutu, and V. E. Smith, [‘Introduction: Interpreting West Africa’s Forts and Castles’](#), in J. K. Osei-Tutu and V. E. Smith (eds.), *Shadows of Empire in West Africa. New Perspectives on European Fortifications*, (Cham, 2018), pp.1-31, esp. pgr.9, 11-18; see also **Table A, cols.N-P** for West African sites.

¹³⁶ [\[‘National Museum New Delhi \[India\]’\]](#) (27 May 2024); Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya (The Museum, Mumbai), [digital collection](#) (21 May 2024).

colonial representation, and even portraiture's place within his representation overall? Turning attention to Barbados, Massachusetts, and even England answers from different angles that yes, it does.

Establishing Artefacts' Apparent Absence and Assessing Its Significance

Assuming for the moment that the historiographical status quo regarding Charles's English visual representation is correct,¹³⁷ and based on Barbados's internal socio-cultural landscape,¹³⁸ it is reasonably probable that Charles's portraiture was present in Restoration Barbados. Greene suggests that the Barbadian elite had the desire to re-create key aspects of English socio-cultural mores and a capacity to do so perhaps unmatched amidst contemporary English colonies.¹³⁹ In addition to portraiture of course being an established feature of English elite culture by this period, as it will be noted below, there is also evidence of it being a well-rooted feature of at least Massachusetts's socio-cultural colonial landscape, including for some time by the 1660s.¹⁴⁰ Despite locally-renowned academic Sir Henry Fraser's suggestion that Barbados did not have a strong affinity with the fine arts before its independence in 1966, there is therefore little reason to doubt that settlers would have acquired and exhibited instances of portraiture during the Restoration.¹⁴¹

No trace of such possible portraiture appears visible today. There is, however, good reason to believe that this reflects curatorial rather than historical absence due to the nature of the present-day Barbadian heritage landscape. Barbadian art galleries concentrate on modern rather than early modern art.¹⁴² Natural and man-made disasters during and since the seventeenth century are

¹³⁷ Above, pp.329-30.

¹³⁸ Above, pp.48-50.

¹³⁹ Greene, 'Changing Identity in the British Caribbean', pp.226-34, esp. pp.229, 231.

¹⁴⁰ Below, p.375.

¹⁴¹ Sir H. Fraser, '[Things That Matter: Independence and Our Explosion of Fine Art](#)', *Barbados Advocate* (Barbados), 25 Nov. 2018, column.

¹⁴² [The Barbados National Art Gallery](#), (8 Dec. 2023) St Michael, Barbados, '[Art Collection](#)', '[About Us](#)'; [The Gallery of Caribbean Art](#), St Peter, Barbados, see esp. [digital collection](#) (8 Dec. 2023).

known to have caused considerable losses to seventeenth-century island heritage.¹⁴³ Collections displayed in Barbadian historic homes may also only indicate types of *possible* historical furnishings and contents, and not items definitively associated with the houses,¹⁴⁴ and local museum collections are apparent testament to the poor condition, available provenance information, and rate of survival for artefacts from the seventeenth century generally.¹⁴⁵ Together with artefacts simply being lost, destroyed, sold, and moved over time more generally, this likely explains why public and accessible private heritage sites provide no clear evidence of Restoration-era portraiture of any kind, including royal portraiture.¹⁴⁶

Future examination of sixteen contemporary letters connected to Barbados may help to validate such absence as curatorial rather than historical, even if there is otherwise a shortage of written, non-governmental sources through which to do so.¹⁴⁷ In addition to an apparent lack of extant settler diaries,¹⁴⁸ Richard Ligon's 1673 edition of *A True and Exact History of the I[s]land of Barbados* is deemed an unreliable account for the Restoration principally because Handler comments that it has 'the same contents' as the 1657 edition.¹⁴⁹ Ogilby's 1671 volume on *America* in turn is clearly

¹⁴³ As indicated by signs at the entrance to St John parish church, St John, Barbados, site visit (10 Dec. 2022) and on the perimeter wall of The Cathedral Church of Saint Michael and All Saints [St Michael's Cathedral], Bridgetown, Barbados, site visit (9 Dec. 2022).

¹⁴⁴ Sunbury Plantation Great House, St Philip, Barbados, site visit (10 Dec. 2022), staff comment.

¹⁴⁵ Barbados Museum and Historical Society (henceforth, BMHS), Bridgetown, Barbados, site visit (5 Dec. 2022), on-site collection; the Nidhe Israel Synagogue and Museum, Bridgetown, Barbados, site visit (9 Dec. 2022).

¹⁴⁶ BMHS, site visit, select digitised artwork and cartography, internal site computer (5 Dec. 2022), on-site collection (5 Dec. 2022); the Nidhe Israel Synagogue and Museum, site visit; St Nicholas Abbey, St Peter, Barbados, site visit (11 Dec. 2022); Sunbury Plantation Great House, St Philip, Barbados, site visit (10 Dec. 2022).

¹⁴⁷ For a list of such letters, '[\[Search results for location, Barbados\]](#)' (3 July 2024), results 31-46 ordered in date ascending order (dates from 30 May 1669 to 26 Dec. 1680). Note also that Jerome Handler lists 'The Letter Book of Peleg Sanford... 1666-8' as a printed source for Barbados, though it appears chiefly to be letters written from outside of the island. Handler, *A Guide to Source Materials for... Barbados*, p.6; [The Letter Book of Peleg Sanford of Newport, Merchant \(Later Governour of Rhode Island\) 1666-\[8\]](#), transcrib. H. W. Preston, ed. H. M. Chapin and G. A. Moriarty (Providence, 1928).

¹⁴⁸ Above, p.307.

¹⁴⁹ Handler, *A Guide to Source Materials for the Study of Barbados*, p.4; for Ligon's unreliability generally, Greene, 'Changing Identity in the British Caribbean', p.221; historian's or historians' draft research [?], author(s) unknown, St James, Barbados, Department of Archives, Acc. 106, Box 29. M, [typed note on St Michael's with handwritten additions], p.9.

written as including information on Barbados and yet does not provide commentary relevant to assessing the socio-cultural environs of the island.¹⁵⁰ There is thus a lack of sources through which glimpses of potential instances of Charles's Restoration Barbadian portraiture can be seen and yet strong reason to suppose they existed – provided as already suggested, that key elements of existing historiographical consensus on Charles's visual representation, namely its abundance and desirability within England, are correct.

Notably, what contributes to destabilising this premise is in part instances of Charles's representation that *are* extant and visible within Barbados's current heritage and archival landscape. Attention is turned to the presence of such instances by the very absence of the Restoration king's portraiture and other traditional visual royal representational forms on the island. Ordnance has already been discussed and illustrated both as a still-prominent potential Restoration royal representational form in Barbados's everyday public life and as artefacts with potent colonial and even English representational potential during Charles's reign.¹⁵¹ Chapter Three also pointed to examples of everyday and even prosaic cultural artefacts that incorporated royal representation into settler life.¹⁵² Such little-discussed representational forms suggest that the alleged pre-eminence of traditional visual forms of Charles's representation such as painted and printed portraiture should be re-examined precisely because such forms' relative importance remains unaccounted for. They press home that royal representation existed, and indeed was leveraged, in far more forms than only those typically paid attention by representational historians. In so doing, they add force to similar arguments that can be drawn in relation to official royal representational forms such as seals and letters patent.¹⁵³ In addition, they also offer potentially rich ground from which to launch strategically-focused future research to fuel such re-examination.

¹⁵⁰ John Ogilby, *America: Being the Latest, and Most Accurate Description of the New World...* (London, 1671), pp.345-62, esp. 345, 362.

¹⁵¹ Above, pp.225-35.

¹⁵² Above, pp.318-24.

¹⁵³ Above, pp.195-240.

A Royal Preference for Words Rather Than Images?

For example, as noted above, Barbadian evidence hints at how placenames may have functioned as royal representational forms.¹⁵⁴ Indeed, the representational potency of conceptual geographical landscapes has been recognised within both historiography on England and on colonialism,¹⁵⁵ including with indirect or limited reference to Charles II's representation.¹⁵⁶ Prior research also establishes how both the Crown and second-parties used placenames with royal associations as a means to bolster the colonial sovereignty and societies of Restoration Carolina and Tangier.¹⁵⁷ In fact, evidence suggests that it is eminently feasible that Charles and his ministers proactively leveraged placenames as an official royal representational form to imprint royal government onto Restoration colonial landscapes. The royal colony of Tangier was replete with placenames such as 'Katherine Port', 'York Castle', and 'Charles Fort' that could carry associations with Charles's rule.¹⁵⁸ In addition, the map in **Figure 4.23 (below)** shows placenames in Jamaica, for example - again a royal colony - primed to conjure associations with the English Crown and early Restoration royal government.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁴ Above, pp.321-2.

¹⁵⁵ C. Phythian-Adams, 'Differentiating Provincial Societies in English History: Spatial Contexts and Cultural Processes', in B. Lancaster, D. Newton, and N. Vall (eds.), *An Agenda for Regional History* (Newcastle Upon Tyne, 2007), pp.6-9; Mar and Edmonds, 'Introduction: Making Space in Settler Colonies', pp.1-24.

¹⁵⁶ For example, Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure*, p.39.

¹⁵⁷ Smith, 'The Representation of Charles II in English Colonial Contexts', pp.60, 62-4, 66.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., p.62.

¹⁵⁹ See also Linda Colley's brief reference to key Tangerine placenames as components of a post-1662 royal "agenda... of... anglicisation", commented on in *ibid.*, p.60 (quoting Linda Colley); Webb also implicitly suggests the Crown incorporated royal representation into Jamaican placenames as a colonial political strategy, *The Governors-General*, pp.196-210, esp. p.202.

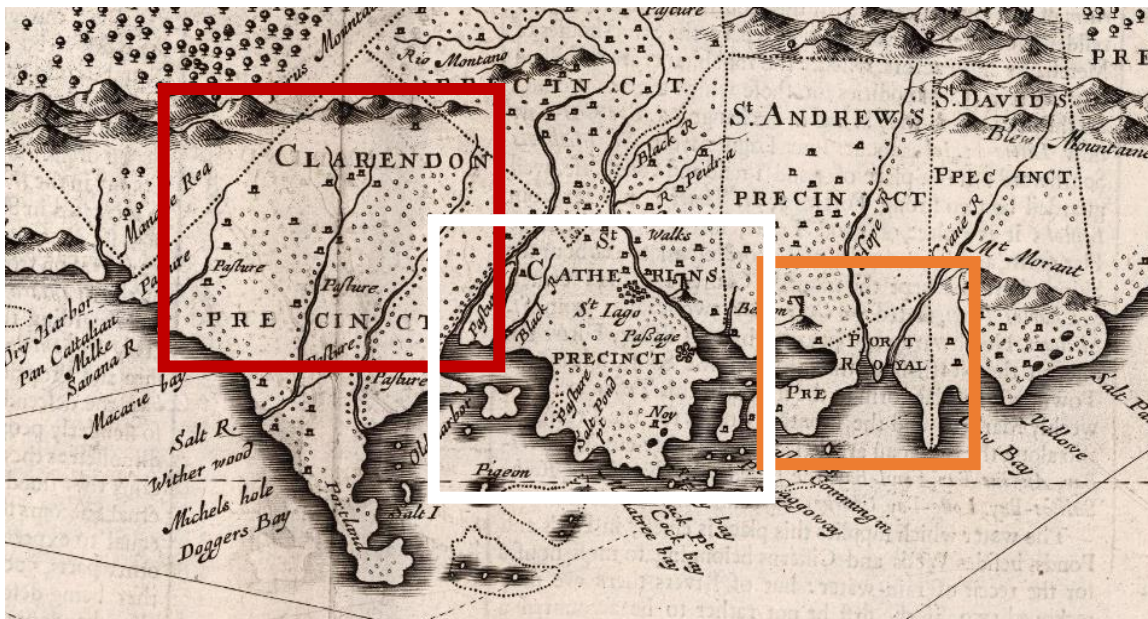


Figure 4.23 (and detail). John Speed, *A Map of Jamaica[,] Barbados*, in idem, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain[...]* (London, 1676) (David Rumsey Map Collection) [AAS].

Further research is needed to interrogate this possibility, and initially it sits somewhat at odds with a conclusion presented elsewhere in this thesis: namely, that Charles's official colonial royal

representation undermines historians' prevailing contention that he generally sought to increase his control over and presence within local colonial political landscapes.¹⁶⁰ Nevertheless, if the Crown's use of conceptual geography as a form of official colonial royal representation is validated, it may act in concert with this thesis's other findings to suggest that Charles and his ministers may have prioritised written communiqués over physical cultural artefacts as an official royal representational media type.

Such a notion is currently only speculative. Yet it may be that whilst the Crown held visual examples of Charles's personal representation in high esteem,¹⁶¹ it reserved the use of rhetorical royal representation to support political tasks either of particular importance or of a particular nature. If one such task was imposing its political presence on colonial territories, this could explain why as outlined above, royal grants of representational artefacts and colonial seals associated with Crown influence do not generally seem to have been used for this purpose.¹⁶² Words rather than images may have been preferred as a method to insert and augment royal authority within colonial contexts.

This conclusion is not without supporting logic, but it does fly in the face of core historiographical tenets regarding how visual artefacts were used to support domestic and diplomatic political endeavours within early modern politics.¹⁶³ It indicates that Gibson may be right to suggest that the Restoration Crown deployed Charles's visual representation for very specific political purposes, though as argued within Chapter Two, this research suggests that these purposes were more numerous than Gibson allows.¹⁶⁴ It also points towards the possible sophistication of royal

¹⁶⁰ Above, esp. pp.110-15, 125-30, 195-209, 284-7, see also p.33.

¹⁶¹ See above, p.297.

¹⁶² Above, esp. pp.110-15, 284-7.

¹⁶³ Above, pp.24-8, 97.

¹⁶⁴ Above, p.138.

representational efforts, given it alludes to how the Crown may have had deliberate media-based representational political strategies.

Indeed, there is evidence that the Crown actively sought to exploit word-based royal representational forms in colonial environments. A particularly striking example can be found in the records of Massachusetts's General Court. It suggests that in the summer of 1683, the Crown attempted to use print to manipulate public opinion and force local colonial authorities to 'make a full submission and entire resignation to [royal] pleasure' rather than endure ongoing royal *quo warranto* proceedings against the Massachusetts Bay Company's charter.¹⁶⁵ Minutes for the Court session of 7 November 1683 reproduce not only Charles's 'declaration [and] proclamation, w[i]th the quo warranto [that] was issued out ag[ains]t the [Governor] [and] Company', which ended with the instruction that '[his] further pleasure is, that this our royall declaration be published within our sajd colony, that none may pretend ignorance hereof'. They also provide a copy of royal court minutes. These note that:

[O]ne of his majestjes principall secretaries of state is... to prepare... in order to be sent to New England and deliuered to the [Governor] and Company by... Edward Randolph, two hundred copies of all the proceedings at the council board concerning the charter of London, which were printed by order of his majty at this board, to be dispersed by him in New England, as he shall thinke best.¹⁶⁶

The Crown had famously succeeded in action against London's charter only earlier that year. Stanwood suggests that the papers that Randolph was to provide constituted 'a declaration of how the corporation of London had surrendered its charter without a fight', though Keay notes that the issue of London's charter was in fact a highly-publicised 'battle of wills that Charles was determined to win' and within which he exploited royal ceremonial representation to his advantage, which

¹⁶⁵ *Records of... Massachusetts*, ed. Shurtleff, iv (ii), (p.423); for a chronology of Restoration royal legal action against Massachusetts's charter, Haffenden, 'The Crown and the Colonial Charters... Part I', pp.305-7.

¹⁶⁶ *Records of... Massachusetts*, ed. Shurtleff, v (ii), pp.421-3, (421), (423), (422-3).

gives the Massachusetts royal order a potentially sharper political edge.¹⁶⁷ In any case, it seems that the Crown intended the papers to turn Massachusetts public opinion in its favour and to foment a political climate that forced local authorities to submit to its authority.¹⁶⁸ More broadly, there are other examples of the Crown attempting to use print and other methods of rhetorical communication to increase the force and effectiveness of its orders both within Massachusetts and in other colonial contexts. Nevertheless, those encountered within this research seem centred on specific goals that do not appear to be an indiscriminate grab for greater royal colonial control. They appear to be focused on disseminating the Crown's position in its communications and negotiations with Massachusetts authorities to local populations; bolstering its revenue measures and the provisos of royal letters in Jamaica and Barbados, alongside letters patent in the latter; dismantling unauthorised settlement in Newfoundland; and in early 1666, advertising the Crown had declared war against France.¹⁶⁹

Thus, they support this thesis's arguments that official colonial representation suggests that Charles II's colonial ambitions were chronologically and geographically selective and that they did not include a general desire for greater local political control. Nevertheless, by introducing the notion that it may not have been used to pursue particular royal colonial objectives, they do question the exact nature and extent of visual media's importance to the Restoration Crown.

¹⁶⁷ Stanwood suggests that Randolph also brought 'a guarantee of liberty of conscience' when he travelled to Massachusetts, though he does not comment on this, or the papers on London's charter, being ordered by the Crown. *The Empire Reformed*, p.50; cf. Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch*, pp.188-(9).

¹⁶⁸ Cf. discussion of responses to such royal requests in Massachusetts, Weimer, *A Constitutional Culture*, pp.78-9, 99. The use of print as a possible royal representational form in Massachusetts overall was not explored comprehensively within this research and is a potential area for future exploration. See for example sources listed in the General Catalog of the American Antiquarian, such as ['By the King. A proclamation. Charles R... now re-printed here in Boston'](#) [30 Aug. 2021].

¹⁶⁹ *Records of... Massachusetts*, ed. Shurtleff, iv (ii), pp.211, 166, 182, 189; for other contexts, see for example above, p.91, see also *CTB*, ed. Shaw, vi, EB, '[30 June and 5 July 1680]', '(a) (1)' and '(b) (1)' and '[28 October and 9 October] et priora' 1680; *CSPC AWI, 1675-6, also addenda, 1574-1674*, ed. Sainsbury, pp.204-5 ref.517, see also p.201 ref. 507; *CSPC AWI, 1661-[8]*, ed. Sainsbury, p.357 ref.1134.

Following up on such questions with reference to conceptual geography is also neatly marked out as a starting point for future research.

A Solid Case for Questioning Current Consensus

Investigation into traditional visual forms of Charles's representation within colonial environments begins to mount a solid case for questioning their supposed importance amidst his representation overall. In addition to the arguments presented above, there is evidence of the historical rather than curatorial absence of Charles's portraiture within Restoration Massachusetts. There is no declarative evidence of instances of Charles's contemporary visual representation which have survived into the modern era, and which have demonstrable ties to the former colony *during the Restoration*.¹⁷⁰ Governmental records and contemporary diaries also fail to prove the presence of such artefacts in Massachusetts during Charles's reign.¹⁷¹ Despite lingering consensus on contemporary attitudes towards the Crown within the colony giving this a ring of inevitability, there is in fact every reason for contemporary royal portraiture to have appeared in Restoration Massachusetts: local internal socio-cultural capabilities, pre-dominant religious ideologies, attitudes to art and material culture, and even politics were potentially conducive to its presence.¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰ The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, [digital collection](#), with thanks also to staff at the museum for information regarding the museum's holdings; see also artefact results logged for the collection, **Table F**; J. L. Fairbanks and R. R. Trent (eds.), *New England Begins: The Seventeenth Century* (3 vols, Massachusetts, 1982), iii, pp.455-79, 573; The Essex Institute, with an introduction by H. W. Foote, *Catalogue of Portraits in the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts, Covering Three Centuries* (Salem, 1936); T. E. Stebbins, M. Renn, V. Anderson, K. Orcutt, R. Barrett (eds.), *American Paintings at Harvard. Paintings, Watercolours, and Pastels by Artists Born before 1826* (2 vols, Cambridge, Massachusetts, New Haven, and London, 2014), i; L. Dresser (ed.), *[Seventeenth] Century Painting in New England. A Catalogue of an Exhibition held at the Worcester Art Museum in collaboration with the American Antiquarian Society July and August, 1934* (Worcester, Massachusetts, 1935).

¹⁷¹ For near-exceptions, Massachusetts and G. F. Dow, *The Probate Records of Essex County, Massachusetts* (3 vols, Salem, 1916), ii, p.68; see mention within Dow, *Every Day Life [Massachusetts]*, p.49; *Records of... Massachusetts*, ed. Shurtleff, v, p.203. Ibid., iv (i) – v; Hull, *Diaries*, pp.141-265; Sewall, *Diary*, pp.1-69; [Russell], 'Copy of the Diary'.

¹⁷² Above, pp.48-50, 312-17, cf. 301-3; for New English tastes in portraiture deriving and borrowing from English ones, Miller, 'The Puritan Portrait', pp.153-64; see also Dresser (ed.), *[Seventeenth] Century Painting in New England*, esp. pp.14-20; Fairbanks, 'Portrait Painting in Seventeenth-Century Boston', esp. p.415; for

The apparent absence uncovered does require substantiation and delineation through further research. Yet its very spectre again nags at the fundamental assumptions behind current assessments of the importance of Charles's portraiture. Inspired by Massachusetts-oriented investigations,¹⁷³ preliminary inquiries into the art collections of Emmanuel, Trinity, and Magdalene Colleges at the University of Cambridge, and the collection of Christ Church, University of Oxford, produce no positive evidence that the colleges possessed Charles's portraiture during the Restoration.¹⁷⁴ Specifically, these reinforce arguments against interpreting second-parties' involvement with Charles's representation as aligning with binary political positions for or against the English monarchy, and query historians' firm contentions that England was awash with Charles's portraiture during the Restoration.¹⁷⁵ More broadly, like findings on Charles's portraiture in colonial contexts, such parallels question the degree to which such contentions crumble when probed. They also add to the chorus of evidence calling for such arguments to be re-examined.

Looking Beyond Loyalty and Ardour: Expanding the Insights Drawn from Examples of Charles's Portraiture

Returning to Charles's portrait in the *Nan va Halva* (**Figure 4.20, below**), it is an excellent example of how regardless of their Restoration colonial credentials, extant instances of Charles's visual

English decorative art in early modern religious contexts, Hamling, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household*, pp.275-86; Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp.305-52.

¹⁷³ For the text sparking such investigation, T. E. Stebbins, 'Early American Paintings at Harvard', in Stebbins *et al.* (eds.), *American Paintings at Harvard*, pp.18-19.

¹⁷⁴ With thanks to staff at all four colleges for their help with related inquiries and particularly for Christ Church staff sharing that they are unaware of the college ever having a portrait of Charles II (6-21 Mar., 26 June 2023); Emmanuel College, University of Cambridge, 'College Paintings', [digital collection](#) [7 Mar. 2023]; 'Trinity College, University of Cambridge', ArtUK, [digital collection](#) [17 Mar. 2023]; Christ Church [University of Oxford] Archive, [archive catalogue](#) (26 June 2023); 'Christ Church, University of Oxford', ArtUK, [digital collection](#) (23 June 2023).

¹⁷⁵ Above, pp.300-4; for hints of the colleges' Restoration political leanings regarding the Crown, Stebbins, 'Early American Paintings at Harvard', pp.18-19; '[A Brief History of Christ Church \[University of Oxford\]](#)' (4 June 2024), pp.[7-10]; for relevant evidence suggesting Charles II visited Christ Church, Oxford, 'Misellanea Orationes Academica Latinae et Poemata idiomate Anglicano', Bodleian Libraries, Manuscripts & Archives MS. Rawl. C. 556, ff.23br-24br; see particularly Gibson, *The Cult of Charles II*, pp.1, 6; see for example Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, p.95; Gibson, "'Best Belov'd of Kings'", i, pp.1, 68-9.

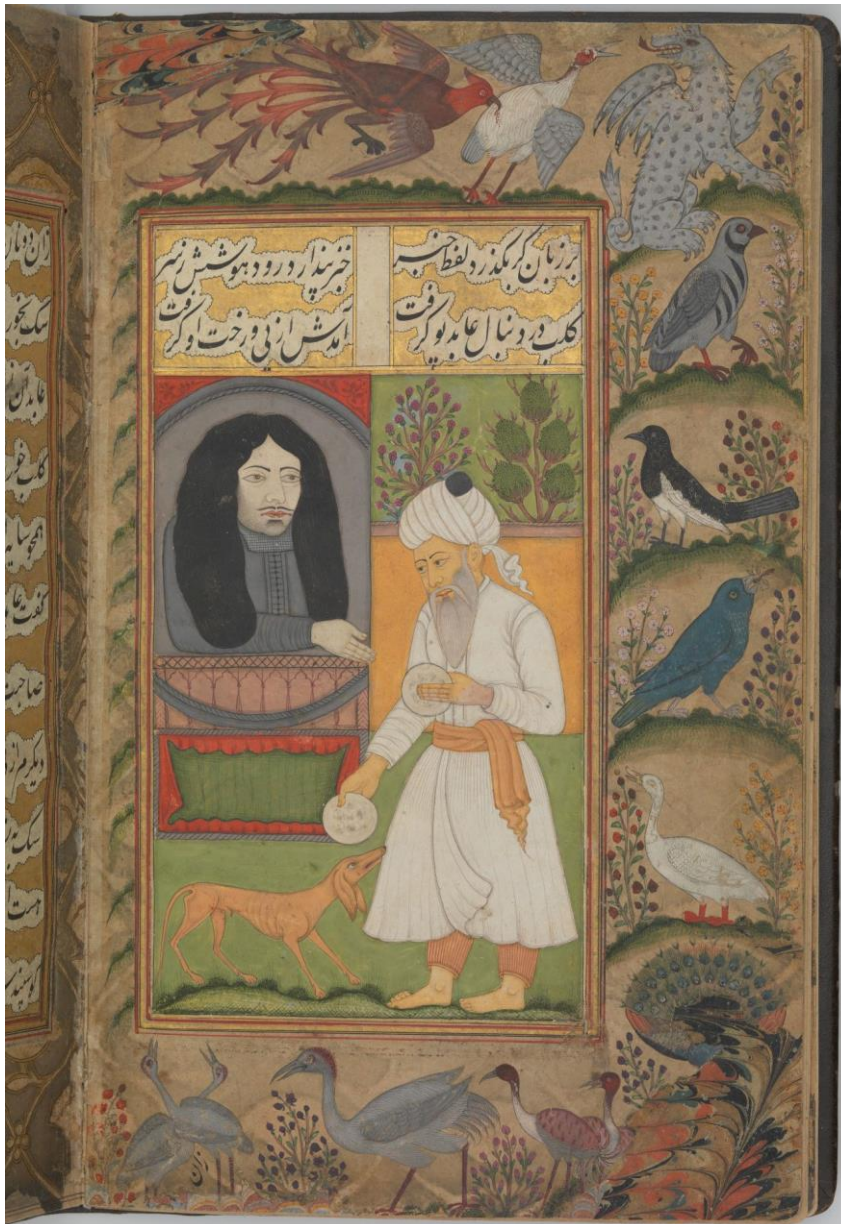


Figure 4.20. Image within *Nan va Halva (Breads and Sweets)*, Muhammad Baha' al-Din al-'Amili. Public domain.

representation in collections located outside of England may lead to pertinent insight and open productive research avenues. The portrait is striking first, because for those familiar with Charles's image, it is visually recognisable as the Restoration king. Secondly, it is striking because of the context in which he is depicted. The image's Metropolitan Museum of Art catalogue entry explains the image 'illustrates the parable of a recluse who accepts bread from an infidel (depicted here as

the English monarch Charles II) chided by a dog'.¹⁷⁶ Of all the possible earthly and spiritual figures to cast in the role of 'an infidel', the head the Restoration Anglican Church, a monarch perceived by some to possess the divine right of kings, is selected to fulfil it. Likely working some decades after the Restoration,¹⁷⁷ the artist perhaps felt Charles was the ideal emblem for their intended point either because of his reputation for personal moral laxity or because of his actions taken as the head of the Church of England. In any case, it is a provocative image. Notably, it brings new global, non-Christian perspectives to the analysis of how both aspects of his kingship may have featured within his representation.¹⁷⁸

In a similar vein, one can turn analytical attention back to extant instances of Charles's visual representation in mainland North American collections. As noted above, these do not have demonstrative connections to Restoration colonial contexts as far as broad-scope research can ascertain.¹⁷⁹ However, regardless of whether they are colonial or non-colonial, they constitute contemporary visual royal representational examples. In this capacity, particularly as they are unlikely to have factored into work like Sharpe and Gibson's, they shed light on the nature and potential agendas behind Charles's visual representation.¹⁸⁰ Indeed, in concert with the evidence of second-party engagement with Charles's broader colonial representation discussed in Chapter Three,¹⁸¹ they flag that such representation can and should be interpreted as far more than symbols of subjects' loyalty and ardour for the King.

¹⁷⁶ The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) (henceforth, MMA), ['Nan va Halva \(Breads and Sweets\)'](#) (30 June 2023).

¹⁷⁷ Above, pp.361-2.

¹⁷⁸ For existing analysis, Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp.170-2, 176-81, 187, 28-30, 32, 38-45, 68-83; for consideration of sexuality and reactions to it as a feature of Charles's representation and self-representation, Turner, 'Pepys and the Private Parts of Monarchy'.

¹⁷⁹ Above, pp.363-6.

¹⁸⁰ It is unclear how even the representational instances that Gibson does identify in mainland North American collections in her thesis's second volume inform the arguments of her first volume, for instance. Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*; Gibson, "'Best Belov'd of Kings'", i, ii.

¹⁸¹ Above, pp.300-24.

Professional Markets in Charles's Representation

There is, for example, an 'elaborate beadwork basket' in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, henceforth MMA)'s collection whose catalogue entry points to a commercial industry for royal representational needlework. The basket depicts King Charles and Queen Catherine who according to the entry are surrounded by four figures symbolising the four continents, and various animals and flora carrying specific associations to the Restoration monarchy (**Figure 4.24, below**). It is then suggested that '[i]t is probable that baskets of this kind were made by professional or perhaps sold as kits'; that '[e]ven the king and queen are produced on a slip of canvas and were probably prefabricated'; and that there is a basket in Colonial Williamsburg holdings that is not only similar to the basket overall, but includes near-to like-for-like depictions of the king and queen.¹⁸² This appears to be the artefact shown in **Figure 4.25 (below)**.¹⁸³



Figure 4.24.A (above), B & C (cropped) (below). *King Charles II and Catherine of Braganza with Allegories of the Four Continents* (post-1662), silk thread on silk, beads, (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). Public domain

¹⁸² MMA, '[King Charles II and Catherine of Braganza with Allegories of the Four Continents](#)' (29 May 2024).

¹⁸³ For comments on the artefact likely being produced in whole or in part for sale, Art Museums of Colonial Williamsburg, '[Raised Beadwork Basket](#)' (29 May 2024), 'Label Text'.



Figure 4.24.B & C. See caption, p.379. Public domain.



Figure 4.25.A, B (above and right), & C (cropped) (below).

Raised Beadwork Basket (16[61?]-75), beads on silk satin ground and wire frame (The Art Museums of Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia).





Figure 4.25.C. See caption, p.380.

Both artefacts thus point towards an organised trade in embroidered royal representation. They thus provide an alternative impression of Charles's representation in needlework to that conjured by Gibson's reference to '[l]adies bent over their stumpwork... [frequently illustrat[ing] in needlework] Charles's marriage to the Portuguese Infanta'. Indeed, they query her suggestion that items such as engravings, embroidery, and ceramics simply formed part of subjects' 'spontaneous reaction' to the Restoration: there is surely little about producing for sale embroidered baskets or their components depicting the King that in practice is 'spontaneous'.¹⁸⁴ This is particularly the case for elements that as the MMA catalogue entry suggests, might have worked to the same base design. Neither Sharpe nor at least Gibson's Royal Stuart Society paper appear to acknowledge such professional endeavours in relation to embroidered royal representation. Even where they do gesture to the professional creation and sale of wider so-called 'primitive graphic forms', they do

¹⁸⁴ Gibson, *The Cult of Charles II*, p.6.

not discuss it with any analytical breadth, depth, or precision.¹⁸⁵ It is arguably time to do so and extant examples of Charles's representation in North American collections are primed to assist with this endeavour.¹⁸⁶

Charles as an Emblem of Loose Morals?

It has already been suggested that the c.1690 *Nan va Halva* image depicting Charles II as 'an infidel' may have represented the king in such a way as the artist believed him to encapsulate wayward morals.¹⁸⁷ The c.1680 so-called [*Panorama of Popular Printed Images*] in the Yale Center for British Art's collection also appears to use Charles as an emblem of loose morals. The artefact comprises a series of popular late seventeenth-century images (incl. **Figure 4.26.A-C, below**), which whilst 'includ[ing] some playful qualities of a toy for juvenile viewers', incorporated those '[that] appear intended for an adult audience'. These were strung together to be turned and viewed through the window of a leather-covered box. Charles II appears to be depicted poignantly as a background motif between images titled 'Punchenello's Wife' and 'Whi[p]ping Tom'.¹⁸⁸

Figure 4.26.A (and detail) (below). 'Punchenello's Wife', [*Panorama of Popular Printed Images*] ([c.1680]), (Yale Center for British Art, Connecticut).

¹⁸⁵ Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp.46-68, 83-93, 135-47, 183-6; Gibson, *The Cult of Charles II*, p.6; for some possible acknowledgement and discussion, idem, "'Best Belov'd of Kings'", i, pp.(66)-7.

¹⁸⁶ See also for example Thomas Toft, *Display dish with Charles II (1630-[85]) in a tree*, c.1680, slip-decorated earthenware, 8.9 x 50.2 cm (MMA); MMA, '[Display Dish with Charles II \(1630-\[85\]\) in a Tree](#)' (6 June 2024).

¹⁸⁷ Above, pp.376-8; MMA, '[Nan va Halva](#)'.

¹⁸⁸ '[\[Panorama of Popular Printed Images\]](#)' (29 May 2024), Yale University Library, 'Published/ Created' ('Summary'), 'Contents'; for a partial image, **Figure 4.26.A**; for a full image and an approximate image of the whole panorama, [M. Jones], '[Print of the Month: No. 29, May/ June 2009. The Yale Center "Panorama"](#)', *British Printed Images to 1700* [2009] (5 July 2023), [Image Two] and pgr.2 (for authorship, see '[\[Panorama\]](#)', Yale University Library, 'References'); see also [Jones], '[Print of the Month... The Yale Center "Panorama"](#)', pgr.5, 18.



Figure 4.26.A (and detail). See caption, p.382.

One panel shows a figure whom Malcolm Jones describes as ‘Punch’s long-suffering wife’, known today as Judy in the infamous Punch and Judy duo (**Figure 4.26.A**).¹⁸⁹ The other may be based on an individual known to have gone around the countryside whipping milk maids on the behind in circa 1672.¹⁹⁰ Through the portrait’s positioning between such images, the artefact’s creator or creators thus call to mind Charles’s reputation as a prolific philanderer and cast him as an emblem of loose morals.

¹⁸⁹ [Jones], ‘[Print of the Month... The Yale Center "Panorama"](#)’, pgr.8.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., pgr.6.

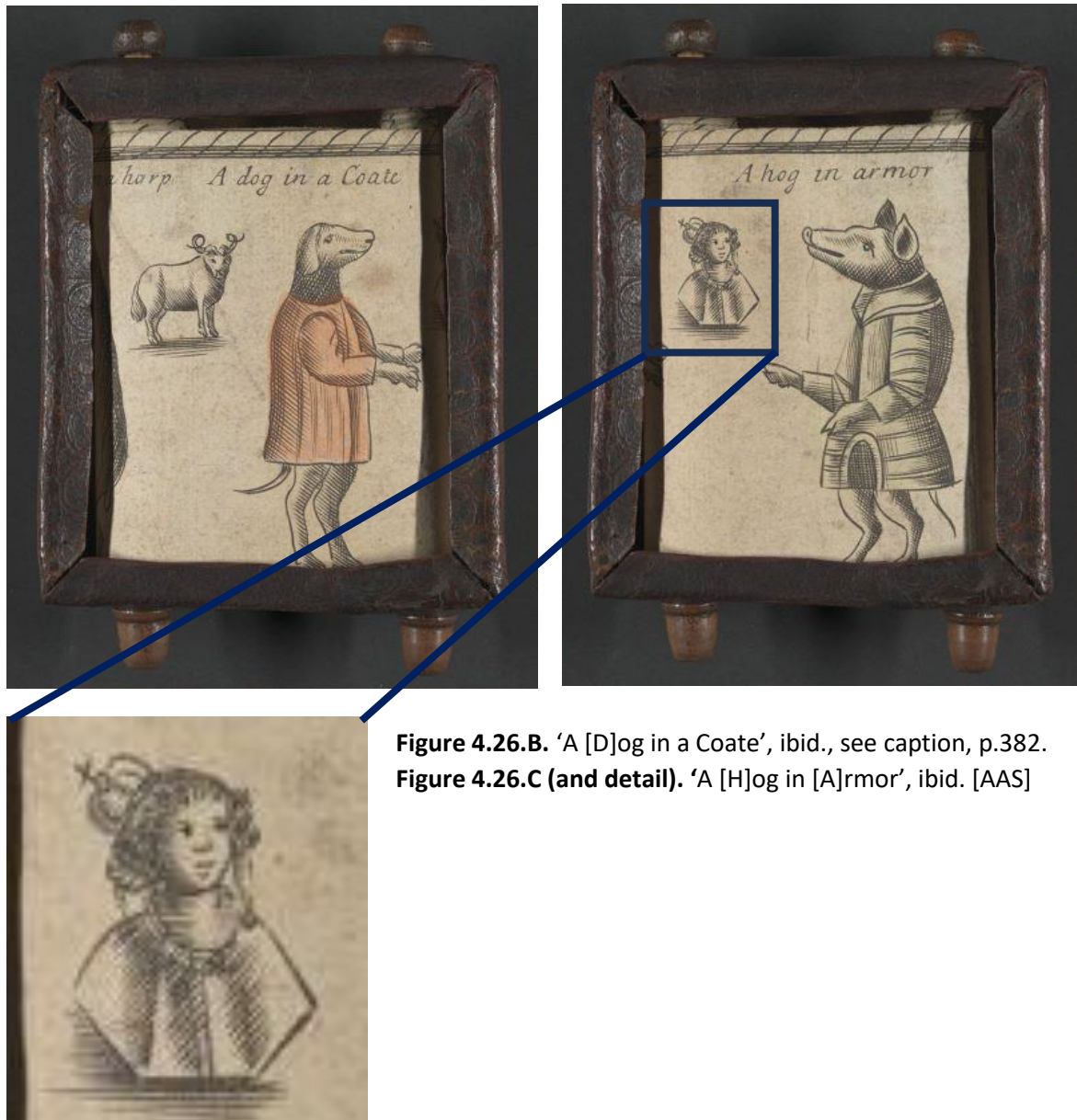


Figure 4.26.B. 'A [D]og in a Coate', *ibid.*, see caption, p.382.
Figure 4.26.C (and detail). 'A [H]og in [A]rmor', *ibid.* [AAS]

Meanwhile, a queen - presumably Charles's wife, Queen Catherine of Braganza - is depicted rather unflatteringly between 'A dog in a Coate' and 'A hog in armor' (**Figure 4.26.B & C**).¹⁹¹ Jones suggests that the 'dog in a Coate' image might either play on the phrase, "[as proud as] a dog in a doublet", or be intended simply as 'a [strange] sight', and that "a hog in armour" ... came to mean "an awkward or clumsy person, stiff and ill at ease in his attire".¹⁹² By flanking the Queen's portrait,

¹⁹¹ [\[Panorama\]](#), Yale University Library, 'Summary'; for the image's positioning, [Jones], ['Print of the Month... The Yale Center "Panorama"'](#), [Image Two].

¹⁹² [Jones], ['Print of the Month... The Yale Center "Panorama"'](#), pgr.17 (second quotation, appearing to quote Howell; fourth quotation, partly quoting a secondary source).

these visual caricatures characterise her as aloof and out of place. Such characterisations not only likely rang true amongst contemporaries, but may well have been accurate.¹⁹³ Implicitly critical of the English monarchy, the *[Panorama]*'s royal representation demonstrates an obvious possibility not allowed for by Sharpe or Gibson: that Charles's portraiture might be used to level critiques at Charles and the Crown.¹⁹⁴ Furthermore, it highlights again that second-party royal representation was not only about high politics; it could be deployed simply for purposes of amusement and subtle provocation.

Figuring Charles as a Metropolitan Monarch

King of Hearts playing cards in two Restoration '[deck[s] of geographical playing cards]' are also worth reflecting on.¹⁹⁵ These both depict Charles, date to perhaps 1661 and 1676 respectively, and resonant with this thesis's arguments (**Figures 4.27.A, 4.28.A, below**). First, Charles's portraiture – and thus his personal representation – is clearly separated from his institutional representation. Despite other visual and rhetorical acknowledgements of his royal status, the portraits themselves do not incorporate royal signifiers, similar to trends identified in his official representation.¹⁹⁶ Of the eight portraits on the decks' King and Queen cards, Charles is the only figure depicted without headgear alluding to his royal position, suggesting the distinction may be deliberate and intended to carry specific, though as-yet unknown, meaning.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹³ S. M. Wynne, 'Catherine [Catherine of Braganza, Catarina Henriqueta de Bragança]', *ODNB* (2004, revised 2008); see also Madway, 'Rites of Deliverance and Disenchantment', 86, 92, 95.

¹⁹⁴ Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp.94-147; Gibson, "'Best Belov'd of Kings'", i, esp. pp.61-71 (though note possible allusion at p.71), 76-7.

¹⁹⁵ Frederick Hendrick van Hove, '[Deck of Geographical Playing Cards]', [1676?], engraving, 52 colour cards, 93 x 55 mm (Osborn Collection, Yale University), title.

¹⁹⁶ Above, pp.227-36, 164-83, 293-6.

¹⁹⁷ John Seller, '[Geographical card deck]', [1661?], engraving, 52 colour cards, 95 x 55 mm (Osborn Collection, Yale University); van Hove, '[Deck of Geographical Playing Cards]'.



Figure 4.27.A (and detail).

John Seller, '[Geographical card deck]', [1661?] (Osborn Collection, Yale University), King of Hearts.

Courtesy of Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University Library.



Figure 4.28.A (and detail).

Frederick Hendrick van Hove, '[Deck of Geographical Playing Cards]', [1676?] (Osborn Collection, Yale University), King of Hearts. Courtesy of Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University Library.

More fundamentally, the cards align with this thesis's central contention that it is time to reconfigure Charles II as 'the metropolitan monarch'.¹⁹⁸ They are far from glamorous examples of Charles's portraiture, underscoring how positioning the Restoration king as 'the magnificent

¹⁹⁸ See above, pp.1-12.

monarch' risks overlooking his representation taking shape in everyday – and yet potentially influential - forms.¹⁹⁹ They also frame his representation in the context of geography, yet place his image in a separate locus: Charles's portrait and his title sit encircled above the cards' visual and rhetorical representations of 'Great Britain'.²⁰⁰ They therefore happen to evoke this thesis's argument that it is Charles's immediate vicinity that should be thought of as 'the metropole' and not England. It was after all *his* location and proximity to *him* that defined how, and through which media, royal government could be conducted.²⁰¹

Indeed, the cards seem to be excellent images for this thesis's figurative book jacket. It is true that they draw to mind Charles's connections with his British kingdoms and not his colonial territories. In fact, it is not even clear that the cards were instances of Charles's *colonial* representation.²⁰² Furthermore, both decks of cards ultimately associate English colonialism with monarchs other than Charles, perhaps quite naturally at least in the case of Hove's deck given Elizabeth I's associations with early English discoveries in America (**Figures 4.27.B, 4.28.B, below**). By introducing the notion that Charles's subjects may have associated English colonialism with other monarchs rather than the Restoration king, the cards thus mirror how this thesis has begun to revise the bold yet prevalent contention that the Restoration Crown harboured and orchestrated an ambitious colonial agenda.²⁰³ In sum therefore, the cards are a fitting point from which to draw discussion of what the representation of 'the metropolitan monarch' looked like in colonial contexts to a close.

¹⁹⁹ For 'the magnificent monarch', Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch*, title; also see above, pp.1-3, 24-9.

²⁰⁰ (**Figure 4.27.A**).

²⁰¹ Above, pp.8-10.

²⁰² ORBIS, Yale University Library Catalog, '[Hove, Frederick Hendrick van, 1628?-\[98\], designer](#)' [6 July 2023]; *ibid.*, '[Seller, John, active 1658-\[98\], playing card maker](#)' [6 July 2023].

²⁰³ See for example above, pp.101-15, 122-5, 273-92.

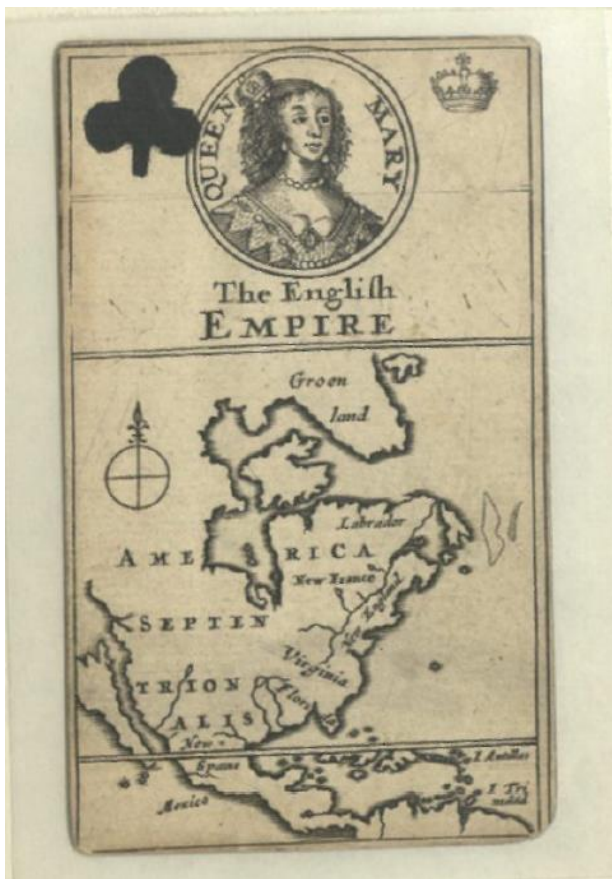
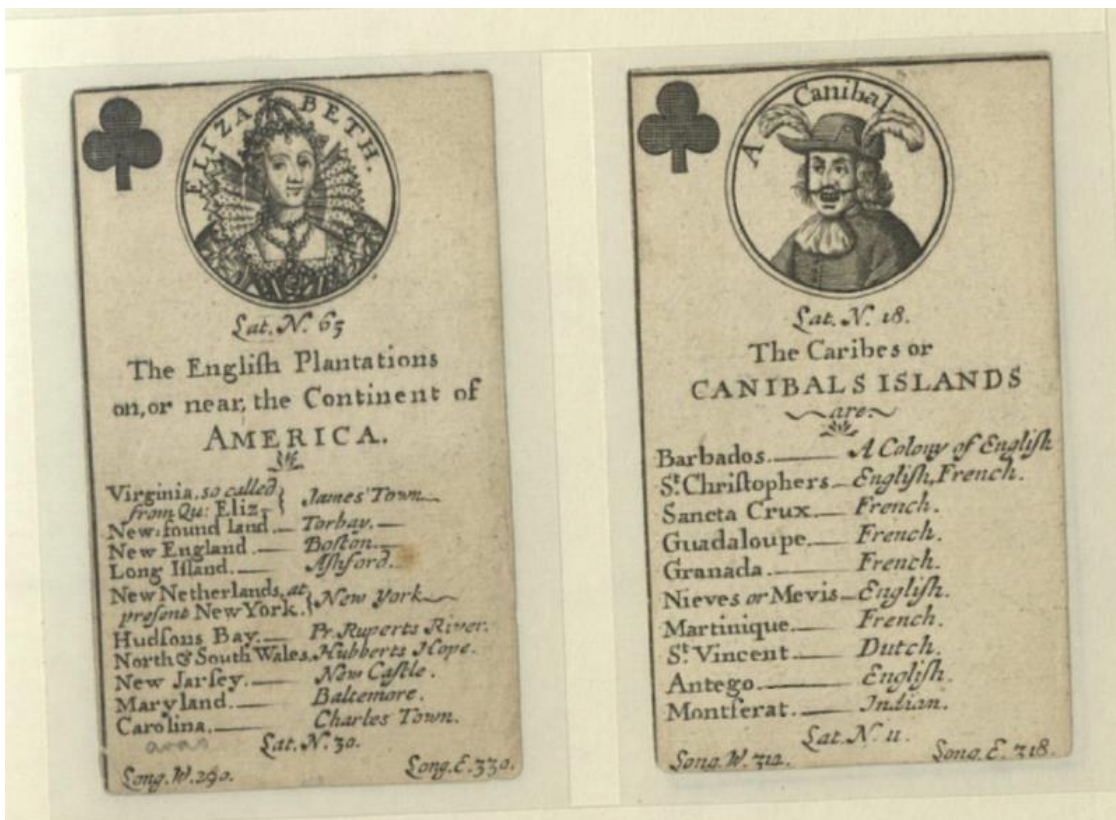


Figure 4.27.B. See **Figure 4.27.A** caption, p.386, Queen of Clubs. Courtesy of Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University Library.



What Does Charles II's Contemporary Colonial Representation Look Like?

This chapter has chiefly considered the Restoration king's visual representation. On that basis, it is particularly well-placed to address the question of what Charles II's contemporary colonial representation looked like. Explorations of how Charles's portraiture took shape in coinage and in broader media across colonial contexts suggest several key conclusions regarding his visual representation specifically. They indicate that it was far from universal; that it may have been used to serve lesser, or at least different, political objectives to its rhetorical equivalent; and that overall, it may have been less pivotal within the landscape of Charles's representation than historians have suggested. For example, the apparent curatorial absence of royal Restoration portraiture within Barbados draws attention to other representational forms, whose presence and use in colonial contexts arguably contests the analytical importance of Charles's portraiture in the first place. Such investigations also highlight the parallels that can be identified between Charles's colonial and English representation, both regarding specific geographical locales and regarding analytical findings and royal representation more broadly. Indeed, examining how the Restoration king was literally pictured in colonial contexts substantially challenges current understandings of his visual representation overall. In so doing, they echo how throughout this thesis, its analysis and conclusions have problematised consensus understandings found within both colonial and representational historiography. It therefore remains to reflect collectively on what such research tells us about what Charles's contemporary colonial representation looked like, and on what it reveals about how Restoration colonial government was exercised and experienced.

Conclusion. The Significance of Charles II's Representation in Colonial Contexts

In its introduction, this thesis posed a central question: how was Charles II king in and over colonial territories? The answer is that the Restoration monarch's presence in colonial contexts was less magnificent, less emphatic, and less zealously imposed onto local political landscapes by the Crown than historiography typically suggests. It was also not something simply fashioned by Charles and his ministers in the King's vicinity - 'the metropole' - and 'received' by those within colonial settings. Such parties might of course not only construct their own representations of their monarch, motivated by agendas far broader, more nuanced, and indeed more interesting, than historians have typically allowed in discussions of second-party engagement with Charles's representation. They might naturally shape, overlook, and even mutate official royal representational instances and the meaning that the Crown may have embedded in them. Royal representation was, in other words, the essential practical, sometimes mis-handled, and in some cases under-leveraged mechanism through which royal government was exercised over colonial contexts. And it was the means through which local actors encountered, engaged with, and utilised Charles's monarchy in such contexts.

But what did Charles's representation in colonial contexts look like? Analysis has established that initial expectations of a potentially widely-dispersed profusion of resplendent cultural artefacts are lowered first by evidence of magnificent official royal representational instances being both exceptional and underwhelming. The Crown did not liberally bestow grants of royal painted portraiture, items of state, or other representational artefacts on colonial agents and governments. Instead, such grants were issued selectively, and their follow-through may have been half-hearted. By contrast, quotidian royal representational forms emerge as staple and significant features of the

Restoration king's colonial representational landscape. Letters patent, seals, and ordnance were media that held the potential to project and integrate Charles's authority into colonial contexts in forms that garnered local attention, and which could convey grand royal colonial designs. Yet official instances of such media were again understated rather than ostentatious: whilst they might incorporate elements alluding to royal majesty and follow schemes carefully and strategically tailored by the Crown, they lack indications of bold, locally-oriented royal colonial ambitions and grand advertisements of the Crown's prowess.

Meanwhile, there is good reason to question the significance of traditionally renowned visual forms of Charles's representation in colonial contexts. Though heralded as a 'universal' royal representational medium,¹ minted coinage not only had limited circulation within colonial territories, but, where it did circulate, its use as a royal representational medium was minimal. Moreover, evidence raises serious questions about the importance of Charles's portraiture more broadly. Navigating the methodological challenges to identifying both extant and historical examples of it, there appear to be absences of such media in Massachusetts and even within England that do not align with expectations generated by usual narratives of Restoration royal representation or in Massachusetts's case, the local landscape. Where contemporary royal portraiture does have a presence within modern North American collections, further research may be needed to verify its colonial credentials, yet it nonetheless points to new directions for inquiry. Chiefly, it calls for second-party royal portraiture to be investigated not only as possible indications of subjects' professed loyalty and ardour for their monarch, but as professional, market-sensitive undertakings; as bold, subtle, and even humorous cultural critiques; and as indications of diverse popular conceptions of the monarchy, including in relation to colonialism.

¹ Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp.133-5 (133); see also Cook, "'Stamp with Your Own Image'", p.304.

Indeed, analysis suggests that historians such as Sharpe have fundamentally misconstrued the nature and extent of royal representation, first by presenting Charles as ‘the magnificent monarch’, and secondly by interpreting second-party representations of Charles within typically binary political frameworks. Attention to Charles’s colonial representation uncovers his portrayal in media generally as a practical, contingent, and nuanced mechanism of royal government. It thus not only allows for the recapture and in turn finetuning of aspects within assessments of Charles’s representation whose authors stray from the ‘magnificent monarch’ thesis, chiefly Gibson, Madway, and Turner.² It also demands a reassessment of the King’s representation within England more broadly to incorporate such findings into existing appraisals of his English representation. This thesis establishes a clear rationale for a comprehensive review of Charles’s representation in all contexts over and within which he was king. In addition to building on this thesis’s findings, and mapping Charles’s representational and political priorities across his kingdoms, colonial territories, and diplomatic enclaves, conducting such a review offers the potential to dissect how second-parties engaged with such priorities and associated policies.

This thesis suggests that an essential starting point for any such review is attempting to ascertain a full picture of the forms that Charles’s representation might have taken, with particular emphasis on identifying hitherto overlooked media. Within England, this includes reputedly important representational items that have escaped the notice of prevalent scholarship focused on his representation and yet might benefit from further consideration, such as Charles’s Great Seals.³ Sigillographical historians have been adamant that from the period of his exile until his death, Charles had four iterations of the Great Seal of England, for example.⁴ Nevertheless, there is possible evidence of the existence of a fifth Restoration seal, produced by the Roettiers brothers in

² Gibson, “‘Best Belov’d of Kings’”; Madway, ‘Rites of Deliverance and Disenchantment’; Turner, ‘Pepys and the Private Parts of Monarchy’.

³ Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp.9-222; Gibson, “‘Best Belov’d of Kings’”, though see pp.5, 64.

⁴ Wyon, with contributions from A. Wyon, ‘The Great Seals of England’, pp.102-8; Dryburgh, *Royal Seals*, pp.88-93.

c.1677 as ‘the last New Great Seale for his Majestie’ and whose design is as yet unclear.⁵ Furthermore, an essential, hitherto overlooked question regarding England’s Restoration Great Seals problematises on the one hand interpretations of royal seals as esteemed forms of official royal representation, and on the other the argument that Charles generally used official royal representation as an emphatic means to re-establish the monarchy’s authority in the Restoration’s opening years. Why did it take the Crown until three years after the Restoration to update the Great Seal of England, arguably the paramount symbol of Charles’s authority? Put another way, why was the iteration of the seal that had been used to represent the monarchy when it was a crippled, exiled, and indeed illegal institution during the Interregnum kept until 1663?⁶

Such lines of questioning and possibility are the product of investigation of Charles’s colonial representation and demonstrate its utility for probing parallels with his English representation. They also point to under-utilised and even untapped analytical potential: incorporating consideration of relatively quotidian media tied to the practicalities of administering and navigating Restoration royal government, and indeed early modern life, into assessments of Charles’s representation both in and beyond England. This includes representational forms tied to property and ownership, to communications and contracts, to defence, justice, and expressions of communal and personal identity; this thesis has illustrated the crucial role that letters patent, seals, ordnance, items like court summons, placenames, and even artefacts such as gravestones might play in the exercise and experience of Charles’s monarchy.

Alongside reorienting understandings of Charles’s representation to include such appraisals of such media, it is then proposed as equally important to attempt to establish the relative distribution, perceived importance, and impact of different media types. Analysis has demonstrated, for

⁵ See ‘Petition of the Roettiers, with Their Account for Making the Great Seal of England. Temp. Charles II’, *Numismatic Chronicle* (1838-[42]), ii (1839-[40]), 198-9.

⁶ See Wyon, with contributions from A. Wyon, ‘The Great Seals of England’, pp.103-4.

instance, that the Crown considered official royal representational forms including royal seals, coinage, and portraits according to a clear hierarchy and opened the possibility that rhetorical royal representational forms such as printed publication and even placenames may have been preferred over visual forms by the Crown for the pursuit of particular political tasks. This possibility requires further study to determine how it may elucidate royal colonial ambitions and, in particular, this thesis's finding that Charles did not harbour an emphatic overarching desire to advertise his presence and authority over his colonial subjects and to insert himself within local colonial landscapes. The role of iconoclasm within a Restoration royal representational programme, and within subjects' engagement with Charles's monarchy, also cries out for analysis. This thesis presents evidence that royal efforts to stamp out Commonwealth iconography in ordnance took apparent precedence over establishing an emphatic royal representational presence. Through analysis of colonial coinage, it also queries how far the Crown was truly concerned to use coinage as a vehicle to disseminate Charles's image to his subjects, compared to acting to cease it functioning as a reminder of Commonwealth authority or simply to maintain its strength as a backbone of the English economy. There is thus much to be explored about how far Charles was concerned to use representation to re-establish monarchical authority from 1660 as opposed to interested in quashing the Commonwealth alternative through representational channels. More fundamentally, this thesis's conclusions also provide both questions and avenues for research through which to probe the representation of early modern monarchs beyond the Restoration king and to reflect on the findings and practice of the field of representational historiography at large.

In all, there is much work to be done to continue to develop this thesis's picture of Charles as 'the metropolitan monarch'. Such work may well add to its revision of central tenets within the historiography of Restoration English colonialism. Overall, this thesis has eroded the widely-held notion that Charles and his government aspired to the same overarching colonial ambitions across English colonial territories broadly irrespective of the specific geographies in question, even if some

aspects of the royal colonial agenda and its associated policies may have been sensitive, and adapted, to local scenarios. Chief amongst these is the contention that the Crown generally aimed to carve out a substantial presence for itself within local colonial political scenes. With the exception of a possible programme to impose royal colonial presence through placenames, representational evidence establishes that the Crown was largely concerned with chronologically- and geographically-specific colonial goals that only appear to have included enhancing its literal visibility within local landscapes in specific, isolated cases.

Chiefly, royal visibility was pursued through official traditional representational means first in Ireland and Dunkirk, particularly in the Restoration's opening years. Evidence overall firmly points to the Crown understanding Ireland as a Stuart kingdom rather than a colony and thus adopting an approach to official royal representation there that was distinct from that executed towards other territories that can be classed as Restoration English colonies. Dunkirk meanwhile had been a site of royalist-parliamentarian conflict in the late 1650s arguably uncomfortably close to English shores and was thus perhaps felt to require an equally exceptional display of royal authority upon the Restoration to enhance domestic security. There was also an isolated and only partially successful attempt to install Charles's overt representational presence within New Hampshire's newly royalised political nexus from 1679, but similar efforts were not extended to colonial territories generally, nor even simply colonies that came under direct Crown government from the late 1670s. Apart from using royal representation in conjunction with the deployment of specific individuals to colonial contexts and perhaps to satisfy particular requests from colonial actors, bolstering the substance and image of royal authority in Virginia in the aftermath of Bacon's Rebellion in 1676, and strengthening the Crown's hand in dealings with Moroccan forces regarding Tangier across its possession of it as an English colony, emerge as distinct Restoration royal colonial objectives. To a lesser extent, so too does rewarding discovery in the Hudson's Bay area in the early 1670s.

Beyond such objectives, representational evidence drawn from seals with clear royal associations sketches an overall hierarchy of the Crown's colonial interests. Again, Ireland emerges as high within Charles's representational agenda beyond England and yet distinctly as a Stuart kingdom rather than a colonial territory. Caribbean territories are then accorded the greatest importance amongst colonial locales, followed by North American mainland colonies and serious questions raised about the Crown's interest in African colonial endeavours, surprisingly including that of Tangier. This thesis thus begins to remodel understandings of the Restoration and the so-called 'web of empire'. First, it presses home the need to consider Charles as the spider at its centre, for the Crown ultimately determined the form in which English colonial endeavours could take shape and the conditions in which they were pursued, and clearly harboured specific colonial objectives that it endeavoured to pursue.⁷ Secondly, it demonstrates that colonialism was of course not simply enacted by and through a 'web' of people cast about the globe. Its pursuit also depended on *things*, including cultural artefacts and communiqués that might have represented Charles II.⁸ And, more essentially, it suggests that the Crown's interest in such a 'web' may have been considerably more circumscribed than historians have contended.

This thesis set out to consider Charles II's representation in colonial contexts with the aim of asking and answering fundamental questions regarding the nature of the Restoration Crown, Charles's representation, and early English colonialism. In the course of its analysis, it has challenged and remapped existing notions of the Crown's representational and colonial agendas and brought critical new perspective to how the Restoration king's subjects engaged both with Charles's representation and with his government. Ultimately, it has demonstrated the need to refashion Charles II as 'the metropolitan monarch' and has begun the work of doing so.

⁷ For note of the Crown as 'the vital fomenting force behind most colonial enterprises' in the context of "globe-trotting" individuals... carr[ying] ideas and experiences from place to place', Glickman, *Making the Imperial Nation*, p.15, appearing partly to quote another source.

⁸ Cf. for example Games, *The Web of Empire*, pp.3-15.

Illustrations List

Introduction

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<https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw41229/Seal-of-Barbados-showing-King-Charles-II-as-Neptune> (31 Jan. 2023).

[AAS, yellow circles added in Appendix One iteration]

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[AAS, key features circled and grid added, in Appendix One I.v.B iteration]

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Chapter One

Figure 1.1. John Michael Wright, *Charles II*, c.1671-6, oil on canvas, 2.82 x 2.39 m

(support, canvas/ panel/ stretcher external) (The Royal Collection Trust, Palace of Holyroodhouse).

Royal Collection Trust/ © His Majesty King Charles III 2023.

<https://www.rct.uk/collection/404951/charles-ii-1630-1685> (5 Jan. 2024)

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<https://www.dublincity.ie/council/your-city-council/lord-mayor-dublin/history/city-regalia> (21 Dec. 2023)

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Early English Books Online, [<https://www.proquest.com/books/entertainment-his-most-excellent-majestie-charles/docview/2264221651/se-2>] [13 Aug. 2024]

© 2019 ProQuest LLC. Author-added shapes to indicate the following: orange, the detail excerpted; red, other maces shown preceding Charles; green, Charles himself.

Figure 1.4.A-D. Ogilby, *The Entertainment of... Charles II*, illustration of 'The Proceeding to the Coronation' following p.170. Ibid. © 2019 ProQuest LLC. [AAS] The red, orange, and yellow boxes correspond to Figures 1.4.B-D and indicate details excerpted. The green box indicates Charles himself (see also Ogilby, *The Entertainment of... Charles II*, p.172).

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Figure 1.6A-C. *Plan du siège de Dunkerque... en 1658 (Map of Dunkirk... In 1658)*, Wikimedia Commons, '[File:]Siege de Dunkerque et Bataille des Dunes en 1658.jpg', https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Siege_de_Dunkerque_et_bataille_des_Dunes_en_1658.jpg (7 May 2022) [AAS], indicating forts (green) and possible fortifications (blue)

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Chapter Two

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Accessed at <https://archivesfiles.delaware.gov/img/charterDocs/1682-charter1.jpg> (22 Jan. 2023)

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Figure 2.14. Third Royal Charter of the Royal Society, 1669 (ref. DC/1/3). The Royal Society. © The Royal Society

Figure 2.15. First Royal Charter of the Royal Society, 1662 (ref. DC/1/1). The Royal Society. © The Royal Society

Figure 2.16. Second Royal Charter of the Royal Society, 1663 (ref. DC/1/2). The Royal Society.
© The Royal Society

Figure 2.17. 'LP (CII EIC), the island of Bombay', IOR/A/1/26, f.1r (BL). 'EIC' AMDD,
https://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/permalink/44OXF_INST/35n82s/alma991025213881707026
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(6 Feb. 2024) © The British Library Board

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https://sosri.access.preservica.com/uncategorized/IO_97146522-2f43-4a60-bfda-fe59b1f8ea78/ (18 Jan. 2023). Public domain

Figure 2.28. 'LP (CII EIC) remitting £154,969 13s 5d...' (1668), IOR/A/1/25, f.1r (BL). 'EIC' AMDD,

https://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/permalink/44OXF_INST/35n82s/alma991025213881707026 (6 Feb. 2024). © The British Library Board

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Royal Collection Trust / © His Majesty King Charles III 2024

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(10 July 2024). Royal Collection Trust / © His Majesty King Charles III 2024

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Royal Collection Trust / © His Majesty King Charles III 2024

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Royal Collection Trust / © His Majesty King Charles III 2024

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Royal Collection Trust / © His Majesty King Charles III 2024

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© Royal Armouries

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© The Trustees of the British Museum.

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Courtesy of Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University Library

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<https://orbis.library.yale.edu/vwebv/holdingsInfo?bibId=15008731> (6 July 2023). Courtesy of Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University Library

Appendices

Appendix One. Close Comparison of the Visual Features of TNA SC

13/M6 ('Barbados Great Seal Charles II or James II')

The following images are provided to evidence the author's assessment that TNA SC 13/M6 is not an example of Charles II's Restoration Barbadian seal.¹ Using overlaid lined grids and circles, it can be seen that the positions of key features in **Figure I.v.B** (TNA SC 13/M6) do not match those of the same features in **Figures I.vi and I.i**, Vertue's engraving of the face of a Restoration Admiralty commissioner seal ostensibly identical to Barbados's Restoration seal and a modern copy of Barbados's Restoration seal.² Such features include Charles II's trident and head, the horses' heads, and the chariot wheel.

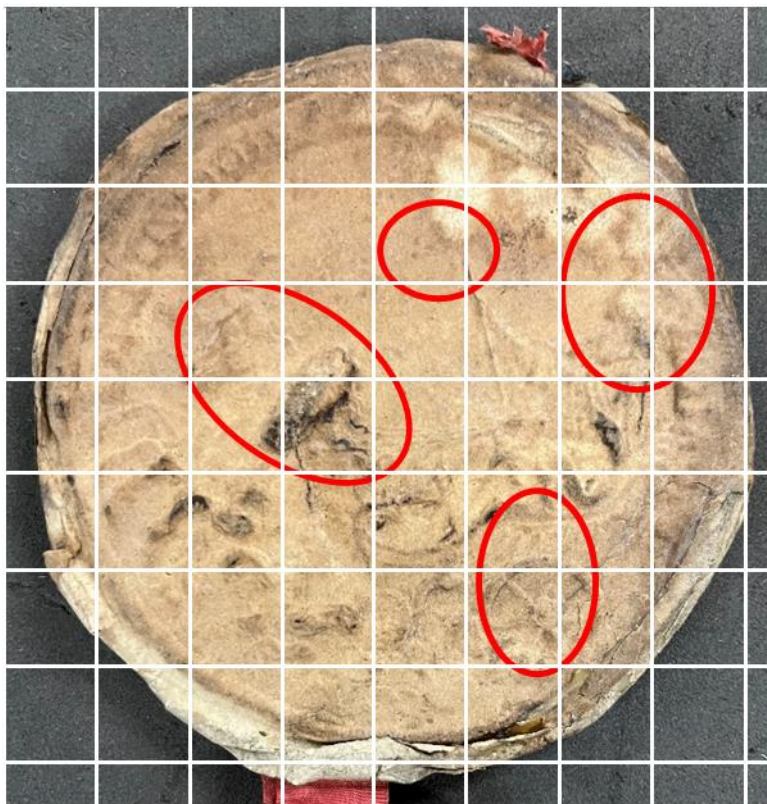


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¹ Above, p.20.

² Ibid.

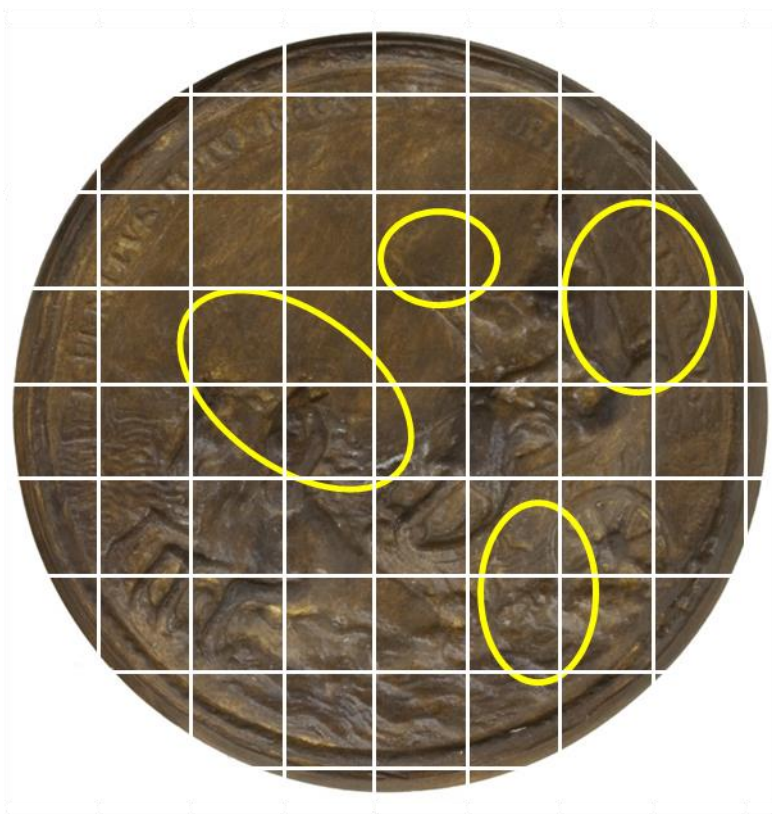
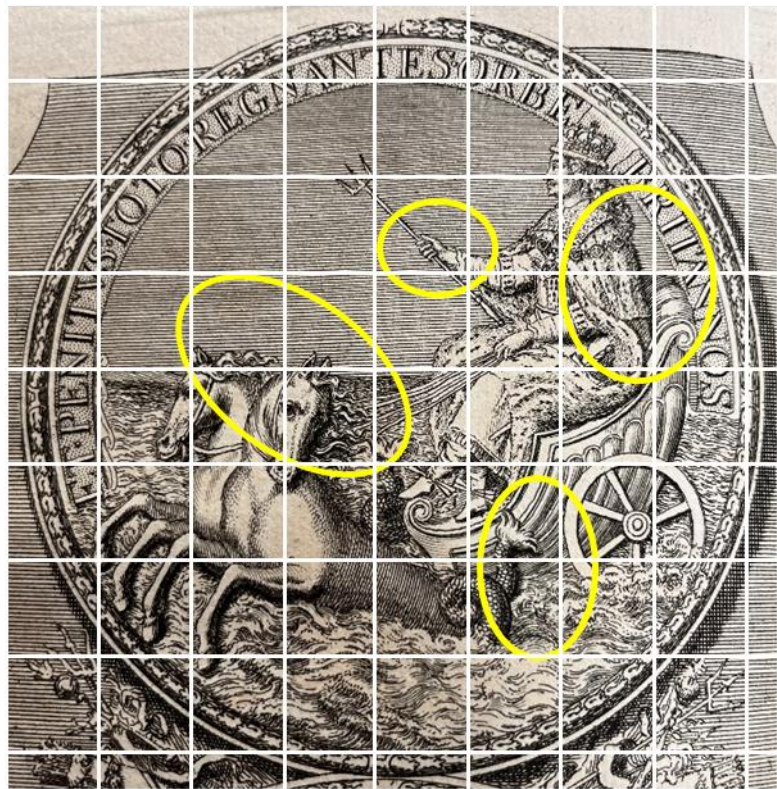


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For brief explanation of the bibliography's structure, see the thesis's introductory comments.³

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A. Cultural Artefacts and Collections

1. Artefacts

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<https://coins.nd.edu/ColCoin/ColCoinText/NewYorke.1.html> (20 May 2024)

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Massachusetts Oak Tree twopence, 1662, 15.2 mm (Robert H. Gore, Jr. Numismatic Collection).

<https://coins.nd.edu/colcoin/ColCoinText/OakTree.1.html> (11 Aug. 2024)

Massachusetts Pine Tree shilling (small planchet), [c.1667-82?], 23.7 mm (Robert H. Gore, Jr. Numismatic Collection), <https://coins.nd.edu/ColCoin/ColCoinText/PineTree.3.html>

(11 Aug. 2024)

Massachusetts Willow Tree shilling (modern reproduction), [1652], 25.1 mm (Cliffon Gilchrist (Mishawaka, Indiana)). <https://coins.nd.edu/ColCoin/ColCoinText/WillowTree.1.html>

(11 Aug. 2024)

Sixpence, Lord Baltimore issue [1659, minted in London], [silver], 41.5 grammes (weight).

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<https://coins.nd.edu/ColCoin/ColCoinIntros/Baltimore.intro.html> [12 Aug. 2024]

St Patrick's copper, large planchet, Vlack 5-D [1641-2], [copper], 130.3g weight, 28.1 mm diameter,
(Robert H. Gore, Jr. Numismatic Collection),

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(?), alloy, 4.810 grammes (weight).

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Various, England, Royal Armouries

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Culverin, 1542, bronze, Tower of London, White Tower.

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Culverin drake, 'Commonwealth gun', cast by Thomas [F]oley and George Brown, [weight 26-2-0], c.1652, Fort Nelson. <https://royalarmouries.org/collection/object/object-1132>
(11 Apr. 2024)

Demi-culverin [four-point-three inches], 1570-80, 'possibly cast at Wealden Carriage modern', English Heritage, Pevensey Castle.

<https://royalarmouries.org/collection/object/object-32231> (7 Aug. 2024)

English bronze breech-loading gun, 1530-40, Tower of London, White Tower.

[<https://royalarmouries.org/collection/object/object-3376>] (7 Aug. 2024)

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<https://royalarmouries.org/collection/object/object-6798> (10 Apr. 2024)

Four pounder, rose and crown with 'C R' cipher, cast for Charles I, weight 2-2-25, 1638, Tower of London, White Tower.

[<https://royalarmouries.org/collection/object/object-37131>] (10 Apr. 2024)

Mortar, cast iron, eighteen inch, 1684. <https://royalarmouries.org/collection/object/object-6183>
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Nine pounder, iron, 'probably cast at the Ashburnham Foundry', c.1700.

<https://royalarmouries.org/collection/object/object-6192> (7 Aug. 2024)

Nine pounder, iron, 'probably cast at the Ashburnham Foundry', c.1700.

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Nine pounder, rose and crown emblem, weight 21-2-[?], c.1700, Study Collection.

<https://royalarmouries.org/collection/object/object-2750> (10 Apr. 2024)

Nine pounder, 'Rose [and] Crown pattern', c.1700, 'MOD, QINTIC Ltd'.

[\[https://royalarmouries.org/collection/object/object-2751\]](https://royalarmouries.org/collection/object/object-2751) (7 Aug. 2024)

Nine pounder, 'Rose [and] Crown type', c.1700, Fort Monckton.

<https://royalarmouries.org/collection/object/object-2817> (7 Aug. 2024)

Nine pounder, 'Rose and Crown type', [c.]1710, iron, Study Collection.

<https://royalarmouries.org/collection/object/object-2741> (7 Aug. 2024)

Owen, John and Robert, saker (long, twelve-sided barrel), 1543, bronze, Fort Nelson.

[\[https://royalarmouries.org/collection/object/object-47343\]](https://royalarmouries.org/collection/object/object-47343) (7 Aug. 2024)

[Poppenruyter, Hans?], falcon, bronze, c.1520, Fort Nelson.

[\[https://royalarmouries.org/collection/object/object-23600\]](https://royalarmouries.org/collection/object/object-23600) (7 Aug. 2024)

Six pounder, 'Rose and Crown type', 1710, iron, Study Collection.

<https://royalarmouries.org/collection/object/object-2742> (7 Aug. 2024)

Toluys, J. (cast), Queen Elizabeth's Pocket Pistol, 1500-99 (cast) (1827, carriage), bronze, iron, 24 ft,
Dover Castle keep, English Heritage.

<https://collections.royalarmouries.org/object/rac-object-22254.html> (11 Jan. 2023)

Thirty-two pounder, 'Rose [and] Crown gun', c.1700.

<https://royalarmouries.org/collection/object/object-32160> (7 Aug. 2024)

Twenty-four pounder, smooth-bore, c.1743 (?), Study Collection.

<https://royalarmouries.org/collection/object/object-23129> (10 Apr. 2024)

Twenty-four pounder, rose and crown emblem, [weight 22-3-24], [before 1667], English Heritage,

Upnor Castle. <https://royalarmouries.org/collection/object/object-22285> (10 Apr. 2024)

St Michael, Barbados, Barbados National Armoury Museum (8 Dec. 2022)

Thirty-four guns, including five (possibly six) Restoration examples and Barbados's 'Commonwealth gun', six pounder [prior to 1652-4], Barbados National Armoury Museum. Details for the latter from Major Hartland, *The Great Guns of Barbados*, pp.2, 26.

Miscellaneous Locations

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[Example One], rose and crown emblem, [1721?], Lincoln Castle (viewed 21 Jan. 2023). Date as suggested by C. J. Trollope in 'Shedding Light on Castle Cannon', *Lincolnshire Echo* (30 Jan. 1999), 'Lincolnshire in the News – Preview' (25 Jan. 1999), p.6, col.b, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000332/19990130/038/0038> (8 Aug. 2024)

[Example Two], rose and crown emblem, [1721?], Lincoln Castle (viewed 21 Jan. 2023). Date as suggested by *ibid.*

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Portraits

For additional relevant catalogue entries, including those with images informing research, **Table F**.

Cambridge, England, Emmanuel College, University of Cambridge

King Charles II, oil on canvas, 74 x 61 cm, [cat. no.] ECP 47.

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King Charles II, oil on canvas, 75 x 62 cm, [cat. no.] ECP 49.

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London, England, The Royal Collection Trust

Chantrey, J., *Charles ye [Second] By the Grace of God King...*, c.1660-77, engraving, 21.5 x 16 cm

(sheet of paper). [https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/1/collection/602468/charles-ye-](https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/1/collection/602468/charles-ye-2d-by-the-grace-of-god-king-of-scotland-england-france-ireland)

[2d-by-the-grace-of-god-king-of-scotland-england-france-ireland](https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/1/collection/602468/charles-ye-2d-by-the-grace-of-god-king-of-scotland-england-france-ireland) (10 July 2024)

Dixon, Nicholas, *Charles II (1630-85)*, c.1673-8, watercolour on vellum, 7.2 x 6 cm canvas/ panel/ stretcher external).

<https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/1/collection/420129/charles-ii-1630-1685>

(10 July 2024)

Faithorne, William, *Carolus II Dei Gratia Angliae Scotiae Franciae et Hiberniae Rex etc.*, c.1660-85, engraving, 36.4 x 26.9 cm (sheet of paper).

<https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/6/collection/602496/carolus-ii-dei-gratia-angliae-scotiae-franciae-et-hiberniae-rex-etc> (20 Mar. 2024)

Lely, Sir Peter, *Charles II*, c.1672, oil on canvas, 239.4 x 147.5 x 2.4 cm support, canvas/ panel/ stretcher external) (Windsor Castle).

<https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/21/collection/405672/charles-ii-1630-1685>

(23 Mar. 2024)

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<https://www.rct.uk/collection/exhibitions/charles-ii-art-power/the-queens-gallery-palace-of-holyroodhouse/barbara-villiers-duchess-of-cleveland-ca-1641-1709>

(6 Feb. 2023)

After Lely, Sir Peter, *Carolus Ilds. Dei Gratia Angliae Scotiae Franciae et Hiberniae Rex Fidei Defensor*

[and] c., c.1660-77, mezzotint, 34.5 x 25.6 cm (sheet of paper).

<https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/12/collection/602525/carolus-iids-dei-gratia-angliae-scotiae-franciae-et-hiberniae-rex-fidei-defensor-c> (20 Mar. 2024)

———, *Carolus II Dei Gratia ANgliae, Scotiae, Franciae et Hiberniae Rex Fidei Defensor [and] c.*, c.1660-77, mezzotint, 31.9 x 25 cm (sheet of paper).

<https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/1/collection/602526/charles-ii> (10 July 2024)

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Font

Gravestones and memorial plaques (interior and exterior)

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On-display coinage

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Bell, 1696

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Font

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