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Charles II:
The Court in Exile

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This year my lectures have been looking at what happens when normal patterns of life are disrupted by unexpected and uncontrollable events. In particular how the Stuart monarchy managed to carry on ruling, or attempting to rule, during the twists and turns of the seventeenth century. My focus is the building in which they lived and ruled and how those buildings shaped events and shaped the monarchs themselves.

Tonight, I take up the story where I left it last time. My last lecture described the extraordinary court that Charles I created first in Oxford and then on the Isle of Wight. I now turn to what happened to his eldest son, Charles Prince of Wales.

For three years Prince Charles was kept closely at his father's side but, in early 1645, the king became worried that they might both be captured and decided that his, increasingly independent, fifteen-year-old heir should take his own command. The Prince was placed in nominal control of Bristol and the royalist forces in the West. But, before he had a chance to influence events, the king's army was all but wiped-out at the battle of Naseby and, now virtually unstoppable, the New Model Army took the West of England. In March 1646, realising that he was in imminent danger of being taken, Charles sailed for the Scilly Isles from where he fled to the safety of Jersey.

Thanks to the loyalty and determination or Sir George Carteret, its bailiff, Jersey had been recaptured from the Parliamentarians and was holding out for the king. In 1594, to defend the island against possible Spanish invasion, a new fort had been built on a **tidal spit guarding** St. Helier. Elizabeth Castle, as it had become known, contained the house of the governor of Jersey built in around 1600 for Sir Walter Raleigh who then occupied the post. This was as close as Jersey got to having a royal residence. For three months Prince Charles, and his swelling household, were based in this Elizabethan fort.

Elizabeth Castle has a spectacular location, made even more impressive at high tide when the castle appears to be on an island. **On the highest** point was the upper ward crowned by a circular keep – a great gun platform protecting the bay. Just below this was the governor's house. In the much larger lower ward, in addition to the garrison barracks, storerooms, stables and houses for the officers, were the remains of the 12th century priory of St. Helier.

His 300 or so household officers, council and guards, plus a train of suppliers and tradesmen were squashed into the lower ward and into private houses in St. Helier, while the governor's house became a makeshift royal residence. **It was a substantial building** with a cellar, two floors and an attic. **On the ground** floor there was a hall and a parlour, presumably used for the royal guards and for receiving people. There was also a kitchen. Stairs led up to the first floor where the king's bedroom at the west end had its own gardrobe and views over the bay. The two other chambers at this level must have been used as ante-rooms. Charles had arrived with three ships, one of which contained the paraphernalia of majesty and he was able to hang the rooms with tapestry and set them with fine furniture. When he was not enjoying yachting in the bay, he dined in public in his parlour on gold plate watched by spectators and held receptions for the island gentry.

The nave of the priory church, that had been converted for military purposes, was now transformed into a chapel royal. It was lined with whitewashed planks which were presumably covered in tapestry, there was a pulpit and a raised choir containing the royal pew. The exiles used this chapel but, on several occasions, Charles preferred to ride in procession to the Parish church in St. Helier where he could be observed at prayer in all the majesty he could muster.

In the middle of June a high powered delegation arrived from Henrietta Maria insisting that Charles join her in France; it had become clear that the Scots were not declaring for the king, but holding him under guard and, after some heated debate, it was agreed that it was best for the prince and his mother to be reunited. Although Charles sailed from Jersey in July 1646 imagining, perhaps, that he was bidding the island farewell, he was to return in September 1649 after the execution of his father.

His second visit, accompanied by the Duke of York and three hundred followers, was to be longer and, this time, he was King. He was welcomed by the Islanders and held court, once again, at Elizabeth Castle. Arriving with three coaches and wagons full of furnishings once again, the house was now transformed into a sovereign's residence. Here, for the first time, he exercised his monarchical powers of touching for the King's Evil in the castle chapel. Though Charles hunted and hawked, found time to draw a map of the Island, was entertained by many of the gentry and held a great party at the Castle for the Duke of York's birthday this second visit was not as happy. Money was incredibly short, supplies from overseas were throttled by bad weather and the parliamentary navy, and the court became shabby and fractious as the winter drew in. On 30th January 1650 the court commemorated the execution of Charles I in the Parish church at St Helier draped in black cloth. A fortnight later Charles departed for the last time; the following year, in face of a determined sea-borne assault Carteret surrendered the island and the final royalist toehold fell to Parliament.

At the French Court

Henrietta Maria had arrived in France in summer 1644 with four boat loads of attendants. Her brother, King Louis XIII, had died the previous year and her nephew, the four-year-old King Louis XIV had succeeded him. Too young to rule, his Spanish mother, Anne of Austria, took the Regency assisted by her first minister, and lover, Cardinal Mazarin.

Central Paris, in the 1640s, was a product of the visionary ambition of Louis XIV's grandfather, Henry IV, who ruled from 1589 until his assassination in 1610. He had been responsible for bringing the French wars of religion to an end and had entered Paris in 1594 with a determination to make the city the locus of the monarchy and visibly capital of the nation. For two centuries previously French monarchs had paid lip service to Paris as their capital, actually preferring to live outside the city but Henri initiated a programme to transform its appearance. **The Place Royal** (now called the Place des Vosges), the Place Dauphine, the rue Dauphine and the Hospital of St Louis, were his most important public works, but these were public expressions of a much more radical programme to bring the streets and promenades of the city under royal control and to regulate private building.
Henry IV's first Parisian project was to improve the Louvre, the ancient seat of the French crown. In the sixteenth century a programme of rebuilding had begun to transform the forbidding medieval fortress into an elegant modern palace; but the project was incomplete and the Louvre had never become the principal residence of the crown in the way Whitehall had in England. In 1594 it was a shabby and incoherent compromise. **Only a quarter** of the main building, round the central Cour Carrée had been rebuilt, the rest was still the medieval stone fortress. Some distance to the west, just outside the mighty city wall, was the queen's residence the Tuilleries. Henry IV's idea was to link the two buildings with an enormously long gallery (le Grande Gallerie) which was largely completed by his death. His successor, Louis XIII, built another quarter of the Cour Carrée, but when he died in in 1643, the palace was still an incomplete **building site.**

In October 1643, five months after her husband, Louis XIII, died, Anne of Austria, and her two young sons, moved out of the Louvre. Nearby was the **great town house** constructed by Louis XIII's chief minister Cardinal Richelieu. This elegant modern residence had been given to the king, and renamed Le Palais Royal; it now became the home of the queen regent and the toddler king Louis XIV. This meant that, when Henrietta Maria was

welcomed into Paris by queen Anne in November 1644, the Louvre was empty, and Anne presented her with the queen's apartments to be her Parisian residence.

Henrietta Maria was no stranger to the Louvre. She had been born there. So when Anne of Austria ceremonially escorted her to the cabinet of her apartment she was, in a sense, coming home. The **queen's rooms** were on the south side of the Cour Carrée overlooking the river. This wing had been completed by 1578 but little had been subsequently done and although the kings and queen's lodgings were complete nothing much else was. It was, in fact, a bit of a building rather than a complete palace. Having settled into her prestigious new home the next day she was visited by cardinal Mazarin. She received him in bed and, a contemporary witness explained 'few people entered with his eminence because the place where she slept was too small: her apartment was decorated with crown tapestries on which is depicted the history of Saul, her bed was of red satin with gold embroidery'. In addition to the queen's own apartment, the same witness explained 'there were thirty furnished rooms for his ladies-in-waiting, her daughter, her chambermaids, and the principal of her officers'.

A generous settlement was agreed upon; as the daughter, sister, and now aunt, of a King of France Henrietta Maria was to have an allowance of 360,000 livres a year and, as well the queen's apartment in the Louvre, the use of her childhood home at **St. Germain en Laye**, a large royal summer residence, 19km west of Paris. In precedence she was treated as a reigning queen. The head of her household was Henry Jermyn who had been an attendant of the queen's since the 1620s, had become her Master of Horse in 1638 and, in Oxford, had been appointed her Chamberlain. Jermyn also acted as her treasurer and chief diplomat and advisor.

Prince Charles arrived in Paris and joined his mother with a small retinue and his personal baggage in July 1646. Although the Prince was half French his grasp of the language was weak, and he had never been to France before. Just as his father's arrival in Spain in 1623 had thrown the Spanish protocologists into a fluster, Charles's arrival created a conundrum for the French. Charles was the grandson of a French king and thus was technically a member of the French royal family. The English **argued that he should** be accorded equality with King Louis just as his father had been with Philip IV Madrid. As in Madrid, twenty years or so before, the initial introductions were managed behind the scenes: it was agreed that the royal families should meet by 'chance', in carriages, in the forest of Fontainebleau. After this successful meeting Charles stayed incognito at Fontainbleau for three days and was placed at the right hand of the boy king by 'coincidence'. Ultimately neither Charles's status or presence was formalised, a situation that was to the advantage of both sides.

Paris, and its environs were Charles's home for nearly two years. His mother's allowance had been increased by the queen regent and Charles was now tied to both his mother's purse and apron strings. He was assigned lodgings near Henrietta Maria's in the Louvre – we don't know where but he may have used the ground floor apartments under his mother's. Although on a short leash, under the protection of the French Crown, Charles was now able to properly devote himself to pleasure.

Paris the most fashionable city in Europe, the place to learn manners, how to dance and to ride and Charles immersed himself in its culture and manners. At first he even maintained a company of English players employed to provide entertainment for the exiled royalists. Even after they had been disbanded at the end of 1646 it was possible for the English court to stage an elaborate Masque at New Year. As well as his own theatrical entertainments he enjoyed going to the theatre and promenading in the summer months in the royal gardens, he hunted, attended court assemblies and, towards the end of 1647, attended an Italian comedy and music followed by a great ball at the Palais Royale. The problem of precedent was solved by neither Charles, nor the boy king, taking the throne and it being left empty as they watched. On another occasion he was invited to Fontainbleau and was entertained with excursions by day, comedies by night and a ball in his honour.

A few moments ago I characterised the Louvre, in 1594, as a shabby compromise but, by the time Prince Charles came to live there in the 1640s, and then again in the 1650s, it had been much improved and beautified by first Henri IV and then Louis XIII.

The petit gallerie, that **led from the** king's pavilion to the riverside grand gallerie had been built in the 1560s and to the English exiles its exterior must have looked much like a Jacobean building, richly decorated, rusticated and adorned with sculpture. Inside it contained a parade of portraits of French kings beginning with Saint Louis

and ending with Henri IV, twenty-eight in all. This led into **the colossal** 442 metre long Grande gallerie that linked the Louvre and the Tuileries. From the river this presented a broadly symmetrical façade with balancing pavilions at either end and one in the centre. The eastern half, which was built first, had a busy and crowded façade, but the western half was confidently monumental with giant composite pilasters supporting alternating triangular and segmental pediments. The first-floor windows cut into the entablature giving the façade a baroque swagger. This was unquestionably impressive and quite unlike anything in London either in scale or style.

The king's and queen's apartments were, as I have said, on the river side. Their shell remains as part of the Louvre Museum today, the internal organisation has almost completely gone. But you can see from **the plan that** this was not a grand parade of rooms (the sort of thing that we can see today at Versailles), but a tightly knit matrix of chambers centred on a chamber of parade, the great state room containing a bed in an alcove that was the focus of French court ceremonial. As the Louvre was **modernised the** alcove was moved and if you hunt hard enough you can still find it in one of the galleries.

Prince Charles left France for the United Provinces in mid July 1648**. Just to remind you**, the low countries were, at that time, split into two parts - the southern Catholic Spanish Netherlands, more or less today's Belgium and to the north the republican and protestant United Provinces, essentially the modern Netherlands. It was to the northern Protestant safe haven that Charles made his way. James Duke of York had escaped from house arrest at St. James's and made his way to The Hague to join his **sister Mary, the** Princess Royal, who had married William II, Prince of Orange. Charles was royally received at the **Binnenhof in the** Hague by the States General who awarded him a time-limited pension and assigned him a house reserved for foreign ambassadors. A few days later he moved to join his sister and brother in law in a fine suite of rooms in the Binnenhof itself.

The Binnenhof did not belong to the Prince of Orange, it was the seat of government, in English terms, the equivalent to Whitehall and Westminster. Here were the Stadholder's quarters: a long range containing two suites of apartments one above the other for the Stadholder and his consort. They had been extended and redecorated in 1632-4 by Prince Frederick Henry and so were modern and comfortable. Lodged in comfort and dignity three of Charles I's children now held a war conference. It seemed as if the Scots would form an army under the Prince Charles's leadership to invade England and, best of all, the English fleet had declared for the King and was anchored off the coast. The rest of the summer and the autumn were spent in negotiation and indecisive naval engagements, but all was interrupted by the devastating news that reached the Hague on February 4th. **The King had** been beheaded and Charles was now king.

William and Mary immediately recognised him as sovereign, a gesture which was also a recognition that Charles now outranked his hosts. He was soon assigned new apartments suitable to his sovereignty, and **when he dined** took his own table where he dined alone in solitary splendor. None of the crowned heads of Europe willingly followed suit, indeed not even the Estates General in the Netherlands were willing to imitate the stadtholder's lead in case they upset the English parliament. Nevertheless in his travels over the following months in the Spanish Netherlands Charles engineered a monarchical welcome being lodged in the royal palace of the Coudenberg in Brussels and entertained as a monarch.

My lectures this year are about the interaction of the Stuart monarchs and the buildings in which they lived in extraordinary circumstances. It is a fact that, during the fifteen months Charles spent in Scotland, where he was hastily crowned king of Scots, and his subsequent reckless dash into England, that ended in the rout of his ramshackle army by Oliver Cromwell at Worcester, he spent most of his time in military encampments. In Scotland he did visit some the houses of his grandparents for the first time: he stayed at Dunfermline, Falkland and Stirling, but the unhappy state of his relations with the Scots lords, and especially the Scottish puritans, soured the few moments spent in his ancestral halls. Back in Paris, where he arrived exhausted, humiliated and penniless in October 1651, he said of Scotland that 'there was not a woman to talk to and the barbarism of the men was such that they thought it a sin to play the violin'.

The Paris to which Charles returned in 1651 was very different from that which he had left in 1648. Just as events in England in 1648 were reaching their crisis with Charles I imprisoned by Parliament, so Paris was primed to explode in violent demonstrations against the arbitrary powers of the French crown. The series of conflicts that ensued between court and country between 1648 and 1653, and known as the Fronde, had two effects on the

exiled Stuart royal family. First it gnawed away at Henrietta Maria's pension; payments became irregular and then almost dried up. It was reported in November 1651 that Charles and Henrietta Maria were 'keeping a very spare house, and having but one table, and that very indifferently furnished', Second it caused the French court to flee Paris leaving Henrietta Maria the sole representative of the royal family in the Louvre. At one point a furious Paris mob besieged her there complaining she was ruining France (as she had already ruined England!).

When Anne of Austria and Louis XIV returned to Paris in October 1652 they moved into the Louvre and the English Exiles were assigned the Palais Royal instead. For the French crown reoccupying the Louvre was a much safer bet than the completely exposed palais royal and a necessary part of the reassertion of its power; for Henrietta Maria perhaps it was a downgrading; no longer a reigning queen consort, she was a royal widow with considerably reduced status.

The Palais Royale was destroyed by fire in 1763, a great tragedy as, its builder, Cardinal Richelieu, was the greatest architectural patron of his age, and his mansion the most spectacular residence in Paris. His architect was Jacques Lemercier who was forced to design the building piecemeal as Richelieu gradually bought up plots of neighbouring land in the densely packed streets close to the Louvre. In the end the building sprawled over eight courtyards, overlooked a huge garden and contained a 3,000 seat theatre. It was perhaps always destined to be a royal residence as when Richelieu presented it to Louis XIII in 1636 it contained two suites of lodgings as if for a monarch and consort.

Eighteenth century plans, drawn after later alterations, allow us to envisage the rooms that Henrietta Maria occupied. She took the magnificent suite, known as the summer apartment, that had been occupied by Anne of Austria. It had a parade of state rooms built by Cardinal Richelieu and a series of more intimate chambers on the garden front set up by Anne. The interiors were the best that money could buy and were in the vanguard of French fashion, **richly carved, painted** and gilded. Nowhere is it made explicit which part of the Palais Royal Charles II occupied, but there can be little doubt that, as a crowned sovereign, he used the king's apartments - rooms that had been used by the young Louis XIV and before him by Cardinal Richelieu.

The monarch's lodgings were 'T' shaped; a long wing to the north containing the private rooms including a bedchamber, closet and large chapel, and to the south was the chamber de parade, the principal reception room in a French palace where a state bed was placed in an elaborate alcove. **The Gallery of Illustrious** Men, which stood at the junction between the two wings, was decorated with paintings depicting the great supporters of the French Crown, including Richelieu himself. Both the Chambre de Parade and the king's bedchamber contained elaborate bed alcoves and magnificent upholstered French beds. **There is no image** of either, but the engravings of Jean Lepautre capture the appearance of bedchambers of similar status.

Presumably the furniture in the palace was supplied by the French court. Charles had attempted to retrieve his own household goods, jewels, plate and wardrobe from Scotland where he had left it. But after trying hard to get the Scots to yield it up, they sat on their hands and the king was completely at the mercy of French charity.

The Stuart Royal family relocated to their elegant new home, but elegance was, apparently, in short supply. In his play *Thomaso or the Wanderer*, Thomas Killigrew calls the Palais Royale a 'Coney-warren fill'd with Cavaliers of all Trades' and notes 'they eat so seldom, and dung so small, you may as soon step in a Custard as a T--- in the Court'. Two Dutch brothers, clearly hostile to the royalist cause, claimed that the rag bag of impoverished royalist exiles camping in the Palais Royal, had almost destroyed it, shaving the gilding off the gallery walls to make coins and picking the lead out of the windows to sell. Surviving financial accounts for Charles's court show that he was periodically able to pay for his bedchamber servants and stable, but plentiful correspondence shows that he was unable to fulfil the expectations of the large numbers of cavaliers who wanted pensions, offices and honours. Indeed, there were occasions when the king himself had to eat in taverns rather than at his own table.

Nevertheless for the next three years Charles lived at the Palais Royal, not as an English prince but as the crowned king of Scotland. Despite the acute lack of cash the young English monarch made the most of his time in Paris, a deficiency of evidence makes it hard to precisely record his occupations, but he certainly hawked in the winter, swam in the summer, played tennis and billiards the year round, danced, drank, gambled at cards and had a small

number of love affairs. In December 1653, after a **season of masques** and plays at court, Charles was able to throw a dinner for Louis XIV a compliment returned by the king.

Lodged in the Palais Royal court etiquette prevailed and Charles lived as an English King receiving ambassadors, and being served by English bedchamber and privy chamber attendants. He received people in his bedchamber in the French manner suggesting that he had adopted French court etiquette as standard procedure.

In 1654 everything changed. William II of Orange's death of smallpox, aged only 26, in November 1650, had already robbed Charles of his ally in the United Provinces and now Mazarin was negotiating a treaty with Cromwell, who had now been made Lord Protector, that would inevitably lead to his expulsion from France. Meanwhile the king had hopes that the German princes might support him financially. It was time to move. Mazarin, keen to get the exiled court off French soil, even provided a cash grant to allow Charles and his baggage train to leave in suitable splendour.

Via Aachen where, in the cathedral, he admired the bones of Charlemagne, Charles arrived in **Cologne in August** 1654. To his surprise he received a warm civic welcome and rented a large mansion; Cologne was to be his home for eighteen months. During the Second World War three quarters of the city was destroyed by bombing and there is now no trace of where King Charles lived, although I can show you this map of the walled town from 1633, a few years before Charles's arrival. But his residence in the city was not important for its architecture because, while Charles's stay at the court of France was to exercise a huge influence on his tastes, his experiences in Cologne were of a different kind. Not required to maintain rank at a competitive court he was able, more or less, to live within his means. Although money was chronically short, his outgoings were reduced and cash that arrived in fits and spurts enabled him to live the dignified life of an aristocrat.

Charles spent time mastering both French and Italian and perfecting various courtly dances, he hunted, went on brisk walks, swam in the Rhone and, in late September 1655, with a group of companions, went from Cologne to Frankfurt for the winter fair. They travelled most of the way on the River Main in a large barge with two subsidiary barges attached for their luggage; it was huge fun but ruinously expensive. All this time he was forced to live a life far more informal than he had ever done before. As far as can be ascertained there were no formal rooms of state in the houses in which he lived; a few stray financial accounts show that he named the rooms presence chamber, withdrawing chamber, bedchamber and closet with a prayer room, rather than a chapel. In these rooms he received visitors and dined ceremoniously but unostentatiously.

In 1655 the diplomatic tables of Europe again were reset. England and Spain were now at war and Mazarin concluded his treaty with the English including a clause that barred Charles from France. The Spanish empire still comprised territory in Iberia, the Netherlands and Italy and with both the United Provinces and France closed to Charles II, the Spanish Netherlands were the only feasible place from which to launch a seaborne attempt to regain his kingdom. To secure this, in May 1656, he entered into treaty negotiations with **the Governor of the** Spanish Netherlands. The Spanish, as ever, obsessed with regularity of behaviour and correct form, would not acknowledge Charles publicly, nor even accommodate him in their headquarters in Brussels, he was therefore assigned lodgings in Bruges.

Bruges, much admired today for its beauty and quirky charm was then a remote backwater of the Spanish Empire; it was the last place that Charles, used to the high life of Paris, and to living in a huge modern royal palace, wanted to be. Although the king was theoretically in receipt of a pension from the Spanish money troubles remained acute. His official household numbered 156 people of whom about half were on his payroll, and an inner core or perhaps thirty attended him at all times. These were a huge, but necessary drain on his resources.
When Charles II arrived in Bruges in April 1656 the Marquess of Ormond complained to Secretary Nicholas, that 'the king is in no sort provided of a house' and indeed he lodged temporarily in the home of a fellow exile, the irish peer Anthony Preston, Lord Tara 'with trouble to the Lord and some great inconveniency to himself', other members of the royal household were scattered throughout the town. The king complained that 'houses, lodgings and furniture are had with more difficulty than in cologne' , **but soon a house** was found large enough for the king and his close attendants, but furniture and fittings had to be hired before the king could take possession. The rooms in the house were clearly given traditional names as the royal financial accounts mention fire tongs being

bought for the presence chamber and lights for the drawing room, closet and bedchamber. There was no chapel but a room set aside for prayer.

In January 1659 he moved to a new house which he rented for 1000 florins for six months from count Basseny, hangings for presence chamber, privy chamber and eating room were hired for nine months at 346 florins. For the king's bedchamber new hangings made , he even had a painting lent to him for his presence chamber.

An agreement reached, over the next year, Charles with a royalist 'army' of several thousand men engaged in the fighting on the French border with the Spanish against the French and the English. He personally moved to Brussels nearer the centre of things, but money problems remained acute and a planned assault on England was still born when it became apparent that there was no appetite for it amongst the cowed royalists in London. Worse still Cromwell's troops fighting with the French routed both Charles's royalist army and the Spanish in a series of set piece battles and sieges. Just as all looked lost, and Charles was considering a new arrangement with the United Provinces, Cromwell died.

What happened next belongs to another story, but the gist, as you know, is that Charles was invited back to England where, in 1660, he was restored to the throne. But I hope this evening to have provided an insight into where for a period of fifteen years before that Charles Ii lived. There is no doubt that his long and essentially enjoyable stay in Paris made the greatest impact; for the rest of his life he was enamoured of French fashions in furniture dress and architecture. But equally important was the fact that at the Restoration those who reaped the largest rewards were those who had endured the privations of exile with him. Almost everyone who had stuck by the king got a place at court and a financial reward to match. This meant that all the people closest to the king had an intimate experience of the continent and, in particular of Paris and the French Court. French taste was thus not just the prerogative of the king but it infused the culture of the entire ruling class. This was a fundamental and thoroughgoing change in taste that influenced all branches of culture.

Now we have to remember that there was French furniture and fashions at court in the 1630s, especially in Henrietta Maria's apartments at Denmark House and, during the Commonwealth and Republic, there were items of French furniture in use in the royal palaces by Oliver Cromwell. But Charles II immediately signalled a complete change in court taste in 1660. The court upholsterer, who was the man responsible for providing seat furniture and beds as well as curtains and other soft furnishings for the royal houses was an old royal servant, John Baker, who had held the post for forty years. Within weeks of the Restoration he was working alongside John Casbert a French upholsterer who came over with the king. We don't know anything of Casbert's background, but he must have learnt his trade in Louis XIII Paris**. In the very first** furnishing accounts of the Restoration John Casbert was paid for altering and fitting up a crimson damask bed 'bought of a Frenchman'. The Princess Royal was, at the same time supplied with a 'standing French bedstead'.

These new beds were being installed in French-style bedchambers, that is to say bedrooms containing an elaborate alcove in which the bed was placed behind a rail. The Whitehall bedchamber was the first to be fitted out in this fashion. We have no image of it, but we know from descriptions that it looked exactly like the ones in the French royal palaces where Charles had lived for so long. The floor of his bedroom was even covered in parquet, the first instance of this French flooring method being used in England.

Equally important was the fact that with the architecture and furnishing of these bedrooms came the full arrival of French bedroom etiquette. Charles introduced a morning ceremony, the lever in which he dressed in Public in the French royal manner and an evening coucher in which he reversed the process and went to bed. Unlike the early Stuart practice which used the bedchamber as a private space, charles II made it like a French Chambre de Parade, his principal audience chamber.
To maintain the setting of his court in French fashion Charles began, in 1660, to send his principal English artists to Paris to learn how to do things in French Fashion. Perhaps the most important of these trips, at least from an architectural point of view, was the one made by Sir Christopher Wren in 1669. Charles had decided to rebuild Tudor Whitehall and wanted Wren to have seen the louvre and the palais royal and so off he was packed to fact-find and return capable of French architectural design.

But there was nothing particularly unusual about sending Wren to Paris. Other royal servants had been sent to France to learn French fashions: the composer Humfrey Pelham was sent to France to learn French composition, Thomas Betterton travelled to Paris on a number of occasions to consult French experts on the construction of theatres and writing plays and John Banister was sent to Paris to learn how to compose musicals.

So tonight we have followed the travels and travails of an exiled monarch, from the rough edged Elizabeth Castle, through town houses in Cologne and Bruges to The Binnenhof in the Hauge, the Codenberg in Brussels and most of all to Paris. Here Charles did what no other English monarch had done since the middle ages, he lived at the court of another king for many years. The whole of his twenties were spent at the French court and his tastes where there formed for life. Sometimes it is said that Charles was following the tastes of Louis XIV and copying Versailles. Versailles was a small hunting lodge in the 1650s – charles Tastes were, in fact, moulded by those of Richelieu, Mazarin and Louis XIII and they remained with him for the whole of his life. And they had a huge impact on the arts in late seventeenth century England.

My next lecture looks at influences on Britain from a different country. We shall be taking a close look at the way the stadtholders of the United Provinces lived – important, of course, because one of them became King William III of England.