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Magister Dissertation in British Civilization

The British Monarchy under the Reign of Elizabeth II (1952- 2009)

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to:

- > My parents who have always been there for me.
- ➤ My dear sister who has always encouraged me
- ➤ All the members of my family: my grand-mother, my uncles, my aunts, and my cousins
- > The memory of our deceased
- ➤ My Friends
- ➤ All those who helped me with their support and encouraged me to do this work.

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Abstract

The present work is concerned with the reign of the present British monarch, Elizabeth II (1952- 2009), who is the leader of one of the most powerful monarchies in the world. It is important to try to know how Britain survived so many years with the monarchy as its system of government, while other countries did not and preferred another system like a republic with a president at the top of their government. The main purpose of this work is to put the role of the British monarch in a prominent place, to know whether a monarch still has an influence or still can bring changes to his/her kingdom within the twenty first century, taking into account the fact that Elizabeth II is a constitutional monarch, which implies that she does not have a concrete role in politics. Another purpose of the present study is to comprehend the positions of the monarchy towards particular situations, such as the revolt of the British subjects against the monarchy after the death of Lady Diana. The purpose is also to examine the impact of royal scandals and problems, intensified at times by the media, on the monarchy in general and the Queen in particular. Through this work there is an attempt to understand how a woman and a head of a family could lead and represent a whole nation, having no choice but to accept her fate. To have answers, an understanding of the monarchy, its background, its functioning, its environment, and its components are required.

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General Introduction

The monarchy is a form of government with a monarch at the head. The monarch whether a king or queen generally inherits that position and keeps it for life. The monarchy is essential in the study of the British society. It also differentiates Britain from other nations such as the USA.

Britain is a monarchy and has been so for centuries now; it has survived to Wars, and the struggle against Nazism, without losing its wealth or status. The question of whether the monarchy helps or harms a nation has always been asked by thinkers, philosophers and politicians.

The British have never been fond of the idea of replacing their monarch with a president. At the period of Elizabeth's accession to the throne people respected royalty with its values and traditions. They trusted their government and never doubted its sincerity. Nobody would have thought of the changes which took place during the 1990's.

Republicans argue that the monarchy costs a lot. The series of divorces and scandals which caused much criticism about the royal family, during the 1990's, came to support the ideas of those anti-monarchists that the monarchy should be

abolished. Even the British people started to have doubts about their monarchy. Nevertheless, supporters of the monarchy still argue that the monarchy is beneficial for the tourism industry, and it is central to British national identity and a figurehead for the state. They also argue that while political parties change and fight for their opinions the Queen does not change, nor does she interfere in politics, but simply represents and unifies her nation.

The powers of the British monarch have changed over centuries. Today, the Queen acts only on the advice of her Prime minister and stands as a focus for national identity, unity, and continuity. Among the duties that Elizabeth performs are some public duties such as ceremonies and visits she pays to the United Kingdom, as well as abroad. She also reads official documents and meets her ministers, her private secretaries, and ambassadors.

The Queen is still consulted and informed about political decisions and affairs, even if Parliament is the one which really governs the country. Republicans say that it is another good reason why the monarchy should be abolished since it is not an essential part in the political life of the country, or in other words, if the monarchy is removed the government would still function without being really disturbed. Moreover, republicans think that it is not any more the symbol of England in the twenty-first century. They even say that the union Jack (the flag of Great Britain) is more representative of the nation.

The Queen continues to reign while political parties, ministers, prime ministers, and politicians change constantly. Since 1952, Elizabeth II reads state papers, meets the prime minister every week, which gives her a special experience, though she has to remain objective and neutral and never stand for elections or vote.

Elizabeth II carried out her duties according to what she thought was the best for her nation, but it did not stop the question of has the monarchy adapted to the twenty and twenty-first century from being asked.

General Introduction

This work is not specially designed to look back on the life and the reign of Elizabeth II, but rather to have a look at the challenges facing her as she guides the monarchy onto the twenty-first century. Even if the monarch's role nowadays is only a symbolic one, it is still important to know more about the present monarchy and the changes it went through.

This dissertation is a contribution to the analysis of the British monarchy and its development. This research work is composed of three chapters. The first chapter comprises the nature of the British monarchy and its background. It outlines the British monarchy since the beginning with a description of how the system of succession to the British throne works, in addition to an introduction of the current British Queen.

The Second chapter is devoted to the royalty and its image. It aims to demonstrate the contrast between the appearances and the real side of facts. In this chapter an attempt is made to analyse the scandals within the monarchy and their impact on the latter and the relationship between the monarch and his subjects, which has been damaged at times. A special analysis will be made on the role of the media.

Finally, in the third chapter attempts to analyse the role of the monarch within politics are made. The role of the British monarch may seem confusing. In this chapter, the role of the monarch within each field and the three bodies of government (executive, Legislative and Judicial), the influence of religion on the monarchy is studied, and the sovereign's role in the international relations will be studied.

Chapter I

The Monarchy in Britain

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Introduction

Britain like any other modern country is affected by the past in the social and economic life; the past affects also population and even politics. In order to understand the present, we have to analyse the past. To understand the present British Monarchy, we have to know how the British Monarchy all started up.

The Monarchy is the oldest institution of government in Britain; it is called the British Monarchy or the Monarchy of the United Kingdom. It is one of the oldest European monarchies as well as the most famous. Today, it is a 'Constitutional Monarchy'; it means that it is a form of government where the Monarch is the Head of State with limited powers; he has to acknowledge the rights of legislature and the executive branch of government and to accept the advice of Parliament. In other words, the Constitutional Monarchy is a system of government where the Monarch's powers are defined and limited by law and constitution, unlike the Absolute Monarchy where the Monarch has absolute power and is not limited by the constitution.

Parliament has the ability to make and pass legislation not the monarch; in other words, the political powers are exercised by the House of Commons, the Prime minister and the ministers. This way, there can be a separation between the symbol of government which is the Monarch, and the actual government. In addition to Britain, there are 45 countries that still have a monarchy like Morocco, Sweden and Belgium. Sixteen of these countries are members of the Commonwealth and have the Queen of Britain as Head of State¹.

The monarchy is also different from a country to another and from a period to another. Like Professor John M.T Balmer explains it,

Dynasties change and monarchies come and go as in England. Sometimes monarchies return but more often than not do not. Some monarchs are good, others are bad. Some are flawed and others mad but the Crown as an institution has remained as the preferred form of constitution for many European and Commonwealth nations. It has been a resilient if not flexible organizational form.²

Until the First World War, monarchies were the preferred form of government for most nations. Some nations like France changed from a monarchy to a republic in the 19th century. Other countries chose the monarchy to be their form of government like Papua New Guinea, when it got its independence from Australia in the 1970's³; it became a monarchy and Elizabeth II was asked to become their Queen.

² J. Balmer, *The British Monarchy: Does the British Crown as a Corporate Brand Fit?*, Working Paper N°04/16, April 2004, Bradford University School, p.06.

¹ http://www.centreforcitizenship.org/monarchy/mon.html

³ J. Balmer, *Dimensions and Associations of Corporate Identity: Insights from the British Monarchy, the BBC and from Identity Consultancy*, Working Paper N° 04/15, April 2004, Bradford University of Management, p.04.

1. The British Monarchs

Britain has always been a Monarchy with either a king or a queen. The only time it was a republic, was when King Charles was executed in 1649 and it lasted until 1660 when the Monarchy was restored. Offa of Mercia is remembered to be the first person to have the title of Rex Anglorum which means King of the English.

The list of monarchs continued with Egbert of Wessex in 802, then with Alfred the Great and his son, Edward the Elder, after him. But The United Kingdom of Great Britain was not formed until 1707 when the Kingdom of England and the Kingdom of Scotland united under the House of Stuart. In 1801, the Kingdom of Ireland joined the United Kingdom of Great Britain to be called the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The name changed once again when most Ireland left the union in 1922. In 1927, it was finally called the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. This is why only monarchs who reigned since 1707 can be called British monarchs. (See the list of all these kings and queens in Appendix One).

Among all the Kings and Queens in Britain, Queen Victoria (the Elizabeth's great-great grandmother) was the longest reigning one. She had reigned for 63 years, between 1837 and 1901. King George III who reigned for 60 years, from 1760 to 1820, is considered to be the longest reigning King in British History.

The British Monarchy has survived where others have not because of its adaptability.⁴ It stands for the continuity of the British history and serves as a figurehead for the State. The British Monarchy has been hereditary since the 9th century. The monarchs inherit their position from their parents and have to hold it until death. The British people have no say in who should represent them or even the choice to vote for or against a monarchy, as a result of the British undemocratic past.⁵ Parliament has

⁴ S. Bradford, Elizabeth: A Biography of Her Majesty the Queen, Penguin Books, London, 2002, p. 519.

⁵ http://www.centreforcitizenship.org/monarchy/mon.html

in theory the right to vote to abolish the monarchy, but under the Treason Felony Act of 1848, it is still treason if anybody within the United Kingdom intends to deprive the Monarch from his Royal functions. ⁶

The present monarch is Queen Elizabeth II. She has been on the throne since the 6th February 1952. The Queen's full title in the UK is "Elizabeth the Second, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of Her other Realms and Territories Queen, Head of the Commonwealth, Defender of the Faith".⁷ Or in brief, she is known as Queen Elizabeth II.

As a constitutional monarch, Elizabeth II has to remain politically neutral and she has also to govern according to the constitution and not according to her free will. As the United Kingdom does not have a written constitution to set out the rights and duties of the Monarch, they are simply established by conventions.

2. The History and Background of the British Monarchy

Britain has more living symbols of its past than many other countries. It still has a royal family and a small nobility. The concept of kingship started in England, in the 5th century AD, with the first wave of Germanic immigration, who had tribal chieftains, being privileged because they were said to be descended from the god Wotan. This idea developed through centuries giving birth to Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, which converted later to Christianity. 9

Britain went through different periods and underwent different invasions like the Celts, the Romans, the Germans (the Angles and the Saxons) and the Vikings (from Scandinavia). Invaders had their own kings and each of them wanted to be

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⁶ Ibid.

⁷ http://www.knowledgerush.com/kr/encyclopedia/Elizabeth_II_of_the_United_Kingdom/

⁸ D. Mc Dowall, *An Illustrated History of Britain*, Longman, England, 1989, p.183.

⁹ M. Richardson, *The Royal Book of Lists: an Irreverent Romp Through British Royal History from Alfred the Great to Prince William*, Dundurn Press, Canada, 2001, p.49

the ruler. The Angles and the Saxons who came from the North-Western Europe invaded the South-East of the country. The West was under the command of King Arthur, a Romanized Celt seen as an example of medieval nobility and chivalry. By the end of the 6th century, they predominated all England and South Scotland.

The following invaders were the Vikings, Norsemen or Danes from Scandinavia. In the 9th century they conquered the extreme North and also some coastal regions of Ireland but their conquest of England was a little bit harder because they were defeated by King Alfred of the Saxon Kingdom of Wessex who assumed the title of King of the English. King Alfred is the only monarch in English history to be given this title. He was a warrior as well as a scholar and a wise ruler. ¹⁰ In 973, his son, Edgar became King of England.

During the 11th and 12th century, the Church wanted the Kings of Europe to accept its authority over both spiritual and earthy affairs, and argued that even kings were answerable to God. Kings, on the other hand, chose bishops men who would be loyal to them, knowing that the King was responsible for law and justice. In 1066, at the beginning of the medieval period, the Normans defeated the English in the Battle of Hastings and killed their King Harold II. As a result, the Norman leader, Duke William of Normandy, known as William the Conqueror, became King of the whole England. William and the kings after him thought of England as their personal property.

William was succeeded by his son William II, then his second son Henry I, who named his only child, Matilda, as heir to the throne. When Henry died in 1135, Stephen, a grandson of William I, claimed the throne and succeeded with the support of barons. Matilda did not give up and challenged him; as a result England was in anarchy. Stephen, finally, agreed to a compromise under which Henry, Matilda's son, would succeed him. It is in fact what happened; Henry became King Henry II in 1154,

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 18.

¹¹ Ibid.

and he was the first monarch of the Plantagenet dynasty, the dynasty where conflicts between the monarch and nobility appeared. After the death of Henry, his elder son Richard succeeded to the throne, but he was mostly absent to fight in the Crusades. He was killed and his brother John succeeded him.

During the 13th century, most eastern Ireland was under the control of the Anglo-Norman lords in the name of the English King, and Wales was under his direct rule. At that period appeared the custom of naming the monarch's eldest son the "Prince of Wales". The king was politically powerful though he had to consult the barons. ¹² In 1215, the Magna Carta, signed by King John in 1215, was meant to confirm the relationship of the Monarch and the barons, and to prevent a civil war with these barons. ¹³ The barons asked, in 1258, to arrange a Great Council which was held in 1264 and is considered today to be the origin of parliament in Britain. ¹⁴

The Magna Carta (also called the Great Charter) guarantees the rights and liberties of the nobility. It is an important symbol of political freedom which meant at the same time reducing the political powers of the monarch. In this document the monarch agreed to follow certain rules of government, even if in practice neither John nor his successors completely followed these rules. The Magna Carta made the monarch agree in writing to follow formal procedures for the first time.¹⁵

During the 14th century, towards the end of the Middle Ages, there was a continuous struggle between the king and his nobles. The first big crises came in 1327 when a king was deposed and cruelly murdered, and then another one was murdered in 1399. All these problems weakened respect for the Crown. The 14th century was disastrous for Britain as well as most of Europe, because of the effect of wars and plagues. The King was making things worse by the heavy demands he was making on gentry and merchants. This weakened the economic strength of the town

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¹² A. Williams, *UK Government & Politics*, Heinemann Educational Publishers, 1998, p.163

¹³ Ibid., p.164

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ D. Mc Dowall, op.cit., p. 30.

and countryside but increased the political strength of the merchants and gentry whenever they provided the King with money.¹⁶

Edward I (1272- 1307) was more successful in maintaining royal power than his predecessors, he also conquered Wales. His successor Edward II (1307- 1327) also faced conflicts with the nobility. He was murdered by his wife Isabella. His successor Edward III (1327- 1377) and his son Richard II (1377- 1399), the Black Prince, were greatly admired in England for their courage on the battlefield and for their courtly manners. They became symbols of the code of chivalry, the way in which a perfect knight should behave.

The English never rebelled against Edward III, even though he was an expensive king at a time when many people were miserably poor and sick with plagues. At the time of the Black Death¹⁷, he was busy with expensive wars against France and Scotland. ¹⁸ The demands he made on merchants and peasants were enormous, but Edward III faced these people with skill.¹⁹

The development of Parliament at that time showed the beginning of a new relationship between the middle class and the King. When Edward III asked for money from his Parliament, they asked to see royal accounts. It was an important step, because for the first time the parliament had access to their king's accounts. ²⁰

It was during that time that Parliament became organised into two parts: the Lords (feudal aristocracy and leaders of the Church) and the Commons (representatives of the middle class). ²¹ When Edward III died, he was succeeded by his son Richard II, who had also conflicts with the nobles. He was replaced by Henry IV

¹⁶ Ibid., p.43.

¹⁷ The Black Death is a pandemic that ravaged Europe (1347- 1351). It killed more people than any epidemic or war at that time. Encyclopaedia Britannica 2009.

¹⁸ D. Mc Dowall, op.cit., p.48.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid., p.61.

²¹ Ibid.

till 1413, then the son of the latter, Henry V (1413- 1422), came to the throne. During that period, the Monarchy was in trouble; a lot of struggles and murders took place.

Henry V was in his turn succeeded by his son. In 1422, his unpopularity led to the weakening of the House of Lancaster²², which was faced by the House of York²³. Edward IV (1461- 1483) led the Yorkists to Victory in 1461, followed by Edward V (1483) and Richard III (1483- 1485).²⁴ In 1485, upon the death of Richard III, in the Battle of Bosworth field, Henry Tudor, known as King Henry VII (1485- 1509), brought back the Lancastrian Branch to throne and married a Yorkist heir (Elizabeth of York).²⁵

Henry VII was less well known than his successors Henry VIII (1509-1547) or Elizabeth I (1558- 1603), but was more important in establishing the new monarchy than either of them.²⁶ He had more power and more money than earlier kings.²⁷ He wanted to make the crown financially independent. His successor Henry VIII, one of the most well-known monarchs in British history, built the foundations of a wealthy nation state and a powerful monarchy. He made himself head of the Church of England; independent of Rome, because he wanted a divorce which the Pope would not give him, so as he could be free to marry again (he married six times).

Henry's break with Rome was purely political. He had simply wanted to control the Church and keep its wealth in his Kingdom.²⁸ Through several Acts of Parliament between 1532 and 1536, England became politically a protestant country

²⁶ Ibid., p.67.

²² The House of Lancaster was a branch of the English royal House of Plantagenet. It was defeated by the House of York. Encyclopaedia Britannica 2009.

²³ The House of York was a branch of the English royal House of Plantagenet that reigned from 1461 to 1485. Encyclopaedia Britannica 2009.

²⁴ D. Mc Dowall, op.cit., p.55

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid., p.68.

²⁸ D. Mc Dowall, op.cit., p.69.

even though the popular religion was still catholic.²⁹ Once England had accepted the separation from Rome, Henry took the English Reformation a step further.³⁰ His son made the Church in England truly English by breaking away from the Roman Catholic Church. He was succeeded by Lady Jane Grey (1553), then by Mary I (1553- 1558) who was supported by people and was declared as the lawful sovereign .She tried to make England Roman Catholic, but she died in 1558.

Elizabeth I (1558- 1603), Mary's half-sister, succeeded to the throne. When she became Queen in 1558, she wanted to find an answer to the problems of the English Reformation. She wanted to bring peace especially among those parts of English society which were in religious disagreement and she wanted to make England prosperous.³¹ She decided to use a book of sermons consisting of Bible teaching in addition to teaching people that rebellion against the crown was a sin against god.

Elizabeth I had a long reign during which she established internal stability in a protestant England, a general confidence, and a spirit of patriotism. She brought glory to the new state by defeating the power navy of Spain. During her reign, more charted companies were established, like the Africa Company to trade in slaves (in 1588) and the East India Company to trade with India (in 1600). These Companies were given a Charter which gave them the right to business in a particular trade or region. In return the chartered company gave some of its profits to the crown. ³²

Tudor monarchs were not more democratic than earlier kings, but by using parliament to strengthen their policy, they actually increased parliament's authority. Henry VII (1485- 1509) reduced Parliament only to a law making body and Henry VIII

²⁹ Ibid., p.70.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid., p.72.

³² Ibid.,p.75.

(1509- 1547) had used it to raise money for his military adventures and for his struggle with Rome.³³

In the 17th century the link between religion and politics became stronger than in the 16th century. At the beginning of the century, some people tried to kill the King because, according to them, he was not catholic enough. The Stuart monarchs were not as successful as the Tudors. They had problems with Parliament, which ended in a Civil War. The only king of England ever to be executed was a Stuart. People were angry when the Stuart monarchs raised money without the agreement of the House of Commons. These monarchs claimed that the Sovereign was subject only to God and to the law. The conflicts of that period led to the Civil War (1642-1649).

King Charles I (1625- 1649) was captured in 1645 and executed on 31 January 1649 by Oliver Cromwell, an East Anglican gentleman farmer³⁴ who was the leader of the victorious parliamentary forces (army). Cromwell became Lord Protector of Britain as a Republic called the Commonwealth. This republic established in Britain from 1649 to 1660, by Cromwell and his friends, created a government more severe than the one of Charles. They had got rid of the monarchy, the House of Lords and the Anglican Church. Cromwell's powers were greater than those of King Charles.

People realized that they did not want parliamentary rule, and were sorry that Charles I was not still king. When Cromwell died, in 1658, his republican administration collapsed; they removed his system of government and cancelled the laws and Acts made by Cromwell's government and they asked the son of Charles I, known as Charles II (1660- 1685), to return to the throne as the publicly accepted King. Charles II was a welcome change from Cromwellian rule. Charles II believed, like his predecessors, in the Devine right of kings, but he had the good sense to avoid an open break with parliament; his reign can be described as relaxed.³⁵

³³ Ibid., p.79.

³⁴ Ibid., p.92.

³⁵ Ibid., p.94.

In 1688, there was The Glorious Revolution as the political results of 1688 events; it was completely unplanned and unprepared for. It was more like a "coup d'état" than a revolution led by the ruling class. Parliament at that period had even the power to change the rules of succession. ³⁶ This is why, Parliament invited Prince William of Orange (who was the ruler of the Netherlands) and his wife (1585- 1702) to become King and Queen not by inheritance, but by their choice, so that this monarch could rule with the support of Parliament; this was revolutionary. ³⁷ Parliament made this decision because with James II (1685- 1688), previously, conflicts reappeared and Parliament decided to issue the Bill of Rights in which the powers of the monarch were limited.

Parliament was now, obviously, more powerful than the king, and would remain so. Its power over the monarch was written into the Bill of rights in 1689 which set out the foundations of the constitutional monarchy. When the last Stuart, Queen Anne, died in 1714, the monarchy was no longer absolutely powerful.³⁸ It had become a "Parliamentary monarchy"³⁹.

Most of the British monarchs were executive monarchs before the 17th century and they made and passed legislation without taking into account the law or the will of their people. But now, the King was unable to raise taxes or keep an army, or to interfere with the law without the agreement of Parliament which now had the freedom to petition the King or elect members of Parliament without interference from the monarch. During the 18th century, the monarch was supposed to choose the Prime Minister from Parliament to be the leader of his government, but the King could not be a catholic, he could not remove or change laws and he was depended on Parliament for his financial income and for his army.

³⁶ D. Butler(Ed) et al., *The Law, Politics, and the Constitution: Essays in Honour of Geoffrey Marshall*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1999, p. 20

³⁷ D. Mc Dowall, op.cit., p.95.

³⁸ Ibid., p.87.

³⁹ Ibid.

During 19th century Britain controlled the biggest empire the world had ever seen. Queen Victoria came to the throne in 1837 and reigned until her death in 1901. She did not like the way in which power seemed to be slipping from the Monarchy but she was unable to prevent it. Because of the growth of parliamentary government, she was less powerful than previous sovereigns. However, as Queen, she ruled over more land and peoples than any previous sovereign. Victoria became popular. She was seen as the symbol of the success of Britain in the world at that time. She was religious, hard-working, and a mother of nine children. She was perceived as an example and she enjoyed the respect and affection of her British subjects. The British monarchy was out of danger because it had lost most of its political power, in spite of the efforts of earlier monarchs to stop democracy from getting spread.

The constitutional monarchy developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as Ministers and Parliament were getting more power. Walter Bagehot (1826-1877), a well-known Victorian economist and writer, has worked on the subject of constitutional monarchy; his work is very important. The book is called "The English Constitution" (1867). In this book, Bagehot made an analysis of the role of the monarchy; he described how the monarchy symbolizes the unity of the national community. Bagehot declared that the Sovereign had three rights: "the right to be consulted, the right to encourage, and the right to warn". The Crown has to be of no party. According to Bagehot, after a long reign, the sovereign would accumulate more knowledge and experience than any minister. Bagehot's opinions were influential during the reign of King George V (1910- 1936); the principle of constitutional monarchy was clearly established in Britain.

In 1921, the British monarch became Head of the British Empire. Then the British Empire started to come to an end during the 1950's. Consequently, George VI (1936- 1952) and his daughter and successor Elizabeth II were given the title of "Head of the Commonwealth" as a symbol of the free association of the independent countries composing the Commonwealth of Nations.

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⁴⁰ Ibid., p.144

The modern monarchy dates from the Norman Conquest when William the conqueror defeated King Harold at the Battle of Hastings in 1066. Since that battle, England has been ruled by eight major dynasties. These are: the Norman, the Plantagenet, the Lancaster, the York, the Tudor, the Stuart, the Hannover, and the Windsor dynasty. The only period that England was not under a monarchy was, between 1649 and 1660, when England was declared a Republic after the execution of Charles I.

3. The Succession and Precedence in the British Monarchy

When a monarch dies, his successor is at once proclaimed at an accession council in St James Palace and he automatically succeeds, then the phrase: "The King is Dead, Long Live the King" arises. The new monarch is crowned, though a coronation is not necessary for a sovereign to rule. The Coronation takes place at Westminster Abbey, in London, in the presence of the Prime Minister, the representatives of the House of Lords and the House of Commons, major organisations in the United Kingdom, leading members of the commonwealth, as well as leading members of other countries. Generally, the Ceremony of Coronation takes place after several months to leave a sufficient time for the preparation and for a period of mourning.

Despite some interruptions in the line of succession, the Monarchy has always been hereditary. This hereditary system works in the following manner: Sons of the Sovereign have priority on the throne over their sisters, and elder children inherit before young ones of the same sex. When it is the daughter of a sovereign who succeeds and becomes the Queen Regnant she gets exactly the same powers as a King. There is a slight difference: when she gets married her husband gets no special privileges, whereas the wife of a King takes her husband's rank and style to become known as the Queen Consort, and when a King dies his widow will be known as

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⁴¹ R. Allison, *The Queen: 50 Years a Celebration*, Harper Collins Publishers, London, 2002, p.31.

the Queen Dowager. The Husband of the present Queen, Prince Philip, has the title of prince Consort, but no rank or privileges⁴².

The succession is controlled by enactments, like the Bill of Rights (1689) and Act of Settlement (1701) and the Acts of Union (1707). The Act of Settlement restricts the succession to only protestant descendants (not adopted) of Princess Sophia, the Electress of Hanover (1630-1714), granddaughter of James I of England, and states that the order of succession to the Throne cannot be modified unless the countries of Commonwealth agreed.

The religious restrictions, included in the Bill of Rights and Act of Settlement, were imposed because the English people did not trust Roman Catholicism during the 17th century. For this reason, only Protestants may inherit the Crown. An individual who is Roman Catholic or who has been Roman Catholic at any time or who has ever married a Roman Catholic is prohibited from succeeding to the throne. This person is considered "naturally dead"; nevertheless, this exclusion does not apply to his legitimate descendants. Rules of succession are not fixed; they can be changed by an Act of Parliament. Some efforts were done in order to try to remove restrictions concerning religion and the priority of males over females. Mr Cameron, a conservative leader, expressed himself about the fact that he would like to see the rules of succession change though it will take a long time. In an article of the Independent, he says:

It does not make sense in the 21st century to say that men have priority over women when it comes to inheriting the throne. It does not make sense to say that the King cannot marry a Catholic. So we do need change but we have to recognise that the Queen is not just our Queen. She is also the Queen of all the Commonwealth countries that have her as their head of state, so this is not an easy change

⁴² Weisser, et al., 'United Kingdom', in the Microsoft Encarta, 2009 [DVD]. Redmond, WA: Microsoft Corporation, 2008.

to make. There is a lot of talking and listening that has to be done first. ⁴³

This reform will take years to be done, even if all major parties agree with the rewriting of the 1701 Act of Settlement.

It is impossible for an heir to renounce to his right of succession and when he accedes to the throne he/ she has to reign until death. The British monarchs are not allowed to abdicate voluntarily. The only monarch to have done so was Edward VIII, in 1936, with the authorisation of a special Act of Parliament (His Majesty's Declaration of Abdication Act 1936). This does not mean that there was no irregular procedure during a reign; on the contrary, there were many cases of monarchs who have been killed, forced to abdicate or removed from power like James II, who fled in 1688 into exile, during the Glorious Revolution (Parliament considered this as an abdication).

4. The Origins of the Royal Family Name

The Royal Family has a last name today; this has not always been the case. Queen Victoria (1837- 1901), who was married to Prince Albert from the House of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, did not have a last name nor did their descendents, simply because they did not need one. Later, the appellation of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha became the Official royal family name. This name became a problem during World War I.

In 1917, an aggressive anti-German xenophobia arose against anything related to the enemy; therefore, it was better for the Monarch not to have a German sounding name. King George V, who was the monarch at that period, was reluctant when facing the problem of changing the family name, but when he heard of the rumours circulating that the royals were pro-German, he agreed immediately to the MPs proposal. On 17 July 1917, he issued a Proclamation saying that the male line

⁴³ N. Morris, "Royal Succession: Tories back end of discussion: Cameron supports reform of sexist, anti-Catholic laws", in the Independent, 28 March 2009,pp.10.

descendants of the royal family would bear the surname Windsor. The proclamation was as follows:

from the date of this Our Royal Proclamation Our House and Family shall be styled and known as the House and Family of Windsor, and that all the descendants in the male line of Our said Grandmother Queen Victoria who are subjects of these Realms, other than female descendants who may marry or may have married, shall bear the said Name of Windsor. 44

The King renounced to all the German titles belonging to him and his family and adopted the name of his castle "Windsor", suggested by his private secretary. To this day, the British Royal Family is known as the House of Windsor. When the current Queen (Elizabeth II) served in the Auxiliary Territorial Service during World War II, she was called 'Elizabeth Windsor'. When Elizabeth married Prince Philip Mountbatten, people were wondering whether there will be a change in the royal last name or not, especially with their descendants.

In 1952, Elizabeth decided that the royal family would continue to be known as Windsor and that they would be styled and known as the House and Family of Windsor. But in February 1960, there were some modifications; it was decided that the members of the royal family who do not have the style or title of Royal Highness and who are not Prince or Princess, as well as the female descendants and their children, shall be called Mountbatten-Windsor. Nonetheless, the family name remains legally Windsor because there has not been any modification or clarification to the Letters Patent of 1960. Although 'Windsor' is the official family name for British royals, it is rarely used. The Queen signs official documents as "Elizabeth R" (R stands for Regina which means Queen).

⁴⁴ http://www.heraldica.org/faqs/britfaq.html

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

5. The Destiny of Queen Elizabeth II

5.1. Early Life of Elizabeth II

Elizabeth was born on 21 April 1926, at 17 Bruton Street, Mayfair, in London. She is the daughter of Prince Albert, Duke of York, later King George VI, and Lady Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon. She was baptised, on 29 May, by the Archbishop of York, Cosmo Lang, in the private chapel of Buckingham Palace. 47

The full name of the princess is Elizabeth Alexandra Mary Windsor, after her mother (Queen Elizabeth), her grandmother (Queen Mary), and her great-grand mother (Queen Alexandra), and was called "Lilibet" by close members of her family. 48 The Princess had a close relationship with her grandfather who was King George V. She always had an attitude of responsibility, and orderliness. Churchill was amazed by these characteristics; Garry Toffoli and Arthur Bousfield reported in their book that the Princess grew rapidly and that Winston Churchill met her in 1928 when she was two and a half and found her "a character"; he said that "She has an air of authority and reflectiveness astonishing in an infant". "49

Elizabeth was born into a traditional world of wealth and privilege which had continued practically unchanged since her own parents' childhood. At her birth, it was her grandfather, who was the Monarch, so she automatically held the title of a British princess, Her Royal Highness princess Elizabeth of York. She was third in the line of succession to the throne, after her uncle prince Edward (Prince of Wales) and her father. 50 Nobody could have imagined that she would ever become Queen. But when her grandfather died, her uncle Edward VIII (1953) was supposed to become the new King. Edward chose to marry a twice divorced woman and gave up the throne.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p.28.

⁴⁷ S. Bradford, op.cit., p. 26-27.

⁴⁹ G. Toffoli, A. Bousfield, Fifty Years the Queen: A Tribute to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II on Her Golden Jubilee, Dundurn Group Ltd, Canada, 2002, p. 25

⁵⁰ B. Pimlott, *The Queen: Elizabeth II and the Monarchy*, Harper Collins Publisher, London, 2002, p.3.

He abdicated and, consequently, Elizabeth's father, George VI, became king and Elizabeth became heiress presumptive, at only ten⁵¹, though she was never granted the title of princess of Wales because if ever her father had a son he would have the priority over her. It was becoming clear that Elizabeth was the obvious heir to the throne; her parents were already training her for the day when she would be at the head of the monarchy and her education was taken more seriously.

As the princess grew older, she began to take part in public life with her parents; she accompanied them on their tours within Britain. In 1943, she started to carry out her first solo public engagement. Since that time onwards, Elizabeth's official duties increased. In 1944, the Princess was appointed a counsellor of state during her father's absence (who was on a tour of the Italian battlefields); for the first time she experienced some of the duties of Head of State and Monarch. She also made her first official visit abroad in 1947, when she accompanied her parents on a tour of South Africa.

5.2. The Education of Queen Elizabeth II: the Heiress Presumptive

After King George VI succeeded to the throne, in 1936, and Elizabeth became heiress presumptive, she started to study constitutional history and law to be prepared for her future role of monarch. Her parents started handling her newspaper articles about political matters to keep her posted about every new event and they had planned her studies with the leading educationalists of the country and the Cabinet. Elizabeth and Margaret, her little sister, were home-schooled in the palace by a Scottish governess⁵² Marion Crawford, called 'Crawfie' by the two princesses, under the supervision of their mother. They studied languages especially French from French and Belgian governesses; Elizabeth often uses it, today, when speaking to ambassadors and heads of state who are French-speakers. They also studied History, Scripture, Geography, Art, and Music. Elizabeth learned to ride and swim as well.

⁵¹ G. Toffoli, A. Bousfield, op.cit., p. 42

⁵² "Elizabeth II." Microsoft® Encarta® 2009 [DVD]. Redmond, WA: Microsoft Corporation, 2008.

According to an assessment done in the 1950's, Elizabeth's education was wide rather than deep.⁵³ Most of the time was devoted to study English, French, and History.⁵⁴ In the first half of the twentieth century a home-based education for upper class girls was normal; it was not something exceptional at all. Nonetheless, this education of the princesses, at home and not at school, has been widely criticized. ⁵⁵

Elizabeth's mother was quite concerned that her daughters should not regard themselves as different from other children of their background. For her, the most important thing was that her daughters were brought up as nice behaved ladies. Learning how to handle distinguished guests was an important part of an heiress education. Marion Crawford was even astonished at the beginning when she saw that Elizabeth's parents were not concerned with a higher education for their daughters, they just wanted them to have a happy childhood and later happy marriages. 57

At the very beginning, Elizabeth's father and grandfather (who was the King) had decided against a school for her because there was the question of who would be her schoolmates and whether she could be protected from bad influence. According to them, Elizabeth needed to study different subjects from those taken by most other girls. This is why the princess had had a private home education. Later on, Princess Elizabeth began to take lessons in constitutional history at Eton College, close to Windsor Castle, given by the vice-provost Henry Marten who did his best. He combined between the traditional and the modern, reminding the princess of where she came from, and also of the changes brought by modern conditions. Later, he taught her that the British Monarchy was exceeded in the antiquity only by papacy and that it went back more than a millennium to King Egbert (the First to unite all England). 58

⁵³ B. Pimlott, op.cit., p.23.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p.24.

⁵⁵ G. Toffoli, A. Bousfield, op.cit., p.33

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 24.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p.32

⁵⁸ B. Pimlott, op.cit., p. 52.

This institution was supplemented by that of Vicomtesse Bellaigue, who taught the Princess French, French literature, and European history. Yet, both Elizabeth's parents agreed on one point: They were determined that their children should not be intellectuals, in the best traditions of British Royal Family and Aristocracy. This is why it was announced that Elizabeth was taking cooking lessons in the Royal Lodge kitchen and that she learnt to sweep, scrub, and polish furniture, and that Queen Mary, a 'keen housewife', had admired her efforts.

There was one aspect of the Princess's education that was not neglected, it is equitation. Elizabeth, like many aristocratic girls, became a keen equestrian; her interest in horses was almost innate. Yet, if the princess began to build up academic knowledge, as well as an extraordinary acquaintanceship of equitation, if she was known to millions of people all over the world, she nevertheless remained separate from all except few people with whom she could never be close.⁶⁰

It is said that Elizabeth would have been a strong candidate for a place at university, where she might extend her intellectual range.⁶¹ Neither university nor even finishing school was considered as a possibility. Instead, she apprenticed the job she would be undertaking for the rest of her life.

5.3. The Military Career of Princess Elizabeth

During World War II, Elizabeth and her younger sister were in Scotland, at Balmoral Castle, in 1939. They moved to Sandringham House, Norfolk, then, in 1940, they finally moved to Windsor Castle. In the same year Elizabeth made her first radio broadcast there; she addressed children during their hour on the BBC (The British Broad casting Corporation), saying:

⁵⁹ Ibid.,p. 24.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 52.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 69.

We are trying to do all we can to help our gallant sailors, soldiers and airmen, and we are trying, too, to bear our share of the danger and sadness of war. We know every one of us, that in the end all will be well.⁶²

In 1942, Elizabeth was sixteen, and carried out her first public engagement, when she inspected the regiment "the Grenadier Guards" At that period, she asked her father if she could serve as a volunteer nurse in London. Her father thought it was too dangerous for her, but Elizabeth persisted in asking. In 1945, at 18, the princess was finally allowed to volunteer with the Women's Auxiliary Territorial Service (WATS). Her title there was Number 230873 Second Subaltern Elizabeth Alexandra Mary Windsor. She was trained to drive and repair heavy transport vehicles, even if she was not allowed to do much of the actual driving and repair work. After six weeks, she was qualified as a driver, and by the end of World War II she had completed her course at No.1 Mechanical Training Centre of the Auxiliary Territorial Service (ATS). She passed out as a fully qualified driver, and was promoted to junior commander. The rank was an honorary one, but the training in driving and vehicle-maintenance was real.

Elizabeth enjoyed this unique, though brief, experience of communal education. Many years later, she told Barbara Castle, a Labour politician, that it was the only time in her life when she had been able seriously to test her own abilities compared to others of her age.⁶⁴ It was ordered that the Princess had to be treated in exactly the same way as any other officer learning at the driving training centre. ⁶⁵

Elizabeth was the first and only female member of the royal family to serve in the Armed forces, though other royal women have been given honorary ranks; she was the only one to really serve active duty in the Armed Service. The enrolment

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⁶² http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/voiceshist/elizabeth/index.html

^{63 &}quot;Elizabeth II." Microsoft® Encarta® 2009 [DVD]. Redmond, WA: Microsoft Corporation, 2008.

⁶⁴ B. Pimlott, op.cit., p. 75.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

of a royal princess could not be kept secret; her participation in the ATS inevitably became part of the morale-boosting display of the monarchy.

Two years later, when Elizabeth was 21, she accompanied her parents to South Africa, as her first official overseas tour, where she stated:

I declare before you all my whole life, whether it be long or short, shall be devoted to your service and the service of the great imperial family to which we all belong.⁶⁶

6. The Succession to the British Throne and the Coronation of Elizabeth II

6.1. The Accession to the Throne (1952)

When Princess Elizabeth was born, she was third in the line for the throne after Edward and her father. But as long as her uncle had no heir and her father no son, Elizabeth's eventual succession was possible, though this possibility initially seemed reduced. Edward VIII, the uncle of Elizabeth was expected to be the king after the death of his father King George, but fate decided otherwise since, in 1935, Edward gave up the throne because he wanted to marry a twice divorced American woman.

The Government and the major Church said that if he wanted to remain King he had to abandon the idea of marrying Wallis Simpson, but Edward chose to marry, and he went to live abroad with his wife. He later became known as the Duke of Windsor.

Consequently, Elizabeth's father became King and Elizabeth heir to the throne. But when the heir to the throne is a woman her right of succession can be cancelled at any time by the birth of a son to the reigning sovereign. So, Elizabeth remained heiress presumptive until she in fact succeeded.

⁶⁶ R. Allison, op.cit., p.9

The Regency Act of 1937, passed after George VI's accession, had provided two forms of delegation of royal powers, to a Regent, in the event of a child under eighteen succeeding or of the total incapacitation of a monarch; and to five counsellors of state, composed of the Consort and the four next in the line of succession in the event of the Sovereign's illness or absence abroad. However, the provision disqualified anybody who was not a British subject of full age, which, effectively meant that Elizabeth could succeed her father with full powers at eighteen, but could not replace him as a counsellor until she was twenty-one. This is why she was entitled to succeed to the throne without need for a Regent, when she was eighteen, in April 1944.

In 1947, after Elizabeth got married, she paid formal visits with her husband, the Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh, to France, Greece, Italy, Malta and Canada in 1951. George VI, Elizabeth's father, was the Monarch at that period. In 1951, his health declined and the year after, illness forced him to give up his plans of visits. The Princess, and her husband, had made these visits instead of her father and she was frequently standing in for him at public events. During her tour of Australia and New Zealand via Kenya, in 1952, she was, precisely, at Nairobi in Kenya ⁶⁷ when word arrived of the death of her father from lung cancer.

At that particular moment, Elizabeth was confronted to the loss of her father and the fact of becoming Head of State for the rest of her life. The tour had to be abandoned and the Princess went back to Britain, now as Queen, greeted by the Prime Minister and officials at the airport. Elizabeth was the first British monarch since the Act of Union (1801) to be out of the country at the moment of succession.

As usual, in Britain the grief at the loss of one monarch is supposed to be accompanied by joy at the arrival of another. Right after the Death of King George VI, on the 6 February 1952, started the Reign of Elizabeth II. It was a sombre time with the nation mourning the loss of King George VI. Millions of people felt sympathy

⁶⁷ "Great Britain and Colonies" Microsoft® Encarta® 2009 [DVD]. Redmond, WA: Microsoft Corporation, 2008.

to the new Queen and the royal family in general.⁶⁸ The day after Elizabeth's return to London she was formally proclaimed Queen at an accession council. After saying her declaration of Sovereignty, she added a promise, saying: "My heart is too full to say more to you today than I shall always work as my father did".⁶⁹

The Feeling of people in the United Kingdom was that the British Monarchy would not only survive but flourish as well. Once the grief at the death of King George VI had diminished, people were optimistic. The period of war was over and the feeling was that life would certainly get better. It was a new Elizabethan age.

Few days after the succession (11 February 1952), Winston Churchill (The Prime Minister at the period of succession) mentioned these hopes in an address of sympathy on George VI's death in the House of Commons:

A fair and youthful figure, Princess, wife and mother, is the heir to all our traditions and glories never greater than in her father's days, and to all our perplexities and dangers never greater in peace time than now. She comes to the throne at a time when tormented mankind stands uncertainly poised between world catastrophe and a gold age. That it should be a golden age of art and letters, we can only hope-science and machinery have their tales to tell-but it is certain that if a true and lasting peace can be achieved, and if the nations will only let each other alone an immense and undreamed of prosperity with culture and leisure even more widely spread can come, perhaps even easily and swiftly, to the masses of the people in every land. Let us hope and pray that the accession to our ancient Throne

⁶⁸ R. Allison, op.cit., p.31.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p.33.

of Queen Elizabeth the Second may be the signal for such a brightening salvation of the human scene. ⁷⁰

6.2. The Coronation (1953)

The coronation of Elizabeth followed the year after her accession, leaving a period of mourning, of preparation required to organize the ceremony, and a period of adjustment for the new sovereign as well. The Coronation is simply the most important state occasion in the reign of a monarch. It happens once in a monarch's lifetime, this is why time is needed for the planning and preparation even if the coronation ceremony has remained essentially the same over thousands of years. It takes place at Westminster Abbey, in London.⁷¹ The service is conducted by the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose task has remained almost the same since the Norman Conquest in 1066.

The Coronation is attended by representatives of the House of Commons, Churches and State, Prime Ministers and leaders from the Commonwealth, in addition to representatives of other countries. The Coronation ceremony is a celebration as well as a solemn religious ceremony. It is based on the service division made by Dunton, the Archbishop of Canterbury, for King Edgar in 973.

The division is made up of five parts: The first one is when the Archbishop of Canterbury appeals to the congregation to confirm that the person he is going to crown is the right one. The second part is the Oath; here the sovereign promises to rule according to law, to exercise justice with mercy and to maintain the Church of England. The third part is the anointing; it is when the Archbishop applies consecrated oil in the shape of a cross to the sovereign. The fourth part is the sequence of investiture; the monarch is given the insignia of the Kingdom (made up of St George's Spur, the jewelled Sword of State, the Bracelets of Sincerity and Wisdom,

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⁷⁰ S. Bradford, op.cit., p.168-9

⁷¹ T. Graham, *Queen Elizabeth II: A Celebration of Her Majesty's Fifty-Year Reign*, Rizzoli International Publications, New York, 2002, p.26.

the Stole Royal and Imperial Mantle, the orb, the Wedding ring of England, the Sceptres of power and Mercy, and the Crown of St Edward). At the moment of crowning the people present there shout "God save the Queen!", then people around the country respond to this cry at the hearing of guns fired at the Tower of London and Hyde Park. The fifth and last part of the ceremony service is the homage, where the Sovereign's peers humbly kneel before their Majesty and pledge their royalty.⁷²

All the service takes place while the Sovereign is seated in King Edward chair made in 1300, and used by every sovereign since 1626. When the sovereign is a king, the Queen consort (the king's wife) is crowned with the king, in a similar but simpler ceremony. If the new sovereign is a queen her spouse is not crowned.

Like her predecessors, Elizabeth was crowned in Westminster Abbey, on 2 June 1953, conducted by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Geoffrey Fisher. She was crowned in exactly the same way as her predecessors. During the ceremony she promised to govern, according to their respective laws and customs, the people of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, The Union of South Africa, Pakistan and Ceylon, and of her possessions and the other territories to any of them belonging or pertaining, with no mention of Commonwealth or Empire.⁷³

After she was crowned, the Duke of Edinburgh was the first, after the archbishops and bishops, to pay homage to her. The Queen's duty on her Coronation Day was to be the almost silent actress, acting herself as she was supposed to be, in a pageant that commanded the thoughts and emotions of almost everybody in Britain and the Dominions, and many people elsewhere in the world as well. After that the Queen and Duke of Edinburgh moved to Buckingham Palace.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ S. Bradford, op.cit., p.184.

The coronation of Elizabeth II had also a modern aspect which was the media exposure. ⁷⁴A considerable part of the population in the world saw the crown being put on the head of the Queen. In Britain, it was estimated to twenty-seven million people who watched the Coronation live for at least half the day. This was possible thanks to the television and radio, which broadcasted the Ceremony around the world, at the Queen's request. It was the first time a ceremony of coronation was broadcasted on television. People around the Commonwealth were able to see the significance of the Coronation in a way that was not possible before. Jim Leach described it as:

The coronation itself was also an event that combined the traditional spectacle of royalty with the popular culture of street parties throughout the nation, and it coincided with the emergence of television, the medium that enabled much of the population to see it and whose live coverage had more impact than the Technicolor images of the film that was released several days later. ⁷⁵

The day of the Coronation was the Queen's day. The air of optimism generated by Elizabeth lifted everyone's spirit. The coronation of Elizabeth II was also a celebration of the long history of monarchy since the same gestures and symbols are used to remind people of their heritage and the past of their country. Rebecca Stefoff described the journey through the city streets, made by the new Queen right after her coronation ceremony, as a royal progress which reinforced the relation of the monarch and its people.⁷⁶

In many ways the Coronation of Elizabeth II was the most magnificent and affecting royal ceremony despite the decline in the importance of the Monarch. Winston Churchill spoke of a new Elizabethan age. In a broadcast that night he declared:

⁷⁴ R. Stefoff, *Monarchy*, Marshall Cavendish Benchmark, New York, 2008, p.16

⁷⁵ J. Leach, *British Film*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge UK, 2004, p.208-209

⁷⁶ R. Stefoff, op.cit., p.16

Famous have been the reigns of our queens. Some of the greatest periods in our history have unfolded under their sceptre. Now that we have the second Queen Elizabeth, also ascending the Throne in her twenty-sixth year, our thoughts are carried back nearly four hundred years to the magnificent figure who presided over and, in many ways, embodied and inspired the grandeur and genius of the Elizabethan age. ⁷⁷

Elizabeth expressed her opinion concerning all that, during a Christmas message, saying:

Some people have expressed the hope that my reign may mark a new Elizabethan age. Frankly, I do not myself feel at all like my great Tudor forebear, who ruled as a despot and was never able to leave her native shores. ⁷⁸

7- Queen Elizabeth II, Sovereign Lady since 1952

Elizabeth came to throne at only 25, she was a young princess shaped by the war years but destined to become a monarch of the modern age. Few could imagine the changes and challenges that were going to face her, but none doubted that she would face them with dignity. She was seen as the nation's hope, even if she was young and had no real political power to influence the future of her country. Sarah Bradford described that, in her biography of the Queen, saying that Elizabeth was seen as the 'Nation's Hope', like Queen Victoria was, and that it was a heavy burden on the shoulders of a young woman like her with no real power to influence the future of her country but still a symbol for its well-being. ⁷⁹

⁷⁷ http://www.speaking-tips.com/Eulogies/King-George-VI-Eulogy.aspx

⁷⁸ R. Allison, op.cit., p.37

⁷⁹ S. Bradford, op.cit., p. 179.

The Queen fulfilled her role the best she could; she avoided spontaneous gestures or remarks, and said little of what she actually thought; this is why she remained popular and admired wherever she went. It is her faith that she is in service to her people and her people's faith in her that kept her going with great devotion, because those people whether they believed in Monarchs or not, they believed in her. Elizabeth expressed herself on that when addressing the Privy Council saying:

By the sudden death of my dear father I am called upon to assume the duties and responsibilities of sovereignty. My heart is too full for me to say more to you today than I shall always work, as my father did throughout his reign, to advance the happiness and prosperity of my peoples, spread as they are all the world over...I pray that God will help me to discharge worthily this heavy task that has been laid upon me so early in my life. ⁸⁰

With her accession to the throne, Elizabeth II, not only got the title of Head of State and Queen of England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland, but also the title of Head of the Commonwealth, Lord High Admiral, Supreme Governor of the Church of England, Lord of Mann, Duke of Lancaster and Normandy, and Commander-in-chief of the Armed forces. People recognised that Elizabeth, like her grandfather, was decent, honourable, and totally dedicated to her job, and they loved her for it, feeling a common sense of gratitude at having someone like her to represent Britain. She is bright and sure of herself when it comes to work, Politics, and world affairs, with a strong sense of duty and seriousness.

Elizabeth is private and self-contained; two qualities that made her strength and enabled her to withstand the pressure of her job with an apparent ease which surprises people. She does not give of herself easily, either in public or in private,

⁸⁰ R. Stefoff, op.cit., p.10.

⁸¹ S. Bradford, op.cit., p.370.

performing her role with dignity and economy of emotion; this is why it was possible for her to carry the burden that she does.

Elizabeth has a great sense of pride and needs to be recognised and appreciated. To ignore her, is to hurt her feelings. She is genuine, sincere, and has a strong sense of personal integrity, and even if she is warm, loving and generous in her relationships with those she cares about, she hates emotional games and dishonesty.

She instinctively knows her mission in life and through her long experience she always knew what she can do and never really felt the need to be dependent on anyone. She has done her best in difficult situations, tried to be a good head of state, head of the Commonwealth, and head of a household. She always put her job first, because she had to, and it is the reason why she had been successful.

Conclusion

Through her long reign, Elizabeth acquired a unique experience. It has been one of the longest in British history (more than 50 years). She surpassed King George III and even Queen Victoria in length of life to become the oldest British monarch on record and she can surpass them to become the longest reigning monarch in British history, on the condition that she lives till 2011, to surpass George III, and in 2015, to surpass Victoria.

Elizabeth's reign is also one of the most difficult of recent times. In spite of her hard work and dedication, she has seen the monarchy weaken, from the stage of adulation during her coronation year to the stage where serious questions are being asked as to whether the monarchy will survive her or not.

Chapter II

Public Life and Family Matters

Chapter II

Public Life and Family Matters

Introduction

A lot of things happened during the Queen's reign and life in general. Her Majesty has attended several changes too, from becoming Queen at 25, to having a family, to travelling through the world, like any other monarch did. ⁸² Elizabeth seemed to learn from all the experience she had and to use it for the good of the Monarchy. The Queen was aware that the monarchy needed some modern change, mostly in its relation with the media; this is why cameras were allowed in the domestic life of the royal family in 1970. This relation with the media proved at times to be catastrophic, when the media turned against the royal family or the monarchy. ⁸³

The stability of the monarchy was sometimes threatened as it was the case after Diana's death whereas it was intact as during the obsequies of the Queen Mother and during the Jubilee celebrations of Queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne in 2002.⁸⁴ The problem confronting such institutions as the Monarchy is how

⁸²http://www.royal.gov.uk/HMTheQueen/Publiclife/QueensPublicLife.aspx

^{83 &}quot;Elizabeth II." Encyclopedia Britannica. 2009.

⁸⁴ J. Balmer, *The British Monarchy: Does the British Crown as a Corporate Brand Fit?*, op.cit, p.07.

to reconcile traditions with democracy to be more open at a time of mass communication and image and where people never get enough of royal news.⁸⁵

1. The Queen's Image, Personality and Perceptions

Elizabeth is a public figure but an extremely private person. She does not give often interviews, she rather stays distant and never expresses her personal opinions in public, though she has acquired a lot of experience through her long reign. It is known that the monarch has to be formal, with a strict protocol for people when dealing with their sovereign; Elizabeth is not an exeption to the rule. Sarah Bradford wrote in her biography of Her Majesty the Queen: "The Queen, very composed, absolute master of her fate." Strategies, she also describes her as a woman of inner strength and considerable resources.

In his biography on the Queen, Ben Pimlot describes her as a person who accepts what has to be done with no further questions; she knows what are her duties and absolutely accepts it; she is very efficient and accessible as an administrator. He adds that she became a conscientious student of briefing papers, despite her lack of constitutional power to do much about what they contained. Another part of the personality of the Queen, according to him, was conservatism; the respect for tradition was at the heart of a hereditary Monarchy. Like her grandfather, George V, Elizabeth dislikes change.

Pimlott also reports that Elizabeth is aware of the psychological power of being Sovereign. Anybody who meets her always remembers the experience

86 http://www.knowledgerush.com/kr/encyclopedia/Elizabeth_II_of_the_United_Kingdom/

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁷ S. Bradford, op.cit., p. 160.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 163.

⁸⁹ B. Pimlott, op.cit., p. 244.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹S. Bradford, op.cit., p. 145.

and most people enjoy that. For the Queen, it is rather different because, for her, meeting new people is a hard work. Nevertheless, She has always been appreciated for her efforts, and her aparent fragility in social situations that make those who meet her feel protective. She does not like to discuss feelings, or emotions, she never goes deep in conversations and she avoids to stay on a subject too long.⁹²

Elizabeth is private and self-contained. These characteristics made her strength as Queen; they helped her to stand the pressure without showing anything, never showing emotions. ⁹³ Sometimes, this proved to be agaisnt her as a woman and a mother. Elizabeth is known to be serious and informed about everything concerning her government and her country. She performs her traditional and ceremonial duties the best she can do. She is also known to be a horsewoman; it is her passion. She attends racehorces frequently and always has an interest in horses; she likes to ride them, breed them, and race them. It is known that her perfect day is the one she spends at the races. ⁹⁴ Elizabeth is also one of the richest women in the world thanks to her financial and property holdings. ⁹⁵

The Queen is not alone when keeping the monarchy going; she is helped by her circle, notably, by her Private Secretary, who has to help the Queen and remain neutral just as the Queen is. He has to accompany the Queen even abroad. Among this circle there is also the Press Secretary, responsible of all the media coverage concerning the Royal Family. The Ladies-in-Waiting are part of that circle too; they always accompany the Queen as her closest companions. ⁹⁶

According to a poll made in 2002, 74% of people wanted the monarchy to remain in Britain. 67% said that the monarchy had an important role to play

⁹² B. Pimlott, op.cit., p. 703.

⁹³ S. Bradford, op.cit, p. 253.

⁹⁴ T. Graham, op.cit, p.220.

^{95 &}quot;Elizabeth II." Encyclopædia Britannica. 2009.

⁹⁶ T. Graham, op.cit., p.342.

in the future of their country, 35% believed that there will still be a monarchy in 2050, and 20% thought that it will survive until 2100.⁹⁷

In 2006, another poll was carried out; the Queen at 80 had still the support of 64% of the British. 7% said that she should retire after 5 years from that time, and 3% said that she should retire when she will be 90. 72% were convinced that the Monarchy should stay, and 82% believed that the Monarchy will survive at least until 2016. Only 41% said that it will survive until 2056. Less people believed that the monarchy will continue to work in a century's time, they were only 24%.

2. The Royal Events, Ceremonies, and Jubilees

The jubilees, in the history of the monarchy, is a term applied to the 25th and the 50th anniversaries of accession to the throne. Few monarchs have lived long enough to celebrate these anniversaries. In 1809, a Golden jubilee (the 50th anniversary of a king on throne) was celebrated for the first time. It was with King George III. ⁹⁸

The Silver Jubilee (the 25th anniversary of the accession to the throne) of Elizabeth II was celebrated in 1977. During the celebrations the Queen went out with members of the royal family to celebrate the anniversary with her subjects. At that period, there was the conference of Commonwealth heads of government, in London, having the Queen as a symbolic of that organization. That year the Queen made several visits to Commonwealth countries like Australia, Canada, and the West Indies.

The Queen declared that the theme of her Jubilee was unity. She was willing to meet a lot of people; this is why she realised a tour. She started with Glasgow, and visited 36 countries among them Commonwealth countries, which participated in the celebrations of the Silver Jubilee. She finished her tour with Nothern Ireland.

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⁹⁷ R. Stefoff, op.cit, p.20.

⁹⁸ T. Graham, op.cit., p.184.

⁹⁹ "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland", Microsoft® Encarta® 2009 [DVD]. Redmond, WA: Microsoft Corporation, 2008.

She was welcomed everywhere; people were proud of the monarchy and admired the seriousness fournished by Elizabeth when performing her task.

There were problems in Britain in the first 25 years of the reign of Elizabeth II such as the end of the Empire, the Suez Crisis, and, even more important, Britain was living during the period of the Silver Jubilee the worst economic situation since 1945¹⁰⁰, with unemployment and strikes, and problems with nationalism as well¹⁰¹, but it did not change the fact that the Queen was still appreciated and adulated, beacause she was the symbol of stability and dignity.¹⁰² People wished that she could continue her functions as long as possible. They celebrated the continuity of the monarchy with thousands of street parties. ¹⁰³

It was one of the happiest events during the Queen's reign. There were many parties, festivals, concerts, and sporting events to honour the Queen. It was celebrated everywhere in Britain and the Commonwealth. The Queen declared during that year of celebrations:

My Lord Mayor, when I was twenty-one I pledged my life to the service of our people and I asked for God's help to make good that vow. Although that vow was made in my salad days, when I was green in judgment, I do not regret nor retract one word of it. ¹⁰⁴

She also announced that her will was that the Silver Jubilee would be a year, "for people who find themselves the victims of human conflict" ^{105.} This is why

¹⁰⁰ S. Bradford, op.cit., p. 369.

¹⁰¹ P. Ward, *Britishness since 1870*, Routledge, London, 2004, p. 34

¹⁰² T. Graham, op.cit., p.184.

¹⁰³ P. Ward, op.cit., p. 34

¹⁰⁴http://www.royal.gov.uk/HMTheQueen/TheQueenandspecialanniversaries/TheQueensSilverJubilee197
7.aspx

¹⁰⁵ http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Elizabeth_II.aspx

she wanted to travel and meet people. Her interest in the jubilee year was shown on television within films such as Royal Heritage and the Queen's Garden, and the publication of some books in special Silver Jubilee editions.

In 2002, there was the celebration of the Queen's fifty years on the throne, or in other words, her Golden Jubilee. During that year, the Queen visited some Commonwealth countries with her husband; there were also local events and projects in culture, media and sport. Two million people attended the celebrations that year. ¹⁰⁷

Ceremonies are now an undeniable part of the traditions of the royal life. The Queen's birthday is an example. There are two celebrations of the Queen's birthday: her real birthday which is on 21st April, and her official birthday in June. The official birthday is the one which is celebrated with parades. With two parts in the ceremony: Trooping the Colour, and Mounting the Queen's Guard. This ceremony was celebrated during the 17th century, when Charles II established the army with a colour (flag) for each regiment. The ceremony has the same basis today that it had at that time. In 1981, during the Trooping the Colour parade, when riding her horse along the Mall on her way to Horseguards Parade, the Queen witnessed six shots fired from somewhere in the crowd. They were blanks but nevertheless really frightening for everybody.

Elizabeth's 60th birthday was more celebrated than any other birthday before in London and Windsor, because most people retire at 60 and some people were expecting the Queen to abdicate and leave the throne to Prince Charles¹¹⁰, but it did not happen that way. Other royal birthdays also attract public attention, such as the birthday

¹⁰⁶http://www.royal.gov.uk/HMTheQueen/TheQueenandspecialanniversaries/TheQueensGoldenJubilee/Overview.aspx

^{107 &}quot;Elizabeth II." Microsoft® Encarta® 2009 [DVD]. Redmond, WA: Microsoft Corporation, 2008.

¹⁰⁸ T. Graham, op.cit., p.288.

¹⁰⁹ R. Allison, op.cit., p. 121.

¹¹⁰ T. Graham, op.cit, p.172.

of the Queen mother when she turned 100 years, celebrated with enthusiasm.¹¹¹ Royal wedding anniversaries are also celebrated in public, like the Silver wedding of the Queen and Philip, the Duke of Edingburgh, in 1972¹¹², their Golden Wedding in 1997¹¹³, and their 60th wedding anniversary celebrated in 2007.¹¹⁴

In 1972, when the Queen and Prince Philip celebrated their twenty-fifth anniversary, they invited British couples who had the same anniversary date to celebrate together. Royal celebrations have to take place in public. The monarch has to be in contact with his subjects, Paul Ward explains this contact as:

The monarch performs in the public arena, and the people, by acting as a willing audience, by actively participating in the spectacle, ensure the continued centrality of the monarch to the nation but also seek to ascribe values to the nation. ¹¹⁶

3. The Britsh Royal Family

3.1. The Royal Family Today

The monarch is the one who decides which member of the family is given the status of member of the Royal Family. The Royal Family has some privileges; in exchange, they perform ceremonial functions. Elizabeth II is the one who makes the list of people who make her immediate family. The list is not fixed. For example,

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¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid., p.173.

¹¹³ R. Allison, op.cit., p. 168.

¹¹⁴http://www.royal.gov.uk/HMTheQueen/TheQueenandspecialanniversaries/DiamondAnniversary/DiamondAnniversary.aspx

[&]quot;Elizabeth II." U*X*L Encyclopedia of World Biography. The Gale Group, Inc. 2003. *Encyclopedia.com.* (November 2, 2009).http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1G2-3437500291.html ¹¹⁶ P. Ward, op.cit., p. 18

in 1990 it contained thirty-five people, without counting the children. The list gives no legal or official status. ¹¹⁷

It may be confusing for people to know who this royal family is. This is why a list with the members of this royal family is established as follow: the Queen, the Duke of Edinburgh, the Prince of Wales, the Duchess of Cornwall, Prince William of Wales, Prince Henry (Harry) of Wales, the Princess Royal, the Duke of York, Princess Beatrice of York, Princess Eugenie of York, the Earl of Wessex, the Countess of Wessex, Lady Louise Mountbatten-Windsor, Viscount Severn. ¹¹⁸

The list of royals could be extended to the following people, but still informally: Princess Anne's husband and her children; Sarah, Duchess of York; Princess Margaret's children, their spouses and her grandchildren; the Duke of Kent and his wife, their children; Princess Alexandra of Kent, her children; Prince Michael of Kent and his wife and their children; the Duke of Gloucester, his wife and their children; the Earl of Harewood and his wife, his late brother's (the Honourable Gerald Lascelles) wife; and the Duke of Fife. 119

The Royal Family has a great influence on the way which people see the monarchy. An article of The Times, in 1955, mentions:

Now in the twentieth-century conception of the monarchy the Queen has become to be the symbol of every side of life of this society, its universal representative in whom her people see their better selves ideally reflected: and since part of their ideal is family life, the Queen's family has its own part in reflection. ¹²⁰

119 Ibid.

¹¹⁷ http://www.heraldica.org/faqs/britfaq.html

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁰ S. Bradford, op.cit., p.205

The Royal Family today is different in many ways from the one of the past, though most of the traditions and customs remained. If we want to know the monarchy, we have to know the Royal Family. Today, it is composed of the Monarch, Elizabeth II, and her family.

Elizabeth, the grand daughter of King George V, married Lieutenant Philip Mountbatten when she was 21 and he was 26. They celebrated her diamond anniversary of marriage in 2007. Philip was born as Prince Philip of Greece and Denmark, on 10th June1921, in Greece. He is the son of Prince andrew of Greece and Denmark and Princess Alice (the daughter of Louis Alexander Mountbatten, first marquee of Milford Haven, and princess Victoria of Hesse and the Rhine, granddaughter of Queen Victoria). ¹²¹ He was educated in France, England, and Germany. He joined, in 1939, the Royal Navy, and in 1953, he was promoted to Admiral of the Fleet. He became a British subject and renounced to his right to the Greek and Danish thrones and took the surname of his mother "Mountbatten". His full Title is Prince Philip, duke of Edinburgh, earl of Merioneth and baron Greenwich; he is also called Philip Mountbatten, prince of Greece and Denmark. ¹²²

Philip married Elizabeth who is his third cousin through Queen Victoria, in Westminster Abbey, on 20th November 1947. Philip left his Greek and Danish titles when he married Elizabeth, and was designated a royal highness and created Knight of the garter, Baron Greenwich, earl of Merioneth, and Duke of Edinburg. The wedding faced some problems because Britain was still recovering from war and it was absolutely out of the question to have guests like Philip's German relations, especially when knowing that his sisters had married German men having Nazi links.

Prince Philip continued with the Royal Navy until the accession of Elizabeth, in 1952, when he started to share her official and public life. The Queen gave him the dignity of Prince of the United Kingdom, in 1957, and in 1960, his surname was combined with the one of Elizabeth's family as Mountbatten Windsor

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¹²¹ http://www.royal.gov.uk/HMTheQueen/Marriageandfamily/Marriageandfamily.aspx

¹²² "Philip, duke of Edinburgh", from Encyclopædia Britannica, 2009.

to be given to lesser branches of the royal family. Philip has always supported his wife, though he has no role in government¹²³. His views ,expressed publicly, have at times embarrassed the monarchy. ¹²⁴ Ben Pimlott noted in his biography of the Queen:

While the profile of Elizabeth underwent a swift evolution, perceptions of Philip also changed. In some ways he was harder to deal with... His remarks, which did not always please those who had invited him, had the particular quality of appealing over heads of the Establishment to ordinary people... He is born leader of men and a strong right hand to the Queen. For the first time being, the adulation bestowed upon his wife included him as well. Only later did his desire for independence, and for a role, make him vulnerable. ¹²⁵

Philip has always been at Elizabeth's side; they visited countries which other monarchs had never seen. According to Ronald Allison, a press secretary of Her Majesty the Queen, they travelled using all kinds of transports: cars, trains, planes, helicopters, boats and ships (among them the royal yacht Britannia), state carriages, canoes, shoulders of South Sea islanders, elephants, and golf buggies.¹²⁶

Elizabeth always wished that her children would be able to live a normal life, but she realized that it was not possible and that their royal status inevitably made them suffer; she just left them do whatever they liked as much as she could. Nevertheless, when performing her role of monarch, the Queen is supported by the members of her family. She is mother of 4 children and grandmother of 8 grandchildren.

¹²³ R. Allison, op.cit., p. 27.

^{124 &}quot;Philip, Duke of Edinburgh", from Encyclopædia Britannica, 2009.

¹²⁵ B. Pimlott, op.cit., p. 191.

¹²⁶ R. Allison, op.cit., p. 12.

¹²⁷ S. Bradford, op.cit., p. 319.

Charles, is the first child of the Queen, and, consequently, heir apparent to the throne; he was born in1948. He is Charles Philip Arthur George, Prince of Wales and earl of Chester, duke of Cornwall, duke of Rothesay, earl of Carrick and Baron Renfrew, Lord of the Isles, and Prince and Great Steward of Scotland. Unlike his mother, Charles was not educated at home, his parents always thought that their children had to be with other children and not isolated. So, Charles went to Gordonstoun School, where his father had been, in Scotland then, in 1967, he went to Trinity College, Cambridge.

Prince Charles took a bachelor's degree there in 1971; the first degree to be earned by an heir to the British crown. He also spent a term learning Welsh in preparation for his investiture as Prince of Wales on July 1, 1969, at Caernarvon Castle. After that, he attended the Royal Air Force College and the Britannia Royal Naval College, at Dartmouth¹³¹, and, from 1971 to 1976, he made a tour of duty with the Royal Navy. He became later a critic of modern architecture, and in 1992, he founded an institute of architecture which later evolved into the BRE Trust (an organization involved with urban regeneration and development projects). 132

On 29th July 1981, the Prince of Wales married Lady Diana Frances Spencer, born on 1st July 1961, the daughter of the 8th Earl Spencer. They were engaged in 1981 and married during the same year, in St. Paul's Cathedral. ¹³³ Their wedding was the focus of media attention; it was even broadcasted on television and watched by an estimated 1000 million people worldwide. It was called the "fairy-tale" marriage. ¹³⁴

^{128 &}quot;Charles, Prince of Wales", from the Encyclopædia Britannica, 2009.

¹²⁹ R. Allison, op.cit., p. 61.

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 72.

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 73.

^{132 &}quot;Charles, Prince of Wales", from the Encyclopædia Britannica, 2009.

¹³³ "Diana, Princess of Wales", from the Encyclopædia Britannica, 2009.

¹³⁴ T. Graham, op.cit., p. 321.

In June 1982, they had their first child, William Arthur Philip Louis, the second heir to the throne, after his father. They had a second child in September 1984, Henry Albert David. In 1992, Charles and Diana decided to separate, but still fulfil their public duties as well as share the education of their sons. They finally divorced in August 1996; after that, Diana did not stop her public activities like charities, supporting causes as arts, children's issues, and AIDS patients. Diana was still popular after she divorced, even more than before. The "paparazzi" were always following her it turned out to be a problem, because it was during an attempt to avoid them that Diana died, with Dodi Fayed (her companion) and the driver, in a car accident in Paris, in August 1997. It was found out later that the paparazzi were not guilty, but rather the driver who had a blood-alcohol level over the limit and had taken prescription drugs incompatible with alcohol. People gathered across the country to mourn the "People's princess" as described by Tony Blair. People

Diana's death had caused problems to the Monarchy. The Royal Family had been criticized because for people they were not affected by the grief which was touching the whole country. Charles married a second time with Mrs Camila Parker-Bowls in April 2005; she is today known as the Duchess of Cornwall. Camilla was never completely accepted by the public.

Prince William Arthur Philip Louis Windsor, born in June, 1982, is the eldest son of Charles, and Diana. He is the second in line to the British throne, after his father. William received his early education at Wetherby School in London, then at Ludgrove School in Berkshire, from 1990 to 1995, and Eton College in Windsor,

^{135 &}quot;Diana, Princess of Wales", from the Encyclopædia Britannica, 2009

¹³⁶ "Aggressive Freelance Photographers. Diana, Princess of Wales", from the Encyclopædia Britannica, 2009.

^{137 &}quot;Diana, Princess of Wales", from the Encyclopædia Britannica, 2009.

¹³⁸ R. Allison, op.cit., p. 164-165.

¹³⁹ A. Williams, op.cit., p.163

^{140 &}quot;Charles, Prince of Wales", from the Encyclopædia Britannica, 2009

¹⁴¹ "70% OF YOUNGSTERS BACK ROYAL FAMILY", from Daily Express, 2007, on http://www.express.co.uk/posts/view/29653/70-of-youngsters-back-royal-family

from 1995 to 2000. He went to the University of St. Andrews in Scotland where he studied art and, later, geography. William spent a year travelling; he went to Chile, where he did volunteer work following the example of his mother. In 2005, William graduated from St. Andrews, and the following year he entered the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst. William is one of the most famous royal family members. He is also a passionate sportsman¹⁴², as well as the president of charities organizations.

Prince Henry Charles Albert David or Harry, born in 1984, is the second son of Charles and Diana. He went to the same schools as his brother William, i.e. to Wetherby School then Ludgrove School, and later to Eton College, Windsor to get a level in Art and Geography in 2003. Like his brother, he entered the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst, in 2005, to train as an officer in the Army. He served in Afghanistan for about two months in 2007/2008. He is also head of some Charity works.¹⁴³

Princess Anne, HRH (Her Royal Highness) is the Princess Royal. She was awarded the title of Princess Royal by the Queen. This title is the highest title after the one of sovereign for a woman in the royal family¹⁴⁴. She was honoured for her work and devotion; she was the president of "Save the Children Fund and of Riding for the Disabled", President of the "British Equestrian Federation", President of the "British Olympics Association", a member of the "International Olympic Committee", and had many other duties. ¹⁴⁵ She was also nominated as the Sportwoman of the year 1971.

Princess Anne married Lieutenant Mark Philips, who was a commoner, a serving soldier and an Olympic three-day eventer, in 1973. People in Britain approved this marriage¹⁴⁶. But they divorced in 1992. They had Peter Mark Andrew Phillips, born

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 92.

¹⁴² "William of Wales, Prince", 2009, Encyclopædia Britannica.

¹⁴³ http://www.royal.gov.uk/ThecurrentRoyalFamily/PrinceHarry/PrinceHarry.aspx

¹⁴⁴ R. Allison, op.cit., p.136.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

in 1977, who was the Queen's first grandchild¹⁴⁷, and Zara Philips born in 1981. Anne remarried, in December 1992, with the Commender Timothy Laurence of the Royal Navy, later known as Vice Admiral Laurence. It was a long time since divorce was taboo within the monarchy. In 1974, there had been an attempt to kidnap Princess Anne, while she was driving with her husband along the Mall towards Buckingham Palace. The attempt did not succeed thanks to the police and passers-by. ¹⁴⁸

The Queen kept secret the fact that she was waiting her third child while she made her tour of North America and the United States, ten years after she got Anne; now was going to be born the second heir in the line of seccession to throne, taking precedance over his sister.¹⁴⁹

Prince Andrew, HRH the Duke of york, was born in 1960. He graduated from Britannia Royal Naval College and served for 22 years in the Royal Navy as a helicopter pilot, then he chose to work as the Uk's special Representative for International Trade and Investment. His role is to promote the UK as an attractive destination for inward investors, helping British business to improve their prospects in international markets. He married Sara Fergusson, the Duchess of York, in July 1986¹⁵⁰ and divorced in 1996. They had two daughters: Princess Beatrice, born in 1988 and Eugenie, born in 1990.

Prince Edward, HRH the Earl of Wessex, was born in 1964; he studied History at Cambridge; he is fond of Acting. He married Sophie Rhys-Jones, HRH the Countess of Wessex, in 1999. They have Two children: Lady Louise, born in 2003 and Viscount Severn, born in 2007.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 109.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 98.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p.55.

¹⁵⁰ T. Graham, op.cit., p.321.

Margaret, the Queen's late sister, (born in 1930) wanted to marry Captain Peter Townsend, in 1955, ¹⁵¹ but since he was divorced she had to give up her right to the accession¹⁵², because divorce was not tolerated. She announced later that she had decided to stop the relationship; she married Anthony Armstrong- Jhones, a Photographer, in 1960, who was created Earl of Snowdown a year later. ¹⁵³ Margaret's childrend are David, Viscount Linley, Sarah Artmstrong-Jones, and lady Chatto. She died on 9 february 2002, at the age of 71, from a stroke. ¹⁵⁴

Elizabeth, the Queen Mother, was born in 1900; her full name is Elizabeth Angela Marguerite, née Bowes-Lyon, Duchess of York, or Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother, and Queen consort of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, as she was the wife of King George VI; whom she married in 1923. Initially, her husband was Albert, the Duke of York; he was not supposed to become King, but when his brother gave up the throne, in 1936, he automatically acceded to the throne as King George VI and Elizabeth, consequently, became queen consort. Being shy and melancholic, George was not really made to be king but with the support of his wife he became a much respected king. Elizabeth was very popular, partly because during the Second World War she did not accept to leave London even when Buckingham Palace was bombed. 155

When King George VI died in 1952 and the eldest of his two daughters, Elizabeth II, acceded to the throne, Elizabeth was still known as Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, the Queen mother. She was one of the most popular and admired members of the royal family until her death on 30 March 2002, few weeks after the death of her daughter, Margaret, at the age of 101, at Windsor. ¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³ Ibid., p.55.

¹⁵¹ R. Allison, op.cit., p.41.

¹⁵² Ibid., p.43.

¹⁵⁴ http://www.royal.gov.uk/HMTheQueen/Publiclife/PublicLife2002-present/2002-present.aspx

^{155 &}quot;Elizabeth", from the Encyclopædia Britannica, 2009.

¹⁵⁶ http://www.royal.gov.uk/HMTheQueen/Publiclife/PublicLife2002-present/2002-present.aspx

The Royal Family has few occasions to meet during the year; the birthday of the Queen Mother used to unite the whole family. T. Graham said that during those days where Elizabeth is with all her family, you can notice the fact that the Queen is a dignified sovereign, a devoted daughter and warm-hearted mother and a loving grandparent. ¹⁵⁷

Sarah Bradford says in her biography of the Queen that Elizabeth's days are occupied with routine, and that she did not take time to talk with her children and be their confident. She was their mother but also the Queen, and as Queen she has to keep some distance even with her children. Elizabeth was always self-contained and reserved even when she felt relaxed and in a mood to laugh, joke or mimic. She never discusses emotional issues because emotion is seen as weakness, "Never explain never complain" could be the family motto. 158

Tim Graham, another Queen's biographer, gives another version of a Queen as a mother saying:

Tabloid newspapers have often accused the Queen of being a distant mother because she did not take her young children on lengthy overseas tours... family is extremely important to the Queen, and like any mother she takes pride in her children's achievements... despite the fact that her children are now grown and lead independent lives, the Queen continues to support them in all their endeavours...the Queen is a hands-on and affectionate grandparent... ¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ T. Graham, op.cit., p.210.

¹⁵⁸ S. Bradford, op.cit., p. 387.

¹⁵⁹ T. Graham, op.cit., p.210.

3.2. The Royal Scandals and their Impact on the Monarchy

Many changes occurred during Elizabeth's reign, one of these changes was that the public became close to whatever could happen inside the royalty, especially since the 1980's, through the media. The biggest example about that is the marriage of Charles , the Prince of Wales, and Diana Spencer, in 1981. The Marriage was covered by media and was shown to millions of people on television. It was again the media which revealed that this marriage was collapsing in the 1990's, with details that lowered the popularity of the monarchy. ¹⁶⁰

The series of divorces and scandals within the Monarchy started well before the 1980's. In the 1950's Margaret, the Queen's sister, wanted to marry a divorced man, Captain Peter Townsend. Margaret faced problems and was finally persuaded not to marry him and gave up the idea. She married Anthony Armstrong Jones, a photographer in 1960, and divorced later. ¹⁶¹

From 1980's, onwards, there had been more and more criticism of the royal family, though not of Elizabeth herself. In 1992, opened the year which was intended to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of her accession; she was about to experience the worst period of her life. The image of honour she had maintained around the monarchy over the past forty years was going to be changed by the scandals of the younger generation.

The year 1992, was, according to the Queen, an "annus horribilis" (meaning a horrible year), she said that, "1992 is not a year on which I shall look back with undiluted pleasure". There was the fire that damaged part of the Windsor Castle. The British were angry against the monarchy when they were told that the reparations were going to be paid from their money. They said that the Queen should pay herself for

¹⁶⁰ "Elizabeth II." Microsoft® Encarta® 2009 [DVD]. Redmond, WA: Microsoft Corporation, 2008.

¹⁶¹ T. Graham, op.cit., p.320

¹⁶² R. Allison, op.cit., p. 149.

the reparations. To calm people down it was announced two days later that Elizabeth was going to pay taxes with some members of her family.

There were other events during the same year which were even worse to the reputation of the Monarchy. In other words, the series of separations and divorces and scandals of her children and their spouses: the separation of Anne, from her husband, Mark Philips in April after twenty years of marriage and her second marriage with Timothy Laurence, a naval officer, the same year; the separation of Andrew from Sarah Ferguson in March, then the separation of Charles and Diana in December. All these events degraded the image and the reputation of the monarchy.

In 1995, the Prince of Wales and Diana were giving interviews, separately, were they talked about their unhappy marriage. The Queen decided to write a letter to tell them that they have to divorce. This is what they did in 1996, the same for Prince Andrew and Sarah Ferguson. Divorces were never welcomed in the British Monarchy; the divorce of the heir to the throne, Charles, is another example showing that divorce was still not accepted among the monarchy. The divorce caused debates on whether Charles could succeed to throne or not. ¹⁶³

Having grown up in a stable Anglican Christian family, Elizabeth, had difficulties to understand why her children could not have successful marriages. The Queen considers divorce as the very last resort. Being a queen, members of her family usually ask her when they have such problems, but she always tells them to wait, to not take irrevocable decisions in a hurry. ¹⁶⁴

Until 1955, divorces were not accepted within the Royal Family; those who did were excluded from the rank of the Royal Family, and even old friends of the Queen who divorced were not invited to the palace. Divorce was not accepted because, for churches, marriage was an indissoluble union and divorce lowers the respect

¹⁶³ "Elizabeth II." Microsoft® Encarta® 2009 [DVD]. Redmond, WA: Microsoft Corporation, 2008.

¹⁶⁴ S. Bradford, op.cit., p.492-493.

of a monarchy. ¹⁶⁵ Today, divorces are no more forbidden or taboo, but they are still considered by the Queen as sad and wrong. ¹⁶⁶

Elizabeth's reign had been clouded by the private life of her sister, Margaret, then, even worse, with the failure of her children's marriages. ¹⁶⁷ Another obstacle faced her reign with the death of Princess Diana, in 1997. The Queen was described as cold and distant and not sharing the feelings of her people who felt sadness and grief when losing the Princess. The Queen made an exception by paying tribute to the late Princess; it was an exception because the Queen never addresses people this way, except for Christmas.

According to some people it was the fault of the Royal Family that all those scandals became public and took that scale; Paul Ward the author of the book "Britishness since 1870" explains:

Many Britons had experienced divorce, and it might have been presumed that the royal family might have been able to present itself as a modern family experiencing modern problems, but it became apparent that the royal family and court were seeking to tarnish the reputations of the women who dared to leave the royal family. Princess Diana, however, fought back, using the media to portray Prince Charles and the royal family as vindictive and closed. The reaction of the monarchy to Diana's death certainly brought criticism of their behaviour, though the depth of crisis should not be overstated. It was certainly the case

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A. Olechnowicz (Ed), The Monarchy and the British Nation, 1780 to the Present, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2007, p.251

¹⁶⁶ S. Bradford, op.cit., p.492-493.

¹⁶⁷ J. Leach, op.cit., p.209

that Diana contested the monarchy's version of national identity. ¹⁶⁸

Others think that it was just misfortune and that the monarchy deserves sympathy. Ronald Allison says in his book:

There was much sympathy for their children and for the Queen and prince Philip as parents and grandparents. Three children married; three children divorced. The concept of the House of Windsor as a model family was over. ¹⁶⁹

The future of the Monarchy has been threatened more than once with all these scandals and the press or media in general did not help; every problem was reported in the press. Among the facts reported, there were also rumours such as the one saying that the Queen was leaving the throne to her grandson, Prince William. Scandals have always been part of the Monarchy, according to John A. Taylor; Royal scandals are not new, and arguably the current scandals are small in comparison to past scandals, but the extent of royal damage control is new. Scandal has not as a rule in the recent past compromised the institution of monarchy. ¹⁷⁰

3.3. The Role of the Royal Family

The royal family does not have a formal constitutional role, as they do not have the freedom to say or do whatever they want, unlike other people in Britain. The government is the one that controls their speeches. The monarch and his heir never

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¹⁶⁸ P. Ward, op.cit., p. 35

¹⁶⁹ R. Allison, op.cit., p. 161.

¹⁷⁰ J. Taylor, *British Monarchy, English Church Establishment, and Civil Liberty*, Greenwood Press, London, 1996, p.126

vote because they have to be neutral. Other members of the royal family were also forbidden the right to vote, but, in 1999, they got back their right to vote.¹⁷¹

The royal family today has some ceremonial functions such as cutting ribbons, opening businesses, launching ships, and laying cornerstones¹⁷². Some members choose to be involved in charity work and to visit public places like hospitals. The royal family also brings money to their country thanks to tourism.

The royal family, is, according to some, a burden, whereas it is a privilege for others. Tom Bentley and James Wilsdon explain the reasons why there are people who wish to keep the royal family and the monarchy in general:

There are three main benefits from the royal family which make it good value for money. Tourist profits probably offset a small share of royal expenses. The mere pleasure that supporters of royalty get from the institution probably more than justifies the total expense. And thirdly, the function performed by royal engagements probably goes a long way in generating value equivalent to the cost of the family... One might take a contrasting view of the magic the royals provide, the pleasure they give and the value of a tourist industry based on heritage, but then, you could never look to economics alone to provide a justification for the royal family. ¹⁷³

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¹⁷¹ http://www.heraldica.org/fags/britfag.html

¹⁷² Weisser, et al. "United Kingdom." Microsoft® Encarta® 2009 [DVD]. Redmond, WA: Microsoft Corporation, 2008.

¹⁷³ T. Bentley(Ed), J. Wilsdon (Ed), *Monarchies: What are Kings and Queens For?*, Demos, London, 2002, p.82

Some members of the Royal Family can carry out certain duties of the Queen, when she is absent or sick, like attending meetings of the Privy Council and signing some papers. These duties are limited. They are not allowed to dissolve Parliament or create peers. The members of the Royal Family who can carry out these duties are: the Duke of Edinburgh, the Prince of Wales, Prince William of Wales, Prince Harry of Wales, and The Duke of York.¹⁷⁴

Members of the Queen's family, like her husband, her children and many others, give her support by sharing official duties and by representing her in Britain and elsewhere. The Queen can let her family replace her only on limited tasks, because only the monarch can fulfill his duties of head of state. The queen can fulfill his duties of head of state.

4. The Media and the British Monarchy

It seems that people today do not admire or even accept the monarchy for itself¹⁷⁷; they need more than that. This is why the media today play a very important role. They have a strong influence on people's opinions and attitudes.

The Royal Family had been trained to ignore the press; George V used to call them as "those filthy rags of newspapers". ¹⁷⁸ With time the relationship media/monarchy has changed; for Elizabeth, the media are the essential link with her people.

Elizabeth II, has been on the throne for more than half a century. Not surprisingly, the Queen has been the object of intense media attention: as a symbol of Britain, as a head of a family, and as a constitutional head of state and representative

¹⁷⁷ A. Olechnowicz (Ed), op.cit., p.229

 $^{^{174}\} http://www.royal.gov.uk/MonarchUK/Queen and Government/Counsellors of State.aspx$

¹⁷⁵ R. Allison, op.cit, p.14.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 15.

¹⁷⁸ S. Bradford, op.cit., p. 292.

of the monarchy which is an institution. In addition, she is at the centre of the debate that is taking place between the supporters of the monarchy and the republicans.¹⁷⁹ The media covered all the events of the monarchy, and there were times when this turned agaisnt the monarchy, specially when it was about the relashionships of the royal family. But the monarchy generally remained popular. ¹⁸⁰

The Coronation of Elizabeth, on 2 June 1953, was the first coronation on television in British history; it has changed the relationship between the monarchy and the media. The BBC was the one which agreed to broadcast the celebration of the Elizabeth's coronation on TV and Radio, and it turned out to be a success. The broadcast was one of the most ambitious productions of the BBC and television at that time. It was translated to forty-four languages and watched by twenty million people in Britain and outside Britain. ¹⁸¹ It also paved the way to other royal events to be broadcasted and watched by millions of people. Later, the public could watch the Queen's Jubilee Celebrations as well (the Silver Jubilee in 1977 and the Golden Jubilee in 2002). ¹⁸² The State Opening of Parliament was also televised; the first time was in 1966. ¹⁸³

Until the end of the the 1960's, all attempts of the media to show the intimate side of the monarchy were rejected. In 1958, the BBC wanted to show how the interior of the monarch's "home" looked like, but the answer given by the Commander was:

¹⁷⁹ E. Zapetra, The British Media and the Monarchy: Elizabeth the Dutiful or Elizabeth the Last, The Press Perception of Queen Elizabeth II in the UK 1997-2007, 2006-2008, Berlin, p. 02

¹⁸⁰ Weisser, et al., "United Kingdom." Microsoft® Encarta® 2009 [DVD]. Redmond, WA: Microsoft Corporation, 2008

¹⁸¹ R. Stefoff, op.cit., p.16-17

¹⁸² E. Zapetra, op.cit., p. 73.

¹⁸³ R. Allison, op.cit., p. 74.

Her Majesty does not wish to alter the existing custom whereby the interior of Her Majesty's appartements once they have been living in should remain private. ¹⁸⁴

In 1966, change started to take place when cameras were allowed to show state apartments, though no member of the royal family was shown in them. ¹⁸⁵ In 1969, there was a very popular documentary television film about the Queen and her family,'Royal Family', which brought real change. ¹⁸⁶ It wad broadcasted for the first time in June 1969 by the BBC¹⁸⁷, and seen by 40 million people in the United Kingdom and elsewhere. ¹⁸⁸ Cameras recorded for a whole year activities of the Queen and her family even when they were abroad, in all situations. The documentary became very popular and people always asked for more.

The aim of the film was to create a favourable impression of the monarchy¹⁸⁹, by giving the public some of its secrets and as cited in B.Pimlott's biography of the Queen:

The film was passed off to hesitant royals, and to the sensation- hungry press, as a response to media requests for facilities in the run-up to the Investiture of Charles as Prince of Wales. ¹⁹⁰

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¹⁸⁴ B. Pimlott, op.cit., p. 379.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 379- 380.

¹⁸⁶ R. Allison, op.cit., p. 12.

¹⁸⁷ B. Pimlott, op.cit., p. 382.

¹⁸⁸ R. Allison, op.cit., p. 82.

¹⁸⁹ B. Pimlott, op.cit., p.380.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

Pimlott described the film as informative and even didactic, and said that it offered a fascinating essay on the experience of being a royal. ¹⁹¹ A close friend of the Queen and Philip also commented on the film saying:

The film showed that the Roylal Family was made up of ordinary people like the rest of us... But when you discover they are ordinary people you have different expectations of them. ¹⁹²

The film offered to the public an intimacy that never appeared before. It encouraged the media to seek for more details of the royal family, specially the paparazzi. 193

The 1970's were years of enthusiasm for the monarchy; the year of the silver jubilee demonstrated that people supported their monarchy. Changes started to appear in the 1980's when the monarchy was pointed at because of the scandals of the Queen's children. It was far from the beginnings of Elizabeth's reign, when it was forbidden to represent the Queen on the stage, or make a caricature of the Monarch and publish it or even make a cartoon representation. It would end by provoking diplomatic incidents. The media in Britain were mostly conservative, but by 2001-2002, some started to change, showing a kind of republicanism. 196

When Prince Charles and Diana separated in 1992, there was a large coverage of the media, though television and newspapers reported the news differently. Television treated that with respect, while newspaper were reporting news with less

¹⁹² Ibid., p. 387.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., p. 382.

¹⁹³ Ibid., p. 388.

¹⁹⁴ J. Leach, op.cit., p.208

¹⁹⁵ B. Pimlott, op.cit., p. 540-541.

¹⁹⁶ N. Blain, H. O'Donnell, *Media, Monarchy and Power: Postmodern Culture in Europe,* Intellect Books, UK, 2003, p.7.

respect.¹⁹⁷ The death of Diana, on 31 August 1997, provoked the reactions of the media; which also showed interest for events following her death.

In the immediate aftermath of Diana's death, the royal family, and in particular the Queen, have been severely criticised for showing insufficient public grief. 198 Diana always attracted the media; it seemed that the Royal Family was even more interesting to the media since she became part of it; Neil Blain and Hugh O'Donnell described it as "Diana's nature as a phenomenon was, and is still intensively associated with the mediatization." 199

Historical films generally focused on the conflict between a monarch's private and public life²⁰⁰. It means that making a display of the monarchy's private side is not new, and that, to a certain extent, the personal and public responsabilities of the monarch are combined. In addition to the newspapers, movies, and all what the media report, a web site was designed, in 1997, about the British Monarchy. The web site gives people more information about the Queen and her role, and the royal family in general. As soon as the web site opened, visits started in great numbers, which shows that people were eager to know what a royal web site was. ²⁰¹

5. Finances and Family Patrimony

The Queen's wealth has always been under scrutiny, but to know exactly how much the monarchy owns or how much it costs is still not easy. The Forbes magazine gave an estimation of around US\$ 600 million (GB£ 330 million). The income of the Queen and the Royal family is called the Royal Household. These incomes come

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., p.78.

¹⁹⁸ E. Zapetra, op.cit., p. 23.

¹⁹⁹ N. Blain, H. O'Donnell, op.cit., p.12.

²⁰⁰ J. Leach, op.cit., p.209

²⁰¹ http://www.royal.gov.uk/HMTheQueen/Publiclife/PublicLife1992-2001/1992-2001.aspx

from a number of sources, i.e. from the Civil List, Grants-in-aid, the Privy Purse, and personal income. ²⁰²

The Civil List appeared with the Bill of Rights, and was used by antimonarchists against the monarchy, because it was financed by the British taxpayer. The Civil List has been fixed at £7,9m a year in 2001, for the Queen and her husband until 2011, but by the end of 2007-08, the Civil List had reached £12,7m. 70% of this Civil List funds the salaries of the servants and employees of the Royal Household, and 30% serves to cover the costs of the royal garden parties and receptions during state visits. ²⁰³In addition, there are some annual parliamentary allowances given to members of the royal family. It is about £2,5m in total. All senior royals performing ifficial duties are rather paid annuities out of the Privy Purse, rather than the Civil List.

Grants-in-aid are given by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) to "ocuppied royal palaces" (Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle have another income from their summer public openings). It was estimated to £15,3m a year until 2011. The Department for Transporting (DFT) covers the cost of transporting members of the Royal Family; it was about £6,2m in 2007-08²⁰⁴. It consists of the Royal Air Force (RAF), aircraft of the No.32 (the Royal) Squadron, the Royal Train, and other chartered and scheduled flights on official visits. The remaining money of grants-in-aid is spent on royal communication, like letters, telephone, etc ...

The Privy Purse is the income generated by the Duchy of Lancaster, which is a huge expanse of land in the hands of the monarch and personal incomes, which are the earnings of individual members of the Royal Family like the military salaries earned by Prince Charles when he served in the Royal Navy, and the incomes earned by prince Edward, Duke of Wessex, from his film and his television company²⁰⁵.

²⁰² J. Morrison, *Public Affairs for Journalists*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2009, p. 25.

²⁰³ Ibid., p.26.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 28-29

The monarch uses royal palaces as a place to live in, as well as a space of work. They serve to receive a number of people when there are official events, receptions, garden parties, and also for purposes such as the visits of heads of states or ambassadors. Today, some of the monarch's palaces are open to public and receive about 2 million people each year. ²⁰⁶

Most of the royal residences are the property of the State, and it is the State which maitains them, but the monarch can use them as he/she likes.²⁰⁷ The Queen's homes are those inherited from her father, King George VI, situated at Sandringham and Balmoral. They are maintained by the Queen and not by the State.

Among the royal residences we can count Buckingham Palace, situated in London. It is the official residence of British monarchs since the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837.²⁰⁸ It is noted for its fine collection of paintings.²⁰⁹ St Jame's palace, is the home of Prince Charles, then there is Kensingston Palace which serves as home to many royal relatives. ²¹⁰ It was notably occupied by Princess Margeret and other royal relatives. Windsor Castle, one of the most important castles, is situated in England, 35km West of London. ²¹¹ It is the place where the Queen spends her weekends. It is used for many gatherings whether official or not. The Castle was damaged in 1992 by a fire, and repaired with £ 50 million.²¹² There is also Holyroodhouse situated in Edingburgh (Scotland) and Balomral Castle used by many royals specially for holidays. Monarchs have been generally fond of it. The maitenance costs about 16 million (estimation of 2001).²¹³

²⁰⁶ http://www.royal.gov.uk/TheRoyalResidences/ViewResidences/Officialresidences.aspx

²⁰⁷ T. Graham, op.cit., p.282.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ "Buckingham Palace." Microsoft® Encarta® 2009 [DVD]. Redmond, WA: Microsoft Corporation, 2008.

²¹⁰ T. Graham, op.cit., p.288.

²¹¹ "Windsor Castle." Microsoft® Encarta® 2009 [DVD]. Redmond, WA: Microsoft Corporation, 2008.

²¹² T. Graham, op.cit., p.288.

²¹³ Ibid.

In 1969, the Queen was criticized when the Times reported that she was overspending her Civil List allowance. Prince Philip made it even worse when he was asked, by a programme on the NBC called 'Meet the Press', if the royals could no longer balance their budget. Philip confirmed that the royal household really overspent its allowances²¹⁴, saying:

We go into the red next year, now, inevitably if nothing happens we shall either have to_ I don't know, we may have to move into smaller premises, who knows? We've closed down-well, for instance we had a small yacht which we had to sell, and I shall probably have to give up polo fairy soon, things like that... ²¹⁵

The problem of money and finances is a sensitive question within the monarchy. This is why the government did not appreciate what Philip said; they would have rather handled with the problem secretly. Even if what he was saying was true, his comment has made a very bad public impression. For the first time in Elizabeth's reign, the cost of the monarchy was debated.²¹⁶

The Queen has always paid indirect taxes and council tax, but in 1993, she agreed to pay direct taxes, as a result of the reactions of people when it was said that the repairing of Windsor Castle, which has been damaged by the fire in 1992, was going to be paid with public funds.²¹⁷ It seems that the question of money has always been sensitive among the monarchy, and even for journalists, it is hard to catch exactly the sum total of the Queen's wealth. R. Allison one of the Queen's Press Secretaries said:

²¹⁴ R. Allison, op.cit., p. 84.

²¹⁵ S. Bradford, op.cit., p.352

²¹⁶ R. Allison, op.cit., p. 84.

²¹⁷ J. Morrison, op.cit., p. 29.

A much more predictable question that every press secretary has to deal with is, "how much the Queen worths? (Financially)" Estimates are often widely wrong, though no one would pretend that she is other than an extremely rich woman. However, although she does personally own Balmoral Castle and Sandringham, the royal palaces, the royal collection, the art treasures and the crown jewels are assets that are part of the national heritage, which belong to the Queen as sovereign and must be passed on to her successors. ²¹⁸

Conclusion

The monarchy has undergone changes through time. Today, the monarch has more tasks to perform and shares some with the royal family. The latter has attracted at times more attention than the Queen herself. Elizabeth II may be compared to Victoria or Elizabeth I, in the way she kept the monarchy the best she could adapting it to all possible situations and problems, in rapidly changing times.

Elizabeth II tried to avoid mistakes as much as possible, when she had to face situations such as the anger and the incomprehension of people after Diana's death. The Queen may have been influenced by her family, and specially her husband, through her long reign, when it comes to the modernisation of the monarchy. This did not prevent the Queen from being very popular and respected everywhere.

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²¹⁸ R. Allison, op.cit., p.24

R. Palmer, "is Elizabeth II our greatest monarch?", In the Daily Express, 2008, in http://www.express.co.uk/blogs/post/267/blog/2008/07/24/53867/Is-Elizabeth-II-our-greatest-monarch-

Chapter III

The Monarchy and Politics Today

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Introduction

Contrary to countries which have presidents as heads of state, Britain has a monarch, Elizabeth II, who serves as a figurehead with little real power, leaving the decisions to her Parliament and her Government, led by her Prime Minister. Members of Parliament, Bishops of the Church of England, police officers and soldiers all swear an oath of loyalty to their Queen, not to the government or to the country or any other authority. ²²⁰

There is a principle in Britain called the "Separation of Powers"²²¹, it divides the State into three branches: the Executive (the Government), the Legislative (Parliament), and the Judiciary (the Courts). This way the government cannot be dictatorial and each branch can check the other. The Monarch constitutionally is head of these three branches and thus can prevent the government from becoming dictatorial. Being a constitutional monarch, Elizabeth II remains the Head of State, with the prerogative to govern and take major decisions, but only theoretically, in practice it is a little bit different.

²²⁰ http://www.centreforcitizenship.org/monarchy/mon2.html

²²¹ J. Morrison, op.cit., p.19.

The Queen has to be impartial, but she is still the Head of the Executive, Legislative and Judicial body, as well as the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces and the Supreme Governor of the Church of England. Political decisions are taken by the Prime Minister and other ministers while the Queen assumes her symbolic functions. She symbolises the sovereignty of the State.

The present role of the Queen is to be a focus of national unity, and continuity. Being the Sovereign, Elizabeth II does not have to vote in a general or local election, this is considered as unconstitutional; she has to be neutral in politics.²²²

The constitutional monarchy started to look like the one we know today, during Victoria's reign. Walter Bagehot Editor of the Economist, said in his book in 1867:

The sovereign has, under a constitutional monarchy such as ours, three rights-the right to be consulted, the right to encourage, the right to warn. And a king of great sense and sagacity would want no others. He would find that his having no others would enable him to use these with singular effect. He would say to his minister the responsibility of these measures is upon you. Whatever you think best must be done. But you will observe that for this or that reason what you propose to do is bad; for this or that reason what you do not propose is better. I do not oppose, it is my duty not to oppose; but observe that I warm. ²²³

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²²² http://www.royal.gov.uk/MonarchUK/QueenandGovernment/Queenandvoting.aspx

²²³ D. Butler(Ed) et al, op.cit., p.21.

1. The Role of the Sovereign

Walter Bagehot²²⁴ said that the monarch is a symbolic representation of Britain and that he has an influence on his ministers with no formal power. He/she is the figurehead, but parliament is the real sovereign.²²⁵ As mentioned before, Bagehot also remarked, concerning the Queen's rights, that she has "Three rights: the right to be consulted, the right to encourage, the right to warn."²²⁶

An article in the encyclopaedia Encarta stated that the real work of the monarch today consists largely in signing papers and that the monarch has the right to be consulted on all aspects of national life and review all important government documents.²²⁷ Every day of the year (except Christmas Day and Easter Sunday), the Queen has to do the Red Boxes, containing Cabinet and ministerial papers that she reads and approves.²²⁸

Through her long reign, Elizabeth became well-trained when it came to state papers and politics, one of her former private secretaries said:

The Queen never reads a book but when it comes to state papers she is a very quick and absorbent reader-doesn't miss a thing. She impresses all the Prime Ministers. ²²⁹

²²⁶ C. Turpin, A. Tom, *British Government and the Constitution: Text and Materials*, Cambridge

University Press, New York, 2007, p. 356

Walter Bagehot is one of the nineteenth century economists and author of the influential text on Britain's unwritten constitution, the English Constitution, in http://www.centreforcitizenship.org/monarchy/mon2.html

²²⁵J. Taylor, op.cit., p. 123

²²⁷ Weisser, et al, "United Kingdom." Microsoft® Encarta® 2009 [DVD]. Redmond, WA: Microsoft Corporation, 2008

²²⁸ T. Graham, op.cit., p.350.

²²⁹ S. Bradford, op.cit., p.223

Elizabeth has always been well briefed. She receives state papers every day, and also copies of minutes of Cabinet meetings and a daily abstract of proceedings in Parliament.²³⁰ Harold Macmillan, Prime Minister in the 1960's, was astonished by the skill of the Queen in understanding details, by her thoughtful reactions, and by her use of words, as one of her private secretaries said:

Prompt, great common sense, decisive, didn't leave things in abeyance. If you asked a question you got the answer. If you left work for her it would always be ready next morning. Very open to suggestions but not by any means accepting them. ²³¹

According to the biography of the Queen, written by Sarah Bradford, Elizabeth has operated just as her father had, with access to state papers and reports of Cabinet meetings and parliamentary proceedings, supplemented by a weekly interview with the Prime Minister.²³² When the monarch meets the Prime Minister during their weekly meeting, he/she can give him advice and can act as a check on politicians.²³³ Though, in reality, the monarch is not that powerful because if he/she tries to act as a check on politicians, he/she could be ignored or see the monarchy abolished.²³⁴

The powers of the monarchs are known as the 'Royal Prerogatives'; today they are mostly symbolic. These powers are often exercised by the prime minister for the Queen, except the power to dissolve Parliament, though on the advice of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. Parliament is the one which exercises Political Power.

The monarch is still the Head of State, Head of the Executive, Legislative and Judiciary body, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, Supreme Governor of the Established Church of England, Head of the Commonwealth, and the authority

²³¹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³² Ibid., p. 170.

²³³ A. Williams, op.cit., p. 165-166

²³⁴ Ibid., p. 167

from which the Royal Mint derives its licence to coin and print money (at present in her image). ²³⁵

The prerogative powers still exercised by the monarch personally are mostly ceremonial. As Head of State, the Queen still has to read speeches at the annual State Opening of Parliament (in October or November) or shortly after a General Election, to approve orders in Council, and to sign Acts of Parliament. She has also to represent Britain outside through her foreign visits, to receive ambassadors and Heads of State, ²³⁶ to govern the Church of England, to create peers, to confer knighthoods and honours, to meet the Prime Minister each Tuesday to discuss affairs of state visits, to chair meetings of the Privy Council²³⁷, and to attend "Trooping the Colour"²³⁸. In 1955, Elizabeth exercised two prerogatives for the first time: she accepted the resignation of the Prime Minister, 'Winston Churchill', who was her first prime minister, and appointed for the first time a new one 'Anthony Eden'.

The other powers of the Sovereign said to be exercised on the advice of ministers are in practice exercised by the prime minister on the advice of the monarch. These are: The dissolution and summoning of Parliament, giving the royal assent to bills passed by Parliament, appointing ministers and other important public officials or even religious figures, dividing the legislative agenda for each parliamentary session, writing the Queen's speech, declaring war and peace, and the prorogation of Parliament (it is the suspension of Parliament for holidays, drawing up lists of nominations).

Occasionally, the monarch may issue a 'Royal Pardon' known as the 'Royal Prerogative of Mercy', on the advice of the Home of Secretary in England

²³⁵ J. Morrison, op.cit., p. 22-23

²³⁶ http://www.royal.gov.uk/MonarchUK/HowtheMonarchyworks/TheroleoftheSovereign.aspx

²³⁷ The Privy Council is a body of advisers made up of members of Cabinets and other distinguished individuals which issues Royal Charters and Orders in Council. J. Morrison, op.cit., p.23.

²³⁸ Trooping the Colour is the Monarch's annual birthday parade, led by regiments of Her Majesty Armed Forces. Ibid.

²³⁹ Ibid., p. 25.

and Wales, and the First Minister in Scotland. An example of this Royal Pardon is the one offered to families of all British soldiers executed for cowardice during the Second World War.

As Head of Nation, Elizabeth has to provide a sense of national unity, identity, and stability. She has to recognise success, and give her support. Being the Monarch, Elizabeth represents continuity because while political parties change she continues her functions.²⁴⁰

In the UK, people who have done something that deserves recognition are rewarded with an honour, decoration, or medal. The Queen is the one who confers honours on the advice of the Government. The people honoured can be formally addressed with titles such as 'Knight of the Order of the Greater', 'Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath', and 'Commander of the British Empire'. Life peerages (Members of the House of Commons) awarded go to the House of Lords. The honours are given to politicians, civil servants, business people, sports stars, rock musicians (like the Beatles), etc... The Queen encourages public and voluntary service as well, and people feel honoured to be given the title by the monarch herself.²⁴¹

It has become a tradition in Britain that people are rewarded for their charitable work, loyal service or even certain achievements. An honour list is made for this purpose, and it is released twice a year: during the New Year and on the Queen's official birthday. There are five classes of honours: Members (MBE), Officers (OBE), Commanders (CBE), and Knights and Dames Commanders or Knights and Dame Grand Cross (GBE). There is also the British Empire Medal (BEM), but given only to those who have never been honoured before. ²⁴²

The Honour List is composed also of peerages, Knighthoods and appointments to Privy Councillor, and Companion of Honour which is given to an elite

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²⁴⁰ http://www.royal.gov.uk/MonarchUK/HowtheMonarchyworks/TheroleoftheSovereign.aspx

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² T. Graham, op.cit., p.146.

who have presented an important national service (Winston Churchill received that honour). Orders of Chivalry are gifts of the Queen in person, such as the Order of the Garter, the Order of the Thistle, the Order of Merit, and the Royal Victorian Order.²⁴³

The armed forces are asked to swear allegiance to Queen not to the government or the state. Moreover, 'God Save the Queen' is the British national anthem, and postage stamps, coins and banknotes issued by the Bank of England are printed with the monarch's face. Her enduring presence is still a source of comfort through changing times. Her role is mostly symbolic, but her real importance is being a real focus of national identity and continuity in a changing, internationalized world. As a constitutional monarch, Queen Elizabeth has always refused to take part in politics. This is important and seems to be successful when we see her success and popularity.

2. The Queen and the Executive Body

2.1. The Role of the Queen in Government

The Government controls the running of the country; it is the one which defines the policies. The Prime Minister can be considered as the major element of the Government; he chooses the ministers among the members of the two houses of Parliament according to the constitution.

In Britain, we say "Her Majesty's Government", it means that Cabinet ministers are the Queen's secretaries of state. Not all government departments are controlled by the Queen, but they are accountable to the people. The Government declares war and signs treaties, without the agreement of Parliament, because the Prime Minister takes his powers from the crown prerogatives. The crown prerogatives legitimise decisions of the Government taken without the consent of Parliament.²⁴⁴

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ http://www.centreforcitizenship.org/monarchy/mon2b.html

Queen Elizabeth II is the Head of State. Her role in politics is purely symbolic and ceremonial. She still appoints the prime minister after a general election, who in reality is the leader of the party with the highest seats in the first chamber of the legislative assembly.²⁴⁵ The Queen still has to give her Royal Assent to Parliament, but it has become automatic today. As mentioned previously, Elizabeth still holds a weekly audience with her prime minister.

The monarchy today rules through Parliament, but we cannot say that she has no role in politics. ²⁴⁶ R. Allison press secretary of the Queen wrote:

Prime ministers have valued these weekly audiences; the Queen's experience now covers 50 years, and the meetings provide opportunities for discussion out of the public eye. Prime Ministers, however, are keenly aware that they must come thoroughly prepared, and Harold Wilson once confessed that he felt like a schoolboy who had not done his homework when the Queen mentioned a document which himself had not read. The precise way in which the Queen advises and encourages her ministers will not be known for many years, but in his memoirs (Time and Chance, 1987) James Callaghan notes how, early in 1976, the Queen encouraged him, as Foreign Secretary, to take an initiative, which he already had in mind, to resolve the Rhodesian problem: "Inevitably the Queen's opinion was enough to tip the scales, for she is an authority on the Commonwealth and I respected her opinion". The initiative failed but Callaghan commented, "I had always thought since that the Queen's initiative on Rhodesia was a perfect illustration of how and when the Monarch could effectively intervene to advise

²⁴⁵ B. Axford, et al., *Politics: An Introduction*, Routeledge, London, 2002, p. 347

²⁴⁶ Ibid

and encourage her Ministers from her own wide experience and with complete constitutional property". 247

The prime minister is the one who exercises the powers that the monarch had in the past. The monarch's powers reduced gradually to be transferred to ministers. The ministers may ask the Queen for an advice, on which the Queen has to be impartial.²⁴⁸ The monarch asks the leader of the majority party in the House of Commons to become the prime minister and to form a government, usually after a general election.²⁴⁹

The Queen is also Head of the Privy Council, which is a sort of legislative assembly in charge of some executive tasks. Before the 18th century, the Privy Council and the monarch formed the Government. Today, it is composed of about 400 Privy councillors (members of the Cabinet, ministers, leaders of the opposition parties, judges and some Commonwealth members), and it takes care of chartered bodies like institutions, charities, companies... It has also a certain role to play within higher education, healthcare, in addition to some judicial role. Being the Head of the Privy Council, the Queen has to hold councils with ministers and the Clerk of the council

Being a constitutional monarch, the Queen has to remain impartial and apolitical²⁵⁰. It is the reason why her Privy Counsellors including her ministers should not reveal the content of their discussions with her; it has to remain private.²⁵¹ As mentioned in a Queen's biography by Sarah Bradford, Elizabeth is the constitutional

²⁴⁷ R. Allison, op.cit., p. 15.

²⁴⁸http://www.direct.gov.uk/en/Governmentcitizensandrights/UKgovernment/Centralgovernmentandthem onarchy/DG 073442

²⁴⁹ J.Kopstein, M. Irving Lichbach (Ed), Comparative Politics: Interests, Identities, and Institutions in a Changing Global Order, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge United Kingdom, 2000, p.65 ²⁵⁰ S. Bradford, op.cit., p. 489.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

cog in the workings of government; together with her Private Secretary and the Secretary to the Cabinet, are known as 'the Golden Triangle'. 252

2.2. The Queen's Prime Ministers

As head of state, the Queen has a close contact with her prime ministers, with whom she has a weekly audience. She can give her opinions and views, which remain strictly confidential, but she has to respect the advice of her ministers.²⁵³ British Prime Ministers take their weekly meetings with the Queen very seriously, while she works with politicians of whatever party as the elected representatives of her people.

The ministers always supported the Queen, whatever what the critics of the media were. Whether Conservatives or Labours, ministers are said to appreciate working with Elizabeth II, and admire her professionalism and dedication to her job with a total absence of partisanship.²⁵⁴ Queen Elizabeth II has been served, until now, by eleven prime ministers (see Appendix Two), Barbara Castle said:

I respected her as a true professional, she was most conscientious, did her homework. I particularly admire the skill with which she adapted to each situation, changing ministers and governments. ²⁵⁵

The first Prime Minister was Winston Churchill, a Conservative. He was Prime Minister with Elizabeth's father, King George VI, too. He served from 1940 to 1945 and from 1951 to 1955 when he started to work with Elizabeth II. He was successful in WWII, but unable to bring an end to post WWII Cold War. He resigned in

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²⁵² Ibid., p. 488

 $^{^{253}\} http://www.royal.gov.uk/MonarchUK/QueenandGovernment/QueenandPrimeMinister.aspx$

²⁵⁴ S. Bradford, op.cit., p. 361.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., p.313

April 1955. He kept a very good relationship with the Queen. It is said that his resignation marked the end of an era.²⁵⁶

Churchill was succeeded by Anthony Eden in 1955, a Conservative too. His actions upon the nationalization of the Suez Canal, of Egypt, which were to bomb Port Said with the cooperation of France, resulted in the intervention of the United Nations, which ordered a ceasefire ²⁵⁷. He resigned in 1957 for reasons of health. ²⁵⁸

Harold Macmillan, the third Conservative Prime Minister was appointed by the Queen on the advice of the Conservative party. He served from 1957 till his resignation in 1963. He saw the easing of Cold War tensions and restored the country's morale. Elizabeth II appointed the leader of the Conservative party on the advice of Macmillan to succeed him as the Prime Minister in 1963, but this choice did not please everybody, so, in 1965, the Conservatives established an electoral system to decide on who was going to be their leader in the future, so that, the Queen can have no interference in the choice of their leader. ²⁵⁹ Alec Douglas-Home was the one who replaced Macmillan, he was conservative as well. He served from 1963 to 1964, and was replaced by Harold Wilson through a general election.

The first four prime ministers had shared interests and more or less the same goals since they were all conservatives, something with which the Queen was familiar. The next Prime Minister was quite different. Harold Wilson was the first Labour Prime Minister since Elizabeth was Queen. He was from a totally different background. Wilson served twice from 1964 to 1970 and from 1974 to 1976. ²⁶⁰ He is remembered for achievements such as the abolishment of capital punishment, and the foundation of the Open University.

²⁵⁹ http://www.royal.gov.uk/HMTheQueen/Publiclife/PublicLife1962-1971/1962-1971.aspx

²⁵⁶ R. Allison, op.cit., p.41.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., p.44.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ http://www.royal.gov.uk/MonarchUK/QueenandGovernment/QueenandPrimeMinister.aspx

The period of 1970-1974 was served by Edward Heath, a Conservative Prime Minister who led Britain into European Commission²⁶¹ (European Union) membership. When he resigned the Queen sent for Harold Wilson²⁶².

James Callaghan was the Prime Minister who served from 1976 to 1979²⁶³, he was a Labour. Callaghan was obliged to hold a general election which brought back the Conservative party to power. The year 1979 was the beginning of a completely new direction in politics. Callaghan told Elizabeth Longford, about the Queen:

One gets a great deal of friendliness. And Prime Ministers also get a great deal of understanding of their problems_ without the Queen sharing them, since she is outside politics. I think she weighs them up, but doesn't offer advice. She listens, of course she may have hinted at things, but only on the rarest occasions do I remember her ever saying, 'why don't you do this, that or the other?' She is pretty detached on all that. But she's very interested in the political side_who's going up and who's going down... ²⁶⁴

Callaghan's Government did not succeed, with industrial unrest and economic instability. Margaret Hilda Thatcher became then Prime Minister serving from 1979 to 1990.²⁶⁵ P. Ward thinks that the election of Margaret Thatcher is the consequence of the events that were taking place in Britain then. He said:

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An organization of European countries dedicated to increasing economic integration and strengthening cooperation among its members. The European Union headquarters is located in Brussels, Belgium. As of 2007 there were 27 countries in the EU. Urwin, Derek W. "European Union." Redmond, WA: Microsoft Corporation, 2008. Microsoft ® Encarta ® 2009. © 1993-2008 Microsoft Corporation.

²⁶² R. Allison, op.cit., p. 98.

²⁶³ http://www.royal.gov.uk/MonarchUK/QueenandGovernment/QueenandPrimeMinister.aspx

²⁶⁴ S. Bradford, op.cit., p.365

²⁶⁵ http://www.royal.gov.uk/MonarchUK/QueenandGovernment/QueenandPrimeMinister.aspx

It might be suggested that the election of Margaret Thatcher as prime minister in 1979 was in past a response to the crisis of the 1970's of which the 'break up of Britain' was a component and to which the end of empire seemed to have contributed. ²⁶⁶

It was the time of unemployment when Thatcher led the country to war against Argentina in the Falkland Islands. Her aims were to cut costs, reduce public spending, and get value for money for the taxpayer. This was against the monarchy. To reduce the role of government was one of her aims too. ²⁶⁷ Mrs Thatcher who was loyal to the Queen set a revolution in British life which would touch the Queen herself in the next decade. ²⁶⁸

For the Queen dealing with a woman in politics was something completely new. Not only was Margaret Thatcher the first woman Prime Minister and the first woman to lead the Conservative Party, but she was also the first Prime Minister being from the same generation with Elizabeth, being only six months older. Elizabeth was professional and correct in her relations with Margaret Thatcher as with all the other Prime Ministers, but she didn't approve of all the changes she was making in Britain.

The next Prime Minister was John Major, a conservative who served from 1990 to 1997.²⁶⁹ He abolished poll tax and the economy continued its recovery. When Major resigned Tony Blair won the general elections. Blair was the Labour Prime Minister who became the youngest Prime Minister for 150 years²⁷⁰. Blair served from 1997 to 2007; he was known for his commitment to the things that improve the quality of the average person's life such as investments in education and a severe attitude

²⁶⁶ P. Ward, op.cit., p. 33

²⁶⁷ S. Bradford, op.cit., p.383.

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ http://www.royal.gov.uk/MonarchUK/QueenandGovernment/QueenandPrimeMinister.aspx

²⁷⁰ R. Allison, op.cit., p. 164.

toward crime. ²⁷¹ The administration which took place when Blair became Prime Minister was largely composed of republicans determined to modernise Britain and eliminate every obstacle standing before them, including history and tradition. ²⁷² But his Government was not as radical socially or economically as other labour Prime Ministers. ²⁷³ Blair was followed by Gordon Brown, the current Prime Minister, who is serving since the 27th June 2007. Brown is a Labour who served as the Chancellor of the Exchequer under Tony Blair from 1997 to 2007.

3. The Queen and the Legislative Body

The British Legislature is composed of the sovereign, the House of Lords (the upper house) and the House of Commons (the lower house), which gives sense to the phrase "Crown in Parliament", used to describe the British Legislature. Parliament is the supreme legislative institution in the United Kingdom. Parliament succeeded to have power because monarchs needed money to fight in wars. Monarchs had to impose more taxes; the only way to do so was to bring rich merchants who supported the monarch to Parliament; merchants and knights were separated from the lords and clergy. It was the way Parliament started to develop into two houses: the Commons and the Lords. 274

Later, the monarch became less powerful than his Parliament. There is even a Bill of Rights in the British constitution about the rights of Parliament over the monarchy in 1689. Still, the sovereign is the head of Parliament, playing essentially a ceremonial role.

The Queen, today, has to open and to prorogue (discontinue) Parliament, to give her permission to the Prime Minister in order to summon or dissolve Parliament

²⁷¹ B. Pimlott, op.cit, p. 667.

²⁷² S. Bradford, op.cit., p. 519.

²⁷³ B. Pimlott, op.cit, p. 667.

²⁷⁴ A. Williams, op.cit., p. 146

²⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 10

before a general election, and to give her assent to orders and proclamations during her meetings with the Privy Council.²⁷⁶ The Queen also has to give ministers audiences where she may be consulted; she could also encourage and warn. The Queen makes a speech for the opening of Parliament each year.

The Queen is supposed to give the Royal Assent to bills passed by Parliament so that they become law, on the advice of her ministers. In theory, she has the power to give or refuse the Royal Assent for a bill so that it will be an Act of Parliament or not, but today, it has become automatic because it has not been refused since 1707.

The Queen opens Parliament addressing the House of Lords and the House of Commons with her Speech, written by the Government and agreed on by the Cabinet; it is usually called the "Queen's Speech" (see Appendix Three). The Speech is read from the Throne in the House of Lords. ²⁷⁸ It contains some future policy of the Government for the coming session of Parliament. ²⁷⁹

4. The Queen and the Judicial Body

In the past, the monarch played an important role in law and justice; it is not the case anymore today. Nowadays, the Queen plays a symbolic role, in other words, justice is carried out on her name without her being really involved in the administration of justice. It was set within the Bill of Rights, in 1689, that the sovereign had no right to administer justice. ²⁸⁰

The Act of Settlement in 1701 gave justice the independence it has today. Judges could hold office without the agreement of the monarch. The monarch still can

²⁷⁹ http://www.royal.gov.uk/MonarchUK/QueenandGovernment/QueeninParliament.aspx

 $^{^{276}\} http://www.royal.gov.uk/MonarchUK/QueenandGovernment/QueenandGovernment.aspx$

²⁷⁷ http://www.royal.gov.uk/MonarchUK/QueenandGovernment/QueeninParliament.aspx

²⁷⁸ http://www.direct.gov.uk/en/Nl1/Newsroom/DG 173092

²⁸⁰ http://www.royal.gov.uk/MonarchUK/Queenandthelaw/SovereignasFountofJustice.aspx

appoint or remove judges on the advice of ministers and not on his own will.²⁸¹ The Queen does not participate in judicial matters, but since she has made the coronation oath, and by common law, she is the "Fount of Justice"; all jurisdictions derive from her being the crown. Laws are made in the Queen's name. According to the UK law, the sovereign cannot be attacked by civil and criminal proceedings; in return the sovereign has to make sure that his activities remain within the law. ²⁸²

In the UK, all the institutions of law belong to the Queen, such as courts (the Queen's courts), judges (the Queen's judges), prisons (Her Majesty's Prisons). The Queen, on the advice of her ministers, can give conditional pardons, penalties or even grant freedom by exercising the prerogative of mercy. ²⁸³

5. The Place of Religion within the Monarchy

Britain, nowadays, comprises many cultures, and many faiths; there are Christians, Muslims, Jews, and other beliefs as well. Since the Queen is also Head of the Commonwealth, we have to take into consideration those people who are from different places with different religions. The Queen has to respect and tolerate all these religions and beliefs and to spread these values among her people. Tolerance is often mentioned in speeches when addressing her people. In 2004, within her Christmas message, the Queen said, "Everyone is our neighbour, no matter what race, creed or colour." ²⁸⁴

As a monarch, Elizabeth is the Defender of the Faith and Supreme Governor of the Church of England; she recognises other faiths and encourages inter-faith relations. She has even visited sacred places of other faiths and met different religious

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²⁸¹ Ibid

²⁸² http://www.royal.gov.uk/MonarchUK/Queenandthelaw/HowUKandEUlawaffectTheQueen.aspx

²⁸³ http://www.royal.gov.uk/MonarchUK/Queenandthelaw/QueensroleintheadministrationofJustice.aspx

²⁸⁴ http://www.royal.gov.uk/MonarchUK/QueenandChurch/Queenandotherfaiths.aspx

leaders, through her overseas travels. As an example, the Queen attended, with her husband, in 2006, the 350th anniversary of the Jewish Community in London, and in 2008, the Queen has been to the Green Mosque in Turkey. ²⁸⁵ As all the latest British monarchs since the Glorious revolution, Elizabeth is a Protestant²⁸⁶, and is proud of being so. Elizabeth has always acknowledged, publicly, the role of faith in guiding her actions. In 2000, the Queen said in her Christmas message:

To many of us, our beliefs are of fundamental importance. For me, the teachings of Christ, and my own personal accountability before God provide a framework in which I try to lead my life. I, like so many of you, have drawn great comfort in difficult times from Christ's words and example. ²⁸⁷

As the Supreme Governor of the Church of England, the Queen's role is to appoint the archbishops and diocesan bishops, who take an oath of allegiance to her on their appointment and pay homage to her after their consecration.²⁸⁸ In reality, it is the Church body, the Crown Appointment Committee, which chooses two names; they give them afterwards to the Prime Minister who presents his choice to the Queen.

The Queen also opens, every five years, the Church assembly (or the Synod) which is the supreme authority of the Church of England, since 1919. Elizabeth through her monarch status and coronation oath is a full member of the Church of England and has to maintain the Church. ²⁸⁹

The Royal religion is a 'civil religion'.²⁹⁰ The royal family was the model of a Christian family, even the national anthem 'God Save the Queen' includes

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²⁸⁵ Ibid.

²⁸⁶ A. Olechnowicz (Ed), op.cit, p.115

²⁸⁷ http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Queen+tells+of+personal+beliefs.-a068733943

²⁸⁸ S. Bradford, op.cit., p. 491.

²⁸⁹ http://www.royal.gov.uk/MonarchUK/QueenandChurch/QueenandtheChurchofEngland.aspx

²⁹⁰ A.Olechnowicz (Ed), op.cit., p.246

religion.²⁹¹ Religion can be noticed also within ceremonies like coronations and funerals. Elizabeth II, as a Christian attends church each Sunday. The day of her coronation, she asked her subjects to pray for her saying:

Pray that Christ may give me wisdom and strength to carry out the solemn promises I shall be making, and that I may faithfully serve Him, and you, all the days of my life. ²⁹²

Elizabeth is a traditionalist in all aspects of her life; religion is not an exception; she is conventional in her religion, and Sarah Bradford cites the following example within her biography of the Queen:

Elizabeth is very conventional in her religion, when the new prayer book was substituted for the old Book of Common Prayer, she accepted it, but in her heart of hearts she prefers the old version; it is used in Sandringham Church on the Sundays when she is there and Scripture readings are taken from the old Bible and not from the modern version. ²⁹³

6. The Monarchy and International Relations

Elizabeth has travelled a lot, even more than any other monarch. She went to countries that previous British monarchs had never seen. It has become a very important part of her duties, since her first official visit to South Africa, in 1947. The Queen has two foreign visits each year, in addition to the visits she pays to members of the Commonwealth countries.²⁹⁴

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²⁹¹ Ibid.

W. Shawcross, "The Queen at 80", in the Tlelgraph.co.uk, 16 Apr 2006, in http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1515874/The-Queen-at-80.html

²⁹³ S. Bradford, op.cit., p. 492.

²⁹⁴ http://www.royal.gov.uk/MonarchUK/RoyalVisits/Overseasvisits.aspx

Elizabeth has made her first official visit as a princess abroad on a tour of South Africa. Later, she visited France, Greece, and in 1951 toured Canada with her husband; she continued her visits in 1952 when she replaced her father who was ill. She visited Australia and New Zealand, always accompanied by Prince Philip. She was even abroad, in Kenya, when her father died and she succeeded to the throne.

Since 1952, Elizabeth has done more than 60 State visits to other Governments and visited more than 325 countries. Elizabeth II was the first British monarch to visit the communist Yugoslavia in 1972, Hong Kong, and Japan in 1975. She was also the first British monarch to go to the Middle East in 1979. She was the first monarch to visit China in 1986, Russia in October 1994, Brunei and Malaysia in 1998, and Korea in 1999. She visited also Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia in October 2006, Australia and Singapore in 2006, and the United States in 2007. Elizabeth went to Uganda for the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in 2007, and paid a state visit to Slovenia and Slovakia in October 2008.

The Queen has maintained good relationships with other Heads of State and political leaders such as Nelson Mandela and Bill Clinton, which gave her the privilege to be well informed about politics. Those contacts were beneficial to the relations of Britain and other nations. ²⁹⁷

7. The Evolution of the Commonwealth with Elizabeth II

The 1950's saw the first phase of decolonisation of the British Empire. Citizens of those countries were still affirming their loyalty to the Crown, being full of hope with the coronation of a new young Queen. They were expecting progress and achievement within the Commonwealth which still carried the name British

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²⁹⁵ http://www.royal.gov.uk/HMTheQueen/Publiclife/PublicLife1972-1981/1972-1981.aspx

²⁹⁶ http://www.royal.gov.uk/MonarchUK/RoyalVisits/Overseasvisits.aspx

²⁹⁷ http://www.knowledgerush.com/kr/encyclopedia/Elizabeth_II_of_the_United_Kingdom/

Commonwealth. ²⁹⁸ In other words, Commonwealth countries are countries which once made part of the British Empire; today they are 54 independent states. Every Two years representatives of these countries meet to discuss matters such as economy, science, education... ²⁹⁹

Most of these countries became Parliamentary Democracies³⁰⁰. The condition to be a member of the Commonwealth is that the country had been ruled by Britain or another Commonwealth country and that this country agrees on the fact that the British monarch becomes its symbolic head, as he/she is head of the Commonwealth in general.

The Queen, today, is the Monarch of 15 Commonwealth countries like Canada and New Zealand, in addition to the UK. She also bears the title of Head of the Commonwealth which is made up of 54 nation states (see Appendix Four), including two billion people constituting almost the third of the population of the world. According to Professor Balmer the only organization that can be compared to the Commonwealth is *La* Francophonie: the French-speaking community of 47 nations.³⁰¹

When Elizabeth became Queen, the Commonwealth had only eight members. Today, fifteen states in the world share the same monarch with the United Kingdom. ³⁰² It was a whole transformation since the reign of Queen Victoria, where those countries were part of the British Empire, to become independent countries forming an association called Commonwealth, and having Queen Elizabeth II as their representative. ³⁰³

³⁰¹J. Balmer, The British Monarchy: Does the British Crown as a Corporate Brand Fit?, op.cit., p.06.

²⁹⁸ P. Boyce, *The Queen's Other Realms: the Crown and Its Legacy in Australia, Canada and New Zealand*, The Federation Press, Sydney, 2008, p.09

²⁹⁹ T. Graham, op.cit., p. 298.

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

³⁰² P. Boyce, op.cit., p. 01

³⁰³ http://www.heraldica.org/faqs/britfaq.html

In each country, Elizabeth II is represented by a 'Governor-General', who is appointed by the Queen on the advice of the government of that country. This Governor General carries out all her duties.³⁰⁴ The monarchy symbolises a link between the countries of the modern Commonwealth. 305

The Commonwealth is very important for the Queen, being its first head. She always kept its members linked together. Since 1973, when the first Commonwealth Heads of Government conference took place, the Queen always attends those meetings, where she meets every representative in a private meeting. 306

The Queen in their meetings can be consulted, she can advise or warn but she cannot rule. She generally speaks on the advice of the Prime Minister, though the messages she addresses like for Christmas and Commonwealth Day are made by the Oueen herself.³⁰⁷

In 1957, a new tradition was born, the Queen was broadcasted for her Christmas message to the Commonwealth on television, 308 in which she showed her concern about the Commonwealth. Here is an extract of one of the Queen's Christmas messages:

> The strength of the Commonwealth lies in its history and the way people feel about it. All those years through which we have lived together have given us an exchange of people and ideas which ensures that there is a continuing concern for each other. 309

³⁰⁴ R. Allison, op.cit., p. 17.

³⁰⁵ V. Bogdanor, *The Monarchy and the Constitution*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1995, p. 304

³⁰⁶ R. Allison, op.cit., p. 18.

³⁰⁷ T. Graham, op.cit., p.298.

³⁰⁸ R. Allison, op.cit., p. 48.

³⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 87.

Since the beginning of her reign, Elizabeth II has paid regular visits to Commonwealth Countries such as Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the Caribbean. Elizabeth II even participated in events concerning Commonwealth Countries. She opened the Jamaican Parliament, in February 1983, for its 21st year of independence.³¹⁰ It was reported that during the celebration of the "Silver Jubilee" (the 25th anniversary of the accession to the throne), when speaking to the Lord Mayor of London on the 7th June 1997, the Queen expressed herself about the fact that she had seen from a unique position of advantage, the last great phase of the transformation of the Empire into Commonwealth and the transformation of the Crown from an emblem of domination into a symbol of free and voluntary association. ³¹¹

Many changes have occurred during Elizabeth's reign, and resulted in the influence of the United Kingdom on the world. Among these changes, there was the independence of some British colonies and their joining the Commonwealth of Nations. Elizabeth acted as a symbol of continuity within the Commonwealth as well as within Britain. She was the first British monarch to be entitled 'Head of the Commonwealth' at her accession; the Royal Act of 1953 specified that she was Queen of each Commonwealth country which was not a republic³¹², and that the Queen will act on the advice of her ministers there, and legislation on the royal title was to be enacted by each country's parliament.³¹³ Elizabeth was aware that the acceptance of her role as Head of the Commonwealth in a post-imperial situation depended on those countries.³¹⁴

From 1995, the Commonwealth became an Organization of 16 independent monarchies under the reign of the Queen (6 monarchies having their own monarchs and 32 republics). Royal Style and titles of the Queen on her accession are not the same with those of the previous monarchs. She has a different royal style in each

³¹⁰ http://www.royal.gov.uk/HMTheQueen/PublicLife1982-1991/1982-1991.aspx

³¹¹ R. Allison, op.cit., p. 18.

³¹² S. Bradford, op.cit., p. 174.

³¹³ Ibid., p. 209.

³¹⁴ Ibid., p. 374.

country having in common, "Her other Realms and Territories, Head of the Commonwealth..." According to John A. Taylor, The transformation of the British Empire into Commonwealth did not have a huge impact on the British monarchy because it survived without change. 316

Paul Ward said that the monarchy was seen as a device maintaining loyalty within the Commonwealth. ³¹⁷ It was true to a certain extent; Elizabeth has always been poplar within the Commonwealth; she travelled through all its countries carrying a message of unity and nationalism. Those travels may have contributed to this popularity and enthusiasm of her people. The monarchy has faced rejection at times too. In 1999, when Australians had to choose between keeping the Queen as their Head and becoming a republic, they voted against a republic because they were against that idea, but most of them did not want to keep the monarchy either. ³¹⁸

Today, it has become more difficult to obtain the enthusiasm people of the Commonwealth had in the past for the Crown, since the Queen has become less present in their countries being busy with her responsibilities in the UK. Polls taken in Australia, Canada and New Zealand, three Commonwealth realms, in the 1990's, have shown that about half of their citizens would like to have a local Head of State with the majority supporting the ending of monarchy.³¹⁹

Conclusion

Parliament has taken much of the powers the monarch could have, and since 1910, the monarch has no role to play in politics.³²⁰ Instead, the monarch stood for other aspects that a head of state could have such as being the symbol of his country.

³¹⁵ http://www.heraldica.org/faqs/britfaq.html

³¹⁶ J. Taylor, op.cit., p.128

³¹⁷ P. Ward, op.cit, p. 14

³¹⁸ http://www.centreforcitizenship.org/monarchy/mon2.html

³¹⁹ P. Boyce, op.cit., p.02

³²⁰ J.Kopstein, M. Irving Lichbach (Ed), op.cit., p.66

Paradoxically, the first and historically most important role of the monarchy has been to symbolize Britain's constitutionalism. In its relative powerlessness, it embodied a crucial aspect of national identity. ³²¹

The monarch nowadays, has to fulfil his ceremonial functions in Britain, and in the Commonwealth. While performing official visits elsewhere, the Prime Minister is the one who is responsible for the political part since he is the head of Government; meanwhile, the monarch takes care of representing his country and promoting values such as continuity and unity, and keeping up good relationships with foreign leaders out of politics. 322

The reign of Elizabeth II has been marked by many changes. There was, among others the problems in Northern Ireland during the 1950's. Britain was still undergoing economic difficulties following the World War II, and industries were nationalized. In 1973, Britain joined the European Economic Community. In the early 1980's, the British colonies took their independence. ³²³ Elizabeth through all these changes had to fulfil her role as a monarch and a symbol of unity and continuity within Great Britain and the Commonwealth of nations. Elizabeth perfectly understood what her role was and still do; she was always at the service of her nation ³²⁴

As stated in R. Allison's Book, even when she was young, the Queen always took her constitutional duties as much seriously as possible, the way she still does today. She reads her dispatch boxes with attention and intelligence. Elizabeth II became Queen in an early age and has a very good memory; this is why, she is aware of

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³²¹ T. Bentley(Ed), J. Wilsdon (Ed), op.cit., p. 68

³²² A. Williams, op.cit., p.166

^{323 &}quot;Elizabeth II." Microsoft® Encarta® 2009 [DVD]. Redmond, WA: Microsoft Corporation, 2008.

³²⁴ R. Allison, op.cit., p.09.

the history of her country, and knows a lot about politics; nevertheless, she has to remain objective. ³²⁵

The British Monarch is considered by critics as the head of a class system. Modernizers are against that. There are also the liberals, who are for equality of opportunity and change in their society. They are against the fact that the monarchy passes to people only by heredity; they would rather have a meritocratic system where people reach places by working and by being talented than by heredity. Critics also say that the monarch should be elected. They doubt the fact that somebody who has not been elected can take good decisions in politics.

There is another point on which critics focus: it is the cost of the monarchy. They consider that the monarchy costs too much where a president would cost far less with more democratic principles; nevertheless, the monarchy brings a lot of money to the British economy thanks to tourism. The monarchy and what surrounds it still attract tourists. 328

³²⁵ Ibid., p.15.

³²⁶ A. Williams, op.cit., p.166

³²⁷ Ibid., p. 167

³²⁸ Ibid.

General Conclusion

The monarchy has always interested Historians and scholars throughout the world, since its existence. As mentioned before, it has been the system of government in Britain for centuries now. Since 1952, Queen Elizabeth II is the head of state; as well as, the symbol of stability, and the figurehead of Britain.

Elizabeth kept the monarchy the best she could, combining her role of wife, mother, and grandmother with her role of head of state and head of the Commonwealth. Without having an executive role, she permanently watches over her Kingdom. Her efforts were not always rewarded, but still Elizabeth believes in the oath she has made to God during her coronation that she will never abdicate.

Anti-monarchists want to see the monarchy abolished and replaced by a republic, where they can elect their figurehead. On the other hand, people who advocate the monarchy argue that a hereditary monarch has more distance with politics than politicians who are constrained by short-term thinking. Moreover, the long-reign of Elizabeth II has provided a sense of continuity that could not be possible in a presidential state.

The British monarchy has lasted more than 1 200 years thanks to its adaptability. To abolish it would not be easy and could even be dangerous. The British people still want the monarchy, or at least they want Elizabeth II as Queen, because whether or not people believe in monarchs, they believe in her because they recognise that she represents values like courage, and a sense of duty and dedication to her work.

Elizabeth II is in her eighties now, an age when most people would be enjoying their retirement but she carries on her public duties. She has represented an ancient institution to the best of her ability. No retirement is possible for Elizabeth II; she will remain in office until she dies or is mentally incapacitated.

There were times where Elizabeth II was blamed for intervening and deciding for the Government. But there were studies of Cabinet papers in addition to other contemporary sources that demonstrated that it was not the case. There was always a sort of battle between traditionalists, who believe in royalty and the modernizers who see their country without a royalty. In most situations Elizabeth II reacted as a conservative, and as a traditionalist.

Elizabeth's reign has been long and difficult, and in spite of her total dedication, she could not prevent the monarchy from going down from a high position of adulation to a position where the British were at times against it. Republicanism found good reasons to come back during the 1990's among intellectuals and some media which is even more dangerous because of their strong influence on people.

More questions about the monarchy and its future could be asked, like what will be the fate of the British monarchy after Elizabeth II? Is it going to survive? Is it going to carry on the same way? One thing may be guessed, it is that the next monarch, if ever there will be, may not be as respected as Elizabeth has been during her reign.

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English Monarchs

House of Mercia:

Offa 779-796

House of Wessex (Anglo-Saxon Kings):

Egbert 802-839

Ethelwulf 839-856

Ethelbald 856-860

Ethelbert 860-866

Ethelred I 866-871

Alfred, the Great 871-899

Edward, the Elder 899-925

Ethelstan 925- 940 (He was the first king of all England)

Monarchs of England

Edmund, Magnificient 940-946

Eadred 946-955

Edwing (Edwy), All Fair 955-959

Edgar, the peaceable 959-975

Edward, the Martyr 975-978

AEthelred II, the Unready 978- 1016

Edmund II, Ironside 1016

House of Danemark (Danish Line):

Cnut (Canute), the Great 1016-1035

Harold I, Harefoot 1035- 1040

Harthacanute 1040-1042

House of Wessex Restored (Saxon Kings):

Edward, the Confessor 1042-1066

Harold II 1066

The Norman Kings:

King William I, the Conqueror 1066-1087

King William II 1087- 1100

King Henry I 1100-1135

King Stephen 1135-1154

The Plantagenets (Angevin line):

King Henry II, Curtmantle 1154- 1189

Monarchs of

England

King Edward VI 1547- 1553

Lady Jane Grey 1553

King Richard I, the Lionheart 1189-1199 Monarchs of King John I, Lackland 1199-1216 England King Henry III 1216-1272 King Edward I, Longshanks 1272-1307 King Edward II, 1307-1327 King Edward III 1327-1377 Richard II 1377- 1399 The House of Lancaster/ Plantagenet (Lancastrian Line): Henry IV, Bolingbroke 1399- 1413 Henry V 1413-1422 Henry VI 1422- 1461 The House of York (Plantagenet Yorkshire Line): Monarchs of England and Wales King Edward IV 1461-1483 King Edward V 1483 King Richard III, Crookback 1483-1485 The Tudors: King Henry VII 1485-1509 King Henry VIII 1509-1547

King George IV 1820-1830

King William IV 1830-1837

Monarchs of Queen Mary I (Bloody Mary) 1553-1558 England and Wales Queen Elizabeth I 1558-1603 The Stuarts: James I 1603-1625 Charles I 1625-1649 **Commonwealth** (It was no more a monarchy): Monarchs of Oliver Cromwell (Lord Protector) 1653-1658 England, Richard Cromwell (Lord Protector) 1658-1659 Wales, **House of Stuart (Restored):** and Scotland Charles II 1660- 1685 James II 1685- 1688 William III of Orange jointly with Queen Mary II from 1689 to 1694 William reigned alone from 1694 to 1702 (upon the death of Marry) Queen Anne 1702- 1714 House of Hanover (Hanover Line): King George I 1714-1727 King George II 1727-1760 Monarchs of England, King George III 1760-1820

Wales, Scotland,

and Ireland

Queen Victoria 1837-1901

House of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha:

King Edward VII 1901-1910

House of Windsor:

King George V 1910-1936

King Edward VIII 1936

King George VI 1936- 1952

Queen Elizabeth II 1952- present day (Queen of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and Head of the Commonwealth of Nations).

Monarchs of

England, Wales,

Scotland,

and Ireland

Appendix Two

This is the list of Elizabeth II's prime ministers along her reign, from 1952 to 2009, with the party they belong to, extracted from Ronald Allison's book "The Queen: 50 years- a Celebration", P.186.

1952- 1955	Sir Winston Churchill	Conservative	
1955- 1957	Sir Anthony Eden	Conservative	
1957- 1963	Harold Macmillan	Conservative	
1963-1964	Sir Alec Douglas-Home	Conservative	
1964- 1970	Harold Wilson	Labour	
1970- 1974	Edward Heath	Conservative	
1974- 1976	Harold Wilson	Labour	
1976- 1979	James Callaghan	Labour	

Appendix Two

1979- 1990	Margaret Thatcher	Conservative	
1990- 1997	John Major	Conservative	
1997- 2007	Tony Blair	New Labour	
2007-	Gordon Brown	Labour	

Appendix Three

Appendix Three

Queen's Speech 2008 (full wording) taken from:

http://www.direct.gov.uk/en/Nl1/Newsroom/DG_173094

Published: Wednesday, 3 December 2008

HM The Queen opened the new parliamentary session this morning and

outlined government's legislative priorities. This is the text of her speech:

My Lords and Members of the House of Commons.

My government's overriding priority is to ensure the stability of the British

economy during the global economic downturn. My government is committed to helping

families and businesses through difficult times.

The strength of the financial sector is vital to the future vibrancy of the economy.

Therefore, legislation will continue to be taken forward to ensure fairer and more

secure protection for bank depositors and to improve the resilience of the financial

sector.

My government will also bring forward proposals to create Saving Gateway

Accounts to encourage people on lower incomes to save more by offering financial

incentives. My government will bring forward legislation to promote local economic

development and to create greater opportunities for community and individual

involvement in local decision-making.

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A Bill will be brought forward to reform the welfare system, to improve incentives for people to move from benefits into sustained employment and to provide greater support, choice and control for disabled people. A Bill will be brought forward to increase the effectiveness and public accountability of policing, to reduce crime and disorder and to enhance airport security.

My government will also bring forward a Bill to deliver a more effective, transparent and responsive justice system for victims, witnesses and the wider public. The Bill would also improve the coroners service, and the process of death certification, and provide increased support for bereaved families, including the families of servicemen and women.

My government is committed to ensuring everyone has a fair chance in life. My government will bring forward a Bill to promote equality, fight discrimination and introduce transparency in the workplace to help address the difference in pay between men and women.

My government will enshrine in law its commitment to eradicate child poverty by 2020. Because the health of the nation is vital to its success and well-being, a Bill will be brought forward to strengthen the National Health Service. The Bill would create a duty to take account of the new National Health Service Constitution that will set out the core principles of the Service and the rights and responsibilities of patients and staff. The Bill would also introduce measures to improve the quality of health care and public health.

My government will bring forward a Bill to reform education, training and apprenticeships, to promote excellence in all schools, to improve local services for children and parents and to provide a right for those in work to request time for training.

My government will continue to take forward proposals on constitutional renewal, including strengthening the role of Parliament and other measures.

My government will bring forward measures to protect the environment for future generations. A Bill will be introduced to manage marine resources and to create a new right of public access to the coastline.

My government will continue to work closely with the devolved administrations in the interests of all the people of the United Kingdom. My government is committed to the Northern Ireland political process and will bring forward further measures for sustainable, devolved government.

Members of the House of Commons

Estimates for the public services will be laid before you.

My Lords and Members of the House of Commons

My government will work for a coordinated international response to the global downturn, including by hosting the next G20 Summit on financial markets and the world economy in the United Kingdom in April next year and reforming financial institutions. My government will continue to work as part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation including at its sixtieth anniversary summit.

My government will press for a comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East, for continued progress in Iraq and for effective measures to address concerns over Iran's nuclear programme.

My government will work with the governments of Afghanistan and Pakistan for security, stability and prosperity. The Duke of Edinburgh and I look forward to receiving the President of Mexico. Other measures will be laid before you.

My Lords and Members of the House of Commons

I pray that the blessing of Almighty God may rest upon your counsels.

Appendix Four

This is the list of Commonwealth countries, which all have the Queen as a symbolic head. It is taken from the book of Ronald Allison "The Queen: 50 Years- a Celebration", p.183.

COMMONWEALTH MEMBERS

There are 54 member countries of the Commonwealth. These are listed below, with the years in which they joined the Commonwealth. Also listed is their constitutional status: realm indicates a Commonwealth country which retained a monarchical constitution, recognising The Queen as Sovereign; monarchy indicates an indigenous monarchical constitution.

Country	Date	Status	Country	Date	Status
Antigua and Barbuda	1981	Realm	Mozambique	1995	Republic
Australia	1931	Realm	Namibia	1990	Republic
The Bahamas	1973	Realm	Nauru*	1968	Republic
Bangladesh	1972	Republic	New Zealand	1931	Realm
Barbados	1966	Realm	Nigeria	1960	Republic
Belize	1981	Realm	Pakistan	1989	Republic
Botswana	1966	Republic	(joined in 1947, left in 1972, rejoined in 1989)		
Brunei	1984	Monarchy	Papua New Guinea	1975	Realm
Cameroon	1995	Republic	St. Christopher and Nevis	1983	Realm
Canada	1931	Realm	St. Lucia	1979	Realm
Cyprus	1961	Republic	St. Vincent and the Grenadines	1979	Realm
Dominica	1978	Republic	Seychelles	1976	Republic
Fiji	1997	Republic	Sierra Leone	1961	Republic
(joined in 1970, left in 1987, rejoined in 1997)		Singapore	1965	Republic	
The Gambia	1965	Republic	Solomon Islands	1978	Realm
Ghana	1957	Republic	South Africa	1994	Republic
Grenada	1974	Realm	(joined in 1931, left in 1961, rejoined in 1994)		
Guyana	1966	Republic	Sri Lanka	1948	Republic
India	1947	Republic	Swaziland	1968	Monarchy
Jamaica	1962	Realm	Tanzania	1961	Republic
Kenya	1963	Republic	Tonga	1970	Monarchy
Kiribati	1979	Republic	Trinidad and Tobago	1962	Republic
Lesotho	1966	Monarchy	Tuvalu*	1978	Realm
Malawi	1964	Republic	United Kingdom		Monarchy
Malaysia	1957	Monarchy	Uganda	1962	Republic
The Maldives	1982	Republic	Vanuatu	1980	Republic
Malta	1964	Republic	Western Samoa	1970	Republic
Mauritius	1968	Republic	Zambia	1964	Republic

^{*} Special members, with the right to participate in all functional Commonwealth meetings and activities, but not to attend meetings of Commonwealth Heads of Government.

Countries which have left the Commonwealth Republic of Ireland (1949)

ABSTRACT

The Present work is concerned with the reign of the present British monarch, Elizabeth II (1952-2009), who is the leader of one of the most powerful monarchies in the world. It is important to try to know how Britain survived so many years with the monarchy as its system of government, while other countries did not and preferred another system like a republic with a president at the top of their government. The main purpose of this work is to put the role of the British monarch in a prominent place, to know whether a monarch still has an influence or still can bring changes to his/her kingdom within the twenty first century, taking into account the fact that Elizabeth II is a constitutional monarch, which implies that she does not have a concrete role in politics. Another purpose of the present study is to comprehend the positions of the monarchy towards particular situations, such as the revolt of the British subjects against the monarchy after the death of Lady Diana. The purpose is also to examine the impact of royal scandals and problems, intensified at times by the media, on the monarchy in general and the Queen in particular. Through this work there is an attempt to understand how a woman and a head of a family could lead and represent a whole nation, having no choice but to accept her fate. To have answers, an understanding of the monarchy, its background, its functioning, its environment, and its components are required.

Key words:

British Monarchy; Elizabeth II; Constitutional monarch; Royalty; Politics in Britain; System of government; Role of the sovereign.