

*Video clip begins*

- The BBC is interrupting its normal programmes to bring you an important announcement. This is BBC News from London. Buckingham Palace has announced the death of her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II. In a statement, the palace said the Queen died peacefully at Balmoral this afternoon. The King and the Queen consort will remain at Balmoral this evening and will return to London tomorrow. BBC Television is broadcasting this special programme reporting the death of her Majesty the queen.

*Video clip ends*

- Good morning, good afternoon, good evening, everybody, wherever you are in the world, and thank you for joining to this next in the series on icons and heroes of the 20th and 21st century. And of course, what you've just seen was the official announcements by the BBC the afternoon of 8th of September of last year, 2022, announcing the death of Elizabeth Alexandra Mary Windsor, who was born on the 21st of April, 1926, and died in her 97th year. It was a very memorable day, and it's one of those occurrences where I would suspect millions if not billions of people around the world will remember where they were when that announcement was made. Allow me to read to you a very brief email that was sent to me 30 minutes later. It was sent by parents of students that I had taught at my school, South Bank International School 10 years ago. I hadn't seen these parents since they were Italian. They were in London for two years, and upon hearing the death of the Queen, they felt an urge to write, and they sent me this very brief email. "Dear Julian Barnett, we wish to express our deepest condolences for the passing away of Queen Elizabeth. We feel as if the Polaris star has disappeared from the sky. Very best, Anna Federico and Karl".

What made these parents whom I not seen for a decade, had not been in any contact with write to me. They had never met the Queen. They had possibly never even seen the Queen in the flesh, yet they felt the urge to write that email. And what I'm going to do today is two things to try to answer that question. The first thing is to look at the queen as a person, as a human being, what made her so compelling? And secondly, to examine her position within the constitutional arrangement of the United Kingdom. I'd like to start off with the words of Robert Harmon, one of the foremost royal biographers, and he puts it perfectly. "Queen Elizabeth II was the most famous and familiar figure in our national life, and arguably in international life too. Her face is amongst the most reproduced images in human history, yet she had no interest in fame. Moreover, after all those years of familiarity, we are still left asking the question, what was she really like? It is the great paradox of Elizabeth II and it served her well".

And I would posit the theory that one of the reasons for the great success of the Queen as an international icon, was the fact that because we knew so little about her really, she never gave an interview. She was never filmed eating. We didn't know her views on anything other than horse racing or the weather. Yet she stood for something, something perhaps that we can't quite

put into words because we didn't know her views on anything really. We as British citizens, citizens of the world were able to almost project our views on her of what we felt she stood for. And that made her almost indestructible because she couldn't put her foot wrong. She understood the power of silence and of discretion and of dignity. And those are three things that are perhaps in very, very short supply in the world today. Maybe they've always been in short supply. Maybe I'm just harking back to a world that never was. But she certainly understood the power of less is more, understatement. So let's get to some of the pictures for today and I hope you will enjoy what I've selected. So Emily, thank you in advance. Let's start off with the title page.

*Images are displayed throughout the lecture*

The first slide, which is as you can see, goes without saying. Her late Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 1926 - 2022. Let's have a look at that first image. It's an absolute beauty taken in 1952, just 20 days after Queen Elizabeth ascended the throne, her father died on the 6th of February, 1952, at that succession day, the moment a British monarch dies the next monarch exceeds. The coronation might be delayed by a year or eight months, or in the case of Queen Elizabeth, it was delayed by 16 months. Coronation day was the 2nd of June 63. But the moment a monarch dies, the next monarch has to fill that vacuum so that there is no power vacuum within the political system. Within 20 days of the king George VI, the father of the queen dying. This photograph was taken by Dorothy Wilding. She took a series of photographs, most of them at three quarter pose, and this became the image on much of the coinage and many of the stamps for decades to come. It's a very, very beautiful picture. It's so much of its time, and it does capture something about the queen, which I'll return to later. Let's go to the second very powerful image towards the end of the queen's reign.

And this picture was taken by Chris Levine, a Canadian photographer. He was selected to take the official commemorative photos of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee 2012, and 10 years before her eventual demise. There she is wearing the Diadem of 1820. It was the crown designed for George IV for his coronation. It contains the symbols of the roses, the shamrock and the thistles, the symbols of the nations of the United Kingdom. It's a very beautiful thing. And Chris Levine had taken quite a lot of photos, apparently 28 photographs and between photographs, Levine said to the Queen, would you like just to take a moment just to gather your breath before we continue? And the queen agreed when she took that breath, he then took this picture, it was unposed. She was looking straight at him and he took it. And what is so striking about this is a number of things. Yes, it's majestic, but at risk of sounding overly romantic, there's almost a celestial feel to this picture. She's serene, she's totally at ease in herself. There is real power there, but there is also calm and perhaps most captivating of all one of those things that so many people commented about the queen, that it's the inscrutability of the woman. What is happening in that mind? What do we know about her? Very little. We know everything about her to a certain extent, but so little, all those things, serenity, inscrutability, power, majesty, dignity, they all come through on that unscripted unposed for picture. It's a wonderful one.

Let's now move on and I suppose we start at the end. Here is the picture of the Houses of Parliament. You're familiar with that? I've shown this picture on various lectures before with the queen's cypher right in the middle, E II R Elizabeth Regina with the St. Edward's crown over the ER. And as you might have picked up from my lectures on Edinburgh parts one and two, remember in Scotland the Queen is not Queen Elizabeth II, she was simply Queen Elizabeth, because Queen Elizabeth 1 was not Queen of Scotland. The union between England and Scotland only happened in 1603, upon the death of Elizabeth I and indeed was only cemented in 1707, in the active union. So on all letter boxes in Scotland, pillar boxes, letter boxes, it simply says ER. She was Elizabeth II of England and Wales and Northern islands, but simply Queen Elizabeth of Scotland.

Now let's go in to the end of that period of the Queen's reign, the lying in state. This remarkable period when the queen's body after had been brought down after her death was brought down to London, and was put into, next slide please, the remarkable Westminster Hall, the most ancient and perhaps hallowed part of the Palace of Westminster. Remember that the houses are parliament that as we now know them, were only built in 1834 to 1840 after the great fire that swept through the Palace of Westminster. But this building next picture, please Emily. Westminster Hall way predates the fire that destroyed the palace of Westminster. You can see the immense size of it just to the right of the picture. You can just see the rear of a Red London bus that gives you a sense of the immense size of this hall. Now the Houses of Parliament, as we know them now are 19th century, Westminster Hall 13th century. Indeed on the night of the 10th, 11th of May, a particularly heavy night of the blitz during the Second World War, the whole of the houses of Parliament were hit. One huge incendiary bomb fell in the House of Commons, two in the House of Lords, and one here in Westminster Hall. Now because the east end was being so heavily bombed that night, Winston Churchill was given a decision what can be saved. There wasn't enough fire people to save the whole of the houses of Parliament, and Churchill took the decision that the House of Commons burn but save Westminster Hall.

And so it was, this is simply the most historic, the most atmospheric, the most romantic room I would argue in the whole of the United Kingdom because of the history that has unfolded in this room, including the lying in state of so many monarchs since Will in the Concord 1066 after he was crowned over the road in Westminster Abbey on Christmas Day. Within Westminster Hall, the queen's body lay in state for five days, it was livestream 24 hours a day and it was an amazing thing to behold. Let's have a further look inside Westminster Hall now and you get the idea of the immensity of the building. This building, the main part of the building dates back to 1327, Richard II, with this tremendous hammer beam roof with 85 life-sized angels carved and peering down into their abyss below. To the next picture. And you can see there what I mean by that tremendous hammer beam roof that has overseen so many historical events including the trial of Charles I who was subsequently found guilty of treason and was beheaded just up the road in the banqueting house on white hall. And now a closeup of one of those wonderful guardian angels, there they are life-sized peering down, 800 years old, 750 years old over the great event that occurred that unfolded last September, the lying in states of the Late Queen Elizabeth II. To the next picture. Let's have a look at some of these pictures.

So the queen was brought in with imperial state crown above on the cushion with those flowers that were picked from the estates in Balmoral and in Sandringham and in Windsor. And she was brought in into the coffin draped with the royal standards. To the next picture please. And it was put upon the catafalque, as you can see there, that purple stand. The colours, the colours were just absolutely stunning. And then there was the live feed of people simply going past over those five days. to the next picture. This is an age old tradition, the lying in state, not in an open casket, in a closed lead casket. And every 15 minutes the guards are changed throughout the days and the nights that followed. To the next picture. And as those days unfolded, again, look at those colours. It's an estimated the official figures haven't yet been released curiously, but something like 450,000 people went past far past and of course many, many, many millions of people watched throughout the days and the nights, I remember speaking to people who said, oh, we are just watching this live feeds and it's just something mesmerising to see this snapshot of English society of all types going past to say their farewells to the queen.

Moving on to the next picture, and you'll see what I mean by people coming down the steps into the next picture please and walking down in these very broad queues and to the next one as they went past. Now I have to tell you ladies and gentlemen, I am by no stretches of the imagination a religious person, in fact the amount of... I suppose what would describe whatever it means, but what is broadly understood as spiritual experiences, the amount of spiritual experiences I've had in my life I could count on one hand, but I must say that one of the closest I've ever come to what I felt was some form of mystical experience was this. I queued up in Southern Park, I joined the queue at 2:00 PM on the Friday afternoon, and I queued through the night on Friday night and at bang on 3:00 AM I entered Westminster Hall alongside hundreds of other people who have been queuing for those 13 hours. I went down these steps, the hall was absolutely silent and I knew from watching on television for the days before, that I would have literally seconds in front of the coffin of the queen with the imperial state crown atop the catafalque. Yet in that moment it was so incredibly powerful because what I was looking at was a snapshot.

Number one, as a historian it fascinated me. The room I was in this incredible, this remarkable hall. Number two, the complete cross section of people walking in front of this coffin of every imaginable age, size, race, ethnicity, faith or no faith. It was really something to behold, and the impeccable behaviour of every child that was in that queue, nobody needs to be told to stay silent. The immense weight of the occasion, the solemnity and the dignity of the occasion was absolutely remarkable. And then I found myself standing in front of this coffin. Can we just go back a couple of pictures Emily, I'll tell you when to stop just back one please. Sorry about that. Yes. Three pick yes. And one more please, and sorry about the seven. And just the closeup of the coffin with... That's the one. So here I was standing in front of this with the imperial state crown on top of the coffin. That crown that was only made in 1837, yet contains the earrings that were on Elizabeth I ears in 1558, the year of the Spanish Armada, that contains the ruby of the black prince when he stood at the battle Agincourt, on St. Crispin's Day, 1415, that contains the coin or diamonds or part of the coin or diamonds that came from India and was brought, and

was used in various other crowns and sectors. That contains the emerald that was on the ring of St. Edward, the confessor, the builder of Westminster Abbey. This crown is laid in with history and symbolism, and the weight of a thousand years of history that has gone before it.

And then I was standing in this room, this historic room, and then I was thinking of my parents and my grandparents who had grown up knowing, living in the time and the era of Elizabeth II. So much was coming together in those few moments when I stood, my few moments when I stood in front of that coffin. It's a difficult thing to describe, but it was as near as I've come, as I say to some form of mystical experience, all of this coming together, the politics, the constitution, the woman herself, Elizabeth II, that international icon, my family, the history of this country, the history of the room, everything came together. A remarkable, remarkable sensory overload within seconds. Everybody I spoke to afterwards said that they felt the same. Let's now move ahead with the pictures Emily please. Thank you. So we move from the lying in state and we go through, look at these crowds coming down. Look at the breadth of those queues as they come. The queue had gone for six miles from Southern Park into Westminster, snaking its way on the South Bank and then Lambeth Bridge and then the North Bank of the River Thames.

It was a beautiful September, so the weather was clement. I came out at 3:00 AM into Parliament Square and it was serene. All the traffic had been stopped for those five days in that central part of London. There were hundreds of thousands of people milling around 24 hours a day in this surreal period running up to the burial, the state funeral of the queen. Everybody knew that this was, how could one describe it? A national occasion whether you believe in royalty or whether you don't, whether you believed in the rightness of the queen or not, that almost missed the point, the death of the Queen united the nation like nothing else ever has in my lifetime and I don't think ever will again, such was the iconic status of this woman. And I would hazard, I guess it united in some ways the attention of the world in a similar way which I can't really imagine happening again.

Let's move on and let's look at our final picture or final couple of pictures in this section. There it is again. Look at the people's faces, and look at the types of people that are queuing up each for their few seconds in front of the catafalque, the orb, the crown, and indeed the body of the Queen herself within the coffin flanked on one side by the cross, her being supreme governor of the church of England, which is something I do shortly. Look at the people's faces as they're looking up. Very, very powerful moment. Let's move on. And in the nation's consciousness is a really interesting thing because the Queen was part of everyone's lives like monarchy or not. We are now going to move on to video number two, a very brief one. Thank you Emily.

*Video clip begins*

- [Announcer] It was while in South Africa that the princess came of age to mark the occasion she broadcast to the peoples of the British commonwealth, her vow in the following words.

- I declare before you all that my whole life whether it be long or short, shall be devoted to your

service and to the service of our great imperial family to which we all belong. But I shall not have strength to carry out this resolution alone unless you join in it with me as I now invite you to do. I know that your support will be unfailingly given. God help me to make good my vow, and God bless all of you who are willing to share in it.

- [Announcer] The British public were delighted with the new activities in the princesses life. She was happy, she was busy. She enjoys the society of other people. There is an assurance that in the years to come she will be as near to the heart of Britain and the British commonwealth and empire as other king and queen of England today.

*Video clip ends*

*Images are displayed throughout the lecture*

- It's another age, isn't it? But those words, absolutely remarkable. "I pledged to devote my life, whether it be short or long to the service of my people." That was a profound personal commitment. Now that wasn't part of her constitutional role. That was something very, very personal. These were altered on her 21st birthday, 1947, during her tour of Cape Town and the rest of South Africa. And the queen remained in the consciousness of the nation throughout those seven decades of her reign. Of course, she uttered those words in 1947, five years before she ascended the throne in 1952. Let's have a quick look at, what I mean by the nation's consciousness. Look at this picture here. Now, actually I thought when researching this, that this was the first known picture on the balcony of Buckingham Palace. There she is with Queen Mary and George VI, but in fact I was wrong. There is in fact an earlier picture which I'm afraid I haven't got today of her age one in 1927, on that famous balcony on Buckingham Palace. So really for the better part of an entire century, the Queen had been there. Of course some of the times she'd been there, she wasn't meant to be queen, it was before the abdication crisis and therefore she didn't know she was just Princess Elizabeth, and she was the niece of King, the King Edward VIII. But then of course circumstances changed and she became the next in line to the throne and eventually the Queen.

Let's go through a few other pictures that really show, there she is photographed in 1944, age 18 in her ATS, the auxiliary territorial services uniform. She's trained to be a mechanic and driving trucks in various cars within the army in that latter part of the war. This was a very, very symbolic and a very clever political move for the royal family to put her in uniform and to show that they were right at the forefront of the war effort. And to the next picture, a delightful one of her standing there again in uniform, in a different uniform of the ATS, and to the next one please. And of course on the VE Day, Victory in Europe Day. The Queen to the far left, Churchill Prime Minister there he is right in the middle, the Queen Elizabeth who subsequently became Queen Elizabeth, the queen mother and George VI, the father of the Queen with Princess Margaret on the right. Famously the queen mother in 1944 during the Blitz said, and I quote, "I'm glad we have been bombed," As in Buckingham Palace was bombed. "Now we can look the east end in the eye". And you'll notice that the blackout curtains were still there on that window in Buckingham palaces. That same balcony that took the Queen all the way through her reign to

her wedding in 1947, to Coronation Day, June the second, 1952. To Silver Jubilee Day, Golden Jubilee Day, Diamond Jubilee Day and indeed the one public event she attended Platinum Jubilee Day in June of last year, 2022. That already feels like another era ago. So that balcony an iconic balcony for an iconic world personality.

Let's now move on because at the heart of it is the Queen's constitutional role which is often misunderstood. And I want to say a bit about this now because up till now I've talked about the queen as a person and I will return to her in the last few minutes of this lecture. But I'd just like to talk about the Queen's constitutional role because it's really quite interesting and it is relatively unknown. I'd like to refer to the very amusing little vignette of Lord Hennessy, the constitutional historian, well still a journalist but constitutional historian who delivered the lecture at which the Queen was present. And at the end of the lecture, Hennessy tells this delightful little vignette that the Queen, after he delivered his lecture about questions of procedures for ministers, the Queen quickened to Hennessy quote, "The British constitution has always been puzzling and always will be to me". To which Hennessy replies. "But ma'am, you are the British constitution, so if you don't understand it..." And that in a way is the essence of the British constitution because it's often mistakenly said that Britain does not have a written constitution, unlike America, unlike other countries, Britain does not have a written constitution that is incorrect.

The British constitution has certain parts that are written Magna Carta, habeas corpus, the Bill of Rights and many other parts. Some parts are written, some parts are convention, some parts are completely unwritten but sort of understood, and that is why the behaviour and the action and the role of the sovereign within the British constitutional arrangement is so critically important, and it is a role that we know very well the Queen took hugely seriously. Yet it's the role that the vast majority of people really in this country, in the UK and around the world are largely unaware of, and how important the role the queen played in that. Most of people's knowledge of the Queen is photographs, celebrations, jubilees, walkabouts, state visits, her representing the country abroad, her representing the country at home when state visits occur, yet the day-to-day in and out to the Constitution are what keep this country going, and that most people don't realise is something that Queen played and indeed the king now plays a pivotal role in, let me now explain. Let's move into that constitutional role, because you will see to follow two really interesting little videos over to you Emily. Thank you.

*Video clip plays*

- [Announcer] It's been summoned from its fortress home to her majesty's throne room. Encrusted with 440 precious and semi-precious stones and with a frame of solid gold, it weighs five pounds.

- But is it still as heavy? Yes it is. It weighs a tonne. It's very solid, isn't it?

- [Edward] Mom I don't suppose you've seen it much.

- No, I haven't. Thank goodness. And it is impossible to tell, which is front and back I suppose. It's identical I think.

- [Narrator] The crowning with St. Edward's crown is the centrepiece of the coronation.

- [Narrator] The most important items used in the coronation are the monarchs two crowns. If the Queen has only worn St. Edward's gold crown once, she's much more familiar with this, the diamond encrusted imperial state crown. She wore it at the end of her coronation and for most state openings of parliament, since.

- You see it's much smaller, isn't it? I mean it was the same height, you know it would've been up to about there when my father wore it.

- [Edward] I mean it was huge then.

- Yes, very unwieldy.

- It's difficult to always remember that diamonds are stones that are very heavy.

- Yes, fortunately my father and I have about the same sort of shaped head, but once you put it on, it stays, I mean it just remains itself.

- You have to keep your head very still.

- Yes, and you can't look down to read the speech. You have to take the speech up because if you did, your neck would break, it would fall off. So there are some disadvantages to crowns but otherwise they're quite important things.

*Video clip ends.*

*Images are displayed throughout the lecture.*

- Aren't they two wonderful clips. What I found so engaging about these clips is for complete unpretentiousness and the matter of factness of the queen's attitude. She's holding the St. Edward's crown. She's holding the Imperial State crown. She's only ever once won the St. Edward's crown at the moment of her coronation, that's it. She only ever wore it once, similar to the king. Now she almost man handles it, turns it rounds and so on. Yet, yet it's the fact that she seems she is simply the Queen. It's so matter of fact there's no sense of an off-duty queen or an on-duty being, she's not some cheap celebrity. She's the Queen, that's her job, which she loves by all accounts. So therefore those two little clips, they were very revealing I felt because they showed just I'm the Queen and that's the way it is, and she handles them as if she was putting on a rain hat or a flat cap. It's a wonderful moment. And the reason why I brought it to your attention is partly because of that, but also to emphasise that constitutional role of the Queen.



Let's have a look at that constitutional role moving into this section because the Queen is, if you see this next diagram on the next slide, you can see how the English constitution, the British constitution is arranged. There you have those main features in the middle. It's a flexible constitution. Look at 10 o'clock going anti-clockwise, it is uncoded, it's unitary of one unit with all power held more or less in the centre by Westminster. It relies on the sovereignty of parliament, the supremacy of parliament, and the fusion of powers of the sovereign within parliament. In the case of Elizabeth II, the Queen in parliament, now the king in parliament. To the next slide. And what is really interesting, although this has now been slightly updated according to the wording here, here you can see the monarch is head of state and the king is constitutionally obligated to take the government's advice. However, the king is free to offer the government the advice that the government then gives him or her. It's a very fascinating, very subtle relationship. The king appoints the prime minister and other ministers, opens parliament and the king acts as head of the nation. All those things the queen did.

Let's move on to the next slide. There is parliament itself, the Victoria tower there. As you can see at the west end, that huge 323 foot high Victoria Tower, the more familiar Big Ben on the other end. Let's go to the next picture and you can see that those two towers in view, the flag always flying when Parliament is sitting. And to the next picture please, within the Victoria Tower is every single act of parliament ever written since 1066 preserved there. Every act of parliament is written on vellum is then rolled up and stored there. It is of course then printed many hundreds or thousands, possibly millions of times. But the very first encoding of a new statute is written by hand on vellum and stored in the Victoria Tower. Moving on please. Next picture. The two houses of the houses parliament, the House of Lords, the House of Commons Green benches familiar to us all I'm sure red benches the House of Lords with the throne there at the far end of the Lords.

To the next picture, once a year the queen will travel to ... The queen did travel to the houses of parliaments normally roundabout November the beginning of the parliamentary session in the Irish state coach. There she goes. To the next picture. Lovely picture of her looking out there amid soldiers. There she's again wearing that diadem that she was wearing for the Levine picture of the Diamond Jubilee year. The queen used to end to the houses of parliament and will then done the imperial state crown. To the next picture please. She leaves the Irish state coach. And to the next one please, is then disrobed and re-robed in the Imperial State crown, which she saw her handling slash slightly manhandling beforehand. And there she is walking from one of these state opening parliaments. To the next picture please. Goes up to the throne, takes her seats, the House of Commons accord to the House of Lords. To the next picture, and the next one, and to the next one of really magnificent scene. And the final one here is at the Queen reading that speech. Next picture please Emily, that she said of course that she mustn't bend down with. Now here is the last time the Queen actually read the queen's speech, which is the government's legislative program for the year. She didn't want to wear the imperial state crown. It was too heavy for her in her 94th year I believe. So she therefore wore the diadem throughout.

Now all this shows the centrality of the sovereign within the constitutional system. I want to make the point even stronger. Let's move on a little further please. Next picture. The Queen was always followed around justice. Her son the king now by these red dispatch boxes, always entitled The Queen. All government ministers have dispatch boxes, whatever government department they are, it will say treasury, department of trade of industry, education. But no government minister has their name on it. It's simply their department. But of course dispatch box is going to the Queen. These carried the business of the Queen. They followed her everywhere for every single day of her 70 year reign. These dispatch boxes followed her everywhere to every residence in the country to every place she travelled with on the planes, on the flights there they went. Let's get an idea of the centrality of these dispatch boxes. There you go. Wherever she went, they went with papers for her to read and to sign. Let's move on again please. And the next one, there they are on the desk, a very young queen and another one, and another one. Moving on again please.

Signing papers write up more or less to the end. These dispatch boxes followed her everywhere. Now let me put these into perspective. Let's go to the next slide. During the COVID years or the COVID 18 months, the Queen carried on audiences with ministers and prime ministers throughout. Now the most central of these audiences are with her prime ministers. Think of the term prime minister, her primary minister. Let's move on please. And you can see what I mean. So through the Queen's reign, she had relationships with all of these American presidents as you can see there starting off all the way back there, Harry Truman, 1947 going through to Kennedy and Nixon and Ford and you can see and through to Reagan and Bush. I am sorry if I've missed some, but they can all speak for themselves, Eisenhower and so on. Now let's have a look a little bit further.

Next picture. And you can see her interacting and dancing on state visits, some of her state visits to the US with various presidents. And let's move on to the next slide. Now we see the Queen's 15 prime ministers. And this is what I want to focus on because once a week, every Tuesday the Queen would, now the king had an audience with her prime minister. No minutes were ever taken of those audiences. They lasted between half an hour and two hours. The evening was cleared. It would always be a Tuesday evening. It's a very, secretive is the wrong word, it's a very discreet, subtle part of the English constitution. The Prime Minister drives the brief drive is driven from Downing Street down the mile round the back of horse guards down the mile into the side gate of Buckingham Palace to the Queen's private audience room. And there prime ministers would sit and talk. No secretaries were present, no agendas were made. Now the convention is no prime minister ever discusses what were discussed at those meetings. But let me paint a picture for you because what we do get is the memoirs of many prime ministers, Wilson, Gordon Brown, Margaret Thatcher, Callahan, Keith, Blair, they've all written memoirs as is Major and others, and the Johnson memoirs are coming. All the prime ministers say is they never talk about what was discussed, but they say the following. Number one, they could divulge anything they wish to the queen. Remember the queen was privy to all state secrets. She is the sovereign, she sees the state papers, she's privy to everything.

Number two, unlike prime ministers who are only privy to see the state secrets that directly correspond to them, they cannot ask. They cannot see willy-nilly, all the state papers for the last 50 years. But the Queen has seen them all. So the knowledge that the Queen has is unrivalled. That's an understatement. Secondly, it is very important to bear in mind that politicians are by nature untrusting. They're always being frightened of stabbed in the back, they've climbed to the top of the greasy pole to use Israeli's words. They always know there are plots against them, but there's no plots for the Queen, the Queen is at the top of the greasy pole. She has no designs on their position. So here we have a prime minister who can completely unburden her or himself in the Queen with the Queen. She has been privy to all those state secrets. She knows more than any Prime Minister does about the affairs of state. He can trust her implicitly because she's utterly discreet and she is utterly apolitical. They know the conversation will go no further. All we know is that successive prime ministers have said that those audiences with the queen were immensely important in the way they ran the country and the decisions they took.

I should remind you all of the words of Walter Bagehot, that great 19th century Victorian constitutional historian who said the following, it is the perfect embodiment of constitutional monarchy. The Monarch has three rights, the right to be consulted, the right to encourage, and the right to warn. The Monarch can freely exercise these rights in his or her dealings with the Prime Minister of the day. And all we know is that those sessions over 70 years were very, very fluid sessions between Prime Minister and his or her sovereign. Did the Queen have power? Well, it's often said that in the constitutional monarchy, the monarch has no power. We don't know really how our constitution works at its central point. What does power mean if power is knowledge, and potentially the Queen had tremendous power. If power is influence again, potentially the Queen had tremendous power because of the respect she was held, the trust that her prime ministers had in her judgment, and in her knowledge and in her discretion. It's a very, very fascinating thing.

Let's move on and let's get an idea of those audiences. There were rarely photographed. Churchill arriving for a dinner at the palace. Very close relationship he had with the Queen, with Atlee just there at the background, the Queen's second prime minister. Let's move on to the next picture. And again, the Queen with some of her prime minister's photographing her Golden Jubilee year with Tony Blair, with Margaret Thatcher, Edward Heath, Jim Callaghan. Sorry, I'm blocking the other picture, but if memory serves me correctly, I think it was Harold Wilson, but I'm not entirely sure. Maybe I can move that picture so that I can identify. I can. It's John Major of course. Let's move on to the next picture please. And the Queen with Harold Wilson in the audience room. Once that door closed, the two of them had a totally private conversation. Let's move to the next one please. The Queen with, as you can see, Nicholas Sturgeon because the queen was queen of the United Kingdom. So the Queen was from time to time meet the first minister of Scotland and also opposite members of the first minister in Northern Ireland and in Welsh, in the Welsh Senate, in the Senate.

And let's move on again, because not only did the Queen meet them. There she's meeting Margaret Thatcher. Let's move on again. The Queen with Tony Blair again in the audience room. And again please. With Theresa May. And again with Boris Johnson, one of her last, one of her last Prime Ministers. And moving on again, of course, that very famous picture coming up now there is the Queen meeting Boris Johnson and Keir Starmer, the leader of her majesty's loyal opposition. She would meet opposition leaders, she'd meet government ministers on a day-to-day basis. Moving on again please. And that famous picture, 48 hours before the Queen died. There she was at work in Balmoral. This picture was taken just before Liz Truss arrived to kiss hands with the queen to become the Queen's last, what we now know was the last Prime Minister. Let's move on please. And there they are. The moment that Liz Truss shake hands with the sovereign Liz Truss becomes Prime Minister. That is called the kissing of hands, and the exchange of the seals of office up in Balmoral on September the sixth of last year.

Okay, let's move on. And every day in the Times newspaper, you get the court circular, you can open the newspaper and there it is. It says what? Now what the king is doing. But every single day you could go in and see what the Queen was doing. And just as I've said, the Queen was meeting prime ministers and presidents and so on. She was meeting church people. She was meeting government ministers on a day-to-day basis, she might be meeting the Secretary of State for Education who would talk about education policy. So those audiences were with all of her ministers running throughout. I make the point again, if you are meeting so many ministers over so many years, over so many decades, that put the Queen right at the centre of power, and right at the centre of the consultative process. And by all accounts, every single political memoir that I've ever read of every Prime Minister and of every government minister has written memoirs, they talk about how seriously they took those audiences with the Queen when they were just one-to-one with the Queen, not just because the queen was very well informed and she was sharp and she wanted to know what was going on. But because they valued those, because the Queen was acting in her position as constitutional monarch requiring her ministers to inform her and reserving her rights to advise them and to warn them. It's a fascinating and remarkable relationship. As subtle as English politics works, but it's very, very real.

Moving on please. You get the idea. The king is holding a council there. 4:00 PM this is just from a couple of days ago. Humza Yousaf, the first minister of Scotland, sworn in the member of his majesty's most honourable privy council. Chloe Smith MP was affirmed kiss hands was the king, was appointed secretary of state of science innovation of technology. This constant churning of government ministers meeting the sovereign at the palace all the time, day in, day out. Okay, let's move on a little further please. So although it's often said that the Queen was above politics, she was above party politics, but she was deeply embedded and involved in political activity in finding out what was happening and advising and learning what was happening. Okay, moving on please. We come to the next role of the queen, defender of the faith and supreme governor of the Church of England. Remember if the queen was head of the Church of England, supreme governor of the church, she was. And that came all the way back from Henry VIII. If any of you care at some stage to turn over a coin.

Next picture please. You will see on the back of the queen's head, soon to be the king's head. And you'll see, look at the left hand side round about 10, 11 o'clock, two words, fid def, which is short for Fidei Defensor, Defender of the Faith. Let's look at another coin. Sometimes it says just FD. There you can see it FD 1970. That by the way, is the Queen in that very early Dorothy Wilding picture. You can see that it's the coin introversion of the Dorothy Wilding three quarter portrait. FD, Fidei Defensor. She is supreme governor of the Church of England. That title was awarded by Pope Leo X in 1519 or 1521 to be exact to King Henry VIII, because the king had defended the Roman Catholic church against attacks on Rome. But then of course there was the great fallout and the reformation. But English monarch has kept that title ever since. Every English monarch is Fidei Defensor, Defender of the Faith. And in her role of that, she took that very, very seriously.

Let's have a look at some of these pictures. And you can see that she went to Rome dressed in black, the traditional way for a church of England, the supreme governor, the Church of England to go to the Pope. gives her gravitas as supreme governor with John Paul II, Karol Wojtyla, the first of course Polish Pope exchanging gifts on a state visit. The Queen with her archbishop of Canterbury. And to the next picture please. The Queen, wearing the robes of the order of the thistle. But in very heavy religious mode with that cross, as you can see at the centre there. And to the next picture. I love this picture because well, it's so lovely, isn't it? You could make so many captions. There they are on a checkerboard floor. I don't know, Queen's move bishop. It's just fantastic. It couldn't have been better positions. It's a wonderful picture. It was in her Sapphire Jubilee year, 65 years on the throne the Queen going to her service of Thanksgiving for the Sapphire Jubilee. Okay, to the next picture. So we've looked at the Queen as supreme governor of the Church of England's. Again, something that's often forgotten, her religious role.

And then there is this something that of course everybody remembers the Queen's role, the Queen's relationship with her people. Now that's not constitutional, that is a sort of emotional relationship with her people and made proper almost completely symbolised by those walkabouts that started 40 years ago. Let's have a look at those. They have become, I suppose, the hallmark of the Queen. There she is on walkabouts visible. What did she say? You have to be seen to be believed. She understood the power of modern media, that a modern monarch couldn't sit in the palace and not be seen. But she somehow managed to pull off that balance to be seen, to become yes a sort of personality. I hate to use the word because it doesn't apply to her, but to become a celebrity, you couldn't be a bigger celebrity than the Queen. But she wasn't a celebrity, she was better than that. She somehow managed to pull off that balance of being able to maintain the distance from the people, yet also get that popular link with the people. She used that incredibly, incredibly effectively in making certain incursions into the political process.

That famous handshake with Marty McGinnis in 2017, one of the ex leaders of the, one of the leaders of the provisional IRA. Remember, he had been involved with him in his organisation in the assassination of the uncle of her husband, of Prince Philip, Lord Mountbatten was also a cousin of the Queen because he was the great grandson of Queen Victoria. So she offering that handshake on the 27th of March, 2017 to Martin McGinnis was able to put into a handshake

what no other person could do in the country, because she had that hold on the people. Yes, the Northern Islands agreement could be signed, the accord, the piece of course could be written, the Good Friday agreement could be agreed, but the handshake of the Queen, the magnanimity, the power of that action, the Queen shaking hands with a leader who had previously led the Irish Republican Army against many of the queen's ministers and prime ministers, and indeed her cousin that showed the power of her office and the power of her as a person to make that magnanimous gesture. And that came through in the warmth that she got from the people, look at some of these pictures. They really are something, and it's something we're familiar with, going around collecting the flowers and so on.

These final two pictures on her walkabout are so striking because I started off with the balcony picture of the queen in 1937. And here we have the next picture, the Queen opening the Elizabeth line. This was the last public duty she did in London, 92 years after her first appearance on the balcony of Buckingham Palace in London. What an amazing thing. Okay, to our final section please, let's just move on please. And you'll see farewell to Queen Elizabeth II. And I just want to draw these things together. We looked at these two pictures here. This one of the Queen seen before this inscrutable, majestic, almost mystical looking figure there looking into us. We know everything about her, yet we know nothing about her. And this picture, this was put on the night of the Queen's funeral, an amazing picture, which didn't get a huge amount of publicity interestingly. It was the White Cliffs of Dover 380 feet, high 130 metres. These lasers, that old Dorothy Wilding picture again, lasers coming out from the top of the channel tunnel on the White Cliff's Dover. You can just see the Dover docks on the right hand side.

Where did the Queen's authority come from? Where did it come from? I would say came from three things. Number one, her office. Of course, she had the majesty of the office of monarchy. And that confers upon any incumbent of that office, tremendous gravitas. There was her longevity. Of course that also partly explains her success. But I would say there was something else that was unique to her and that was her as a person. Her authenticity, her natural gravitas, her inscrutability, her dignity, and that serenity, she simply was the Queen. Think back to that email. Those parents, ex parents of mine from school wrote to me 10 years after I saw them. We feel as if the Polaris star has gone out of the sky. That was nothing to do with her constitutional position. That was nothing to do with her office. That was to do with her as a person. And that in a sense is what I feel made her an icon of our age.

Let me end off with two things. The message she wrote to the British people and the people of the British commonwealth on the conclusion of her Diamond Jubilee celebrations. And then a very beautiful montage of a film that the BBC produced with music specially composed 10 years before her demise for the moment of her demise. And the music accompanies the highlights of that funeral day. Before that let me just read you the message she put. "When it comes to how to mark 70 years as your Queen, there is no guidebook to follow. It really is a first, but I have been humbled and deeply touched, that so many people have taken to the streets to celebrate my Platinum Jubilee. While I may not have attended every event in person, my heart has been with you all. And I remain committed to serving you to the best of my ability supported by my

family. And so as I look forward to continuing to serve you with all my heart, I hope this Jubilee will bring together families and friends, neighbours and communities after some difficult times for so many of us in order to enjoy the celebrations and reflect on the positive developments in our day-to-day lives that have so happily coincided with my reign. Your servant, Elizabeth R." The word that comes through again, is serve and servant. And that to my mind is what made her a deserving icon of our age. Over to the final BBC montage and then questions.

*Video clip plays*

- What am I meant to say? It's been from the might of the military parades and the splendour of Westminster Abbey to that hushed intimacy of St. George's Chapel in Windsor. So often felt in recent days the a veil of sorrow has covered the nation, but the Queen's funeral has surely exemplified her reign. She united us in one final act of togetherness, unifying the United Kingdom and indeed the world beyond in respect ceremony and significance. As a very young woman, she famously said her whole life, whether it be long or short would be devoted to our service. Well, never was a person truer to their word. And today we have come together, many of us with tears in our eyes, but all of us with an abiding warmth in our hearts for all that she gave. Just over three months ago, the world and a certain little bear said, thank you for everything. And the Queen looked as though she thoroughly enjoyed the occasion. We will surely be ever grateful to have had that final opportunity to celebrate with her majesty, her remarkable and long reign. If as she once said, grief is the price we pay for love, then the weight of our collective sorrow is testament to the depth of affection in which she is held. She made history, she was history. Queen Elizabeth II is gone, but she will surely never be forgotten.

- [Man] We gather from across the nation, from the commonwealth and from the nations of the world to mourn our loss, to remember her long life of selfless service and ensure confidence to commit her to the mercy of God, our maker and redeemer.

- [Man] Service in life, hope in death, all who follow the Queen's example and inspiration of trust and faith in God can with her sing we will meet again. Let us commend to the mercy of God, our maker and redeemer, the soul of Elizabeth, our late Queen.

- [Man] We have come together to commit into the hands of God, the soul of his servant, Queen Elizabeth.

*Video clip ends*

- Thank you. We have a few questions which I'm going to answer and if anybody's in a rush to go, thank you for tuning in today. I'm going to be returning in the autumn for series on London. As you know, I've done a series on Cairo and Jerusalem and Oxford and Rome, so now it's the turn of London that's coming in the autumn. So very, very much look forward to seeing you all then. Let's now have a look at the questions.

Yes, absolutely, Susan. Yep. On duty towards the very end, absolutely.

Christine, don't you think she came clean about her views in her Christmas forecast? I think it's a really interesting point.

Yes, I think she's in code often, but I think sometimes, yes, one could really get her take on things, but there was always a subtlety and ambiguity I always felt you weren't quite sure that was always my take. Interesting point, Ed.

House of Commons fell apart when she felt she could say or do nothing at Boris Johnson's hubris in closing parliament in order to, well, I'll steer clear of the Brexit debates, but of course we don't know what the Queen's views on that were. And we also don't know. We only know what we are told about what his relationship was with the Queen and what he said because the palace has never commented on whether he lied to the Queen about the Pirogue of Parliament or not. So I think there's a lot of speculation on that. The Supreme Court made a number of comments on that, but we don't know for sure because of course there's no minutes on any of those meetings about what was discussed and what was said to the Queen.

Carrie: I'm a devout republican but I'm really enjoying your descriptions. Thank you Carrie, and I'm glad you enjoyed it. And of course, we're a democracy. Everybody is absolutely entitled.

What was the security for the lying in state and the line before? Tremendous security. Nobody wanted to have any instance happening when you have millions and millions of people watching. There was very, very heavy security. I can tell you that it was airport style security, unbelievably efficiently executed.

Well, somebody said that there was a complete cross-section of the community, but I think there were not many black people. No, I don't agree actually. I remember seeing a lot of black people. But what does a lot mean? I'm not sure the percentage of the population is black. Easy to find out. But I remember watching the live feed and I remember seeing all types of people there. Black, non-black, people of all colour, different colour white and so on. Whatever the terms are, I don't want to offend anybody, and I don't mean any offence to any anybody. But looking at that live feed, it should be easy to find out the live feed is on YouTube. Have a look, look at the percentage of the population that is of different ethnicities and go to a random live feed and see if that is represented. It's an interesting question to look into and should be easy to find out.

Ah, interesting Marilyn, interesting that the Marilyn Monroe was born in the same year as the Queen.

Patricia, the Queen is self assured and confident, but no ego, same cannot be said of Charles. Well, I'm not going to enter politics, but I certainly agree with the first part. She was simply the Queen. There was no ifs and buts. That was what she was, that was what she was brought up to do. And that was that. It was just completely a matter of fact about it.



Yes. Don't know where the pearls in the crown are from. Could well be, that's very interesting. I don't know.

And my goodness, somebody writing in remembering her 21st birthday in Cape Town, how wonderful, she visited our school, the South African College. We practised for a year to give her the royal salute. Wonderful Philip, thank you very much for that.

And Lorna talking about officiated as an (*indistinct*) event in London at the American University, we had to form smallish circles and she was sent to each, and she smiled widely all around. She was very professional, but Mrs. Thatcher was also there for some reason. Thatcher was even more professional and when she spoke, she really stole the show. Well, that relationship with the Queen and Margaret Thatcher, again, much written about it. We don't know because we dunno what the Queen said, and we dunno what the Queen's thoughts were on any of it. There was much speculation about what the Queen's thoughts were, but we don't know for sure. It was certainly a fascinating dynamic. Head of government, head of state, both same age, actually born in the same year, I believe 25,26. So absolutely fascinating.

Shelly? Yes, there's nothing automatic about the Monarch being discreet and doing the work. Her uncle Edward VIII wasn't and didn't, how can I disagree with that, Shelly? Yep, absolutely.

And Elliot, the British monarch is defender of the Catholic faith? No, she's defender. Well, the title Fidei Defensor was given by the Pope to Henry VIII, prior to him breaking away from Rome. And of course the Roman Catholic Church wanted that title back, but every English Monarch since said, no, no, no, thank you, we are keeping the title. So the Roman Catholic Church considered the English king defender of the Roman Catholic faith. But once the Church of England broke away, once the English king broke away from the church in Rome, then that title was dis-conferred, to use a clumsy term. But every English one kept it for themselves. So she's now defender of the faith, the Protestant faith here in the United Kingdom and beyond.

Our time is up. I thank you all again. Have a wonderful summer everybody. On with the studies of hidden London in the autumn. Thank you all. Bye-bye.