

Bones in the Tower: A Discussion of Time, Place and Circumstance. Part 2

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WHILE BRITAIN struggled through the Cromwell interregnum, no one had time to ponder Princes' bones.¹ The monarchy had had its head cut off. Dead Princes - reminders of a seemingly dead past - might have seemed irrelevant.

As society changed, so did the uses of the Tower change. No longer a royal residence and used less frequently for the incarceration of political prisoners, its importance grew as a repository for arms and ammunition, which had become the symbols of sovereignty and power in this new age. This emphasis increased after the Restoration as larger areas within the Tower precincts were given over to the Board of Ordnance. Nor did the Restoration mark a real political return to the past. The resumption of the monarchy under Charles II did not resolve the conflict between King and Parliament. Questions of power remained, and the uncertainty of Charles's tenure persisted. This was the milieu in which another discovery of juvenile bones took place.

In discussing this later find, I shall be dealing with two timelines. The first involves a series of profound changes in the physical fabric of the Tower of London. The second traces some of the vicissitudes of Charles II. The discovery of bones provides a nexus of these two lines: a nexus that must be appreciated in order to understand what the bones represented and why they were elaborately commemorated with an urn.

Changes in the Tower

The use of the Tower of London as a storage place for arms probably goes back to its beginnings. Its location on the River Thames made it convenient for this purpose, particularly during the French Wars when English kings launched a series of military expeditions to the Continent.² Certainly by 1599 the Ordnance had an official 'storehouse in Coldharbour,' probably on or very near the site of the old hall.³ Between 1603 and 1605 a new floor was constructed in the White Tower specifically for use as a 'powder house.' This floor may be the present third floor, which represents, in any case, a later revision to the Tower's original plan.⁴

The housing of quantities of gunpowder in a single place creates an obvious hazard. This risk increased around the time of the Restoration when documents and records began to be moved into the chapel in the White Tower from the overflowing Wakefield Tower where they had been stored for many years. It appears that the earliest efforts to reconstruct the Inmost Ward soon after the Restoration came in response to the very real danger of fire. An Ordnance report to Charles II in March 1666 contained suggestions for both safeguarding and providing better access to the powder. Eight months later, in November, a royal warrant authorized the demolition of any building 'neare or about' the White Tower that posed a fire risk to the powder. At the same time the construction of three new supply passages into the Inmost Ward was ordered, necessitating the removal of further structures.⁶ The plans for one such passage are of particular interest since they call for tearing down 'soe much of the Jewell howse as standeth in the way' to create a direct route from the powder magazine (that is, via the entrance to the White Tower) to the 'Ordinary Prooffe howse' on its east side.⁷ With regard to safety measures,

'all the Chimneys of the howse belonging to the Surveyour of the Workes and those of the Lodging in Cole Harbour Gate, and those in the White Tower adjoining to the Staires Case going upp to the old Chappell as likewise those of that part of the Jewell howse which shall bee left standing and the howse of William Masters Wardour [were to] bee demollished, and noe from hereafter made therein.'⁸

By this time the Board of Ordnance was deeply involved in the construction of new facilities in other areas of the Tower complex, and its control of the work to be done in the Inmost Ward was formalized in a warrant of April 1667. Specifically excepted from its control was 'one pile or Tower neare to Cold Harboure Gate, with the staire Case reserved for the Jewell house.' This would seem to be the slender, circular tower, possibly known as the Ludwyktoure, which

undoubtedly contained a staircase and was located at the southeast corner of the forebuilding where it adjoined the Jewel House.⁹

A chronology of the demolition and reconstruction work can be established fairly well. To visualize exactly what was happening, it will be useful to compare the 1597 drawing, shown in Part 1 of this article,¹⁰ with a similar bird's-eye view of 1681 (fig.1), and a plan of 1682 (fig.2), which reflect the changes that took place in this period.

In late 1669 (and probably into 1670) a part of Coldharbour Gate was taken down after some of its stones fell, attesting to the general dilapidation of the area.¹¹ At about the same time a new storehouse was built, identified by Parnell as the 'Little Storehouse' located to the north of the Wakefield Tower. Its construction would have involved the removal of a wall and buildings shown on the 1597 drawing.¹² To the east of the Wakefield the 'Mortar Piece Storehouse,' located on the site of the old medieval hall and also referred to as the 'Old storehouse' to distinguish it from its newer counterpart, may be the storehouse mentioned in 1599. It existed into the late 1700s.¹³ In 1672 the Ordnance began constructing a new office in the southeast corner of the Inmost Ward in the area adjacent to the Lanthorn Tower. Parts of the old palace buildings of the King's Lodgings were affected by this project: some were removed, others altered and incorporated into the new office. It is not known whether or to what extent foundations were replaced as part of this process. Work was presumably completed by September 1673 when the officers and clerks of the Ordnance began moving their papers and paraphernalia into their new quarters. This office continued in use until the 1770s.¹⁴

As work on the new Ordnance office neared completion, preparations went ahead for the final clearing of the Inmost Ward. In July 1673 everything still stored in the buildings along the south face of the White Tower - the forebuilding and its tower, the Jewel House, and the northern end of the King's Lodgings - was ordered to be moved.¹⁵ On 10 March 1674 a contract was ordered for 'pullinge downe the Tower against the White Tower.' Unless this referred to a remaining section of Coldharbour Gate - unlikely, since the Gate is mentioned specifically at a later date - this could only be the tower attached to the forebuilding.¹⁶ A 'Great Screw for Clearinge downe the Ruinous Walls next the White Tower' was called for on 24 March and followed in early April by other gear needed for the demolition.¹⁷ On 17 July, apparently during the last stages of this work, the skeletal remains of two children were found somewhere on the site. Before discussing this find in detail, it will be useful to finish describing the work in progress in order to provide a physical context for the discovery. The demolition seems to have been finished by mid-August when some rubble heaps were ordered to be removed.¹⁸ Between September 1675 and July 1676 the remains of Coldharbour Gate that had survived destruction in 1669 were pulled down and carted away.¹⁹ Its foundations were left in place and can still be seen. A palisade encircling the White Tower was completed, and, since the forebuilding, its tower, and the original access to the old keep were gone, a new stone stairway was ordered to be made up to the Chapel to replace the original entrance.²⁰ I believe that this partly involved a downward extension of what I have previously termed the 'new stair,' which was built in the fourteenth century to provide a more direct route from the first floor entrance to the chapel on the second floor.²¹ The present external entrance to this circular stair is in the second bay from the west in the south face of the keep, at a point between the basement and first floor levels.²² To support the identification of this stair and to avoid potential confusion, it should be noted that the White Tower now has several entrances. The two into the basement through the north front and the one from the west are all modern. Above each entrance on the north are additional doorways leading to the first floor, both with early eighteenth-century dressings.²³ Considering the various materials then being stored in the White Tower, it makes sense that an extension of the awkward, circular 'new stair' would soon - if not immediately - be supplemented by more convenient openings. In the meantime, the circular stair provided a vital direct link between the records kept in the Wakefield Tower and those housed in the Chapel. Unfortunately, the 1681 drawing provides no clues regarding stairs and doorways. Instead of a simple palisade, it shows what looks like a row of adjoining sheds effectively screening the south face of the White Tower.

The Bones of 1674

The 1674 find was the subject of a number of deceptively similar reports. Not all of these accounts, however, are of equal value. A careful reading of them reveals cases of derivation, occasional confusion, perhaps some fabrication, and some significant differences. Taken together with known details of the reconstruction work and compared with later excavation, they

nevertheless provide a rough outline of what occurred: a skeleton framework of the possible.

The earliest published account is in Sir Winston Churchill's *Divi Britannici* of 1675. It follows immediately upon the tale of Richard III's villainy.

He [Richard] call'd a bloody Villain out of his Bed to smother them in theirs, who perform'd that horrid deed of Darkness with so much secrecie, that the truth of his falshood could not be detected, till within these very few weeks, when some occasionally digging in the Tower, at the very place where it seems that poor Priest buried them, who afterwards dyed for his Piety, they found the coffin, and in it the Bones of both the Princes, as well his whom Perkin Warbeck personated, as the King his Brother; which (I take it) are yet to be seen, or were very lately, in the Custody of Sr Thomas Chicheley, the Master of the Ordnance, to whom his Majesty has intrusted the making a fitting monument for them in the Abbey of Westminster.²⁴

Churchill does not claim to have been present at the discovery or to have seen the bones himself, nor does he name his source of information. His knowledge of the interment plans may contradict his statement that he is writing within weeks of the discovery, or else it may reflect a very early stage of planning. The warrant to provide an urn to be placed in the Abbey was not issued until 18 February 1675. Clearly, Churchill's story is strongly influenced by More throughout, yet he leaves us with a question and an ambiguity. How carefully did he read More? Churchill's assumption that the bones were found wherever More's priest buried them does not reveal whether he mistakenly (in terms of More) referred to the original site 'at the stayre foote' or to the later, secret one, or whether he assumed a particular site at all. Unless one takes the Sherlockian position that Churchill reported no specifics of the site because there were none worth reporting, he has provided virtually nothing to go on, apart from the single assertion that the bones were found in a coffin.

As might be expected, eyewitnesses provide more detail. I shall discuss the two most reliable of these together. The first was John Gibbon, Blue Mantle pursuivant of arms, who left an autograph note in a copy of Brooke's *Catalogue and Succession of the Kings. . . of England*.

Die Veneris July 17 Anno 1674 in digging some foundacons in ye Tower, were discoverd ye bodies of Edw5 and his Brother murdred 1483. I my selfe handled ye Bones Especially ye Kings Skull. ye other wch. was lesser was Broken in ye digging. Johan Gybbon, Blewmantle.²⁶

Although Gibbon gives a specific date for the discovery, his description of the site is only slightly less vague than Churchill's, though it does not recall More at all. It should be noted that Gibbon does not mention any plans to inter the bones. While he simply may have omitted this information, it is also possible that he wrote before such decisions had been made. If that is so, Gibbon's note is probably the earliest written report of the discovery. He does not mention a coffin.

John Gibbon, who was born in 1629, was something of an adventurer. Having left Cambridge without a degree, he travelled around Europe, in part as a soldier, then went to Virginia, where he was fascinated by the Indians. He returned to England after the Restoration and from 1665 to 1701 lived in the house of the senior brother in St. Katherine's Hospital, just to the east of the Tower. In May 1671 he was created Blue Mantle pursuivant - a position from which he never advanced, perhaps owing to his habit of leaving marginal notes in the College's books either criticizing his colleagues or involving calculations of his own birth date. Gibbon was an avid astrologer who 'believed his destiny so fixed by the stars. . . that good or ill behaviour could never alter it.' Nevertheless, his knowledge of heraldry and genealogy was highly regarded. He died in 1718.²⁷

The second verifiable eyewitness was John Knight, chief surgeon to Charles II, who left two separate reports. The first of these appeared in 1677 in Sandford's *Genealogical History of the Kings of England*. According to Sandford:

Upon Friday the . . day of July, An. 1674. (take this Relation from a Gentleman, an eye-witness [identified in a marginal note as John Knight], and principally concerned in the whole scrutiny) in order to the rebuilding of the several Offices in the Tower, and to clear the white Tower from all contiguous Buildings, digging down the Stairs which led from the Kings Lodgings, to the Chappel in the said Tower, about ten foot in the ground, were found the Bones of two Striplings in (as it seemed) a wooden Chest, which upon the survey were found proportionable to the ages of those two Brothers, viz about thirteen and eleven years. The Skul of the one being entire, the other broken, as were indeed many of the other Bones, as also the Chest, by the violence of the Labourers, who not being sensible of what they had in hand, cast the rubbish and them away together, wherefore they were caused to sift the

rubbish, and by that means preserved all the Bones. The Circumstances from the Story being considered, and the same often discoursed with the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Chicheley Kt., Master of the Ordnance, by whose industry the new Buildings were then in carrying on, and by whome this matter was reported to the King: upon the presumptions that these were the Bones of the said Princes, His Majesty King Charles II, was graciously pleased to command that the said Bones should be put into a Marble Urne, and deposited among the Reliques of the Royal Family in the Chapel of King Henry the Seventh in Westminster Abbey.²⁸

As noted above, the warrant for an urn was issued on 18 February 1675, while the actual placement of the urn in the Abbey occurred in 1678. Thus, this report was written or revised after the order was issued and after the urn had been designed and/ or completed, but before interment was accomplished.

A second, autograph note by Knight himself conveys similar information, except that it omits the day, the depth of discovery, and any mention of a rubbish heap.

A^o 1674. In digging down a pair of stone staires leading from the Kings Lodgings to the chappel in the white tower ther were found the bones of two striplings in (as it seemed) a wooden chest w^{ch} upon the presumptions that they were the bones of this king and his brother Rich: D. of York, were by the command of K. Charles the 2d put into a marble Urn and deposited amongst the R: Family in H: 7th Chappel in Westminster at my importunity. Jo. Knight.²⁹

It is clear that the date on the note refers to the year of the discovery and that the note was written after the urn was placed in the Abbey.³⁰ A possible explanation for the omissions of depth and the story of the rubbish heap -assuming that Sandford did not invent them, and it seems unlikely that he would have invented the rubbish - is that they no longer seemed particularly vital bits of information to the ageing Knight, as weighed against the plain fact of the bones' discovery. Knight relates in both accounts, in very similar language, that the bones were found during the process of removing a specific stair. He does not say (even including the single reference to 'about ten foot in the ground') exactly where the bones were found in relation to that stair. Finally, it is perhaps curious that the identical phrase 'in (as it seemed) a wooden chest' is used in both accounts. Why underline the suppositious nature of the chest? If one assumes that pieces of wood were found with the bones when they first came to light, it should have been clear if they constituted a chest - or a coffin, as Churchill put it.

In addition to being Charles II's principal surgeon, John Knight was a man of scholarly bent. He received his Masters at Cambridge in 1626 after six years of study, went on to become a priest, and later acquired his M.D. At the time of his death he possessed a very extensive collection of heraldic manuscripts, which he bequeathed to Caius College.³¹

Francis Sandford, who published the more detailed version of Knight's account, was born in 1630 and educated at Trinity College, Dublin. He was appointed Rouge Dragon pursuivant in the College of Arms in 1661, moved up to Lancaster herald in 1676, and retired in 1689. Undoubtedly, he knew Gibbon, but there is no evidence in his writing that they ever discussed the bones' discovery. Sandford died in 1694, a debtor in Newgate Prison.³²

Although both Gibbon and Knight (in his account to Sandford) say that the bones were found on a Friday, only Gibbon provides an exact date in July.³³ His report also differs from Knight's in its reference to unspecified 'foundations' rather than a particular stair and in its failure to mention depth, a rubbish heap, and a chest or coffin. Instead, and perhaps characteristically, Gibbon is most interested in his own role in the whole affair - that is, in his handling of the bones. Both men agree that they were damaged in the course of their discovery.

Since both Gibbon and Knight claim to have been eyewitnesses, one may ask just what it was they witnessed. On this point, Knight at least is clear. In the Sandford account he indicates that the bones initially were cast aside due to the workmen's ignorance. This seems plausible enough, particularly since the fabrication of such a story would seem to serve no purpose. If one accepts that the story is true, it does not necessarily follow that the workmen remained silent about what they had uncovered. It is more likely that they talked: to Chicheley, the Master of the Ordnance, under whose direction the reconstruction work was taking place, and to anyone else who would listen. Someone, quite possibly Chicheley, decided that the bones should be recovered and examined. Thus, Knight would seem to have been present when this happened.³⁴ As a physician, he would have been a logical person to summon; his special interest in heraldry and, presumably, history would have given him a double reason to attend.

But what of Gibbon? He only says that he handled the bones, but he does not say when. Assuming the rubble story to be true, he could not have been present when the workmen first discovered the bones: by the time he handled them, their identity had been accepted, even to the point of labelling one skull as that of Edward V. If Gibbon was not present when the bones were recovered from the rubble, it seems probable that he handled them shortly thereafter, when they were still in Chicheley's possession. Nor is it difficult to imagine how Gibbon would have learned of their existence, living as he did a very short distance from the Tower.

A third account by an unnamed writer who purports to be an eyewitness appears questionable. It was reported by Richard Davey in 1910.

On the margin of one of the pages of a curious manuscript on Heraldry inherited by the writer from his grandfather, the following note in an ancient handwriting appears: 'This day I, standing by the opening, saw working men dig out of a stairway in the White Tower, the bones of those two Princes who were foully murdered by Richard III. They were small bones, of lads in their 'teens, and there were pieces of rag and velvet about them. Being fully recognized to be the bones of those two princes, they were carefully put aside in a stone coffin or coffer.'³⁵

If Davey can be taken at his word, it appears that the manuscript has since been lost. Tanner said that he was unable to trace it. However, his suggestion that 'the unknown writer of the note . . . was Knight himself scarcely bears consideration since the contents of the note contradict most of what Knight is definitely known to have said.'³⁶ Further, Knight twice used the word 'striplings' to describe the remains; to me, the phrase 'lads in their 'teens' has a faintly Victorian ring. Although Davey says the handwriting is ancient, without access to the note itself one cannot be sure even of that. But there are stronger grounds for mistrusting this account. The statement that the bones were 'dug out of a stair in the White Tower' is incompatible with the work known to have been taking place at that time, which involved structures contiguous with the White Tower, but not the White Tower itself. This is the only account to mention bits of cloth. If cloth scraps had been found in 1674 and were considered to be relics, is it not likely that some at least - or their equivalents - would have found their way into the urn along with the other items it contained when it was opened in 1933?³⁷ Unless the reference to a 'stone coffin' is taken to mean the urn (in which case the bones cannot be said to have been placed there carefully), the promptness and respect implicitly suggested in this account of their treatment are in direct contrast to what is known or suspected of their disposition during the four years between their discovery and eventual inurnment.³⁸

The inscription on the urn itself should be considered, representing as it does the 'official view.' It states that the bones of the princes

scalarum in rudibus (scalae istae ad sacellum turris albae nuper ducebant) alte defossa, indicii certissimis sunt reperta XVII die iulli A^o. Dⁿⁱ. MDCLXXVIII

[in the rubble of the stairs (these stairs recently led to the chapel in the White Tower) deeply buried, by the most certain signs were found 17 July 1674].

The phrase 'most certain signs' conveys no actual information, but seems meant to reassure the urn's viewer, by way of an appeal to faith, that the bones really are what they are said to be. In this bald statement one begins to see the transition from a report that the bones were recovered from a rubbish heap (where they had been carelessly tossed) to the assertion that they were actually found *in* the rubble (and, obviously, *under* it as well, since they were 'deeply buried'). The linkage of the rubble with the stairs comes quite close to More's statement that the bones were buried 'at the stayre foote, metely depe in the grounde under a great heap of stones.'³⁹

In 1695, the current edition of Camden's *Britannia* stated that the Princes' 'bodies . . . were found July 17, 1674, by some workmen who were employed to take up the steps leading into the chapel of the White Tower.'⁴⁰ This account apparently derives from the inscription on the urn.

A more detailed variant of the story was published by White Kennett in 1719.

For when in the time of Chichester [sic] Master of the Ordnance, great heaps of Records of Bills and Answers lying in the Six Clarks Office were removed thence, to be repositid in the white Tower, and a new Pair of Stairs were making into the Chappel there, for the easier Conveyance of them thither, the Labourers in digging at the foot of the old Stairs came to the Bones of consumed Corps, cover'd with an heap of Stones; the Proportion of

the Bones being answerable to the Ages of these two Royal Youths.⁴¹

I believe that Kennett's account both draws on and confuses several factual events. First, I have noted already that the chapel in the White Tower had come into use as a storage place for documents when the Wakefield Tower became too full. Loads of documents that collected in either the Rolls House in Chancery Lane or the Six Clerks' office in Lincoln's Inn were transferred periodically to the Tower for storage. One of these transfers from the Six Clerks' office occurred in 1671, close enough to the year of the discovery to allow for later confusion.⁴² Secondly, although Kennett implies that the old stair was being removed, his emphasis on the building of the new stair confuses the time of discovery with work that took place somewhat later. Finally, the site that Kennett reports may represent a triple derivation from Knight's account of the stairs and rubbish heap published by Sandford, the inscription on the urn, and More's story. Under these circumstances, I do not believe that Kennett's 'foot of the old stairs' should be taken too seriously as a precise location.

The last report to consider is that of Christopher Wren, the architect's son, published in 1750.

In the year 1674, at which Time the Surveyor was rebuilding some Parts of the Tower of London, it happened, that the Bones of King Edward the Fourth's Children . . . were, after 191 Years, found, about 10 Feet deep in the Ground, in a wooden Chest, as the Workmen were taking away the Stairs, which led from the royal Lodgings into the Chapel of the White-tower. The Circumstances of this Discovery being fully represented to the King by the Surveyor, Sir Thomas Chicheley, then Master of the Ordnance, and other Persons of Worth and Credit, Eye-witnesses in the whole Scrutiny, the following Warrant . . . was directed to the Surveyor. [There follows a copy of the warrant commissioning the urn.]⁴³

Sir Christopher Wren, referred to as the Surveyor by his son, was born in 1632. He was formally appointed surveyor-general of the royal works in November 1669. When the bones were found, he was involved in planning the new cathedral of St. Paul. Though he probably did see the bones at some time, it is not certain when this might have been, apart from his son's assertion that he was 'eyewitness in the whole scrutiny,' a phrase that echoes Sandford's description of Knight. Wren died in February 1723.⁴⁴

Christopher Wren, the son, was born in 1675. Although he may have heard the story of the bones from his father, most likely in connection with the creation of the urn, it appears that he took his account straight from Sandford, even to a similarity of wording (though he omits the rubbish and the qualified description of the chest). One may smile to see that the Surveyor was given prominence by his son in presenting the matter to Charles II. The younger Christopher Wren died in 1747, leaving the *Parentalia* for his own son Stephen to publish.⁴⁵

Having set out these reports, what may be concluded from them? In my separate discussions, for reasons made clear, it will have been evident that I consider the later ones to be either highly derivative or unintentionally confused. Of the 'eyewitness' accounts, I am highly sceptical of Davey's lost manuscript. That leaves Gibbon and Knight, with Churchill for occasional comparison.

I believe the date of Friday, 17 July, is probably reliable. There is no evidence to contradict it; it would not have been a sensitive or controversial matter, and its inclusion on the urn probably speaks for its general acceptance. However, no one seems to have considered the significance of a reliable date. Quite simply, it means that no great time could have elapsed between the bones' discovery and their retrieval from the rubbish. Perhaps no more than a few days separated the two events.⁴⁶ Knight's apparent uncertainty regarding the date is easily explained. Days of the week are easier to remember than numerical dates: telling his story to Sandford some time - perhaps months -later, Knight was likely to have remembered the day but forgotten the date. Still later, when he wrote his autograph note, he seems to have forgotten both. Gibbon, who may have jotted his note soon after he handled the bones, was, by contrast, a man deeply concerned with dates and their meanings. He remembered.

Although the site eludes precise determination, there is still much that can be said about it. The work orders provide an independent, objective view of what was being done. We know approximately when this phase of work began and when it ended. By mid-July when the bones were found, it would have been nearing completion. The upper parts of the buildings involved probably would have been knocked down by this time, leaving only the removal of foundations and the final clearing and levelling of the area immediately south of the White Tower. This is consistent with the statements of Gibbon, Knight, and Churchill.

Since Knight is the only one to provide further specifics, it is reasonable to ask just how reliable they are. To presumably well-read men, the connection between stairs, juvenile bones,

and More's story should not have been difficult to make. While Churchill clearly implies something - perhaps no more than blind faith - Gibbon seems strangely obtuse. The foundations he mentions do not sound at all portentous.

I can think of three possible approaches to Knight's site description. The first supports its literal truthfulness. If one compares the heights of the buildings along the south face of the White Tower, it might be supposed that the forebuilding and its circular tower would have had the deepest foundations, thus allowing for a find 'at depth.'⁴⁷ In addition, it appears that a part of the Jewel House and possibly some of the adjacent end of the King's Lodgings had been removed at an earlier time, perhaps increasing the likelihood that they would have been completely cleared away before the mid-July date. Thus, Knight's stairs could be identified most easily with those within the tower attached to the forebuilding or, allowing for a much looser interpretation, to the area around and beneath the forebuilding itself.

The second approach takes a figurative view of Knight's words. As noted, the forebuilding and its tower are the most prominent of the buildings involved in this phase of the demolition. Their destruction would have been quite spectacular. Add to this their venerable age and their use as the entrance to the grand old keep, and it can be argued that this whole phase of the work might have been characterized in terms of these specific structures, particularly when viewed in retrospect.

The final, very hypothetical, approach suggests a case of preconceived ideas getting in the way of objectivity. When the bones turned up, it is possible that Chicheley or Knight (or both), recalling More, convinced themselves that the remains must have been found near the stairs. In the event that the workmen remembered things differently and saw fit to argue the point, continued earnest - and innocent - prodding soon would have convinced them of their error.

All this, of course, is highly speculative. I offer these quite varied explanations of what could have happened to indicate the range of possibility.

The nature of the site Knight describes, particularly his claim that the bones were found at depth, has ramifications for the question of their identity. Though I do not propose to resolve that matter, certain observations are appropriate.

If the bones were found at depth beneath or within foundations that had lain undisturbed for almost 300 years, the likelihood of their being the Princes' remains fades to the vanishing point. There seems to be no evidence that either the forebuilding or its tower were repaired or altered during this period. (Of course, a lack of evidence that work occurred does not equal proof that it did not.) If the bones were found adjacent to, rather than underneath, these structures, the suggestion of depth still poses difficulties. To people of former times, who dug their graves with simple hand tools, a depth approaching ten feet would have seemed eccentric. For example, a representative cross section of the medieval and Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Winchester Cathedral shows that the individual grave cuttings were not much more than a metre (roughly three feet) in depth at most. As new graves were added to the cemetery, they were dug right in among the earlier burials, frequently displacing and muddling their contents.⁴⁸ Much closer to the situation I am discussing, within the precincts of the Tower, the restoration of the floor in the chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula in 1876 revealed that a number of interments were barely two feet deep and that they had disturbed earlier burials.⁴⁹ This is not to say that someone could not have decided at one time or another to undertake a burial at greater depth, but simply to indicate that burial at three times normal depth would have been an unusual occurrence.

If it is somewhat difficult to imagine a person digging a hole ten feet deep for the purpose of burying someone or something, it may be profitable to consider the situation in reverse. What does it mean to find remains - skeletal or otherwise - at such depth? It is an axiom of archaeology that the accumulation of debris over long periods of time tends to cover things up. Years later, once-used structures, items dropped, and originally shallow burials can be rediscovered at considerable depth. In the spring of 1899, a very few yards from the area under consideration, excavation turned up flue pipes of a Roman hypocaust (the heating system in the floor of a building). A piece of Roman masonry was also found sixteen feet southwest of the southwest angle of the White Tower, at a depth of nine feet six inches.⁵⁰ The same excavation uncovered a twelfth-century vaulted underground passage leading from the White Tower to the moat, an *oubliette* at the southwest angle of the White Tower, a Norman well, and a quantity of stone, iron and lead shot, believed to have come from an attack on the Tower in 1460.⁵¹

Almost twenty years earlier, in 1880, the removal of a brick and cement casing that had covered the remains of some structures east of the White Tower (including the Wardrobe Tower's foundations) exposed a section of Roman wall. The remaining height of the wall, which must be understood as the depth to which it extended into the ground, was a little less than five

feet.⁵² Remains of a Roman stone building have been found in the same area, the main part of it believed to lie beneath the White Tower itself, and a possible connection to the hypocaust found in 1899 has been suggested.⁵³ Recent excavations on the south side of the Inmost Ward opposite the White Tower and more or less due south of the hypocaust revealed traces of Roman floors about two metres (roughly six and one half feet) below the present surface. Again, an association with the hypocaust may be conjectured.⁵⁴

Although it is tempting to compare the depths of these Roman remains with Knight's '10 feet deep,' such a comparison would be misleading. Each of these measurements indicates distance beneath an existing surface. Unfortunately, the area immediately south of the White Tower has been cleared many times since the seventeenth century, and one does not know where the surface of 1674 would have been in relation to those of earlier or later times.⁵⁵ Had someone left a report of other objects encountered during the digging that revealed the bones, we would be in a better position to judge the bones themselves. But no one did.

A few tenuous clues as to what might have been found may be gleaned from later construction and excavation on the south side of the Inmost Ward. In 1777, a silver ingot and three late fourth-century gold coins were found near the Lanthorn Tower when the new Ordnance Office foundations were dug.⁵⁶ Recent excavations in the same area and extending westward towards the Wakefield Tower have uncovered Roman coins of similar or earlier date.⁵⁷ Had one of these 1777 Ordnance foundations been situated half a metre (roughly one foot eight inches) farther west and half a metre deeper, its diggers would have encountered the shallow grave of a juvenile male of the late Iron Age which actually came to light during excavations 200 years later.⁵⁸ One can imagine the consternation that would have followed. The title of 'Prince's bones' had been pre-empted - rightly or wrongly - and the science of archaeology did not yet exist; how would people in 1777 have identified this skeleton? As it was, the digging did encounter and remove sections of Roman wall.⁵⁹ It must have encountered medieval foundations as well (unless they had been removed previously), for a single, massive example was found on the western side of the area excavated between 1955 and 1977, probably dating from at least the twelfth century.⁶⁰ Earlier digging in 1722 for the foundations of storehouses within the Inmost Ward apparently did strike some very sizeable old foundations, though their age is unknown.⁶¹

Before closing this discussion of the site and the discovery itself, I would briefly consider the existence of a coffin or chest. As noted above, Gibbon does not mention such an object and Knight is very clear, in both his reports, about its conjectural nature. It seems possible that pieces of wood were found in the rubbish where the bones were sought, perhaps in close proximity to them. An original association may have been assumed, which is consistent with what Knight actually says. Continuing talk and gossip about the bones may have been more accepting of what began as speculation. From this, Churchill, who reported the discovery second hand, could have leaped to the tenuous but understandable conclusion that the bones were found in an actual coffin.⁶²

Finally, is there any possible connection between the bones of 1674 and those found at the beginning of the century in a sealed-up room? A late reporter of that find, Aubery du Maurier, whose account was published in 1680, thought that there was. According to Aubery, the room was resealed with the bones still inside, a statement that may owe more to fancy than to fact.⁶³ But since there is no other indication of those bones' fate, one may as well consider it. First, it must be noted that the 'room' does not seem at all compatible with a discovery that almost certainly was made below ground surface. The only other way to argue a connection would be to imagine someone removing the bones from the secret room and burying them in the ground (in a more Moreish spot?) to no immediate purpose that can be ascertained. Although such an event might be possible, it seems bizarre in the extreme.

The Troubles of Charles II

To understand in its most general terms the atmosphere of the Restoration, two undercurrents must be appreciated. First, although England brought back the monarchy, there remained an abiding public mistrust and rejection of anything that smacked of absolutism. The King and Parliament were expected to share power, though the details of achieving this delicate balance had never been discussed. In practice, the King retained the power to call or to dismiss Parliament, to control foreign policy and to wage war. Parliament, on the other hand, controlled the King's purse strings. A tug-of-war resulted in which both sides grew more suspicious of - and more retaliatory towards - each other. The second factor was the religious intolerance so

characteristic of this period. Rather than abating after the Restoration, religious prejudice continued to hold sway, particularly as it was directed towards Catholics and anything involving 'popery'.

As adjunct to these general observations, it must be remembered that Charles II was the son of a deposed and executed monarch. Experience had made him wary. Unable to foresee the future, he could only know that tenure of the throne came without guarantees. It should surprise no one that Charles became a master of dissimulation, equally ready to shift position as changing circumstances required or to manipulate matters when and as he could.⁶⁴ His overriding concern was to preserve what he could of royal power, while ensuring the succession.

By about 1670, however, it had become apparent that Charles's own dynasty would not succeed him. Ironically, although Charles acquired a gaggle of bastards by his various mistresses, his marriage to Catherine of Braganza provided no legitimate children. Soon, one might have wondered if there would be a royal succession at all. The heir presumptive, Charles's brother James, Duke of York, was Catholic.⁶⁵ A complicating factor was Charles's continued dependence for money on a Parliament that was proving increasingly reluctant to grant it. In this atmosphere of growing tension, and perhaps also because of it, Charles concluded a series of secret negotiations with France.

The resulting two treaties of Dover are of interest here for the particular events they set in train, all of which contributed to the peculiarly receptive milieu in which the bones were found. The first, and secret, treaty of Dover was signed in May 1670. Three of its provisions need concern us: the agreement of England and France to launch an offensive war against the Dutch, Charles's stated promise to declare his own Catholicism (at a time unspecified), and Louis XIV's reciprocal promise to provide Charles with a subsidy. The second, 'public,' treaty, signed in December of that year, carefully omitted all reference to Charles's conversion. (It should be noted that the second treaty was a public matter only insofar as several more of Charles's ministers knew of its contents. Parliament as a whole did not know of its plans regarding the Dutch: a necessary, though temporary, deception, since the Dutch were currently allied with England and Sweden in a mutual defence arrangement known as the Triple Alliance!⁶⁶) When Parliament met in the winter of 1670-71, Charles was able to obtain some funding to support, his allies -however that was understood - but Parliament also passed an act against religious nonconformists, while contemplating more severe measures aimed specifically at Catholics, and considered added duties on French imports. Charles suspended Parliament in April and did not recall it until February 1673.

During this interval, several developments occurred. On 15 March 1672 Charles issued a Declaration of Indulgence, based on his own authority as head of the Church of England, that suspended the penal laws against nonconformists and Catholics. Two days later he declared war on the Dutch.⁶⁷ For a variety of reasons, the war never gained much popular support in England, and, with funds running low, Charles had to recall Parliament.

When it did meet, Parliament was much less interested in Charles's appeals for money than in what it viewed as his usurpation of the suspending power. In March 1673, after heated wrangling, Charles cancelled the Declaration and acquiesced to the Test Act, which effectively excluded Catholics from public office. Only in return did Charles get the funding that he needed.

One of the immediate effects of the Test was that James, Duke of York and heir presumptive, resigned his post as Lord High Admiral and dropped out of public life, thus confirming what people already suspected. He was at this time a widower contemplating remarriage. The ill will engendered by his now-obvious faith increased when James chose the Catholic Mary of Modena to be his second wife. Their proxy wedding took place in September 1673 and confronted Parliament, still pushing for a Protestant match, with a *fait accompli*. Parliament responded with threatening pronouncements about popery, royal absolutism, forthcoming money, and the dire - for Charles -connections to be made between them. Charles's reaction was to prorogue Parliament until after Christmas.

In January 1674 when Parliament resumed, the situation might have been called explosive. Certainly, to onlookers of the time, some of whom had a keenly vested interest in the outcome, the potential for a second royal disaster would have been apparent. Determined on a Protestant succession, Parliament began discussing provisions to bring up any children of the Duke of York's second marriage as Protestants and to exclude Catholics from the throne outright. The Dutch, meanwhile, had launched a stream of anti-papist, anti-French propaganda at the English Parliament and population. Rumours of the secret Dover Treaty were leaking, and many people now believed that Charles's ministers were conspiring to establish arbitrary

government, with Catholicism as the state religion. Faced with this situation, Charles reacted like a politician: he lied, denying the existence of a secret treaty.⁶⁸ Undeterred and unwilling to continue funding an increasingly unpopular war, Parliament voted for a separate Dutch peace. On 24 February 1674 Charles prorogued Parliament again. The suspension originally was to last until November, but, in the event, it was extended until April 1675. The contestants stood at a tense stalemate.

Charles's frame of mind in 1674 was described by a Venetian ambassador, who said: 'The King is intent on enjoying life, has no heirs and always hesitates to raise a finger for fear of a relapse into the miseries and perplexities of his youth.'⁶⁹ Beneath a veneer of merriment and business-as-usual, it must have seemed to Charles that he had good reason to fear.

And then a tiny miracle occurred: children's bones were discovered at the Tower of London. In the prevailing circumstances they made touching symbols of the evils of deposition and thwarted succession.

The bones were reported to Charles by Sir Thomas Chicheley, Master of the Ordnance, with whom the King also enjoyed playing tennis.⁷⁰ No doubt Chicheley's report was verified by Charles's chief surgeon, Knight. In February 1675 a warrant was issued, signed by Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington, Lord Chamberlain of the Household and one of Charles's closest advisors, ordering an urn to be made for 'the supposed bodyes of ye two Princes.'⁷¹ This wording makes clear that, whatever the bones were thought or hoped to be, their actual identity was not considered certain. Some room was left for doubt. Assessments of Charles's character and of the situation in 1674 also make it highly probable that the decision to commemorate these bones did not stem entirely from Charles's mercy, as eventually inscribed upon the urn. The inurnment was a political act, fraught with a political message for Charles's own time.⁷² This view is strongly supported by the manner in which it was accomplished. The carelessness with which the remains were interred along with the bones of other animals - including chicken and fish and three rusty nails - is striking evidence that the chief concern at the time was not reverent burial, but the political statement made by a display of the urn. It did not matter whose bones were placed in it, or whether they were all the same bones as were found in 1674 or even human bones, so long as something was put in it to be visibly commemorated.

When Parliament regathered in April 1675, Charles was very conciliatory. On 1 May he agreed to a declaration expelling all Jesuits and 'Romish priests' from England. Despite this effort, Charles could not get money. He prorogued Parliament again in June.

Though Charles's troubles continued, developing new twists and turns, he survived. By the end of his reign he was in an arguably stronger position than he had been at its beginning. The monarchy also survived, although James soon would be forced to step down in favour of his Protestant daughter and son-in-law.

The bones of 1674 were not the last to be found at the Tower. In 1843 when the moat was drained and cleared, a number of human bones were discovered there.⁷³ Since the moat would have been dredged periodically throughout its long history to keep it from silting up, this incident raises an interesting question as to whether human bones were ever found in it before. No evidence remains, though I think the overall probability is that they were. In 1976, as noted above, a complete juvenile skeleton was unearthed in the southeast corner of the Inmost Ward. But for the recently developed techniques of archaeology, these remains could have spawned yet another story about 'Prince's bones.' As I have indicated, the distance by which these bones escaped discovery during the 1777 digging was very slight indeed.

The bones that are in the urn may be The Bones. Or they may not. The skeletons found at the beginning of the seventeenth century were rejected, whosoever they may have been, because they turned up in the wrong places at the wrong times. The bones of 1674 were inurned - again, whosoever they may have been - because they were found in the 'right place' according to the generally accepted story (or one that could be made to seem 'right') when their discovery must have seemed a godsend. Their placement in the urn and its display in Westminster Abbey served, in turn, to enshrine the authority of More's tale in the hearts and minds of future generations. Sir Thomas More, who genuinely enjoyed a good joke and who thumbed his nose at human gullibility, surely would have appreciated the ironies of this situation. Whatever else they may be, the bones in the urn seem a fitting tribute to his own singular humour.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. This article should be read in conjunction with the previous one in *The Ricardian*, vol.8, no.111 (1990), pp.474-493.
2. A. R. Duffy, The Tower: an Introduction, in *The Tower of London: its Buildings and Institutions*. ed. John Charlton (London 1978), pp.17-18.
3. Sarah Barter, The Board of Ordnance, in *Tower of London* (see n.2); p.108. For its location, see Geoffrey Parnell, The Tower of London: the Reconstruction of the Inmost Ward during the reign of Charles II. *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, vol.31 (1980), p.153. For a view of the Inmost Ward shortly before this date see fig.1 in Part I of this article (see n.1).
4. R. A. Brown, Architectural Description, in *Tower of London* (see n.2), pp.49-50; and H. M. Colvin, ed., *The History of the King's Works*, vol.3, 1485-1660, by H. M. Colvin, D. R. Ransome and John Summerson (London 1975), p.272, note 6, citing E 351/3239, 3240.
5. A. C. N. Borg, The Record Office, in *Tower of London* (see n.2), p.105.
6. Parnell, Tower: Reconstruction (see n.3), pp.147-148, citing WO 55/332.119-120.
7. *Ibid.* p.150.
8. *Ibid.* p.151.
9. *Ibid.*, pp.151-152 and 155, note 18. Parnell has misread a reference to this tower in 1399 as '1339.'
10. See n.1, fig.1, p.476.
11. Parnell, Tower: Reconstruction (see n.3), pp.151-152; and H. M. Colvin, ed., *The History of the King's Works*, vol.5, 1660-1682, by H. M. Colvin, J. Mordaunt Crook, Kerry Downes and John Newman (London 1976), pp.381-382. Both cite Works 5/13 which speaks of 'taking down the stone walls of the Tower going into Coldharbour where it was ready to fall.' See also Brown, Architectural Description, in *Tower of London* (see n.2), p.46.
12. Parnell, Tower: Reconstruction (see n.3), pp.152-153.
13. *Ibid.*, pp.153 and 156, note 35.
14. *Ibid.*, pp.153-154 and 156, notes 35, 38, and 39, citing WO 51/15, folio 137; WO 51/17, folio 59, 113-114, 117, 149-150, 168; and WO 47/19B, dated 10 September 1673.
15. *Ibid.* pp.154 and 156, note 41, citing WO 47/19B, 31 July. The Crown Jewels and Regalia had been transferred at some earlier time to the Martin Tower, where an attempt was made to steal them in 1671. See M. R. Holmes, The Crown Jewels, in *Tower of London* (see n.2), pp.62-63.
16. Parnell, Tower: Reconstruction (see n.3), pp.154 and 156, note 42, citing WO 47/19B.
17. *Ibid.* and note 44, citing Work Orders of 26 March and 7 April.
18. *Ibid.*, pp.155 and 156, note 46, citing WO 47/19B, 11 August.
19. *Ibid.*, pp.155 and 156, note 49, citing WO 47/19B and WO 51/18, folio 99, 18 November.
20. *Ibid.* It appears from both the 1681 drawing and the plan of 1682, which Parnell considers more reliable, that by this time all contiguous structures had been removed from the White Tower, except for the one against its east face.
21. Described in Part I of this article (see n.1), pp.477 and 489, n.15.
22. The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London*, vol.5 (London 1930), p.86, and diagram p.87. The doorway is described as having eighteenth-century dressings, and it appears from the reference key to the diagram that work was done to the internal structure of this stair around the first floor level in the time of 'Charles II and later.' Furthermore, careful study of the 1597 drawing makes it clear that the forebuilding did not extend beyond the westernmost bay; thus, neither it nor its tower could have provided entry to the keep at this point. Entry would only have been possible through the Jewel House, an arrangement that makes little sense when the stairway connecting first and second floors was first constructed, when the existence of the Jewel House or its precursor is at best uncertain. John Bayley, *The History and Antiquities of the Tower of London* (London 1830), p.105, also considers this external entrance to be of 'comparatively modern date'; however, in note r he describes it as having a flat-pointed arch which he believes links it to the time of Henry VIII. In the apparent absence of any documentary evidence to support Bayley's position, I prefer the later construction date.
23. RCHM (see n.22), pp.86-87. These doorways can be seen in a drawing by Malton in 1799 (G. Parnell, The Excavation of the Roman City Wall at the Tower of London and Tower Hill, 1954-76, *Trans. LMAS*, vol.33 (1982), p.119). Brown in *Tower of London* (see n.2), p.49, describes the doorway adjacent to the north-east turret as 'the modern exit.'
24. Sir Winston Churchill, *Divi Britannici* (London 1675), p.278. Lawrence E. Tanner and William Wright, Recent Investigations regarding the Fate of the Princes in the Tower, *Archaeologia*, vol.84(1934), p.11, note 1, provide a partial quote. Churchill was an ardent royalist who dedicated this popular history, his only work, to Charles II. It has been described as 'a kind of apotheosis of the kings of England.' (*Dictionary of National Biography*, vol.4, Oxford 1967-68, p.342.)
25. It is printed by Tanner and Wright (see n.24), p.11, citing PRO., Lord Chamberlain's Warrants, 1674-76, LC5. 141.
26. *Ibid.* (see n.24), p.8, note 3. The book is said to belong to the College of Arms.
27. *DNB*, vol.7 (Oxford 1967-8), pp.1135-1136. The comments about his belief in astrology are attributed to Noble, *History of the College of Arms*, p.363.
28. Francis Sandford, *A Genealogical History of the Kings of England* (London 1677), pp.402-405. The date of royal copyright is 3 January 1677. Included with the text is a drawing of the urn and its inscription.

This text was printed by Tanner and Wright (see n.24), p.8, who, however, inserted '17th' for the missing date.

29. Tanner and Wright (see n.24), p.8, note 2, say that the note is to be found beneath an account of Edward V on p.42 of a copy of Yorke's *The Union of Honour* (London 1640), which was at that time in the possession of a Mr . Leslie W. Wegg.

30. Though not long after. Knight was buried at St. Bride's, London, on 27 November 1680. He had been baptised on 29 September 1600; thus, he was quite an old man at the time of his death. See John Venn and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, part 1, vol.3 (1924), p.29.

31. *Ibid.*

32. *DNB*, vol.17, pp.759-760.

33. The seventeenth did happen to be a Friday (see *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History*, ed. C. R. Cheney, London 1970, Table 29, pp.140-141), and the inscription on the urn also gives the date as the seventeenth. Sandford's omission of the date from his text, when he had the urn's inscription before him, maybe a simple oversight. But it may also attest to Knight's own uncertainty in the matter (see below).

34. Though Knight does not say so explicitly, this is really the only possible conclusion. As others have pointed out, had Knight been present at the initial discovery, he undoubtedly would have saved the bones from being tossed away with such disregard. See, for example, Geoffrey H. White, Appendix J: The Princes in the Tower, *The Complete Peerage*, vol.12 (London 1959), p.36.

35. Richard Davey, *Tower of London* (London 1910), pp.22-23. Mentioned by Tanner and Wright (see n.24), pp.9-10, and notes 1 and 2, p.9.

36. Tanner and Wright (see n.24), p.10.

37. Bones of fish, duck, chicken, rabbit, sheep, pig and ox, and three rusty nails (Tanner and Wright (see n.24), pp.15 and 20).

38. Apparently, they passed through various hands. For a discussion of this matter, which is outside the scope of the present article, see P. W. Hammond and W. J. White, The Sons of Edward IV: a Re-examination of the Evidence of their Deaths and on the Bones in Westminster Abbey, in *Richard III: Loyalty, Lordship and Law*, ed. P. W. Hammond (London 1986), p.116, and Geoffrey H. White, Appendix J: the Princes in the Tower (see n.34), pp.36-38.

39. Thomas More, *The History of King Richard III*, ed. Richard S. Sylvester (New Haven and London 1967), p.85. Of course, in one sense the inscription on the urn conveys the literal truth. If one accepts Knight's account, the bones were recovered from rubble, and some of that rubble undoubtedly came from the stairs, or whatever was left of them in mid-July. The way in which one tends to read it, though, creates an entirely different, and possibly erroneous, impression. It is interesting that Sandford, with both Knight's account and the inscription on the urn in front of him, did not alter the former to bring it into full agreement with the latter.

40. Reported in Jeremy Potter, *Good King Richard?* (London 1983), p.230.

41. White Kennett, *A Complete History of England* (London 1719), vol.1, p.551 note, mentioned by Tanner and Wright (see n.24), pp.8-9, note 4.

42. The transfer is reported in Colvin, *Works*, vol.5 (see n.11), p.383.

43. Christopher Wren, *Parentalia* (London 1750, repr. Farnborough, Hants. 1965), p.333.

44. *DNB*, vol.21 (Oxford 1959-60), pp.995-1009, for biographical information.

45. *Ibid.*, p.1009.

46. As indicated above, I find the rubbish story an unlikely one to contrive. It also goes far to explain the discrepancies between the various descriptions of site. The orders of 11 August to remove rubble prove that such dumps existed and provide an approximate *terminus ad quem* for the sifting. However, some readers may still find a disquieting similarity between Knight's description and Brooke's account fifty-seven years earlier of bones found 'under an heape of stones and rubbish' (Ralph Brooke, *A Catalogue and Succession of the Kings . . . of England*, London 1622, p.33), discussed in part 1 of this article.

47. The figure of ten feet should be understood as an approximation: a convenient means of expressing the notion that the bones were found a considerable distance beneath the surface. Given the apparent circumstances of the discovery, no accurate measurement would have been taken.

48. With the passage of years, the overall depth of the cemetery increased, but it appears that the dug depth of the later graves was no greater than that of their predecessors. It should be noted that some traces of wooden coffins were found, but that the evidence for nails with them was inconclusive. See Birthe Kjøbye-Biddle, A Cathedral Cemetery: Problems in Excavation and Interpretation, *World Archaeology*, vol.7, no.1 (1975), pp.88-91, especially the diagram on p.90. I am grateful to William White for suggesting this reference.

49. Doyne C Bell, *Notices of the Historic Persons buried in the Chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula in the Tower of London*, (London 1877), pp.15-16. Bell notes that coffins had been broken and their contents scattered to make room for further burials. The reason for this desecration was the confined space into which too many burials were crowded; however, he notes that 'in no instances were any graves found lower than five or six feet,' and considers that some of this depth was due to subsidence. See also Rev. J. F. M. Llewellyn, The Tower and the Church, in *Tower of London* (see n.2), p.133.

50. C. H. Compton, On the Discoveries at the Tower of London in the Spring of 1899, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, second series, vol.6 (1900), pp.31-32. The hypocaust was in the same general area southwest of the White Tower, but the masonry was the only discovery whose location was

precisely given.

51. *Ibid.*, p.26. No depth is indicated for any of these.

52. E. P. Loftus Brock, Roman Remains in the Tower of London, *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, first series, vol.38 (1882), pp.128-129.

53. G. Parnell, The Roman and Medieval Defences and the Later Development of the Inmost Ward, Tower of London: Excavations 1955-77, *Trans. LMAS*, vol.26 (1985), p.34. For a detailed discussion of the rooms excavated, see Parnell, Excavation of the Roman City Wall (see n.23), pp.101-105.

54. G. Parnell, Tower of London - Inmost Ward excavation 1979, *The London Archaeologist*. vol.4, no.3 (1981), pp.70-72, and figs.2 and 3.

55. Tanner suggests that the bodies were found at such depth because of the accumulation of surface deposit after their burial (Tanner and Wright, see n.24 above, pp.19-20). He, of course, assumes them to have been buried in 1483. There is an obvious problem with this assumption: a surface build-up of six or seven feet - probably the minimum one would have to assume - over the course of 190 years would have covered doors and windows in an area that was in daily use! Tanner's corollary, that much of the deposit was made up of kitchen refuse (making the site a garbage pit?) also poses difficulties for the period in question. Is this a likely spot, during this time, for such a dump?

G. Parnell, The Western Defences of the Inmost Ward, Tower of London, *Trans. LMAS*. vol.34 (1983), p.111, says that excavations along the line of the Inmost Curtain (running from the Wakefield Tower north to Coldharbour Gate and forming the western boundary of the Inmost Ward) show that over much of the investigated site the ground level by the sixteenth century was 'only marginally lower than it is now.' The northernmost end of the excavated area is roughly ninety feet from the site of the forebuilding and its stair (my calculation, based on Parnell's diagram p.108).

In a letter to William White of 23 May 1983, Parnell has said that bore-hole surveys against the south face of the White Tower show very little surviving deposition. I am grateful to Mr. White for a copy of this letter.

56. Observations on some Antiquities found in the Tower of London in the Year 1777, *Archaeologia*. vol.5 (1779), p.291. These objects were said to be found at great depth, after breaking through the foundations of ancient buildings. A sepulchral stone with the inscription DIIS MANIB T LICINI ASCANIUS F was also found 'at some distance from the (previous) spot . . . near an old well at the depth of about 18 feet from the surface' (*Ibid.* p.304). For what it may be worth, a well was later found in the area of the hypocaust (Compton (see n.50), p.26), but the work of 1777 seems not to have extended this far northward. The stated depth of eighteen feet seems most remarkable. One wonders what the engineers of that time had in mind in digging to such depth.

57. Parnell, Roman and Medieval Defences (see n.53), p.21; Tower of London - Inmost Ward Excavation (see n.54), p.70.

58. Parnell, Roman and Medieval Defences (see n.53), pp.5-7 and fig.4, p.6. My calculations regarding depth and distance are based on his information. The skeleton was given a radio carbon date of A.D.70 ± 70 years. Its age was estimated at 13-16 years, and its identification as a male is 'almost certain.' See also Justine Bayley's description of the skeleton on p.51 of the same article. Two human vertebrae were excavated from a Saxo-Norman ditch along with numerous animal bones during this same excavation (see Pat Nicolaysen's survey of animal bones on p.75 of this article).

59. *Ibid.* pp.9-11, 26.

60. *Ibid.* pp.5, fig.3; 25 and 35.

61. Parnell, Excavation of the Roman City Wall (see n.23), p.87, who cites Nathan Bailey, *Antiquaries of London and Westminster* (1722), p.57. These old foundations were 'about 3 yards in breadth . . . and so hard cemented that they are forced to break it up with Beattles and Wedges.' They were thought at the time to be the remains of an ancient tower. Brock (see n.52), p.128, note 1, also mentions the story, citing Maitland, *Hist. London*, vol.6, p.148.

62. Recent excavation on the south side of the Inmost Ward uncovered timbers which have been dated by dendrochronology to the third century A.D. See the discussion by Jennifer Hillam in Parnell, Roman and Medieval Defences (see n.53), pp.45-47. This may strengthen the likelihood that wood was found in other nearby sites at depth.

63. Louis Aubery du Maurier, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Hollande* (Paris 1688), p.259.

64. J. R. Jones, *Charles II: Royal Politician* (London 1987) develops this theme at length. In summation (p.189) he describes Charles as a man whose cynicism and insincerity knew few equals in the England of his day. This is exemplified by Charles's approach to religion. Though privately inclined towards Catholicism, Charles scrupulously remained a publicly practising Anglican until he lay on his deathbed. When his efforts to promote religious tolerance were soundly rejected, he acquiesced to all manner of religious persecution.

65. In his *Memoirs*, James dated his conversion to 1669 (Lady Antonia Fraser, *King Charles II*. London 1979, p.256). Though he did not declare himself publicly, James seems to have made no real effort to dissemble his feelings. His conversion thus remained 'secret' only to the extent that it remained unofficial.

66. Fraser (see n.65), pp.276-277, 303-304; Jones (see n.64, pp.91-92). Predictably, the truth began to leak. Jones in particular blames Charles's resulting dissimulation for 'the deep and almost universal distrust' in which Parliament held him after 1672.

67. Jones (see n.64), p.97, feels that a good part of the rationale behind the Declaration was to forestall possible Dutch exploitation of dissenters. However that may be, Parliament viewed it as the realization of their worst fears. Sir George Clark, *The Later Stuarts 1660-1714* (Oxford 1961), p.79, says that 'from

about this time for many years to come it was one of the constant factors in English history that a solid body of Englishmen . . . were agreed in fearing three things which they believed to be closely allied - popery, France, and arbitrary power.'

68. *The Letters, Speeches and Declarations of King Charles II*, ed. Sir Arthur Bryant (New York 1968), p.274. 'I know you have heard much of my alliance with France; and I believe it hath been very strangely misrepresented to you, as if there were certain secret Articles of dangerous consequence; but I will make no difficulty of letting the Treaties and all the Articles of them, without any the least reserve, to be seen by a small Committee of both Houses, who may report to you the true scope of them; and I assure you, there is no other Treaty with France, either before or since, not already printed, which shall not be made known.'

69. Fraser (see n.65), p.326, citing *Calendar of State Papers Venetian 1673-5*, p.233.

70. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, eds. Robert Latham and William Matthews, vol.8 (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1974), pp.418-419. Chicheley came from a very wealthy family and was fond of high living and the company of other 'worthies'. *Ibid.*, p.85; vol.5 (1971), p.330; vol.9 (1976), p.112; and the *DNB*, vol.4 (Oxford 1967-68), p.231.

71. See n.25.

72. Fraser (see n.65), p.329, calls the inurnment 'a gesture towards the concept of legitimate monarchy,' but fails to consider the contemporary political message implicit in such a gesture. She notes that in 1678, the year of the inurnment, plans were also made to 'glorify' the tomb of Charles I at Windsor. The Commons voted £70,000 for a funeral and monument; the money, however, was never delivered (p.185). The coincidence of these two events seems worth noting.

73. Hammond and White (see n.38), p.114, citing Sir Thomas Butler, *Her Majesty's Tower of London* (London 1950), p.5. Brown, Architectural Description, in *Tower of London* (see n.2), p.38, gives the date as 1843. So far, I have been unable to discover anything further regarding these bones. Presumably, they were disposed of without ceremony; perhaps they are collecting dust in a museum basement somewhere.

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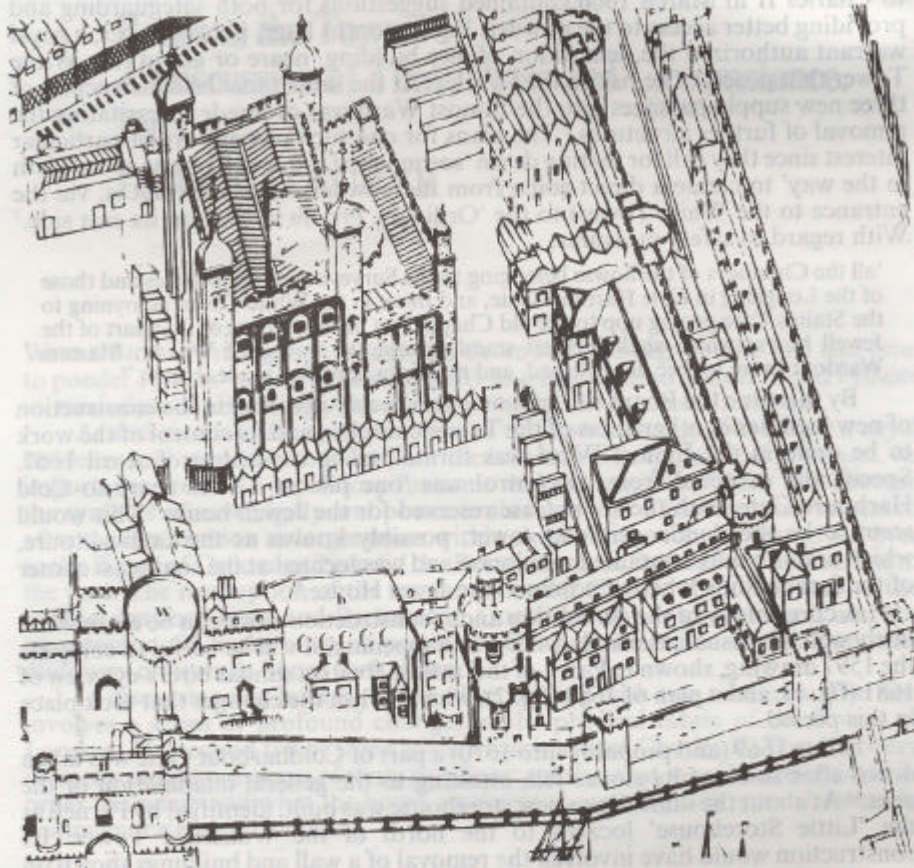


Fig. 1. Tower of London: part of Lord Dartmouth's view, 1681, showing the Inmost Ward. From *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. 4, plate 39, Society of Antiquaries, London 1815. By kind permission of the Guildhall Library London.

Key. f=Office of Ordnance, g=Constable's Lodgings, h=Mortar Piece Storehouse, i=Treasury House, k=Little Storehouse in Cold Harbour, v=Lanthorn Tower, w=Wakefield Tower.

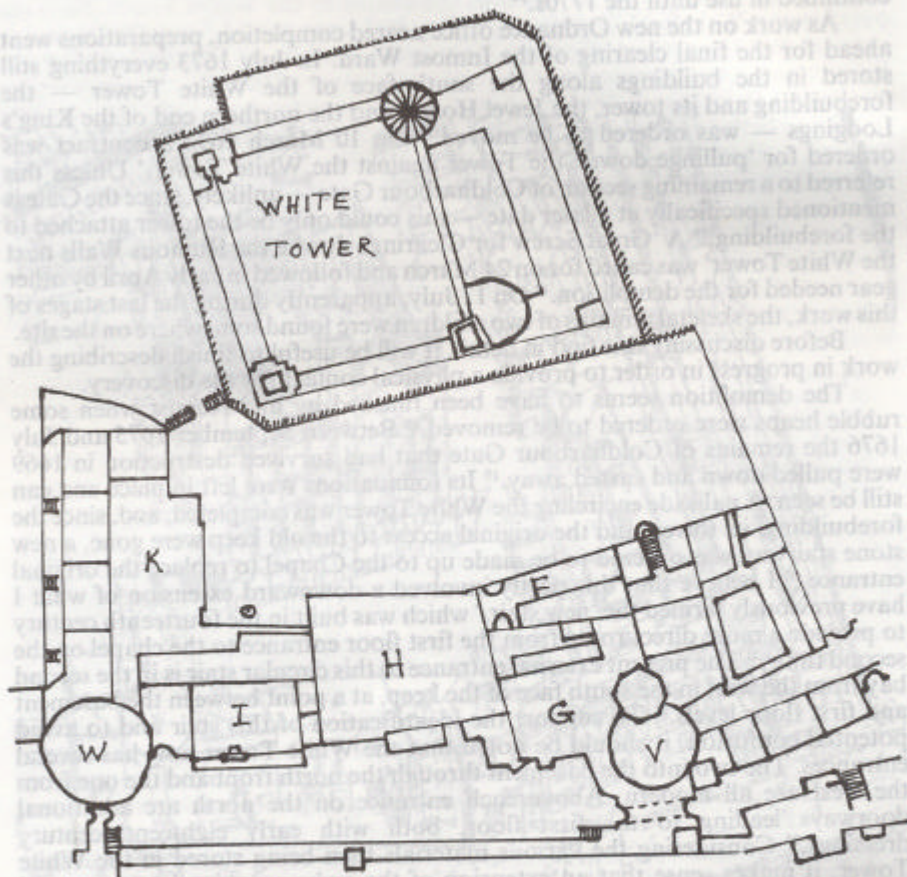


Fig. 2. Tower of London: part of the Ordnance plan of 1682. Redrawn from London Topographical Society publication no. 129 (1983) by Eric Maurer. Some of the labelling has been omitted, and the letter designations used here have been made to correspond to those in the Dartmouth view. The 'Mortar Piece Storehouse' (H) is called the 'Grainery' on the original plan.