

An account of what appeared on opening the coffin of King Charles the First, in the vault of King Henry the Eighth in St. George's Chapel at Windsor, on the first of April, MDCCXIII / by Sir Henry Halford.

Contributors

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Royal College of Physicians of London

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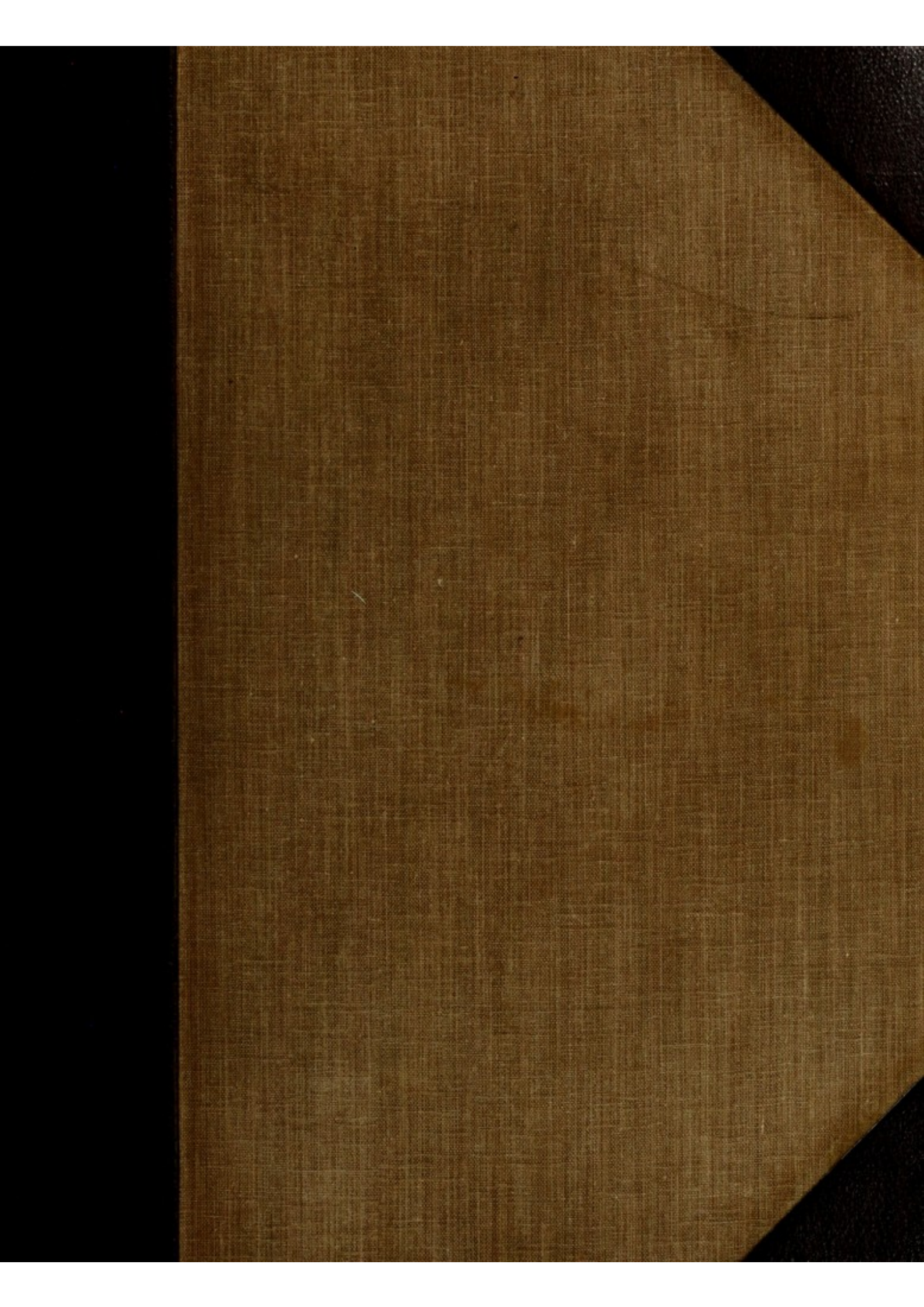
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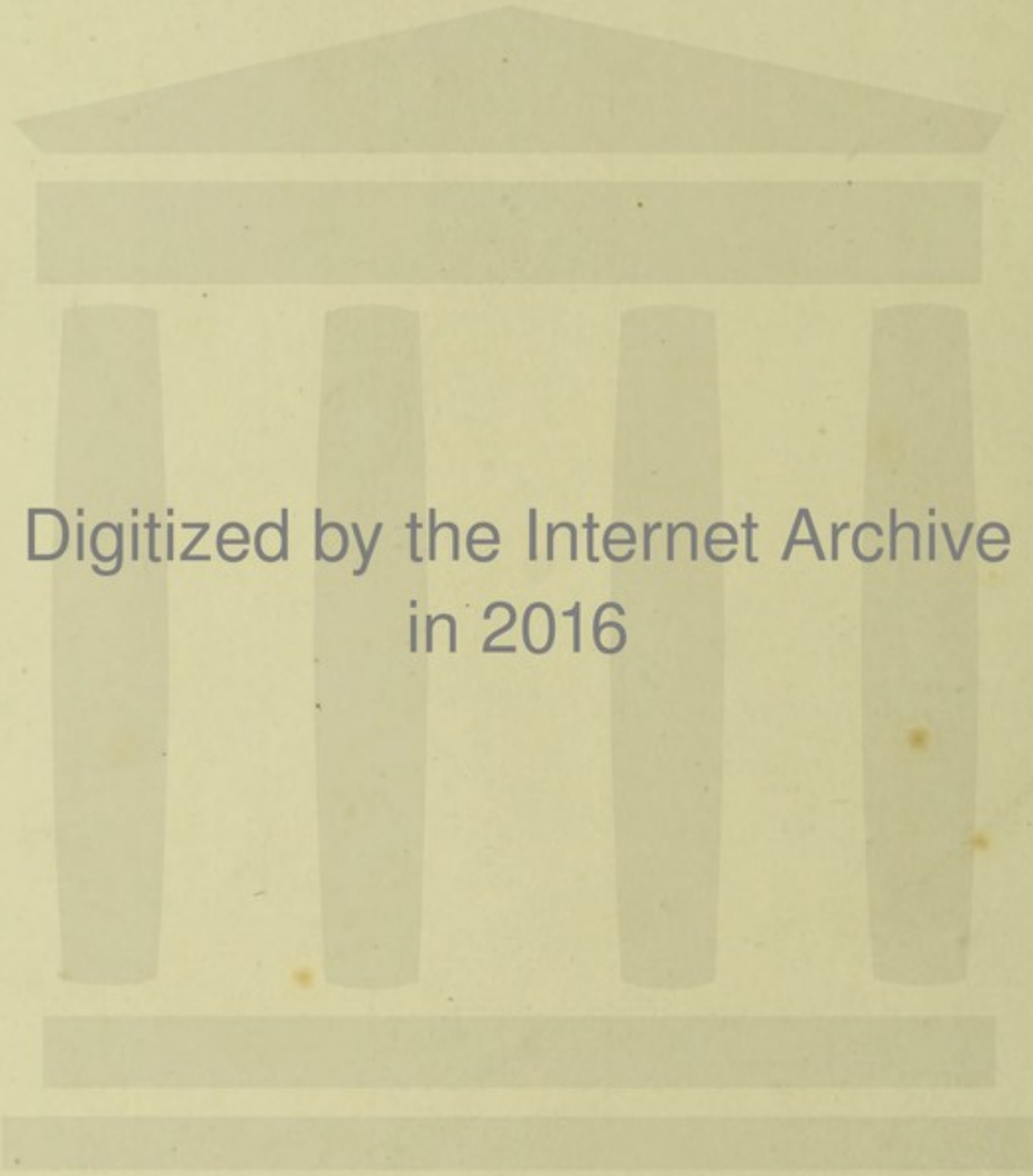
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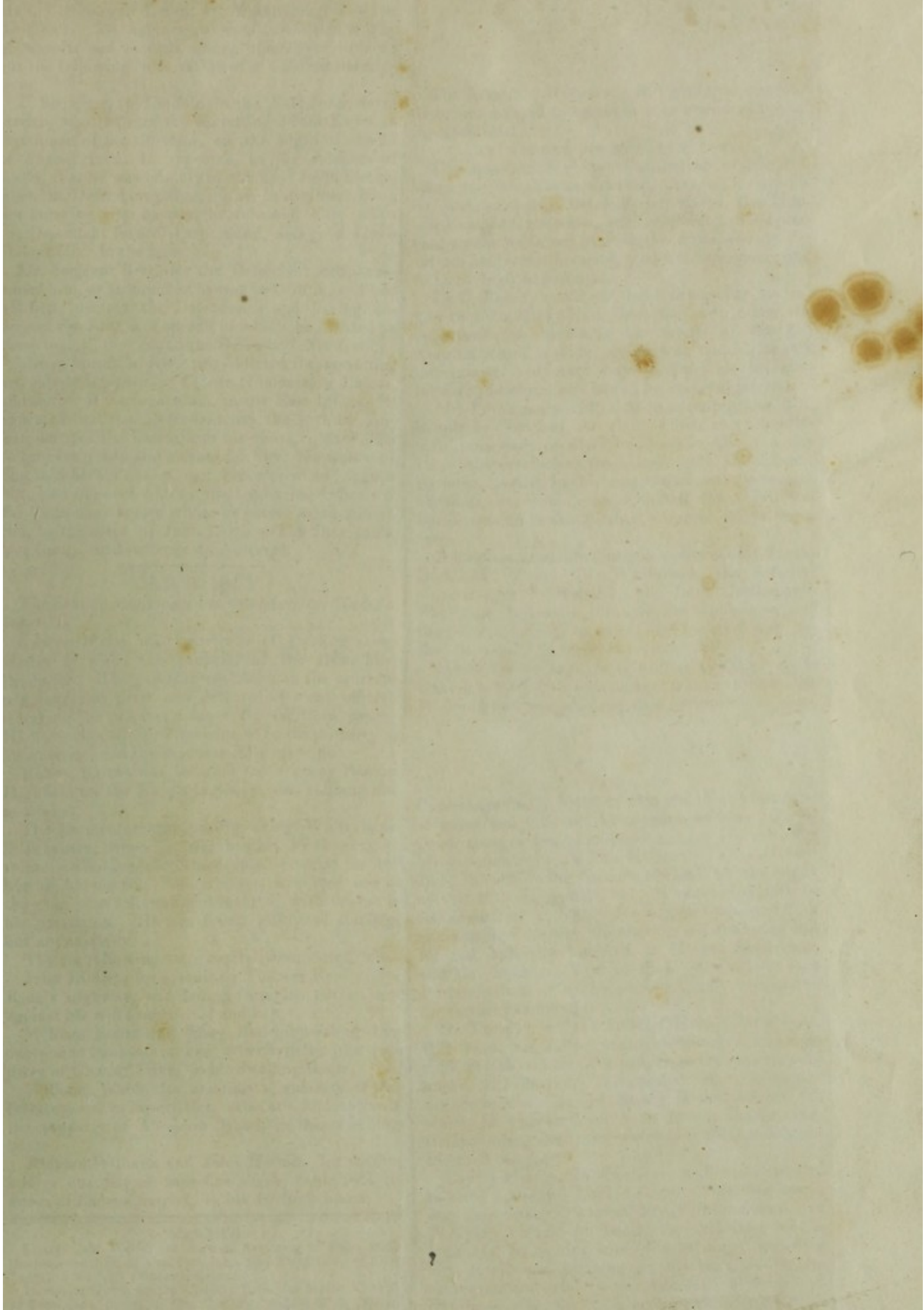
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St James
April 3-6. 1813

Discovery of the Body of King Charles the First.—A Morning Paper says; "The day before the interment of the Duchess of Brunswick, in the new vault in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, a discovery was made by the workmen of two ancient coffins, one of lead, the other of stone. The Prince Regent being down at Windsor on Thursday evening, he was, of course, consulted about the mode of exploring these Royal remains, which he directed to be immediately done in his presence. Sir H. Halford attended his Royal Highness to the vault, when the leaden coffin being unsoldered, a body appeared, covered over with a waxed cloth; on carefully stripping the head and face, the countenance of the unfortunate Charles the First immediately appeared, in features apparently perfect as when he lived. Sir H. Halford now endeavoured to raise the body from the coffin, in attempting which the head fell from it, and discovered the irregular fissure made by the axe, which appeared to have been united by a cement. What added considerably to the interest of this extraordinary spectacle was, that as the head separated from the neck, a fluid drop, of the appearance of blood, fell upon the hand of Sir H. Halford, which he accounts for, by supposing it to have been the dissolution of some congealed blood, on its being exposed to the warmth of the air. The body of King Charles was always known to have been interred at Windsor, but so privately, that the spot could never be ascertained till now. The stone coffin was next opened, which, from its inscription, was found to contain the remains of Henry the Eighth, which consisted of nothing more than the skull and principal limb bones, which appeared in a perfect state.

April 6-8. 1813

TO THE PRINTER OF THE ST. JAMES'S CHRONICLE AND LONDON EVENING POST.
SIR,

The discovery of the body of King Charles I. seems to confirm, in a remarkable manner, the account of his interment, as given by Mr. Herbert (one of the unfortunate Monarch's Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber, and who was his only attendant from the time of his confinement in Hurst Castle, till his execution) as preserved by Anthony Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 704. It was the earnest desire of Mr. Herbert, to Wood, that if ever he had an opportunity of introducing the name of Charles into his voluminous work, he would not omit to insert his account of the last days of that King, because it contained much curious information, known only to himself; and our honest antiquary, faithful to his trust, embodied the account with the life of Herbert himself, who being an Oxonian, of course found a place in the *Athenæ*. Herbert is known likewise as the author of a work, entitled, "Threnodia Carolina," containing an account of the last two years of King Charles's life, which was written in consequence of the intention of Parliament, after the restoration, of appointing 70,000*l.* for the funeral of Charles, and a monument to his memory. Sir William Dugdale, then Garter King at Arms, sent to Herbert, who was living at York, to know if the King had ever, in his hearing, spoken as to where his body should

be interred. Herbert's reply contained so many curious particulars regarding that Monarch, that at Dugdale's request they were thrown into a connected form, and published under the title already mentioned. But his posthumous information, recorded by Wood, is perhaps the most interesting; and the following extract from it may be peculiarly acceptable at the present moment, as tending to locate the exact spot of Charles's interment.

"Mr. Herbert was in waiting to receive the body after the execution, and he and Bishop Juxon, charged themselves with its interment, as the last sad office they could pay to their departed King. They applied to the Parliament for leave to bury it in King Henry the Seventh's Chapel, in Westminster Abbey, but that was refused, because it would attract many spectators, which "as the times then were, was judged unsafe and inconvenient." They then resolved to inter it in St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, having obtained from the Committee of Parliament permission so to do. Several Kings had been interred there, as Henry VI. Edward IV. Henry VIII., &c. The corpse was accordingly carried there on the 7th February, in a hearse, attended by about a dozen gentlemen, who had been about the person of the King at Carebrook Castle and other places. After some deliberation, Herbert pitched upon the vault where Edward IV. had been interred: but while the workmen were employed in removing the stones, some noblemen came thither, namely, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earl of Lindsey, and with them Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London, who had license from the Parliament to attend the King's body to the grave. One of those lords, beating gently on the pavement with his staff, perceived a hollow sound, and thereupon ordering the stones and earth to be removed, they discovered a descent into a vault, where two coffins were laid near one another, the one very large, of an antique form, the other very little. These they supposed to be the bodies of King Henry VIII. and Queen Jane Seymour, his third wife, as indeed they were. The velvet palls that covered their coffins, seemed fresh, though they had lain there above a hundred years.

"The Lords agreeing that the King's body should be in the said vault interred, being about the middle of the choir, over against the eleventh stall upon the Sovereign's side,* they gave order to have the King's name and year he died cut in lead; and the girdle, or circumscription of capital letters of lead put about the King's coffin had only these words, King Charles, 1648. (Does the coffin bear any traces of this memorial?)

"The King's body was then brought from his bed-chamber down into St. George's-hall, whence, after a little stay, it was with a slow and solemn pace (much sorrow in most faces being then discernible) carried by gentlemen of quality in mourning. The body being by the bearers set down near the place of burial, the Bishop of London stood ready with the service book in his hands to have performed this last duty to the King his master, but it would not be suffered by Col. Whitehot, the governor of the Castle, by reason of the Directory, to which, said he, he and others were to be conformable. Thus went Charles to his grave, in the 48th year of his age, and 22d year and 10th month of his reign."

Hume has made no mention about Charles's interment. I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

W.

*This inattention in describing the exact spot, may determine the fact, whether the body recently discovered be Charles's.

April 13—15 1813.

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TO THE PRINTER OF THE ST. JAMES'S CHRONICLE AND LONDON EVENING POST.

SIR,

The discovery of the body and coffin of King Charles the First, at Windsor, upon the interment of the late Duchess of Brunswick, seems to have been the subject of much conversation, and to have excited no inconsiderable surprise. It will, however, be found by a reference to Echard's History of England, that the fact of his being buried at Windsor, and of the existence of his coffin there, was ascertained during the reign of King William the Third. Perhaps the insertion of the passage will not be unacceptable to your readers, and I have subjoined an additional observation made by the Editor in the Life of Sir Christopher Wren*, who it seems was once employed on a design for a monument of King Charles the first.

Fulham, April 6.

S. V. R. H.

P. S. Rapin takes notice of the fact also, as stated in the account which you published from Wood.

* Vide p. 320 of *Parentalia*, printed London, 1750.

Echard's History of England, Vol. 2, p. 649.

"It has been made a question, and a wonder by many, why a particular monument was not erected at Windsor for him (King Charles the 1st) after the restoration of his son, especially when the Parliament was well inclined to have given a good sum for that grateful purpose. This has caused several conjectures and reflections, and intimations have been given, as if the Royal Body had never been deposited there, or else had been afterwards removed by the Regicides; and the Lord Clarendon himself (vol. 3, p. 200) speaks softly and suspiciously of this matter, as if he believed the body could not be found. But to remove all imaginations, we shall here insert a memorandum, or certificate, sent by Mr. John Sewell, Register at Windsor, Anno 1696, September 21. The same vault in which King Charles the First was buried, was opened to lay in a still-born child of the then Princess of Denmark, now our gracious Queen. On the King's coffin the velvet pall was strong and sound, and there was about the coffin a leaden band, with this inscription cut through it—King CHARLES. 1648.

"Queen Jane's coffin was whole and entire; but that of King Henry the Eighth was sunk in upon the breast part, and the lead and wood consumed by the heat of the gums he was embalmed with; and when I laid my hand on it, it was run together and hard, and had no noisome smell."—As a further memorandum relating to King Charles's interment, he says, "That when the body of Charles the First lay in state, in the Dean's Hall, the Duke of Richmond had the coffin opened, and was satisfied that it was the King's body. This several people have declared they knew to be true, who were alive, and then present, as Mr. Randolph, of New Windsor, and others." So that he thinks the Lord Clarendon was misled in that matter, and King Charles the Second never sent to inquire after the body, "since it was well known, both to the inhabitants of the castle and town, that it was in that vault."

To this may be added, that Mr. Fishborne, gent. of Windsor, a relation of Sir Christopher Wren's, was among those who were present at the interment of the King, went into the vault, and brought away a fragment of King Henry's pall. He observed the vault was so narrow that it was some difficulty to get in the King's coffin by the side of others.

J. James

April 17—20. 1813.

BURIAL OF KING CHARLES I.

We copy the following account from a work, entitled, "A True Copy of the Journal of the High Court of Justice, for the trial of King Charles I. as it was read in the House of Commons, and attested under the hand of Phelps, Clerk to that infamous Court, taken by J. Naisson, LL. D. Jan. 4, 1683; with a large introduction.—London: printed by H. C. for Thomas Dring, at the Harrow, at the corner of Chancery-lane, in Fleet-street, 1683."

Page 118. After giving an account of the execution, it thus continues:—"Being embalmed and laid in a coffin of lead, to be seen for some dayes by the people, at length upon Wednesday the 17th of February, it was delivered to four of his servants, Herbert, Mildmay, Preston and Joyner; who with some others in mourning equipage attended the hearse that night to Windsor, and placed it in the room which was formerly the King's bed-chamber.

"Next day it was removed into the Dean's Hall, which was hung with black, and made dark, and lights were set burning round the hearse. About three afternoon, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquess of Hartford, the Earls of Salisbury and Lindsey, and the Bishop of London (others that were sent to, refusing their last service to the best of Princes) came thither with two votes passed that morning, whereby the ordering of the King's burial was committed to the Duke, provided that the expences thereof exceeded not five hundred pound. This order they shewed to Colonel Whichot, the Governour of the Castle, desiring the interment might be in St. George's chappel, and according to the form of the Common Prayer. The latter request the Governour denied, saying that it was improbable the Parliament would permit the use of what they had so solemnly abolished, and therein destroy their own Act.

"The Lords replied, that there was a difference betwixt destroying their own Act, and dispensing with it, and that no power so binds its own hands, as to disable itself in some cases. But all prevailed not.

"The Governour had caused an ordinary grave to be digged in the body of the church at Windsor for the interment of the corpse; which the Lords disdaining, found means by the direction of an honest man, one of the old Knights, to use an artifice to discover a vault in the middle of the quire, by the hollow sound they might perceive in knocking with a staff upon that place; that so it might seem to be their own accidental finding out, and no person receive blame for the discovery. This place they caused to be opened, and entering saw one large coffin of lead in the middle of the vault, covered with a velvet pall, and a lesser on one side (supposed to be Henry the Eighth and his beloved Queen Jane Saint Mause); on the other side was room left for another (probably intended for Queen Katherine Parr, who survived him) where they thought fit to lay the King.

"Hither the hearse was borne by the Officers of the Garrison, the four Lords bearing up the corners of the velvet pall, and the Bishop of London following; and in this manner was this great King, upon Fryday the nineteenth of February, about three afternoon, silently and without other solemnity than of sighs and tears, committed to the earth, the velvet pall being thrown into the vault over the coffin, to which was fastened an inscription in lead of three words:—

"KING CHARLES, 1648."

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A N A C C O U N T

OF WHAT APPEARED

ON OPENING THE COFFIN

OF

KING CHARLES THE FIRST,

IN THE

VAULT OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH

IN

ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL AT WINDSOR,

ON THE FIRST OF APRIL, M DCCC XIII.

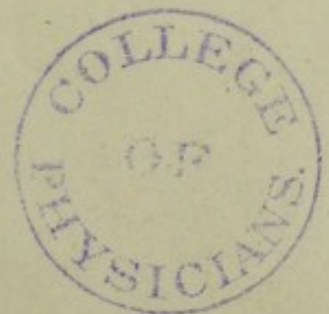
By SIR HENRY HALFORD, BART. F. R. S. AND F. A. S.

PHYSICIAN TO THE KING AND THE PRINCE REGENT.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR WHITE, COCHRANE, AND CO. FLEET STREET;
AND J. HATCHARD, PICCADILLY.

1813.



AN ACCOUNT

OF WHAT APPLIED

ON OPENING THE COFFIN

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KING CHARLES THE FIRST

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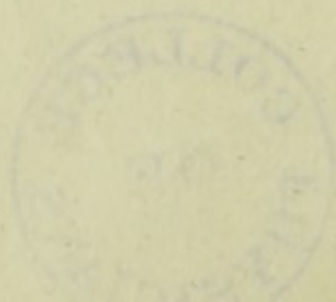
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LONDON.

J. NICHOLS, SON, and BENTLEY, Printers,
Red Lion Passage, Fleet Street, London.

1813.



AN ACCOUNT
OF THE
TO THE READER.

THE following Narrative of the Investigation, which took place at Windsor, on Thursday the 1st of April 1813, in the Vault of King Henry VIII. will probably be rendered more satisfactory by a comparison with the statements of Lord Clarendon and Mr. Herbert, with respect to the Interment of King Charles I.

For the convenience of the Reader, therefore, those Narratives are here reprinted, as an Appendix.

AN ACCOUNT

OF WHAT APPEARED

ON OPENING THE COFFIN

OF

KING CHARLES THE FIRST,

IN

ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL AT WINDSOR,

ON THE FIRST OF APRIL, M DCCC XIII.

IT is stated by Lord Clarendon, in his History of the Rebellion, that the Body of King Charles I. though known to be interred in St. George's Chapel at Windsor, could not be found, when searched for there, some years afterwards. It seems, by the Historian's account, to have been the wish and the intention of King Charles II. after his Restoration, to take up His Father's corpse, and to re-inter it in Westminster Abbey, with those royal honours which had been denied it under the Government of the Regicides. The most careful search was made for the body by several people, amongst whom were some of those noble persons whose faithful attachment had led them to pay their last tribute of respect to their unfortunate Master by attending Him to the grave. Yet such had been the injury done to the Chapel, such were the mutilations it had undergone, during the period of the Usurpation, that no marks

were left, by which the *exact* place of burial of the King, could be ascertained.

There is some difficulty in reconciling this account, with the information which has reached us, since the death of Lord Clarendon, particularly with that of Mr. Ashmole, and more especially with that most interesting narrative of Mr. Herbert given in the "*Athenæ Oxonienses.*" Mr. Herbert had been a Groom of the bed-chamber, and a faithful companion of the King in all circumstances, from the time He left the Isle of Wight, until His death—was employed to convey His body to Windsor, and to fix upon a proper place for His interment there; and was an eye-witness to that interment, in the Vault of King Henry VIII.

Were it allowable to hazard a conjecture, after Lord Clarendon's deprecation of all conjectures on the subject, one might suppose, that it was deemed imprudent, by the Ministers of King Charles II. that His Majesty should indulge His pious inclination to re-inter His Father, at a period, when those ill-judged effusions of loyalty, which had been manifested, by taking out of their graves, and hanging up the bodies of some of the most active Members of the Court, which had condemned and executed the King, might, in the event of another triumph of the Republicans, have subjected the body of the Monarch to similar indignity. But the fact is, King Charles I. was buried in the Vault of King Henry VIII. situated precisely where Mr. Herbert has described it; and an accident has served to elucidate a point in history, which the great authority of Lord Clarendon had involved in some obscurity.

On completing the mausoleum, which His present Majesty has built in the Tomb-house, as it is called, it was necessary to form a passage to it from under the choir of St. George's Chapel. In constructing this passage, an aperture was made accidentally in one of the walls of the Vault of King Henry VIII. through which the workmen were enabled to see, not only the two coffins, which were supposed to contain the bodies of King Henry VIII. and Queen

Jane Seymour, but a third also, covered with a black velvet pall, which, from Mr. Herbert's narrative, might fairly be presumed to hold the remains of King Charles I.

On representing the circumstance to the Prince Regent, His Royal Highness perceived at once, that a doubtful point in History might be cleared up by opening this vault; and accordingly His Royal Highness ordered an examination to be made on the first convenient opportunity. This was done on the 1st of April last, the day after the funeral of the Duchess of Brunswick, in the presence of His Royal Highness Himself, who guaranteed thereby the most respectful care and attention to the remains of the dead, during the enquiry. His Royal Highness was accompanied by His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, Count Munster, the Dean of Windsor, Benjamin Charles Stevenson, Esquire, and Sir Henry Halford.

The Vault is covered by an arch, half a brick in thickness, is seven feet two inches in width, nine feet six inches in length, and four feet ten inches in height, and is situated in the centre of the choir, opposite the eleventh Knight's stall, on the Sovereign's side.

On removing the pall, a plain leaden coffin, with no appearance of ever having been inclosed in wood, and bearing an inscription, "KING CHARLES, 1648," in large legible characters, on a scroll of lead encircling it, immediately presented itself to the view. A square opening was then made in the upper part of the lid, of such dimensions as to admit a clear insight into its contents. These were, an internal wooden coffin, very much decayed, and the Body, carefully wrapped up in cere-cloth, into the folds of which a quantity of unctuous or greasy matter, mixed with resin, as it seemed, had been melted, so as to exclude, as effectually as possible, the external air. The coffin was completely full; and, from the tenacity of the cere-cloth, great difficulty was experienced in detaching it successfully from the parts which it enveloped. Wherever the unctuous matter had insinuated itself, the

separation of the cere-cloth was easy; and when it came off, a correct impression of the features to which it had been applied was observed in the unctuous substance. At length, the whole face was disengaged from its covering. The complexion of the skin of it was dark and discoloured. The forehead and temples had lost little or nothing of their muscular substance; the cartilage of the nose was gone; but the left eye, in the first moment of exposure, was open and full, though it vanished almost immediately: and the pointed beard, so characteristic of the period of the reign of King Charles, was perfect. The shape of the face was a long oval; many of the teeth remained; and the left ear, in consequence of the interposition of the unctuous matter between it and the cere-cloth, was found entire.

It was difficult, at this moment, to withhold a declaration, that, notwithstanding its disfigurement, the countenance did bear a strong resemblance to the coins, the busts, and especially to the pictures of King Charles I. by Vandyke, by which it had been made familiar to us. It is true, that the minds of the Spectators of this interesting sight were well prepared to receive this impression; but it is also certain, that such a facility of belief had been occasioned by the simplicity and truth of Mr. Herbert's Narrative, every part of which had been confirmed by the investigation, so far as it had advanced: and it will not be denied that the shape of the face, the forehead, an eye, and the beard, are the most important features by which resemblance is determined.

When the head had been entirely disengaged from the attachments which confined it, it was found to be loose, and, without any difficulty, was taken up and held to view. It was quite wet*,

* I have not asserted this liquid to be blood, because I had not an opportunity of being sure that it was so, and I wished to record facts only, and not opinions: I believe it, however, to have been blood, in which the head rested. It gave to writing-paper, and to a white handkerchief, such a colour as blood

and gave a greenish red tinge to paper and to linen, which touched it. The back part of the scalp was entirely perfect, and had a remarkably fresh appearance; the pores of the skin being more distinct, as they usually are when soaked in moisture; and the tendons and ligaments of the neck were of considerable substance and firmness. The hair was thick at the back part of the head, and, in appearance, nearly black. A portion of it, which has since been cleaned and dried, is of a beautiful dark brown colour. That of the beard was a redder brown. On the back part of the head, it was more than an inch in length, and had probably been cut so short for the convenience of the executioner, or perhaps by the piety of friends soon after death, in order to furnish memorials of the unhappy King.

On holding up the head, to examine the place of separation from the body, the muscles of the neck had evidently retracted themselves considerably; and the fourth cervical vertebra was found to be cut through its substance, transversely, leaving the surfaces of the divided portions perfectly smooth and even, an appearance which could have been produced only by a heavy blow, inflicted with a very sharp instrument, and which furnished the last proof wanting to identify King Charles the First.

After this examination of the head, which served every purpose in view, and without examining the body below the neck, it was which has been kept for a length of time generally leaves behind it. Nobody present had a doubt of its being blood; and it appears from Mr. Herbert's narrative, that the King was embalmed immediately after decapitation. It is probable, therefore, that the large blood vessels continued to empty themselves for some time afterwards. I am aware, that some of the softer parts of the human body, and particularly the brain, undergo, in the course of time, a decomposition, and will melt. A liquid, therefore, might be found after long interment, where solids only had been buried: but the weight of the head, in this instance, gave no suspicion that the brain had lost its substance; and no moisture appeared in any other part of the coffin, as far as we could see, excepting at the back part of the head and neck.

immediately restored to its situation, the coffin was soldered up again, and the vault closed.

Neither of the other coffins had any inscription upon them. The larger one, supposed on good grounds to contain the remains of King Henry VIII. measured six feet ten inches in length, and had been enclosed in an elm one of two inches in thickness: but this was decayed, and lay in small fragments near it. The leaden coffin appeared to have been beaten in by violence about the middle; and a considerable opening in that part of it, exposed a mere skeleton of the King. Some beard remained upon the chin, but there was nothing to discriminate the personage contained in it.

The smaller coffin, understood to be that of Queen Jane Seymour, was not touched; mere curiosity not being considered, by the Prince Regent, as a sufficient motive for disturbing these remains.

On examining the vault with some attention, it was found that the wall, at the West end, had, at some period or other, been partly pulled down and repaired again, not by regular masonry, but by fragments of stones and bricks, put rudely and hastily together without cement.

From Lord Clarendon's account, as well as from Mr. Herbert's narrative of the interment of King Charles, it is to be inferred, that the ceremony was a very hasty one, performed in the presence of the Governor, who had refused to allow the service according to the Book of Common Prayer to be used on the occasion; and had, probably, scarcely admitted the time necessary for a decent deposit of the body. It is not unlikely, therefore, that the coffin of King Henry VIII. had been injured by a precipitate introduction of the coffin of King Charles; and that the Governor was not under the influence of feelings, in those times, which gave him any concern about Royal remains, or the vault which contained them.

It may be right to add, that a very small mahogany coffin, covered with crimson velvet, containing the body of an infant, had been laid upon the pall which covered King Charles. This is known to have been a still-born child of the Princess George of Denmark, afterwards Queen Anne.

HENRY HALFORD.

London, April 11, 1813.

APPENDIX, N^o I.

Extract from Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England," Vol. III. Part I. p. 393, Oxford, 1807.

“His body was immediately carried into a room at Whitehall; where he was exposed for many days to the public view, that all men might know that he was not alive. And he was then embalmed, and put into a coffin, and so carried to St. James’s; where he likewise remained several days. They who were qualified to order his funeral declared, ‘that he should be buried at Windsor in a decent manner, provided that the whole expence should not exceed five hundred pounds.’ The Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earls of Southampton and Lindsey, who had been of his bedchamber, and always very faithful to him, desired those who governed, ‘that they might have leave to perform the last duty to their dead master, and to wait upon him to his grave;’ which, after some pauses, they were permitted to do; with this, ‘that they should not attend the corpse out of the town; since they resolved it should be privately carried to Windsor without pomp or noise, and then they should have timely notice, that, if they pleased, they might be at his interment.’ And accordingly it was committed to four of those servants who had been by them appointed to wait upon him during his imprisonment, that they should convey the body to Windsor; which they did. And it was, that night, placed in that chamber which had usually been his bedchamber: the next morning, it was carried into the great hall; where it remained till the lords came; who arrived there in the afternoon, and immediately went to Colonel Whitchcot, the Governor of the Castle, and shewed the order they had from the Parliament to be present at the burial; which he admitted: but when they desired that His

Majesty might be buried according to the form of the Common Prayer Book, the Bishop of London being present with them to officiate, he positively and roughly refused to consent to it; and said, 'it was not lawful; that the Common Prayer Book was put down, and he would not suffer it to be used in that garrison where he commanded;' nor could all the reasons, persuasions, and entreaties, prevail with him to suffer it. Then they went into the church, to make choice of a place for burial. But when they entered into it, which they had been so well acquainted with, they found it so altered and transformed, all inscriptions, and those land-marks pulled down, by which all men knew every particular place in that church, and such a dismal mutation over the whole, that they knew not where they were: nor was there one old officer that had belonged to it, or knew where our princes had used to be interred. At last, there was a fellow of the town who undertook to tell them the place, where, he said, 'there was a vault, in which King Harry the Eighth and Queen Jane Seymour were interred.' As near that place as could conveniently be, they caused the grave to be made. There the King's body was laid, without any words, or other ceremonies than the tears and sighs of the few beholders. Upon the coffin was a plate of silver fixed, with these words only, *King Charles, 1648.* When the coffin was put in, the black velvet pall that had covered it was thrown over it, and then the earth thrown in; which the Governor stayed to see perfectly done, and then took the keys of the church.

"I have been the longer and the more particular in this relation, that I may from thence take occasion to mention what fell out long after, and which administered a subject of much discourse; in which, according to the several humours and fancies of men, they who were in nearest credit and trust about the King underwent many very severe censures and reproaches, not without reflection upon the King himself. Upon the return of King Charles the Second, with so much congratulation, and universal joy of the people, above ten years after the murder of his father, it was generally expected that the body should be removed from that obscure burial, and, with such ceremony as should be thought fit, should be solemnly deposited with his Royal Ancestors in King Harry the Seventh's chapel, in the collegiate church of Westminster. And the King himself intended nothing more, and spoke often of it, as if it were only deferred

till some circumstances and ceremonies in the doing it might be adjusted. But, by degrees, the discourse of it was diminished, as if it were totally laid aside upon some reasons of state, the ground whereof several men guessed at according to their fancies, and thereupon cast those reproaches upon the statesmen as they thought reasonable, when the reasons which were suggested by their own imaginations did not satisfy their understanding. For the satisfaction and information of all men, I choose in this place to explain that matter; which, it may be, is not known to many; and at that time was not, for many reasons, thought fit to be published. The Duke of Richmond was dead before the King returned; the Marquis of Hertford died in a short time after, and was seldom out of his lodging after his Majesty came to Whitehall: the Earl of Southampton and the Earl of Lindsey went to Windsor, and took with them such of their own servants as had attended them in that service, and as many others as they remembered had been then present, and were still alive; who all amounted to a small number; there being, at the time of the interment, great strictness used in admitting any to be present whose names were not included in the order which the lords had brought. In a word, the confusion they had at that time observed to be in that church, and the small alterations which were begun to be made towards decency, so totally perplexed their memories, that they could not satisfy themselves in what place or part of the church the Royal Body was interred: yet, where any concurred upon this or that place, they caused the ground to be opened at a good distance, and, upon such enquiries, found no cause to believe that they were near the place: and, upon their giving this account to the King, the thought of that remove was laid aside; and the reason communicated to very few, for the better discountenancing farther enquiry."

APPENDIX, N^o II.

Extract from Wood's "Athenæ Oxonienses," folio edition, vol. II. p. 703.

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“ THERE was a passage broke through the wall of the Banqueting-house, by which the King passed unto the scaffold: where, after his Majesty had spoken and declared publicly that he died a Christian according to the profession of the Church of England (the contents of which have been several times printed), the fatal stroke was given by a disguised person. Mr. Herbert during this time was at the door leading to the scaffold, much lamenting; *and the Bishop coming from the scaffold with the Royal Corpse, which was immediately coffined and covered with a velvet pall, he and Mr. Herbert went with it to the back stairs to have it embalmed.* The Royal Corpse being embalmed and well coffined, and all afterwards wrapped up in lead, and covered with a new velvet pall, it was removed to St. James's. . . . Where to bury the King was the last duty remaining. By some Historians it is said the King spoke something to the Bishop concerning his burial. Mr. Herbert, both before and after the King's death, was frequently in company with the Bishop, and affirmed, that he never mentioned any thing to him of the King's naming any place where he would be buried; nor did Mr. Herbert (who constantly attended his Majesty, and after his coming to Hurst Castle was the only person in his bedchamber) hear him at any time declare his mind concerning it. Nor was it in his lifetime a proper question for either of them to ask, notwithstanding they had oftentimes the opportunity, especially when his Majesty was bequeathing to his royal children and friends what is formerly related. Nor did the Bishop declare any thing concerning the place to Mr. Herbert, which doubtless he would upon Mr. Herbert's

pious care about it ; which being duly considered, they thought no place more fit to inter the corpse than in the Chapel of King Henry VII. at the end of the church of Westminster Abbey, out of whose loins King Charles I. was lineally extracted, &c. Whereupon Mr. Herbert made his application to such as were then in power for leave to bury the King's Body in the said chapel, among his ancestors ; but his request was denied, for this reason ; that *his burying there would attract infinite numbers of all sorts thither, to see where the King was buried ; which, as the times then were, was judged unsafe and inconvenient.* Mr. Herbert acquainting the Bishop with this, they then resolved to bury the King's Body in the Royal Chapel of St. George within the Castle of Windsor, both in regard that his Majesty was Sovereign of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, and that several Kings had been there interred ; namely, King Henry VI. King Edward IV. and King Henry VIII. &c. Upon which consideration Mr. Herbert made his second address to the Committee of Parliament, who, after some deliberation, gave him an order, bearing date the 6th of February 1648, authorizing him and Mr. Anthony Mildmay to bury the King's Body there, which the Governor was to observe.

“ Accordingly the corpse was carried thither from St. James's, Feb. 7, in a hearse covered with black velvet, drawn by six horses covered with black cloth, in which were about a dozen gentlemen, most of them being such that had waited upon his Majesty at Carisbrook Castle, and other places, since his Majesty's going from Newcastle. Mr. Herbert shewed the Governor, Colonel Whitchcot, the Committee's order for permitting Mr. Herbert and Mr. Mildmay to bury him, the late King, in any place within Windsor Castle, that they should think fit and meet. In the first place, in order thereunto, they carried the King's Body into the Dean's house, which was hung with black, and after to his usual bedchamber within the palace. After which they went to St. George's Chapel to take a view thereof, and of the most fit and honourable place for the Royal Corpse to rest in. Having taken a view, they at first thought that the Tomb-house, built by Cardinal Wolsey, would be a fit place for his interment ; but that place, though adjoining, yet being not within the Royal Chapel, they waved it : for, if King Henry VIII. was buried there (albeit to that day the particular place of

his burial was unknown to any), yet, in regard to his Majesty King Charles I. (who was a real Defender of the Faith, and as far from censuring any that might be), would upon occasional discourse express some dislike in King Henry's proceedings, in misemploying those vast revenues, the suppressed abbies, monasteries, and other religious houses, were endowed with, and by demolishing those many beautiful and stately structures, which both expressed the greatness of their founders, and preserved the splendour of the kingdom, which might at the Reformation have in some measure been kept up and converted to sundry pious uses.

“ Upon consideration thereof, those gentlemen declined it, and pitched upon the vault where King Edward IV. had been interred, being on the North side of the choir, near the altar, that King being one his late Majesty would oftentimes make honourable mention of, and from whom his Majesty was lineally propagated. That therefore induced Mr. Herbert to give order to N. Harrison and Henry Jackson to have that vault opened, partly covered with a fair large stone of touch, raised within the arch adjoining, having a range of iron bars gilt, curiously cut, according to church work, &c. But as they were about this work, some noblemen came thither; namely, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earl of Lindsay, and with them Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London, who had licence from the Parliament to attend the King's Body to his grave. Those gentlemen, therefore, Herbert, and Mildmay, thinking fit to submit, and leave the choice of the place of burial to those great persons, they in like manner viewed the tomb-house and the choir; and one of the Lords beating gently upon the pavement with his staff, perceived a hollow sound; and thereupon ordering the stones and earth to be removed, they discovered a descent into a vault, where two coffins were laid near one another, the one very large, of an antique form, and the other little. These they supposed to be the bodies of King Henry VIII. and Queen Jane Seymour his third wife, as indeed they were. The velvet palls that covered their coffins seemed fresh, though they had lain there above 100 years.

“ The Lords agreeing that the King's body should be in the same vault interred, being about the middle of the choir; over against the eleventh stall upon the Sovereign's side, they gave order to have the King's name and year he died cut in lead; which whilst the workmen were about, the Lords went

out and gave Puddifant the sexton order to lock the chapel door, and not suffer any to stay therein till farther notice. The sexton did his best to clear the chapel; nevertheless, Isaac the sexton's man said that a foot-soldier had hid himself, so as he was not discerned; and being greedy of prey, crept into the vault, and cut so much of the velvet pall that covered the great body as he judged would hardly be missed, and wimbled also a hole through the said coffin that was largest, probably fancying that there was something well worth his adventure. The sexton at his opening the door espied the sacrilegious person; who being searched, a bone was found about him, with which he said he would haft a knife. The Governor being therefore informed of, he gave him his reward; and the Lords and others present were convinced that a real body was in the said great coffin, which some before had scrupled. The girdle or circumscription of capital letters of lead put about the King's coffin had only these words: *King Charles, 1648.*

“The King's Body was then brought from his bedchamber down into St. George's Hall, whence, after a little stay, it was with a slow and solemn pace (much sorrow in most faces being then discernible) carried by gentlemen of quality in mourning. The noblemen in mourning also held up the pall; and the Governor, with several gentlemen, officers, and attendants, came after. It was then observed, that at such time as the King's Body was brought out from St. George's Hall, the sky was serene and clear; but presently it began to snow, and the snow fell so fast, that by that time the corpse came to the West end of the Royal chapel, the black velvet pall was all white (the colour of innocency), being thick covered over with snow. The Body being by the bearers set down near the place of burial, the Bishop of London stood ready, with the Service-book in his hands, to have performed his last duty to the King his Master, according to the order and form of burial of the dead set forth in the Book of Common Prayer; which the Lords likewise desired; but it would not be suffered by Col. Whitchcot, the Governor of the Castle, by reason of the *Directory*, to which (said he) *he and others were to be conformable.* Thus went the *white King* to his grave, in the 48th year of his age, and 22d year and 10th month of his reign.”

RELICS OF KING CHARLES. — Sir Henry Halford writing from Wistow Hall with reference to the relic of Charles I., recently placed on the coffin of that monarch by the Prince of Wales, says :—"The true history of the relic is that it was given to my grandfather, Sir Henry Halford, by his Majesty George IV., at the time that the coffin of Charles I. was opened, and was given by me to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales two years ago." In all his troubles King Charles had a faithful adherent in Sir Richard Halford, of Wistow. When he left Leicester with his army, just before the battle of Naseby, the King passed the night at Wistow. After the battle, during his flight from Naseby, the defeated monarch was supplied with a fresh horse by Sir Richard Halford, with whom the King left his richly embroidered crimson silk velvet saddle, brass stirrups and other interesting relics, which are still retained as heirlooms at Wistow Hall. Another incident connected with the battle of Naseby is that King Charles, in his flight towards Wistow, stopped at Tur Langton to refresh his horse at a spring of water, which is still known as "King Charles' well."





