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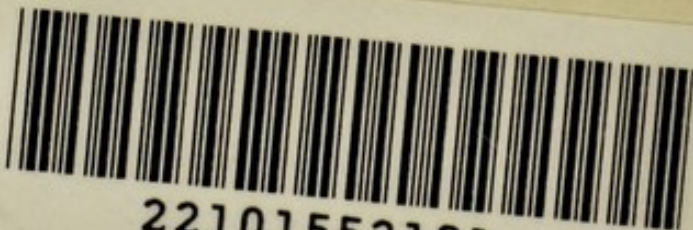


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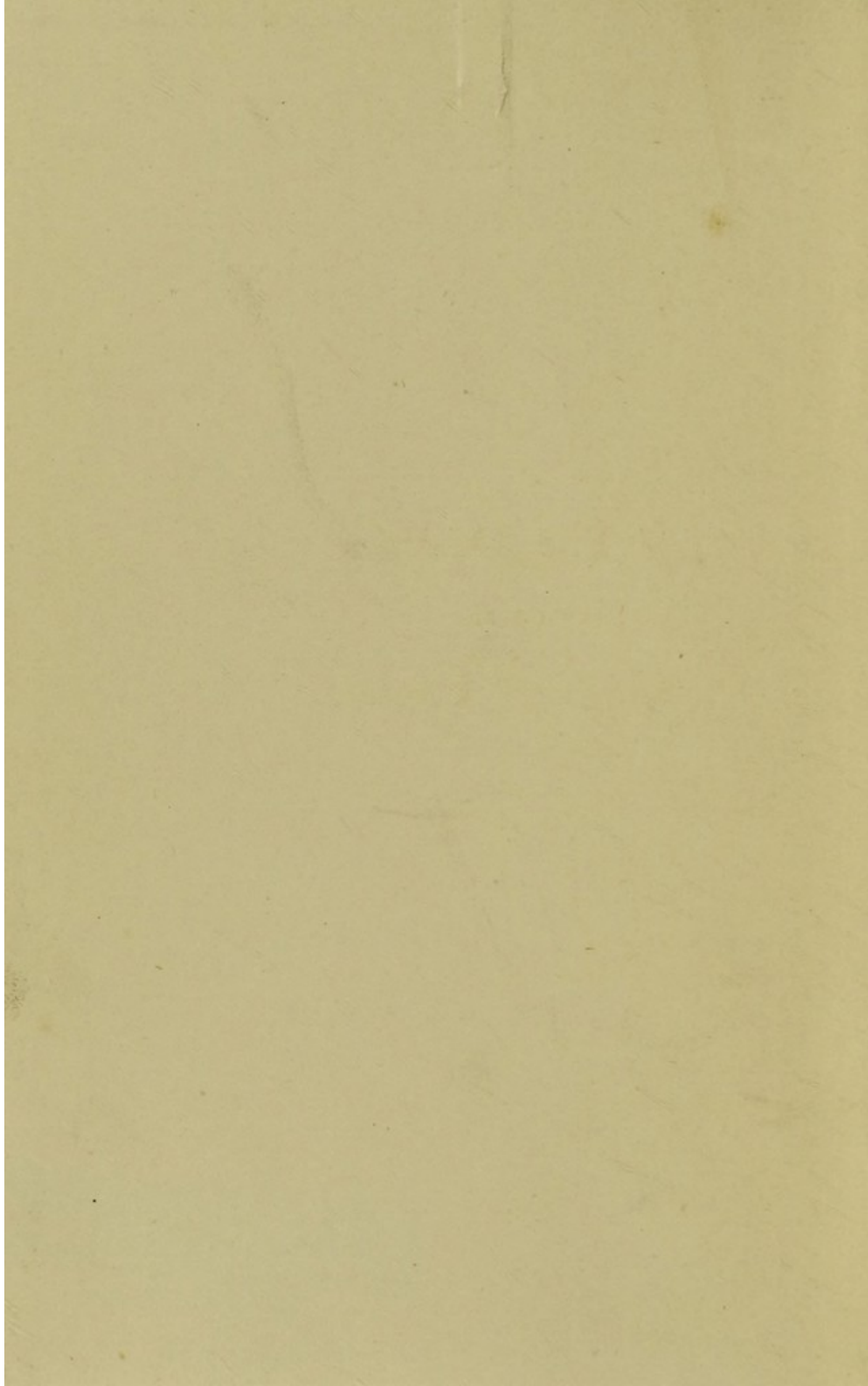
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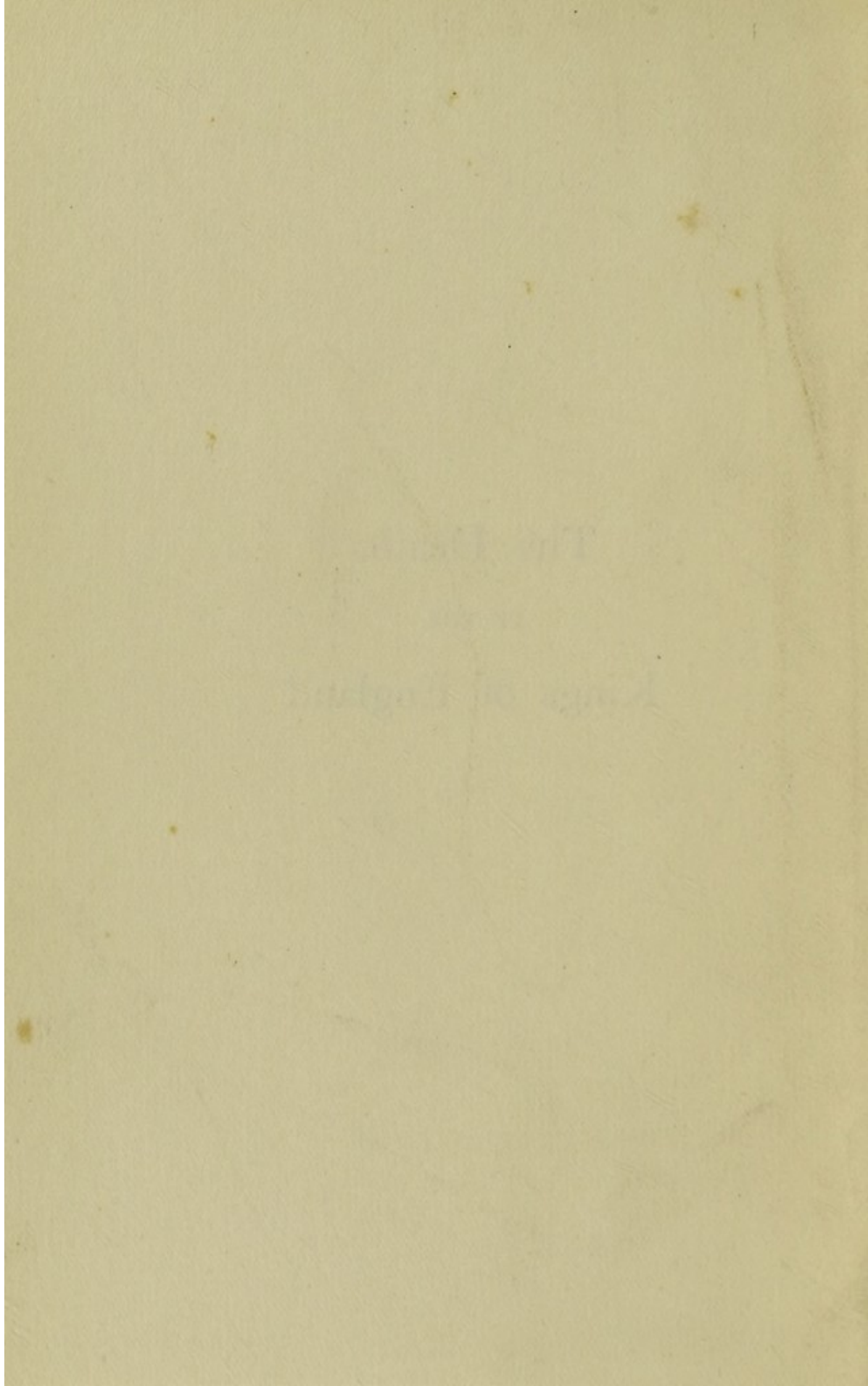


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The Deaths
OF THE
Kings of England



The Deaths
OF THE
Kings of England

BY
JAMES RAE, M.A., M.D.

"Death lays his icy hand on Kings."—*Shirley*.

LONDON
SHERRATT & HUGHES
Manchester : 34 Cross Street
1913

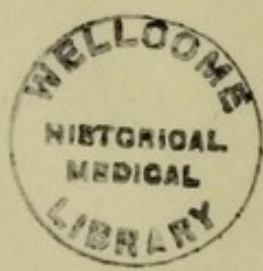
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The Deaths

of the Kings of England

London 1666

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THE
STORY OF
THE
WORLD
IN
THE
MIDDLE
AGES

PREFACE.

THE studies contained in this volume are the result of investigations lasting over three years. In their original form they were presented as the thesis which is required as a preliminary to the examination for the degree of Doctor of Medicine of the University of Aberdeen, on which occasion they were awarded "Commendation." With certain omissions they appeared in six instalments in the *Clinical Journal* of December 1911, and January 1912, and I take this opportunity of thanking Dr. Eliot Creasy, the editor of that paper, for his courteous permission to republish them. For the present purpose they have been revised, considerably extended, and provided with a list of authorities.

Previous work on this subject is represented by (1) a lecture on *Deaths of Eminent Persons*, delivered in 1819 by Sir Henry Halford; (2) a monograph by Dr. Raymond

Crawford on *The Last Days of Charles II*; (3) a series of anonymous articles entitled *Some Royal Death-beds*, which appeared in the *British Medical Journal* during 1910-11. To each of these I am indebted for one reference. My own is, I believe, the first systematic attempt to investigate these deaths by collating the early authorities. For the translations (with the exception of that from Waurin) I am myself responsible. Certain of the extracts (*e.g.*, those on Philip and on William III) have not previously been rendered into English.

The faults of the book are evident. There are probably many authorities, unknown to me, more reliable than some I have quoted. Certain of the diagnoses may be considered fanciful, but the impressions of mediæval chroniclers are frequently an unstable base for modern diagnostic methods. I would express the hope that at the least I have done something to disturb the complacent credulity of those who are content to transmit secular hypotheses when data for fresh opinion are available to all who choose to seek them.

J. R.

INTRODUCTION.

CHANGE in the historical method is an evolution of recent years, and has been so slow as to be almost imperceptible. Too often is a meticulous pedantry about dates regarded as enviable, and as superfluous the knowledge of what the occurrence of the year signified for the development of the nation. Even when a "History of the People" was designedly undertaken many aspects of the national condition were passed over. Since that time there has been published a "Political History," and what is of more value for the medical man, an elaborate account of social conditions, although the first tendency in the latter direction was shown by M. Jusserand. In spite of these welcome modifications in the survey of a people, its medical history has been almost ignored. There have been, it is true, a few admirable studies in the history of medicine, but the medicine of history is represented in English only by

Dr. Creighton's "History of Epidemics in Britain," a monument of industry, learning, and comprehensive deduction to which any later investigator must be indebted for many suggestions. This deals with diseases which spread widely throughout the country, with the plagues which decimated localities during a period of a thousand years. But the illnesses which struck at families, the maladies which did most come home to men's business and bosoms by virtue of a personal destruction, find no place in it.

To supply this lack, to delve in another corner of the almost virgin field of medical history was my aim in undertaking the researches explained in the pages which follow. The human aspect of history is a peculiarly fascinating one, and the achievements of our ancestors become more interesting as one realises it. Their liability to disease may seem an unusual method of emphasizing the fact, but it is one which must always appeal to anyone interested in medicine: and the English Kings present themselves as a particularly suitable subject for study.

The materials for such research are of the obvious kind and are detailed on a subsequent page. For the earlier kings one must rely on mediæval chronicles, published mostly in the "Rolls" series, or in the publications of the Camden Society; for the later ones on the sixteenth century chronicles (so far as they are available), many of which were edited by Sir Henry Ellis about the year 1810. From the sixteenth century onwards one may appeal more frequently to individual biographies. These have often been found in the original editions in places or forms too scattered to particularise here.

If the professional historian cavil at the valuation placed upon some of the authorities I must answer that I have been pragmatic enough to select any passages that promised help in my purpose: nor has it come within my sphere to trace the borrowings of one chronicler from another. Too often did a prolonged search have little result. Especially was this the case in the mediæval records, those "universal histories" which consist so largely of lives of saints and lists of monastery officers. Even in the proper

places much irrelevant matter creeps in, and has to be omitted in quotation. These *lacunæ* (which are indicated) sometimes require that a tense should be altered or a word supplied; such changes are signified by square brackets []. When the original passage is in English, the diction is generally modernised. References to individual pages have not been given, as they are readily obtained from the dates in the chronicles, memoirs, or biographies quoted.

The method here adopted is to give the extracts followed by their translations, and then to add some lines of comment on them by way of suggesting a diagnosis. Another method would have been to refer merely by implication to the data, and to give a connected account of each death. At the risk of being jejune, these pages are written on a plan which sacrifices facility of diction to a statement of evidence which is not always so full as one could desire. In only seven cases, the earliest of which is that of Oliver Cromwell, have we any account of a necropsy; post-mortem appearances of two others are referred to, and nineteenth-century

opening of the tombs of five more are recorded. In the cases of Henry II. and Henry III. no definite conclusion can be reached, but for most of the other rulers one can offer an opinion which is at least reasonably probable.

II.

Although an investigation of this nature does not as a whole lead to any general conclusion, it is possible to bring out certain broad inferences. Before doing so, however, it may be well to summarize the results of the whole study.

Deaths due to Senile Decay.

Henry III.	George III.
Richard Cromwell.	

Deaths by Violence.

William II.	Edward V.
Richard I.	Richard III.
Edward II.	Charles I.
Henry VI.	

In considering the deaths due to disease one finds that some of them may be placed under more than one head. These are shown by the italics.

Infectious Diseases.

<i>Henry II.</i>	<i>James I.</i>
<i>Edward I.</i>	<i>Oliver Cromwell.</i>
<i>Henry V.</i>	<i>Mary II.</i>
<i>Edward IV.</i>	<i>William III.</i>
<i>Mary I.</i>	<i>William IV.</i>
<i>Elizabeth.</i>	

Intestinal Troubles.

<i>William I.</i>	<i>John.</i>
<i>Henry I.</i>	<i>Edward I.</i>
<i>Stephen.</i>	<i>Henry V.</i>
<i>Henry II.</i>	

Pulmonary Disorders.

<i>Edward IV.</i>	<i>Elizabeth.</i>
<i>Henry VII.</i>	<i>William III.</i>
<i>Edward VI.</i>	<i>George IV.</i>
<i>Mary I.</i>	<i>William IV.</i>

Circulatory Disorders.

<i>William I.</i>	<i>Anne.</i>
<i>Henry IV.</i>	<i>George I.</i>
<i>James II.</i>	<i>George II.</i>

Deaths due primarily to Syphilis.

<i>Edward III.</i>	<i>Edward VI.</i>
<i>Henry IV.</i>	<i>James II.</i>
<i>Henry VIII.</i>	<i>George II.</i>

Four Kings are not included in the foregoing lists. Richard II died of anorexia nervosa; Charles II of uræmia; Henry VII and Philip of gout. Charles's renal condition was probably produced by this last

disease; it may have been due to syphilis, but if he were syphilitic he would not have had fifty-three natural children as he is reputed to have had. Surprising though this number may seem, one must add that the record number for royal fecundity in modern times is said to be that of Augustus the Strong, Elector of Saxony, who lived in the early eighteenth century, and is credited with an illegitimate family of over three hundred and fifty.

Another classification of the list of rulers suggests itself. To take first the "campaigning kings": Richard I and Richard III died of wounds; Henry IV and William III may be set aside as exceptions. But the others of this class, in which are included these four and William I, Henry II, John, Edward I, and Henry V, all died suffering from a dysenteric disease, whether it were the actual cause of death or not; I designedly include Henry II's "fever" in this. The disorder in these cases was due to the conditions in which the Kings had been living for some time previous to their death. It is possible that some of them died from enteric fever,

but one cannot be precise on this point.* The season of the year had little influence in this way, as is seen from the subjoined

Calendar of Deaths.

January.—28th, Henry VIII; 29th, George III; 30th, Charles I.

February.—6th, Charles II; 14th, Richard II.

March.—8th, William III; 20th, Henry IV; 24th, Elizabeth; 27th, James I.

April.—7th, Richard I; 9th, Edward IV; 22nd, Henry VII.

May.—24th, Henry VI.

June.—11th, George I; 20th, William IV; 21st, Edward III; 26th, George IV.

July.—6th, Henry II and Edward VI; 7th, Edward I; 12th, Richard Cromwell.

August.—1st, Anne; 2nd, William II; 22nd, Richard III; 31st, Henry V.

September.—3rd, Oliver Cromwell; 6th, William I; 13th, Philip; 16th, James II; 22nd, Edward II; unknown day, Edward V.

October.—18th, John; 25th, Stephen and George II.

November.—16th, Henry III; 17th, Mary I.

December.—1st, Henry I; 28th, Mary II.

There seems to be no hereditary disorder, but by taking the names in four groups and allowing for certain exceptions one can find

* The only historical case of typhoid fever in England is that of Henry, Prince of Wales (died 1612). This has been studied with much care by Dr. Norman Moore in a pamphlet issued in 1882. In Somer's Tracts (II., p. 231, Ed. 1807) is an account of the case, which is not quoted by Dr. Moore, but agrees almost completely with the authorities upon which his study is based.

an interesting chronological succession in the diseases. Thus of the first nine kings two died of violence but six died suffering from some intestinal disorder. The second group of nine contains four deaths by violence, two from syphilis, and one of intestinal origin. There is only one respiratory disease here, but in the next group of five, four are respiratory. Among the fifteen remaining deaths are two from old age, one death by violence, and one from smallpox. The other eleven rulers all died of some blood disorder, either internal hæmorrhage, as five did, or some blood intoxication, such as malaria, pneumonia, or uræmia, as we find in the other six cases. The dates for the first group are 1087—1307: a time when the kings had no thought of any "responsibility to their people," and adopted habits which had no restraint save from their own whim. In the second period of 1327—1485 there were continual conflicts for power, and deaths by violence predominate. Between 1509 and 1603 England was exposed to various epidemics, which may be considered to have killed the last two Tudors. With 1625 we

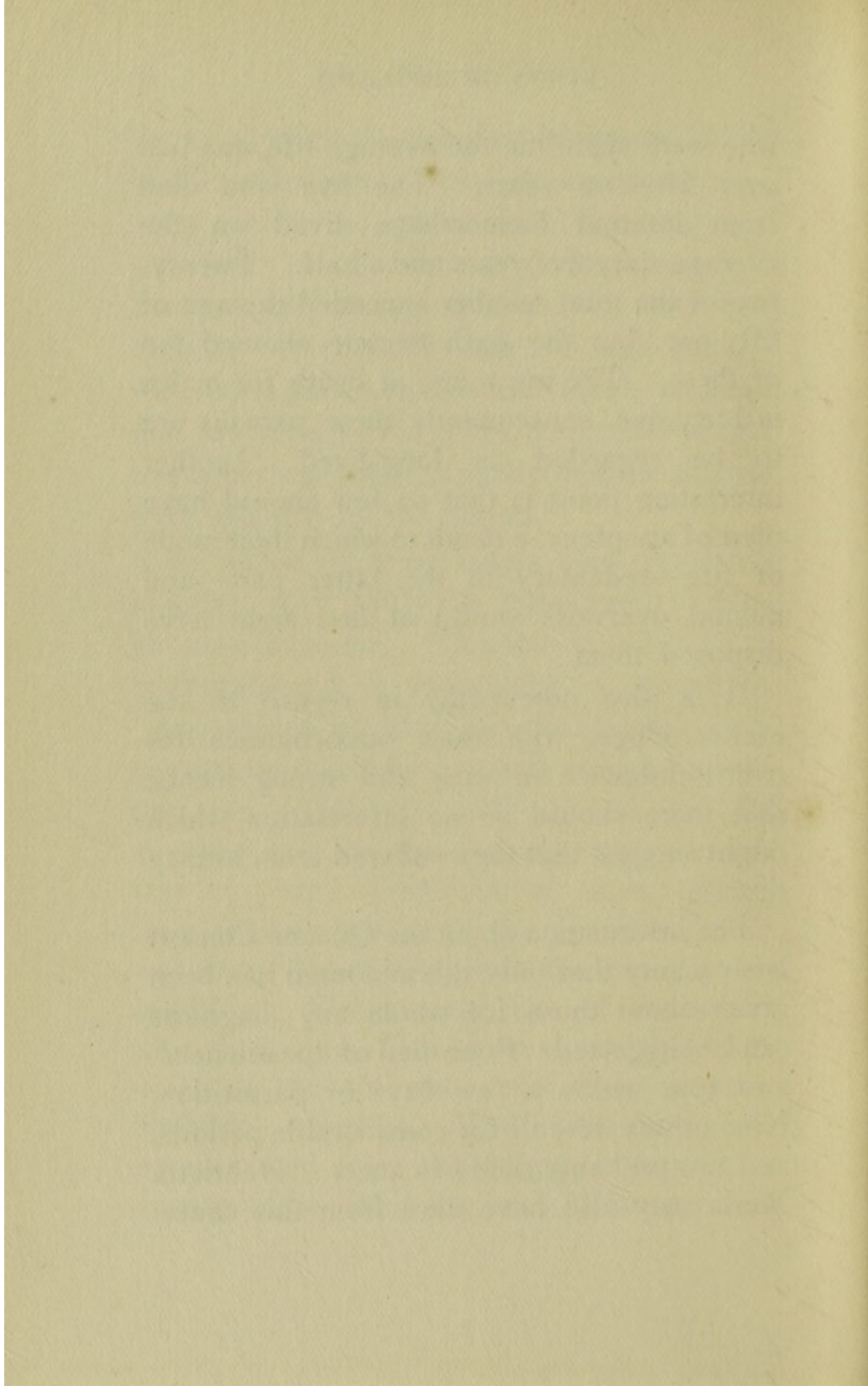
begin a time of changing domestic habits and synchronous lack of sanitation. In 1685 sets in the era of fatal blood trouble. Of four rulers who died from internal hæmorrhage during this period, two had syphilis. In truth, the last two male Stuarts were not a whit worse as individuals than the first two Hanoverian rulers, which shows that it was in their public capacity that the Stuarts were rejected by the nation.

As seven of these rulers died violently, kingship may justly be considered a dangerous occupation. This risk would have to be considered in calculating a monarch's "expectation of life," but the number here considered is much too small to be of use in this way. Still, one may mention that the average age for these thirty-eight persons was 53 years, 5 months, 20 days. Apart from the two boy kings, the youngest to die was Mary II, at thirty-two, the cause being smallpox. The average age of the seven who died from violence was under thirty-nine; of the six who suffered from some intestinal disorder, fifty-four: the same number died from blood intoxication at an average age of sixty-one. For the six

who were syphilitic the average life was just over fifty-two years. The five who died from internal hæmorrhage lived on the average sixty-five years and a half. Twenty-two of the total number exceeded the age of fifty-one, but the sixth decade claimed ten of these. The mean age at death for males is forty-five, consequently these persons are to be regarded as long-lived. Another interesting point is that so few should have died of apoplexy, a death to which their mode of life—sedentary in the latter part—and mental overwork would at first sight have disposed them.

It is also noteworthy in regard to the earlier kings, with their opportunities for over-indulgence in wine and strong meats, that there should be no information which might suggest that they suffered from kidney disease.

The information about the Queens-Consort is so scanty that only the minimum has been given about those for whom any diagnosis can be suggested. Four died of "pestilence," and four within a few days of parturition. Nine others were ill for considerable periods, and two probably died of cancer. Henrietta Maria may also have died from this cause.



WILLIAM I.

Born circa 1028; *died* (59*) September 6th, 1087, Rouen; *buried*, Caen.

(a) Rex Willelmus cœpit nimis debilitari et mortis arram cum infirmitatibus præsentire [1086]. Auxit etiam ægritudinis molestiam et ejus casum acceleravit quod ejus equus amplam fossam transiliens interiora ejus dirupit . . . Oct. id. Sept. viam universæ carnis est ingressus.—*Matthew Paris (Hist. Angl.)*.

King William began to be very feeble and to show the sign-manual of death by his infirmities. The discomfort of his illness was increased, and his end hastened by his horse leaping a wide trench and so bursting his bowels. He died on September 6th.

(b) Dicunt quidam quod præruptam fossam sonipes transiliens interanea sessoris ruperit, quod in anteriori parte sellæ venter protruberabat. [August 15th]. Hoc dolore affectus receptui suis cecinit Rotomagnumque reversus, crescente indies incommodo lecto excipitur. Consulti medici inspectione urinæ certam mortem prædixere.—*William of Malmesbury*.

Some say that his steed, leaping across a yawning trench, burst the bowels of the rider, because his belly projected over the forepart of his saddle. Afflicted by this mishap he gave his troops the order to fall back, and returning to Rouen took to his bed, his disorder increasing from day to day. On his physicians being consulted they declared after an examination of his urine that his death was inevitable.

(c) Tunc ibi ex nimio æstu ac labore, pinguissimus rex Gulielmus infirmatus est, et sex hebdomadibus

* These figures refer to the age at death. See also "Introduction," p. 10.

languens graviter anxiatuſ est. . . . In ægritudine ſua uſque ad horam mortis integruſ ſenſum et vivacem loquelam habuit.—*Orderic Vitalis*.

There King William, enormously obese as he was, became ill from the excessive heat and exertion, and lying for ſix weeks was grievouſly tormented. Yet his mind remained clear and his ſpeech brisk to the hour of his death.

(d) Ex qua calefactione morbuſ incurabilem incurrit vel quia ſonipes ejuſ dum foſſam tranſiliret interranea pinguiſ ventriſ ei ſunt interrupta Sexto iduſ Septembris obiit.—*Ranulph Higden*.

From the heat he fell into a hopeleſſ illneſſ; or the cauſe may have been that his horſe when jumping a trench burſt the contents of his fat belly. He died on September 8th.

(e) Propiuſ flammas accedens foci calore et autumnale æſtuſ inequalitate morbuſ natuſ eſt.—*Matthew of Weſtmiteſter*.

Approaching too near the flames he contracted a diſeaſe from the heat of the fire and the changeable autumn warmth.

(f) Quum Willelmuſ rex oppiduſ Medanta aſſilienſ flammiſ ultricibuſ tradidiſſet, pondere armoruſ et labore clamoriſ quo ſuoſ exhortabatur ut fertur, arvina intetiſtoruſ ejuſ liquefacta infirmari non modice cœpit.—*William of Jumiegeſ*.

When King William, after aſſaulting Manteſ, had delivered the town to the avenging flames, by the weight of his armour and the exertion of the ſhoutiſg by which he had cheered on his troopſ, the fat of his intetiſtineſ being melted aſ the ſtory goeſ, he began to be ſeriouſly ill.

(g) Exhilaratuſ rex, dum ſuoſ incitat ut ignibuſ adiciant pabuluſ, prope flammas accedens igniuſ calore et autumnaliſ æſtuſ inæqualitate morbuſ incurrit. Auxit præterea ægritudiniſ ejuſ moleſtiam quod præruptam foſſam equuſ regiſ tranſilienſ inte-

riora ejus dirupit insidentis. Quo nimirum dolore acriter afflictus Rothomagnumque remeavit. Cum languor per dies ingravesceret, excipitur lecto, morbo necessitate compulsus. Consulti medici urinæ inspectione mortem citissimam prædixerunt.—*Matthew Paris (Chron. Major)*.

As the King was triumphantly urging his men to throw fuel to the fire he came too near the flames and from their heat and the changeable autumn warmth contracted a disease. And the trouble of his illness was increased because his horse in leaping a trench burst the bowels of his rider. Much disabled he hastened back to Rouen, and as his weakness increased during the days following he was compelled to take to his bed. His physicians on being consulted, after an examination of his urine declared that his death was imminent.

(h) Dirus viscerum dolor apprehendit illum et magis ac magis de die in diem gravabat. Ingravescente ægritudine diem sibi mortis imminere [sensiit]—*Roger de Hoveden*.

A severe intestinal disorder attacked him and grew daily worse. As his illness increased he realised that the day of his death drew near.

THE use of the adjective “pinguissimus” is significant; one chronicler states that the king’s abdomen projected over the forepart of the saddle. A violent jerk forwards would probably bring the hypogastrium against the high Norman pommel. There is no mention of an external wound; if such had occurred together with a ruptured bladder, escape of urine might account for “arvina liquefacta.”

Or does this allude to the watery stools of dysentery? Had the bowel been torn peritonitis would have set in, in which case "loquela vivax" might possibly be construed as delirium. The chronicles later on give unduly detailed accounts of the bursting of the body when it was being crammed into an exiguous coffin—a reference which seems to prove that there was great distension and no external wound. On the other hand, the king lived at least twenty-two days after his illness began (Orderic puts the time at six weeks) and was removed from Rouen on account of noise to the priory of St. Gervase "ut ventrem potione alleviaret" (*William of Malmesbury*). But Matthew Paris states that he was in failing health the year before he died; and from the reference to his physique it seems probable that William had fatty overgrowth of the heart and that stress of the campaign with possibly a touch of dysentery and the heat of his assault exhausted him so that the shock of his horse's stumble proved his deathblow.

WILLIAM II. (Son).

Born circa 1060; died (40) August 2nd, 1100, in the New Forest; buried, Winchester.

(a) Cervus magnus cum per eum transiit ait rex cuidem militi scilicet Waltero Tyrel, "trahe diabole." Exiit ergo telum volatilem et obstante arbore in obliquum reflexum faciens per medium cordis regem sauciavit, qui subito mortuus corruit.—*Matthew Paris (Chron. Major.)*.

When a great stag passed before him the King shouted to Walter Tyrel, a knight, "Shoot, damn you." The shaft flew, and glancing off a tree, pierced the King full in the heart, so that he instantly dropped dead.

(b) Ipse (Walterius) alterum cervum qui forte propter transibat prosterneret inscius et impotens regium pectus (Deus bone) lethali arundine trajecit. Saucius ille nullum verbum emisit sed ligno sagittæ quantum extra corpus extabat effracto, moxque supra vulnus cadens, mortem acceleravit.—*William of Malmesbury*.

Thinking to bring down another stag which chanced to pass hard by, the headstrong and reckless Walter pierced the royal bosom with a fatal arrow. The smitten King uttered no sound, but breaking off as much of the shaft as stuck out of his body forthwith fell on his wound, and so hastened his death.

(c) Walterius Tirell cum sagitta cervo intendens inscius regem percussit. Rex autem in corde percussus corruit in terram nec verbum edidit sed vitam crudelem fine misero terminavit.—*Roger of Wendover*.

Walter Tirell, aiming at a stag, unwittingly struck

the king with the arrow, whereupon the King, wounded in the heart, dropped to the ground, and without a word ended his cruel life in a wretched fate.

(d) Cum cervum contra solis occasum emissa insequeretur sagitta ipse sagitta percussus in pectore corruit et expiravit.—*Gervase of Canterbury*.

When he let fly an arrow at a stag, which was against the sun, he himself, struck by an arrow, fell and died.

ANY medical comment is unnecessary, as the arrow seems to have pierced the heart and caused instant death. The king seems to have taken aim with the sun in his eyes, and as Tyrel was probably looking in the same direction, the latter also may have been dazzled, and in his eagerness did not trouble about William's position. The body was found some hours later by a charcoal-burner, who, ignoring the risk of being accused of having murdered the King, placed it on his cart and took it to Winchester by a lane which is still used and is the third lane north of the village of Chandlersford. Tyrel afterwards took a solemn oath that the death of the King was an accident.

HENRY I. (Brother).

Born circa July, 1068; *died* (67) December 1st, 1135, at St. Denis-le-Ferment; *buried*, Reading.

(a) De murena comedit avidius quam amare præ ceteris consuevit et cum medici eam ei prohibuissent rex minime adquevit. Cum autem natura succumbenti invaluisset infirmitas rex Henricus in fata concessit.—*Matthew Paris*.

He ate voraciously of a lamprey, which he was accustomed to delight in more than anything else, and paid no attention to his physicians when they forbade it him. But when his weakness had overcome his natural strength King Henry yielded to fate.

(b) Carnes comedit murænarum quæ ei semper nocebant et eas semper supra modum amabat; et cum medici eas comedere prohibuerent, non adquevit rex consilio salutari. Hæc igitur comestio pessimi humoris illatrix, et consimilium vehemens excitatrix, senile corpus lethaliter refrigidans subitam et summam perturbationem effecit; contra quam natura renitens febrem excitavit acutam ad impetum materiei gravissimæ dissolvendum; cum autem resistere vi nulla potuisset, decessit rex magnus prima die Decembris.—*Henry of Huntingdon*.

He devoured lampreys, which always disagreed with him, though he was excessively fond of them; and when his physicians forbade him to eat them the king did not heed their wise advice. This feast then provoking an evil humour (it is an active cause of such things), cooling his aged frame to a fatal degree, set up a sudden and extreme disturbance. His constitution, struggling against this, excited an acute

fever by way of frustrating the attack of the hurtful matter. But since he could withstand it by no means the great King died on the first day of December.

(c) Asserebant autem plurimi quod rex apud Cinnamannum ægrotat [March 20th].—*Gervase of Canterbury*.

Most writers declare that the king fell ill at Chinon.

(d) Comederat nempe senex invalidus ex muræna quæ licet semper dilexerat, semper tandem sibi nocuerat.—*Ranulph Higden*.

The old man, when in a feeble health, had eaten a lamprey—a dish of which he was always fond, although it always disagreed with him.

ACCOUNTS of Henry's death occur also in Roger of Wendover and Roger de Hoveden, but these are almost the same as the one given by Henry of Huntingdon. Gervase is the only writer to mention that the King's health began to fail in March at Chinon (though Higden mentions that it was feeble), while his death did not take place until eight months later—at a village near Gisors, about eighteen miles from Rouen. Nothing is said about the condition of the lampreys, but the king was a man of sixty-seven, who always had gastric trouble after such a diet. The chroniclers emphasise the foul and offensive stench of his body after death, and relate that the man who extracted his brain fell ill

immediately, and died in great pain a few days later. The probability is that Henry died of poisoning by a ptomaine similar to the mytilo-toxin found in mussels. The pathology of the fever process, as explained in these extracts, may be compared with the view of it given in the passages relating to the death of Anne nearly six centuries later.

STEPHEN (Nephew).

Born (?) 1097; *died* (57), October 25th, 1154, at Canterbury; *buried*, Faversham.

(a) Rex subito ilii dolore cum veterano emoroidarum fluxu violenter corripitur.—*Gervase of Canterbury*.

The king was suddenly seized with pain in the iliac region along with an old discharge from hæmorrhoids.

(b) Rex vero post concilium in Cantia constitutus morbo decubuit quo ingravescente post dies paucos decessit mense Octobri.—*William of Newburgh*.

After the Council in Kent the King, having settled matters, was confined by sickness, and this increasing, a few days later he died in the month of October.

(c) He was suddenly seized with the iliac passion and with an old disease of the emrods.—*Richard Baker (Chronicle)*.

THE citation of a writer such as Baker (or Holinshed as appears below) may at first sight be regarded as mistaken. Nevertheless it seems justified because, apart from the possibility of his having seen chronicles now lost, he does incorporate much traditional history, and it is precisely in such beliefs—for the gossip of one age becomes the legend of the next—that the investigator may hope to find the details important for a purpose

like the present one. Many chronicles mention the death of Stephen besides those quoted, but as one after another is searched and only a mere statement of the occurrence is found, the reader begins to realise how much work may be necessary before he has sufficient facts in his possession.

The notable points in Stephen's last illness are its sudden onset, the appearance of a swelling in one or other iliac region, and the passage of blood *per anum*. From clinical experience one may assume that the tumour was in the right iliac region. It may be explained by an ileo-cæcal intussusception with passage of blood and mucus; his age makes this improbable. Or the blood, if indeed it were such, may have actually come from the hæmorrhoids, and the tumour, with its accompanying sudden pain, have been an "iliac phlegmon," or in modern terminology an appendicular abscess. In any case the trouble, whatever its nature, was assuredly severe enough to cause death within a few days.

His Queen, Matilda of Boulogne, died at Heningham Castle, Essex, on 3rd May, 1151,

“of a fever.” Her predecessor, Adelia of Louvaine (the second wife of Henry I), died at Affligham in the same year, but there appears to be no record of an epidemic in the Eastern Counties at that time.

HENRY II. (First Cousin once removed).

Born March 5th, 1133; *died* (55), July 6th, 1189, Chinon, Anjou; *buried*, Fontevrault, Poitou.

(a) Demum apud Turonensem febre correptus . . . pacem optavit . . . Apud Chynonense castrum rex Henricus [decessit].—*Ranulph Higden*.

At length seized with fever at Tours he made overtures for peace. The king died at the Castle of Chinon.

(b) Henricus in abissum tristitiæ absorptus malediciens diei in qua natus fuerat, apud Chinonem pridie nonas Julii diem clausit extremam.—*Matthew of Westminster*.

Henry, plunged into the depths of despair, cursing the day on which he was born, ended his life at Chinon on July 6th.

(c) Rex autem Henricus de colloquio mæstus ad Chinonem veniens, gravi tactus incommodo maledixit diem in qua natus fuerat; et sic in angaria positus, infra triduum post concordiam factam diem clausit extremam.—*Matthew Paris (Chron. Major)*.

King Henry, arriving at Chinon in deep dejection after the conference, stung by his great misfortune, cursed the day on which he was born; and thus plunged into distress, died less than three days after peace was made.

(d) Ex multa mæstitudine febrem accersivit, qua invalescente, post dies aliquot apud Chinonem vitam finivit.—*William of Newburgh*.

From great sadness he derived a fever, and this increasing he ended his life at Chinon some days later.

(e) Obiit autem rex Angliæ Henricus mense Julii pridie nonas ejusdem mensis.—*Benedict of Peterborough*.

Henry, King of England, died on July 6th.

(f) Qui cum ægrotasset usque ad mortem, fecit se ferri in ecclesiam ante altare et ibi obiit in octavis apostolorum Petri et Pauli, feria V.—*Roger de Hoveden*.

When he felt himself sick unto death he caused himself to be carried into the church before the altar, and there he died on Friday, July 6th.

IN Henry's case more than in any other, one is tempted to digress into a survey of the politics of the time since they had such an effect upon his health. His strength had been impaired by his lifelong exertions, and the fever which sapped it left him little inclined to battle with the hostile league against him. In several of the chronicles there is a description of his being thrown from his horse, which was startled by a violent peal of thunder at the very instant of his meeting with the King of France. This fall together with the chagrin of his public humiliation before his overlord probably did its part in ending his life.

RICHARD I. (Son).

Born September 6th, 1157; *died* (42) April 7th, 1199, Chalus-Chabrol; *buried*, Fontevrault, Poitou.

(a) Septimo kalendas Aprilis a Petro Basili telo, ut dicebatur venenato, percussus est, quam percussionem pro nihilo reputabat. Denique diebus duodecim castellum acriter invasit et cepit. Vulnus autem quod ibidem receperat male interim custoditum tumescere incipiens et nigredo quædam tumori permixta locum vulnus circumquaque inficiens regem intolerabiliter torquebat . . . Tumore ad cor ejus subito perveniente octavo idus Aprilis die Martis, vir Martio operi deditus apud castrum prædictum spiritum exhalavit.—*Matthew Paris (Chron. Major)*.

On March 25th he was wounded by a shaft from Peter Basil, poisoned as was said, but he made light of the injury. Twelve days later he took the castle by a furious onslaught . . . Now the wound which he had received there having been badly tended in the meantime and beginning to swell, a kind of blackness mingled with the swelling, discolouring the region of the wound on every side; this began to give the King intense pain. The swelling suddenly coming to his heart on April 6th, a day sacred to Mars, this man, devoted to martial deeds, breathed his last at the aforesaid castle.

(b) Rex in humero sinistro lætaliter percussus est. . . . In humero dextro eodem telo lætaliter percussus est ut ipsum telum a humero deorsum pressum pulmonis, vel hepatis vicina contingeret, nec quodlibet ingenio medicorum valerat avelli.—*Gervase of Canterbury*.

The King was fatally wounded in the left shoulder. . . . He was fatally wounded in the right shoulder by the arrow in such a way that the bolt, driving down from the shoulder, reached the neighbourhood of the lung or the liver, nor could it be checked by any skill of the physicians.

(c) Bertramus de Gurdun regem in brachio vulneravit cum plaga insanabile . . . Deinde rex commisit se manibus cujusdem medici Marchadei qui cum conaretur ferrum extrahere solum lignum extraxit et sagitta remansit in carne, et cum carnifex ille circumquaque brachium regis minus caute incidere, tandem sagittam extraxit. Decessit autem rex octavo idus Aprilis undecimo die postquam percussus fuerat.—*Roger de Hoveden.*

Bertram de Gurdun wounded the King in the arm with an incurable thrust . . . Then the King entrusted himself to the hands of Marchadeus a physician, who, after trying to get out the javelin, removed only the wood, and the head remained in the flesh. It was only when the bungling rascal cut freely round the King's arm that he succeeded in withdrawing the head . . . But the King died on April 6th, the eleventh day after he had been wounded.

THE quotations leave doubt as to the side on which Richard was wounded, and Gervase contradicts himself on the point. The story that the arrow or javelin was poisoned is not to be accepted too credulously. The temper in which Richard conducted the campaign, which ended at Chalus, was not one to make him suffer treatment resignedly. Apparently his last attack on the castle was made on the

day before his death; that he led an assault with an arrow sticking in his shoulder, or possibly in his humerus, gives some indication of his mood. The wound seems to have become gangrenous, and the King to have died from septic absorption. It is interesting to read that Marchadeus "ille carnifex" was executed a day or two afterwards. It is possible that this name is a corruption of Mardachaus, a version of Mordecai, and that this bungler was one of the Jewish leeches so common in the middle ages.*

* For this suggestion I am indebted to Dr. E. C. Carter.

JOHN (Brother).

Born December 24th, 1167; *died* (49) October 18th, 1216 at Newark-on-Trent; *buried*, Worcester.

(a) De rebus fluctibus devoratis tantam mentis incurrit tristitiam quod acutis correptus febribus cœpit graviter infirmari; auxit etiam ægritudinis molestiam perniciosa ejus ingluvies qui nocte illa de fructu persicorum et novi ciceris potatione nimis repletus febrilem in se calorem auxit fortiter et accendit. . . . In nocte quæ diem sancti Lucæ evangelistæ proxime secuta est ex hac vita migravit.—*Matthew Paris (Chron. Major)*.

He fell into such despondency on account of his possessions having been swallowed up by the waves that being seized with a sharp fever he began to be seriously ill. But he aggravated the discomfort by his disgusting gluttony, for that night by indulging too freely in peaches and copious draughts of new cider he greatly increased his feverishness . . . He died on the night of October 18th.

(b) Rex Johannes . . . obiit apud Newerk morbo dysenterica.—*Ranulph Higden*.

King John died at Newark from a dysenteric disease.

(c) At Newework he deide a Sein Lukis day.

He was ihasted that unnethe thre dawes sik he lay.—*Robert of Gloucester*.

(d) Ex nimia voracitate quasemper insatiabilis erat venter ejus ingurgitatus usque ad crapulam ex ventris indigere solutus est in dysenteriam. Postea vero cum paululum cessasset fluxus phlebotomatus est. Ægritudo autem ejus per dies paucos invalescens . . . decessit.—*Radulph de Coggeshall*.

Through excessive greed, for he had always an enormous appetite, swilling until he was drunk, from the irritation of his stomach he fell into a dysentery. Later on, after the discharge had somewhat lessened, he was let blood. But his disorder increased in a day or two and he died.

(e) *Persicos cum musto et pomacio ingurgitatus et dolore jacturæ recentis absortus, incidit in magnam ægritudinem. In crastino sero, morbum dissimulans mannum suum vix ascendit . . . et ad castrum de Leadford [now Seaford] pervenit . . . ubi pernoctans morbum sensit ingravescentem. In crastino autem vix ad castrum Newerke transvectus pervenit . . . lecto mortiferæ ægritudinis decumbens . . . ex hac vita miserrime in nocte quæ diem Sancti Lucae Evangelistæ proximo sequitur transmigravit.—Annales Londonienses.*

Having gorged himself with peaches, new wine and fruit and absorbed in his recent grievous loss he fell into a severe illness. And yet on the following day concealing his disease he managed to mount his palfrey and went to the castle of Leadford, and passing the night there felt the disease gaining on him. Next day, however, he had himself carried to the castle at Newark on what was to be his deathbed. He died on the night of October 18th.

(f) He fell into a fever and was let blood, but keeping an ill diet, eating green peaches and drinking sweet ale, he fell into a looseness, and grew presently so weak that there was much ado to get him to Newark where soon after he died.—*Baker.*

IN John's flight eastwards from Windsor, his ferocious hatred of his subjects found vent in the devastation which marked his line of march, then and afterwards up to Lincoln-

shire. It is possible that his mad fury urged him to physical exertion too great for him, and he was further exhausted by the haste in which he travelled. He may have had slight dysentery at this time and the violent enteritis caused by his diet was too much for him. There are, of course, stories that he was poisoned, and a monk is identified as having vaguely threatened to do a "deed which all England would bless him for," but this story is almost inevitable and may be ignored.

HENRY III. (Son).

Born October 1st, 1207; *died* (65) November 16th, 1272, Westminster; *buried* Westminster.

(a) Sexto decimo kal. dec . . . Henricus Tertius ab hac luce migravit.—*Matthew of Westminster*.

On November 16th King Henry III died.

(b) Henricus Anglorum rex mense Novembri infirmitate correptus, in die S. Edmundi confessoris obdormivit in Domino.—*Thomas Walsingham*.

Henry King of the English attacked by weakness died on November 20th.

(c) Henry King of England corrupt with sickness died on St. Edmund the Archbishop's day in the month of November.—*Robert of Gloucester*.

(d) Cum autem ad Abatiam Sancti Regis et Martyris Edmundi declinasset mox languor ipsum invasit ac tenuit usque et consummationem vitæ.—*Opus Chronicorum*.

When he reached the Abbey of the Royal Martyr, St. Edmund, weakness seized him and held him until the conclusion of his life.

(e) Cum ad abbatiam Sancti Edmundi Regis et Martyris declinasset gravi languore corripitur qui cum non deseruit usque vitæ finem.—*William Rishanger*.

When he had journeyed as far as the Abbey of St. Edmund, King and Martyr, he was seized with great feebleness which did not leave him until the end of his life.

(f) The King returning to St. Edmund's shrine began to wax somewhat crasie, but after having a little recovered he called a council there . . . But his sickness again renewing he brake the assembly and

with all speed hasted to London. His sickness so increased upon him that finally he departed this life at Westminster on the 16th day of November.—*Holinshed*.

HAVING reached the age of sixty-five, Henry had lived longer than any of his seven predecessors with the exception of the first of his name, who, living to be two years older, is credited by the chronicler with "senile corpus." The brevity of the references to his death show for how little Henry III counted with the nation. He is spoken of as "King of the English." The expression recalls "Mary Queen of Scots," and both terms are strangely ironical in view of the utter lack of affection which their subjects had for these two sovereigns. His tastes not less than his inclination unfitted him for ruling his powerful nobles, and he was content to leave the management of the kingdom to Hubert de Burgh. The only illness suggested is an increasing weakness, possibly due solely to age. Rishanger makes the curious mistake of saying that he died at St. Edmund's shrine.

Eleanor of Provence died at Ambresbury on 24th June, 1291. She was in feeble health in 1275, and apparently thereafter.

EDWARD I. (Son).

Born June 17th, 1239; *Died* (68) July 6th, 1307, Burgh-on-Sands; *buried*, Westminster.

(a) Cœpit rex vexari dissenteria. Pridie vero nonas Julii . . . invalescente infirmitate dies suos in bono et annos suos in gloria consummavit.—*Matthew of Westminster.*

The king began to be troubled with dysentery. And indeed, on July 6th, he completed his days in well doing and his years in glory.

(b) Rex vexari cœpit dissenteria et . . . desperabat de vita diuturna. Invalescente morbo die crastino scilicet feria sexta præsentis vitæ valescens dies suos in bone et annos suos in Anglia, consummavit.—*Thomas Walsingham.*

The king began to be troubled with dysentery and gave up hope of living longer. His disease increasing on the morrow, that is to say Saturday, bidding farewell to the present life he ended his days in well-doing and his years in England.

(c) The king died of a dysentery and a bloody flux.—*Baker.*

EDWARD lived longer than his father did, and natural failure of strength might be a contributory cause of his death even more than of Henry's. But according to the chroniclers Edward had been in poor health for many months. In spite of this he under-

took a campaign which had to be preceded by a march almost the whole length of England. He began to suffer from dysentery about the middle of June, but the last phase occupied only four or five days. The passages I have quoted are few, but the other chroniclers give no more than a simple "obiit." The death of a soldier from dysentery seemed unworthy of further detail, even though he were a king. The 'Chronicle de Lanercost' itself gives no other fact, yet it was written in the district where Edward died. It is curious that the "campaigning kings" of England, those who died, so to say, on horseback, were all attacked by a dysenteric disease. There is more reason for believing Edward died of typhoid fever than for the others. The amœba of dysentery probably could not live so far north.

Eleanor of Castile was seized with an "autumnal fever" at Herdeby, near Grant-ham, and after several weeks illness, died on 29th November, 1290.

EDWARD II. (Son).

Born April 25th, 1284; *died* (43) September 22nd, 1327, at Berkeley Castle; *buried* Gloucester.

(a) Ipsum oppressum et suffocatum cum ferro plumbiarii intense ignito trans tubam ductilem ad egestionis partes secretas applicatam membra spiritalia post intestinas combusserunt.—*Vita et Mors Edwardi Secundi*.

They kept him down holding him stifled, and burnt his breathing organs as well as his intestines with a red-hot iron such as plumbers use; this they passed through a tube introduced into his bowel.

(b) In this same year was this old Edward slain with a hot spit put into his body, which could not be spied when he was dead for they put a horn into his tewhel [a Norfolk word meaning rectum] and the spit through the horn that there should be no burning appear outside. This was by the ordinance as was said of Sir John Mauntreveres and Thomas Gurney, which laid a great door upon him while they did their work.—*John Capgrave (Chronicle)*.

(c) With heavy featherbeds or a table (as some write) being cast upon him they kept him down and withal put into his fundament an horn and through the same they thrust up into his body an hot spit or (as others have) through the pipe of a trumpet, a plumber's instrument of iron made very hot, the which passing up into his intrailles and being rolled to and fro burnt the same, but so as no appearance of any wound or hurt outwardlie might be once perceived.—*Holinshed*.

DEATH was due to shock. The bowel was probably pierced several times, the great vessels seared, the nervous ganglia destroyed. A gunshot wound of the intestine is the only thing in ordinary modern clinical experience which might give an idea of the agony of such a death. A comparable mode of execution was employed for Ravillac, the assassin of Henry IV of France. It is unnecessary to give the ghastly details of the punishment devised for him, but after certain preliminary applications molten lead was poured on to his abdomen. The tomb of Edward II was examined about 1860; a lead coffin covered with fragments of tinsel was exposed, but the actual coffin was not opened.

EDWARD III. (Son).

Born November 3rd, 1312; *died* (65) June 21st, 1377, at Sheen; *buried*, Westminster.

(a) Rex Edwardus in . . . vicesimo primo die Junii diem clausit extremam.—*Thomas Walsingham*.

The King died on the 21st day of June.

(b) The same year (1376) the King of England as is aforesaid before the feast of St. Michael at Havering of the Bower, fell into a sore sickness and of long continuance, for it held him until Tuesday in Sexagesima following, and all his physicians despaired of him, and in respect of his weakness durst not take care or administer any medicines unto him. But as God of His Heavenly Grace vouchsafed, he was delivered of a great imposthume and so by little and little began to recover with the help of the physician and by restoratives and good meats and fresh broths and by sops of wheatbread in caudles with goat's milk, for other food could he neither eat nor taste.—*Chronicon Anglice* (quoted in introduction).

(c) [1376] Rex quem nimia diu oppresserant incommoda senectutis cito post parliamentum prædictum sibimet incommodior est affectus. Decidit enim in languorem, non, ut creditur, ægritudinis senibus naturalis, sed qui plerumque juvenis ob inordinatum affectum Veneris dicitur accidentis. Sed illius morbi longe difficilior est curatio senis quam juvenis propter diversas causas senilis scilicet frigoris et juvenilis caloris. Unde dominus rex, quia jam consumpta erant pene in eo naturalis humor et nutritivus calor, debilitabatur multo amplius et deficit virtus ejus. Revera affirmatum est a multis cum hanc ægritudinem incur-

risse ob desiderium illius meretriculæ, Aliciæ scilicet Perres, quia ab ejus præsentia fuerat separata. Quod ex post verum fuisse patuit . . . quia eandem Aliciam in familiaritatem pristinam revocavit. . . . Inter hæc regis languor accessit, et cœpit a medicis desperari, quamvis omni nocte supradicta meretrix una cum Isabella filia sua cum eo cubaret . . . Fuit rex ad Natale apud Havering-atte-Boure ubi pro tunc gravi corporis incommodo laborabat.

[1377] Undecimo kalendas Junii . . . cœpit manifesto monstrare mortis indicia per quæ sibi astantes et ipsemet cognovit se procul dubio moriturum . . . Et post modici temporis intervallum reddidit spiritum suum Deo.—*Chronicon Angliæ*.

After the Parliament, the King, whom excessive impairment of old age had oppressed for a long time, rapidly became more troubled. For he fell into a weakness not of the kind which is believed to be usual in old men, but which is said to attach itself for the most part to youths given to lechery. But the cure of that disease is far more difficult in an old man than in a young one, for the different reasons of the old man's chilliness and the young man's heat. And, therefore, the Lord King was weakened the more because the natural fluid and nutritive heat in him were now almost exhausted, and his virility failed. In truth it is said by many that he developed this disorder owing to his desire for that wanton baggage Alice Perrers, who had been kept from his presence. This was proved later on, for he took Alice back into their old relation. During this time the King's weakness increased, and he began to be despaired of by his physicians, although the before-mentioned courtesan along with her daughter Isabella had lain with him all night long.

At Christmas the King was at Havering-at-Bower, where he was then much troubled by the great impair-

ment of his body. On May 22nd he began to show signs of death, by which his attendants, and indeed he himself, knew that he was about to die. And quite a short time after he returned his soul to God.

THE unknown chronicler quoted so fully is unusually outspoken for a writer so nearly contemporary. Edward was at Havering-at-Bower (three miles from Romford in Essex) about October 10th, 1376, and until January 30th following was very ill; the bursting of an abscess in some unmentioned situation marked the beginning of an improvement in his sixteen weeks' illness. His meetings with Parliament after this required all his tact as they were obtained to protest against Alice Perrers. His history makes it plain that he was worn out by sexual excess. He was sixty-five at his death, which was not unlikely due to syphilis, of which his son John of Gaunt died, as is plainly indicated in Thomas Gascoigne's 'Liber Veritatum.' *

* As this is the earliest instance in which this disease can be suggested, some words on its antiquity may not be out of place. It is held by many good authorities that syphilis was introduced into Europe by the crew of Columbus on their return from America, that it broke out virulently in the army of Charles VIII during his Neapolitan campaign, and was disseminated over the Continent. Other writers hold that there is no reason why such a scourge should not have existed in earlier times. For recent views the reader may refer to a discussion of the subject in the Royal Society of Medicine

The death of his eldest son from dysentery had probably less to do with his own than the amiable compilers of school histories would have us believe. The one severe English edict against lepers was promulgated in 1346, and contains words which certainly apply to syphilitics. If Edward did die from syphilis the fact is not without its irony.

Philippa of Hainault (1313—14th August 1369) died at Windsor after a long illness.

Alice Perrers lived until the end of 1400. A woman of the bedchamber to Queen Philippa, her connection with the king seems to have lasted about ten years. Her interference with the course of justice evoked

in June, 1912. Creighton (*History of Epidemics*, i, 72) points out the mediæval confusion between leprosy and syphilis, and quotes passages from which the following may be cited:—

(1) "In hoc genere, causa est accessus ad mulierum ad quam accessit prius leprosus."—*Gilbertus Anglicus*.

(2) "Et provenit [lepra] etiam ex mima confibulatione cum leprosis et ex coitu cum leproso et qui jacuit cum muliere cum qua jacuit leprosus."—*Bernard Gordonio*.

(3) "Novii enim diversos viros qui mortui fuerunt ex putrefactione membrorum suorum et corporis sui, quae corruptio et putrefactio causata fuit, ut ipsi dixerunt, per exercitium copulae carnalis cum mulieribus. Magnus enim dux in Anglia, scil. J. de Gaunt, mortuus est ex tali putrefactione membrorum genitalium et corporis sui, causata per frequentationem mulierum. Magnus enim fornicator fuit, ut in toto regno Angliae divulgabatur."—*Gascoigne*.

These passages are perhaps better left, to use Gibbon's apt phrase, "in the decent obscurity of a classical tongue."

a protest by Parliament which petitioned against her both before and after Edward's death. She is buried in the Parish Church at Upminster, Essex. Her heirs were her daughters Jane and Joane, the latter being certainly her husband's child. I have found no other reference to Isabella. Interference with justice and State affairs by the King's mistress—so flagrant in this reign—was fortunately never again so notorious until three centuries later. It is true that the next Edward was also influenced in this way, but Jane Shore's intercessions were almost invariably on the side of mercy.

RICHARD II. (Grandson).

Born April 13th, 1366; *died* (36), February 14th, 1400, at Pontefract Castle; *buried*, Langley.

(a) Ricardus . . . in tantam ut fertur demersus est tristitiam quod semetipsum inedia voluit peremisse. In tantam dicitur abstinuisse quod clauso orificio stomachi cum ex post, consilio amicorum, voluisset naturæ satisfacisse comedendo præcluso omnino appetitu comedere non valeret; ut factum est ut debilitata natura deficeret et die Sancti Valentini diem supremam clauderit.—*Annales Henrici Quarti*.

It is reported that Richard was plunged into such melancholy that he resolved to take his life by starving himself; he is said to have refrained to such an extent that when later on in compliance with the entreaty of his friends he wished to appease nature by eating, he could swallow nothing, the opening of his stomach having closed and all appetite having gone. The result was that his constitution being weakened he sank and died on February 14th.

(b) The common fame is that he was every day served at the table with costly meat like a king, and when the meat was set before him he was forbidden once to touch it . . . and so he died of forced famine. But Th. Walsingham referreth it altogether to voluntary pining of himself. One writer saith that he was felled with a stroke of a poleaxe which Sir Piers gave him upon the head and therewith rid him out of life.—*Holinshed (Chronicle)*.

MOST chronicles repeat the story that Richard was poleaxed. They have not been

quoted, as disproofs of this belief are furnished by a note in 'Vie et Traison de Richard II,' which states that his skull when examined showed no trace of fracture; this chronicle adds nothing to our information about the manner of his death. He may have been starved by his successor's orders, but such an act seems unnecessary, and (if it were to be done at all) not likely to be postponed so long after Richard's deposition.* As Richard is revealed in the chronicles he appears of a somewhat hysterical nature and might well have starved himself voluntarily. To have done this and then to be unable to eat is quite consistent with the diagnosis of anorexia nervosa: "*præcluso orificio*" is very suggestive of the œsopha-

*"It is probable that he was done to death by systematic privations, cold, heavy chains, close confinement, insufficient clothing, and insufficient food Whether he perished of actual starvation, or of some rheumatic fever, pneumonia, or congestion of the lungs, he was equally murdered." (C. Oman, *Political History of England*). The story preserved by Shakespeare is that he was hacked to death with axe-blows by an otherwise unknown Sir Piers Exton. Sir Thomas Swynford was his "tormentor." Sir E. M. Thompson, in his edition of Adam of Usk's *Chronicle*, quotes an opinion that Richard was dead by the middle of January. The order for the exhibition of the corpse was issued on 17th February. The body was taken to London, exposed in St. Paul's, and buried without state in the Dominican priory of King's Langley, Hertfordshire. For examples of Richard's vainglorious assertions of his royal prerogative, the reader may refer to Oman (*loc. cit.*).

geal spasm which occurs in these cases and the mental depression reinforces the diagnosis. But his melancholy and loss of appetite may also have been due to cerebral tumour. Nearly four hundred years passed before another king was succeeded by his grandson, and then again the latter showed a union of weakness, obstinacy, and mental disorder. That George III retained the throne from which Richard II was removed was due entirely to the change in the national temper.

Richard's first wife, Anne of Bohemia (1367—Whitsuntide 1394) died at Sheen, "of a pestilence," after an illness lasting only a few hours. In his grief, the king cursed his palace and ordered it to be demolished. Her successor, Isabella of Valois (9th November, 1387—13th September, 1410), died at Blois a few hours after childbirth.

HENRY IV. (Cousin-german).

Born April 3rd, 1367; died (46) March 20th, 1413, at Westminster; buried, Canterbury.

(a) The King after that time [1404] lost the beauty of his face. For as the common opinion went, from that time until his death he was a leper and ever fouler and fouler. For in his death as they that saw him recorded he was so contracted, that his body was scarce a cubit of length.—*Capgrave (Chronicle)*.

(b) Henricus Quartus Rex Angliæ fuit percussus horribili et pessimo genere lepræ . . . In nocte illa horribili timore vexatus est in tantum quod clamore magno camerarios suos excitavit clamans, "Proditores! Proditores! Ignem super me projecistis" . . . Igne Domini divinæ ulcionis et lepra manifesta percussus erat . . . in crastino ad Ripun equitavit ubi mansit infirmus per septem dies . . . In facie sua et in manibus præfati regis in die illa octava magnæ pustulæ leprosæ pendebant . . . et prominebant quasi capita mamillarum.—*Thomas Gascoigne*.

Henry IV, King of England, was smitten with a horrible leprosy of the worst kind . . . That very night he was tormented by a horrible dread so that he roused his gentlemen-in-waiting by screaming, "Traitors! traitors! you have thrown fire over me." He had been smitten by the fire of God and an obvious leprosy, a corrosion from Heaven. Next day he rode to Ripon where he lay ill for a week . . . Large pustules of a leprous nature were then hanging on his face and hands, and stood out like the summits of breasts.

(c) Henricus quartus . . . doluit intoxicatus; unde carnis putredine, oculorum ariffaccione, et interiorum egressione per quinque annos cruciatus [est] Istam putredinem portentabat sibi sui coronacionis unctu, quia pediculorum in capite presertim generatio adea quod nec crines sustinet, nec discoopertum caput per plures menses habere potuit.—*Adam of Usk (Chronicle)*.

Henry IV became ill from the effects of poison, whereby he suffered for five years from a rotting of the flesh, a drying up of the eyes, and a protrusion of the intestines. That rotting was foretold by the anointing at his coronation, for a growth of lice chiefly on his head made it impossible for him to wear hair, or to have his head uncovered.

(d) The King kept his Christmas this year at Eltham, being very sick of a kind of apoplectic distemper in which by fits he was thought to be dead, but it pleased God that he a little recovered, and passed the latter part of the Christmas in some pleasure, till Candlemas [February 2nd], Worshipping at St. Edward's shrine, he was so violently seized with another fit of apoplexy that all the standers by thought he would have died presently.—*Samuel Daniel (Life of Henry, ed. 1706)*.

(e) He was eftsoons taken with a sore sickness which was not a leprosy . . . but a very apoplexy of the which he languished till his appointed hour, and had none other grief or malady . . . He was taken with his last illness while he was making his prayers at St. Edward's shrine . . . He was so suddenly taken and grievously that such as were about him feared lest he would have died presently, whereof to relieve him (if it were possible) they bare him into a chamber that was next at hand, where they laid him on a pallet before the fire and used all remedies to revive him. At length he recovered his speech and understanding.—*Holinshed*.

(f) The face of the deceased king was seen in com-

plete preservation. The nose elevated, the cartilage even remaining, though on the admission of the air it sank away, and had entirely disappeared before the examination was finished. The skin of the chin was entire, of the consistence and thickness of the upper leather of a shoe, brown and moist; the beard thick and matted, and of a deep russet colour. The jaws were perfect and all the teeth in them except one fore-tooth, which had probably been lost during the king's life. The surveyor stated that when he introduced his finger under the wrappers to remove them, he distinctly felt the orbits of the eyes prominent in their sockets. The flesh upon the nose was moist, clammy, and of the same brown colour as every other part of the face.—*Archæologia*, 1832 (vol. xxvi, p. 444).

THE authority for the story of Henry's "leprosy" is in Thomas Gascoigne's 'Liber Veritatum.' This passage is so important that it is dealt with separately at the end of this note.

There are many references to the disease, and one author (not mentioned) refers to a tumour under the king's nose. The description of the king's face as seen in 1832, when the coffin was opened, disproves the story. Some idea of his personal appearance is gained from his effigy on the choir-screen at York Minster (a contemporary piece of work) and his portrait in the National Portrait Gallery, painted shortly after his death. The

former shows a small lump at the left side of the upper lip which may represent the end of his moustache; but the present writer was quite unable to satisfy himself that he saw a similar lump at the right side. The portrait shows Henry wearing a black moustache of the "Mongolian" type which agrees with the growth of hair after death being a dark russet colour; assuredly there is nothing depicted which could be construed as a tumour. His nose seems to have been large and in the effigy is rather bulbous; the effigy in the central hall of the Houses of Parliament has the same appearance, but this, being quite modern, is valueless as evidence. Possibly he had rhinophyma or some other form of rosacea, or herpes labialis, or a chronic eczema.

The explanation of his attacks of unconsciousness by "apoplexy" may be dismissed at once. Then, and for centuries afterwards, this term had no definite meaning, and is used in the cases of Edward IV, Charles II, and George II. The accounts do not support the theory of their being epileptic. The onset seems invariably to have been without

warning; the attack was prolonged and the spectators always thought he was dead; there was apparently no subsequent mental confusion. The well-known story of the removal of the crown by his son has been deleted from the Holinshed quotation as it is not supported by any other authority save Grafton. Both derive the incident from Enguerant de Monstrelet. On considering the features in Henry's attacks (excluding the Gascoigne quotation) one is inclined to think that he suffered from derangement of the heart-wall such as dilatation or from some cause producing epileptiform attacks as in the Stokes-Adams' syndrome.

But one must now come to deal with the quotation from Gascoigne, which is sufficient in itself to furnish a totally different explanation of Henry's symptoms:—Archbishop Scrope was captured by treachery at Shipton Moor, Yorkshire. Henry arrived at Pontefract 3rd June 1405, took him to York, had him tried with scandalous haste and beheaded the same day outside the Skeldergate, York. It was on this day that the leprosy was supposed to have attacked him. Henry's

dream came to him after he had been riding for many hours in a blinding rain.

In May 1406 he was disabled by disease, and a fortnight later was so ill that he made over to his council the greater part of his royal functions; during the summer he partially recovered. In March 1408, he went to York to punish rebels, and had to make both journeys by slow stages. A little later he took to his bed at Mortlake, 'where he fell into an ecstasy.' He rallied, and in a few weeks was able to conduct public business. He had an intermittent fever which from time to time would keep him bedridden, and racked with aches for weeks on end; this would pass off and allow him to ride or even to hunt. After October 1412, he was never strong enough to quit the vicinity of London.*

Hence the suddenness of onset may be passed over as not true. But the condition which the fifteenth-century writer likened to *areolæ*—for that presumably is what is meant by "*capita mamillarum*"—is nowadays

* The statements in the foregoing paragraph are quoted from Oman (*loc. cit.*).

usually described as being like limpet-shells. In other words, this passage seems to imply that Henry had rupia; and that the "flames" he felt in the night were the sharp osteocopic pains of syphilis. The rupia would not last nine years, but he may have had a succession of gummata, the white scars of which would not have been noticed four hundred years after his death. To carry this line of argument a step further; Henry's syncopal attacks may have been due to commencing aortitis or even to actual gumma of the heart.

These, then, are the two explanations of this King's death; one may hold that he had Stokes-Adams' disease and some innocent and persistent skin trouble, or one may explain the eruptions and the syncope as occurring in different stages of syphilis. To attribute all the symptoms to one cause is the more scientific theory, and though there is but one author to base the opinion on, one may conclude that Henry was a syphilitic. If one were tempted to indulge in a refinement of diagnosis one might say that he had a gumma of the bundle of His.

HENRY V. (Son).

Born September 16th, 1387; *died* (35) August 31st, 1422, at Bois-de-Vincennes; *buried*, Westminster.

(a) Rex diutina intemperie (quam ex nimio et diutino labore contraxerat) interim incidit in febrem acutam cum dissenteria vehementi quod medici eidem medicinas aliquas intrinsecas apponere non audebant; sed de ejus vita penitus desperabant. . . . Animam suam suo reddidit creatori penultimo die mensis Augusti.—*Thomas Walsingham*.

The King, from having an old distemper—which he had contracted from excessive and long-continued exertion—meantime fell into an acute fever with violent dysentery. This his physicians did not venture to treat by any internal medication, but forthwith gave up hope of his life. On August 30th his Maker took back his soul.

(b) Henricus quem belli asperitas et fortuna nunquam dejecit, in gravem et perdiuturnum morbum incidit cujus magnitudo ita crevit ut de principis salute omnes desperarent. . . . Regem cum suis nobilibus colloquentem mors oppressit.—*Memorials of Henry V.*

Henry, whom the hardship of war and ill-fortune never cast down, fell into a serious and obstinate disorder, the degree of which increased so much that all despaired of their Prince's safety. Death overcame the King when he was speaking to his nobles.

(c) Illustrissimum principem gravis languoris immo multum gravius quam putavit invasit acerbitas [June 1422] et regale corpus continuæ ægritudinis insultu vexatum est . . . Indies invalescerit infirmitas . . . [July, 1422]. Se in vehiculo tali quali infirmi equis

portantibus deferri solebant ob insufficientiam ferri jussit: cumque usque oppidum de Corbuyle post aliquot dies pervenisset invalescente gravis ægritudinis incommodo . . . Cum post dies paucos multo inimicius quam prius ægritudinis gravitate vexabatur versus castrum Boiscuvicennarum progressus ubi per infirmitatis tempora jam decrevit quiescere.—*Gesta Henrici Quinti.*

An increase of weakness attacked the famous Prince, of a nature far more serious than he believed, and his royal person was harassed by the annoyance of a persistent disorder. His illness increased each day; his strength failing, he gave orders that he should be carried in a horse-litter such as sick persons use, and when he reached the town of Corbeuil in a few days, the trouble of his severe illness was growing worse. Some days later he was troubled far more threateningly than before by the seriousness of his disease, but went to the castle of Bois-de-Vincennes where he decided to rest during the period of his illness.

(d) Sui decessus causa fuit infirmitas fluxus ventris quæ dicitur infirmitas sancti Fiacri, eo ut communiter ferebatur quia preciosum corpus dicti gloriosissimi sancti a proprio loco in alterum ad sui inordinatum affectum voluerat, et volebat . . . in suum Anglii regnum asportare Ideo sacrilegus et ecclesie violatur reputandus erat.—*Saint Denys.*

The cause of his death was a dysentery which was commonly described as St. Fiacre's disease, because in his arrogance he wished to carry off the remains of this renowned saint to his own kingdom of England. Hence he became regarded as a sacrilegious defamer of the Church.

(e) Infirmitatem canerosam quam vulgariter Sancti Feakre le male vocant subiit; et quia morbus acriter eum invasit quæsivit medicos originem et suæ infirmitatis occasionem: responderunt quia temeravit immunitatem S. Feogri Scoti. Putrefactus omnibus suis

intralibus genitalibus et spiritalibus membris mortuus est.—*Johan de Fordun (Scotichronicon)*.

He was attacked by a cancerous disease which the peasantry called "St. Fiacre's Ill." His malady being severe, he questioned his doctors as to its cause. This they held to be his threats against the repose of the Irish saint, Fiacre. He died with all parts of his body rotting away.

(f) Jay este depuis assez veritablement imformez de la principale maladie quy mena lessusdit roy a la most, cest a scavoir que ce luy vient par feu qui luy prinst par desoubz au fondement que len dist estre "maladie Saint Anthonne." — *Jehan de Waurin (Chronicle)*.

I have since been truly informed concerning the principal disease by which the said King was brought to his death, namely, that it was by an inflammation which seized him in the fundament, and which is called the disease of St. Anthony.

(g) Some say that he was poisoned; the Scots write that he died of the disease of St. Fiacre which is a palsy and a cramp. Enguerant sayeth that he died of St. Anthony's fire; but all these are fables, such as many more write. For Peter Basset, Esquire, who at the time of his death was his chamberlain, affirms that he died of a Plurisis, which at that time was so rare a sickness and so strange a disease that the same was to the most part of men unknown, and physicians were acquainted as little with any remedy for the same.—*Edward Halle (Lancaster and York)*.

(h) Peter Basset affirmed that he deceased of a pleurisy, though the Scots and French set it down to be of St. Fiacre's disease that they say was a palsy with a cramp, which Enguerant reports to be St. Anthony's fire, but neither of them truly. Anglorum Prœlia saith that it was a sharp fever which happening unto him (wearied with the broils of war) in a very unseasonable time of the year, namely, the dog-days,

tormented him the sorer and grew to be not only dangerous but desperate, for it left him not till life was extinguished.—*Holinshed*.

(i) He was forced to yield to the violence of the distemper upon him, being a fever and a flux.—*Samuel Daniel (Life of Henry V, ed. 1706)*.

IN the case of this King there is the unusual difficulty of deciding between diagnoses already made. Much of the confusion is due to the uncertainty as to the nature of the two diseases known by the names of saints. Each is described as a palsy and a cramp, and St. Anthony's disease as a proctitis; a misreading of his original by Holinshed is the apparent explanation of the former. A search for further details about these diseases leads to the conclusions that there is no such entity as St. Fiacre's disease; and that its supposed existence was to be explained by the time and the circumstances of Henry's death. St. Denys and Johan de Fordun support the belief that this disorder was an invention of the chroniclers, but supply the interesting theory that Henry's disease was the outcome of a threat against a saint's repose. Unfortunately for this impressive

legend, there is evidence that Henry was ill before he began that siege of Meaux which lasted for eight months,* and his illness increased two months before he died. His movements during this latter period were as follows : he marched from Senlis to Corbeuil, travelled thence by water as far as Charenton, from which he was borne in a horse-litter to Bois-de-Vincennes; it was at this time that a rumour was spread through the French army that he had died of smallpox. The opinion of Basset, who was certainly in a position to know, but whose works have never been published, must certainly be allowed all its weight. Yet a pleurisy does not account for Henry's long illness, although it may have been the actual cause of his death. The term "St. Anthony's disease" was a synonym for ergotism, the scourge of Normandy. The attacks in this disorder usually began with agonising pains in the lower extremities. Sometimes the skin became livid and covered with bullæ as in a severe erysipelas. The rumour of smallpox

* This siege lasted from 6th October, 1421, to 10th May, 1422.

shows there was some skin-eruption of a severe kind. The proctitis implied by Johan de Waurin is confirmed by the "cancrosam" of the 'Scotichronicon.' Cancer of the rectum is a possible diagnosis, and his age (thirty-five) is no contradiction, as cases occur in persons even younger than this. The paralysis and diarrhœa may be explained by pellagra, a disease due to maize, and occurring in the South of France, but we have no proofs that maize was eaten in Northern France at that time. Again, he may have had dysentery with pleurisy as a complication, or there may have been an empyema due to extension from a hepatic abscess. The palsy is mentioned only in the English chronicles from a source which is doubtful, whereas the writers who seem to have had first-hand knowledge ignore it; hence it may be disregarded. Syphilis with phagedænic ulceration and condylomata corresponds to the picture given in the 'Scotichronicon,' and the smallpox might be rupia, but as no other writer refers to this, it is merely indicated as a possibility. An acute dysentery which ultimately became chronic would account for

all the other symptoms, including the pleurisy.

St. Fiacre (the patron saint of gardeners) was an Irish saint worshipped at Meaux, and celebrated as a worker of miraculous cures. He died about 670 at Breuil, near Paris, and is commemorated on August 30th. Henry V actually died at 2 a.m. on September 1st, but the reign of his successor was officially regarded as starting from midnight.

Katherine of Valois (27th October 1401—3rd January 1437) died at Bermondsey Abbey after an illness which began during the previous autumn. Her tomb in Westminster Abbey was destroyed by Henry VII, but the corpse was exhibited as late as 1793. The reader will remember the boast of Pepys that he had “kissed a queen.” Her predecessor, Joanna of Navarrie, survived her six months.

HENRY VI. (Son).

Born December 6th, 1421; *died* (49) May 24th, 1471, Tower of London; *buried*, Windsor.

(a) He was now in the Tower shorted of his life by Richard, Duke of Gloucester, who murdered the said King Henry with a dagger . . . Howbeit, some writers of that time . . . have recorded that out of pure displeasure, indignation, and melancholy he died the three and twentieth of May.—*Holinshed (Chronicle)*.

(b) Of the death of this Prince divers tales were told, but the most common fame went that he was sticked with a dagger by the hands of the Duke of Gloucester.—*Fabyan (Chronicle)*.

(c) The same night, being the 21st day of May, and Tuesday, at night betwixt a XI and XII of the clock was King Henry, being prisoner in the Tower put to death; the Duke of Gloucester and divers others being there that night.—*Leland (Chronicle)*.

IT may be regarded as certain that Henry was murdered, but that the Duke of Gloucester was his killer is now disproved. Richard was not in London on the probable dates of Henry's death; the King's household expenses book show that he was alive on 24th May.* His body was embalmed and buried at Chertsey Abbey, where it remained for

† See *Richard III*, by Sir Clements Markham.

thirteen years. In the spring of 1484 Richard III removed it to Windsor. The tomb was opened on November 4th, 1910 (see the 'Times' for November 12th, 1910). A rectangular box found inside contained a decayed mass of human bones lying in no definite order, mixed with the rotten remains of some material in which they had been wrapped, and a certain amount of dry rubbish and adipocere. The bones were examined by Professor Macalister, of Cambridge, who described them as those of a fairly strong man aged forty-five to fifty-five, who was at least 5 ft. 9 in. high. The skull-bones were much broken, but were thin and small, and belonged to a skull small in proportion to the stature. Nearly all the bones of the trunk were present as well as those of both legs and of the left arm. The body had certainly been dismembered when put into the box; if it had previously been buried in earth for some time and exhumed this would account for the condition present. To one of the pieces of skull was attached some brown hair, which in one place was darker and apparently matted with blood. The

smallness of the skull referred to is of interest in relation to Henry's loss of reason, which began as a profound melancholia. On August 10th, 1453, he was seized with a sudden insanity, due to a casual fright. He sat for days without moving or speaking; he had to be fed from a spoon and lifted from chair to bed. At Christmas 1454, he suddenly recovered. In early autumn 1455, he had a second attack, which lasted until February 1456. His grandfather, Charles VI of France, was afflicted in the same way, and had attacks almost every summer.

EDWARD IV. (Third Cousin).

Born April 29th, 1441; died (42) April 9th, 1483, at Westminster; buried, Windsor.

(a) The King, neither worn out with old age, nor yet seized with any known kind of malady, the cure of which would not have appeared easy in the case of a person of more humble rank, took to his bed. This happened about the feast of Easter, and on the 9th of April he rendered up his spirit to his Creator at his palace at Westminster.—*Continuation of Croyland Chronicle*.

(b) Repente incipit ex morbo omnibus medicis incognito laborare . . . paucis post diebus quinto Idus Aprilis excedit e vita.—*Polydore Vergil*.

He suddenly began to suffer from a disease unknown to all his physicians, and a few days later, on the 9th of April, he departed from life.

(c) He saw the King of France encroaching upon his dominions, which made such a deep impression upon his spirits that he fell sick upon it immediately and died not long after, though some say of a catarrh. . . . Some attributed it to poison, others to grief, but the generality to a surfeit, which is most probable.—*Memoirs of Philip de Comines*.

(d) King Edward died of an apoplexy, though some say that it was of a surfeit occasioned by drinking too much of some rich wines that the King had made him a present of.—*Secret History of Jean de Troyes*.

(e) It was questionless a surfeit that brought this great prince so suddenly to his end.—*W. Habington (Life of Edward IV)*.

(f) Whether it was with melancholy and anger, which he took with the French King's doings and uncourteous usage, or were it by any superfluous surfeit (to the which he was very much given) he suddenly fell sick and was so grievously taken that in the end he perceived his natural strength in such wise to decay that there was little hope of recovery.—*Holinshed (Chronicle)*.

(g) Whether it began from his mind being extremely troubled with the injurious dealing of the King of France, or from his body by intemperance of diet to which he was much given, he fell into a sickness (some say a catarrh, some a fever) whereof he died.—*Baker (Chronicle)*.

THE extraordinary dearth of contemporary chronicles of the time, and the scanty attention which has been paid to this King by modern historians, makes the diagnosis merely a matter of conjecture. A certain amount of mystery surrounds his death. He was only forty-two when it occurred, and, apart from the general effects of debauchery, was a healthy man. According to More, the King knew he was dying, and addressed his nobles on his policy. This consciousness is not consistent with the effects of a surfeit of wine, which, further, his physicians were probably accustomed to recognise. The suggestion of poison may be set aside.

The only symptoms recorded are fever and catarrh. He fell ill in the last days of March, of a disease which came on abruptly, lasted a short time, and ended fatally, its nature being unknown to his physicians. Now, Halle (as quoted under Henry V) says pleurisy was a disease strange and little known to the physicians of his day. Is it fantastic to suggest that Edward's physicians may have had to deal with a condition similar to that which confronted Henry's doctors—one of which they were equally ignorant—and that Edward died of pneumonia? One may embellish this flight of the imagination by noting that More states that Edward, after haranguing his courtiers, lay down on his *right* side. He may have done this to allow his left lung free play. If pneumonia were the disease, his dissolute habits would account for the rapidity with which he succumbed.

The 'Continuation of the Croyland Chronicle' ends in 1488, and is almost the sole consecutive native record. Arnold, Hardyng, Grafton, Fabyan, and Holinshed are writers of the next century and strongly

Lancastrian at that. Habington, who wrote the only 'Life of Edward IV' in existence for four hundred and thirty years, published his book about the middle of the seventeenth century.

EDWARD V. (Son).

Born November 2nd or 3rd, 1470; *died* beginning of September, 1483, Tower of London; *buried*, Tower of London.

Miles Forrest and John Dighton about midnight (the silly children lying in their beds) came into the chamber and suddenly lapping them up among the clothes so to-be-wrapped them keeping down by force the featherbed and pillows hard into their mouths that within a while smothered and stifled their breath failing, they gave up to God their innocent souls.—*Holinshed (Chronicle)*.

THE story of the suffocation in the Tower has no absolute proof, but is generally believed; it is given by Halle. It will be remembered that in 1674 two skeletons were found under a staircase in the Tower, and these have been supposed to be the bones of Edward V and his brother.

RICHARD III. (Uncle).

Born October 2nd, 1452; *died* (36) August 22nd, 1485, Bosworth; *buried*, Leicester.

He himself manfully fighting in the midst of his enemies was slain.—*Holinshed (Chronicle)*.

As the facts in this case are not disputed I have given only one quotation. Halle gives an exceedingly vivid pen portrait of him, but nothing of additional interest about his death. Richard is supposed to have received his death wound from an axe after he had been pulled off his horse. His body was stripped and flung across the saddle on a pack horse. His head, it is stated, struck a stone which he had cursed on setting out for the battle, and which an old hag told him would be higher than his head at night. It is interesting to note that since Edward the Elder was acknowledged as overlord of England Harold II and Richard III are the only ones among his successors who have met death in actual battle. He was buried in the church of the Greyfriars. At the dissolution of the monasteries his tomb was destroyed and his bones scattered.

HENRY VII. (Third Cousin once removed).

Born January 28th, 1457; *died* (52) April 21st, 1509, Richmond; *buried*, Westminster.

(a) In the two and twentieth [year] of his reign, *i.e.*, 1507, he began to be troubled with the gout, but the defluxion taking also unto his breast wasted his lungs, so that thrice in a year (in a kind of return and especially in the spring) he had great fits, and labours of the tissick.—*Bacon (Life of Henry VII)*.

(b) The King's marriage with the Lady Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, was protracted in respect of the infirmity of the King, who began to be troubled with the gout and tissick.—*Whitelocke (Memorials)*.

(c) Per id temporis articulari morbo aliquantisper laborans in publicum rex non exiit [February, 1508].—*Bernard Andreæ (Annales Henrici Septimi)*.

During that period the King being troubled with a disease of the joints did not appear much in public.

(d) [1506] Rex cœpit debilitate quaquadam tentari, et id ei ter in singulos annos circiter vernum tempus accidit . . . [1509] Jam instabat finis trienii Henrici fatalis quippe qui jam manifeste languebat prospiciebatque futurum ut sibi in paucos dies vita suppeteret . . . Morbo iam consumptus ad XI calendarium Mai a vita discessit in sua Richmondia villa.—*Polydore Vergil*.

The King began to be tried by a certain weakness which came on him three times in each year towards the spring. And now began the end of the period of three years, fatal to Henry, who in fact was now obviously in poor health, and began to consider the

future in the hope that he might survive a little longer. Worn out with disease he departed this life on the 21st April at his house at Richmond.

(e) This year [1506] the King began to be diseased of a certain infirmity which thrice every year but specially in the spring time sore vexed him. The sickness which held the King daily more and more increasing he well perceived that his end drew near [1509]. He was so wasted with his long malady that nature could no longer sustain his life, and so he departed out of this world the two and twentieth April. —*Holinshed (Chronicle)*.

HENRY died when he was just in the prime of life. A man of fifty-two, he had had good health until about three years before, when he began to be troubled with a disorder which was serious enough to induce a postponement of his marriage and to compel him to abstain from much public display. Both these abnegations indicate how incapacitating his illness must have been. A Tudor would not have given up a marriage projected as it was bound to be for the benefit of himself and his country on any light pretext, nor would he have lost the opportunity of pleasing his subjects which a royal progress afforded him unless for some weighty reason. The Tudors were much too shrewd to commit any such mistakes in diplomacy. His illness, then.

was one which made it impossible for him to undertake even grave matters during the attacks; it was periodic; before his lung trouble became evident he had swellings of joints. On the whole, the evidence points rather plainly to the conclusion that Henry suffered from gout, and later from asthma. The word "tissick" in the present instance seems to imply merely paroxysms of coughing, and not phthisis in particular. How far his frequent journeys were dictated by a search for a suitable climate is a moot point. It is less conjectural that his gout was partially responsible for the unpleasant qualities which he showed towards the end of his reign. His outbreaks of temper may in turn have led to asthmatic attacks.

Henry's wife, Elizabeth of York (11th February 1466—11th February 1503), died at the age of thirty-seven, nine days after childbirth. His eldest son, Prince Arthur, his successor's natural child, the Duke of Richmond, and his grandson, Edward VI, each died in his sixteenth year from phthisis.

HENRY VIII. (Son).

Born June 28th, 1491; *died* (55) January 28th, 1547, Westminster; *buried*, Windsor.

(a) Our King having long laboured under the burden of an extreme fat and unwieldy body, and together being afflicted with a sore leg, took (at the palace of Westminster in January of this year) his death-bed, being for the rest not without sense of his present condition . . . [At the last] he desired to speak with Cranmer, who yet not coming sooner than the King was speechless (though in good memory) the King extended his hand to him.—*Life by Lord Herbert of Cherbury*.

(b) Henry, long since grown corpulent, was become a burden to himself, and of late lame by reason of a violent ulcer in his leg, the inflammation whereof cast him into a lingering fever, which, little by little, decaying his spirits he at length began to feel the inevitable necessity of death.—*Godwin (Annales of England)*.

(c) In the six and fiftieth year of his age, whether by a dropsy or by reason of an ulcer in his leg, he fell into a languishing fever . . . Archbishop Cranmer being then at Croydon was presently sent for, but before he could come the King was grown speechless, only seeming to retain a little memory, so as putting out his hand, and the Archbishop desiring him to show some sign of his faith in Christ, he then wrung the Archbishop by the hand, and immediately gave up the Ghost.—*Baker (Chronicle)*.

THERE are various descriptions of Henry's corpulence, and of the machines used to lift

him from his chair, but surprisingly few accounts of his death. Not one of these accounts is definite, and each is scanty. He was seriously ill in spring 1538; he had a fistula in his leg, and sometimes became black in the face. Towards the end of 1546 he had a fever lasting thirty hours at Windsor. The question of his bulk at once suggests that his heart was in the state in which one supposes William the Conqueror's to have been. A possibility not to be forgotten is that of syphilis. In support of this is the foul ulcer in his leg; he was ill six months before he died, and the "lingering fever" may have been the mild pyrexia of visceral syphilis. One can of course fall back on a diagnosis of "ague," but there is no mention of the rigors which were well enough known then to have been mentioned had they occurred. One must not forget either the difficulty he had in having a child, which might have been due to his incapacity. The relation of the leg ulcer to his mad rages may be compared with that between the fury of Charles the Bold of Burgundy and his ingrowing toe-nail. The lack of information about this King's

death is the more surprising when one recalls his own interest in medical affairs. His three physicians, Gale, Wendy, and Owen have left no records of his illness.

Of Henry's wives, two—Jane Seymour (? 1503—24th October, 1537) and Katharine Parr (1513—7th September, 1548)—died of childbirth, the former at Hampton Court, the latter at Sudely Castle, Gloucestershire. Anne Bullen (1501—19th May 1536) and Katherine Howard (1521—13th February 1542) were beheaded. Catherine of Aragon (15th December 1485—7th January 1533) died at Kimbolton after a long illness said to be due to cancer. Anne of Cleves (22nd September 1516—17th July 1557) was also ill for a long period, dying at the palace of Chelsea.

EDWARD VI. (Son).

Born October 12th, 1537; *died* (15) July 6th, 1553, Greenwich; *buried*, Westminster.

(a) In April, in the sixth year of the reign of the King, he fell sick of the measles, whereof in a short time he well recovered; afterwards he sickened of the smallpox, which, breaking kindly from him, was thought would prove a means to cleanse his body from such unhealthful humours as occasion long sickness and death; and hereof he also so perfectly recovered that in the summer next following he rode his progress with greater magnificence than ever before . . . Soon afterwards the King did complain of a continual infirmity of body, yet rather as an indisposition in health than any set sickness . . . In January, about the beginning of the seventh year of the King's reign, his sickness did more apparently show itself, especially by the symptoms of a tough, strong, straining cough. All the medicines and diet which could be described, together with the helps both of his young age and of the rising time of the year, were so far either from curing or abating his grief that it daily increased by dangerous degrees, and it was not only a violence of the cough that did infect him but therewith a weakness and faintness of spirit. The King's sickness daily increased . . . His physicians discerned an invincible malignity in his disease . . . His disease was violent, but his physicians conceived some hope of recovery in case he might be removed to change of healthful air . . . A gentlewoman offered her services assuredly to cure him in case he were committed wholly to her

hand. It was resolved that the physicians should be discharged, and the cure committed to her alone . . . Within a very short time . . . the King did fall into desperate extremities. His vital parts were mortally stuffed, which brought him to a difficulty of speech and breath; his legs swelled, his pulse failed, his skin changed colour, and many other horrid symptoms appeared . . . The King, having long wrestled with a lingering and tormented sickness, at the last his spirits yielded to the malice of his distemper . . . The Lords of the Privy Council sent the sad news abroad, assigning the cause of his death to be a putrefaction of his lungs.—*John Hayward (Life of Edward VI)*.

(b) This year [1553] sets a period to young Edward's reign, who, by the defluxion of a sharp rheume upon the lungs, shortly after became hectic, and died of a consumption.—*Godwin (Annales of England)*.

(c) By the end of April he was spitting blood . . . Since the 11th of June he had eaten nothing; on the 14th he was thought at one time to be gone . . . Eruptions came out over his skin, his hair fell off, and then his nails, and afterwards the joints of his toes and fingers.

It was found "que les artoix des piedz luy estoients tumberz."—*J. A. Froude (History of England)*.

ABOUT September the King began to complain of debility; in January his cough became troublesome; hæmoptysis set in about the end of April. He became rapidly worse during May, and by the middle of June his death was so generally expected that when he was seen at the palace window on July 4th the spectators believed that his corpse was

being displayed. He was under the sole care of the unknown woman for at least five weeks. Froude (from whose account one extract is taken) believed that she killed him unknowingly by overdose of mineral medicines. The symptoms mentioned in this connexion are much the same as those related in the account of James I's death. Another explanation is that the pulmonary disorder was accompanied by Raynaud's disease, which might well be due to the miserable state of Edward's general health. Froude says that the falling off of the fingers and toes was part of a disease not known to medical science; his book began to appear in 1856, six years before M. Raynaud described the condition which now bears his name.

The clinical picture of his illness is that of pulmonary tuberculosis, and modern history books which mention the cause of his death invariably give this. And yet I would suggest the possibility that his disease was syphilis of the lung; the reputed measles and smallpox may have been syphilitic eruptions. It is, of course, exceedingly rare, as is lung syphilis, and one can give no proof of it,

except perhaps the "faintness of spirit" as contrasted with the persistent cheerfulness of tuberculosis.*

In connection with Henry VII's death, some remarks were made about the health of his descendants. It may be added that Edward's mother was a delicate woman, and died twelve days after his birth, the labour having been very difficult.

* The case of Keats is of some interest in relation to this. The main cause of his death was phthisis, but Rossetti believed that syphilis played a larger part in his illness than is supposed. Keats contracted this disease during a visit to Oxford in 1807, and was never entirely cured. The fullest account of Keat's last illness is given in the *Life and Letters of Joseph Severn* (who nursed him). This reference was very kindly sent to me by Professor E. de Selincourt of Birmingham.

MARY I. (Half-sister).

. Born February 18th, 1516; died (42) November 17th, 1558, at St. James's Palace; buried, Westminster.

(a) Her first distemper at first neglected brought her by degrees into a dropsy to which was added a burning fever brought upon her by a double grief: one for the long absence of King Philip, the other, and perhaps the greater, for the loss of Calais. She began to fall sick in September and died at her manor of St. James on the seventeenth of November.—*Baker (Chronicle)*.

(b) [1554] She had a swelling in her belly by a distemper which physicians call a mole or something of the like nature. And other symptoms seeming to concur she gave herself up to the tales of midwives and . . . believed she was with a child . . . In process of time, her liver being overcooled, she fell into a dropsy which is usual as Fuchsius and other physicians write . . . In the beginning of her sickness her friends supposing that King Philip's absence afflicted her, endeavoured by all means to divert her melancholy. The Queen, abandoning herself to despair, told them that the loss [of Calais] was her death's wound. The death of her father-in-law Charles the fifth of Spain* was likewise thought to have considerably augmented her sorrow. Her liver had been overcooled by another distemper, so that these things probably hastened her end and threw her by degrees into a dropsy which the physicians at first mistook, believing her to be with

* Charles was rumoured to have syphilis "Imperator (ut nonnulli confirmant) ex morbo Gallico laborat." Pierre Bunel (1499—1549) quoted by Bratli "Philippe II."

child. So that proper remedies not being applied, and the Queen not observing a regular course of diet, she fell at last into a fever which gradually increasing put an end to her life . . . This year had a very sickly autumn and was remarkable for fevers which swept away great numbers. Cardinal Pole scarce outlived the Queen a day . . . It was now a very sickly time for burning agues and fevers which were very mortal and carried off abundance of people, the distemper being also infectious.—*F. Godwin (Life of Mary)*.

(c) Some say she died of a tinpany, others of a grief conceived . . . others that her liver being over-cooled by a *mola*, and not being taken in time, cast her into a dropsy, which the physicians term *asiatica* . . . She not observing a fit diet fell into a fever, which increasing little by little at last put an end to her life, which fever at that time raged in most parts of England and swept away a great number of people.—*Life of Mary (1682)*.

THERE is reason to believe that Mary was really pregnant in 1554, but when the abortion occurred we can only guess. The cause of the abdominal enlargement, which occurred later on, may have been dropsy, a uterine myoma, or an ovarian cyst. If she believed she was again pregnant, it is strange she should not have paid more heed to her diet in view of her longing for a child.

The descriptions of her personal appearance are brutally candid; a letter written by her husband might fitly be put with Henry

VIII's description of Anne of Cleves. Her fatal illness lasted two months; agues and fevers were raging in England at that time; the disease was infectious. How fatal the epidemic was is revealed in Stowe's comparison of the price of bread before and after the outbreak. From Fabyan, too, we learn about the strange fever which ran riot through England in the last two years of Mary's reign. From the facts they give it seems clear that the disease was not "ague" but influenza in a severe form. Its marked infectivity, rigors, pains, sleeplessness, and often fatal result were all present in the early outbreaks.

PHILIP (Husband).

Born May 21st, 1527; *died* (71) September 13th, 1598, at Escorial; *buried*, Escorial, Madrid.

(a) De deux ans tant par la goutte qu'autres infirmités sa Majesté estoit tant affligée qu'elle ne se pouvoit tenir en pied estant encore valetudinaire d'une qui le pressa fort en Madril es mois d'Avril Maii et Juing passez de c'este presente anne, se doutait, qu'il alloit approchant a la mort; dernier jour de Juing s'achemina a plus grande journee qu'il ne pouvoit souffrir a cause de sa debilité . . . Le vingt et deuxiesme de Juillet il fut atteint de la fiebure qui mit fin a ses jours laquelle croissoit rigoreusement qui fut cause qu'il desira scavoir si cest sienne maladie estoit dangereuse. . . C'este maladie luy dura cinquante-trois jours . . . Il y a deux ans et demy qu'il ne se pouvoit tenir debout a cause des douleurs de la goutte qui journellement croissoit sans que jamais en ce temps la fievre luy manqua et principalement depuis qu'on luy eut ouvert deux doigts d'une main et l'orteil du pied droict et le tout tant plein de sentiment qu'on ne la pouvoit toucher sans grande douleur; joingt que l'un de ses genoux se vint a enfler de forte qu'il fut contraint le faire ouvrir avec grandes douleurs et peines indicibels; et ayant este couché cinquante trois jours sur le dos sans se pouvoir tourner d'une parte ny d'autre . . . Il meurt le Dimenche 13 jour de Septembre 1598 a cinq heures du matin.—*Translat. de la Relation de la Mort. . . Par Ordre De Philippe III . . . 1599.*

His Majesty having been much troubled with gout and other infirmities for two years to the degree that he

could not walk was again enfeebled by a disease at Madrid in the months of April, May, and June of this present year, so that he feared he was near death. On the last day of June he planned a long journey which his weakness frustrated. On July 22nd he was attacked by the fever which ended his life and tormented him so much that he wished to know whether his malady were a grave one. It endured for fifty-three days. For two years and a half he had been incapacitated by gout which daily tormented him; all this time the fever never forsook him, and was more marked after two fingers and the joint of his right foot had been opened; this was so exquisitely tender that a touch caused him agony; in addition, his knee became so inflamed that it had to be opened in spite of the extreme pain. He was fifty-three days on his back without being able to turn at all. He died at 5 a.m. on Sunday, September 13th, 1598.

(b) Die ultima Junii in tertiana incidit quæ ad septimum diem duravit. Vicesimo sexto Julii circiter mediam noctem rursus febris corripuit quæ continue repetende in modum tertianæ duplicis . . . Septimo valetudinis die subscrevit ulcus ad genu, colligente in eam partem malignum abscessum natura . . . cumque multis licet adhibitis medicamentis ne maturesceret plerique pertimescerent, postremo tamen maturuit quo refecto multa inde materia promanavit [loco aperto]. Sed præter illam aperturam duas alias natura concitavit, ex quibus tanta defluxit ut hæc una satisfuerit occidendo si aliæ omnes causæ procul fuissent. Tricesimo post die occasione levis medicina tantum temporis proluvium successit ut supra quadragies uno die egresserit; id in extremum vitæ continuavit. [Intumescente ventre]. . . cum reliquæ partes ita flaccidæ et exhaustæ essent ut absque pelle et ossibus superesse videretur. His omnibus accesserunt defluxiones arthritidis ordinaria, ulceraque quattuor fistulata digito indice dextræ manus; itemque tres digito medio ejus-

dem manus et unum denique ad digitum pollicem pedis . . . Intra tres et quinquaginta dies morbus tenuit nunquam vestis mundari aut mutari potuit propter ingentes cruciatus quos accipiebat. Decubuit totum id tempus resupinus et in dorsum atque ita egressit quæ naturæ necessitas postulavit et materia copia defluebat.—*De Felici Excessu Philippi II*, 1609.

On the last day of June he fell into a tertian which lasted seven days. On July 26th, about midnight, the fever attacked him again, recurring like a double tertian. On the seventh day of his illness an ulcer appeared at his knee, nature drawing there a bad abscess, and though all proper applications were used to prevent this ripening and others forming, it yet came to a head, and when opened yielded much discharge. Two more developed near this opening, which discharged so freely that this alone would have sufficed to kill in the absence of any other cause. A month later a mild aperient started such a marked diarrhœa that he had over forty motions a day, and this lasted until he died. His abdomen swelled, though the other parts were so flaccid and wasted that he seemed only skin and bone. To all this were added the usual discharges from the joints; he had four sinuses in the forefinger, and three in the middle finger of his right hand, and latterly one in his great toe. For the fifty-three days of his illness he could not adjust nor change his clothes because of the excessive pain he endured. All that time he lay flat on his back, and in this posture rid himself of all nature had to emit.

(c) Don Philip III being then but Prince was upon St. John's Day in the market-place at Madrill to behold the bull-baiting—which sport the king, his father (which is now in heaven), was not present at by reason of the pain of the gout which sore troubled him . . . and thereupon commanded preparation to be made for his removing to Escurial . . . To satisfy his desire his footmen took him up upon their shoulders and

spent six days in going those seven miles, where after that he came, he was better for some few days, though he was not able to stand, but was forced either to sit or lie. But presently the gout reseasing him accompanied with a fever made him far sicker than before. . . . There happened also to this good King upon his right knee a bile so angry and swelling that he could take no rest . . . One Vergara, a licentiate surgeon, having applied all fit means to ripen the sore, opened it and let forth all the bad matter therein contained, soon after the which there arose four other biles upon his breast, which likewise were ripened, opened, and cleansed: this corrupt matter bred a great company of lice, which were very hard to be killed, he remaining in this meantime so weak that he was fain to be turned in the sheets and lift up with four men, whilst two others made all things plain, soft, and clean under him. Ten days before he died he fell into so great a trance (lasting five hours), that it was easily perceived that his life and vital powers began to fail . . . Being returned to himself he [spoke] to the Archbishop and to those of the chamber there present. Not long after he fell into another fit, whereupon he called for the extreme unction which was given unto him by the Archbishop. He took his leave of the Prince again embracing him, at which instant his speech failed; and in this sort he continued two days, and died upon Sunday, September 13th, about three of the clock in the morning.—*Harleian Misc. II, 377 Ed. 1744.*

THE first and second quotations are taken from pamphlets published with the idea of making public the devout manner in which Philip died. The former is a French translation from Spanish and the original was not available to me. Both are obviously written

by priests, and the author of the Latin one seems to have been a royal chaplain. As a consequence far more attention is paid in both to the king's pious expressions and to the number of times he received extreme unction than to the actual course of the malady. Indeed his disease is mentioned in quite a casual way, and nothing is said about his last hours. The course of his disease is fairly clear. After being almost bedridden for two years and a half, in the early summer of 1598 he seems to have had an exacerbation. In June and in July he had a sharp fever resembling an ague, though it was more probably a paroxysm of gout. In any case the malady began to take a more serious form about July 21st. His removal to the Escorial had taken place some time before this; the distance is actually thirty-one miles instead of only seven as is stated; this may have been the long journey which the first writer says could not be taken. Early in August ulcers began to appear in his joints, which were apparently opened, and became very foul. In the beginning of September a severe diarrhoea set in; and about this time he had

a syncopal attack which recurred later. For two days before his death he was speechless. The history points clearly to his disease being gout. His trance was probably of cardiac origin, and the exertion of embracing his son may have been enough to produce a cerebral hæmorrhage which deprived him of speech. There is nothing to show whether he had paralysis of one half of his body; but in his helpless condition this may well have escaped notice.

ELIZABETH (Sister-in-law).

Born September 7th, 1533; *died* (69) March 24th, 1603, Richmond; *buried*, Westminster.

(a) The Queen, who had hitherto enjoyed a good stock of health . . . began to perceive in herself some weakness and decay of health and spirits, and the ill weather increased her indisposition till on the last day of January which proved a very stormy day she removed from Westminster to Richmond . . . In the beginning of her sickness the almonds of her throat swelled, but soon came down again . . . after that her appetite went off by degrees and she gave herself to a melancholy . . . In the beginning of March she was seized with a kind of stupor or heaviness, joined with a pettishness common enough to ancient persons insomuch as she would frequently sit in a silent posture and refrained from eating. She performed her devotions with great fervour till her speech left her. On the 24th March she enjoyed a blessed remove from this world to a better.—*W. Cambden (Life of Elizabeth)*.

(b) About the 14th of January [1603] the late Queen about two days before sickened of a cold [at Whitehall] and the said 14th day removed to Richmond where she was well amended of the cold. But on Monday the 20th of February she began to sicken again, and so continued till Monday the 7th of March after which day she began somewhat to amend. But the 18th of March following, being Friday, she began to be very ill . . . and continued till Wednesday the 24th of March about three of the clock in the morning at which time she died.—*Somers Tracts XIV (359 seq.)*.

(c) She feeling some infirmities of old age and sickness retired herself at the end of January to Richmond . . . At the beginning of her sickness the almonds of her jaws began to swell and her appetite little by little failed her . . . In March a kind of benumbedness seized upon her with a deep melancholy, so as she would sit silently, refrain her meat, and not admit of any confidence but with the Archbishop of Canterbury, with whom she prayed fervently till such time as her speech failed her, which failed a day before she died.—*Baker (Chronicle)*.

ONE of the Queen's attendants, Lady Southwell, has left an account of the last days of her mistress's life; this has not been published, but extracts from it are given in Strickland's life of the Queen which supplement the information given in my own quotations. The Queen's age must have made any ailment a serious matter. She was in her seventieth year when she died, and had three attacks of illness in three months, during the first of which she performed a slow journey of sixteen miles on a very stormy day. (It is an odd coincidence that her great enemy Philip should also have made such a journey in similar circumstances.) An attack of tonsillitis ended in a small abscess which burst, to her ease. About this time she was much troubled by copious

“ risings of phlegm.” Her godson, Sir John Harington, wrote a letter describing a visit to the Queen and the meagre diet which was all she would have; this letter is given in his ‘*Nugæ Antiquæ*.’ She passed her time in profound melancholy, and sometimes spoke of the horrible visions she had when she slept. One she mentioned was of a man in a flame; this is most probably to be explained by xanthopsia* from jaundice due to her starvation. After her speech failed, she continued to express her devotion by movements of her hands and eyes. The information is scanty, but seems to point to influenza, which would account for the mental changes, which were of the type seen after influenza in senile persons. If this be correct, it is rather striking that she should have died from the same cause as her sister and predecessor. Against her orders, her body was opened and embalmed. Lady Southwell says that, while watching the coffin, she and her companions were startled by a loud crack. The body had swollen until the coffin burst and had to be cered up again.

* Xanthopsia = yellowness of vision.

The Queen's heart was removed and put in an urn which stood beside Mary's in the Abbey. About sixty years later a Westminster school-boy took the opportunity of putting his hand in both urns, which, he said, contained a red, sticky, semi-fluid mass.

JAMES I. (First Cousin twice removed).

Born June 19th, 1566; *died* (59) March 27th, 1625, at Theobald's; *buried*, Westminster.

(a) Whether our King's care for his grandchildren, or the hazard and danger of his own person at home (being ever full of fears) or his engagement in a war abroad (being contrary to his very nature) or whether his full feeding and continual use of sweet wines (which he abundantly affected) set the gross humours awork, or what other accident caused his distemper is uncertain, but he fell sick of a tertian ague which is not dangerous in the spring (if we believe the proverb, "An ague in the spring is physic for a King") and had some few fits of it. After which he fell into a fever which was too violent for him. A little before his death he called for the Prince his son who rising out of his bed something before day and presenting himself before him, the King roused up his spirits, and raised himself up as if he meant to speak to him, but nature being exhausted he had not strength to express his intentions but soon after expired, being upon Sunday morning the 27 of March 1625 at Theobalds.—*Arthur Wilson (Life of James, 1653).*

(b) The King being sick of a certain ague, and that in the spring was of itself never found deadly, the Duke (of Buckingham) took his opportunity . . . upon the Monday before the king died . . . and offered to him a white powder to take, the which he a long time refused, but overcome with his flattering importunity at length took it in wine, and immediately became worse and worse, falling into many swoonings and pains and violent fluxes of the belly . . . In like

manner also . . . my Lord of Buckingham's mother upon the Friday after . . . applied a plaister to the King's heart and breast whereupon he grew faint and short-breathed and in a great agony . . . The Sunday after, his Majesty died, and Buckingham desired the physicians who attended his Majesty to sign with their own hands a writ of testimony that the powder which he gave him was a good and safe medicine, which they refused . . . In the meantime the King's body and head swelled above measure, his hair with the skin of his head stuck to the pillow, and the nails became loose upon his fingers and toes.—*Harleian Misc.* ii, 71 (1744).

(c) Of an ague after a month's languishing notwithstanding all the remedies that could be applied, he departed this life at Theobalds.—*Baker (Chronicle)*.

WELDON and Peyton give most unflattering descriptions of the King's person. The latter tells of some amazing incidents which occurred during the festivities held when the King of Denmark visited England. James was apparently never in good health and had an inveterate snuffle. George Eglisam, whose pamphlet reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellany* is the authority for the story of poison, had been deprived of his post of King's physician through Buckingham's influence, and probably sought revenge. He accuses Buckingham of poisoning the Marquis of Hamilton, as the latter's body had the

same appearances after death as the king's had. Buckingham's treatment of the physicians might support his innocence as strongly as his guilt and be explained by a desire to prevent even rumours about his responsibility for the King's death. There is no reason to doubt that James did die from tertian ague. An account of the finding of his grave is given in Stanley's 'Memorials of Westminster,' but the coffin was not opened.

Anne of Bohemia (12th December 1575—April 1619) was treated for dropsy in 1615. In the beginning of 1618 her health was feeble, and that summer she had cough and spitting of blood. After January 1619 her condition rapidly became worse.

CHARLES I. (Son).

Born November 19th, 1600; *died* (48) January 30th, 1649, Whitehall; *buried* Windsor.

It is unnecessary to enter into any details of the King's execution. Bishop Juxon wrote an account of it. Much has been written in regard to the topography of the site. The coffin was opened in the presence of the Prince Regent on April 1st, 1813. Halford witnessed this and has left an account of the proceeding. The face-cloths had taken a very clear impression of the features: the hair was a rich brown. A quantity of greenish liquid was present, apparently a mixture of embalming fluids and blood. The fourth cervical vertebra had been cut cleanly through leaving a perfectly smooth surface. The rest of the body was not included in the examination. The skill shown in the decapitation of the King is in marked contrast to the method used for the Duke of Monmouth a generation later.

After the coffin had been closed it was discovered that a piece of the vertebra was left out; and the Regent gave this to Halford. The latter's descendant restored it to King Edward, and the piece of bone is now believed to rest in a casket on top of the coffin.

There was tragedy also in his Consort's death. Queen Henrietta Maria (25th Nov., 1609—31st August, 1669) suffered great pain for four years before her death, and was treated at Bourbon. She was given opium (apparently in large quantity) and died at Colombe, a few hours after the dose.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Born April 25th, 1599; *died* (59) September 3rd, 1658, Whitehall; *buried*, Westminster.

(a) He fell sick of a tertian fever which at first seemed not to signify much danger, but by degrees it grew upon him . . . Upon Tuesday, 31st August, finding himself in danger he named his son to succeed him . . . Upon Friday the third of September at three of the clock in the afternoon he departed this life.—*Baker (Chronicle)*.

(b) His Highness lay very ill of the gout and other distempers contracted by the long sickness of my Lady Elizabeth.

[August 24th].—On Saturday morning he fell into a fit of an ague, and by its course ever since it appears to be a tertian. The fits are long and somewhat sharp, but yet the last was not so bad as the former.

[August 27th].—His fit upon the Tuesday night was somewhat more favourable: the good interval after it gave great hopes that his ague was very much on the decrease.

[August 30th].—It continued a good while to be a tertian ague and the burning fits very violent: upon Saturday it fell to a double tertian having two fits in twenty-four hours, one upon the heels of the other, and since Saturday morning he had scarcely been perfectly out of his fits.

[September 4th].—He died yesterday (Friday) about four of the clock in the afternoon.—*Thurloe (State Papers)*.

(c) *Dissecto cadavere, in animalibus partibus vasa cerebri justo pleniora videbantur; in vitalibus pul-*

mones aliquantisper inflammati; sed in naturalibus fons mali comparuit; liene, licet aspectum sano, intus tamen tabo instar amurcae referto.—*George Bate (Elenchus motuum)*.

On the opening of the body, of the animal parts the cerebral vessels were seen to be more engorged than normal; of the vital, the lungs were somewhat inflamed; but the source of the disease was plain in the natural parts; the spleen, although healthy to outward view, yet within contained matter like the lees of oil.

THE first fit occurred on August 21st, and others followed on 23rd, on the night 24th—25th, and on the 27th. Another fit on the 28th may have been due to a quartan attack, recurring on August 31st and on September 3rd. Tertian attacks would have occurred on August 29th and 31st and September 2nd. Apparently there was a hæmorrhage in the substance of the spleen going on to suppuration and abscess.

George Bate (1608—1669) was physician to Charles I, Cromwell, and Charles II. His friends told the last-named that he had poisoned Cromwell. The contradiction between this story and that in his book does not seem to have occurred to them.

RICHARD CROMWELL (Son).

Born October 4th, 1626; *died* (85) July 12th, 1712, Cheshunt; *buried*, Hursley.

THERE is a description of the house in which Richard Cromwell died and of the conveyance of his body from Cheshunt to Hursley, but no hint as to the nature of his last illness. He seems to have had good health, and is described as riding to hounds after he was eighty years old. His advanced age is sufficient explanation of his death. His grave is covered with flagstones in the nave of Hursley Church, five miles from Winchester, but the exact site is unknown. The verger states that the coffin has been moved from its original place. The only memorial of the last Protector is his mention on the wall tablet above his daughter's grave.

CHARLES II. (Son of Charles I.).

Born May 29th, 1630; *died* (54) February 6th, 1685, Whitehall; *buried*, Westminster.

(a) On Monday, being the 2nd February, the King rose early, saying he had not slept well the last night, and about seven o'clock coming from his private devotions out of his closet, fell down (with scarce any sign of life remaining in him for the space of four hours) of a fit of an apoplexy; but with the loss of sixteen ounces of blood and other applications came again to his senses, and great hopes were entertained of his recovery till Thursday one o'clock, so that at five, the doctors being come before the Council, declared the King was in great danger, and on Friday a quarter before twelve, he departed this life.—*Somers' Tracts*, viii (1812).

(b) The King had been in his later years surprised with some fits of an apoplexy from which tho' he had been recovered by proper means yet it was much feared that at some time or other such fits might be fatal. And so it proved. For on Monday the 2nd February, 1685, he was seized at his palace of Whitehall with a violent fit between seven and eight in the morning by which his speech and senses were for some time taken from him, but upon the immediate application of remedies he returned to such a condition as gave some hopes of his recovery, till Wednesday night, at which time the disease returning upon him with greater violence he prepared for death in a most pious and Christian manner . . . having his senses entire and his speech perfect till about an hour before his departure which was between eleven and twelve on Friday morning, the 6th day of February.—*Baker (Chronicle)*.

(c) All this winter [1684-5] the King looked better than he had done for many years. He had a humour in his leg which looked like the beginning of the gout, so that for some weeks he could not walk . . . On 1st February being a Sunday he eat little all day and came to lady Portsmouth at night and called for a porringer of spoon-meat. It was made too strong for his stomach, so he eat little of it, and he had an unquiet night. In the morning one Dr. King came to wait on him. All the King's discourse to him was so broken that he could not understand what he meant; and the doctor concluded he was under some great disorder either in his mind or in his body . . . He was scarce come in [a few minutes later the King having sent him out] when the King who seemed all the while to be in great confusion fell down of a sudden in a fit like an apoplexy; he looked black and his eyes turned in his head. The physician let his blood and the King came out of that fit. . . . On Thursday a second fit returned. The King suffered much inwardly and said he was burnt up within; of which he complained often but with great decency . . . He continued in the agony till Friday at eleven o'clock being the sixth of February. When his body was opened the physicians . . . plainly discerned two or three blue spots on the outside of his stomach Le Fevre saw a blackness in the shoulder upon which he made an incision and saw it was all mortified . . . So many of the small veins of the brain were burst that the brain was in a great disorder, and no judgment could be made concerning it.—*Gilbert Burnet*.

(d) I went to London hearing his Majesty had been the Monday before [2nd February] surprised in his bed chamber with an apoplectic fit, so that if by God's providence Dr. King (that excellent chirurgeon as well as physician) had not been accidentally present to let him blood his Majesty had certainly died at that moment . . . This [bleeding] rescued his Majesty for

the instant but it was only a short reprieve. He still complained and was relapsing, often fainting, with sometimes epileptic symptoms, till Wednesday for which he was cupped, let blood in both jugulars, had both vomit and purges which so relieved him that on Thursday hopes of recovery were signified in the public gazette, but that day about noon the physicians thought him feverish; this they seemed glad of as being more easily allayed and methodically dealt with than his former fits, so as they prescribed the famous Jesuit's powder, but it made him worse. Thus he passed Thursday night with great difficulty; when complaining of a pain in his side they drew 12 oz. more of blood from him, this was by six in the morning on Friday, and it gave him relief but it did not continue for being now in much pain and struggling for breath, he lay, dozing; and after some conflicts, the physicians despairing he gave up the ghost at half an hour after eleven in the morning.—*John Evelyn (Diary)*.

(e) After he was abed [1st February] he was overheard to groan most part of the night, and both then and next morning before he fell into the fit he complained first of a heavy oppression in his stomach and about his heart, and afterwards of a sharp pain in those parts, all which symptoms had but little relation to an apoplexy. That morning, there appeared to everybody about him a ghastliness and paleness in his looks; and when he sat down to be shaved just before the fit took him, he could not sit straight as he used to do, but continued in a stooping posture with his hands upon his stomach till the fit came. After he had been brought out of it by opening a vein, he complained of a racking pain in his stomach and of no indisposition anywhere else: and during the whole time of his sickness and even when he seemed most insensible he was observed to lay his hand upon his stomach in a moaning posture and continued so till

his death; and so violent was the pain that when all hopes were gone, the physicians were desired to use all their art to procure him an easy death . . . His body stunk so extremely within a few hours after his death notwithstanding the coldness of the season that the people about him were very much offended with the smell.

Its known he had been once or twice attacked before with fits that much resembled those of which he afterwards died: and yet as the manner of them is told, they look rather to have been a convulsive motion than an apoplexy, seeing they were attended with violent contortions of his face and convulsions of his whole body and limbs. This is the more confirmed by a passage that happened during the heat of the Popish Plot. King Charles had some secret matters to manage at that time by the means of a Popish priest then beyond sea whom he ordered to be privately sent for . . . The King and the priest were a considerable time together alone in the closet. At last the priest came out with all the marks of fright and astonishment in his face, and told the gentlemen . . . his Majesty was suddenly seized with a fit accompanied with violent convulsions of his body and contortions of his face which lasted for some moments; and when he was going to call out for help the King held him by force till it was all over, and then bid him not to be afraid for he had been troubled with the like before.

He had for some time an issue in his leg which run much and consequently must have made a great revulsion from his head; upon which account its probable it was made. A few weeks before his death he had let it be dried up contrary to the advice of his physicians who told him that it would prejudice his health. Their prognostic was partly true in this, that there came a painful tumour upon the place where the issue had been, which proved very obstinate and was not

thoroughly healed up when he died.—*Life of Charles II* (Ed. 1706).

(f) *Post-mortem examination*.—On the surface of the brain the veins and arteries were unduly full. All the cerebral ventricles were filled with a kind of serous matter and the substance of the brain itself was quite soaked with similar fluid. On the right side the lungs and pleura were firmly adherent to the chest wall, but on the left side they were quite free as Nature has ordained they should be in health. No fault whatever could be found with the substance of the lungs, but they were charged with blood. The heart was large and firm and quite free from malformation in every part. In the depths of the belly there was nothing unnatural except that the liver was inclined to be livid in colour perhaps because of the abundance of blood in it; with which the kidneys and spleen were also engorged.—*Sir Charles Scarborough* (quoted by *Crawfurd*).

ANY* consideration of this king's death must start from the nature of his life. His habits are well enough known to render superfluous any disquisition on them. He "lived hard," and died at the early age of fifty-four. For some time before his death

* In *The Last Days of Charles II* Dr. Raymond Crawfurd gives a general account of the occurrence. His version of the final scenes is based on the evidence of eight eye-witnesses. He does not quote from the *Life*, which supplies my longest quotation. I may be pardoned for adding that my notes on this point (with the exception of the first passage) were made before Dr. Crawfurd's book was published.

he had been in poor health. In 1678 he had attacks of a convulsive disorder similar to that from which he died. Dr. Crawford mentions that he had fits, and brings forward evidence which incontestably proves that fits which Charles had in August, 1679, were due to ague. But the Popish Plot rumour was publicly spread on September 28th, 1678, by Oates being brought before the Council. It seems to me, therefore, too great an assumption to state that Charles never had convulsive attacks until his last illness. The 'Life' states that the King himself said he was liable to them. By way of preliminary to deciding the cause of the death one may exclude poisoning, in spite of the reported anxiety to prevent the viscera being examined. The black area on the shoulder which Le Fevre incised was probably hæmorrhage due to the energetic cupping. The facts are these: Charles had been liable to convulsive attacks for some years; on Sunday, February 1st, he seemed pale and ill, sleeping little. Next morning his speech was confused, and suddenly (in point of fact as he was about to be shaved) he became unconscious. Bleed-

ing restored him, but for two days coma alternated with convulsions. Drastic remedies were applied, and on the Thursday he was somewhat better. He passed a bad night and grew worse, until he died about 11.30 a.m. When the body was examined the superficial cerebral vessels were found to be ruptured, the ventricles full of serous fluid, the brain substance œdematous and in great disorder; the heart was hypertrophied, and the kidneys, liver, and spleen engorged.

The condition of the brain at once suggests the expression "serous apoplexy," the equivalent of the modern "uræmia." That this was the cause of death (Dr. Crawford reached the same conclusion) there can be little doubt. The habits of the King, his suffering from gout, and the condition of the kidney point to a chronic interstitial nephritis. The severe pain in the stomach is more difficult to explain; the small ecchymoses on the stomach-wall might be explained by the vomiting, but the possibility of this being uræmic is obscured by the course of emetics which were administered. Burnet states that the stomach and intestines were thrown out,

and some days later were seen lying in a gutter in the courtyard of the Palace.

Catherine of Braganza (25th November 1638—31st December 1705) died at Bempesta of a sudden attack of "colic."

JAMES II. (Brother).

Born October 15th, 1633; *died* (67) September 16th, 1701, St. Germain; *buried*, St. Germain.

(a) In the opening of this year [1701] he had been so near death that it was generally thought the decline of it would carry him off. He went to Bourbon, but had no benefit by the waters there; in the beginning of September he fell into such fits that it was concluded he could not live many days. King James died on the 6th day of September.—*Gilbert Burnet*.

(b) On September 4th O.S., he fell into a lethargy at St. Germain and was thought to be immediately dead: but he recovered some part of his senses and lay in maze and confusion till Saturday 6th September when he expired between three and four o'clock that afternoon.—*Life of William III (Ed. 1706)*.

(c) On Friday the second of this instant September [1701] His Majesty being at chapel on his knees fainted away, which some of his servants perceiving, supported him from falling, put him into his chair and carried him to his lodgings, where after an hour's time he came pretty well to himself again; eat heartily, continued so sleeping and dozing till Sunday (by intervals speaking to those about him) when about half an hour past two in the afternoon on a sudden he was taken so ill that he could not speak by reason of an imposthume breaking within him, and Nature endeavouring to discharge it he was almost suffocated . . . By bleeding and other proper remedies a considerable quantity of that corrupt matter passed both ways, Sunday, Monday and Tuesday, but none on Wednesday or Thursday. He slept well that night; on Friday was

better, only he had an intermitting fever which left him that night; he continued so till about eleven o'clock Sunday night when the physicians observed a lethargy in him and fearing he might die in that condition they applied the blistering plaister betwixt his shoulders with good effect. Yet a disposition to doze and sleep continuing in him they applied those plaisters to his ankles, afterwards to his head but without success. In this condition his Majesty continued till Monday night when everybody thought he was departing; but the physicians giving him somewhat inwardly he presently began to discharge both ways, then rested till near five next morning. Awakening, he spoke to the curate of the parish (who watched by him) to give him the Sacrament which he did accordingly; at which time he forgave several persons by name . . . From that time the physicians resolved to apply no further remedies but to leave his Majesty to the Will of Almighty God. The King of France came to see his Majesty but he was speechless After some time his Majesty came to himself again, and on Friday the 17th inst., about three in the afternoon the King died. When the King first fainted in the chapel when he first fell ill 'twas on Good Friday on singing the anthem—the two first verses of the last chapter of the Lamentations which was so touching and made such an impression on his Majesty that he never perfectly recovered it, altho' he went to the waters of Bourbon.—*Somers' Tracts* iv, 80 (*Ed.* 1748).

(d) On 4th March he fainted away, but that day sevensnight being seized again with a paralytic fit in the morning as he was dressing it so affected one side that he had difficulty to walk and lost the use of his right hand, but after blistering he walked fairly well. . . . On 13th July he had another fit . . . On 2nd September he was seized again and falling into another fit two days later was for some time without life or motion till his mouth being forced open he vomited a

great quantity of blood . . . The doctors gave him the kinkinna and blistered him in several places which gave him great torment. The next day he continued lethargic and two days later grew much weaker, was taken with continual convulsions or shaking in the hands, and the day following being Friday 16th September about three in the afternoon he died.—*J. S. Clarke (Life of James II).*

FROM sources other than those quoted one gathers information which is of service in considering James's death. Wraxall in his entertaining 'Memoirs'—which are a too little known mine of recondite information in modern European history—gives a broad hint that James had syphilis, which he contracted from Anne, afterwards Countess of Southesk, one of the mistresses of his younger days. The arterial condition which would result from this is indicated by Reresby in his 'Travels and Memoirs.' According to the latter, when James was at Salisbury in November, 1688, he suffered from severe epistaxis, which was violent for three or four days. This occurrence was salutary in two ways: it kept the King from making a journey which was counted on by some of his retinue, who had arranged to lead him into an ambush, and in all likelihood it

warded off an attack of cerebral hæmorrhage. Reresby is corroborated by Burnet and by Clarke, whose book is of exceptional value, as it incorporates the King's autobiography and the papers which he and Queen Mary wrote while in residence at the convent of Chaillot. Clarke states that in moments of great emotional strain James used to have severe epistaxis.

One can readily understand how aculeate were the words which raised such a tumult in the King's mind that he fainted.* It is evident that the lenticulo-striate artery yielded. He went to Bourbon as the waters there had a reputation for the cure of paralytic affections and gout. His visit lasted about seven weeks, during which time he was tended in the most devoted way by his wife. On his return he was able to walk, but dragged his foot. In the middle of July he had a third attack, which apparently did not make his condition much worse. But on September 2nd the Mass again contained the words which had affected him so acutely six

* "Remember, O Lord, what is come upon us ; consider and behold our reproach. Our inheritance is turned to strangers, our houses to aliens."

months before. Another attack was caused, and a fifth followed two days later. Vomiting and purging continued for three days, and for an equal period he seemed better, save for some fever, probably due to the cerebral lesion. The "vomiting" of blood may have been from laceration of his mouth by attempts to open it. A week after his last fit he became lethargic and was roused only temporarily. At this time he became speechless, two days later tremors appeared, probably due to post-hemiplegic chorea, and in the afternoon following he died. The course of his last illness is thus fairly well established, his death being due to cerebral hæmorrhage resulting from syphilitic inflammation of arteries.

Mary of Modena (5th October 1658—7th May 1718) also died at St. Germain, after years of suffering. Signs of cancer of the breast appeared in 1700, and in October 1703 she put herself in the care of a woman quack. In March 1706, the tumour was said to be decreasing.

MARY II. (Daughter).

Born April 30th, 1662; *died* (32) December 28th, 1694, Kensington; *buried*, Westminster.

(a) The Queen was taken ill but the next day that seemed to go off. The day following she went abroad; but her illness returned on her so heavily that she could disguise it no longer; after that she used some slight remedies thinking it was only a transient indisposition; but it increased upon her and within two days after the smallpox appeared with very bad symptoms . . . On Christmas Day the smallpox sunk so entirely and the Queen felt herself so well upon it that it was for a while concluded that she had the measles and that the danger was over. This hope was ill grounded and of a short continuance for before night all was sadly changed. It appeared that the smallpox were so sunk now that there was no hope of raising them. Several cordials were given but all was ineffectual, she lay silent for some hours and some words that came from her showed her thoughts began to break. In conclusion she died on the 28th of December.—*Gilbert Burnet*.

(b) On Friday December 21 the Queen was taken ill at Kensington and her distemper proved to be the smallpox with incurable symptoms; so that in spite of the most exquisite care and consult of physicians her Majesty departed this life on Friday 28 December about one in the morning.

Some few days before the Feast of our Lord's Nativity she found herself indisposed . . . this indisposition speedily grew up into a dangerous distemper. On Monday the flattering disease occasioned some

hopes though they were but faint ones. That joy endured but for a day and that day was closed with a very dismal night; the disease showed itself in various forms and small hopes of life were now left. . . . A quarter before one on Friday morning after two or three small strugglings of nature, and without such agonies as in such cases are common she fell asleep.—*Life of Mary* (Ed. 1706).

(c) She took Venice treacle the first evening, and finding no sweat appeared as usual, she took the next morning a double quantity of it before she asked the advice of the physicians . . . The smallpox was of the very worst and most dangerous sort, being united with the measles, and such as is usually accompanied with an erysipelas in the face, purples, and spitting of blood . . . On the third day of the disease the eruptions appeared, with a very troublesome cough; and they came out in such a manner that the physicians were very doubtful whether they would prove the smallpox or the measles. On the fourth day the smallpox showed itself in the face and rest of the body under its proper and distinct form. On the sixth day in the morning the variolous pustules all over her breast were changed into the large red spots of the measles. And the erysipelas called "rosa" swelled her whole face, the former pustules giving place to them. That evening many broad and round petechiæ appeared in the forehead above the eyebrows and on the temples . . . After the middle of the night there began a great difficulty of breathing and a little afterwards a copious spitting of blood. On the seventh day, the spitting of blood was succeeded by bloody urine. On the eighth day the broad spots of the measles continued on her breast, but in the lower limbs where there had been any pustules of the smallpox all the swelling of them immediately disappeared and they changed into round spots about the bigness of the pustules, of a deep red or full scarlet, their

surface being smooth and not at all elevated like the pestilential stigmata. There was one large pustule filled with matter having a broad scarlet circle round it like a burning coal which I then observed above the region of the heart, and under which a great deal of extravasated blood was afterwards found on opening her body. Lastly about the middle of that night she breathed out her pious soul.—*Walter Harris (Observations on Certain Grievous Diseases. Ed. 1742).*

MARY had escaped smallpox, and the outbreak of a severe epidemic caused a good deal of anxiety among her attendants, as her uncle and aunt had died of this disease. When she was attacked she sent away her women who had not had the disease, and spent much time in destroying her private papers. Her physician Radcliffe was greatly blamed for his treatment of her, but his answer was that he was called in too late. She died eight days after the onset of symptoms. There is no account of the necropsy which was performed. She had left written instructions that her body was not to be opened, but the paper was not found until after this had been done. Her portrait in Kensington Palace is that of a remarkably handsome woman.

WILLIAM III. (Husband).

Born November 4th, 1650; *died* (51) March 8th, 1702, Kensington; *buried*, Westminster.

(a) Sa Majesté se trouva plus travaillée de sa maladie habituelle—c'est à dire de l'asthme, et surtout dans le dernier par des maux de côté et d'estomach, accompagnées d'ampoules et phlictenes repandues sur tout le côté gauche de la poitrine et de l'abdomen, souvent avec fièvre; et par l'augmentation des enflures des pieds, des jambs, et des cuiffes; comme aussi de deux tumeurs particulières, l'une à la main droite, l'autre au genou gauche, qui se dissipèrent d'elles memes, distingues pourtant par leur simptome de celles des pieds, des jambs et des cuiffes—celles-ci étant absolument œdemateuses, et celles-la accompagnées de chaleur, rougeur, et douleur . . . Ce Prince etoit non seulement asthmatique, mais aussi attaqué d'hydroisie melée de scorbut . . . Peu de jours après l'arrive de Sa Majesté à Hampton Court, l'enflure des extremités inferieures se communiqua au scrotum; ce que Sa Majesté m'ayant fair voir, je lui proposai un suspensoir

Pendant tout l'hyver Sa Majesté fut gouvernée de meme [Bidloo] ayant de tems en tems des frissons et acces de fièvre.

Le Samedi, 21 Fevrier, son cheval s'abattit sous Sa Majesté, elle tomba en meme tem sur la poitrine. . . La clavicule droite fut cassé en travers, pres de l'acromion. J'en fis d'abord la reduction dont Sa Majesté se trouva si soulagée et meme si bien qu'elle voulut s'en revenir coucher ce soir meme a Kensington.

. . . Avant la reduction la poulx de Roi fut fort elevé, ce qui joint à la commotion de la chute auroit sans doute indiqué la saignée. Comme je le dis a Sa Majesté elle me repondit "qu'elle avoit deja en le matin mal à la tete et quelques frissons, comme elle en avoit eu de tems en tems depuis quinze jours."

Sa Majesté avoir fait dessein de retour ce jour la meme à Hamptoncourt, mais elle fut empechée par une tumeur qui lui étoit survenuë à la main droite et par l'augmentation de celle du genou gauche qui lui étoit arrivée quelque tems auparavant; les deux tumeurs, étoient de la meme nature que celles qui lui étoient survenuës aux memes partes dans la meme saison d'année precedente

Le Lundi il eut un acces de fièvre; le Mardi l'eut encore avec un plus grand frisson. Il se promena ce jour la dans la grande gallere de son appartement et s'y endormit assis dans un fauteuil, ce qui lui fit prendre du froid . . . Le Mercredi (*sic*) le Roi continua d'avoir la fièvre et des froissons. Le Jeudi il lui survint une diarrhée avec douleur de ventre que l'affoiblit beaucoup. Le Vendredi il fut saisi d'une vomissement outre la diarrhée ce qui l'empecha de garder aucun aliment ni remede, excepté un peu chocolate. Le Samedi il empira; mais sur le soir, le vomissement s'arreta, et il garda quelques bouillons et cordiaux . . . Il passa cette derniere nuite dans de grandes inquietudes jusqu'au lendemain Dimanche 8 a quatre heures du matin que Sa Majesté se trouvant plus mal demanda la communion

On lui vit seulement remuer les levres, peu de momens apres il expira, c'est a dire a huit heures et quelques minutes le Dimanche 8. Il mourut assis sur le cote gauche de son lit, en Robe de Chambre.—*Etienne Ronjat (Lettre à un medecin) [1703].*

His Majesty found himself more harassed by his usual malady asthma, and later on chiefly by pains in

the side and stomach, accompanied by blisters and ulcers scattered mainly over the left side of the chest and abdomen, often with fever. There were also swelling of the joints of the feet, legs and thighs, and two special tumours, one on the right hand, the other on the left knee, which subsided of themselves; their symptoms distinguished these from the others, the former being entirely œdematous while the latter were accompanied by heat, redness and pain. The prince was asthmatic as well as being dropsical and scorbutic. A few days after his arrival at Hampton Court (4th November 1701) the swelling of the lower extremities extended to the scrotum, and having been shown this, I advised a suspensory bandage.

All winter through, his Majesty was guided by Bidloo, having occasional shiverings and attacks of fever.

On Saturday 21st February, the King's horse stumbled under him, throwing him on his chest. The right clavicle was broken across near the acromion. Forthwith I reduced it, whereupon his Majesty found himself so much relieved and at ease that he wished to return and sleep at Kensington that evening. Before the reduction the King's pulse was very full, and this in conjunction with the disturbance of the fall assuredly indicated bleeding. On my saying this the King answered that he had already had a headache and some shivering fits that morning, as he had occasionally had for the past fortnight.

His Majesty had purposed to return to Hampton Court that same day but was prevented by a swelling which rose on his right hand and the increase of that on his left knee, which had appeared on some former occasions. These tumours were similar to those which had appeared in the same parts at the corresponding time of the previous year . . . On Monday he was feverish and continued so on Tuesday having also a

severe rigor. That day he walked in the long gallery of his suite and fell asleep in an armchair, which made him catch cold . . . On Wednesday the fever and rigors persisted. On Thursday set in a diarrhœa with colic which much weakened him. On Friday, in addition to this, vomiting attacked him, which made it impossible for him to retain any food or medicine save a little chocolate. He became worse on Saturday but towards evening the vomiting ceased, and he retained some soups and cordials. He passed this last night in great distress until Sunday at four a.m., when finding himself worse he asked for the Communion.

His lips were just seen to move, and a few moments later he died, at some minutes past eight on Sunday. He died sitting on the left side of his bed, wearing his dressing-gown.

(b) In the end of February [at Hampton Court] the horse he rode on stumbled and he being then very feeble fell off and broke his collar-bone; he seemed to have no other hurt by it; the bone was well set and it was thought there was no danger so he was brought to Kensington that night . . . On 3rd of March the king had a short fit of an ague which he regarded so little that he said nothing of it; it returned on him next day; after that he kept his chamber till Friday; every day it was given out that his fits abated; on Friday things had so melancholy a face that his being dangerously ill was no longer concealed; there was now such a difficulty of breathing and his pulse was so sunk that the alarm was given out everywhere. The king's strength and pulse was still sinking as the difficulty of breathing increased so that no hope was left . . . Between seven and eight o'clock the rattle began, the commendatory prayer was said for him and as it ended he died. When his body was opened it appeared that he had no dropsy, his head and heart were sound, there was scarcely any blood in his body; his lungs stuck to his side and by the fall from his

horse a part of them was torn from it which caused an inflammation that was believed to be the immediate cause of his death.—*Gilbert Burnet*.

(c) On February 21st, riding out from Kensington to Hampton Court as he was putting his horse to the gallop the horse fell, and His Majesty in the fall broke his right collar-bone. Upon this fatal accident His Majesty was carried to Hampton Court, where the bone was dexterously set by Monsieur Ronjat, Serjeant Surgeon to the King, who, having felt His Majesty's pulse, told him he was feverish, and that any other person in his condition would be let blood. "As for that," replied the King, "I have now and then had a headache and some shivering fits this forenoon, and had this very morning a pain in my head before I went out ahunting." In the afternoon the King finding himself easy, contrary to advice, returned to Kensington, and slept almost all the way in his coach. He came to Kensington about nine at night with his right arm tied up, and as he entered the great bed-chamber he saw Dr. Bidloo [who] finding his pulse in good order dissuaded him from bleeding, and after viewing the affected part gave His Majesty to know that the right channel bone was broken obliquely a little below its juncture with the shoulder-blade . . . It was well set, but the jolting of the coach and the loosening of the bandage had occasioned that disunion. After the fracture was taken care of His Majesty went to bed and slept the whole night so sound that the gentlemen who sat up with him said they did not hear him complain so much as once. His Majesty seemed in a fair way of doing well till on Sunday, March 1st, a defluxion fell upon his right knee, which was a great pain and weakness to him, and thought to be a very ill symptom.

On Wednesday, March 4th, his Majesty seemed so well recovered of the lameness in his knee that he took several turns in the gallery at Kensington, but at

length finding himself tired and faint, he sat down on a couch and fell asleep which probably occasioned that shivering fit which soon after seized him and which turned to a fever accompanied with vomiting and looseness. The physicians administered several remedies to his Majesty that gave him great relief, and he continued indifferent well till Friday 6th when his vomiting and looseness returned so violent upon him that he refused to take any sustenance till two of the clock on Saturday morning when he supped a cupful of chocolate that stayed with him; soon after they gave him a gentle sleeping draught to compose him which had that good effect that he rested for three hours after: in the forenoon he supped some broth and a cordial and found himself easier though excessively weak . . . On Saturday night . . . he took some of Rawley's cordial with the cordial julep, and soon after some hot claret . . . About three o'clock on Sunday morning he called again for Dr. Bidloo and complained to him that he had had a bad night and could not sleep; upon that he sat up and leaned on him . . . In this posture he slept about half an hour: and when he awaked said "You can bear me up no longer." Then he was held up by Mr. Freeman on the right and Mr. Sewell on the left both of them having pillows in their arms. . . . After seven a'clock he took Bidloo by the hand and breathing with great difficulty asked him "If this could last long?" After that while the doctor was feeling his pulse his Majesty took him again by the hand saying "I do not die yet, hold me fast." Having taken a little of the cordial potion he faintly enquired for the Earl of Portland. About eight a'clock his Majesty sitting on his bed in his night gown and in the arms of Mr. Sewell, one of the pages of the backstairs, he leaned a little backwards towards the left and shutting his eyes expired with two or three soft gasps.

Two days after, the royal body was opened and the

physicians and surgeons summoned by the Privy Council to assist at and examine the dissection made this report:—

*Upon the viewing the body before dissection the following appearances were remarkable: The body in general was much emaciated; both the legs up to the knees and a little higher as also the right hand and arm as far as the elbow were considerably swelled. There was likewise on the left thigh near the hip a bladder full of water, as big as a small pullet's egg resembling a blain. Upon opening the belly the guts were found of a livid colour and the blood contained in their vessels black. The gut called ileon had in some places the marks of a slight inflammation. The stomach, pancreas, mesentery, liver, gall-bladder, spleen and kidneys were all sound and without fault. In the thorax or chest we observed that the right side of the lungs adhered to the pleura, and the left much more; from which upon separation there issued forth a quantity of purulent or frothy serum. The upper lobe on the left side of the lungs and the part of the pleura next to it were inflamed to a degree of mortification and *this we look upon as the immediate cause of the King's death* [italics in original]. From the ventricles of the heart and the great blood vessels arising out of them were taken several large tough fleshlike substances of the kind called polypus. The heart itself was of the smaller size but firm and strong. Upon laying bare the right collar-bone, we found it had been broken near the shoulder and well set. Some extravasated blood was lodged above and below the fracture. The brain was perfectly sound and without any sign of distemper. 'Tis very rare to find a body with so little blood as was seen in this; there being more found in his lungs than in all the parts beside put together.—*Life of William III.* (Ed. 1706).*

THE report of the post-mortem examination closely follows the corresponding parts of the pamphlets by Ronjat and Bidloo.* Both foreigners, they were bitterly jealous of one another. After the King's death Bidloo wrote a lengthy and tedious Dutch pamphlet describing his treatment, to which Ronjat replied by the letter from which the first quotation is taken. William refused to live at Whitehall on account of his asthma, which troubled him from adolescence. He never followed medical advice nor changed his method of life. His vice of secret drunkenness helped the undermining of his constitution. This habit seems to have gained on him after his wife's death. It savours of irony that the horsemanship of which he was so justly proud should have brought him to his last illness. The traditional cause of the horse's stumble is a molehill, which explains the Jacobite toast of "the little gentleman in

* Govard (or Godefroy) Bidloo was born and died at Leyden, becoming Professor of Anatomy there in 1688 and subsequently at Amsterdam. He was physician to the King, and published a work on anatomy which he declared had been plagiarised by William Cowper. Of Etienne Ronjat I have found no mention in English, French, German, Italian, or Dutch biographical dictionaries.

black velvet." Ronjat's account must be the chief authority, Burnet's being less full than one would have expected from his devotion to the King. As Ronjat tersely puts it, William was asthmatical, dropsical, and scorbutic. Apparently he had tuberculous disease of the right arm, and one may deduce that he also had herpes zoster of the left side. The fresh swellings in hand and knee may have been infections "lighted up" by the previous lesion. On the following day he had a rigor and fever, due evidently to pleuro-pneumonia at the apex of the left lung. On Thursday and Friday he had vomiting and diarrhoea. The next night he was able to take cordials and soup, but some hours later had much distress of breathing and sat up with help. In this posture he remained about five hours, and in it he died.

After death, dense pleural adhesions were discovered, and possibly there was a left-sided empyema. Severe inflammation of the left upper lobe was present. What are described as polypi were probably the "agony clots" often found after death from pneumonia. The œdema of the legs and the

small size of the heart may have been due primarily to the chronic pulmonary condition. The inflammation in the small bowel was more probably a complication of the pneumonia.

ANNE (Sister-in-law).

Born February 6th, 1665; died (49) August 1st, 1714, Kensington; buried, Westminster.

(a) On Friday the 30th of July, she being then at Kensington, fell suddenly into a fit which took away her senses, but having recovered a little from this disorder, she seemed inclinable to make some changes in her Ministry . . . But two days later, being Sunday August 1st, the Queen about eight in the morning relapsed into another fit whereof she died.—*Memoirs of Queen Anne* (ed. 1729).

(b) On Wednesday December 23rd, her Majesty was very uneasy all night with the gout in her foot. The next morning it went entirely off and she said she was well, but about one o'clock that day her Majesty complained of a pain in her thigh; was seized with a violent rigor and horror which lasted two hours. Extreme heat followed, with intense thirst, great anxiety, restlessness and inquietude. The pulse was *plenus, durus, jerratilis, et frequens*, which symptoms I found next day at my arrival upon which I very much pressed bleeding, but it was not agreed to: and these symptoms continued in some measure till four o'clock on Saturday morning, at which time her Majesty fell asleep, and waked refreshed, and the next morning there was a perfect intermission of symptoms but the pulse in my opinion was not quiet. The next night about twelve she was attacked with an exacerbation of the fever which lasted all the day and I believe till midnight if not all that night: for I was of opinion the pulse was not quiet the next day, though all the other symptoms of exacerbation went off No

exacerbation appeared after this, but I all along declared that I did not like the pulse; that there was no perfect intermission of the fever: but that the pulse was at work to separate the morbid matter into the gout or some worse shape. The pain in the thigh increased till three or four doses of the bark were given, and I laid a stress upon having that part examined, but it was called a fit of the gout though I answered it could not properly be called so in the muscles. I take this to be an inflammatory fever from a translation of the gout, and not a common ague or intermitting ague: that after near thirty-nine hours' continuance there was a perfect remission but not intermission.

[*Tuesday, 5th January.*] It was not ague but a violent inflammatory fever which opinion is justified by a severe fit of the gout which came on Friday night last which was just the day of the crisis.

On Thursday March 11th *the person* was seized with chilliness, vomiting, a pain in the leg: the pulse very disordered and in manner as two months ago, except that *the person* did not shiver but the chilliness and cold continued twelve hours, and was then succeeded by very great heat, thirst, and all the symptoms of high fever which lasted till the next evening . . . On Sunday things were so well that a chicken was eaten with great appetite. Thank God they have not called this an ague though it was just the same case, nor given the bark remembering well they were forced to drop it last time.—*Sloane MS. 4034—10. Quoted by Jesse.*

[*26th May*] The St. Anthony's fire which broke out in her leg and thigh has considerably diminished the violence of her fever but it is believed on the other hand that a mortification may follow. She sleeps little and eats nothing.—*Jesse (loc. cit.)*.

(c) The disorders under which the Queen laboured at length subsided into a state of lethargic uncon-

sciousness in which she continued for several days before she died . . . on the morning of the 1st of August 1714.—*Jesse (loc. cit. 1, 319)*.

(d) *Post-mortem examination*.—Upon opening the body of her late Majesty of blessed memory we found a small umbilical hernia omentalis without any excoriation, a large omentum well coloured, no water in the cavity of the abdomen. The stomach thin and its inward coat too smooth. The liver not schirous but very tender and flaccid as were all the rest of the viscera of the lower belly. The gall-bladder, kidneys and urinary bladder without any stone. There was a very small scorbutic ulcer on the left leg. We can give no further account being forbid making any other inspection than what was absolutely necessary for embalming the body.—*Quoted from Guy's Hospital Gazette, 1910.*

THE Queen's fondness for alcohol is often referred to in lampoons, and one obscene couplet, which was written on her statue actually begins with "Brandy-faced Nan." Just before the last Christmas of her life she had an attack of fever with pain in the thigh. This may have been due to gout—a diagnosis which is condemned by one of her physicians—to influenza, or to a chronic oöphoritis which may have been caused by her alcoholism. The attack lasted at least a fortnight, and its abrupt onset is in favour of its being influenzal. The pain was relieved after the administration of quinine, and was

complicated by an acute attack of gout. In the middle of March a similar attack followed, and her health remained bad. Towards the end of May she seems to have had an attack of erysipelas which left her in a very weak state, and in no condition to sustain the agitation of her ministers' quarrels. On July 30th she had a fit of apoplexy, followed by another and fatal one two days later. The pelvic viscera seem to have been healthy and the thorax and brain were not examined.

GEORGE I. (Second Cousin.).

Born May 28th, 1660; *died* (67) June 11th, 1727, Ippenburen; *buried*, Hanover.

(a) He was suddenly seized with a paralytic disorder on the road: he forthwith lost the faculty of speech, became lethargic, and was conveyed in a state of insensibility to Osnaburg. There he expired on Sunday the eleventh day of June.—*T. Smollett*.

(b) He had been ill at sea and continued so on the road, but would not stop. On Friday night he was taken ill with a severe purging and great sweating which weakened him very much. He would, however, go on, and upon Sunday lost his speech and the power of one side, but still made signs with his hand to proceed; and in the evening arrived at Osnaburg where he died about one o'clock on Sunday morning [June 11th].—*Marchmont Papers*, II, 411 (*quoted by Jesse, loc. cit.*).

(c) The King departed for Hanover on 3rd June, he enjoyed perfect health till he arrived at Delden. He was entertained by the Count de Twittel at a country house about twenty miles from that town. The King eat some melons after supper which probably caused the indigestion of which he died. He returned that evening to Delden, and set out early the next morning after having breakfasted on a cup of chocolate. On his arrival at Bentheim the King felt himself indisposed but continued his journey in opposition to the repeated entreaties of his suite. His indisposition increased, and when he arrived at Ippenburen he was quite lethargic, his hand fell down as if lifeless and his tongue hung out of his mouth. He gave, however, signs of life by continually crying out as well as he

could articulate "Osnaburg; Osnaburg!" This impatience to reach Osnaburg induced his attendants to hasten on. The exact time and place of his death cannot be ascertained but it is most probable that he expired either as the carriage was ascending the hill near Ippenburen or on the summit. On reaching the palace of his brother the Bishop of Osnaburg he was at once bled but without effect.—*Coxe, Life of Walpole.*

IN his journey towards Osnaburg, his birthplace, the King was accompanied by Melesina, Princess of Eberstein, one of his German mistresses, whom he made Duchess of Kendal. She had remained at Delden and was resuming her journey towards the King when she met the courier who had been sent back with the news of George's death. His feast of melons seems to have made him ill: and for two days he was noticeably indisposed. Coma gradually supervened, after paralysis and aphasia had become evident. One may assume that the right side was paralysed, and that the middle cerebral artery had ruptured. The gradual onset, the age, and history of the King indicate that it was probably a cerebral hæmorrhage associated with kidney disease. It may be noted that in October 1723, he had an attack of coma, coming on gradually

while he was at dinner and lasting several hours. Over three hundred years had passed since a ruling King of England died abroad, and never before had one died or been buried out of either France or England. His end has certain features which recall John's death over five hundred years previously. It is curious that his death should have occurred from much the same cause as his immediate predecessor's, a resemblance which is found in the deaths of the last two Tudor sovereigns.

The story of Sophia Dorothea of Zell (1666—13th November 1726) is well known. She was imprisoned at Ahlden for thirty-two years, and died there of a fever, probably typhus.

GEORGE II. (Son).

Born November 10th, 1683; *died* (77) October 25th, 1760; *buried* Westminster.

(a) On 25th October he rose as usual at six, and drank his chocolate A quarter after seven he went into a little closet. His German valet de chambre in waiting heard a noise and running in found the King lying dead on the floor. In falling he had cut his face against the corner of a bureau. He was laid on the bed and blooded, but not a drop followed: the ventricle of his heart had burst.—*Walpole, History of George II.*

(b) On 25th October, George II, King of Great Britain, without any previous disorder was in the morning suddenly seized with the agony of death at the palace at Kensington. He had risen at his usual hour, drank his chocolate and enquired about the wind as anxious for the arrival of the foreign mailsIn a few minutes after this declaration while he remained in the chamber he fell down upon the floor: the noise of the fall brought his attendants into the room who lifted him on the bed where he desired in a faint voice that the princess Amelia might be called, but before she could reach the apartments he had expired. An attempt was made to bleed him but without effect, and indeed his malady was far beyond the reach of art: for when the cavity of the thorax or chest was opened and inspected by the serjeant surgeons, they found the right ventricle of the heart actually ruptured, and a great quantity of blood discharged through the aperture into the surrounding pericardium.—*Smollett.*

*Post-mortem report.**—On opening the abdomen, all the parts therein contained were found in a natural and healthy state, except that some hydatids (or watery bladders) were found between the substance of each kidney and its internal coat None of them exceeded the bulk of a common walnut . . . The brain was found in a healthy state, noways loaded with blood.

The lungs were in a natural state, free from every appearance of inflammation or tubercle; but upon examining the heart, its pericardium was found distended with a quantity of blood nearly sufficient to fill a pint cup, and upon removing this blood a round orifice appeared in the middle of the upper side of the right ventricle of the heart, large enough to admit the extremity of the little finger. Through this orifice all the blood brought to the right ventricle had been discharged into the cavity of the pericardium the auricles and ventricles were found absolutely void of blood, either in a fluid or coagulated state . . . The two great arteries and the right ventricle were stretched beyond their natural state, and in the trunk of the aorta we found a transverse fissure on its inner side about an inch and a half long, through which some blood had recently passed under its external coat and formed an elevated ecchymosis. This appearance showed the true state of an incipient aneurism of the aorta

His Majesty had for some years complained of frequent distresses and sinkings about the region of the heart, and as his pulse was of late years observed to fall very much on bleeding, it is not doubted but

* For the reference to this report I am indebted to the kindness of Sir William Osler. Francis Nicholls, M.D., F.R.S. (1729—1778) was Physician to George II. From his account (to which a plate is appended) only the relevant parts have been cited.

that this distension of the aorta had been of long standing, at least to some degree.—*Francis Nicholls, Transactions of Royal Society, i, 1761.*

THERE was some dilatation of the aorta, and blood had passed between the coats of that vessel, forming a dissecting aneurism. The rupture of the ventricular wall may have been due to fibroid degeneration of the heart muscle: but this is more common on the left side than on the right. Both the aortitis and the fibroid change point to a previous history of syphilis. A rapid effusion of ten ounces of blood into the pericardial sac is said to be enough to cause instant death. As the amount in the present case was nearly double that quantity Walpole's version is more likely to be correct than Smollett's. But it is quite possible that the King did speak for a few minutes. The princess was so nearly blind that even when she stooped over her father she did not realise that he was dead, having been told only that he had fainted. Such a mode of death is known to occur, the person having had no previous symptoms. It will be remembered that the late Empress Elizabeth of Austria was stabbed in the left ventricle,

but walked about two hundred yards, boarded a steamer, and spoke to her attendants before she died.

The room in which George II died is on the ground floor of the Palace.

Caroline of Ansbach (18th March 1683—20th November 1737) died from a ventral hernia. She was very ill for twelve days and had two operations.

GEORGE III. (Grandson).

Born June 4th, 1738; *died* (81) January 29th, 1820, Windsor; *buried* Windsor.

(a) Three months since a gradual loss of strength and flesh were perceptible . . . A slight bowel attack about six weeks ago gave considerable alarm and though it lasted but two days it left his Majesty much debilitated. No actual bodily malady existed from that time until the early part of last week when the renewal of the bowel complaint showed that the bodily functions had lost their power. Everything that he took passed through him as he received it.—*Observer* (February 6th, 1820).

(b) His Majesty about two months ago after suffering much from a severe cold, was attacked by a species of slight diarrhœa, but after some days, the disorder yielded to anodyne and astringent medicines. With the last fortnight, however, the disorder had returned with more violent symptoms and continued unabated. The decay though rapid was unaccompanied with many violent and sudden changes. His Majesty in the early access of his second attack rejected animal food. A few days before his death he became reduced almost to a skeleton. It was not till within two days of his decease that he kept his bed entirely.—*Aberdeen Journal* (February 6th, 1820).

(c) In November, 1819, he suffered from a severe cold, and later on from a slight species of diarrhœa, which after some days yielded to anodyne and astringent medicines. About the 6th of January the disorder returned with greater violence and made visible inroads on his strength. He suffered much from

chilliness, although the temperature of his rooms was kept high. It was not until within two days of his death that he kept his bed entirely; although before this he had risen later than was his custom. In the morning of the 29th January he became much weaker and at 8-35 p.m. he died without a struggle or apparently having any pain. His sanity did not return in his last hours.—*The Times* (January 31st, 1820).

ALTHOUGH memoirs of this period are surprisingly deficient in records of the King's last illness, newspapers now become available as authorities. George III seems to have died merely of senile decay, and probably owed his prolonged existence to the protection given him by his insanity. He was totally blind and deaf and for ten years had never had a sane interval. The reports on his alienation which his physicians presented to the House of Lords are not quoted. His physical health seems to have been good until the last few months of his life. His father died apparently from abscess of the lung, and his grandfather reached the age of seventy-seven.

GEORGE IV. (Son).

Born, August 12th, 1762; *died* (67), June 26th, 1830, Windsor; *buried*, Windsor.

(a) *15th April*.—His Majesty has had a bilious attack accompanied by an embarrassment in breathing. His Majesty though free from fever is languid and weak.

19th April.—His Majesty continues to suffer occasionally from attacks of embarrassment in his breathing.

27th April.—The King continues as well as his Majesty has been for several days past until this morning, when his Majesty experienced a return of the embarrassment of his breathing. His Majesty is now again better.

1st May.—The King felt himself better all yesterday, but his Majesty has passed but an indifferent night.

16th May.—The King has not had a very good night, but still his Majesty feels himself better.

23rd May.—The King passed a good night, but his Majesty suffered from the embarrassment in his breathing occasionally.

8th June.—The King passed a very distressing day yesterday, but his Majesty has had some refreshing sleep in the night, and is better this morning.

19th June.—The King has not slept well. His Majesty has found his respiration more difficult from time to time in the night.

20th June.—The King's rest has been interrupted by cough, with expectoration during the night, His Majesty complains less, however, this morning.

24th June.—The King's cough continues, with con-

siderable expectoration. His Majesty has slept at intervals in the night, but complains of great languor to-day.

25th June.—The King has slept at intervals during the night, the cough and expectoration continue much the same, but his Majesty is more languid and weak.

26th June.—It has pleased Almighty God to take from this world the King's most excellent Majesty. The King expired at a quarter past three o'clock this morning without pain.—*Official Bulletins, Lancet, 1830.*

(b) 1st May.—The King is in a very uncertain state indeed: the opinion of the medical men is that there is an accumulation of fat in the region of the heart which produces the embarrassment of breathing and palpitation. The disease is not water on the chest nor asthma.—*Private Letter.*

29th June.—During the last few days his Majesty's constitution evinced appearances of the rapid approach of dissolution. On Thursday and Friday (June 24th and 25th) except when painfully suffering from paroxysms of coughing and expectoration the Royal sufferer remained in a state of stupor apparently free from bodily pain. On Friday about the middle of the day the attendant physicians perceived that their royal patient was rapidly sinking. His Majesty languished until a quarter past three o'clock on Saturday morning, when without the slightest indication of pain he quietly breathed his last.

His late Majesty laboured under a complication of disorders. The pulsation of the heart was impeded and the action of the pulse was affected. There was also an effusion of water under the skin; there might also be water in other parts but the King could not be considered to have the dropsy as it is generally understood. When the cough and expectoration made their appearance, his Majesty got rid of all his other symptoms. These however proved the cause of his death.

The lungs latterly became affected, and the effect of the cough and expectoration was very weakening. The bursting of a blood-vessel during one of his Majesty's violent attacks of coughing accelerated the event and it became apparent on Friday that the period of dissolution might soon arrive . . . The King did not suffer pain, indeed his Majesty expressed himself as feeling quite well but very tired and disposed to sleep. The dropsical symptoms had entirely disappeared and the cough and expectoration might have continued some time longer without destroying life, but in one of his Majesty's violent attacks of cough a small blood-vessel gave way and loss of blood quickened the exhaustion of his frame.—*Aberdeen Journal*.

(c) The cough seems to be dependent on the impeded flow of blood through the left side of the heart by which it was thrown back upon the lungs so as to produce congestion. Considerable portions of the lungs are congested from the previous attacks of inflammation with which His Majesty has been repeatedly afflicted. His sufferings towards the last were considerably alleviated excepting during the fits of coughing. On Friday night he appeared tranquil and slept at intervals: the expectoration had ceased in the early part of the evening: about three o'clock on Saturday morning he asked to be removed from his bed to his night chair. In this position partial relief was afforded but in a few minutes he appeared very faint, asked for sal volatile and expired almost instantly after.—*Observer, June 28th, 1830*.

(d) The body exhibited but little sign of putrefaction and the anasarca had disappeared excepting some slight remains of it in the thighs. Notwithstanding the apparent emaciation of His Majesty's person, a very large quantity of fat was found between the skin and the abdominal muscles. The omentum and all those parts in which fat is usually deposited were

excessively loaded with it. The abdomen did not contain more than an ounce of water. The stomach and intestines were somewhat contracted; they were of a darker colour than natural in consequence of their containing mucus tinged with blood, and in the stomach was found a clot of pure blood weighing about six ounces. The liver was pale and had an unhealthy granulated appearance. The spleen, although larger than usual, was not otherwise diseased, and the pancreas was in a sound state. The sigmoid flexure of the large intestine had formed unnatural adhesions to the bladder, accompanied by a solid inflammatory deposit of the size of an orange. Upon a careful examination of this tumour, a sac or cavity was found in its centre, which contained an urinary calculus of the size of a filbert, and this cavity communicated by means of a small aperture with the interior of the bladder at its fundus. In other respects the bladder was healthy and the prostate gland did not appear to be enlarged. The kidneys were also free from disease. *Thorax*: Two pints of water were found in the cavity of the right side, and three pints and three quarters in the left side of the chest. The left lung was considerably diminished. The lower edge of each lobe of the lungs had a remarkable fringe, which upon examination was found to be formed by a deposit of fat. The substance of the lungs had undergone no change of structure, but the mucous membrane lining the air tubes was of a dark colour in consequence of its vessels being turgid with blood. The pericardium contained about half an ounce of fluid, but its opposite surfaces in several parts adhered to each other from inflammation at some remote period. Upon the surface of the heart and pericardium there was a large quantity of fat, and the muscular substance of the heart was so tender as to be lacerated by the slightest force. It was much larger than natural. Its cavities upon the right side presented no unusual

appearance, but those on the left side were much dilated, more especially the auricle. The three semi-lunar valves at the beginning of the aorta were ossified throughout their substance and the inner coat of that blood-vessel presented an irregular surface and was in many parts ossified. The immediate cause of His Majesty's dissolution was the rupture of a blood-vessel in the stomach.—*The Lancet*, 1830.

IN all sixty-six official bulletins were issued but all were revised by the King, and the few quoted show how little information they gave even when he was in a dying state. His illness began in January with a severe cough, and for this large amounts of blood were removed from him at four sittings. He had at this time no sign of gout in the extremities. His health was better until the early part of March. A hard dry cough and wheezing persisted, and at the end of March he had much pain in some part in the urinary passages. His heart was then noticed to be affected. On April 12th he rode in the park for the last time, and while there complained of pain and faintness. In the beginning of June his legs were punctured to relieve dropsy, and the expectoration became free, containing much mucus; some difficulty in micturition persisted. The King had a great

dread of dropsy, from which his brother the Duke of York had suffered, but made no reduction in his diet. The report on the necropsy (by Sir Astley Cooper) renders detailed comment unnecessary. The vessel responsible for the gastrostaxis is not named. The liver was evidently cirrhotic; pericarditis was present; lungs and heart showed much fatty overgrowth; bronchitis was present; and probably there was fatty degeneration of the heart muscle with marked thickening of the aortic valve and the aorta. During his last years George IV had some remarkable delusions.

WILLIAM IV. (Brother).

Born August 21st, 1765; *died* (72) June 20th, 1837, Windsor; *buried*, Windsor.

(a) *2nd June*.—The King has been desperately ill, his pulse down at thirty : they think he will now get over it for this time.

11th June.—The King's state was bad enough though not for the moment alarming ; no disease but excessive weakness without power of rallying. On Wednesday it was announced for the first time that the King was alarmingly ill ; on Thursday the account was no better.

19th June.—Yesterday the King was sinking fast.

21st June.—The King died at twenty minutes after two o'clock yesterday morning.—*Charles Greville (Memoirs)*.

(b) *29th May*.—His Majesty is suffering from a species of asthma.

8th June.—His Majesty's illness is what has been called the " hay fever " a species of feverish asthma accompanied with or occasioned by a troublesome defluxion upon the lungs.

14th June.—On the afternoon of Monday after many distressing paroxysms of coughing and an increased inability to throw off the cause by expectoration he was attacked by " cold shiverings," and this distressing symptom continued at intervals throughout the day.

During the embalming it was ascertained that the immediate cause of his Majesty's death was inflammation of the upper part of the lungs, and moreover that such was the general debility and disorganisation

of the entire system, it was impossible for him to have lived many months even had the inflammation above mentioned been removed.—*Aberdeen Journal*, 1837.

(c) 9th June.—The King has suffered for some time from an affection of the chest, which confines his Majesty to his apartment and has produced considerable weakness but has not interrupted his usual attention to business.

16th June.—The King has had a good night and the symptoms of his Majesty's disorder are less urgent. His Majesty is feeble but his attention to business has scarcely been interrupted.

18th June.—The symptoms of the King's disease have not increased, but his Majesty is more feeble to-day.

19th June.—The King continues in a very weak and feeble state, notwithstanding his Majesty had some quiet sleep in the night. After transacting his usual business yesterday his Majesty received the Sacrament.

20th June.—His Majesty expired at twelve minutes past two o'clock this morning.

In the right cavity of the chest was an effusion of about 14 ounces of serous fluid. The lung on that side was nowhere adherent, the vessels of the lower lobe were very much tinged with blood, and the air cells contained a mucous and serous fluid having a bloody tinge. The left lung adhered generally and with great firmness to the surface of the pleura lining the chest. These adhesions appear to have resulted from former attacks of inflammation. The vessels of this lung were also tinged with blood and its lower portion was somewhat indurated. The rings of the trachea and bronchi were ossified to a great extent : and the lining membrane was of a dark colour in consequence of the distended state of the vessels. The pericardium adhered universally to the surface of the heart, but these adhesions were slight and appeared to be of very

recent formation. The heart itself was large and softened in its texture. Its right side was extremely distended with blood, but exhibited no marks of organic disease. On the left side of the heart the mitral valves were found to be ossified: and the three semilunar valves of the aorta were in the same state. The ossification was in two of them to such an extent that it must have materially interfered with their functions. The coats of the aorta were much thickened, and on its inner membrane there were several deposits of earthy matter. The liver was somewhat enlarged and hardened, and was of a granulated structure throughout. The gall-bladder was extremely contracted and contained but little bile. The spleen was increased to double its natural size and a large portion of its surface was covered with a cartilaginous deposit. The pancreas was enlarged and indurated. The stomach and intestines were healthy except at one part of the large intestine, which was narrowed by a thickening of its inner membrane. The right kidney was quite sound, but the left was unusually vascular, and exhibited a granular appearance; the investing membrane adhered very slightly to it. The bladder was in a healthy state.—*Lancet* (1830).

WILLIAM was almost seventy-two years old when he died. He had cirrhotic liver and gouty kidney; the annular thickening of the colon may have been malignant or merely fibrous, but does not seem to have been enough to have caused obstruction. Degeneration of the heart muscle was present, with valvular disease as it was in his predecessor's heart. This may explain the low

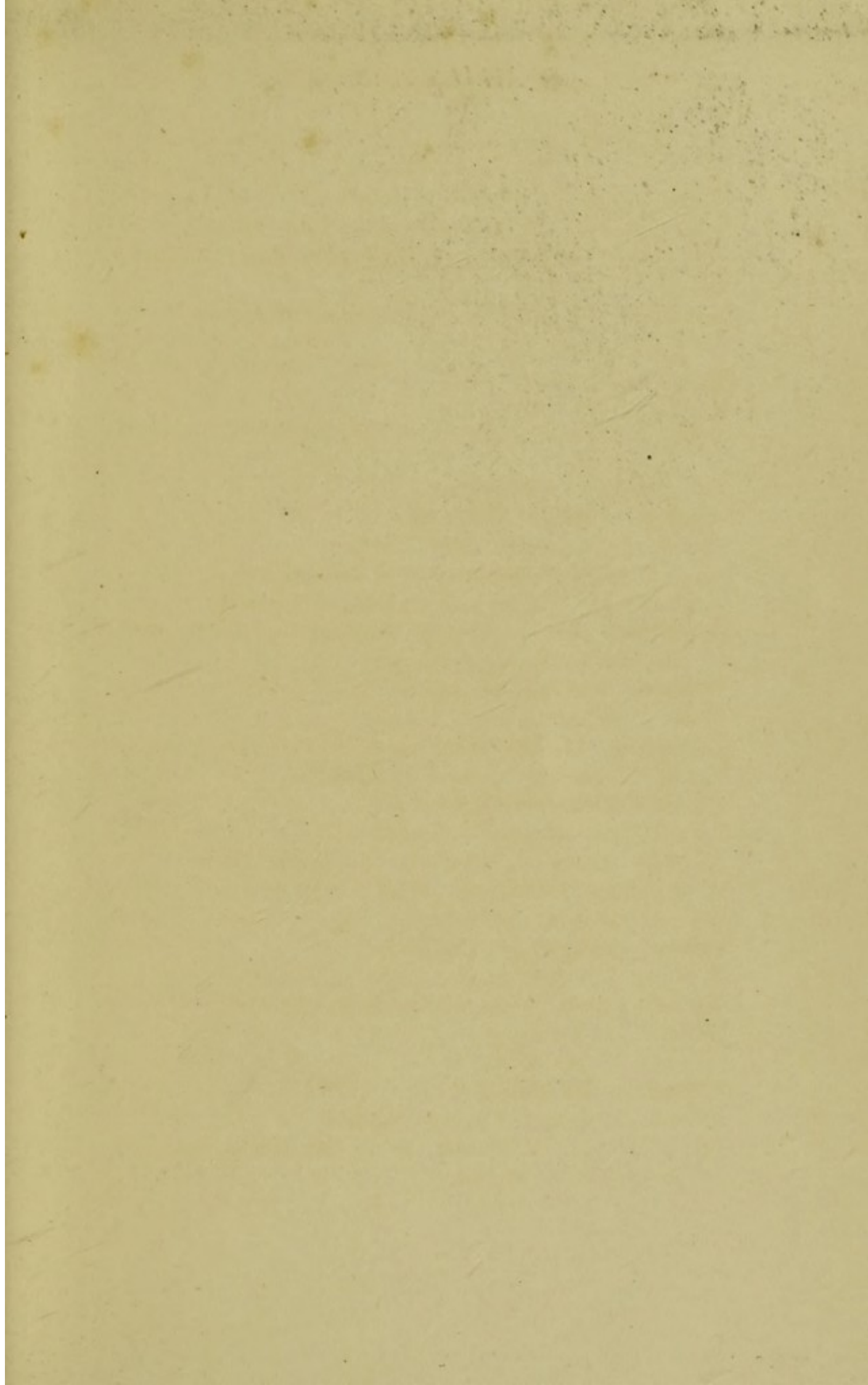
pulse-rate mentioned in the first quotation from Greville. The acute disorders present were pleuro-pneumonia on the right side with effusion, and pericarditis, and at his age William must have offered little resistance to such an infection.

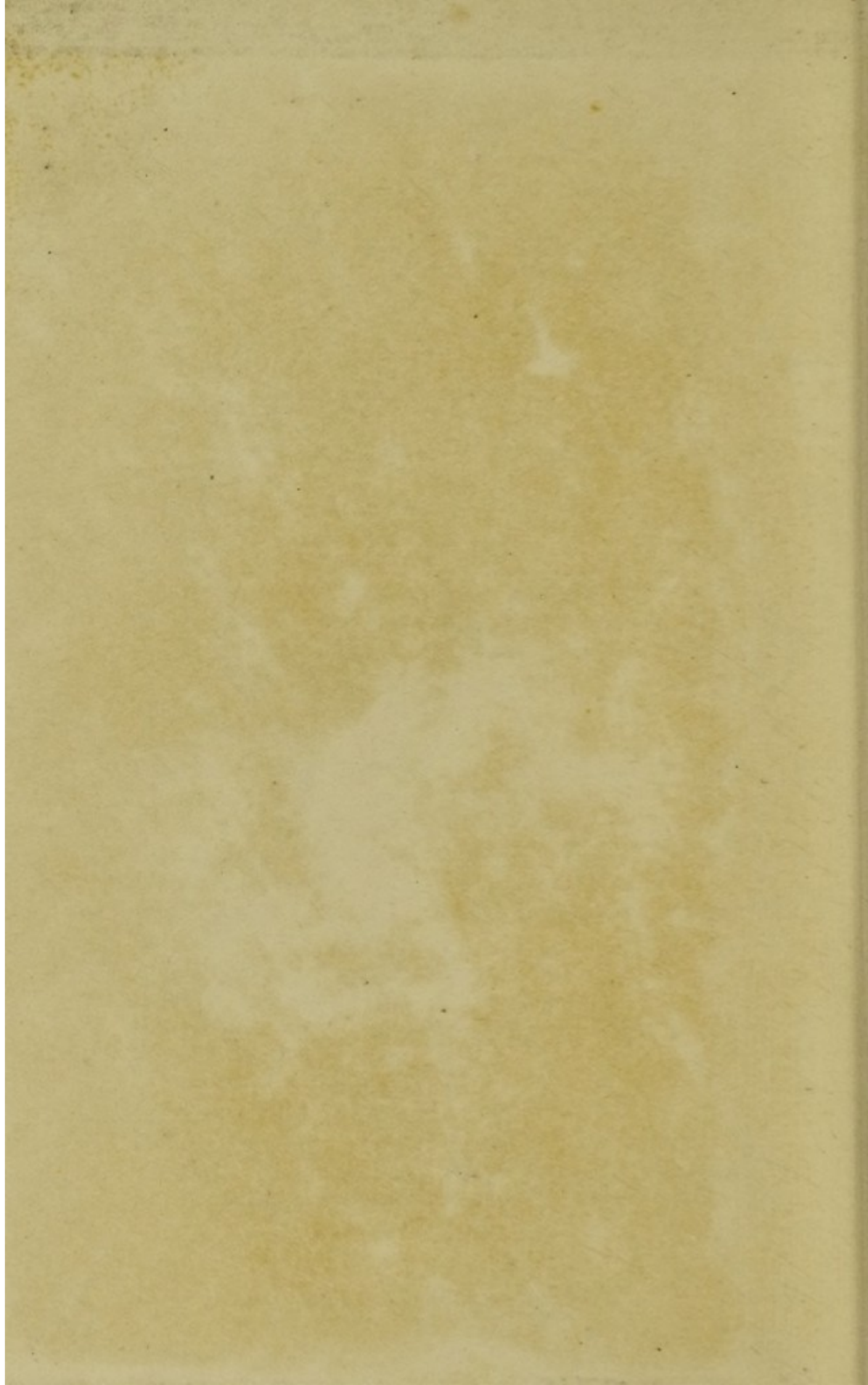
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