

XXII.—*On the Funeral Effigies of the Kings and Queens of England, with special reference to those in the Abbey Church of Westminster.* By W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, Esq., M.A. With a note on the Westminster tradition of identification by the VERY REV. JOSEPH ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D., F.S.A., Dean of Westminster.

Read 31st January, 1907.

THERE used to be exhibited in the Abbey Church of Westminster, distinct from the later and better known "Waxworks," a remarkable series of figures of deceased royal and noble personages, that came to be known as "the Ragged Regiment," from the condition to which most of them had been reduced by course of time.

They were the survivors of a custom, now fallen into disuse, of carrying upon the coffin in the funeral procession a representation or "picture" of the dead king or queen, arrayed in apparel befitting his or her dignity, and with the face and hands modelled in wax or carved in wood, and painted to the life.

Some little time ago these Westminster figures were taken out of the cupboard in Abbot Islip's upper chapel, in which they had for a long time been hidden away, in order that they might be photographed by our Fellow, Sir Benjamin Stone. Before replacing them it was thought desirable that they should be examined and reported on, and application was accordingly made to the Dean and Chapter to allow them to be exhibited at a meeting of the Society. As this was deemed unadvisable owing to the dilapidated state of the figures, a Special Committee, consisting of the members of the Executive Committee, together with Viscount Dillon, Mr. Seymour Lucas, R.A., Sir Richard Holmes, and Mr. Lionel H. Cust, was appointed to examine and report upon them.

By the courtesy of the Dean and Chapter every facility was given to the Committee, which paid several visits to Westminster and made a careful investigation of the figures. A series of descriptive notes of them were also drawn up, with some interesting extracts relating to them from the public records, for which the Committee was indebted to Lord Dillon.

The original idea was that the results of the Committee's labours should be embodied in a Report to the Council, the drawing up of which was deputed to

Mr. Micklethwaite and your Assistant Secretary, but the lamented death of the former has necessitated a modification of the first scheme, of which the paper we have the honour of laying before you is the outcome.

The question as to when the custom of carrying such figures began in England can best be answered by reviewing the circumstances of the death and burial, first of our kings and queens, and then of those of their consorts; and inasmuch as the present abbey church of Westminster was founded by King Edward the Confessor, whose body still rests within it, the inquiry may fitly begin with him.

King Edward died at Westminster on 5th January, 1065-6, and was buried the following day on the Feast of the Epiphany in the newly hallowed abbey church of St. Peter before the high altar. No better or earlier authority can be cited as to the king's death and burial than the famous stitchwork of Bayeux. This shows us, first, the king on his death-bed, with the inscription

HIC EADWARDVS REX IN LECTO ALLOQUITVR FIDELES;

secondly, his dead body being laid out under the superintendence of Archbishop Stigand, with the inscription

ET HIC DEFUNCTVS EST;

and thirdly, the king's body borne on a bier and covered by a pall with the explanatory legend

HIC PORTATVR : CORPVS : EADWARDI : REGIS : AD : ECCLESIAM : STI PETRI APL'I.

The nearly contemporary Life of King Edward among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum ^a simply says of the funeral:

Parantur illa funebria regio, ut decebat, sumptu et honore, et cum omnium infinito mœrore.^b

The dead king was certainly buried in royal apparel, for the inventory of the vestry of the abbey taken in 1388 specifies three copes which were made out of certain cloths removed from the king's coffin in 1163:

Item tres cape Sancti Edwardi in quibus fuerat sepultus unde prima glaucei coloris cum talentis. Secunda rubea cum lunis. Tercia cum aquilis.^c

Concerning the burial of King Edward's successor, Harold, after his death

^a MS. 526.

^b *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, ed. H. R. Luard (Rolls Series 3), 434.

^c *Archæologia*, lii. 257.

on the battlefield near Hastings, there are two accounts: the one, that his body was wrapped in a purple cloth and carried to the Conqueror's camp by the sea, where it was honourably buried on the shore by William Malet under a stone with his name and title;^a the other that the corpse was taken to Waltham, and laid to rest in the minster which Harold had built there.^b For each of these

^a 573 "Heraldi corpus collegit dilaceratum,
Collectum texit sindone purpurea;
Detulit et secum repetens sua castra marina,
Expleat ut solitas funeris exequias.
Heraldi mater, nimio constricta dolore,
Misit adusque Ducem, postulat et precibus,
Orbatæ miseræ natis tribus, et viduatæ,
580 Pro tribus uni[u]s reddat ut ossa sibi;
Si placet, aut corpus puro præponderet auro.
Sed Dux iratus prorsus utrumque negat:

Jurans quod potius præsentis littora portus
Illi committet aggere sub lapidum.
Ergo velut fuerat testatus, rupis in alto
Præcepit claudi vertice corpus humi.
Extemplo quidam, partim Normannus et Anglus,
Compater Heraldi, jussa libentur agit:
Corpus enim Regis cito sustulit et sepelivit,
590 Imponens lapidem, scripsit et in titulo:
*Per mandata Ducis, Rex hic Heralde quiescis
Ut custos maneat litoris et pelagi."*
Guy of Amiens, *De Bello Normannico*.

"Heraldus quibusdam signis est, non facie, recognitus, et in castra ducis delatus, ac ad tumulandum prope littus maris, quod diu cum armis servaverat, Guillelmo agnomine Maletto victoris jussu traditur."
Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. iii. (ed. Prevost, 1840), ii. 151.

^b "Ipse carens omni decore quibusdam signis, nequaquam facie, recognitus est, et in castra Ducis delatus, qui tumulandum eum Guillelmo agnomine Maletto concessit, non matri pro corpore dilectæ prolis auri par pondus offerenti. Scivit enim non decere tali commercio aurum accipi. Æstimavit indignum fore ad matris libitum sepeliri, cujus ob nimiam cupiditatem insepulti remanerent innumerabiles. Dictum est illudendo, oportere situm esse custodem litoris et pelagi, quæ cum armis ante vesanus insedit. Nos tibi, Heralde, non insultamus, sed cum pio victore tuam ruinam lach[r]ymato miseramur et plangimus te. Vicisti digno te proventu, ad meritum tuum et in cruore jacuisti, et in littoreo tumulo jaces, et posthumæ generationi tam Anglorum quam Normannorum abominabilis eris."—William of Poitiers, *Gesta Guillelmi Ducis Normannorum et Regis Anglorum*, in Duchesne's *Historiæ Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui* (Paris, 1619), 204.

Li Reis Heraut fu emportez 14093
E à Varham fu enterrez
Maiz jo ne sai ki l'emporte
Ne jo ne sui ki l'enterra.

Wace, *Roman de Rou*.

§ "Ille, ubi perfecta victoria potitus est, suos sepeliendos mirifice curavit; hostibus quoque si qui vellent, idem exequendi licentiam præbuit. Corpus Haroldi matri repetenti sine pretio misit, licet illa multum per legatos obtulisset; acceptum itaque apud Waltham sepelivit, quam ipse ecclesiam, ex proprio constructam in honore sanctæ Crucis, canonicis impleverat."—William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, lib. iii. (ed. Stubbs, Rolls Series 90) ii. 306, 307.

stories there is such good evidence that probably both are right, and the burial on the beach may well have been followed by a later translation to Waltham. Of this second burial there are no further details than the statement of the Waltham chronicler, that the body was borne thither *cum magno honore*.^a

On the death of William the Conqueror, which took place at Rouen on 9th September, 1087, the nobles and royal officers who had kept watch over the dying king rode away and left his dead body to its fate. Their servants thereupon despoiled the royal chamber of all they could, arms, vessels, clothes and linen, and all the furniture, leaving the king's body almost naked on the floor, where it lay for a whole day. The archbishop of Rouen ordered the body to be borne to Caen and buried in the church of St. Stephen, which William had founded.

After sundry untoward events this was done, and it is clear from the very detailed account of the burial given by Orderic that the king's body was borne upon a bier and thrust into a stone coffin which was too small for it, with results that even the cloud of incense about the grave failed to mitigate.^b

The king's grave was opened in 1522 to gratify the curiosity of a cardinal, an archbishop, and a Roman bishop, "when the body was found still to all appearance in the condition in which it had been buried in the tomb." It was again opened, this time to be utterly destroyed, by the Calvinists in 1562, and the contents are thus described by an eye-witness, M. Charles de Bourgueville, Sieur de Bras :

Les ossemens de ce Roy, qui furent trouvez dedans son Tombeau, estoient couverts d'un Candal ou Taffetas rouge, d'estaint, comme la couleur en estoit apparente. Et estoient

^a The anonymous Waltham chronicler, a canon of the abbey who wrote about 1180, describes how two of the canons of Harold's college sought the body of Harold on the battlefield, and eventually found it by the aid of the king's mistress, Edith Swanneshals :

"Quam cum adduxisset Osegodus, et inter strages mortuorum pluribus indicibus ipsa corpus regis Haroldi designasset, aptatum feretro, multis heroum Normanniæ comitatus honorem corpori exhibentibus, usque ad Pontem Belli qui nunc dicitur, ab ipsis fratribus, et multa supervenientium copiositate Anglorum, qui audierant eorum imminens excidium, quia numquam fuit Anglis cognata Normannorum societas, cum magno honore corpus Waltham deductum sepelierunt, ubi usque hodie . . . pro certo quiescit Walthamiæ." W. Stubbs, *The Foundation of Waltham Abbey* (Oxford and London, 1861), 30.

^b "Expleta missa, cum jam sarcophagum in terra locatum esset, sed corpus adhuc in feretro jaceret, magnus Gislebertus, Ebroicensis episcopus, in pulpitu[m] ascendit, et prolixam locutionem de magnificentia defuncti principis eloquenter protelavit . . . Porro, dum corpus in sarcophagum mitteretur, et violenter, quia vas per imprudentiam cæmentariorum breve structum erat, complicare-

encores inherantes à la teste, les Maschoires, et plusieurs dents, et les autres ossements, tant des jambes, cuisses, que des bras, fort longs: lesquels ossementz je fis bailler à Dom frere Michel de Cemalle, l'un des Religieux, et Bailly de ladite Abbaye, par un nommé François de Gron, marchand du Bourg l'Abbé, l'un de ces desmollisseurs presence de Domp Gilles le Mercier, et d'un autre nommé Radul, et quelques autres Religieux, etc.^a

Of the death or murder of King William II. (Rufus) in the New Forest, on 2nd August, 1100, all that is certainly known is told in the short statement of the English Chronicle :

and þaer æfter on morgen æfter hlam mæsse dæge weard se cyng Willelm on huntnode fram his anan men mid anre fla of sceoten.^b

“His own men” quickly dispersed, and William of Malmesbury says that a few rustics carried the body, laid in a wagon, to Winchester, with the blood dripping in a wavy line all the way.^c Orderic adds that a multitude of clerks, monks, citizens, and others met the king's corpse, and for reverence of the royal dignity buried it quickly in the Old Minster of St. Peter.^d But the clergy, bearing in mind the king's sordid life and fearful end, thought him unworthy of absolution, so no bells were sounded nor the office for the dead said over him.

The so-called tomb of the king now in the quire of Winchester, a recent opening of which is described in our *Archaeologia*,^e is beyond question that of bishop Henry de Blois, who was buried in the middle of the presbytery, where the tomb had stood undisturbed until 1868. The king's tomb, whatever it was, was crushed by the fall of the steeple in 1107, and all that remains of his bones now rests in one of the relic chests on the north side of the presbytery.

King Henry I. died in the castle of Lions on 1st December, 1135, and on

tur, pinguissimus venter crepuit, et intolerabilis foetor circum astantes personas et reliquum vulgus implevit. Fumus thuris, aliorumque aromatum, de thuribulis copiose ascendebat; sed teterrimum putorem excludere non prævalebat. Sacerdotes itaque festinabant exequias perficere, et actutum sua cum pavore mappalia repetere.” Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. vii. (Ed. A. le Prevost, Paris, 1845), iii. 251-254.

^a Charles de Bourgueville, sieur du lieu, de Bras, et de Brucourt, *Les Recherches et Antiquitez de la Ville et Université de Caen* (Caen, 1588), 171, 172.

^b Ed. Earle and Plummer (Oxford, 1892), i. 235.

^c “Pauci rusticanorum cadaver, in rheda caballaria compositum, Wintoniam in episcopatum devexere, cruore undatim per totam viam stillante.” William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, lib. iv. (Rolls Series 90), ii. 379.

^d Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. 10 (ed. A. le Prevost), iv. 89.

^e Vol. xlii. 309-321.

the following day, according to Orderic,^a his body was carried to Rouen, attended by an escort of 20,000 men, and received into the metropolitan church of Our Lady. There at night, "in a certain recess of the great church," says William of Malmesbury, the body was disemboweled and roughly embalmed, and then taken on to Caen, where it lay for several weeks in the abbey church of St. Stephen waiting for a fair wind to bring it to England. This came soon after Christmas, and the royal corpse was then brought over in a ship and buried in the abbey church of Reading.

William of Malmesbury^b gives no further details than the disemboweling, and the burial of the entrails in the church of St. Mary de Pratis, near Rouen. Orderic says the gross body of the king was opened by a skilful butcher and preserved with fragrant balsam.

A far more detailed account of the treatment of the king's corpse is given by Henry of Huntingdon, which had better be given in the forcible language of the original :^c

Corpus autem regis Henrici adhuc insepultum erat in Normannia. Rex namque Henricus prima die Decembris obierat; cujus corpus allatum est Rothomagum, et ibi viscera ejus et cerebrum et oculi consepulta sunt. Reliquum autem corpus cultellis circumquaque dissectum et multo sale aspersum coriis taurinis reconditum est, causa fœtoris evitandi, qui multus et infinitus jam circumstantes inficiebat. Unde et ipse qui magno pretio conductus securi caput ejus diffiderat, ut fœtidissimum cerebrum extraheret, quamvis linteaminibus caput suum obvolvisset, mortuus tamen ea causa pretio male gavisus est.

After the removal of the body to St. Stephen's church at Caen the arch-deacon says :

quamvis multo sale repletum esset et multis coriis reconditum, tamen continue ex corpore niger humor et horribilis coria pertransiens decurrebat, et vasis sub feretro susceptus a ministris horrore fatiscientibus abjiciebatur.

This gruesome account of the imperfect attempt to embalm King Henry's body is not without interest in the present inquiry, as showing, first that the corpse was, as in King Edward's case, carried uncoffined on a bier, and secondly that it was not thought necessary to expose the face, since in this instance the body was completely encased in bulls' hides, and, it is presumed, further covered by a pall or hersecloth.

^a Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, x. § 19 (ed. A. le Prevost), v. 51.

^b William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella* (Rolls Series 90), ii. 537.

^c *Henrici Archidiaconi Huntendunensis Historia Anglorum* (Rolls Series 74), 256, 257.

King Stephen ended his turbulent reign on 25th October, 1154, in the priory of St. Martin at Dover, whence his body was carried first to Canterbury, and then to Faversham, where it was buried by the side of his wife and his son in the church of the monastery of the Holy Saviour which he had founded.

No details of his funeral seem to have been recorded by any of the historians of his time, and the exact spot where he was buried is also unknown.

King Henry II. died at Chinon on 6th July, 1189.

According to the chronicle known as that of Benedict of Peterborough:^a

On the morrow of his death, when he was carried to be buried clothed in royal apparel, wearing a golden crown on his head, and having gloves on his hands and a golden ring on his finger, a sceptre in his hand, footgear woven with gold, and spurs on his feet, girt with a sword, he lay having his face uncovered.

On hearing of the king's death, his son Count Richard hastened to meet the corpse, but on his approach the blood gushed from the nostrils, as if the father's spirit were indignant at his coming. The weeping son nevertheless accompanied the corpse to Fontevraud, where it was buried, "*juxta magnificentiam regiam*," says William of Newburgh.

The apparently novel fact of the king's body lying on the bier invested with the royal ornaments and with the face uncovered was also thought worthy of record by Matthew Paris,^b and there can be no doubt whatever that the effigy still preserved at Fontevraud actually represents the dead king as he was carried to his burial; the only difference being that the sword wherewith he is said to have been girded is laid by his side upon the bier. The robes in which he is shown arrayed are those that were put upon him at his coronation.

It may be of interest also to refer to the accounts of the burial of the younger King Henry, eldest son of King Henry II., who was crowned in his father's lifetime, but died at Martel on 11th June, 1183.

The Chronicle of Benedict says that as soon as he was dead, his servants took out his bowels and his brain, and after sprinkling the body with much salt,

^a "In crastino autem obitus illius, cum portaretur ad sepeliendum vestitus regio apparatu, gestans coronam auream in capite, et habens chirothecas [in] manus et annulum aureum in digito, et sceptrum in manu, et calceamenta auro texta, et calcaria in pedibus, cinctus gladio, jacebat habens vultum discoopertum." *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* (Rolls Series 49), ii. 71.

^b *Chronica Majora* (Rolls Series 57), ii. 344.

wrapped it in lead and bulls' hides, so that they might carry it to Rouen, where young Henry had desired to be buried. On its way thither the royal corpse came to Le Mans, where the bishop and people insisted on keeping it, and honourably buried it in the metropolitan church of St. Julian. Owing, however, to a quarrel between the people of Rouen and those of Le Mans about the place of burial, the body was taken up, and by command of King Henry finally buried in the church of Our Lady at Rouen on 22nd July.^a

Much the same account, including that of the rude embalming, is given by Roger of Howden.^b

Another contemporary chronicler, Ralph de Diceto, the dean of St. Paul's, though recording the young king's death, says nothing about the embalming, but gives the further interesting information that the body of the king lay upon a bier, carefully vested in the linen vestments anointed with cream which he had at his consecration, and so was carried upon the shoulders of his companions to Le Mans.^c Matthew Paris also thought it worth while to record the same fact about the linen vestments.^d

The younger King Henry is the first who is stated to have been buried in lead.^e

King Richard I. died at Chaluz, in Limousin, on 6th April, 1199, of the effects of an arrow wound received some twelve days before. By his own wish his body was buried at his father's feet at Fontevraud, his "unconquerable heart" (as Matthew Paris calls it) at Rouen, and his bowels at Chaluz as a gift to the Pictavians. No account of the funeral seems to have been chronicled, but the king's body was no doubt treated as he ordered, and finally buried at Fontevraud.

The effigy there preserved represents, like that of his father, the royal corpse laid out upon a bier, with the crown and coronation ornaments in which he was carried to his burial; and it differs in a decided way from the effigy discovered

^a *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* (Rolls Series 49), i. 301, 303, 304.

^b *Chronica Rogeri de Hoveden* (Rolls Series 51), ii. 280.

^c "Corpus regis, quas habuit in sua consecratione lineis vestibus crismate delibutis diligentius involutum, in libitina reponitur, et impositum humeris commilitonum suorum per vicus, per castella, per civitates, concurrentibus undique populis, deportatur, quousque Cenomannis intraret, et in choro beati Juliani deponeretur." Ralph de Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum* (Rolls Series 68), ii. 20.

^d *Chronica Majora* (Rolls Series 57), ii. 319.

^e The Archdeacon of Wells says he was buried at Rouen *in loculo stanneo*. Thomas Agnellus, *De morte et sepultura Henrici Regis Junioris* (Rolls Series 66), 272.

under the pavement at Rouen in 1838,^a with the leaden coffer and a silver plate inscribed :

† HIC : ITCET : COR : RICARDI : REGIS : ANGLORVM :

which represents the king alive, with his feet resting against a lion. That Richard was actually buried in his coronation robes is proved by an entry in the *Annals of Winchester* :

Scitu quidem dignum est quod dictus rex sepultus est cum eadem corona et cæteris insignibus regalibus, quibus præcedenti quinto anno coronatus et infulatus fuerat apud Wintoniam.^b

The reference here is to the king's *second* crowning in 1194.

King John ended his stormy reign in Newark Castle on 19th October, 1216, and according to Roger of Wendover his body adorned in royal fashion was carried to Worcester and honourably buried in the cathedral church there by the bishop of the place. This was in accordance with the king's will, which directs that his body be buried in the church of St. Mary and St. Wulstan of Worcester. Matthew Paris says in addition that the abbot of Croxton, a very skilful physician who had attended the king in his last illness, made an anatomy of the body, that it might be the more decently carried, and having copiously sprinkled the viscera with salt, transported them to his own house (*i.e.* Croxton Abbey), and there honourably buried them. The Coggeshall chronicler states that the king's "disemboweled body" was carried to Worcester, but does not say what became of the internal parts.

The vigorous English effigy of the king, in Purbeck marble, now disfigured by the coating of gold-leaf applied by the Office of Works in 1873, represents him in his coronation vestments: a tunic, a girded dalmatic, and mantle, with the crown on his head, jewelled gloves on his hands, and the buskins, sandals, and spurs on his feet. In his right hand he has the remains of the sceptre and in the left a naked sword. On either side of the head is a bishop with a censer, perhaps St. Wulstan and St. Oswald, and beneath the feet a couchant lion. The neck-band and cuffs of the dalmatic, together with the crown, gloves, belt, and sword, and the mitres, etc. of the bishops, have sockets for the imitation jewels with which they were adorned.

In July, 1797, the king's tomb and coffin were opened and examined. From an account published shortly after by Mr. Valentine Green, "the dress in which the body of the king was found appears also to have been similar to that in which

^a *Archæologia*, xxix. 202-216, and plates xx, xxi.

^b *Annales Monastici* (Rolls Series 36), ii. 71.

his figure is represented on the tomb, excepting the gloves on its hands and the crown on its head, which on the skull in the coffin was found to be the celebrated monk's cowl, in which he is recorded to be buried, as a passport through the regions of purgatory."^a

The contents of the coffin were only superficially examined, but the body was certainly clothed as on the effigy, and remains of the buskins, etc. were left upon the feet. Down the left side, in a leather scabbard, was a sword which had been grasped by the left hand. There can be no doubt therefore that the effigy represents the king in the royal fashion in which he was carried to his burial.

The only contemporary writer who seems to have left any detailed account of the burial of King Henry III. is the canon of Oseney, Thomas Wykes. After noting the death of the king, which took place at Westminster on Wednesday, the 16th November, 1272, he continues :

On the following Sunday, namely on the feast of the most blessed king and martyr Edmund, he was buried with the honour that was due in that very noble church of Westminster which with sumptuous and incomparable work he had built from the foundations, the great men of the kingdom being at the expense of the accustomed rites; indeed his body, adorned with the most precious robes and the royal crown, as was seemly, in the opinion of those taking part, when it was borne to the tomb in a portable coffin by the more noble persons of the kingdom chosen for this duty, shone out with greater splendour of glory when dead than it had before appeared when living; because it happened, by a wonderful but notable accident, that in the same place in which the most blessed king and confessor Edward had been buried, and rested for many years, before his relics were translated to the shrine, the body of King Henry, who was wont while living to love St. Edward before all the saints and to venerate him with a fuller devotion, not ignobly placed, was consigned to its earthly sepulchre."^b

^a Valentine Green, *An account of the discovery of the body of King John, in the cathedral church of Worcester, July 17th, 1797* (London and Worcester, 1797), 4.

^b "Dominica proxima sequente, videlicet in festo beatissimi regis et martyris Edmundi, in nobilissima basilica Westmonasterii, quam opere sumptuoso et incomparabili a fundamentis extruxerat, regni magnatibus exequias debitas impendentibus, cum ea qua decuit honorificentia tumultus: sane corpus ipsius pretiosissimis indumentis et diademate regio, prout decuit, adornatum, omni assistentium judicio, cum a nobilioribus regni ad hoc officium præelectis in locello portatili deferretur ad tumulum, ampliori splendore decoris effulgebat mortuum, quam prius dum vixerat appareret; siquidem eventu miro sed notabili contigit, quod in eodem loco quo beatissimus rex et confessor Edwardus sepultus extiterat, et annis plurimis, priusquam ipsius reliquæ translatae fuissent in scrinium requievit, corpus regis Henrici, qui eundem Sanctum Edwardum dum vixit præ cunctis sanctis diligere consuevit et ampliori devotione venerari, non ignobiliter collocatum, humanæ traditum est sepulturæ." *Chronicon Thomae Wykes in Annales Monastici* (Rolls Series 36), iv. 252.

In other words, King Henry was buried before the high altar in the same grave in which the Confessor's body had been laid in 1065. This was in accordance with the arrangement the king had made so long before as 1230, by a charter now among the Abbey archives.

In connexion with Wykes's account of the funeral several points arise. In the first place he mentions what was clearly a new departure, that the king's body was borne to the grave in a coffin, *in locello portatili*. That *locellus* implies a receptacle of some kind and not an open bier is shown by Wykes's previous reference to the translation by King Henry of the body of the Confessor in 1269, "because he could no longer endure his venerable relics lying *locello quodam humili*." But if King Henry's corpse was laid in a coffin, how could it be seen to be adorned with precious robes and the royal crown?

There is no need to question the statement of the chronicler, since the body of King Henry actually lies at this moment in the wooden coffin in which he was buried, in the marble tomb to which it was afterwards removed by his son. This was fully proved in November, 1871, when the tomb was opened in the presence of the late Dean Stanley and several other Fellows of this Society (all now dead) while the bronze effigy had been removed to be cleaned.^a

The explanation of the difficulty may perhaps be found in an account on the Patent Roll 4 Edward I. under date 20th January, 1275-6, of various sums paid on the king's behalf while he was yet abroad. Among the items there entered are:

Item pro trescentis libris Cere ad faciendam unam ymaginem pro nobis sex libras et duodecim solidos precij Centum et quadraginta quatuor solidorum quodlibet Centenarum. [= £6 12s.]

Item magistro Roberto de Beverlaco pro factura dicte ymaginis sexaginta sex solidos et octo denarios sterlingorum.^b [= 66s. 8d.]

Now it is not easy to see for what purpose an image involving the use of 300 lbs. of wax could have been made during King Edward's absence, but it seems reasonable to suppose, although the fact is not stated, that it was for the funeral procession of King Henry. If that were so, King Henry's was the first royal funeral in this country in which the corpse was withdrawn from public gaze, and represented merely by an image arrayed in the royal ornaments.

^a See the paper by the late Dean Stanley, "On an Examination of the Tombs of Richard II. and Henry III. in Westminster Abbey," in *Archæologia*, xlv. 317-322.

^b Patent Roll 4 Edward I. [95], m. 32. The price of the wax should be 44s. a hundred lbs. and not as erroneously entered by the scribe.

King Henry's body was probably embalmed in some way, for the *Annales Londonienses* aver that at its translation into the new tomb in 1290 it was 'integrum cum barba prolixa,'"^a and in accordance with his wish his heart was taken out to be buried in the abbey church of Fontevraud. It remained, however, at Westminster for nineteen years, until December, 1291, when it was formally handed over to the Abbess of Fontevraud who happened then to be in England.^b

King Edward I. died at Burgh-on-Sands on Friday, 7th July, 1307.

The body was embalmed in some way, closely enveloped in waxed cloth, and conveyed by slow stages to the abbey church of Waltham, where it remained from 4th August until the latter end of October.

The fact of the embalming is recorded in the contemporary rhyming chronicle of Peter Langtoft, the canon of Bridlington :

Maintenant après sa mort estait publye,
 Translatez est le corps par barnez e par clergie
 A Waltham près de Loundres, sa demene abbeye,
 Quatre mais enters sollempnement servye.
 Baumez juste sur bere.^c

On the removal of the body from Waltham it rested one night in the church of the Holy Trinity in London, the next in St. Paul's, and on the 27th in the abbey church of Westminster, where on the morrow, being the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude, it was buried behind the high altar to the north of St. Edward's shrine at the head of the tomb of King Henry III.

^a *Annales Londonienses* (Rolls Series 76), i. 98.

^b De corde Regis Henrici, liberato Abbatissæ Fontis Ebroldi, ad sepeliendum
 in Monasterio suo.

Rex omnibus ad quos, etc. salutem. Quia pro certo intelleximus quod celebris memorie Dominus Henricus quondam Rex Anglie pater noster ipso dudum existente apud Monasterium Fontis Ebroldi cor suum post ejus decessum eidem Monasterio promisit. Et dilecta nobis in Christo Abbatissa Monasterii predicti nuper in Angliam accedens cor illud sibi juxta promissionem predictam petiit liberari. Dilectus nobis in Christo Walterus Abbas Westmonasterii cor predictum integrum in presenciam venerabilium patrum A. Dunelmensis et R. Bathoniensis et Wellensis Episcoporum et dilectorum et fidelium nostrorum Edmundi fratris nostri et Willelmi de Valentia avunculi nostri et aliorum fidelium nostrorum plurimorum die Lune proximo ante festum beate Lucie virginis anno Regni nostri vicesimo in ecclesia Westmonasterii predictæ Abbatissæ de voluntate et precepto nostro liberavit ad predictum Monasterium Fontis Ebroldi deferendum et sepeliendum in eodem. In cujus etc. Teste Rege apud London tertio die Decembris.

Patent Roll 20 Edward I. m. 28. [Rymer, *Fœdera* (ed. 1727), ii. 533.]

^c Rolls Series 47, ii. 380, 382.

The several accounts of King Edward's funeral, beyond stating that it was conducted with all due ceremony, give no details of interest, and none makes any reference to the appearance of the coffin or to any image being carried outside it. It should, however, be noted that Robert of Bourn in his translation of Peter Langtoft's chronicle has :

Fro Waltham beforſaid to Weſtmynſter þei him brouht,
Biſide his fadere is laid in a tounge wele wrouht.
Of marble is þe ſtone, & putreied þer he lies.^a

The French original, however, merely ſays :

En près de ſon linage ore eſt le corps ſevelye,
A Weſtmouſter, en tounge de marble ben polye.^b

On 2nd May, 1774, the tomb of the king was opened and examined in the preſence of the Dean and two of the Prebendaries and certain Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries. From the detailed account published in *Archæologia*^c it appears that the king's body reſts within a Purbeck marble coffin, arrayed in the coronation ornaments, with the crown and the two ſceptres. The body was diſturbed as little as poſſible, but "its innermoſt covering ſeemed to have been a very fine linen cerecloth, dreſſed cloſe to every part of the body, and ſuperinduced with ſuch accuracy and exactneſs, that the fingers and thumbs of both the hands had each of them a ſeparate and diſtinct envelope of that material. The face, which had a ſimilar covering cloſely fitted thereto, retained its exact form, although part of the fleſh appeared to be ſomewhat waſted."^d The object of the investigation in queſtion was to teſt the truth of an oft-repeated ſtatement that the wax wrappings of the king's body had been conſtantly renewed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in accordance with the yearly warrants that occur from 1339 downwards. Even ſo recent a work as the Syllabus to Rymer's *Fœdera* ſtates more than once that the order is for the renewing of "the wax which covers the body." But the warrants themſelves invariably deſcribe it as *ceram circa corpus*. As a matter of fact therefore the wax was not provided for anything within the coffin, which had certainly remained inviolate from 1272 until 1774, as the account of its contents proves, but for the numerous wax lights that were burnt around the tomb on every ſucceſſive anniversary of King Edward's death; and this is the concluſion arrived at by Sir Joſeph Ayloffe in his paper in *Archæologia*. The wax moreover had nothing to do with any funeral effigy that may have been laid upon the king's tomb.

^a Ed. Hearne, ii. 341.

^c *Archæologia*, iii. 376-413.

^b Rolls Series 47, ii. 382.

^d *Ibid.* 381.

Sir Joseph Ayloffe thus concludes his very interesting account :

I have already mentioned, that, previous to the removal of the top stone of king Edward's tomb, the dean of Westminster, who was present from the opening to the shutting it up, had taken every possible precaution that no damage might be done either to the royal body, or its sarcophagus. The like vigilance was observed by him during the time the coffin continued open : so that the corpse did not receive the least violation or injury ; neither was it despoiled of any of its vestments, regalia, or ornaments. On the contrary, all things were suffered to remain in the same condition, situation, and place, wherein they were found. After the spectators had taken a sufficient view, the top of the coffin, and the covering-stone of the tomb, were restored to their proper places, and fastened down by a strong cement of terrice before the dean retired from the chapel.^a

Whatever may have been the cause of the death of King Edward II. in Berkeley Castle on the 21st September, 1327, there can be no doubt whatever that he was buried publicly with proper solemnity, and with all the honour due to his exalted rank, in the abbey church of St. Peter at Gloucester. This interesting fact was brought to the notice of the Society in 1886 by Mr. Stuart Moore, in a paper on "Documents relating to the Death and Burial of King Edward II.,"^b but as the details of the funeral were beyond the scope of his paper he only briefly refers to them. The king's body was disemboweled and embalmed, but not taken to Gloucester until 21st October, and apparently it was not actually buried until 20th December. There was thus ample time for the elaborate preparations recorded in the wardrobe accounts of Thomas of Ousefleet (Useflete).^c

It would take too long now to rehearse all these, which can later on appear in print, and it must suffice to quote only those that bear directly on this paper. Of these the most important is that which proves that a wooden effigy of the king was placed upon his coffin :

^a *Ibid.* 413. This plain and straightforward account is thus paraphrased by a recent and still-living writer: "After having satisfied themselves as to the state of the body, the cerements, and the stature, the learned representatives of the Society of Antiquaries of that day, under a puerile pretence of preserving the royal remains from future desecration, barbarously embedded body, vestures, crown, and sceptre in pitch. . . . After this the coffin and tomb were again closed. This time the top slab being cemented on to the sides. The Dean remained throughout the whole investigation and reclosing, to see that no disrespectful act, nor any damage should occur to the body of Edward, *which he embedded in pitch.*" J. C. Wall, *The Tombs of the Kings of England* (London, 1891), 265, 266.

^b *Archaeologia*, l. 215-226.

^c P. R. O. Accounts, etc. (Exchequer, K.R.), 383 3.

Item cuidam Magistro cindenti et formanti quamdam ymaginem de ligno ad similitudinem dicti domini Regis E[dwardi] deffuncti ex convencione in grosso, xl^s.

Item in una Corona de Cupro pro eadem ymagine empta cum factura et deauracione ejusdem, viij^s viij^d.

A sum of (apparently) 4s. 3d. was also paid :

Pro consutura vestimentorum pro corpore ejusdem Regis factorum in quibus sepeliebatur. simul cum uno coverchief Alemany et iij. quarterijs de [panno lineo ?] pro uno auriculari inde faciendo ad ponendum sub capite ejusdem Regis, emptis de Waltero Chapman.

In another account ^a Thomas of Ousefleet reckons

de uno mantello, j tunicula, j dalmaticula, j pari Cirotecarum, j zona, j pari caligarum, j pari sotularium. j pari calcarium receptis de liberatura dominorum Johannis Darcy Militis Willelmi de Zouche et Nicholai de Falle clerici H. episcopi Lincolñ tunc Thesaurarii Anglie de Thesauro Regis pro sepultura Regis Edwardi patris Regis hujus et que idem Rex pater utebatur die Coronacionis sue.

Et de j tunica. j camisia. j pillio. et j tena receptis de eisdem militibus et clerico. In quibus idem Rex pater fuit unctus die Coronacionis sue.

Idem computat in expensis factis super corpus predicti Regis patris defuncti apud Gloucestriam dicto die sepulture et super idem corpus dimissis j par cirotecarum. j tunicam. j camisiam et j tenam, etc.

From this it is clear that, like the younger King Henry in 1183, King Edward II. was buried in the linen coif (*tena*), the sleeveless shirt (*camisia*), the tunic (*tunica*), and the gloves which he wore at his anointing. Owing probably to the rigidity of the embalmed body the tunic and shirt had to be slit open and sewn together again. The other coronation ornaments, viz. the tunic, dalmatic, girdle, and mantle, and the buskins, sandals, and spurs, and the cap of estate, together with another crown of silver-gilt, a sceptre, a regal, two fleurons of silver-gilt, and a ring of silver-gilt with a great doublet, were apparently used to adorn the wooden image in the likeness of the king, since they were afterwards returned to the officers of the great wardrobe who issued them for the funeral.

King Edward III. died at Sheen on 21st June, 1377.

No detailed description of his funeral seems to have been chronicled, but it is evident from the expenses set out in the Wardrobe Account^b that it was carried out with all the customary ceremony. Among these expenses are several which bear directly upon the subject of this paper.

^a P. R. O. Wardrobe Accounts, Enrolments of Exchequer, L.T.R. Roll 3, m. 7.

^b P. R. O. "Compotus Ricardi de Beverlei," Accounts, etc. (Exchequer K.R.), Bundle 398/9.

Immediately after the king's death his body was embalmed, and the large sum of £21 was paid :

Rogero Chaundeler civi Londoñ pro labore suo et pro diversis custubus per ipsum factis ad custodiendum corpus Regis a putrefacione cum balsamo et aliis unguentis et oleis.

A further sum of £22 4s. 11d. was paid :

Stephano Hadley pro factura unius ymaginis ad similitudinem Regis uno Sceptro una pila una cruce cum crucifixo argentea deaurata et aliis diversis custubus per ipsum factis circa preparacionem corporis ejusdem domini Regis ante diem sepulture.

What the "divers costs" were for is a matter of conjecture, but probably for the coffin, etc. There can, however, be little doubt that the "image in likeness of a king" was that which was borne upon the coffin in its passage from Sheen to London. This seems to have taken place at night, for £27 15s. 4d. were paid

pauperibus nigris tunicis vestitis portantibus torcheos accensos circa corpus ejusdem domini Regis inter Shene et Westmonasterium per tres dies de Elemosina ejusdem domini Regis.

And the large sum of £227 15s. 11½d. was spent

In precio vijm^ldxj. lb. cere expenditis in m^lvij^o. torches xv. cereis magnis xij. morteriis accensis circa corpus ejusdem domini Regis inter Shene et Westmonasterium per tres dies precium libre vj^d ob.

The body seems first to have been taken to St. Paul's, for £11 were paid

Johanni Pope et Willelmo Campion candelariis Londoñ pro una hercia erecta circa corpus ejusdem domini Regis in ecclesia Cathedrali Sancti Pauli Londoñ quarto die Julij ex certa convencionem secum facta cum cariagio ejusdem hercie.

On arrival at Westminster the coffin and the "image in likeness of a king" were placed within a most magnificent herse, set up, no doubt, as Abbot Islip's was, in the middle of the presbytery. For this £59 16s. 8d. were paid

Willelmo Hanele pro denariis per ipsum solutis pro factura unius hercie erecta circa corpus ejusdem domini Regis in ecclesia conventuali beati Petri Westmonasterii die sepulture ejusdem domini Regis cum barers et closettis ibidem factis.

This day of the king's burial was the 5th of July.

On the Issue Roll for Michaelmas, 19 Richard II. (1395), is an entry that has for some time been taken to refer to the well-known portrait of King Richard II. which hangs in the presbytery of the abbey church. It is for a payment of £20 :

Dompno Petro Sacriste ecclesie beati Petri Westmonasterii In denariis sibi liberatis

per manus Johannis Haxey in persolucionem xx. li. quas Dominus Rex sibi liberare mandavit tam pro pictura cooperture supra Tumbam Anne nuper Regine Anglie infra dictam ecclesiam humate existentem quam pro remocione unius tumbæ prope tumbam ejusdem Regine ac eciam pro pictura ejusdem tumbæ remote et *pro pictura unius ymaginis ad similitudinem unius Regis contrafacte in choro ecclesie predictæ per breve de privato sigillo inter mandatos de hoc termino.*^a

From the close similarity in the wording, there can be little if any doubt that the “counterfeit image in the likeness of a king” which was painted in 1395 is identical with the “image in likeness of a king” made in 1377, and therefore that it represented King Edward III. and not Richard II. Like that for Edward’s father it was probably of wood, and there is still preserved at Westminster (Plate LVIII.) what may be the veritable figure made by Stephen Hadley.

The funeral of a king who had formally renounced the Crown, as Richard II. did on 29th September, 1399, was not likely to be carried out with the pomp and ceremony due to a king-regnant, especially when the unhappy prince died in prison.

The chroniclers of the time are agreed that Richard died of starvation, or was murdered, in the castle of Pontefract, on 14th February, 1399-1400, and that his body was conveyed to London through all the most notable places in order that it might be seen of men.^b Edward Hall says that Richard’s body was “embalmed and seared and covered with lead al save his face (to the entent that all men might perceive that he was departed out of this mortal lyfe).” Thomas of Otterbourne says the corpse was borne all the way with the face bare “from the lowest part of the forehead to the throat.”^c

^a Issue Roll (Pells), Mich 19 Richard II.

^b Ricardus, quondam Rex Angliæ, cum audisset hæc infortunia, mente consternatus semetipsum extinxit inedia voluntaria, ut fertur, clausitque diem extremum apud castrum de Ponte Fracto, die Sancti Valentini. Cujus corpus per loca celeberrima quæ interjacent a dicto castello usque Londonias, ubi contigit pernoctare, monstratum est post Officium Mortuorum, et in crastino post Missam peractam. Cumque in ecclesia Sancti Pauli Londoniis celebratæ fuissent exequiæ, Rege præsentē et Londiniarum civibus, confestim corpus reportari jubetur ad Langley, tumulandum in ecclesia Fratrum Prædicatorum; perfeceruntque ibidem supremum officium Episcopus Cestrensis, Abbas Sancti Albani, et Abbas de Waltham, sine magnatum præsentia, sine populari turba; nec erat qui eos invitaret ad prandium post laborem.—*Thomæ Walsingham Historia Anglicana* (Roll Series 28 i.), ii. 245, 246.

^c Cujus corpus per loca celeberrima, quæ interjacent, a Pontefracto usque London deportatum fuit et ostensum. ea pars saltem corporis, per quod cognosci poterat, facies scilicet ab ima parte frontis usque ad guttur. deinde delatum London ad ecclesiam S. Pauli, etc.—*Thomæ Otterbourne Chronica Regum Angliæ*, ed. Hearne (Oxford, 1732), i. 229.



FUNERAL EFFIGY OF KING EDWARD III.

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As the considerable sum of £80 was spent solely on bringing the corpse to London it must have been attended with some degree of state.

On its arrival in London it rested for the night in the cathedral church of St. Paul, where it was shown to the people after the office for the dead, and again on the morrow after mass. John Harding, who saw it lying in state there, confirms its being "lapped in lede."^a

Richard's own wish was to be buried at Westminster, where he had already set up the marble tomb with its gilded bronze figures and enrichments under which he now lies, but the new king, Henry of Lancaster, willed otherwise, and ordered the body to be taken to King's Langley, where it was buried in the church of the Friars Preachers without the presence of the peers or of any crowd of folk.

On the accession of Henry V., who had been treated kindly by him in his youth, the body of Richard was taken up and brought with great pomp and ceremony to Westminster, and laid in his own tomb. By a strange irony of fate the banners and guitons of arms that had garnished the herse of Henry IV. were borrowed from the Prior and Convent of Canterbury to do honour to King Richard on the day of his burial at Westminster.^b

^a John Harding's Chronicle says:

In March nexte after, kyng Richarde then was dede
Fro Poumfrete brought with great solempnitee
Men sayd forhungered he was & lapped in lede
At Poules his masse was done and dirige
In hers royal, semely to royalte
The kyng & lordes, clothes of golde there offerde
Some. viii. some. ix. upon his hers were proferde.

At Westmynster then did they so the same
When trust he should there have buryed bene
In at that mynster lyke a prince of name
In his owne tombe, together with the quene
Anne, that afore his fyrst wyfe had bene
But then the kyng, him fast to Langley sent
There in the Freers to be buryed secrete ment.

(ed. Grafton, London, 1543), f. C.xcix.

^b "Priori et Conventui ecclesie Christi Cantuaſ In denariis sibi liberatis in persolucionem x. li. quas dominus Rex sibi liberare mandavit Habend. de dono suo pro diversis vexillis ab eis mutatis superpondendis circa herceam ordinatam et positam infra ecclesiam beati Petri Westmonasterii pro exequiis domini Ricardi nuper Regis Anglie de ordinacione domini Regis jam retro tumulati ibidem per breve, etc. x. li." Issue Roll, Michaelmas, 1 Henry V. (No. 246).

King Henry IV. died on the 20th March, 1412-13, in the great chamber of the abbot's house at Westminster, called Jerusalem Chamber.

Mr. W. H. Wylie, in his *History of England under Henry the Fourth*,^a gives a circumstantial description of the embalming, cering, and arraying of the king's body against its lying in state at Westminster; of its being stripped, lapped in lead, placed in a wooden coffin, and conveyed first by barge to Gravesend, and thence by road to Canterbury, where it was buried. But Mr. Wylie gives no authorities, and the vivid picture and pageant described by him seem to be for the most part his own invention.

The king was buried at Canterbury, in accordance with his will, on the north side of the shrine of St. Thomas. The grave was opened in 1832,^b when the body was found encased in lead, within a rough outer coffin of wood. Various references point to his funeral having been one of great magnificence, and, as had now become customary, there was probably a representation of the dead king carried in the procession, but the details have yet to be unearthed from the wardrobe or other accounts in the Public Record Office.

King Henry V. died in France, at Bois de Vincennes, on 31st August, 1422. The body was embalmed preparatory to its conveyance to England, but so much honour was paid to the dead king's memory that the men of Paris and of Rouen offered large sums of money for his body to be buried in France, and such slow progress could be made by the funeral procession that it did not reach London until 11th November.

In accordance with his will King Henry V. was buried in the abbey church of Westminster, between the shrine of St. Edward and the Lady Chapel east of it, the altar of the relics being moved to make way for him.

Thomas of Walsingham, after describing the honours paid to King Henry's memory in France, and the bringing of the body over to England, says:

The equipment of the dead king, if it would please you to know, was as follows: There was placed upon the chest in which his body was, a certain image very like in stature and face to the dead king, arrayed in a long and ample purple mantle, furred with ermine, a sceptre in one hand and a round gold ball with a cross infixed in the other; with a gold crown on the head over the royal cap, and the royal sandals on his feet. And in such wise he was raised on a chariot that he might be seen of all, that by this means

^a Vol. iv. 111-113.

^b *Archaeologia*, xxvi. 440-445.

mourning and grief might grow, and his friends and subjects might the more kindly beseech the Lord on his soul's behalf.^a

The contemporary French chronicler, Enguerrand de Monstrelet, gives another account :

Et là fut menée en noble appareil la Roïne d'Angleterre, qui de la mort de son feu mary riens ne sçavoit : et après que les seigneurs du sang Royal l'eurent mis sur un chariot, que menoient quatre grans chevaulx, et avoient fait sa ressemblance, et representation de cuyr bouilly painet moult gentillement, portant en son chief couronne d'or moult precieuse, et tenoit en sa main dextre le sceptre ou verge Royale, et en sa main senestre avoit une pomme d'or, et gisoit en un liet sur le chariot dessusdit le visage vers le ciel.^b

Combining the two accounts, it appears that the figure borne upon the king's coffin was of boiled leather, moulded into shape and painted, vested in the parliament robes, with the cap of estate and over it (as was proper) the crown upon the head ; the two sceptres, the one with the dove, the other the ball-shaped one with the cross, in the hands ; and the royal buskins and sandals upon the feet.

What became of this figure is not known.

The tragic death, or more likely murder, of King Henry VI. in the Tower of London on 21st May, 1471, took place under circumstances which debarred the unfortunate monarch from a funeral befitting his dignity. It is nevertheless clear from the account of the expenses on the Issue Roll that his body received decent treatment and that it was buried with all due reverence and solemnity.

John Warkworth in his Chronicle, after stating that Henry was put to death in the Tower, says :

And one the morwe he was chestyde and brought to Paulys, and his face was opyne that every manne myghte see hyme ; and in hys lyinge he bledde one the pament ther ; and afterward at the Blake Fryres was broughte, and ther he blede newe and fresche ; and from thens he was caryed to Chyrchesey abbey in a bote, and buried there in oure Lady chapelle.^c

Edward Hall also says :

The ded corps of Kyng Henry, with bills and gleves pompeously, (yf you call that a

^a Cujus Regis mortui apparatus si scire libeat, talis erat. Superposita namque fuerat cistæ, in qua corpus ejus habebatur, quædam imago staturæ et faciei Regis mortui simillima, chlamyde purpurea satis longa et larga, cum furrura de ermyne induta, sceptrum in una manu, et pila rotunda aurea, cum cruce infixæ, in altera ; corona aurea in capite, super capellum regium, et sandaliis regiis in pedibus, impositis. Et taliter elevatur in curru, ut a singulis videri potuisset, ut per hoc mœror et dolor accresceret, et ejus amici et subditi pro ejus anima Dominum tenerius exorarent.—*Thomas Walsingham Historia Anglicana* (Rolls Series, 28 i.), ii. 345, 346.

^b *Chroniques d'Enguerran de Monstrelet* (Paris, 1596), i. 325 b.

^c Ed. Halliwell, Camden Society 10 (London, 1839) 21.

funerall pompe) was conveighed from the tower, to the church of saint Paule, and there layed on a beere, where it lay the space of an whole daye: and the next day, wythout Priestes or Clarcke, Torche or Taper, syngyng or sayng, it was conveighed to the Monastery of Chertesey, beyng distant from London . xv. Mile, and there was buried, but after he was removed to Windsore, and there in a new vawte newly intumilate.^a

The account on the Issue Roll begins with a payment of £15 3s. 6½d. to Hugh Brice: (i.) “for wax, linen cloth, spices, and other ordinary expenses by him appointed and spent about the burial of the said Henry of Windsor,” which seems to imply that the king’s body was embalmed and enveloped in cerecloth as was usual; and (ii.) “for wages of rewards of divers men carrying torches for the Tower to St. Pauls, and thence to Chertsey.”

Master Richard Martyn was also paid £18 3s. 3d., in two sums:

(i.) of £9 10s. 11d. for 28 ells of linen cloth of Holland and for expenses both within the Tower at the death of the said Henry and at Chertsey on the day of his burial; also for rewards given to divers soldiers of Calais watching about the body, and for the hire of barges with masters and sailors rowing by the Thames to Chertsey; and

(ii.) of £8 12s. 4d. for sums paid to the four Orders of Friars in the City of London and to the Brethren of the Holy Cross there and in other works of charity, viz. to the Carmelites 20s., to the Austin Friars 20s., to the Friars Minors 20s., to the Friars Preachers for celebrating obsequies and masses 40s., and to the Brethren of St. Cross 10s.; and for the obsequies and saying of masses at Chertsey on the day of the burial of the said Henry 52s. 3d.^b

The total expenses were only £33 6s. 8½d.

^a *The Unison of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre and Yorke* (London, 1548). The prosperous reigne of Kyng Edward the Fourth, fo. xxxiiij.

^b “Hugoni Brice In denariis sibi liberatis per manum propriam pro tot denariis per ipsum solutis tam pro Cera tela linea speciebus et alijs ordinarijs expensis per ipsum appositis et expeditis circa sepulturam dicti Henrici de Windesore qui infra Turrim Londoñ diem suum clausit extremum. Ac pro vadijs et regardis diversorum hominum portancium Tortos a Turri predicto usque ecclesiam Cathedralem Sancti Pauli London. et abinde usque Chertesey cum corpore presente per breve predictum xv.li. iij.s. vj.d.ob.

Magistro Ricardo Martyn In denariis sibi liberatis ad vices videlicet una vice per manum propriam ix.li. xs. xjd. pro tot denariis per ipsum solutis pro xxviiij ulnis tele linee de Holandia et expensis factis tam infra Turrim predictum ad ultimum vale dicti Henrici quam apud Chertesey in die sepulture ejusdem. Ac pro regardis datis diversis soldariis Cales vigilantibus circa corpus et pro conductu Bargearum cum Magistris et Nautis remigantibus per quam Thamič usque Chertesey predictam et alia vice viij^{li} xi^s iij^d pro tot denariis per ipsum solutis iij^{or} ordinibus fratrum infra Civitatem London. et fratribus sancte Crucis in eadem et in alijs operibus Caritatis videlicet Fratribus Carmet^{es} xxs. Fratribus Augustiñ xxs. Fratribus Minoribus xxs. Fratribus Predicatoribus pro obsequiis et missis celebrandis xls. et dictis Fratribus Sancte Crucis xs. Ac pro obsequiis et missis dicendis apud Chirtesey predictam in die sepulture dicti Henrici lijs iij^d per breve predictum xviiij^{li} iij^s iij^d.” Issue Roll (Pells), Easter, 11 Edward IV. No. 505.

There is no mention of any funeral effigy, and it is most unlikely that one was carried in the procession by land or water.

With the death of King Edward IV. we enter upon a new source of information in the shape of the official accounts of the funeral ceremonies preserved in the College of Arms or in the Public Record Office, and these are often accompanied by details of the expenses of the funeral itself.

The account of King Edward's funeral is among those at the Herald's College, and another version of it was printed in the first volume of *Archaeologia* so long ago as 1770.

The king died in the Palace of Westminster on 5th April, 1483, and his almost naked body lay exposed on a board for ten or twelve hours that all the spiritual and temporal peers then in London, and the Mayor of London and his brethren, might see it. It was then embalmed, cered, etc. and brought into the chapel for the offices of the dead, and there lay until 17th April, when it was conveyed to the abbey church hard by, "having upon the corpse a rich and a large black cloth of gold with a cross of white cloth of gold and above that a rich canopy of cloth imperial frenged with gold and blue silk." On arrival in the church the coffin was laid within a worthy herse,

and in y^e herce above y^e corps was upon the cloth of golde abovesaid a personage lyke to the symilitude of y^e Kinge in habit Royall crowned w^t a crown of his heed, holding in one hand a scepter & in the other hand a ball of sylver & gylt w^t a cross paty.

The service at Westminster ended, "the corps with the personage as above" was conveyed in a chariot covered with black velvet first to Charing Cross and then on to Syon,

where at the cherche dore the bushops sensed hym, and y^e corps w^t the Image as before was borne into the quere of y^e same churche, and y^e y^e bushop of Duresme dyd y^e service.

And on the morow in lyke order as above was conveyd to y^e chariet & from thence to Wyndesor and so proceeded to y^e new cherche wher in was ordered a m^rvelous well wrought herce & furth wth dirge, etc. etc.^a

On the following day the king was buried on the north side of the high altar. What became of the "personage" is not recorded, nor are any remains of it discoverable at Windsor.

Concerning the death of Richard III. little seems to be known beyond the fact that he was killed in the battle on Bosworth Field, and that his body was buried in

^a Herald's College MS. I. 11, f. 85.

the church of the Grey Friars at Leicester, “where afterwards,” says Sandford, “King *Henry* caused a Monument to be erected for him, with his Picture in Alabaster, which remained till the Dissolution under Henry the Eighth, when it was pulled down and utterly defaced.”^a In the Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry VII. from 1491 to 1505 is a charge, under date 11th September, 1495, of £10 1s. paid “To James Keyley for King Richard tombe.”^b

A greater mystery still enshrouds the remains of the unfortunate little nephew, King Edward V., whom he is believed to have caused to be done to death with his little brother Richard, Duke of York, in the Tower two years before. Their bones are supposed to be enshrined within an urn in the abbey church of Westminster, where it was placed in 1678, but whether the contents are the relics of the unhappy boys or other animal bones is not known.

King Henry VII. died at Richmond on 21st April, 1509, at the early age of fifty-two, and according to a MS. in the Heralds' College,^c

f. 86b.] After þ^t all thinge necessary for thenterement & funerall pomp of y^e late kinge were sumptuously prepared and doðe^d / y^e corps of y^e said defunct was brought owt of his chamber / where he deceased into his grete chamber where he Rested iij days / & every day had dirige & was solempnely song / w^t a prelate mytred / & so other iij days in the hall & other iij days in y^e chapell w^t lyke service & morners gyving their attendaunce / and in every place, was a herce garnessed w^t banners scoochines & pencilles. And on Wensday the ixth day of May was the body put in a chayre / covered w^t blacke cloth of golde drawen w^t x grete coursers covered w^t blacke velvet garnessed w^t scochins of fyne golde / Over the corps was an Image or Representaçon of y^e late king layd on quissions of golde aparelled in his Riche robes of astate w^t crowne on his hed ball & scepter in his hande environed w^t banners of Arms of all his Dominions, titles, genealogies / and thus the chayre beinge ordered The chapell w^t y^e prelatē went praing / and all other in blacke morninge w^t innumerable torches proceded in good order from Richemond to London / etc. etc.

The body was first taken to St. Paul's, where it lay in state, and on the following day was conveyed to Westminster.

In Westmⁿ cherche was a m'velousle curiouse grete herce of ix principales full of lighte w^{ch} was lighted agaynst y^e coming of y^e corps / W^{ch} was taken owt of y^e chayre w^t vj lorde & set under y^e herce / y^e Representaçon lyng upon y^e Coffyn on a pall of golde, etc. etc.

^a Francis Sandford, *A Genealogical History of the Kings and Queens of England and Monarchs of Great Britain*, &c. ed. Samuel Stebbing (London, 1707), 434.

^b Bentley's *Excerpta Historica*, 105.

^c MS. I. 11, f. 82 b.

^d *Sic* for “done.”

The further details of the funeral do not concern us, but the account above quoted concludes with the following :

f. 87b.]	The Chardge of the Enterement of King Henry the vij th .		
The herce cloth	xxxiiij ^{li}	xviijs	iiij ^d
The palles of cloth of golde & badken	Cxxiiij ^{li}		xx ^d
The canopy	xv ^{li}	xvj ^s	j ^d
The ffurryng of y ^e Kinge robe & ij cappes of estate		lix ^s	iiij ^d
The Kinge coffyn	vij ^{li}	vij ^s	x ^d
The Kinge Pyc tour	vj ^{li}	xij ^s	viiij ^d
The making of Pore mens gownes	xviiij ^{li}	xvj ^s	viiij ^d
The mantellace of sylke for y ^e robe of purple velvet		xxxij ^s	iiij ^d
The cloth of estate for high aulter	vj ^{li}	xj ^s	viiij ^d

A little more detail about the king's picture is afforded by another account : ^a

f. 97.]	The Kyngē pyc ture.		
Item of Thomas Mountey ix yerde p'pill satyn for a gown for to ley upon the same pyc ture at xiiij ^s the yerde	vj ^{li}	vj ^s	
Item to Stephen Jasp for makynge of the same gown		vj ^s	viiij ^d
Summa	vj ^{li}	xij ^s	viiij ^d

But it is unfortunate that nothing is entered about the making of the picture itself.

It will be noticed that, as in the case of Henry V.'s figure, it was arrayed in the parliament robes and not the coronation ornaments.

King Henry VIII. died at Westminster at midnight on 28th January, 1546-7, and after the usual preliminaries the body lay in state in the chapel at Whitehall from 2nd to 14th February. On the latter day, about 10 o'clock in the morning, a solemn procession, which is fully described in the Heralds' College MS., from which our information is derived, set out for Windsor.^b

f. 67] Then folowid the Charet with the Cophyn and the Corps having the Kinge picture lying uppon it made and apointed as folowith The picture was made veray like unto the Kinge Ma^{tis} person . both in stature favowre . forme and apparell . the which was laid a long uppon the Cophyn with twoo greate Cussyns under his head. The Crowne Emperiall of Englande of goulde sett with precious stones . and under that a night cappe of blak satten . set full of stone and golde . was uppon his heade . his shurte as it apperid abought the

^a P. R. O. Lord Chamberlain's Records, Series I. Vol. 550.

^b MS. I. 14.

coller and handes semed to be of fynne goldsmithes worke . the picture was apparrellid with Robes of Crymsyn velvet furred with mynifer powdred with armyns . the coloure of the Garter with the George abought his nekk . a crymsyne satten dublett embroydered with golde . twoo bracelettē of golde abought his wrestē sett with stone and perle a fayre armering sworde by his side. The Septure in his right hande and the balle in the lyfte hande a payer of fynne scarlett whoses . and a payer of crymsyn velvet showes . and uppon his handes a payer of new gloves . with many ringē sett with ryche stones oñ his fyngers.

On the arrival of the body at Windsor, after resting for the night at Syon,

f. 68 b.] the picture was furst conveyde in to the quyre by dyverse knyghtē and gentilmen and then the Cophyn by xvj yomen w^t black staves in ther handē . to stay the corps as nede requyred . was brought in to the herse [f. 69] made in the myddes of the quyer . wherin was provided a goodly vawght to bury the corps in and over the same vawght was layde a grate uppon the whiche did stande the said herse w^t the cophyn and picture and it was trymmed and apointed as it was at Westm both for the places of the moreners . hangyngē scocyhns and waxe . saving that the herse ther had xiiij greate pillers . and weyghed by estimacion iiij^m li, &c.

In the course of the usual offerings, while the body lay in state the next day (16th February), after the offering of the axe,

f. 70 b.] the lordes moreners brought lying uppon bothe there armes sondry peacē of silke of dyverse colo^rs some moo some lesse according to their degreyse . and laid all the same uppon the leggē of the king his picture lying uppon the herse.

At the conclusion of the offering the sermon followed, which being ended :

f. 71.] Then came in to the herse vj knyghtē . and they all to gether removed the kingē picture into the vestrye.

The king's coffin was then solemnly lowered into the vault, where it still lies. What became of the "king's picture" is not further recorded.^a

The account of the funeral of King Henry VIII. so fully illustrates the custom, which had now become the rule, and so continued for more than a century afterwards, of representing the dead sovereign outside the coffin by a counterfeit presentment in carved wood or modelled wax, that it may be useful to recapitulate the various stages that led up to it.

At first, as in the case of St. Edward and King William the Conqueror, the body was carried to the grave unembalmed and covered, upon a bier.

Next comes the effort by rude embalming to preserve the corpse from decom-

^a The accounts of the expenses of the king's funeral are in the Public Record Office (Lord Chamberlain's Records, Series I. Vol. 551), but do not contain any mention of the "king's picture" or representation.

position in order that it may be moved to a distance, as in the case of King Henry I., but it is still borne covered upon the bier.

The funeral of King Henry II. in 1189 was the first in which the body was openly showed, arrayed in the coronation ornaments, and with the face uncovered.

This new fashion had its disadvantages unless burial quickly followed death, and in the case of Henry's son, the younger Henry, the body was embalmed and lapped in lead to enable it to be carried elsewhere.

King Henry III. was apparently the first to be borne to the grave in a coffin, with an image of wax outside, and after him this became the custom at every king's funeral, unless such circumstances as have been mentioned hindered its being done.

Of the later instances of the custom after King Henry VIII. during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it is only necessary to say a few words, since the documentary evidence chiefly relates to the actual figures, or the relics of them, that have survived, and are still preserved at Westminster.

King Edward VI. died at Greenwich on 6th July, 1553, when only in his sixteenth year. His body was duly embalmed, but remained at Greenwich until the 7th August, when it was removed to Whitehall. The next day it was conveyed to Westminster, and buried in the newly-built Lady Chapel of the abbey church. All the charges of the funeral, which was a very sumptuous one, are preserved in the Public Record Office, but the only item concerned with the subject of our paper is a mention of

the Chareott of Tymbre that Caried the Kinges Corpes withe the kinges picture from white hawle to Westminster Churche.^a

This "picture" ought to be among those which have been preserved in the abbey church, but as no later mention of it is to be found, it was probably not taken care of after the king's funeral.

Effigies of the usual character were also carried at the funerals of both of King Edward's sisters, namely of Queen Mary in 1558 and of Queen Elizabeth in 1603, and to these further reference will be made in their place.

The last of our kings for whom a funeral effigy was made was James I., but as the trunk of it has been preserved it will be more fully described in its order presently, together with the curious accounts of its making.

^a P. R. O. Lord Chamberlain's Records, Series I. Vol. 552.

Meanwhile this inquiry must go back to a brief consideration of the history of another group of figures, those of the queens-consort of our sovereigns.

The position of the queens-consort throughout the history of England has been so subordinate to that of the king that we need not expect to find the same degree of etiquette observed at their funerals as in that of the sovereign. They were nevertheless buried with a considerable amount of ceremony, and the effigies at Fontevraud of Queen Eleanor, widow of King Henry II., and of Queen Isabel, the second wife of King John, represent them lying dead upon biers and arrayed in the royal robes in which they were carried to the grave. The effigy of Queen Berengaria, widow of King Richard I., at L'Espan, where she was buried about 1230, is of the usual monumental type.

The aged Queen Eleanor of Provence, widow of King Henry III., died on 24th June, 1291, in the royal monastery of Ambresbury, of which she had been an inmate for many years. As the nuns did not dare to bury her without the consent and presence of her son, King Edward I., they embalmed the body^a and deposited it in a secret place until the king's return from Scotland, whereupon it was solemnly buried in the abbey church on 8th September in the presence of a great assemblage of ecclesiastics and nobles of the realm. The queen's heart, however, was buried in the church of the Friars Minors in London.

The first queen of Edward I., Eleanor of Castile, died at Harby, in Nottinghamshire, in 1290. The body was disemboweled and embalmed, and carried on a bier all the way to London, but from the silence on the point of eye-witnesses of the funeral procession both at Dunstable and St. Albans, at each of which places it was halted for the night, there does not seem to have been any effigy on the coffin. The queen's body was buried at Westminster, according to the *Annales Londonienses*,

ad pedes monumenti domini Henrici regis cum indumentis regalibus, corona et sceptro; et pulvis super fronte et pectore, ad modum crucis, ponebatur, et quædam candela cereæ similiter cum quadam littera.^b

The queen's bowels, etc. were buried in the Lady Chapel of Lincoln Minster, and her heart in the church of the Friars Preachers in London.

^a "Et quia dominus rex filius ejus tunc temporis in remotis agebat, insepulta permansit usque Nativitatem beatæ Virginis proximo sequentem, myrrha tamen et aromaticis pretiosis linita magnifice, ut decuit, et peruncta." *Annales de Waverleia* (Rolls Series 36. ii.), 409.

^b Rolls Series 76, i. 99.

The second consort of King Edward I., the Lady Margaret of France, died on 14th February, 1317-18, and was honourably buried before the high altar of the church of the Friars Minors of London, of which she had been a great benefactor.

The details of her funeral are not yet forthcoming, nor are those of another queen, who was buried in the quire of the same Friars Minors' church, the Lady Isabel of France, the consort of Edward II., who died on 22nd August, 1358.

Queen Philippa, the Flemish consort of King Edward III., died on 15th August, 1369, and was buried, it is said, "with great pomp" in the abbey church of Westminster, but the accounts relating to her funeral have yet to be discovered.

The following interesting note occurs on the Wardrobe Account, 31 Edward III. [1356-7—1357-8]:^a

Recepta et Liberaciones per Ricardum de Ravenser, Thesaurarium Hospicii.
Una tunica cum .j. mantello de Samito rubeo liniato cum sindone glauco in quibus
domina Regina fuit marita

Liberatura	pro corpore Regine involvendo cum sepultura corporis ejusdem Regine impod.
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Queen Anne of Bohemia, the first consort of King Richard II., died at Shene on Whitsunday (7th June), 1394. In order that the funeral might be as magnificent as possible, it was put off until 3rd August, when the body was buried with all due solemnity in the abbey church of Westminster. The full details of the funeral have yet to be unearthed from the Wardrobe or other Accounts, but there can be no doubt that an effigy was carried in the procession, for a payment of 3s. is entered on the Issue Roll (Easter, 17 R. II.):

In denariis solutis pro batillagio et cariagio ymaginis ad similitudinem Anne nuper Regine Anglie facte videlicet de London usque Shene per consideracionem Thesaurarii et Camerariorum.

The second wife of King Richard, the Lady Isabel of France, married in 1406 Charles count of Angoulême, and was buried in the abbey of St. Laumer at Blois.

Henry of Lancaster, afterwards King Henry IV., took for his first wife Mary de Bohun, younger daughter and coheir of Humphrey, Earl of Hereford,

^a P. R. O. Accounts (Exchequer K.R.) 393/4.

etc. but she died in 1394, before her husband's accession. He afterwards married the Lady Joan of Navarre, who survived him, and on her death in 1437 was buried beneath the same tomb as King Henry in the cathedral church of Canterbury.

Like those of her husband, the accounts of her funeral are not at present known, so there is nothing to show whether an effigy was provided for it.

Queen Katharine of Valois, the consort of Henry V., married after his death, about 1428, a Welsh gentleman named Owen Tudor, with whom she lived in obscurity for some years. In 1436 Tudor was sent to Newgate, whereupon Queen Katharine retired to the abbey of Bermondsey, where she died on 3rd January, 1436-7. Her body lay in state in the church of St. Katherine by the Tower till 18th February, and was conveyed thence first to St. Paul's, then to Westminster Abbey, where she was buried.

Among the figures so long preserved in the Abbey is one that is traditionally attributed to Queen Katharine, but the account for its making has yet to be found.

Queen Margaret of Anjou, the unhappy consort of the unfortunate King Henry VI., died abroad in 1482, and was buried at Angers.

Queen Elizabeth Widvile, the wife of King Edward IV., died in 1492 and was buried at Windsor beside her husband. An account of her funeral is given in Arundel MS. 26, but it does not refer to any effigy as having been carried upon the coffin.

King Richard III.'s queen, the Lady Anne of Warwick, died on 16th March, 1484-5, and was buried in the abbey church of Westminster, but nothing seems to be recorded concerning her funeral.

Of the funeral of the Lady Elizabeth of York, Queen Consort of King Henry VII., a detailed account has been preserved in the Heralds' College.^a

The queen died in the Tower on 11th February, 1502-3, and after the body had been encoffined it lay there for several days. On the eighth day the service was done by the Bishop of Bangor, on the ninth by the Bishop of Exeter, and on the tenth by the Bishop of Lincoln, after which

f. 28.] the corps was conveyd into y^e chayre w^{ch} was new pareled as foloeth. Furst all the baylles sydes & coffres covered w^t black velvet / & ov^r all along of a prety depnes a

^a MS. I. 11.



FUNERAL EFFIGY OF QUEEN KATHERINE OF VALOIS, AND HEAD ($\frac{1}{4}$ linear) BELIEVED TO BE THAT OF
QUEEN ANNE OF BOHEMIA.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

cloth of black velvet w^t a crosse of cloth of sylv^r well frynged / drawen w^t vj horsse / trapped w^t blak velvet & all the draught w^t the same / & when y^e corps was in the same there was ordened a holly chest over yt / wheron was a ymage or psonage lyke a quene / clothed in y^e very robes of estate of y^e quene / having her very ryche crowne on her hed her here about her shoulder / hir scepter in her right hand / & her fyngers well garnished w^t ryng^e of golde & p^rsyous stones & on every end of y^e chayre on y^e cofres kneled a gentelman husshe by all the way to Westminster.

On arrival of the procession at Westminster :

f. 30.] After y^t the corps was sensed and taken out of the chare / borne by soch persons as were apoynted / ymage and all as yt aperteyneth / w^t y^e foresaid banners of O^r Lady / and y^e greatest estat^e layinge y^er hand^e to yt was w^t the procession conveyd to the herce & then beganne dyrge after y^t an officer at armes had said for quene Elizabeth sowle, etc. etc.

On the morrow, after divers services, various “pallys” having been offered in honour of the deceased, there followed the sermon :

f. 31.] Then the Ladyes departed | after whos departyng the Image w^t the crowne & the riche robes were had to a secret place by St. Edward^e Shryne and then the body was solemnly buried.

Like the account of the funeral of King Henry VIII., this of the burial of his mother is of interest as showing what was done with “the image.”

Of the numerous wives of King Henry VIII. one was divorced, two were beheaded, one died in childbed, and two outlived him.

Queen Katharine of Aragon died in 1536, and in the 16th volume of *Archaeologia*^a there is printed :

A remembrance for thenterment of the right excellent and noble Princesse the Lady Catherin, Doughter to the right highe and mighty Prince Ferdinand late King of Castile, and late Wief to the noble and excellent prince Arthur brother to o^r Soveraign Lorde King Henry the viijth.

The document, now in the Public Record Office, which bears this heading is in the handwriting of Thomas Wriothesley, who has included the following among the directions for the queen's funeral, which was evidently intended to be one of some state :

Item there must be provided a charet to conveye the corps from the chaple where it shall first rest to the place wher it shalbe buried the corps must be covered w^t a pall of blaek riche cloth of golde devided w^t a crosse of white cloth of gold and uppon the same a

^a Vol. xvi. 22 ; also in *The Archaeological Journal*, xi. 353-366.



FUNERAL EFFIGY OF QUEEN ELIZABETH OF YORK.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

cast or puffed ymage of a princesse apparailled in her Robes of estate w^t a cronall uppon her hed in her heare w^t ringe gloves and Juellē uppon her handes.^a

The queen was buried in the abbey church of Peterborough, but it is doubtful from the very minute account of the funeral ceremonies contained in the Vienna archives ^b whether the “ymage” mentioned by Wriothesley was actually adopted.

The burials of Anne Bullen (1536) and Katharine Howard (1541-2) took place under circumstances that precluded pompous funerals, but that of Queen Jane Seymour, for whom King Henry seems really to have entertained some affection, was accompanied by a considerable amount of ceremonial. So much of the account of it in the Heralds' College MS.^c as refers to the subject matter of our paper may be quoted :

It. The Corps in the chare covered w^t a rich pall & therupon the presentacion of y^e quenes grace in hir roobes of estate w^t a riche crown of gold uppon hir hed in hir heere as aparteynith and a sceptre in hir right hand of gold and on hir fyngars rich ringes w^t rich stonis / and aboute hir necke richli besene w^t gold & stonys and under y^e hed of y^e corps a rich pillowe of cloth of gold tisew. Hir schoys of cloth of gold w^t hawse smocke & all op^r Ornamentes.

Queen Jane was buried at Windsor on 12th November, 1537, having died on the 24th October.

Of the funeral of the Lady Anne of Cleves, which took place at Westminster in 1557, a very detailed account has been printed in Bentley's *Excerpta Historica*. From this it is clear that no effigy of the deceased lady was made or used. It is also clear from the account in the Heralds' College MS.^d that no effigy was borne at the funeral of Queen Katharine Parr at Sudeley Castle in 1548.

The next queen consort in the history of England was Anne of Denmark, the wife of King James I., at whose funeral not only was a “representation” carried, but it has fortunately been preserved, as well as the accounts for its making, which will be dealt with in their place.

Queen Henrietta Maria, the consort of King Charles I., died abroad in 1669 at her château of Colombes, near Paris, and was buried in the abbey church of

^a *Letters and Papers Henry VIII.* vol. 101, f. 27b.

^b *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, x. (1536), 105.

^c I. 14, f. 123 b.

^d I. 15, ff. 98-99.

St. Denis, where, according to Sandford, a hearse with a funeral effigy was set up for her exequies. She was apparently the last of our queens to have a funeral effigy, as there are no records of any later instances.

So far as can be ascertained, it was not the custom, although there is one exception to be noticed presently, for any funeral effigies to be provided for sons or daughters of our kings and queens, and this is borne out not only by the various chronicles but by the detailed accounts in the Heralds' College of the funerals of the children of Henry VII. None such was made for the Lady Elizabeth, the king's second daughter, in 1495, nor "ffor thenterment of my lorde Edmond the kinge thirde begotten sone" in 1499, nor even for Prince Arthur, the heir to the throne, in 1502; neither was any provided for "thentierment of Prince Henry son to Kinge Henry the VIIIth," in 1509-10.

An effigy was, however, carried at the funeral of Mary, Duchess of Suffolk, the sister of King Henry VIII., at Bury St. Edmunds in 1533, but probably because she had sometime been the queen consort of Louis XII. of France.

It may, too, be of interest to point out, since she afterwards found burial in the abbey church of Westminster, that in the accounts of Sir William Dethick, Garter Principal King of Arms, for the funeral of Mary Queen of Scots in 1587,^a there are included among the "chardges of the hearse, and other causes of herauldrie at the funerall of the Scottishe Quene":

a Chariot or choache to convey the Corpes wrapped and soldred in leade wth representaçõn of y^e saide scottishe Qu: from Fotheringaie to Peterborough, etc. etc. xvijli. vjs. viijd. also for

a pyllowe of purple velvett frindged and tassell^e of golde for the state of the representaçõn, lxxvs. viijd.

The single pre-Restoration instance of a funeral effigy for anyone other than a king or queen is that made for Henry Prince of Wales, the son of King James I. and Queen Anne of Denmark, in 1612.

This and the accounts relating to it will be described presently.

It is time now to turn to the remains of the effigies themselves.

I. The figure which seems to be earliest in date is that of a man, 5 feet

^a P. R. O. Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, Great Wardrobe, 3145.

10½ inches high, cut out of one piece of wood, apparently hard oak, very much hollowed out at the back. (Plate LVIII.)

The head and neck are covered with gesso, which retains signs of colour. No ears are shown. There are marks of the attachment of a beard, and the head was once covered by a wig. The arms and legs are not separated from the trunk. The hands are gone and the feet are broken.

This figure is of medieval character, but of poor quality, and is probably that made by Stephen Hadley for the funeral of King Edward III., whose name is traditionally associated with it. The attribution is supported by the strong resemblance between the face of the figure and that of the gilt-bronze effigy on the king's tomb.

With this figure is preserved the canvas foundation of a mantle, once of red velvet, of which a small piece is left. There are also the remains of a tippet of minever. The draperies, which are of special value from their rarity, so far as knowledge of their history goes back have always been attached to this figure.

II. The next earliest seems to be a head, now detached, which has been broken off a hollowed wooden trunk. (Plate LIX.) It shows the ears, which are well modelled, and is covered with gesso and painted. On either side behind the ears are the remains of carved hanging plaits of hair. On the top is fixed a large nail, and there is also a large round hole for hollowing out the head.

The head is of strongly medieval character, and its style and some resemblance to her gilt-bronze effigy make it likely that it represents Queen Anne of Bohemia, wife of King Richard II., for whose funeral "an image in the likeness of Anne, lately Queen of England," was undoubtedly made.

III. The next of the figures is that of a woman, 5 feet 4 inches in height, carved out of a single piece of wood, apparently oak, much hollowed out at the back. (Plate LIX.) The head and neck are well modelled, including the ears. Round the skull is a groove for a wig and crown. The body is shown covered by a tight-fitting dress cut square at the neck, and painted throughout a bright vermillion. The right arm is broken away at the shoulder. The left arm is slightly raised, but the hand is gone. The shoes show from under the dress and bear traces of gold and colour; they are, however, somewhat broken.

Tradition ascribes this figure, which is a fine one of the fifteenth century, to Queen Katherine of Valois, wife of King Henry V., and the costume and style agree.

IV. The next is a nearly complete figure of a woman, 5 feet 11½ inches high, of a totally different character from those just described. It consists of (a) a wooden head and bust with the arms as far as the elbow, and (b) a body formed partly of hoops, partly of a covering of leather stuffed with hay, and extending from the bust, round the lower edge of which it was nailed, to over the feet. The legs are in continuation of two long pieces of fir passing up into the bust. The head has a round peg hole on top, and a larger hole for hollowing it out. The face is carefully modelled, and painted. The bust, like the head, is hollowed, and covered with white or gold coloured satin, seamed and edged with red velvet, and cut square across the breast and back. The right arm is lost. The left forearm is suspended with a loose joint at the elbow, and like the bust, is covered with satin. The left hand is beautifully modelled. The legs are cased in dark cloth stockings, but the shoes are lost. (Plate LX.)

This figure corresponds so closely with the account of the making of the effigy of Queen Elizabeth of York, wife of King Henry VII., as to suggest the attribution to her.^a

f. 46 *dorse*].^b

For the pikture.

Richard Gibson for ij waynscottē called Regall	ij ^s	iiij ^d
Item for oon waynscot borde price		x ^d
Item for ij pece of peretre tymbre price		viiij ^d
tem for ij Joyne's for half a day & an hole night & ich of them iiij ^d the half day and viij ^d the hole night for joyning of the waynscot toted ^r	iiij ^s	
Item for glewe for the same worke price		iiij ^d
Item to Mr. Lawrence for kerving of the hedde with Fedrik his mate	xiiij ^s	iiij ^d
Item to Wechon Kerve ^r and hans van hoof for kerving of the twoo hannde	iiij ^s	
Item for ij Joyne's on friday at night to frame the body		xvj ^d
Item for vij small shepeskynnes for the bodye	ij ^s	iiij ^d
Item for naylles		iiij ^d
Item for a paire of hosen for the same		x ^d
Item for oon hole pece of Sipers price	ij ^s	iiij ^d
Item for hire of the here	v ^s	
Item for laying of the first pryme coler		iiij ^d

^a "Her image preserved in the abbey, among those curious but mangled figures of some of our princes, which were carried at their interments, and now called the ragged regiment, has much the same countenance." —Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (London, 1762), i. 51.

^b P. R. O. Lord Chamberlain's Records, Series I. Vol. 550.

Item to Master Henry for painting of the Image	iiijs ^s	
Item for making of the garmente for laten naill	ij ^s	iiij ^d
Item to John Scot for watching in ye tower a night		viijs ^d
Item to ij porte's for feching of the Coffyn frome the Prince warderobe		ij ^d
Item for ij porte's to bere ye piktur ⁿ to ye Tower		iijs ^d
Item for blewe lio ^r to bynde ye figure to ye coffyn		iijs ^d
Item for the lio ^r that drewe the cofyn out of the chare price		vjs ^d
Item for my labo ^r and John Englysshe labo ^r		xv ^d
Summa	lx ^s	
William Botry for ix yerdes crymsyn Saten for a garment for the said piktur at x ^d a yerde	iiij ^{li}	x ^s
Item a yerde l qrt ⁿ blac velvet to bordure ye same garment price the yerde x ^s		xij ^s vi ^d

Among "The holle chardges at the said Enterment / of quene Elizabeth aforesaid" are the following items :

To Rich ^d Gybson for her pyctur makinge	iijs ^{li}	
To Will ^m Bottres for ix yerd ^e crymoysen saten / & a yerd q of black velvet for garment to ye said pyctur	vjs ^{li}	ij ^s vjs ^d *

V. Of much the same date as the effigy of Queen Elizabeth of York is that which tradition has attributed to King Henry VII. (Plate LXI.)

It is a well-modelled complete figure of a man, 6 feet 1 inch high; and consists of a wooden core, padded with hay and covered with canvas, upon which the figure has been modelled in plaster. The head is finely modelled and painted. (Plate LXII.) The skull has been left bare for a wig. The body has been painted, and is now of a grey colour. The left hand, which is loose and modelled on a wire foundation, is hollowed as if to support the orb; the right hand probably held the sceptre, but is broken off and lost. The feet are broken off, but remain.

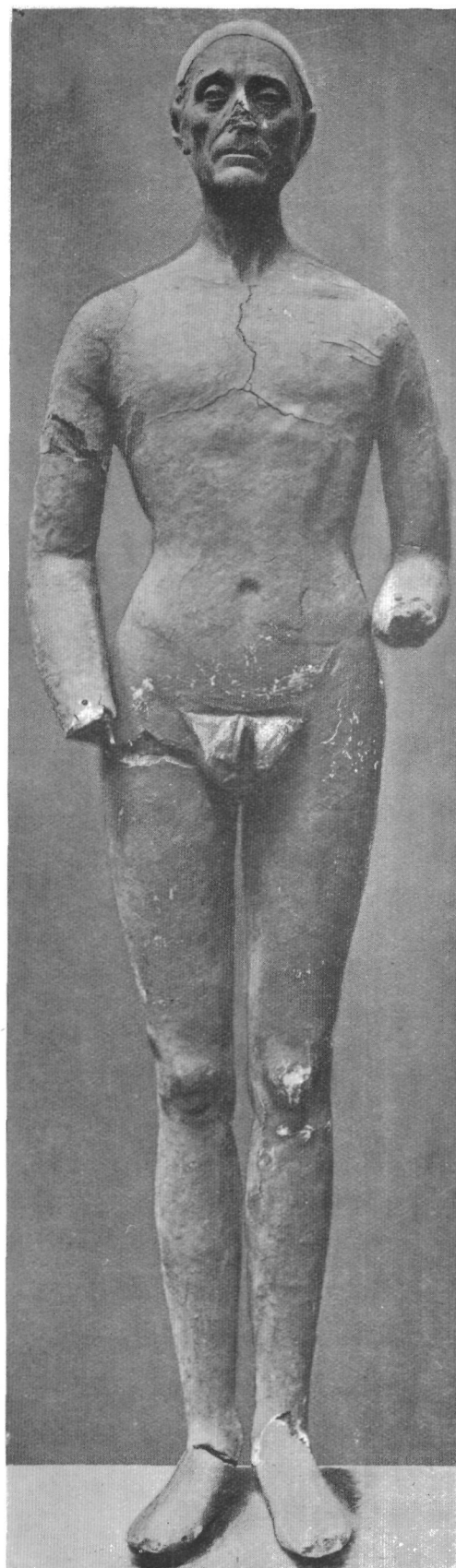
The work is Renaissance and that of a master, most likely an Italian.

The accounts for the making of this interesting figure have not yet been discovered, and the only entry we have at present is that quoted above, giving the charges for the making of the purple satin gown wherewith it was clothed.

VI. The next effigy to be noticed is also Renaissance in character, but there is some difference of opinion as to whom it can represent. . (Plate LXIV.)

It is a well-modelled complete figure of a woman, 5 feet 5 inches high, all of

* Heralds' College MS. I. 11, f. 31b.



FUNERAL EFFIGY OF KING HENRY VII.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

wood; the body apparently of wainscot oak and the legs of deal or pine. The head, with the ears, is modelled in gesso, but the features have been damaged. The chin is double. The surface of the trunk is left unsmoothed throughout. The arms are jointed at the shoulder by large iron screws, and the elbows attached by hinges for convenience of dressing the figure. The right hand is modelled in gesso, and though broken, evidently held a sceptre. The left forearm is loose and has lost the hand, but from the way it hung down it evidently held the orb. The legs are smoothed, and tenoned and pinned at the knees. The feet are broken.

There seems to be little doubt that this is the figure which is attributed in the early lists and descriptions to Queen Philippa, probably because its proportions seem to accord with those of the portly Flemish lady whose alabaster effigy is preserved in the abbey church. But a very superficial examination is enough to show that the figure cannot be that of a queen who died in 1369, and it has affinities of construction which link it to undoubted figures of the early part of the seventeenth century. Its Renaissance character on the other hand points to it being a work of the sixteenth century, and a simple process of elimination makes it tolerably certain that this is the "representation" which was made for the funeral of Queen Mary in 1558.

Of the charges for this there are two series in the Public Record Office. The one is among the documents relating to the Lord Chamberlain's Office,* and is headed:

The Interremente of the moste excellente Princesse Quene Mary whose Corpes was caried ffrome hir manoure of Saincte James unto the Abbie of Westmⁿ and there solemnly Buried the xiiijth daie of December Anno 1558. The The [sic] Charge of the Empcōns Provisions and delyveries aswell ffor the herse Clothes of Estate Canopies Coveringe of Chariottē wth diverse other necessities for the saide Buriall Herafter followinge viz.

Among the "Standerdes and Banners, Scochions, &c" payments, apparently, to Nicholaus Lisarde, Sergeant Painter:

Item for the Presentacōn Price	vj ^{li}	xiijs	iiij ^d
--------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	------------------	-------	-------------------

Sabatons of Clothe of golde:

Off Store in the Quenes Maiesties greate Warderobe di yarde Clothe of

golde incarnate with Workē ffor one Paire of Sabatons for the

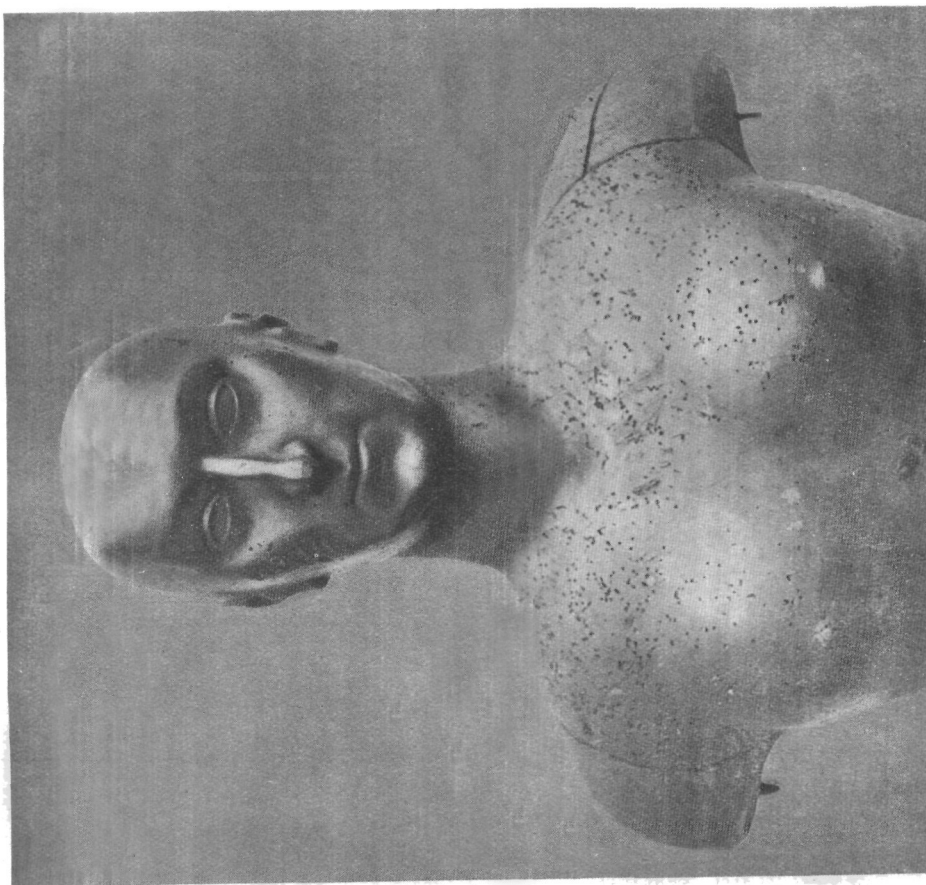
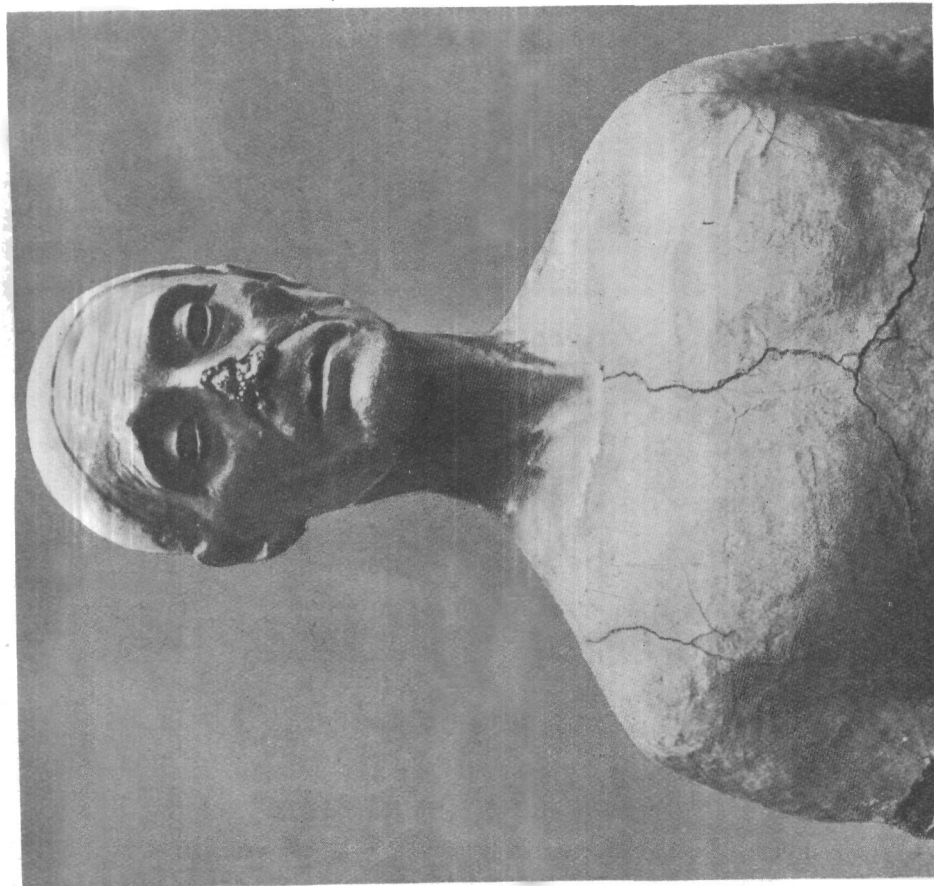
Quenes picture

sine Precio

Of the same store di yarde cr satten to lyne the same. Price

sine Precio

* P. R. O. Lord Chamberlain's Records, Series I. Vol. 553.



BUSTS ($\frac{1}{4}$ linear) OF THE FUNERAL EFFIGIES OF KING HENRY VII. AND QUEEN ANNE OF DENMARK.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

The other series of accounts is among those of the Great Wardrobe,^a and contains, like the above-named :

The Chardges of the Buryall of Quene Marye late Quene of Englande.

It is practically identical with the other, but is arranged somewhat differently, and has also among the "Painters woorkes" the charge of

vj^{li} xiijs^s iiij^d for the presentaçon.

VII. "The presydent of y^e funerall of our Soverayne lady of famous memorie Queen Eliz[abeth]" exists among the Lord Chamberlain's documents in the Public Record Office,^b and gives a most detailed account of the various articles bought for the "representation of hir late Maieste" which was carried at her funeral in Westminster Abbey on 28th April, 1603, more than a month after her death. (Plate LXIII.) The entries in the accounts through careless folding of the quires by the binder are not in their right order, which apparently should be as follows :

John Colte | For the Representaçon of hir late Maiestie

Paied to the said John Colte for y^e Image rep^senting
hir Late Maiestie wth diverse other things, viz a paire of strait
bodies, a paire of drawers, bumbast, iiij screwing Irons, & other
Irons, a payre of laste, lace & pointe, & also a Chest to cary y^e
same amounting in all to y^e sum of x^{li}

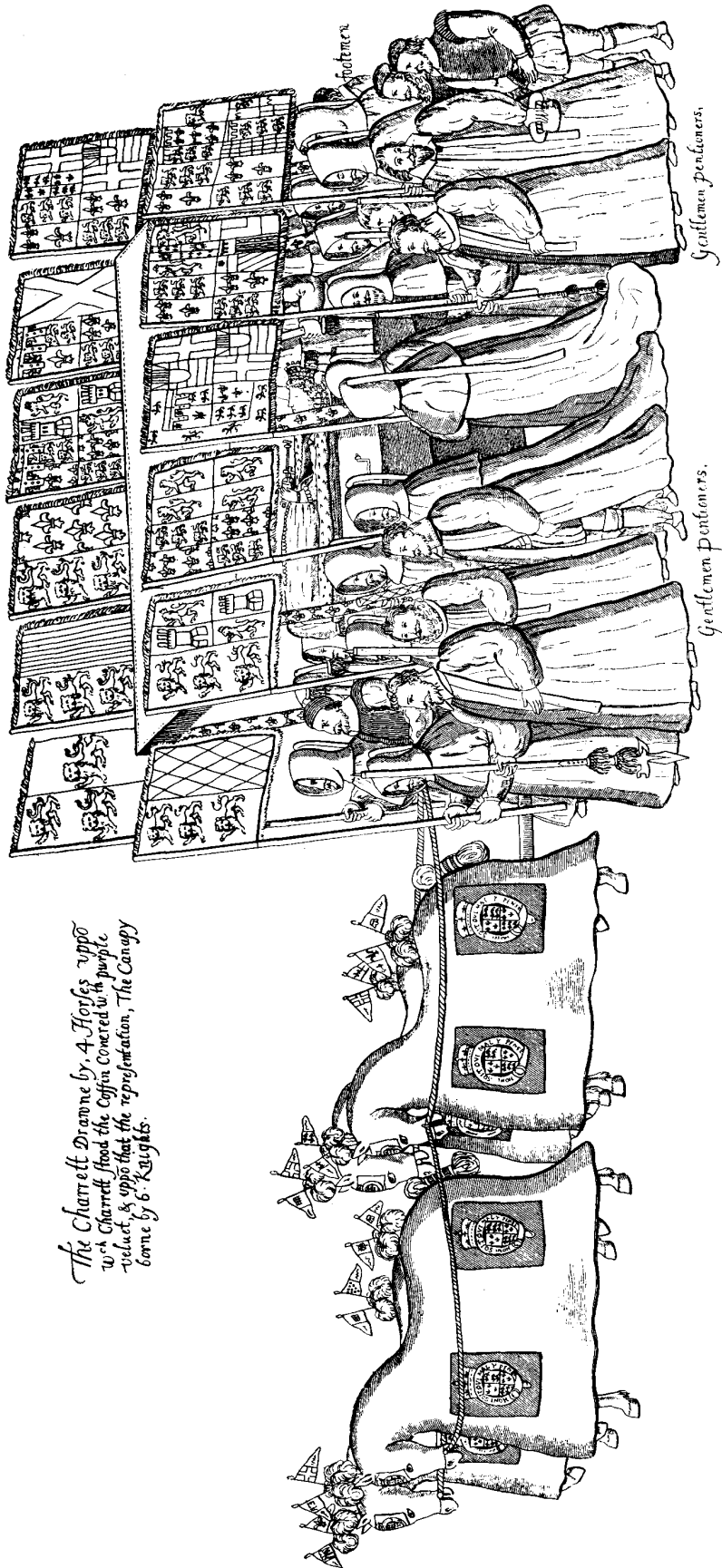
Summa—patet.

W ^m Marshall Item for making the Sabatons & quoif for the roiall representaçon of her late maiestie	v ^s
Item for the Crowne Septer & ball being all guilt w th fyne gold burnished the Crowne sett w th stones for y ^e said roiall repre- sentaçon	vj ^{li} xiijs ^s iiij ^d
Item for laying the coloure upon the chariott wher the royall Repre- sentaçon was caried	xxx ^s
Item for x yarde of crimson sattin to make a Robe for the representaçon at xvjs ^s the yard	viijs ^{li}
Item for xj yarde of white fustian to lyne the same Robe at xviii ^s the yard	xvjs ^s viijs ^d

^a P. R. O. Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, Great Wardrobe, 3142.

^b P. R. O. Lord Chamberlain's Records, Series I. Vol. 554.

*The Charrett Drawne by 4 Horses uppo
w^{ch} Charrett flood the Coffin covered wth purple
velvet, & uppo that the representation, The Canopy
borne by 6 Knights.*



HERSE AND FUNERAL EFFIGY OF QUEEN ELIZABETH. (From *Vetusta Monumenta*, Vol. III. Pl. XXIII.)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1807.

Item for iij qŕt of a yard of Cloth of gold for the Sabatons & the
quoife for the same Representaçon at l^s xxxvij^s vjd^d

William Jones | Paied to the said William Jones hir late Maiesties
tayler for making the said Robe of Satten for the Royall Repre-
sentaçon aforesaid xiiij^s iiij^d

The “roiall representacion” described so minutely in these accounts ought to be one of the series exhibited, but there are good reasons for believing that the naked trunk of it which is described by the old writers was utilized for the restoration (see *post*) of Queen Elizabeth’s effigy in 1760. In the present state of this figure it is difficult to see how the upper part is constructed, but the hips are still padded with “bombast,” and the legs, which were cut down in 1760 to fit them into a pair of high-heeled boots, are certainly those of an older figure.

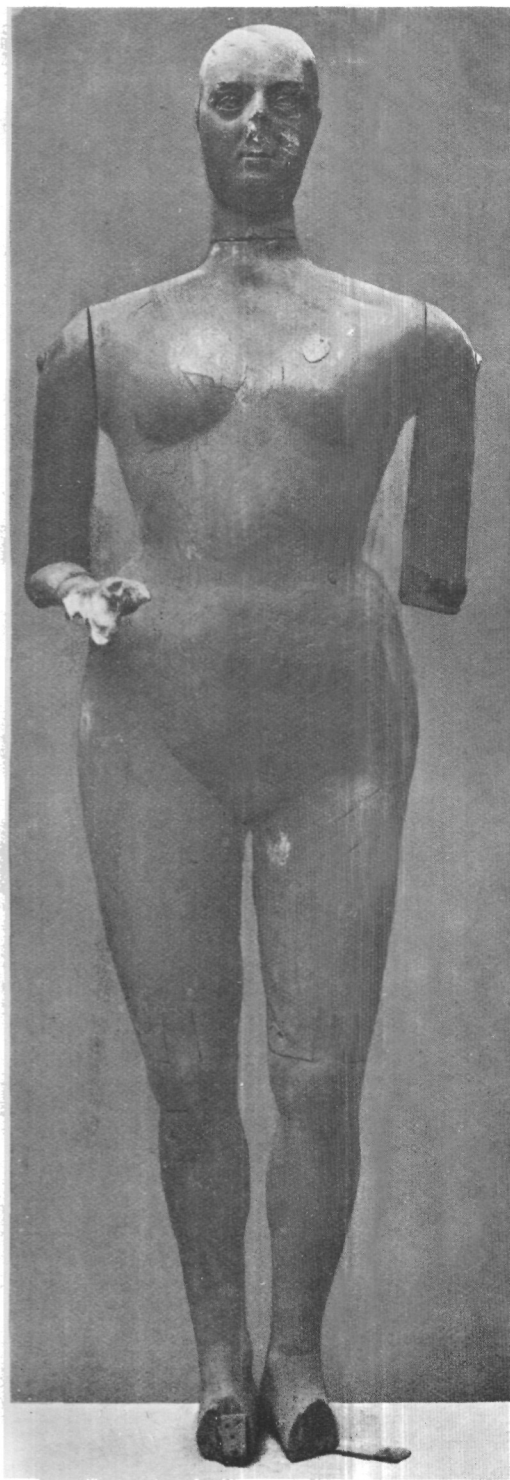
To the effigy of Queen Elizabeth probably belong the following loose pieces, which are also preserved with the other figures :

- i. A broken left foot ; the toes lost.
- ii. A forearm, with joint to elbow and a peg for the hand.
- iii. The upper part of a woman’s left arm, bent at the elbow, and covered partly with fine satin, and towards the top with thicker satin, evidently portion of a dress.

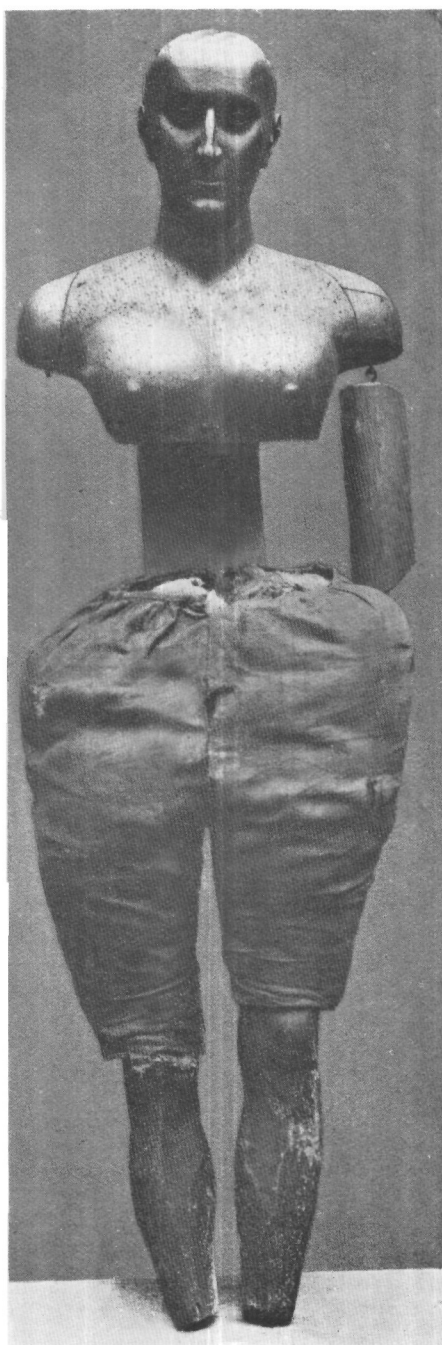
VIII. Of the next figure to be noticed all that remains is a headless and massive wooden framework of fir, with a cross-piece for the shoulders, pinned on to a vertical body post, which is jointed in the middle. (Plate LXV.) To the ends of the cross-piece are fixed iron loops and pointed screws for suspending the arms. The arms themselves are lost. The legs are stiff, but jointed on to the lower end of the body post with wooden pegs. The feet were jointed at the toes, which are broken off. From the knees downwards the legs are beautifully modelled, and covered with white silk stockings with fine clocks.

The head is at present missing.

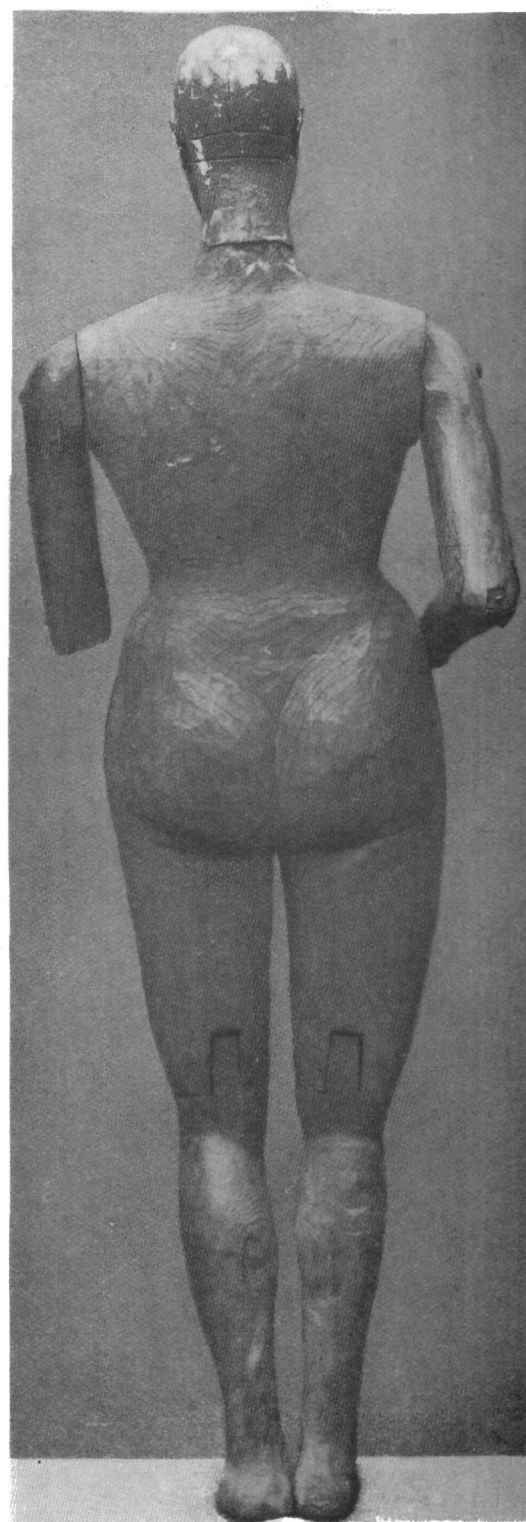
To this figure belong some interesting remains of the robes, including the canvas foundation of a padded doublet, lined with white (?) silk, and with remains of the silk covering, now colourless, but probably once red. One of the grey linen tabs is left on the left side. The lower edge is eyeletted all round for suspending



1



3



2

FUNERAL EFFIGIES OF QUEEN MARY, OBVERSE (1) AND REVERSE (2) AND QUEEN ANNE OF DENMARK (3).

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

the trunk hose. The front has triangular stays with thirty-two button-holes. The sleeves are lost.

The serge or baize foundation of the trunk hose is also left, and was formerly covered with silk damask to match the doublet, and along the top are eleven brass hooks for attaching it thereto. Round the left leg are six loops and buttons for fastening it around the knee.

This seems to be identical with the figure of Henry, Prince of Wales (who died in 1612), the account for making which is preserved among the Lord Chamberlain's Records :^a

Worke done for the Funerall of the most
Noble Prince Henry deceased by Richard
Loons joyner to his Highnes.

Item for makinge the bodye of a figure for the rep ^r sentation of His Highnes w ^t several joints both in the arms legges and bodie to be moved to sundrie accions first for the Carriage in the Chariot and then for the standinge and for settinge uppe the same in the Abbye with my attendance on the same work	ix. li
To Abraham Vanderdort for the face and hands of the Princes representation being very curiouslie wrought price	x. li

Another set of accounts^b gives the joiner's name more correctly as Richard Norrice :

Richard Norrice Joyner for a Coffine and representa ^c on with severall Joyntes in the Armes Legges and Body	xv. li
Abraham Vanderdorte for the face and handes of the Princes representa ^c on beinge very curiously wrought	x. li

IX. The next figure consists (i) of a wooden head and bust of a woman, with well-carved face (Plate LXII.), fixed on to a worm-eaten wooden post, and (ii) of a body, now loose, consisting of a canvas bag filled with tow, to which are attached the legs. These are well modelled, but much worm-eaten. (Plate LXIV.) The arms were suspended by iron loops at the shoulder and elbows, but only the upper part of the left arm is left. The feet are lost.

The body seems to have been attached to the trunk post by a large iron pin through the hips.

^a P. R. O. Lord Chamberlain's Records, Series I. Vol. 555.

^b P. R. O. Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, Great Wardrobe, 3145.

According to the late Sir George Scharf, who examined the figure when it was more perfect than now, its height was 5 feet 8 inches.

Despite the mutilated condition of this effigy there can be no reasonable doubt that it is the one made for the funeral of Queen Anne of Denmark in 1619, by the father or the son of the John Colt who made the figure of Queen Elizabeth in 1603, which probably accounts for the similarity in the wording of the two accounts. Those relating to Queen Anne's effigy are as follows: ^a

Paid to Abraham Greene Serjant Plumber for the intombinge of the Royall Body of our late Sovereigne Lady Queene deceased w th lead and soder and for travaile and attendance of himselfe and servants for certaine daies at his Ma ^{ty} honor of Hampton Courte and for one greate vessell to putt in the Bowells and inwarde partes w ^{ch} were sent to Westminster Abbey and for Castinge of the Armes and Crowne of the late Queene deceased and progenie and for guildinge & payntinge of the Armes Crowne and Letters and for makeing and Carveing of the Mould for the Armes Crowne and l ^{ies} of the same late Queene deceased and for store & workmanship preisse in gross	xx li
Paid to Maximilian Coutte Carver for makeing the representacon for Iron worke for the Joynts for a paire of Bodyes 2 paire of draweing hose and for bombast to fill them, for a Cheste to carry the picture to Denmarke House and for Carriage of it and for makeing a Copper plate w ^t writeing graven uppon it to be fastened uppon the Coffin and alsoe for makeinge of a mould to mould divers shields w ^t the Kings & Queenes Armes in them w ^{ch} hath been employed about the Hearse preisse in gross	xvj li
Paied to John Derwitts for guilding and silvering a great Lyon a Unicorne and ij wild men to stand on the iiij ^{or} Collumns of the hearse, the Lyon at Ls. the Unicorne and ij wild men at xxxs the peece	vij ^l
Item for dyvers tymes painting the Royall Representacon	xxx ^s
Paid to John Smith for pforming a Roabe for the Royall Representacon	vj li

The items relating to the representation are given somewhat differently and with the names of the artists spelled more correctly in another set of accounts: ^b

Makeing the Represent ^{con} } viz ^t to }	Maximillian Colte for makeinge the Representa ^{con} w th Iron worke and other Chardges incident thereunto in full of xx ^{li} xv ^s vij ^d demaunded xvj ^{li}
John Smith for perfuminge ^c a Roabe used at the ffunerall for the royall representa ^{con}	

vj^{li}

^a P. R. O. Lord Chamberlain's Records, Series I. Vol. 556.

^b P. R. O. Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, Great Wardrobe, 3145.

^c *Sic* for "performing."

Benjamyn Henshawe Silkeman for golde ffringes Tassells Ribbons and Silkes ymployed as followeth viz^t about a velvett Crimsin Cushion to lay under the Representa^{co}n xlv^s ij^d

John Decreete Sergeaunt Paynter for sondry sorte of Painters worke by him donne viz
Paintinge the Royall Representa^{co}n Chariott and Atcheivem^{ts} xx^{li}

X. The last of the royal funeral effigies is, like that of Henry, Prince of Wales, a headless figure of a man, 5 feet 7 inches high, of fir wood, hollowed out at the back. A wooden peg for the head is fixed in the top. (Plate LXV.) The trunk is very roughly fashioned and has a piece chopped out in front for the point of the doublet. Here and there are traces of plaster padding. The arms were hung in canvas sockets, which are left, but the arms themselves are lost. The legs have been pegged on and held in place by (? later) iron straps. They are also carefully modelled and smoothed, and were covered with two pairs of stockings, the under of wool, the outer of silk. The latter are in good order with pretty clocks and back seams. On the right leg, which is loose, only the woollen stocking remains. The feet were modelled in gesso. The shoes are lost.

Around the left leg are very faint traces of the Garter.

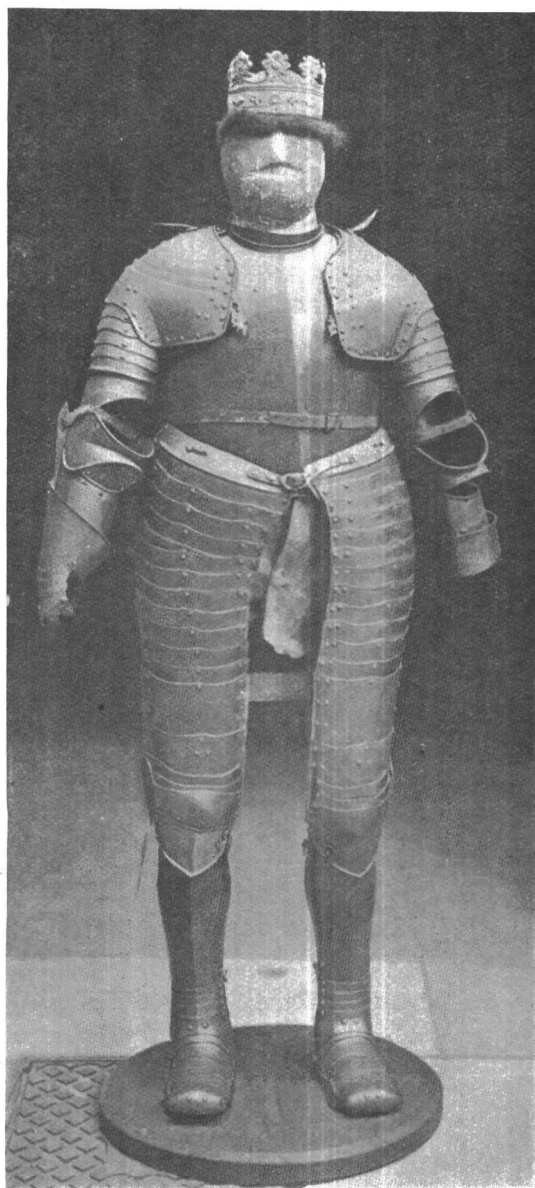
This figure is undoubtedly that made for the funeral of King James I. in 1625, and its curious history is fully recorded in the accounts that relate to its making:^a

Paid to Maximilian Coult for making the body of the representacion with several joynts in the armes leggs and body to be moved to several postures and for setting up the same in Westminster Abbey and for his attendance there	x li
Item for ye face and hands of the said representacion being curiously wrought	x li
Item for the labour paines and expences of himself and his servants: and for stuff by him employed in and about the said service and his journey to Theobalds for the moulding of the King's face for ye better makeing of the premises upon special command	xvi ^s viij ^d
Item for making a representation suddenly to serve only at Denmarke house untill the funerall and for his attendance there at divers times	x li
Item for a plate of copper with an inscription fastened upon the breast of the leaden coffin	xl ^s
Item for a crowne of wood and a lyon upon it for his Ma ^{ty} s creast	xl ^s
Item for a shield with his Ma ^{ty} s armes a garter comptment and a Crowne upon it	xxx ^s

^a P. R. O. Lord Chamberlain's Records, Series I. Vol. 557.



1



3



2

FUNERAL EFFIGIES OF HENRY PRINCE OF WALES (1), KING JAMES I. (2), AND GENERAL MONCK (3).

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

Item for a scepter and a gloabe for the Representation	xxvi ^s viij ^d
Item for making a Crowne with Divers counterfeitt stonns on it	c ^s
Item for painting the face and hands of the last representation	xc ^s
Item for the makeing of a better crowne the former being broaken by the often removeing of the representation and for the gilding of the same being sett with divers stones	x ^{li}
Sum	lvij ^{li} iii ^s iiij ^d

Daniel Parkes

For two Periwiggs.

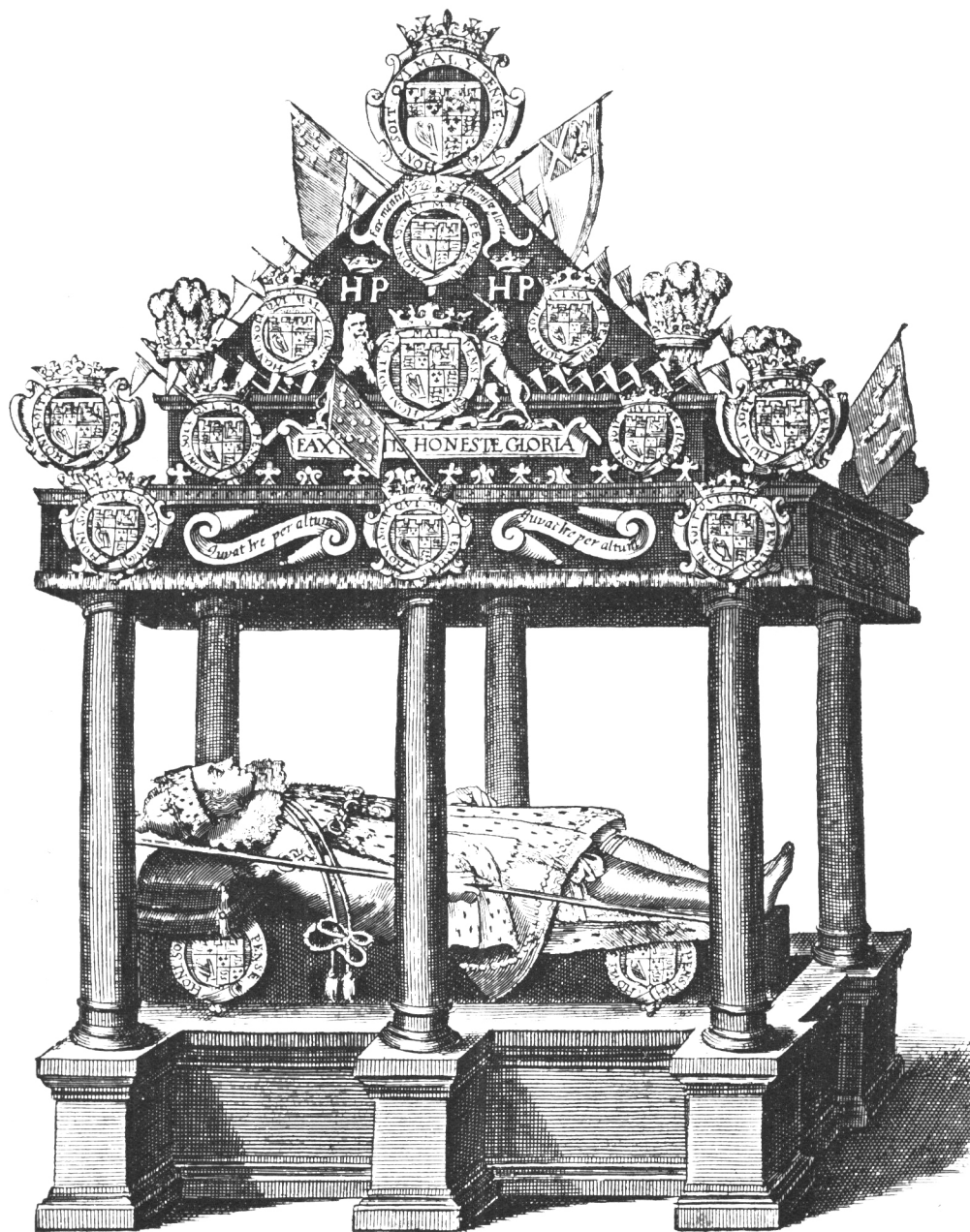
Paid to Daniel Parkes for makeing of one periwigg beard and eyebrows for the body at Denmark house	x ^{li}
Item for one other periwigg and other beard and eyebrowes for the body which remains in the Abbey of Westminster	x ^{li}
Sum	xx ^{li}

Another set of accounts* of King James's funeral gives the items somewhat differently, and the name of the painter who painted the face of the representation :

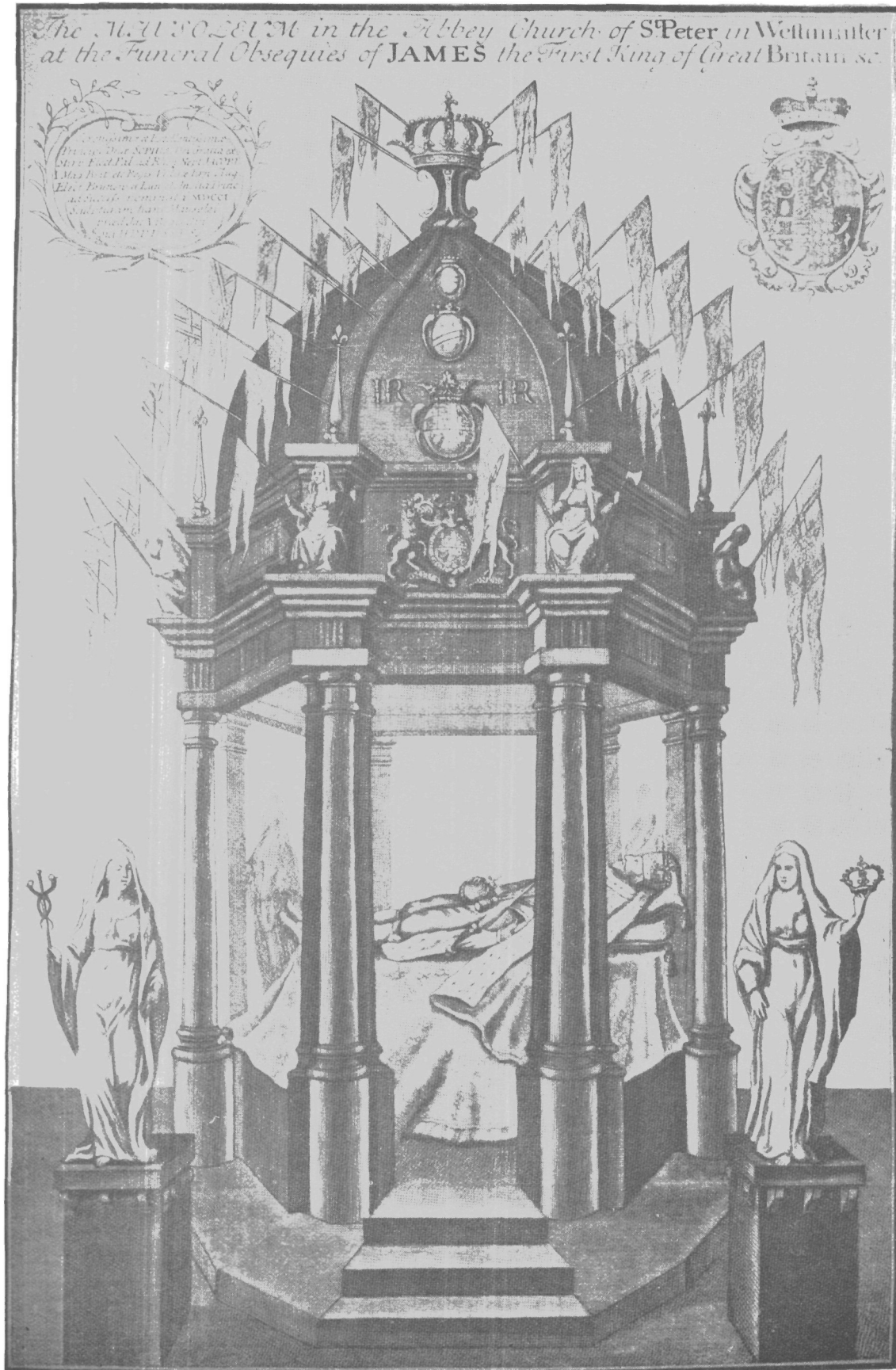
Maximilian Colte carver for makeinge the body for the Representaçon w th severall Joynte in the Armes legges and body to be moved to severall postures, the face and handes thereof beinge curiously wroughte, w th settinge upp the same in Westminster Abbey and for another Representacon suddenly to serve at Denmarkehouse w th a plate of Copper and an Inscription fastened to the bust of the leaden coffin a Crowne of wood and a Lyon uppon it for his Ma ^{tes} : Crest a sheild w th his Ma ^{tes} Armes, a Garter Compertim ^t and a Crowne uppon it, a scepter and a Gloabe a Crowne w th diverse Counterfett stones uppon it, and a better Crowne the former beinge broken w th often removeinge	lvij ^{li} iijs iiij ^d
Danyell Parke for twoe Periwiggē Beardes and eybrowes for the Bodies the one at Denmarkehouse and the other at the Abbey at west- minster	xx ^{li}
John Decrit Sergeaunte Painter for diverse woorkes by him donne for the saide ffunerall viz ^t payntinge the face of the Royall Representaçon	xl ^s

These accounts illustrate very clearly the manner in which these later royal effigies were fashioned, and the hiring of the hair explains why the heads are now bald.

* P. R. O. Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, Great Wardrobe, 3145.



HERSE AND FUNERAL EFFIGY OF HENRY PRINCE OF WALES. (From Sandford's *Genealogical History*.)



HERSE OF KING JAMES I. WITH FUNERAL EFFIGY. (From Sandford's *Genealogical History*.)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

There is one other curious point to be noticed, that it is evident from Coult's bill that the effigy before us can not be that which he set up in Westminster Abbey, since that had "several joynts in the armes leggs and body to be moved to several postures," like the one made for Prince Henry. This on the other hand is not hinged, and it must therefore be the representation made "suddenly to serve only at Denmark house untill the funerall." Its presence at Westminster can probably be accounted for by the reason assigned for the making of a new crown, "the former being broaken by the often removeing of the representation." The first effigy was therefore probably damaged through officious persons working its "several joynts" and moving it into "several postures,"^a and the other was brought in to replace it.

XI. In addition to the royal effigies there remains one other (Plate LXV.), that made for the state funeral of General George Monck, Earl of Torrington and Duke of Albemarle, in 1670, which has been so admirably illustrated in Sandford's published account of it.^b (Plate LXVIII.)

Until lately this figure was composed of sticks wrapped with hay, encased in pieces of armour, which had been filled up in part with plaster of Paris. The head is still a rough block of plaster, painted black.

The figure has lately been taken to pieces and remounted at the Tower of London under the direction of Viscount Dillon. It is encased in a full suit of armour,^c but the gauntlets are mutilated. Underneath is an old leather undress buff coat with leather ties, and now sleeveless. On the head is a gilt metal ducal coronet encircling a black cap of estate edged with dark brown fur.

To this figure probably also belong (i) an ermine cap, (ii) a wig, and (iii) a red leather belt with gilt buckles, etc.; all now loose.

The original state of the effigy is fully described in the warrant for its making issued to the Master of the King's Great Wardrobe:^d

^a We are indebted to Lord Dillon for this suggestion.

^b Francis Sandford, *The Order and Ceremonies Used for, and at the Solemn Interment of The most High, Mighty and most Noble Prince GEORGE DUKE OF ALBEMARLE, etc. 1670.*

^c The armour below the knees, according to Lord Dillon, is of a date before 1566-88, and therefore at least eighty years older than the rest on the figure.

^d P. R. O. Lord Chamberlain's Records, Series I. Vol. 576. Keepe, in his *Monumenta West-monasteriensia*, says of this figure: "The Statue of the Duke of Albemarle, in compleat Armour, with his Parliament Robes as a Mantle covering them, with the Collar of the Order of St. George round his neck, a Battoon in his hand, and a Coronet on his head, is likewise placed in a Press of Wainscot further to remember him" (p. 95).

A Pall of vellvett
& other neces-
saries for y^e effi-
gies of the Duke
of Albemarle di-
rected to S^r Edw^d
Walker.

These are to signifie unto your Lords^{pp} his Ma^{ties} pleasure that you provide and deliver or cause to be provided and delivered unto S^r Edward Walker Knight Garter principall Kinge of Armes these particulars followinge for the layinge in state of his grace the duke of Albemarle at Denmarke House (viz^t) a Pall of Velvett of eight yards longe and eight breadths lined with a sheete of fine holland of eight breadths and eight ells long which is to be turned over the velvett halfe a yarde or more to Lye upon the Bedd when the Corps are to be Laid And thereupon the representation to be laid the bed to be Compassed about with an outward Raile about ffive ffoot distant all the Posts and railles to be Covered with Velvett and alsoe that your Lords^{pp} give order for the prepareinge of the Effigies to be in Compleate Armour azured with guilt nailes and guilt with a Girdle of Crimson of velvett with gold Lace the sword appendant thereat to have a Crosse hilt Guilt and against Chape This Representation to hold Guilt Baston of Copper in the Right hand and to be invested in a Ducall Roabe of Crimson velvett, lyned Ermines, about the Necke a Collar and George of the Order of the Garter of Copper Guilt, and under the head a Cushion of Crimson velvett with Gold ffringe and Tassells upon the head a Cap of Crimson velvett turned up with Ermine with a Ducall Cornett of Copper Gilt, about the left Legge a garter of blew velvett the buckles and Letters of Copper Gilt, A velvett Carpett to Cover a narrow table on which the Helmett Crest &c. are to stand And this with his hand for the Receipt thereof shall be your Lord^{pp} Warr^t Given under my Hand this Eleaventh day of January, 1669 in the 24 yeare of his Ma^{ties} Rayne

MANCHESTER.

To the Right hono^{ble} Edward Earle of Sandwich
Master of his Ma^{ties} great Wardrobe and his Deputy there.

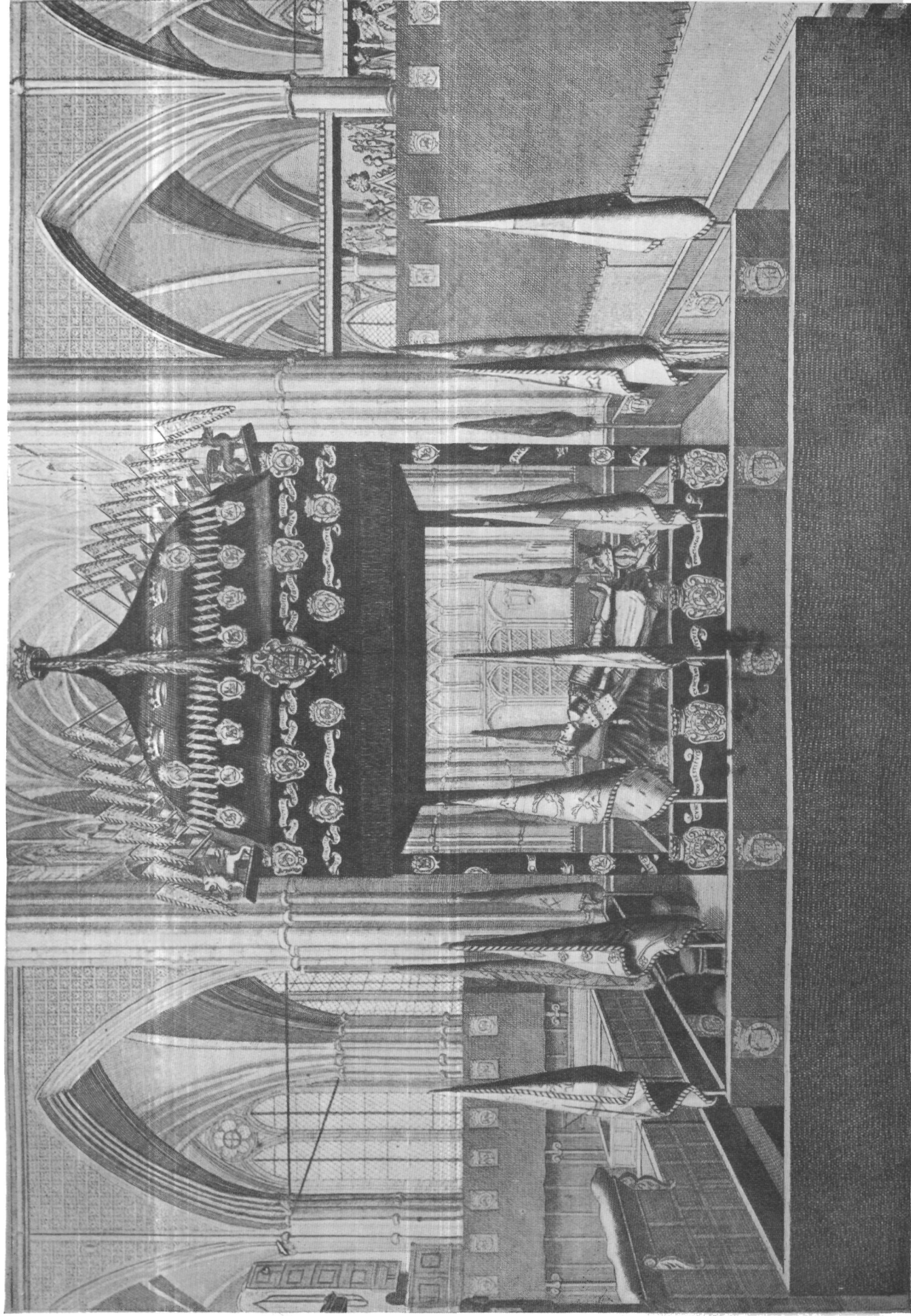
The following extracts from the appended accounts refer to the component parts of the representation :

1	Joseph Worwood Armourer Craveth Allowance as			
25 th of March	followeth viz ^t .			
1670				
ffor the ffunerall	ffor one Suite of Armour Cap-a-pe cont ^d backe breast			
of the Duke of	Helmet Poulderns Gantlets Culet Quishes, and	li	s	d
Albemarle.	Greaves	20	00	00

[signed by]

THO: TOWNESEND JUN LANCELOTT THORNTON SANDWICH,
AND: NEWPORT BULLEN REIMES.

2	Francis Walton Goldsmith Craves Allowances as			
March 25 ^o	followeth viz ^t .			
1670				
ffor the ffunerall	ffor one Coronett of Copper richly gilt in Gold Coloured			
of the Duke of	and enamelled at	07	00	00
Albemarle.	ffor one Collar of the order of Brasse richly gilt with			
	Colours at	09	00	00



HERSE OF GENERAL GEORGE MONCK, DUKE OF ALBEMARLE, 1670. (From Sandford's *Order*, etc.)

ffor one Baston of Brasse richly gilt with gold at .	03	00	00
ffor the George to hange on to the Collar of the Order and Buckells of Brasse gilt with gold at .	04	00	00
	23	00	00

THO^s TOWNSEND JUN LANCELOT THORNTON

25 March 70 AND: NEWPORT

BULLEN REIMES

THOS. TOWNSEND Dep:

Aprill 2 1670 10 ffor a Sword of the Order.	Edward Younger Cutler Craves allowance as followeth viz ^t . ffor one Robe sword for the ffunerall of the Duke of Albemarle at .	02	00	00
---	---	----	----	----

THOS: TOWNSEND JUN.

LANCELOTT THORNTON

BULLEN REYMES.

Aprillth 2 1670 12 ffor the Duke of Albemarles Effigies.	William Rutlish and George Pinkney Embroyderer Crave allowance as followeth viz ^t ffor a Garter of Pearle and Gold Buckles, and Pendant, wrought upon blewe velvett .	01	09	00
---	---	----	----	----

Ordered to be paid.

Aprill 5 th 1670 17 ffor th Duke of Albemarle.	William Broadley Joyner Craveth allowance as followeth viz ^t ffor a ffalse Coffin to Lay the Effigies of the Duke of Albemarle on in Somerset House 20 ^s .	01	00	00
---	---	----	----	----

5 Ap: 70

THO: TOWNSEND JUN.

AND: NEWPORT

BULLEN REYMES

THO: TOWNSEND Dep.

April 5 1670 26 ffor a scarfe for the effigies.	Thomas Jones silkeman Craves Allowance as followeth viz ^t ffor 15 oz of gold ffringe at 5 ^d p oz. .	03	15	00
---	---	----	----	----

Ordered to be paid.

Apr: th: 5 1670 26 The Duke of Albemarles Effigies.	John Bushnell Craves Allowance as followeth viz ^t ffor making the head and hand in wax for paintinge the same a Perriwigge of Haire to it And modellinge the whole body in Stucko and for my paines and servants and alsoe attendance in Dressinge and settinge up the same in Westminster Abbey .	35	00	0
--	--	----	----	---

Ordered to be paid.

27 Apr: the 7 th 1670 27 ffor the Duke of Albemarle Effigies.	Joyce Hord Semstris Craveth Allowance as followeth viz ^t . ffor a Lace Cravatt and Lace Cuffes at 00 15 00 Ordered to be paid.			
Apr: the 7 th 1670 30 ffor a scarfe. ffor sleeves for the Dukes Effigies.	Robert Clarkson Mercer Craveth Allowance as followeth viz ^t . ffor 2 elles $\frac{3}{4}$ of Crimson fflorence scarcenet at 11 ^s p ell ffor 1 y ^d $\frac{1}{2}$ of Crimson fflorence Sattin at 14 ^s p y ^d .	li	s	d
		01	08	10
		01	01	00
	Ordered to be paid.	02	09	10
Apr: the 4 th 1670 31. ffor the Effigies of his grace the Duke of Albemarle deceased.	John Allen his Ma ^{ties} Taylor Craveth Allowance as followeth viz ^t . ffor an oiled shamey wastcoate and breeches for the Effigies with all furniture ffor a paire of Longe Linnen Drawers to put under the breeches ffor makeing a Crimson Taffatie scarfe with a gold ffringe ffor a Large buffe skinne ffor makeing a paire of Sattin sleeves Lace with Gold lace and 4 great Buffe skirts and silke to them ffor ribbon to tye and binde the skirts ffor 6 ounces of Large Gold poyntinge Loope lace at 5 ^s p ounce ffor 2 Large gilded taggs to the Loopelace ffor 7 yds $\frac{1}{2}$ of gold Lace to the sleives at 6 ^s 3 ^d ffor three mens worke to order the Effigies			
		01	05	00
		00	07	00
		0	02	06
		03	00	00
		00	06	00
		00	03	00
		01	10	00
		00	08	00
		02	06	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
		00	05	00
	Ordered to be paid.	09	13	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
March 25 th 1670 33 ffor a Cusshion to Lye under the effigies head.	Samuell Howard Mercer Craves allowance viz ^t ffor 2 yds $\frac{1}{2}$ of Crimson 2 pile velvet at 26 ^s p y ^d .			
	Ordered to be paid.	03	05	00

Apr. 1670 81.	Abraham Downeinge his Ma ^{ties} Sergeant Skinner craves allowance as followeth viz ^t			
	ffor the ffurringe a Ducall Robe and Cap of Estate for the effigies of the Duke of Albemarle	15	00	00
	ffor makeinge a Ducall Cap of Crimson velv ^t with a rich gold Button and for furnishinge a Ducall Robe by way of Loane for the Bedde of Estate at Somersett house	05	00	00
	Sum totall	20	00	00
	THO: TOWNSEND JUNR. LANCELOT THORNTON.	AND: NEWPORT. 5 May 70		
Aprill 1670 82.	Bartholomew Parsons his Mat ^{ies} Spurrier Craves Allowance viz ^t .			
	ffor one paire of rich gilt spurs for the Effigies of the Duke of Albemarle	00	10	00
	LANCELOT THORNTON. 5 May 70	AND: NEWPORT.		
No. 101. April 2 ^d 1670 For y ^e D. of Albemarles Funerall.	Phillipp Hanbury Milliner Craves allowance as followeth viz ^t			
For the Effigies.	For one paire of sadd coloured hose at 5 ^s	00	05	00
		00	05	00
	THO: TOWNSEND JUN. LANC: THORNETON.	BULLEN REYMES.		
No. 103 To Tye the Effigies of the D. of Albemarle to y ^e Charriott.	Francis Warrington shoemaker Craves allowance as followeth viz ^t .			
	For 4 strapps of Neates leather Cutt through the whole Hyde	00	05	00
		00	05	00
	THO: TOWNSEND JUNIO ^R . LANC ^T : THORNETON.	BULLEN REYMES.		

It will be seen that, setting aside the problematical figure in wax for King Henry III. and the later one for General Monk, these funeral effigies divide themselves into four groups.

The first, or medieval group, consists of figures carved out of a single block of wood, and hollowed out at the back, like the figures of King Edward III. and Queen Katharine of Valois. The recorded effigy of King Edward II. was probably of this type, and that of Queen Anne of Bohemia, of which only the head is left.

The next, or early Tudor group, is represented by the rigid stuffed or padded figures of Queen Elizabeth of York and King Henry VII.

The third, which is represented only by what may be Queen Mary's figure, is a survival of the medieval type, but with the arms jointed for convenience in dressing the effigy, and the legs made of separate pieces from the trunk.

The fourth group includes the three Stuart figures of Henry Prince of Wales, Queen Anne of Denmark, and King James I., all of which consisted of jointed frameworks with modelled heads. That of Queen Elizabeth is apparently of the same type, and both hers and Queen Anne's have padded hips to support the gowns.

Lastly, it may be of interest to inquire why and how these figures have come to be preserved at all. Probably in the first instance they were kept after the funeral to lay upon the grave until a proper monument could be prepared, a work that was not usually begun, as was Richard II.'s, in the king's lifetime. But there must be a reason why some have and others have not been preserved. This is possibly due to the manner in which they were clothed.

We have seen that the early tradition was for the king to be carried to the grave and buried in his coronation ornaments, and that this was certainly done as late as 1272 in the case of King Edward I. His son King Edward II. was as certainly buried in the linen vestments he wore at his anointing, while his coronation ornaments were used to deck his wooden funeral effigy. When this had served its purpose and the ornaments been returned to store, the effigy was reduced to such a wooden trunk as that of King Edward III. before you, and perhaps discarded. How Edward III.'s effigy was arrayed we do not yet know, but if it were in his robes of estate there would not be the same reasons for stripping it after the funeral as in the case of the more sacred and more precious coronation ornaments, and so the effigy would be kept intact. This suggestion as to King Edward III.'s figure, although not confirmed by his monumental effigy, which shows the coronation ornaments, is assisted by the fact that both Richard II. and Henry IV. are shown on their tombs in their robes of estate, and

we have seen that the figure carried at Henry V.'s funeral was so adorned, as was the silver-plated effigy on his tomb. In the later funerals of Edward IV. and of the Tudor sovereigns the robes of estate became the customary apparel for the "picture" or representation.

Why the fashion of having these images was dropped, and how far and for how long it was concurrently adopted and carried on in France, are questions that, owing to the length to which this paper has already run, must be for the present deferred.

THE WESTMINSTER TRADITION OF IDENTIFICATION.

By the Very Rev. JOSEPH ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D., F.S.A., Dean of Westminster.

HENRY KEEPE in his *Monumenta Westmonasteriensia* (p. 133 f.), published in 1682, says that in his time the upper part of Islip's Chapel was made use of "as a repository for those *Statues of our Kings, Queens, and Princes of the Bloud Royal*, which lay on their *Cenotaphs* when their Exequies were celebrated in this Church; being here preserved in their Robes of Estate with their Royal Habiliments and other Ensigns of Majesty, in Presses of Wainscote, viz. *Edward III., King of England, and Philippa his Queen, Henry V. and Queen Katherine, Henry VII. with Elizabeth his Queen, and Henry Frederick Prince of Wales*, in one Press, with *Queen Elizabeth, King James, and Queen Anne his wife*, in the other."

Keepe says nothing as to the condition of the figures, but the fact that seven were in one press suggests that they were huddled away as no longer fit to be displayed. This is borne out by Dart's description forty years later (I. 194-5). He says that "the antientest have escap'd best," and describes Edward III. as having a robe once of crimson velvet, but now like leather; Henry V., of whose figure he says, "I can't suppose it that carried at his Funeral; for that was made of tann'd Leather, but this is of Wood, as are all the old ones." The later he says were "of Stuff having the Heads only of wood, as Queen Elizabeth, who is entirely stripped." He further names James I., but of the rest he says that they are too mangled to identify.

We may assume, then, with probability that in 1683 all the figures (with the exception of Queen Elizabeth's, which was restored in 1760) were in much the same condition as at present, and that most of them were in the very press out of which they have now been taken.

Some rhymes quoted by Stanley from *The Mysteries of Love and Eloquence*

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(p. 88) seem to show that the same figures were in the same place under the Commonwealth in 1658 :

Henry the Seventh and his fair Queen,
 Edward the First ^a and his Queen ;
 Henry the Fifth here stands upright,
 And his fair Queen was this Queen.
 The noble Prince, Prince Henry,
 King James's eldest son,
 King James, Queen Anne, Queen Elizabeth,
 And so this Chapel's done.

But I find among some newspaper cuttings collected by Dean Stanley the following verses, which appear to point to an earlier state of things :

Henry the Seventh lies here entomb'd, with his fair Queen beside him ;
 He was the founder o' this Chapel, Oh ! may no ill betide him ;
 And here they stand upright in a press, with their bodies made of wax,
 A globe and a wand in either hand, and their robes upon their backs.

The ballad is called "*The Tombs in Westminster Abbey*, as sung by Brother Popplewell, in the manner of chanting in a Cathedral."

We may conjecture that the royal effigies remained beside the royal tombs, or in other places of honour, until 1643. That was the year of the great havoc in which the altar over King Edward VI. was destroyed; and it is not likely that the effigies of Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York which stood hard by escaped insult. We can only wonder that so much was left of the royal figures as we see to-day, and that any one thought it worth while to gather the fragments together and store them up in presses in the Islip Chapel. We may wonder again that after their disfigurement there should remain any clear tradition as to their identification.

For we are fortunate in being able to carry back this tradition to the year 1606, when on the 4th of August King James brought King Christian of Denmark to see the Abbey.^b In our Treasurer's accounts for 1606 we have the following entry :

L libræ liberatæ magistro Decano ad faciendas stolas sive togas demissas et alia ornamenta pro statuis Regum et Reginarum in Ecclesia, in et erga adventum dominorum præpotentissimorum Regum in Ecclesiam : nempe nostri Regis Jacobi et Regis Danorum.

^a Probably an error for "Edward the Third."

^b The date is given by an entry in St. Margaret's Churchwardens' Accounts for that year : '1606. Item, paid the ringing when the King of Denmark came to the Abbey the 4th of August, ii^s vi^d.' J. E. Smith, *A Catalogue of Westminster Records* (London, 1900), 31.

This was an advance of £50 to the Dean for dressing the effigies; but the expense was much greater. At the end of the accounts is a long and interesting note by Dean Neile, the whole of which is worth attention. It is headed "Monuments," and runs as follows:

Imprimis, seaven statues of Kinges and Queenes; viz ^t of our late soveraigne Q. Elizabeth, of Henrie the seaventh and his Queene, Edwarde the third and his Queene, Henrie the fifth and his Queene; repayred, robed and furnished at the King's Majestie his charge	lxx ^{li}		
Item, the making of the presse(s) of wainscott in the which the statues do stand	ciii ^s	ix ^d	
Item, the Tombe of Queene Anne of Cleve finished, and a faire large marble stone laied of (<i>sic</i>) it, the charge whereof was	vii ^l	iiii ^s	vii ^d
Item, the removing of Q. Elizabeth her bodie from under H. the vii th his Tombe to the place where her monument nowe standeth: charges	xlvi ^s	iiii ^d	
Item, the furnishing of the ii Convocacion howses for the Bishoppes and the rest of the Clergie	x ^{li}	v ^s	xi ^d
Item, the vault in which his Majesties younge daughter the ladie Sophia her grace was buried	xxvi ^s	iiii ^d	

I owe to Mr. W. H. St. John Hope the following interesting extract from the contemporary Order Book in the Public Record Office:

	Veneris xxvij ^o die Novembris 1607.		
Deane of Westm ^r for repairing y ^e statues in Westm ^r churche.	By order xxij ^o Martij 1606 To M ^r Doctor Neale Deane of Westm ^r aswell the summe of threescore twelve pounde twelve shillinge three pence for repayring the Statues in the churche of Westm ^r w th robes painting and other attire, as also the summe of fiftie three pounde sixe shillinge eight pence due to him and others of the said Churche for the buriall of his highnes daughter the la: Sophia . per breve datum xxix ^o Nov. 1606. ^a	cxxv ^{li}	xvij ^s xj ^d

^a Order Book (Pells), 1607-8, f. 40.

In a smith's bill for the same year we have this item :

For a key for a plate locke for the dore goinge into a littell roome where the queenes picture did stande.

The queen is probably Queen Elizabeth, and the little room may be that which we pass on the left as we go into the north aisle of Henry VII.'s Chapel.

The only record of an earlier date that refers to these royal effigies is a patent granted by Dean Bill and the Chapter to William Jenkinson of

the office of chief vergerer or vergershipp and also to have the custodie and oversight of the Tombes and monimentes and of the pictures of kinges and quenes within all the saide church remaynyng.

It is dated 28th February, 1561, and is specially interesting as preserving the old designation of the effigies as "pictures."^a

To the seven effigies which were newly adorned for the visit of the King of Denmark in 1606 was added in 1612 the first which was not that of a king or a queen, and the first to be wilfully outraged. Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales, immensely popular though he had been, was robbed of his rich robes three and a half years later.^b In 1619 Anne of Denmark, and six years later James himself came to complete the series of genuine funeral effigies of royal persons. General Monk's effigy in full armour (1670) was indeed carried in the old manner; but King Charles II. was buried without pomp, and his effigy may have been an afterthought to mark his grave, which had no other monument.^c The figures of William and Mary and Anne are simply waxworks made for show, when the members of the choir took the fees of the Royal Chapels and desired to add to their attractions. This we learn from an order of Dean Bradford in 1727, regulating the payments of new members in compensation of the large outlay of their predecessors.

Dukes and duchesses continued the tradition for a time. James's cousin,

^a Register E, f. 33. A similar patent was granted of a vergership on the same day to "Cutbert Hindeson."

^b State Papers Domestic, 9th April, 1616.

^c Charles II.'s effigy stood over his grave in 1723 (Dart, i. 151); General Monk's was at the west end of Queen Elizabeth's tomb (Keepe, 95; Dart, *ut supra*).

Ludovic Stuart, Duke of Richmond and Lennox (died 1624), together with his duchess (died 1639), stood in a press near their monument in Henry VII.'s Chapel when Keepe wrote in 1683: but in Dart's time the press was nailed up, as the figures were no longer fit to be shown.^a

Another Duchess of Richmond, the beautiful duchess of Charles II.'s time, Frances Teresa, stood by her own request under the east window of Henry VII.'s Chapel, in a press with her favourite parrot. She died in 1702, and ordered that her effigy should be dressed in the robes which she had lately worn at the coronation of Queen Anne. A curious confusion was made by Dart and later writers between her and the Lady Mary, sister of Esme Stuart, who was never Duchess of Richmond, but became Countess of Arran, and is not buried in the Abbey.

The last duchess is the widow of Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire, who died in 1743, and stands with her little boy of three years beside her. Edmund, her last surviving son and the last duke of the name, had died in 1735; his effigy is a striking one, and is alone in being in a recumbent posture.

Strange to say, this last effigy was placed in the Confessor's Chapel, where it remained until 1836, if not later.^b The two duchesses, the one with the parrot and the other with the boy, stood in their presses in 1823 against the middle of the entrance to the north transept on the inside.^c

On 3rd June, 1760, in preparation for the bicentenary celebration of Queen Elizabeth's foundation, a Chapter order was passed permitting the choir to make the existing effigy of the great queen. Internal evidence seems to show that the old figure served as the foundation of the new one. In 1779 came the effigy of Lord Chatham, to be followed in 1805 by Lord Nelson, both alike the outcome of commercial speculation.

Some twenty years later the system which had produced these results was abolished, and the choir were paid fixed stipends. On 26th May, 1841, at the end of Dean Ireland's time, when Lord John Thynne was sub-dean, an order was passed in Chapter for the removal of the wax effigies to the Consistory Court under the south-west tower, but no action appears to have been taken.

^a Keepe, 102; Dart, i. 161.

^b See the guide books, *Historical Description of Westminster Abbey*, Newbery, 1754, p. 96; Newman, 1836, p. 44.

^c Neale and Brayley, ii. 29.

We have in conclusion to express our thanks to Viscount Dillon for his extracts from the funeral accounts, to Sir Alfred Scott-Gatty, Garter Principal King of Arms, for his kindness in allowing access to the records of the royal burials in the library of the Heralds' College, and to the Special Committee for the use of their descriptive notes.

P.S.—The illustrations of the funeral effigies, except that of General Monck, which is from a photograph by Sir Benjamin Stone, M.P., F.S.A., are from photographs specially taken by Mr. Thomas J. Wright, clerk of the works at the Abbey.