

Bones in the Tower: A Discussion of Time, Place and Circumstance. Part 1

HELEN MAURER

ON 24 JUNE 1483, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, claimed the throne of England in his nephew's place. The two young Princes were last seen with certainty within the Tower of London. Whatever their actual fate, reports of their unnatural demise - often implicating Richard - became current soon after Richard's accession. Given the uncertainty of the times, these rumours are not surprising. Just as tellingly, after Henry Tudor's victory at Bosworth alternate rumours arose that at least one of the Princes had survived. But the Tudors remained in power, and Richard's guilt stuck.

Nearly 200 years after the Princes' disappearance, the bones of two children were found during demolition work within the Inmost Ward of the Tower of London. Accepted as the Princes' bones, they were placed in an urn in Westminster Abbey.¹ Continuing interest in these bones has focused largely on identity: are they or are they not the bones of the Princes? - and on its corollary: should Richard be held responsible for their deaths? Intriguing as these questions are, I suggest that a fixation with them has blinded us to other bone-related matters that might be investigated with profit. For these were not the first bones, nor the last, to be found within the Tower of London. Their uniqueness is a product of the urn and our own perceptions. Thus, one possible line of investigation should ask why *these bones* were accepted and put in a place of prominent display, while others were not.

In this article, I propose, figuratively, to put the bones back in the ground and to address the unanswered and largely unconsidered questions of provenance and acceptance. To do this, it will first be necessary to consider briefly the story of the bodies' disposition that shaped all later expectations. Next, I will turn to the Tower and a sketch of its architectural history, as pertinent to this investigation. This will lead into a discussion of bones found at various times within its precincts. As far as possible, I will endeavour to determine when and where these bones were found and what existing circumstances may have influenced their acceptance or rejection as *the bones*. In this investigation it will not be necessary to ask whose bones they were; in fact, the question will be superfluous. Nor will it matter who, if anyone, murdered any of them.

' . . . at the stayre foote, metely depe . . . '

Although the story of the villainous Richard reached its dramatic apogee in William Shakespeare's play written in 1592 or '93, the story of the Princes' murder and the disposal of their bodies was given its final form years earlier by Sir Thomas More. More's luridly detailed account, replete with named characters and dialogue, ends with the murderers burying the bodies 'at the stayre foote, metely depe in the grounde under a great heap of stones'. Of course, the careful reader knows that More did not leave things there. He has a priest of Sir Robert Brackenbury secretly dig up and reinter the bodies 'God wote where,' then conveniently die so that their resting place remains hidden (and so that the careful writer, More, will not be troubled to describe their present whereabouts).²

More was recognized in his own time as a man of considerable ironic wit. His close friend Erasmus wrote in his dedicatory preface to *In Praise of Folly* (whose Latin title contained a word play on More's name), 'I suspected that this jeu d'esprit of mine would be especially acceptable to you because you ordinarily take great pleasure in jokes of this sort - that is, those that do not lack learning, if I may say so, and are not utterly deficient in wit - and because you habitually play the role of Democritus by making fun of the ordinary lives of mortals.'³ With less approval Edward Hall described More's wit as 'fyne, and full of imaginacions ... much geuen to mockyng, whiche was to his gravite a greate blernishe.'⁴ Hall considered More's wit 'so mingled with tauntyng and mockyng, that it seemed to them that best knew him, that he thought nothing to be wel spoken except he had ministered some mocke in the communication.'⁵

Without a doubt, More's *History* is full of absurd and frequently contradictory statements, and More was too intelligent a man to have committed such gaffes without purpose. Alison Hanham has suggested recently that the *History* was written as a 'joke against historians.'⁶ The case she makes for More's use of satire and parody is a cogent one that we ought not to ignore. However, it would be unwise to let an appreciation of More's humorous technique blind us to his serious purpose. For him, the two things could and did coexist, quite happily. It is probable that More accepted Richard's guilt as fact, but it is equally clear that he felt no qualms about embroidering the matter to suit his own satiric

predilections.⁷ Unfortunately, people since, lacking More's 'singular wit,' have often found it difficult to distinguish the two threads of his writing. We know - as we have always known - that historical writing is supposed to be a serious endeavour, and if we have noticed the *History's* absurdities, we have either accepted them with wide-eyed credulity or used them to debunk the work entirely.⁸ Overall, in evaluating the story of the Princes' burial, there has been a tendency to gloss over or entirely overlook the efforts of More's unnamed priest.⁹ It is the stairs and the stones, and the bones 'metely depe' that we all remember.

With the passage of time, most people came to accept the Tudor version of events. Its truth need not concern us here. The important thing to remember is that people generally *believed* it to be true.

The Tower

The area of the Tower of London has been inhabited since prehistoric times. Quite recently, in 1977, archaeologists unearthed a youthful Iron Age skeleton from the southeast corner of the old Inmost Ward, beneath the site of the medieval palace buildings and the earliest levels of Roman occupation.¹⁰

Situated in the southeast angle of the Roman city wall, on the site of a previous Roman structure,¹¹ the keep or 'White Tower' was begun by William the Conqueror and was well under way by the time of his death in 1087. It originally had three floors: a basement, the first floor with an external entry (probably first reached by wooden stairs) in its south side, and a second floor containing the royal apartments and chapel. At an early date, probably before 1200, the wooden entry stairs were replaced by stone stairs in a stone forebuilding attached to the keep. This forebuilding was squarish and rose to about the height of the keep's second floor.¹² Other structures grew up, contiguous with the keep. The Wardrobe Tower, adjacent to the projecting apse of the chapel, and Coldharbour Gate on the west, which became the entrance to the Inmost Ward, were early accretions. A low stone building that formed a narrow open court against the eastern side of the White Tower was added at a slightly later date.¹³ Towards the very end of Richard II's reign, a new house was built for John Ludewyk or Lowick, who was keeper of the Privy Wardrobe from 1396 to 1399. Its exact location is unknown, but mention was made in the first year of Henry IV's reign to a 'new tower called the Ludwyktoure.' This Ludwyktoure has been tentatively identified as the slender round tower, shown in the 1597 drawing, which is set against the south face of the forebuilding (Fig. 1). If this is correct, Ludewyk's house may have been the precursor of the Jewel House adjacent, which was 'newe made' in the time of Henry VIII.¹⁴

Within the White Tower a stair in the northeast turret, diagonally opposite the first floor entrance, provided access to the basement and second floors and continued to the roof. Two more stairs in the northwest and southwest turrets also led to the roof from the second floor. The southeast turret - the one over the juncture of chapel apse and keep - did not contain a stair; to reach it, one would have to use the walkways just within the battlements. In time, the desire for convenience began to outweigh the needs of defence: in the fourteenth century a new stair was inserted into the keep's south wall, adjacent to the original entrance. This stair led from the first to the second floor, thus gaining direct access to the chapel and eliminating the need to use the northeast turret stair. I will refer to this hereafter as the new stair.¹⁵

Just as changes occurred to the keep, the Tower precincts expanded outwards. Work on the present moat began in 1275, and by about 1300 the Tower had reached its present concentric form. Growth brought changes in use to various parts of the structure. By the middle of the thirteenth century the residential centre of gravity had shifted away from the White Tower to the Wakefield and Lanthorn Towers and the Great Hall between them. By the fifteenth century it had moved farther eastward, to the area around the Lanthorn Tower and a line of buildings known as the King's Lodgings that had sprouted between it and the old keep. Henry VII added a gallery extending from the Lanthorn to the Salt Towers, with a new tower at its western end.¹⁶ This arrangement continued well into the reign of Henry VIII, when the Tower's use as a residence waned while its importance as a prison increased.

With this architectural history in mind, let us digress for a moment to resolve the issue of where the sons of Edward IV were held during their captivity in the Tower. Two sources provide us clues. Mancini, writing contemporaneously in 1483, states that the Princes 'were withdrawn into the inner apartments of the Tower proper.'¹⁷ This would seem to refer to apartments located within the Inmost Ward: that is, the area entered through Coldharbour Gate at the keep's southwest corner and bounded by the White Tower, the King's Lodgings, the Lanthorn Tower, the Great Hall, the Wakefield Tower, and a wall running back to Coldharbour. *The Great Chronicle*, written in the very early 1500s, says that the Princes were initially 'well entreatid wythyn the kyngys lodgyng,' but that after the Hastings affair they were 'holdyn more streyghth.' It also reports that the boys 'were seen shotyng and playyng in the Garden of the Towyr.'¹⁸ This garden has often been associated with the Bloody Tower, which had a garden adjacent and was known as the Garden Tower until at least 1532.¹⁹ However, this structure contained

the entrance to the Tower's Inner Ward; it was a place of heavy traffic where it would be difficult to keep the boys in close custody. A better choice might be the Lanthorn Tower in the southeast corner of the Inmost Ward.²⁰ As we have seen, it constituted a part of the royal residence at that time and is consistent with the Great Chronicler's statement that the boys were held within the King's Lodging. There is no indication that they were actually *moved* from this site at any time, but only that they were held in closer custody. Additional evidence favouring the Lanthorn Tower is provided by a warrant from 1500-02 for the building of a new stair 'from the garden to the round tower where the King is accustomed to lie.' Henry VII's interest in this area, as shown by his building of the gallery, makes it clear that the 'round tower' was the Lanthorn. Further, the 1597 drawing identifies an area adjacent to it as the 'privy garden.'²¹ This would have provided a very secure location, well away from the main flow of traffic in and out of the Tower, with a garden where a privileged few could still have seen the Princes at play.

In 1532-33 a general repair of the walls and towers took place, along with a thorough renovation of the royal apartments. Although it is impossible now to know the exact locations of the chambers involved, it is probable that most of them were either in the range of buildings known as the King's Lodgings or in and around the Lanthorn Tower - that is, in the area known to have comprised the royal residence. Both Coldharbour and the Hall were to be completely rebuilt, as they were badly decayed. Coldharbour Gate may have been attended to, but no major work seems to have been done on the Hall, although it was somehow put in shape for Anne Boleyn's coronation.²² The 1597 drawing shows it as a ruin.

During this same period (1532-33) the new Jewel House was built - probably the one shown on the 1597 drawing along the south face of the White Tower, between the forebuilding and the King's Lodgings. What became of the old Jewel House (its existence implied in the orders, and which may or may not have been Ludewyk's house or its descendant) is not known. The new one had its own new foundations and its own new entrance via a stair within a new, highly decorated vault that was constructed between it and the buttery. A ground-level doorway in the middle of the Jewel House is apparent in the drawing; the south end of the long, adjoining building is either battlemented or is meant to represent some kind of battlemented entry. It is impossible to determine whether either of these has anything to do with the vault.²³

The 1597 drawing that I have now mentioned so often provides the only detailed view of the Tower at a critical point in its architectural history, before the major reconstructions of the seventeenth century took place. Within a few years the first bones were found.

Bones in the Tower: the Early Seventeenth Century Finds

At least one discovery of bones and probably two were made in the early 1600s.

The first of these in point of time, though not the first to be reported, would seem to be the bones which were discovered in a sealed-up room. They are first mentioned in a manuscript note on the flyleaf of a copy of More's *History*, published 1641. The note is dated 17 August 1647, and is signed by one Jo. Webb. He writes:

. . . when ye Lo: Grey of Wilton and Sir Walter Raleigh were prisoners in ye Tower, the wall of ye passage to ye King's Lodgings then sounding hollow, was taken down and at ye place marked A was found a little roome about 7 or 8 ft square, wherein there stood a Table and upon it ye bones of two children supposed of 6 or 8 yeares of age, which by ye aforesaid nobles and all present were credibly believed to bee ye carcasses of Edward ye 5th and his brother the then Duke of York.

Webb cites a Mr. Johnson, son of Sir Robert Johnson, as an eyewitness and his informant, and also names a Mr. Palmer and a Mr. Henry Cogan, officers of the mint, as eyewitnesses. On the opposite page, neatly labelled, Webb drew a sketch of the site (Fig. 2). There is no indication of what was done with these bones.²⁴

A remarkably similar account was first published by Louis Aubery du Maurier in 1680. He reports that:

in Queen Elizabeth's time, the Tower of London being full of prisoners of State, on account of the frequent conspiracies against her person, as they were troubled to find room for them all, they bethought themselves of opening a door of a chamber that had been walled up for a long time; and they found in this chamber upon a bed two little carcasses with two halters around their necks. These were the skeletons of King Edward V and the Duke of York, his brother, whom their uncle Richard the cruel had strangled to get the Crown. But the prudent Princess, not willing to revive the memory of such an execrable deed, had the door walled up as before. However, I

learned that this same door having been opened a short time ago, and the skeletons being found in the same place, the King of England, out of compassion that these two princes were deprived of burial, or from other reasons that I am ignorant of, has resolved to erect a Mausoleum, and have them transported to Westminster Abbey where the tombs of the Kings are.

Aubery cites his father as his source for the story of the original discovery; he, in turn, is said to have heard it from Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange.²⁵

Several observations can be made immediately regarding these two accounts. Aubery, unlike Webb, does not claim to have an eyewitness source, nor does he offer any clue as to where or how Prince Maurice came to know of the discovery. He puts the skeletons upon a bed, whereas Webb has them on a table. This seems a minor discrepancy, overshadowed in both stories by the clear implication that the bones were formally laid out. Aubery's addition of halters may represent a genuine detail; equally, it may be no more than a later, lurid embellishment. In both cases the bones were assumed at time of discovery to be those of the Princes (although the estimate of age reported by Webb presents a dilemma in that it makes the bodies considerably younger than the Princes were at earliest possible date of death). The King referred to by Aubery would have to be Charles II, who ordered the interment in Westminster Abbey of bones found much later, in 1674. This interment took place in 1678, two years before the publication of Aubery's work. But, according to all extant reports of the later discovery, those bones were found in, under, or at the foot of a stairway, not in a sealed-up room. Did Aubery simply confuse two separate finds, or did he have real reason to believe that the same bones were discovered twice, wherever they may have been the second time around? I will return to this question in a discussion of the 1674 bones in Part 2 of this article.

There is only one real incompatibility between the two stories: the attempt to date the discovery. Aubery says that the bones were found in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Webb, using the imprisonment of Lord Grey and Sir Walter Raleigh as his key, puts it in the time of James I. Is it possible to reconcile these two accounts, or are we left to suppose that the same little room was opened twice? Elizabeth I died in March of 1603 and was succeeded by her nephew, James of Scotland. Although he generally had been welcomed as Elizabeth's successor (and as an antidote to her waning years), by summer two plots were underway, one of which apparently sought his deposition.²⁶ In July 1603, Thomas, Lord Grey of Wilton, and Sir Walter Raleigh - along with others - were arrested for their alleged involvement in these plots. Except for a brief period in November/December 1603 when they were tried at Winchester, they were held in the Tower of London. Raleigh was housed in the Bloody Tower, and Grey -perhaps significantly - was held 'somewhere near the Privy lodgings.' Grey died there in July 1614; Raleigh was released in March 1616.²⁷ It seems possible that Aubery, writing a story that was at least secondhand, at some years remove from the event, confused the many arrests at the beginning of James I's reign with the 'crowded conditions' in the Tower he reports during Elizabeth's. We do not know how many persons were sent there in 1603 for involvement in the Main and Bye plots, nor how many were already being held there on other charges, but it is worth noting that at Easter 1604 all prisoners in the Tower, except Grey, Raleigh and Lord Cobham (who was imprisoned in the Beauchamp Tower), were released as an act of the King's mercy.²⁸ Without denigrating James's good intentions, it seems possible that such a release also could have served the purpose of easing overcrowding. The Gunpowder Plot of 1605 may provide an alternate time period when crowded conditions could have led to the opening of the sealed rooms. However, Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, was arrested and imprisoned in the Martin Tower in connection with this plot (remaining there until 1621), and it seems odd that he should not also have been mentioned in Webb's account.²⁹ If we hypothesize a confusion of time in Aubery's account, the earlier date, from the very first years of James I's reign, would seem more likely.

At this point, it may be useful to consider the men who left us these reports of skeletons in a sealed room: Webb and Aubery themselves. The 'Jo. Webb' of the manuscript note can be identified as John Webb who was deputy to Inigo Jones, Surveyor of the King's Works from 1615 to 1643. Webb was born in 1611 and, after attending the Merchant Taylors' School, was apprenticed to Jones to study architecture. He may have been associated with Jones as early as 1628; certainly by 1633 he was drawing out plans for him. He became Jones's deputy, married one of his relatives, and was his executor in 1652.³⁰ By 1647, when the note was written, Jones was no longer Surveyor. He and his deputy, both royalists, were caught up in the turmoil of the Civil War. Webb survived the troubles but was never able to attain the office of Surveyor to which he aspired and for which he was so amply qualified. He died in 1672.³¹

As Inigo Jones's assistant, Webb would have been well-placed to hear bits of gossip and trivial information about any of the King's works. It is likely that he would have known persons having business at the Tower of London.³² More significant, however, is his training as an architect, which argues strongly in favour of his knowledge of the site itself.

Louis Aubery du Maurier was born in 1609. In 1613, his father, Benjamin, became the French ambassador to Holland, where he served with great distinction until 1624. In this capacity, the elder Aubery became well acquainted with Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange, who had become stadtholder of Holland and Zeeland in 1585. Prince Maurice had won a reputation primarily as a soldier; by the time he was twenty he had effectively become the commander in chief of the Dutch army in its struggle against Spain. Although he carried on a correspondence with the English (who supported the Protestant struggle) and had a number of Englishmen serving with him, I have found no evidence that he ever travelled to England. Maurice died in 1625, the year after Benjamin Aubery returned to France. Benjamin died in 1636.³³

According to his father's wishes, Louis Aubery was highly educated: at Saumur, Leiden, Basel, Geneva and Padua. Widely-travelled on the Continent, he became an accomplished linguist. Though he claimed to have written the *Memoires* 'entirely from memory without the help of any book,' it appears that in reality he relied heavily upon his father's papers as well as upon his own recollection of their old conversations. The highly anecdotal story of the bones most probably came from a remembered oral account that the elder Aubery had passed on to his son as a matter of curiosity.³⁴

We are still left to wonder, however, where Aubery's story originated. Where did Prince Maurice hear it?

Likewise, a question remains regarding the presence of Raleigh and Grey, in Webb's account described as aware of the discovery, if not eyewitnesses.³⁵ Had they known of this discovery, would not one of them have left a report of it? Raleigh, at least, was a prolific writer, but he seems never to have mentioned it. Grey, however, presents a curious possibility. In 1600 he fought under Prince Maurice against the Spanish in the battle of Nieuport.³⁶ It is just possible that he came to know the Prince and that he kept a contact with him. Imprisonment in the Tower did not necessarily entail privation. Important prisoners were attended by servants - Raleigh even had his family with him - and often were permitted visitors and written contact with the outside world. So it may be, though it is not certain, that Grey provides a link between the discovery that Webb reported and Aubery's later, secondhand account. In support of this theory, Grey's imprisonment near the Privy (*i.e.* the King's) Lodgings puts him more or less on the site of discovery as recounted by Webb. Although both he and Raleigh are named, it is possible that only Grey saw anything.

In Aubery's story, no effort is made to describe the location of the sealed room. Quite possibly, neither he nor his father nor Prince Maurice ever knew where it was. But, lacking firsthand knowledge of the Tower, would it have meant anything to them if they had known? Probably not. Webb was another matter. He knew where the room was supposed to have been, and he left a diagram to show that he knew. The Inmost Ward of the Tower in 1647 had gone essentially unchanged for more than fifty years; Webb knew where to place his sketch on the overall plan. This is no longer true today; many of the buildings and chambers that Webb knew have disappeared without a trace. We do not really know what his sketch represents. Though it remains a tantalizing piece of evidence, I believe that it has misled later investigators.

Tanner mistakenly identified it as a map of the King's Lodgings. More recently it has been suggested that the drawing represents the forebuilding containing the entrance to the White Tower.³⁷ This assumption rests in part on the strength of association: presumably the later bones that were inurned were discovered near the forebuilding. It also rests upon characteristics of the sketch itself: the square outline of the area depicted, which would seem compatible with the general shape of the forebuilding as shown on drawings of the Tower, and the labelling of 'stairs to Coldharbour' which might be construed to lead to the adjacent Coldharbour Gate. But there is a glaring defect in this assumption, heretofore overlooked. If it is a sketch of the forebuilding, there is no way to make the passage drawn on it lead to the King's Lodgings. The two are not adjacent to each other and do not connect. Turn the drawing whichever way one likes; so long as it is assumed to be the forebuilding, it simply does not work. If one compares Webb's sketch with drawings showing the forebuilding, a further defect immediately becomes apparent. What has become of the slender, circular tower at its southeast corner, possibly known in 1399 as the Ludwyktoure and certainly by 1663 as the 'brick tower'?³⁸ It does not figure on Webb's plan at all, at which time this tower was still extant, unless it can be assumed that the stairs shown on the plan are meant to represent it. (Undoubtedly, a tower of this type contained a stair.) But if that is so, they would seem to have been put in the wrong place - and the passage still won't lead where Webb says it does! Then, if the sketch does not represent the forebuilding, what is it? A possible clue, though not a definitive answer, is provided by the name 'Coldharbour.' At the time of Webb's drawing - and for years before and after - 'Coldharbour' was used as a generic name for the entire Inmost Ward, not just its entrance gate.³⁹ The drawing could thus represent any squarish structure - or area within a structure - within the Inmost Ward, provided it was close enough to the King's Lodgings to contain a passage leading to them. This would limit the area of search to the Jewel House (built *temp.* Henry VIII), the range known as the King's Lodgings (built before the fifteenth century and extensively

renovated by Henry VIII), or the area adjacent to the Lanthorn Tower (some of which was built or repaired by Henry VII and probably included in the later renovations).

In any case, these bones came to nothing. The room may have been resealed, as Aubery says, with the bones still inside. If this occurred, it seems certain that they would have been rediscovered during the extensive demolition and rebuilding of the Inner Ward that took place in the 1660s and 70s. They may be the same bones that were found in 1674. But Aubery's story of their fate may be apocryphal; they could just as well have been disposed of in some other way. Whatever was done, it was done quietly, without fanfare or official recognition.

I suggest several possible reasons for this lack of attention. First, although persons present at the discovery initially thought them to be the bones of the Princes, there may have been some later doubt. For one thing, the stated ages based on size are impossible. For another, these bones were not found where common knowledge said they should have been: 'at the stayre's foot, metely deep.' Coupled with this was the awkwardness of finding them in an area that had either been built or extensively renovated during a Tudor reign. If they were the Princes' bones, how did they get there and why were they not brought to light sooner; and if they were not, whose were they?

Then there were the circumstances of James I. The abortive Main and Bye plots at the beginning of his reign may have triggered a sense of insecurity. Although Elizabeth had recognized James as her heir, his paper claim to the throne was flimsy. Henry VIII's will, taking up where the Act of Succession of 1544 had left off, gave the crown first to his son Edward (later Edward VI) and his heirs, next to 'Henry's children by his present wife, Queen Catharine (Parr), or any future wife'; after that, to his daughters Mary and Elizabeth and their heirs (provided their marriages fulfilled certain conditions), and, in default, to the heirs of Frances and Eleanore, the daughters of his younger sister, Mary. This effectively bypassed James, who was the heir of Henry's elder sister, Margaret.⁴⁰ While it may be observed that there were, realistically, no alternative claimants, reality is notoriously very much in the eye of the beholder. James's own actions during the years immediately preceding Elizabeth's death provide ample evidence of his anxiety regarding the succession.⁴¹ The Gunpowder Plot, occurring two years after James's accession, could have been viewed initially as another indication of potential instability. In this atmosphere, the recovery and open acknowledgement of 'the Princes' bones,' representing a line and a legitimacy that had ended before the Tudor break with the Church of Rome, would not have enhanced James's security, particularly if they came from a site that raised questions about his Tudor predecessors. Finally, the answer simply may be that a public acknowledgement of bones could be seen to serve no useful purpose at this time. In these circumstances, a quiet reinterment could have seemed most dignified and proper.

Two other reports of bones found in the Tower are given by Sir George Buck and Ralph Brooke. Although considerable discrepancies exist between them, I believe there is strong circumstantial evidence that not only links them, but suggests an approximate date for the find they report.

Buck's account is by far the more elaborate. It comes in the midst of a lengthy discussion of the fate of the Princes, in which Buck argues his own belief that Edward died of illness, whereas Richard was taken away and survived, to resurface later as Perkin Warbeck.

Men in these days are the rather brought to think that this young king [Edward V] died in the Tower because there were certain bones, like to the bones of a child, found lately in a high and desolate turret in the Tower. And they suppose that these bones were the bones of one of these young princes. But others are of the opinion that this was the carcase and bones of an ape which was kept in the Tower and that in his old age he either chose that place to die in, or else had clambered up thither, according to the light and idle manner of those wanton animals, and after, being desirous to go down, and looking downward, and seeing the way to be very steep and deep and the precipice to be very terrible to behold he durst not adventure to descend, but for fear he stayed and starved there. Although this ape was soon missed and being sought for, yet he could not be found, by reason that that turret being reckoned but as a wast and damned place for the height and uneasy access thereunto; nobody in many years went up to it.⁴²

Sir George Buck was born in 1560. Early in the reign of James I he became Master of the Revels, a position that made use of, and undoubtedly appealed to, his literary inclinations. He was also an antiquary, a part of the circle that included Camden, Cotton, Stow, and Ralph Brooke, whose private library he used.⁴³

Buck appears to have begun the fair copy of his *History of King Richard III* in 1619, the date of its dedication, and Dr. Kincaid believes the whole manuscript was composed within a limited period of time. Buck continued to revise it into 1620, but gradually abandoned the effort as his mind failed. He died in October 1622.⁴⁴ A much-corrupted version of his *History* was published eventually by his great-nephew in 1646. The story of the bones and the larger discussion that surrounds it belong to the work as Buck left it.

Dr. Kincaid has argued convincingly that Buck was a careful and responsible historian by the practices and standards of his time. Buck's documentation is generally thorough, including recognition of his sources of *viva voce* information. Of the many written sources Buck specifically mentions, nine could not be found by Kincaid, who felt that only three or four of these involved matters of significance. Buck generously praises his fellow antiquaries, including Brooke, for their knowledge and their particular help to him.⁴⁵ These men, of course, shared more than a common interest: they had become his friends.

Nevertheless, though generally credible, Buck makes some slips. Dr. Kincaid notes a wild story regarding the Howard family origins and a tendency to overlook negative remarks about Richard III in the writings Buck cites.⁴⁶

It is clear from the context of the bones story that Buck was convinced of his own explanation of the Princes' fate, although he was well aware of opposing views. (In his conviction he is no different from virtually all later writers on the subject!) The story of the bones appears as a trivial aside to his major argument that only Edward died, while his brother survived, and one might be tempted to see it as a single digression.⁴⁷ But what he actually has done here is to combine two stories: one involving the discovery of bones, the other concerning a missing ape. He gives no source for either, but reports them as if they were current and generally known. The resulting compound neither strengthens nor weakens Buck's own theory. It seems unlikely, therefore, that he made it all up. But there remains a distinct probability, given human nature, that Buck interpreted whatever stories he heard in the light of his own convictions.

In looking more closely at Buck's account, I should like first to explore his statement that bones were 'lately found.' I believe it may be possible to determine an approximate date of discovery, but to do this it will be necessary to consider the accounts left by Buck's friend and antiquarian colleague, Ralph Brooke.

Brooke, who was a few years older than Buck, had been appointed York Herald in 1593. At that time he already may have had an ongoing feud with William Camden, whose errors in *Britannia* he severely criticized.⁴⁸ At about the time that Buck was working on his *History*, Brooke was writing his own *Catalogue and Succession of the Kings . . . of England*. The first edition of the *Catalogue* was published in 1619; the second, revised, edition, in 1622.

The 1619 edition does not mention the discovery of bones. The first entry for Richard, Duke of York, in an account of the children of Edward IV reads:

Richard, second sonne of King Edward the fourth. . . was betrothed unto Anne (Mowbray) . . . but he enjoyed neither wife nor life long, for he was (with his brother Edward) murdered in the Tower of London; which place ever since is called, The bloody Tower.

Further on, the entry for Richard as Duke of York says:

This Richard. . . was with his Brother, King Edward the fift (by the command of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, their unnaturall Unckle) most cruelly murdered in the Tower of London, the ninth day of the Kalends of Iune 1483 without issue: his place of buriall was never knowne certainly to this day.⁴⁹

In the 1622 edition, the first entry has been changed to read:

Richard. . . was (with his brother Prince Edward) murdered in the Tower of London; which place ever since hath been mured up and not known until of late, when as their dead carcasses were there found, under a heape of stones and rubbish.

The second entry is left unchanged.⁵⁰

On the title page and in his 'Note to the Reader' of the second edition, Brooke blames the first edition's printer for mistakes in the text, citing his own illness at the time and inability to supervise the work. However, he also indicates that new material has been added.

Although the wording of the unchanged second entry ('was never known . . . to this day') could be construed to mean that the place of burial *is* now known, I feel that the changes in the first entry have the look of a real addition, rather than a mere correction. At best, this gives us a very short time span within which Brooke learned of the discovery; at worst, it indicates that he was able to obtain more specific information during this interval or perhaps verify a discovery he had heard of earlier. Taken together with Buck's statement that bones were 'lately found,' it seems most likely that both men reported a discovery made in the second decade of the 1600s, perhaps towards its end. It appears from both accounts that this discovery (whether credited or not) was known to their contemporaries.⁵¹

Beyond the link provided by date, however, there are major differences between the two stories. Brooke reports the finding of two carcasses (and one is left to wonder whether he means more than skeletons); Buck says that there was only one set of bones. We need to ask ourselves - although the question can't be answered - whether Buck's story reflected his own conviction that one of the princes

survived. Did Buck splice on the story of the missing ape (however genuine) to lend credence to his assertion that only a single skeleton was found?⁵²

Then there is the nature of the site itself. Buck says the skeleton was found in a high and desolate turret; Brooke has the remains walled up in an unspecified location, but also lying underneath a heap of stones. It is possible that Brooke's use of 'mured up' harks back to the find described by Webb and Aubery. It is equally possible that his 'heape of stones' reflects More.⁵³

Two very different conclusions may be drawn from this. Despite the circumstantial evidence to link these two reports in time, they may, in fact, refer to entirely separate discoveries. Alternatively, the contradictions may be apparent only; if we leave out the ape, each man may have reported those details of a single find that he considered important or that best explained to him why the bones were not found sooner. To venture further, on to rather shaky ground, it may be possible to reconcile the two accounts of site: if the place in which the bones were found was in a state of disrepair and decay, there could well have been some rubble lying around. If it was thought unsafe, it could have been sealed off to prevent casual access. This is not at all incompatible with a turret. Buck does not say why the turret finally was entered, though it seems clear that it was not done to look for the ape, but it could have happened when repairs were contemplated. That, at least, provides a reasonable excuse for entering such a "wast and damned place" as Buck describes.⁵⁴ Of course, the question of how many skeletons there were remains.

Since Buck does give a discovery site, it may be an interesting exercise to attempt to identify it. Let us take him at his word: it was a turret, not a tower. He says that it was empty and unused, difficult of access, and he emphasizes its height.

The 1597 drawing shows a number of turrets associated with the Tower precincts. I think we may disqualify the turrets adjacent to the towers along the inner curtain wall: they connect and give access to the wall walk. Further, they are not high enough to fit Buck's description.⁵⁵ I believe we also may ignore the turrets at the outer angles of the St. Thomas Tower. This was the water gate: a site of considerable traffic. Moreover, the upper floor of this tower, giving access to the turrets, is known to have been grandly decorated and used as a residence.⁵⁶ The Salt Tower appears to have had a respectable turret, but inscriptions from the end of the sixteenth century show that its second and third storeys were then used as a prison. It was one of the towers officially classified as a prison in 1641.⁵⁷ This does not sound like the sort of unvisited place that Buck describes. The Lanthorn Tower also boasted a turret, but it had been a part of the royal lodgings while the Tower still functioned as a royal residence. In 1641 it was also named as a prison.⁵⁸ I have found no record of its use in the early 1600s, but it seems likely that its residential use -whether as state apartments or as prison - remained unbroken.

The Bell Tower may offer a possibility. It was sixty feet high, taller than either the Byward or the Middle Towers, and it may have been surmounted originally by a stone bell chamber. (The present bellcote is of wood.) It was entered from the bailey, behind the Lieutenant's Lodgings. If one ponders the escape route of a fugitive ape, it is fairly close to the Lion Tower which had become the site of the menagerie by the early 1600s.⁵⁹ However, the Bell Tower stands adjacent to the landward entrance to the Tower precincts, thus posing a traffic problem at least as great as the St. Thomas. It also seems unlikely that the bell chamber was not visited at intervals, even less likely that a living animal would retreat to this spot and remain there while bells were rung.⁶⁰

If we consider the area of the White Tower, the turret attached to the forebuilding does not seem high enough. It would also see too much traffic. The Wardrobe Tower also had a turret, but it is dwarfed by the height of the keep. The White Tower itself, however, is topped by four turrets. Not counting their added height, it rises ninety feet from ground to battlements, and so these turrets are by far the highest points in the entire Tower complex. As we already have seen, the northeast turret contained the stair that rose from the basement to the roof. It was used for a time, beginning in 1675, as an observatory.⁶¹ Both the northwest and southwest turrets held stairs that led to the roof from the second floor. But the southeast turret, standing above the juncture of the south wall and the apse of the chapel, contained no stair.⁶² To reach it, one would have to gain the roof via one of the other turrets and then follow the walkway just within the battlements. The height alone would have been enough to give one pause. So far, it sounds like just the sort of place Buck had in mind. However, there are several points against it. In 1534, guns were in place on the roof of the White Tower, commanding the city, probably put there around the time of Anne Boleyn's coronation.⁶³ New platforms for the ordnance were apparently installed in 1565-6, and the turrets were rereaded in 1573-4.⁶⁴ The 1597 drawing shows cannon on the roof of the White Tower, facing south and west, though this, of course, may have been artistic licence. Most damning, however, an inspection of the Tower in 1620 found the southwest and southeast turrets to be in good condition; however, the other two were said to need repair.⁶⁵ Thus, it appears that the roof and turrets of the White Tower were not so unvisited and desolate as one might think. Though I still admit a certain partiality to the southeast turret, it must remain a guess, at best. It would have been quite a trick

for an ape to have reached that point without anyone seeing where it went, and the mind boggles to think of anyone conveying a human body or bodies to this spot for hiding.

The bones described by Brooke and Buck, whether representing a separate find (or finds) or related to reports of an earlier discovery, were also destined for oblivion. Although Brooke apparently believed that the Princes' bones had been found, he gives no indication of their fate. Buck, straddling the fence of his two stories, reaches no conclusion. Surely, any competent physician could have examined the bones found in the turret and provided a verdict as to whether they were ape or human. This seems not to have happened; at least, Buck does not report it.

Though the various finds of the early seventeenth century may have provided grist for antiquarian speculation, the official reaction to them seems to have been a deadening silence. At this time there was no perceived need to commemorate lost heirs or to ponder true lines of succession. That would wait until a change in circumstances brought a new political necessity.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. For doubts that the bones interred were identical with those discovered, see Philip Lindsay, *On Some Bones in Westminster Abbey* (London 1934), pp.29-30; Geoffrey H. White, Appendix J: The Princes in the Tower, *The Complete Peerage*, vol.12, part 2 (London 1959), pp.36-37; and P. W. Hammond and W. J. White, The Sons of Edward IV: a Re-examination of the Evidence on their Deaths and on the Bones in Westminster Abbey, *Richard III: Loyalty, Lordship and Law* (London 1986), p.116. To the extent that this question is relevant to my own investigation, it will be considered in Part 2 of this article.
2. Thomas More, *The History of King Richard III*, ed. Richard S. Sylvester (New Haven/London 1967), pp.85-86, which reprints the text published in 1557 by William Rastell. In the earliest printed versions of More's *History* (those found in Hardyng and Hall, both published by Richard Grafton in 1543 and 1548), the unnamed priest has the bodies placed in a lead-weighted coffin and cast into the 'Black depes' at the mouth of the Thames. (*Ibid*, p.86 note, and pp.265-266, where a prototype for this story is suggested, as well as a variant version of the stair story.) This elaboration thus may represent an unauthorized addition to More's text or an early inclusion that More himself later abandoned.
3. Desiderius Erasmus, *The Praise of Folly*, trans. with intro. and commentary by Clarence H. Miller (New Haven/London 1979), p.2.
4. Edward Hall, *Hall's Chronicle* (London 1809, first edition 1548), p.761. 5. *Ibid*, p.817.
6. Alison Hanham, *Richard III and his Early Historians 1483-1535* (Oxford 1975), pp.152-190 for her full discussion of More, but especially pp.155, 157-8,165,186-7 and 190.
7. E. E. Reynolds, *Thomas More and Erasmus* (New York 1965), p.95, describes the *History* as 'not so much . . . an historical inquiry as a dramatic evocation.' Reynolds says (p.68) that although More's and Erasmus's writing expressed their belief in the importance of Christian morals, 'it was part of their achievement to show that wit and humour, satire and irony, could all be used in the service of righteousness, and that dullness and goodness are not synonymous.' See pp.23, 58, 118-119 and 242-245 for further comments on More's humour. My thanks to John McMillan for this source.
- Elizabeth Story Donno, Thomas More and Richard III, *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol.35 (1982), p.418 *et seq.*, has called the *History* a 'historical narrative in the epideictic vein - a display piece with the object either of praise or blame, designed primarily to delight by means of its ingenuity and artifice.' Specifically, she sees it as a *vituperatio* whose purpose is to denounce its subject through rhetorical technique.
- The point to be taken, given either view, is that the deliberate invention and exaggeration of 'fact' to serve the higher serious purpose would be considered entirely legitimate, if not requisite.
8. Reynolds (see n.7), pp.118-119, provides an example of such credulous acceptance of the absurd detail from Ralph Robinson's translation of *Utopia*. James Gairdner, *History of the Life and Reign of Richard the Third* (London 1898), p.123, says it is not necessary to assume that More's account of Richard is 'absolutely correct in all its details,' yet it appears that he accepts most of them. In discussing More's account of the Princes' murder, P. M. Kendall, *Richard III* (Cardinal edition, London 1973), p.399, points out its 'incongruities and errors,' then spends five additional pages in serious combat with them.
9. Gairdner (see n.8), for instance, dismissed it as mistaken information, p.127.
10. Geoffrey Parnell, The Roman and Medieval Defences and the Later Development of the Inmost Ward, Tower of London; Excavations 1955-77, *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, vol.36 (1985), pp.5-7. The bones are described as those of a 'young male between 13 and 16 years of age.' They were radio carbon dated to A.D.70 ± 70. Justine Bayley provides a brief description of the skeleton on p.51 of this article.
11. G. Parnell, The Excavation of the Roman City Wall at the Tower of London and Tower Hill, 1954-1976, *Trans. LMAS*, vol. 33 (1982), p.101.
12. R. A. Brown, Architectural Description, in *The Tower of London: its Buildings and Institutions*, ed. John Charlton (London 1978), pp.46, 48. For the shape and height of the forebuilding see the 1597 birds-eye view of the Tower by William Hayward and J. Gascoyne, Fig.I, and the 1640 engraving by Wenceslas Hollar, reproduced in many works including John Winton, *Sir Walter Raleigh* (London 1975), p.117, and P. W. Hammond and Anne F. Sutton, *Richard III: the Road to Bosworth Field* (London 1985), p.71. For an artist's rendering of the Tower based on the Hayward/Gascoyne survey; see H. W. Brewer, *Old London Illustrated* (London 1962). plate 2, p.39.

13. John Bayley, *History and Antiquities of the Tower of London* (London 1830), p.113, attributes it to the time of Edward III. Parnell, Excavation of the Roman City Wall (see n.11), p.121 says it could not have been built before the middle of the thirteenth century since a Roman wall traversed the site and marked the eastern castle limits up until this time. This building, which appears on the 1597 drawing, became known as the 'Ordinary Proofs howse' in the 1600s and as the 'Great Court of the Tower' a century later. Its height was increased - eventually to four storeys - and it was demolished in 1879. For views of its appearance in 1799 and shortly before its demolition, see Parnell, plates 3 and 4.

14. H. M. Colvin, ed., *The History of the King's Works*, vol. 2, *The Middle Ages*, by R. Allen Brown, H. M. Colvin, and A. J. Taylor (London 1963), p.728 and notes 9 and 10; also H. M. Colvin, ed., *The History of the King's Works*, vol. 3, *1485-1660*, by H. M. Colvin, D. R. Ransome and John Summerson (London 1975), p.265. G. Parnell, The Tower of London; The Reconstruction of the Inmost Ward during the reign of Charles II, *Trans. LMAS*, vol. 31 (1980), p.152 and note 18, p.155, incorrectly dates the mention of the Ludwyktoure to 1339 and cites the wrong footnote in Colvin as his source.

15. Brown (see n.12), p.48, says that it had separate access from the forebuilding. This seems unlikely, since the two doorways would have been right next to each other. It also presents logistic difficulties, as the forebuilding does not extend beyond the first bay of the keep, whereas the 'new stair' is in the second. The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (hereafter cited as RCHM), *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London*, vol. 5 (London 1930), diagram on p.87 shows the external opening to the new stair as seventeenth century work or later, but this, of course, may merely reflect later renovation,

16. R. A. Brown, Architectural history and development to c.1547, in *Tower of London* (see n.12), pp.33-35, 37; Colvin, vol.3 (see n.14), pp.263-264.

17. Dominic Mancini, *The Usurpation of Richard III*, ed. C. A. J. Armstrong (Oxford 1969), p.93.

18. *The Great Chronicle of London*, ed. A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley (London 1938), pp.231, 234.

19. Brown, Architectural history, in *Tower of London* (see n.12), p.42. A garden is shown in the 1597 drawing, where the tower is also given its new name. G. Parnell, Observations on Tower Green, *The London Archaeologist*, vol.3 (1979), p.321, locates two gardens nearby. By 1603, however, the renamed Bloody Tower had acquired its association with the Princes and was presented to James I as the place of their death (John Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First*, vol.1 (London 1828), pp.326-327).

20. As suggested by Hammond and White (see n.1), p.116.

21. Brown, Architectural history, in *Tower of London* (see n.12), p.34; Colvin, vol.3 (see n.14), p.264, note 2, citing B. M. Egerton MS.2358, ff.12-23, which also mentions two other stairs 'going up to the Wardrobe of the King's Robes,' as well as other work. G. Parnell, Excavations at the Salt Tower, Tower of London, 1976, *Trans. LMAS*, vol.34 (1983), pp.95 and 101-102, believes that the garden had its inception when the gallery was constructed in 1506. This is clearly contradicted by the earlier warrant. Excavation adjacent to the Salt Tower indicated that the garden had been cleared and its soil renewed around the middle of the sixteenth century; all deposits between this and the late Roman levels had been removed. Thus, it is impossible to tell from the stratigraphy just how old the garden may be.

The coincidence of Henry VII's stair-building activity in the Tower with the execution in 1502 of Sir James Tyrell - named by More as the overseer of the Princes' murder - on unrelated charges of treason is intriguing. There is no reason to suggest an actual connection between the two events. However, Sylvester (see n.2), pp.lxv-lxvi, points out that More was critical of Henry's policies. One may very cautiously wonder whether More intended his account of the stairs (with the comic addition of a completely 'secret' reburial to explain why no bodies could be produced) as a sly dig at Henry.

22. Colvin, vol.3 (see n.14), pp.264-268, for a more detailed account of this work. G. Parnell, The Western Defences of the Inmost Ward, Tower of London, *Trans. LMAS*, vol.34 (1983), pp.115 and 117, considers that Coldharbour Gate may have been rebuilt at this time, citing evidence obtained during investigations of the site in 1899. So far I have been unable to discover his source for this information.

23. Colvin, vol.3 (see n.14), pp.265, 268-269, including note 6, p.268. The new Jewel House was battlemented, as is the one in the drawing. The fate of any old foundations is unknown, and it is impossible to tell from the drawing whether the new structure enclosed an open court between it and the White Tower, like the building on the east.

24. This note was first published by Evan Daniel, *Skeletons of the Two Murdered Princes*, *Notes and Queries*. 7th series, vol.8 (1889), p.497, and reprinted by Lawrence E. Tanner and William Wright, *Recent Investigations regarding the Fate of the Princes in the Tower*, *Archaeologia*. vol.84 (1935), p.26. Tanner was allowed by Daniel's descendant to photograph the note, and he also provided a facsimile of the diagram; however, he incorrectly identified it as a map of the King's Lodgings, whereas Webb clearly stated that it showed the passage to the King's Lodgings. I am grateful to Peter Hammond for sending me a photocopy of the manuscript note and Webb's drawing which was sent to him by Audrey Williamson some years ago. We have thus far been unable to discover the book's present whereabouts.

25. Louis Aubery du Maurier, *Memoires pour servir a l'histoire de Hollande* (Paris 1688), pp.258-259. I am grateful to Dr. H. A. Kelly for sending me a photocopy of these pages. An incomplete and not entirely accurate English translation of this passage was published in John Robinson, *Skeletons of the Two Murdered Princes*, *Notes and Queries*. 7th series, vol.8 (1889), p.361. I have used it where it seemed to correspond most closely to the French, but have added the section it omits, namely the references to 'carcasses' and 'halters', and have changed the wording where a clearer meaning could be obtained. I am grateful to my husband Ed, who helped with this.

26. The Main Plot, which seems to have grown out of factional jealousies, considered replacing James with his cousin, Arabella Stuart. The Bye Plot involved a plan to kidnap the religiously tolerant James until he reaffirmed a promise of tolerance towards Catholics. (William McElwee, *The Wisest Fool in Christendom: the Reign of King*

James I and VI (New York 1958), pp.118-120.) With the benefit of hindsight, it is easy to dismiss these plots as ill-conceived and foolish; however, it is clear from James's reaction that he took them seriously.

27. Grey and Raleigh were arrested in connection with the Main Plot. For information on their trial and imprisonment, see McElwee (see n.26), pp.120-122; *The Complete Peerage*. vol.6 (London 1926), p.187; and Robert Lacey, *Sir Walter Raleigh* (London 1973), pp.316-331. For their whereabouts in the Tower, see Colvin, vol.3 (see n.14), pp.273-274.

28. Lacey (see n.27), p.316. For Cobham's whereabouts, see Colvin, vol.3 (see n.14), p.274.

29. Winton (see note 12), p.276, for Northumberland's place of imprisonment. He was soon surrounded by a retinue of servants, scholars and visitors, and it was jokingly said that he had set up a university in the Tower. For an account of his life, see *The Complete Peerage*, vol.9, pp.732-735. Cobham was not mentioned either, but he was less prominent than Northumberland. In any case, the site of his imprisonment, like the Martin Tower, was nowhere near the old King's Lodgings.

30. Colvin, vol.3 (see n.14), pp.137, 159. One of the overseers of Jones's will was a Henry Cogan, who may have been the 'Mr. Henry Cogan' mentioned in the note. See John Bold, *John Webb: Architectural Theory and Practice in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford 1989), p.81. Some of Webb's architectural sketch plans were drawn in the same kind of open hatching as the plan of the sealed-up room. These appear to have been intended for reference, rather than for publication (*Ibid*, pp.24; 25. figure 9; 122, figure 83).

31. H. M. Colvin, ed., *The History of the King's Works*. vol.5, 1660-1782, by H. M. Colvin, J. Mordaunt Crook, Kerry Downs and John Newman (London 1976), pp.5-6, 17.

32. Peter Hammond has been seeking to identify the other persons named as eyewitnesses in Webb's account. It is to be hoped that he will soon publish the results of his investigation.

33. See the *Dictionnaire de Biographie Francaise*, vol.4 (Paris 1948), pp.110-114, and John Lothrop Motley, *The Life and Death of John of Barneveld*. vol.11 (New York 1874), pp.363-365 for biographical information on Benjamin Aubery du Maurier. For Prince Maurice, see *The McGraw Hill Encyclopedia of World Biography* (New York 1973), pp.265-266.

34. *Biographie Francaise* (see n.33), pp.115-118 for Louis Aubery. His brother Maurice, who had served as an officer in the Dutch army and had died in 1673, would have been an additional source of information for the *Memoires*. Benjamin Aubery's papers are preserved in a number of libraries and archives in France and the Netherlands. Though it may seem unlikely that they would contain an account of the bones, they may be worth investigating. Charles Ancillon characterized Benjamin Aubery as a communicative man, especially in conversation with his children. (*Ibid*, p.114.)

35. The wording leaves a certain ambiguity. Technically, had Webb wished to underline their presence, he should have said 'by ye aforesaid nobles and all others present.' As it is, we are left to imagine their connection with the find. It appears, at least, that they knew enough about the discovery to form opinions of its significance; at most, that they saw the site. It should be noted that 'witnesses' might include not only those who happened to be present when the room was opened, but others who heard of the discovery and came to gape.

36. *Complete Peerage*, vol.6, p.187.

37. John Morgan, Have the Princes' Bones been found in the Tower?, typescript of a lecture given to the Richard III Society in Australia, Appendix A, note 14.

38. Pamell, Tower of London: Reconstruction of the Inmost Ward (see n.14), pp.152 and 155, note 19, citing WORK 5/13, October 1663, which refers to 'the brick Tower in Coleharbor' and a later entry from December which speaks of 'the brick tower going to the Chappell.'

39. Sarah Barter, The Board of Ordnance, in *Tower of London* (see n.12), p.108, for use of 'Coldharbour' in this generic sense in the later 1500s. Parnell, Tower of London: Reconstruction of Inmost Ward (see n.14), pp.147, 148, 150, 151, 155 note 19, and plate 2 between pp.152 and 153, for examples of this usage from the 1660s or later.

40. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, arranged and catalogued by James Gairdner and R. H. Brodie, vol. 21, part 2 (London 1910), pp.320-321; McElwee (see n.26), p.106.

41. McElwee (see n.26), pp.85-87.

42. Sir George Buck, *The History of King Richard the Third*, ed. A. N. Kincaid (Gloucester 1982), p.140. Buck does not commit himself to a belief in either identification of the bones, saying that it makes no difference. In terms of his own hypothesis, this is true.

43. *Ibid.*, pp.xiii-xvi for a summary of Buck's life; pp.xxxi, xiv, xcvi for his antiquarian connections.

44. *Ibid.*, pp.cxxxi-cxxxii. Buck's madness has been attributed to the psychological effects of a prolonged wrangle with the Exchequer over the payment of wages to himself and his men, an explanation which Kincaid appears to accept (*ibid*, p.xvi). Although depression could well have contributed to Buck's mental decline, its sudden onset when he was aged about 60, his apparent incapacity, and his death within a short period of time suggest that he may have been a victim of Alzheimer's disease.

45. *Ibid.*, pp.xxxi-xxxiii for Buck's documentation and practices in *A Commentary on the Book of Domus Dei*; pp.cviii-cxxiv for a discussion of Buck's use of sources and research methods in the *History*; pp.7 and 204 for Buck's specific recognition of Brooke as a source.

46. *Ibid.*, pp.cxvi-cxvii.

47. Buck's account of the Princes runs from the bottom of p.137 to the bottom of p.142, where he embarks upon a much lengthier discussion of Perkin Warbeck. He believes that young Edward (only) died of illness because of what he sees as the analogous death by illness of Richard III's son Edward.

48. Brooke published *A Discoverie of Certaine Errours ...in the Much-Commended Britannia* in 1596 (Buck (see n.42), p.1, note 7). In the following year, Camden was given the superior office of Clarenceux King-at-arms, thus invoking Brooke's increased ire. Kincaid's opinion that Brooke's criticism led Camden to improve his work is perhaps

worth noting (*ibid.*, pp.xlxi and 229, note 7/35-36). The *Dictionary of National Biography* assesses Brooke as 'an accurate and painstaking genealogist,' but 'it seems equally clear that he was of a grasping and jealous nature, and much disliked by his fellow-officers in the Herald's College.' (*DNB*, vol.2, p.1339.)

49. Ralph Brooke, *A Catalogue and Succession of the Kings. . . of England* (London 1619). The early pages of the 1619 edition are not numbered, and numbering only begins with the section entitled 'A Catalogue of the Earles of Arundell. . .', which is numbered 1 and so on consecutively. The first excerpt quoted is from the unnumbered section, in a listing of the children of Edward IV. The second excerpt is found on p.267 of the numbered section. Regarding the text, William White has reminded me that Richard's presumed enjoyment of his wife was, in any case, cut short by her early death in 1481, while he still lived. Peter Hammond observes that the 'ninth day of the Kalends of lune' corresponds to the 24 May, a full month before Edward V's deposition, when both he and his brother were known to be alive and well. Obviously, Brooke was not at the top of his form when he wrote these passages.

50. Brooke, *Catalogue* (1622), pp.33 and 378. These entries have been noted by P. W. Hamrmond and W. J. White (see n.1), p.136, note 54, who, however, mistakenly attribute them to Brooke's 1619 edition.

51. In 1622, Augustine Vincent, Rouge-croix Pursuivant of Arms, published *A Discoverie of Errors in the first edition of the Catalogue of Nobility. published by Raphe Brooke. Yorke Herald*, 1619, which apparently took its animus from the Brooke/Camden feud. In it Vincent criticizes Brooke's assertion that Prince Richard held the honours of Norfolk and Nottingham in right of his wife, but does not comment on the account of his death. References to 'envious Detracters' in Brooke's Note to the Reader of his second edition indicate that it was designed, at least in part, as a pre-emptive move against Vincent's criticism. Vincent, having been beaten into print, concludes his work with a brief review of the 1622 *Catalogue*. With scholarly self-righteousness he declares that its errors are even more outrageous than those of the first edition. He ignores Brooke's added account of the discovery of bones, an omission having several possible explanations: 1) he agreed with it; 2) he considered it so spurious as to deserve no comment; or 3) he failed to notice it. See the *DNB*. vol.20, pp.356-357, for biographical information on Vincent. Peter Field of the Department of English, University College of North Wales, has described Vincent as 'Camden's star pupil, and a most sound and industrious scholar, who had an appreciation of the value of historical "record" documents far ahead of his time.' I am grateful to Linda Gowans for sending me these comments, made to her.

52. Brooke's story could just as well reflect his own belief that there must have been two sets of remains. Some clue to Buck's thoughts may be provided by his manuscript. The entire passage dealing with the bones and ape contains a number of revisions, most of which appear to be of a literary nature. However, there is an intriguing possibility that Buck either sought to underline the fact that he was reporting a single skeleton or changed his mind about what he was describing in editorial midstream. The relevant lines, from B. L. Cotton Tiberius Ex, f.153v, read as follows:

And it is likely also that he died in the To[wer / and some]
men in these days
X are the rather brought to think that this young king died / [in]
the Tower because there were certain bones, like to the bones of a
ch[ild] / [fo]und lately in a high and desolate turret in the Tower.
of one of
And they suppose ~~that~~ / [these] bones were the bones X the young princes.
it
But others are of opinion / ~~that~~ was the carcase and bones of an ape
Until [illeg.] of late [illeg.]
which was kept in the [To]wer . . . X But it is all one for this
question and
X disputation wh[ether] / that was the carcase of an ape or of a
young pr[ince]
child and whether this X died / In the Tower or no.

Buck used the mark X to indicate an addition in the line above.

Copies of Brooke's *Catalogue* now in the British Library offer no similar clues, although some are heavily annotated. None of the annotations are known to have been made by Brooke himself and, in any case, none of them have any bearing on the story of the bones.

I am most grateful to Kathryn Murton for providing me with a transcript of the passage from Buck's manuscript and for examining the copies of Brooke.

53. Linda Gowans points out that Brooke's account was the first one in print and remained the *only* published report of found bones for more than two decades. She concludes that 'later reports may well be partly (or even entirely) imaginative retrospective embellishments by people who had read or heard of his book' and cites Webb's use of the word 'carcasses' as possible evidence. Buck, whom Miss Gowans considers to have been Brooke's source, also uses the word 'carcass.' (And I note that Aubery speaks of 'carcasses' too.) I am very grateful to Miss Gowans for sharing her ideas with me. Though I disagree with her conclusion, she has raised an issue that deserves consideration.

It is impossible to determine with complete certainty the direction in which information was transmitted. In the case of Brooke and Buck, if one considers only written information, Buck would have to have been the source since he had stopped writing before Brooke's 1622 edition went to print. However, since the two men were friends, either one could have provided oral information to the other during the time that Buck was still writing. It is also possible that

both men could have learned of the discovery from a third party at about the same time. With regard to Webb, although he may have read Brooke, his inclusion of particular detail (the diagram and named witnesses) strongly argues that his account was not derivative. Unless a link can be found between Webb and Aubery or their separate informants, I do not think it likely that they could have derived such similar stories from separate readings of Brooke's report. (And the possible link I do suggest, Lord Grey, had died in 1614.) I do not feel that the word 'carcasses' should be given undue significance. Though it appears in all four accounts its use in each seems entirely natural, as a recognized alternative for 'dead bodies' or 'remains.' It would be interesting to see how this word was used in other writings of the time.

54. It should be noted that 'wast' did not mean 'vast.' Kincaid's Glossary in Buck (see n.42), p.331, gives 'desolate' as its equivalent. *The Random House Dictionary of the English Language* (New York 1969) cites it as an early form of 'waste,' meaning 'unused, empty, or in a state of desolation or ruin.'

55. In 1506-7 a turret connected with the Beauchamp Tower was renovated to provide a study for Lord Cobham. See Colvin, vol.3 (see n.14), p.274. He died in 1619, either still a prisoner in the Tower or in the Minories nearby. See *The Complete Peerage*. vol.3 (London 1913), p.350 and note a.

56. Brown, Architectural Description, in *Tower of London* (see n.12), p.42. It was extensively renovated under Henry VIII. See Colvin, vol.3 (see n.14), pp.267-268.

57. RCHM, vol.5 (see n.15), pp.81-82; A. C. N. Borg, The State Prison, in *Tower of London* (see n.12), p.86.

58. Borg, p.86. (see n.57).

59. A. C. N. Borg, The Royal Menagerie, in *Tower of London* (see n.12), p.102. In 1603-05, cages were constructed on the site, though its use may go back at least to 1532, when the name 'Lion Tower' is first noted.

60. Readers of Dorothy L. Sayers will undoubtedly recall the plot of *The Nine Tailors*, but they should note that Sayers's victim had been securely bound.

61. Barter, Board of Ordnance, in *Tower of London* (see n.12), p.112. 62. Its location over the chapel might suggest that it once contained bells; however, thus far I have found no record of its use for this or any other purpose. It therefore seems possible that its function was purely aesthetic.

63. The roof beams had to be strengthened to support their weight, C. Colvin vol.3 (see n.14), pp. 263 and 269, note 2.

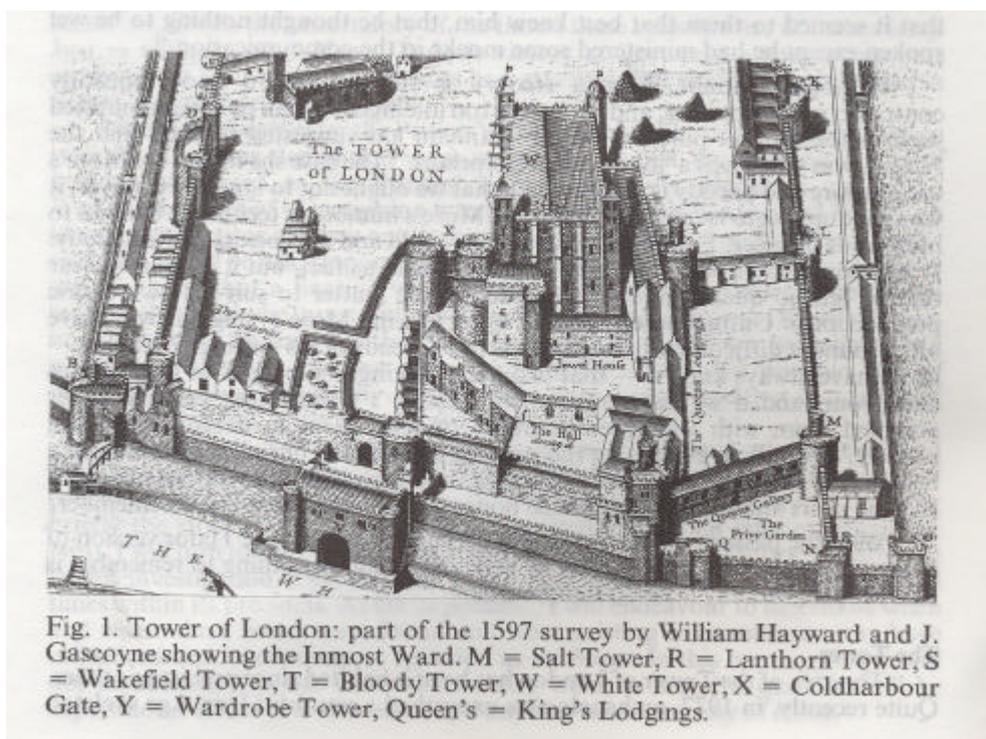
64. *Ibid.*, p.271 and note 8.

65. *Ibid.*, p.275 and notes 3 and 4, citing BL. Harleian MS.1326 and PRO. SPI4/156, No-13, for the initial report and the resulting Survey written up in 1623. It is just such an inspection team as this, poking around in odd parts of the Tower, that could have turned up bones somewhere. Colvin and Summerson note that the survey 'was probably the work of Bernard Johnson, the King's engineer.' Does the name suggest a possible connection with Webb's report?

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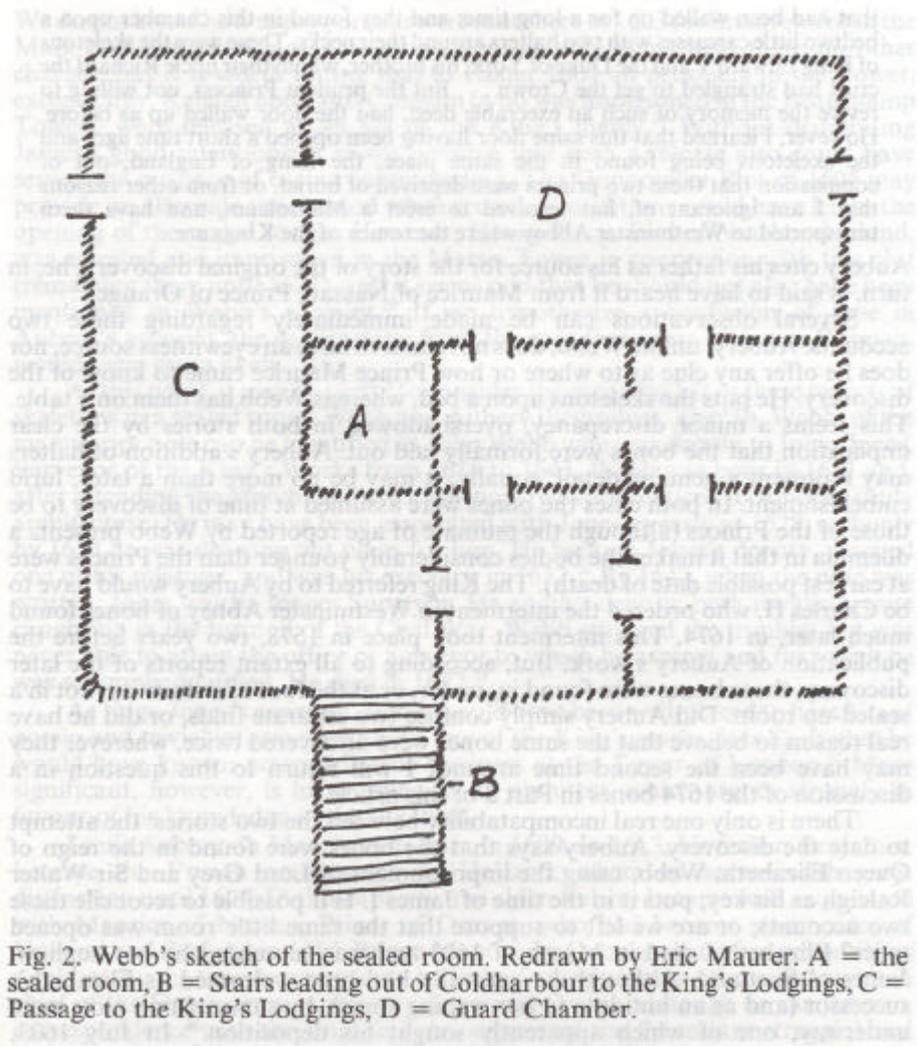


Fig. 2. Webb's sketch of the sealed room. Redrawn by Eric Maurer. A = the sealed room, B = Stairs leading out of Coldharbour to the King's Lodgings, C = Passage to the King's Lodgings, D = Guard Chamber.