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WILLIAM LILLY.



ELIAS ASHMOLE.

T H E
L I V E S
O F T H O S E
E M I N E N T A N T I Q U A R I E S
E L I A S A S H M O L E, E s q u i r e,
A N D
M r. W I L L I A M L I L L Y,
W R I T T E N B Y T H E M S E L V E S ;
C O N T A I N I N G, F I R S T,
W I L L I A M L I L L Y'S H I S T O R Y o f H i s
L I F E a n d T I M E S,
W i t h N O T E S, b y M r. A S H M O L E :
S E C O N D L Y,
L I L L Y'S L I F E A N D D E A T H O F
C H A R L E S T H E F I R S T :
A N D L A S T L Y,
T h e L I F E o f E L I A S A S H M O L E, E s q u i r e.
B y W a y o f D I A R Y.
W i t h S e v e r a l O C C A S I O N A L L E T T E R S,
B y C H A R L E S B U R M A N, E s q u i r e.

L O N D O N :

P r i n t e d f o r T. D A V I E S, i n *Ruffel-Street, Covent Garden.*
M D C C L X X I V.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T
T O T H E
R E A D E R.

ALTHOUGH we cannot, with justice, compare Elias Ashmole to that excellent Antiquary John Leland, or William Lilly to the learned and indefatigable Thomas Hearne; yet I think we may fairly rank them with such writers as honest Antony Wood, whose Diary greatly resembles that of his cotemporary, and intimate friend, Elias Ashmole.

Some

Some anecdotes, connected with affairs of state; many particulars relating to illustrious persons, and antient and noble families; several occurrences in which the Public is interested, and other matters of a more private nature, can only be found in works of this kind. History cannot stoop to the meanness of examining the materials of which Memoirs are generally composed.

And yet the pleasure and benefit resulting from such books, are manifest to every reader.

I hope the admirers of the very laborious Thomas Hearne will pardon me, if I should venture to give it as my opinion, and with much deference to their judgment, that William Lilly's Life and Death of Charles the first, contains more useful matter of instruction, as well as more splendid and striking occurrences, than are to be found in several of those monkish

ish volumes published by that learned Oxonian.

Lilly affords us many curious particulars relating to the life of that unfortunate Prince, which are no where else to be found. In delineating the character of Charles, he seems dispassionate and impartial, and indeed it agrees perfectly with the general portraiture of him, as it is drawn by our most authentic Historians.

The History of Lilly's Life and Times is certainly one of the most entertaining narratives in our language. With respect to the science he professed of calculating nativities, casting figures, the prediction of events, and other appendages of Astrology, he would fain make us think that he was a very solemn and serious Believer. Indeed, such is the manner of telling his story, that sometimes the Reader may possibly be induced to suppose Lilly rather an Enthusiast than an Impostor. He
relates

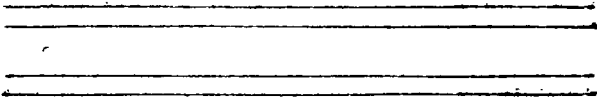
relates many anecdotes of the pretenders to foretell events, raise spirits, and other impostures, with such seeming candor, and with such an artless simplicity of style, that we are almost persuaded to take his word when he protests such an inviolable respect to truth and sincerity.

The powerful genius of Shakespeare could carry him triumphantly through subjects the most unpromising, and fables the most improbable: we therefore cannot wonder at the success of such of his plays, where the magic of witches, and the incantation of spirits are described, or where the power of Fairies is introduced; when such was the Credulity of the times respecting these imaginary Beings, and when that belief was made a science of, and kept alive by artful and superstitious, knavish and enthusiastic teachers; what Lilly relates of these people, considered only as matter of fact, is surely very curious.

To conclude ; I know no Record but this where we can find so juſt, and ſo entertaining a Hiſtory of Doct̄or Dee, Doct̄or Forman, Booker, Winder, Kelly, Evans, (Lilly's Maſter) the famous William Poole, and Captain Bubb Fiſke, Sarah Shelborne, and many others.

To theſe we may add, the uncommon effects of the Cryſtal, the appearance of Queen Mabb, and other ſtrange and miraculous, operations, which owe their origin to folly, curioſity, ſuperſtition, bigotry and impoſture.

T. D.



THE
L I F E
OF
W I L L I A M L I L L Y,
STUDENT IN ASTROLOGY.

Wrote by himself in the 66th Year of his Age,
at HERSHAM, in the Parish of WALTON
UPON THAMES, in the County of SURRY.

Propria Manu.

I WAS born in the county of Leices-
ter, in an obscure town, in the north-
west borders thereof, called Difeworth,
seven miles south of the town of Derby,
one mile from Castle-Donnington, a town
of great rudeness, wherein it is not re-
membered that any of the farmers thereof
did ever educate any of their sons to learn-
ing, only my grandfather sent his younger
B son

son to Cambridge, whose name was Robert Lilly, and died Vicar of Cambden in Gloucestershire, about 1640.

The town of Diseworth did formerly belong unto the Lord Seagrave, for there is one record in the hands of my cousin Melborn Williamson, which mentions one acre of land abutting north upon the gates of the Lord Seagrave; and there is one close, called Hall-close, wherein the ruins of some ancient Buildings appear, and particularly where the dove-house stood; and there is also the ruins of decayed fish-ponds and other outhouses. This town came at length to be the inheritance of Margaret, Countess of Richmond, Mother of Henry VII. which Margaret gave this town and lordship of Diseworth unto Christ's College in Cambridge, the Master and Fellows whereof have ever since, and at present, enjoy and possess it.

In the church of this town there is but one monument, and that is a white marble stone, now almost broken to pieces, which was placed there by Robert Lilly, my grandfather, in memory of Jane his wife, the daughter of Mr. Poole of Dalby, in the same county, a family now quite extinguished. My grandmother's brother was Mr. Henry Poole, one of the Knights of Rhodes, or Templars, who
being

being a foldier at Rhodes at the taking thereof by Solyman the Magnificent, and efcaping with his life, came afterwards to England, and married the Lady Parron or Perham, of Oxfordshire, and was called, during his life, Sir Henry Poole. William Poole the Astrologer knew him very well, and remembers him to have been a very tall person, and reputed of great strength in his younger years.

The impropriation of this town of Difeworth was formerly the inheritance of three fifters, whereof two became votaries; one in the nunnery of Langly in the parish of Difeworth, valued at the fuppreffion, I mean the whole nunnery, at thirty-two pounds per annum, and this fifter's part is yet enjoyed by the family of the Grayes, who now, and for fome years past, have the enjoyment and poffeffion of all the lands formerly belonging to the nunnery in the parish of Difeworth, and are at present of the yearly value of three hundred and fifty pounds per annum. One of the fifters gave her part of the great tithes unto a religious house in Bredon upon the Hill; and, as the inhabitants report, became a religious person afterwards.

The third fifter married, and her part of the tithes in fucceeding ages became the

Earl of Huntingdon's, who not many years since sold it to one of his servants.

The donation of the vicarage is in the gift of the Grayes of Langley, unto whom they pay yearly, (I mean unto the Vicar) as I am informed, six pounds per annum. Very lately some charitable citizens have purchased one third portion of the tithes, and given it for a maintenance of a preaching minister, and it is now of the value of about fifty pounds per annum.

There have been two hermitages in this parish; the last hermit was well remembered by one Thomas Cooke, a very ancient inhabitant, who in my younger years acquainted me therewith.

This town of Diseworth is divided into three parishes; one part belongs unto Lockington, in which part standeth my father's house, over-against the west end of the steeple, in which I was born: some other farms are in the parish of Bredon, the rest in the parish of Diseworth.

In this town, but in the parish of Lockington, was I born, the first day of May, 1602.

My father's name was William Lilly, son of Robert, the son of Robert, the son of Rowland, &c. My mother was Alice, the daughter of Edward Barham, of Fiskerton Mills, in Nottinghamshire, two miles from Newark upon Trent: this Edward

ward Barham was born in Norwich, and well remembered the rebellion of Kett the Tanner, in the days of Edward VI.

Our family have continued many ages in this town as yeomen; besides the farm my father and his ancestors lived in, both my father and grandfather had much free land, and many houses in the town, not belonging to the college, as the farm wherein they were all born doth, and is now at this present of the value of forty pounds per annum, and in possession of my brother's son; but the freehold land and houses, formerly purchased by my ancestors, were all sold by my grandfather and father; so that now our family depend wholly upon a college lease. Of my infancy I can speak little, only I do remember that in the fourth year of my age I had the measles.

I was, during my minority, put to learn at such schools, and of such masters, as the rudeness of the place and country afforded; my mother intending I should be a scholar from my infancy, seeing my father's backslidings in the world, and no hopes by plain husbandry to recruit a decayed estate; therefore upon Trinity Tuesday, 1613, my father had me to Ashby de la Zouch, to be instructed by one Mr. John Brinsley; one, in those times, of great abilities for instruction of youth in

the Latin and Greek tongues ; he was very severe in his life and conversation, and did breed up many scholars for the universities : in religion he was a strict Puritan, not conformable wholly to the ceremonies of the Church of England. In this town of Ashby de la Zouch, for many years together, Mr. Arthur Hildersham exercised his ministry at my being there ; and all the while I continued at Ashby, he was silenced. This is that famous Hildersham, who left behind him a commentary on the fifty-first Psalm ; as also many sermons upon the fourth of John, both which are printed : he was an excellent textuary, of exemplary life, pleasant in discourse, a strong enemy to the Brownists, and dissented not from the Church of England in any article of faith, but only about wearing the surplice, baptizing with the cross, and kneeling at the sacrament ; most of the people in the town were directed by his judgment, and so continued, and yet do continue presbyterianly affected ; for when the Lord of Loughborough in 1642, 1643, 1644, and 1645, had his garrison in that town, if by chance at any time any troops of horse had lodged within the town, though they came late at night to their quarters ; yet would one or other of the town presently give Sir John Gell of Derby notice, so

that ere next morning most of his Majesty's troops were seized in their lodgings, which moved the Lord of Loughborough merrily to say, there was not a fart let in Asby but it was presently carried to Derby.

The several authors I there learned were these, viz. *Sententiæ Pueriles*, Cato, *Corderius*, *Æsop's Fables*, Tully's Offices, *Ovid de Tristibus*; lastly, Virgil, then Horace; as also Camden's Greek Grammar, *Theognis* and Homer's *Iliads*: I was only entered into Udall's Hebrew Grammar; he never taught Logick, but often would say it was fit to be learned in the universities.

In the fourteenth year of my age, by a fellow scholar of swarth, black complexion, I had like to have my right eye beaten out as we were at play; the same year, about Michaelmas, I got a surfeit, and thereupon a fever, by eating beech-nuts.

In the sixteenth year of my age I was exceedingly troubled in my dreams concerning my salvation and damnation, and also concerning the safety and destruction of the souls of my father and mother; in the nights I frequently wept, prayed and mourned, for fear my sins might offend God.

In the seventeenth year of my age my mother died.

In the eighteenth year of my age my master Brinsley was enforced from keeping school, being persecuted by the Bishop's officers, he came to London, and then lectured in London, where he afterwards died. In this year, by reason of my father's poverty, I was also enforced to leave school, and so came to my father's house, where I lived in much penury for one year, and taught school one quarter of a year, until God's providence provided better for me.

For the two last years of my being at school, I was of the highest form in the school, and chiefest of that form; I could then speak Latin as well as English; could make extempore verses upon any theme; all kinds of verses, Hexameter, Pentameter, Phaleuciacks, Iambicks, Sapphicks, &c. so that if any scholars from remote schools came to dispute, I was ringleader to dispute with them; I could cap verses, &c. If any minister came to examine us, I was brought forth against him, nor would I argue with him unless in the Latin tongue, which I found few of them could well speak without breaking Priscian's head; which, if once they did, I would complain to my master, *Non bene intelligit linguam Latinam, nec prorsus loquitur*. In the derivation of words, I found
most

most of them defective, nor indeed were any of them good grammarians: all and every of those scholars who were of my form and standing, went to Cambridge and proved excellent divines, only poor I, William Lilly, was not so happy; fortune then frowning upon father's present condition, he not in any capacity to maintain me at the university.

Of the Manner how I came unto London.

Worthy sir, I take much delight to recount unto you, even all and every circumstance of my life, whether good, moderate, or evil; *Deo gloria*.

My father had one Samuel Smatty for his Attorney, unto whom I went sundry times with letters, who perceiving I was a scholar, and that I lived miserably in the country, losing my time, nor any ways likely to do better, if I continued there; pitying my condition, he sent word for me to come and speak with him, and told me that he had lately been at London, where there was a gentleman wanted a youth, to attend him and his wife, who could write, &c.

I acquainted my father with it, who was very willing to be rid of me, for I could

could not work, drive the plough, or endure any country labour; my father oft would say, I was good for nothing.

I had only twenty shillings, and no more, to buy me a new suit, hose, doublet, &c. my doublet was fustian: I repaired to Mr. Smatty, when I was accoutred, for a letter to my master, which he gave me.

Upon Monday, April 3, 1620, I departed from Diseworth, and came to Leicester: but I must acquaint you, that before I came away I visited my friends, amongst whom I had given me about ten shillings, which was a great comfort unto me. On Tuesday, April the 4th, I took leave of my father, then in Leicester gaol for debt, and came along with Bradshaw the carrier, the same person with whom many of the Duke of Buckingham's kindred had come up with. Hark how the waggons crack with their rich lading! It was a very stormy week, cold and uncomfortable: I footed it all along; we could not reach London until Palm-Sunday, the 9th of April, about half an hour after three in the afternoon, at which time we entered Smithfield. When I had gratified the carrier and his servants, I had seven shillings and six pence left, and no more; one suit of cloaths
upon

upon my back, two shirts, three bands, one pair of shoes, and as many stockings. Upon the delivery of my letter my master entertained me, and next day bought me a new cloak, of which you may imagine (good Esquire) whether I was not proud of; besides, I saw and eat good white bread, contrary to our diet in Leicestershire. My master's name was Gilbert Wright, born at Market Bosworth in Leicestershire; my mistress was born at Ashby de la Zouch, in the same county, and in the town where I had gone to school. This Gilbert Wright could neither write nor read; he lived upon his annual rents, was of no calling or profession; he had for many years been servant to the Lady Pawlet in Hertfordshire; and when Serjeant Puckering was made Lord keeper, he made him keeper of his lodgings at Whitehall. When Sir Thomas Egerton was made Lord Chancellor, he entertained him in the same place; and when he married a widow in Newgate Market, the Lord Chancellor recommended him to the company of Salters, London, to admit him into their company, and so they did, and my master in 1624, was master of that company; he was a man of excellent natural parts, and would speak publickly upon any occasion very rationally and to the purpose. I
write

write this, that the world may know he was no taylor, or myself of that or any other calling or profession: My work was to go before my master to church; to attend my master when he went abroad; to make clean his shoes; sweep the street; help to drive bucks when we washed; fetch water in a tub from the Thames: I have helped to carry eighteen tubs of water in one morning, weed the garden; all manner of drudgeries I willingly performed; scrape trenchers, &c. If I had any profession, it was of this nature: I should never have denied my being a taylor, had I been one; for there is no calling so base, which by God's mercy may not afford a livelihood; and had not my master entertained me, I would have been of a very mean profession ere I would have returned into the country again; so here ends the actions of eighteen years of my life.

My master married his second wife for her estate; she was competently rich; she married him for considerations he performed not, (nocturnal society) so that they lived very uncomfortably; she was about seventy years of age, he sixty six or more; yet never was any woman more jealous of a husband than she; in-somuch, that whensoever he went into London, she was confident of his going
to

to women; by those means my life was the more uncomfortable, it being very difficult to please two such opposite natures: However, as to the things of this world I had enough, and endured their discontents with much serenenefs. My mistress was very curious to know of such as were then called cunning or wise men, whether she should bury her husband? She frequently visited such persons, and this occasion begot in me a little desire to learn something that way, but wanting money to buy books, I laid aside these motions, and endeavoured to please both master and mistress.

Of my Mistress's Death, and Occasion thereof by Means of a Cancer in her Breast.

In 1622 she complained of a pain in her left breast, whereon there appeared at first a hard knob no bigger than a small pea; it increased in a little time very much, was very hard, and sometimes would look very red; she took advice of surgeons, had oils, scar-cloths, plates of lead, and what not: In 1623 it grew very big, and spread all over her breast; then for many weeks pultices were applied to it, which in continuance of time broke the skin,
and

and then abundance of watery thin stuff came from it, but nothing else; at length the matter came to suppuration, but never any great store issued forth; it was exceeding noisome and painful; from the beginning of it until she died, she would permit no surgeon to dress it but only myself; I applied every thing unto it, and her pains were so great the winter before she died, that I have been called out of my bed two or three times in one night to dress it and change plaisters. In 1624 by degrees with scissars I cut all the whole breast away, I mean the sinews, nerves, &c. In one fortnight, or little more, it appeared, as it were, mere flesh, all raw, so that she could scarce endure any unguent to be applied. I remember there was a great cleft through the middle of the breast, which when that fully appeared she died, which was in September 1624; my master being then in the country, his kindred in London would willingly have had mourning for her; but by advice of an especial friend of his I contradicted them; nor would I permit them to look into any chest or trunk in the house: She was decently buried, and so fond of me in the time of her sickness, she would never permit me out of her chamber, gave me five pounds in old gold, and sent me unto a private trunk of hers

hers at a friend's house, where she had one hundred pounds in gold; she bid me bring it away and take it, but when I opened the trunk I found nothing therein; for a kinsman of hers had been there a few days before and carried all away: She was in a great passion at my relating thereof, because she could not gratify my pains in all her sickness, advised me to help myself when she was gone, out of my master's goods, which I never did.

Courteous Esquire, be not weary of reading hereof, or what followeth.

When my mistress died, she had under her arm-hole a small scarlet bag full of many things, which, one that was there delivered unto me. There was in this bag several figils, some of Jupiter in Trine, others of the nature of Venus, some of iron, and one of gold, of pure angel-gold, of the bigness of a thirty three shilling piece of King James's coin. In the circumference on one side was engraven, *Vicit Leo de tribu Judæ Tetragrammaton* +, within the middle there was engraven an holy lamb. In the other circumference there was Amraphel and three +. In the middle, *Sanctus Petrus, Alpha and Omega*.

The occasion of framing this figil was thus; her former husband travelling into Suffex, happened to lodge in an inn, and
to

to lie in a chamber thereof; wherein, not many months before a country grazier had lain, and in the night cut his own throat; after this night's lodging he was perpetually, and for many years, followed by a spirit, which vocally and articulately provoked him to cut his throat; he was used frequently to say, 'I defy thee, I defy thee,' and to spit at the spirit; this spirit followed him many years, he not making any body acquainted with it; at last he grew melancholly and discontented; which being carefully observed by his wife, she many times hearing him pronounce, 'I defy thee,' &c. she desired him to acquaint her with the cause of his distemper, which he then did. Away she went to Dr. Simon Forman, who lived then in Lambeth, and acquaints him with it; who having framed this figil, and hanged it about his neck, he wearing it continually until he died, was never more molested by the spirit: I sold the figil for thirty two shillings, but transcribed the words *verbatim* as I have related. Sir, you shall now have a story of this Simon Forman, as his widow, whom I well knew, related it unto me. But before I relate his death, I shall acquaint you something of the man, as I have gathered them from some manuscripts of his own writing.

Of

Of Dr. Simon Forman.

He was a chandler's son in the city of Westminster. He travelled into Holland for a month in 1580, purposely to be instructed in astrology, and other more occult sciences; as also in physick, taking his degree of Doctor beyond seas: being sufficiently furnished and instructed with what he desired, he returned into England towards the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and flourished until that year of King James, wherein the Countess of Essex, the Earl of Somerset, and Sir Thomas Overbury's matters were questioned. He lived in Lambeth with a very good report of the neighbourhood, especially of the poor, unto whom he was charitable. He was a person that in horary questions (especially thefts) was very judicious and fortunate; so also in sicknesses, which indeed was his masterpiece. In resolving questions about marriage he had good success: in other questions very moderate. He was a person of indefatigable pains. I have seen sometimes half one sheet of paper wrote of his judgment upon one question; in writing whereof he used much tautology, as you may see yourself (most excellent Esquire) if you read a great book of Dr.

Flood's, which you have, who had all that book from the manuscripts of Forman; for I have seen the same word for word in an English manuscript formerly belonging to Doctor Willoughby of Gloucestershire. Had Forman lived to have methodized his own papers, I doubt not but he would have advanced the Jatro-mathematical part thereof very compleatly; for he was very observant, and kept notes of the success of his judgments, as in many of his figures I have observed. I very well remember to have read in one of his manuscripts, what followeth.

‘ Being in bed one morning’ (says he) ‘ I
 ‘ was desirous to know whether I should
 ‘ ever be a Lord, Earl or Knight, &c.
 ‘ whereupon I set a figure; and thereupon
 ‘ my judgment:’ by which he concluded,
 that within two years time he should be
 a Lord or great man: ‘ But,’ says he, ‘ be-
 ‘ fore the two years were expired, the
 ‘ Doctors put me in Newgate, and no-
 ‘ thing came.’ Not long after, he was
 desirous to know the same things con-
 cerning his honour or greatness. Ano-
 ther figure was set, and that promised
 him to be a great Lord within one year.
 But he sets down, that in that year he
 had no preferment at all; only ‘ I became
 ‘ acquainted with a merchant’s wife, by
 ‘ whom I got well.’ There is another
 figure

figure concerning one Sir——Ayre his going into Turkey, whether it would be a good voyage or not: The Doctor repeats all his astrological reasons, and musters them together, and then gave his judgment it would be a fortunate voyage. But under this figure, he concludes, ‘ this proved not so, for he was ‘ taken prisoner by pirates ere he arrived in ‘ Turkey, and lost all.’ He set several questions to know if he should attain the philosophers stone, and the figures, according to his straining, did seem to signify as much; and then he tuggs upon the aspects and configurations, and elected a fit time to begin his operation; but by and by, in conclusion, he adds, ‘ so the ‘ work went very forward; but upon the ‘ □ of ♂ the setting-glass broke, and I ‘ lost all my pains:’ He sets down five or six such judgments, but still complains all came to nothing, upon the malignant aspects of ♃ and ♂. Although some of his astrological judgments did fail, more particularly those concerning himself, he being no way capable of such preferment as he ambitiously desired; yet I shall repeat some other of his judgments, which did not fail, being performed by conference with spirits. My mistress went once unto him, to know when her husband, then in Cumberland, would return,

he having promised to be at home near the time of the question ; after some consideration, he told her to this effect : ‘ Margery,’ ‘ for so her name was, thy husband will not ‘ be at home these eighteen days ; his kindred have vexed him, and he is come ‘ away from them in much anger : he is ‘ now in Carlisle, and hath but three pence ‘ in his purse.’ And when he came home he confessed all to be true, and that upon leaving his kindred he had but three pence in his purse. I shall relate one story more, and then his death.

One Coleman, clerk to Sir Thomas Beaumont of Leicestershire, having had some liberal favours both from his Lady and her daughters, bragged of it, &c. The Knight brought him into the star-chamber, had his servant sentenced to be pilloried, whipped, and afterwards, during life, to be imprisoned. The sentence was executed in London, and was to be in Leicestershire : Two keepers were to convey Coleman from the Fleet to Leicester. My mistress taking consideration of Coleman, and the miseries he was to suffer, went presently to Forman, acquainted him therewith ; who, after consideration, swore Coleman had lain both with mother and daughters ; and besides said, that the old Lady being afflicted with fits of the mother, called him into her

her chamber to hold down the fits with his hands; and that he holding his hands about the breast, she cried ‘Lower, lower,’ and put his hands below her belly; and then——He also told my mistress in what posture he lay with the young Ladies, &c. and said, ‘they intend in Leicester to whip him to death; but I assure thee, Margery, he shall never come there; yet they set forward tomorrow,’ says he; and so his two keepers did, Coleman’s legs being locked with an iron chain under the horse’s belly. In this nature they travelled the first and second day; on the third day the two keepers, seeing their prisoner’s civility the two preceding days, did not lock his chain under the horse’s belly as formerly, but locked it only to one side. In this posture they rode some miles beyond Northampton, when, on a sudden, one of the keepers had a necessity to untruss, and so the other and Coleman stood still; by and by the other keeper desired Coleman to hold his horse, for he had occasion also: Coleman immediately took one of their swords, and ran through two of the horses, killing them stark dead; gets upon the other, with one of the r swords; ‘Farewell, gentlemen,’ quoth he, ‘tell my master I have no mind to be whipped in Leicestershire,’ and so went his way. The two keepers

in all hafte went to a gentleman's houfe near at hand, complaining of their miffortune, and defired of him to purfue their prifoner, which he with much civility granted; but ere the horfes could be got ready, the miftrefs of the houfe came down, and enquiring what the matter was, went to the ftable, and commanded the horfes to be unfaddled, with this fharp fpeech—‘ Let the Lady Beaumont ‘ and her daughters live honeftly, none of ‘ my horfes fhall go forth upon this oc- ‘ cafion.’

I could relate many fuch ftories of his performances; as alfo what he wrote in a book left behind him, *viz.* ‘ This I made ‘ the devil write with his own hand in ‘ Lambeth Fields 1596, in June or July, ‘ as I now remember.’ He professed to his wife there would be much trouble about Carr and the Countefs of Effex, who frequently reforted unto him, and from whose company he would fometimes lock himfelf in his ftudy a whole day. Now we come to his death, which happened as follows; the Sunday night before he died, his wife and he being at fupper in their garden-houfe, ſhe being pleafant, told him, that ſhe had been informed he could refolve, whether man or wife ſhould die firſt; ‘ Whether fhall I’ (quoth ſhe) ‘ bury ‘ you or no?’ ‘ Oh Trunco,’ for ſo he called her,

her, 'thou wilt bury me, but thou wilt
 'much repent it.' 'Yea, but how long first?'
 'I shall die,' said he, 'ere Thursday night.'
 Monday came, all was well. Tuesday
 came, he not sick. Wednesday came,
 and still he was well; with which his
 impertinent wife did much twit him in
 the teeth. Thursday came, and dinner
 was ended, he very well: he went down
 to the water-side, and took a pair of
 oars to go to some buildings he was in
 hand with in Puddle-dock. Being in the
 middle of the Thames, he presently fell
 down, only saying, 'An impost, an impost,'
 and so died. A most sad storm of wind
 immediately following. He died worth
 one thousand two hundred pounds, and
 left only one son called Clement. All
 his rarities, secret manuscripts, of what
 quality soever, Dr. Napper of Lindford
 in Buckinghamshire had, who had been
 a long time his scholar; and of whom
 Forman was used to say he would be a
 dunce: Yet in continuance of time he
 proved a singular astrologer and physi-
 cian. Sir Richard now living I believe
 has all those rarities in possession, which
 were Forman's, being kintman and heir
 unto Dr. Napper. [His son Thomas
 Napper, Esq; most generously gave most of
 these manuscripts to Elias Ashmole, Esq;]
 I hope you will pardon this digression.

After my mistress was dead, I lived most comfortably, my master having a great affection for me.

The year 1625 now comes on, and the plague exceeding violent, I will relate what I observed the spring before it broke forth. Against our corner house every night there would come down, about five or six of the clock, sometime one hundred or more boys, some playing, others as if in serious discourse, and just as it grew dark would all be gone home; many succeeding years there was no such, or any concourse usually, no more than four or five in a company: In the spring of 1625, the boys and youths of several parishes in like number appeared again, which I beholding, called Thomas Sanders, my landlord, and told him, that the youth and young boys of several parishes did in that nature assemble and play, in the beginning of the year 1625. 'God bless us,' quoth I, 'from a plague this year;' but then there succeeded one, and the greatest that ever was in London. In 1625, the visitation encreasing, and my master having a great charge of money and plate, some of his own, some other men's, left me and a fellow-servant to keep the house, and himself in June went into Leicestershire. He was in that year feoffee collector

lector for twelve poor alms-people living in Clement-Dane's Church-Yard; whose pensions I in his absence paid weekly, to his and parish's great satisfaction. My master was no sooner gone down, but I bought a bass-viol, and got a master to instruct me; the intervals of time I spent in bowling in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, with Wat the cobbler, Dick the blacksmith, and such like companions; We have sometimes been at our work at six in the morning, and so continued till three or four in the afternoon, many times without bread or drink all that while. Sometimes I went to church and heard funeral sermons, of which there was then great plenty. At other times I went early to St. Antholine's in London, where there was every morning a sermon. The most able people of the whole city and suburbs were out of town; if any remained, it were such as were engaged by parish-offices to remain; no habit of a gentleman or woman continued; the woeful calamity of that year was grievous, people dying in the open fields and in the open streets. At last, in August, the bills of mortality so encreased, that very few people had thoughts of surviving the contagion: The Sunday before the great bill came forth, which was of five thousand and odd hundreds, there was appointed
a sacra-

a sacrament at Clement Dane's; during the distributing whereof I do very well remember we sang thirteen parts of the one hundred and nineteeth Psalm. One Jacob, our minister (for we had three that day, the communion was so great) fell sick as he was giving the sacrament, went home, and was buried of the plague the Thursday following. Mr. James, another of the ministers, fell sick ere he had quite finished, had the plague, and was thirteen weeks ere he recovered. Mr. Whitacre, the last of the three, escaped not only then, but all the contagion following, without any sickness at all; though he officiated at every funeral, and buried all manner of people, whether they died of the plague or not. He was given to drink, seldom could preach more than one quarter of an hour at a time, &c. In November my master came home. My fellow-servant's and my diet came weekly to six shillings and six pence, sometimes to seven shillings, so cheap was diet at that time.

In February of that year, my master married again (one who after his death became my wife). In the same year he settled upon me, during my life, twenty pounds *per annum*, which I have enjoyed ever since, even to the writing hereof.

May

May 22, 1627, my master died at the corner house in the Strand, where I also lived so long. He died intestate; my mistress relinquishing the administration, it came to his elder brother, who assigned the estate over to me for payment of my master's debts; which being paid, I faithfully returned the remaining part unto his administrator; nor had one penny of the estate more than twenty pounds *per annum*, which was allowed me by contract, to undertake the payment of my master's debts.

Of my Marriage the first Time.

My mistress had been twice married to old men, was now resolved to be couzened no more; she was of a brown ruddy complexion, corpulent, of but mean stature, plain, no education, yet a very provident person, and of good condition: She had many suitors, old men, whom she declined; some gentlemen of decayed fortunes, whom she liked not, for she was covetous and sparing: By my fellow-servant she was observed frequently to say, she cared not if she married a man that would love her, so that he had never a penny; and would ordinarily talk of me when she was in bed: This ser-
vant

vant gave me encouragement to give the onset: I was much perplexed hereat, for should I attempt her, and be slighted, she would never care for me afterwards; but again, I considered that if I should attempt and fail, she would never speak of it; or would any believe I durst be so audacious as to propound such a question, the disproportion of years and fortune being so great betwixt us: However, all her talk was of husbands, and in my presence saying one day after dinner, she respected not wealth, but desired an honest man; I made answer, I thought I could fit her with such a husband; she asked me, where? I made no more ado, but presently saluted her, and told her myself was the man: She replied, I was too young; I said nay; what I had not in wealth, I would supply in love; and saluted her frequently, which she accepted lovingly; and next day at dinner made me sit down at dinner with my hat on my head, and said, she intended to make me her husband; for which I gave her many salutes, &c.

I was very careful to keep all things secret, for I well knew, if she should take counsel of any friend, my hopes would be frustrated, therefore I suddenly procured her consent to marry, unto which she assented; so that upon the eighth day
of

of September 1627, at St. George's church in Southwark, I was married unto her, and for two whole years we kept it secret. When it was divulged, and some people blamed her for it, she constantly replied, that she had no kindred; if I proved kind, and a good husband, she would make me a man; if I proved otherwise, she only undid herself. In the third and fourth years after our marriage, we had strong suits of law with her first husband's kindred, but overthrew them in the end. During all the time of her life, which was until October 1633, we lived very lovingly, I frequenting no company at all; my exercises were sometimes angling, in which I ever delighted: My companions, two aged men. I then frequented lectures, two or three in a week; I heard Mr. Sute in Lombard-Street, Mr. Gouge of Black-Fryars, Dr. Micklethwait of the Temple, Dr. Oldworth, with others, the most learned men of these times, and leaned in judgment to Puritanism. In October 1627, I was made free of the Salters company in London.

How I came to study Astrology.

It happened on one Sunday 1632, as myself and a Justice of Peace's clerk were,
before

before service, discoursing of many things, he chanced to say, that such a person was a great scholar, nay, so learned, that he could make an Almanack, which to me then was strange: One speech begot another, till, at last, he said, he could bring me acquainted with one Evans in Gun-Powder-Alley, who had formerly lived in Staffordshire, that was an excellent wise man, and studied the Black Art. The same week after we went to see Mr. Evans. When we came to his house, he having been drunk the night before, was upon his bed, if it be lawful to call that a bed whereon he then lay; he roused up himself, and, after some compliments, he was content to instruct me in astrology; I attended his best opportunities for seven or eight weeks, in which time I could set a figure perfectly: Books he had not any, except Haly de judiciis Astrorum, and Orriganus's Ephemerides; so that as often as I entered his house, I thought I was in the Wilderness. Now something of the man: He was by birth a Welshman, a Master of Arts, and in sacred orders; he had formerly had a cure of souls in Staffordshire, but now was come to try his fortunes at London, being in a manner enforced to fly for some offences very scandalous committed by him in these parts, where he had lately lived;

for

for he gave judgment upon things lost, the only shame of astrology: He was the most saturnine person my eyes ever beheld, either before I practised or since; of a middle stature, broad forehead, beetle-browed, thick shoulders, flat nosed, full lips, down-looked, black curling stiff hair, splay-footed; to give him his right, he had the most piercing judgment naturally upon a figure of theft, and many other questions, that I ever met withal; yet for money he would willingly give contrary judgments, was much addicted to debauchery, and then very abusive and quarrellome, seldom without a black eye, or one mischief or other: This is the same Evans who made so many antimonial cups, upon the sale whereof he principally subsisted; he understood Latin very well, the Greek tongue not at all: He had some arts above, and beyond astrology, for he was well versed in the nature of spirits, and had many times used the circular way of invocating, as in the time of our familiarity he told me. Two of his actions I will relate, as to me delivered. There was in Staffordshire a young gentlewoman that had, for her preferment, married an aged rich person, who being desirous to purchase some lands for his wife's maintenance; but this young gentlewoman, his wife, was desired

desired to buy the land in the name of a gentleman, her very dear friend, but for her use: After the aged man was dead, the widow could by no means procure the deed of purchase from her friend; whereupon she applies herself to Evans, who, for a sum of money, promises to have her deed safely delivered into her own hands; the sum was forty pounds. Evans applies himself to the invocation of the angel Salmon, of the nature of Mars, reads his Litany in the Common-Prayer-Book every day, at select hours, wears his surplice, lives orderly all that time; at the fortnight's end Salmon appeared, and having received his commands what to do, in a small time returns with the very deed desired, lays it down gently upon a table where a white cloth was spread, and then, being dismissed, vanished. The deed was, by the gentleman who formerly kept it, placed among many other of his evidences in a large wooden chest, and in a chamber at one end of the house; but upon Salmon's removing and bringing away the deed, all that bay of building was quite blown down, and all his own proper evidences torn all to pieces. The second story followeth.

Some time before I became acquainted with him, he then living in the Minorities, was desired by the Lord Bothwell
and

and Sir Kenelm Digby to show them a spirit. He promised so to do: the time came, and they were all in the body of the circle, when lo, upon a sudden, after some time of invocation, Evans was taken from out the room, and carried into the field near Battersea Causeway, close to the Thames. Next morning a countryman going by to his labour, and espying a man in black cloaths, came unto him and awaked him, and asked him how he came there? Evans by this understood his condition, enquired where he was, how far from London, and in what parish he was; which when he understood, he told the labourer he had been late at Battersea the night before, and by chance was left there by his friends. Sir Kenelm Digby and the Lord Bothwell went home without any harm, came next day to hear what was become of him; just as they in the afternoon came into the house, a messenger came from Evans to his wife, to come to him at Battersea. I enquired upon what account the spirit carried him away: who said, he had not, at the time of invocation, made any suffumigation, at which the spirits were vexed. It happened, that after I discerned what astrology was, I went weekly into Little-Britain, and bought many books of astrology, not acquainting Evans therewith.

Mr. A. Bedwell, Minister of Tottenham-High-Cross near London, who had been many years chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton, whilst he was Ambassador at Venice, and assisted Pietro Scave Polano, in composing and writing the Council of Trent, was lately dead; and his library being sold into Little-Britain, I bought amongst them my choicest books of astrology. The occasion of our falling out was thus: a woman demanded the resolution of a question, which when he had done, she went her way; I standing by all the while, and observing the figure, asked him why he gave the judgment he did, since the signification shewed quite the contrary, and gave him my reasons; which when he had pondered, he called me boy, and must he be contradicted by such a novice! But when his heat was over, he said, had he not so judged to please the woman, she would have given him nothing, and he had a wife and family to provide for; upon this we never came together after. Being now very meanly introduced, I applied myself to study those books I had obtained, many times twelve, or fifteen, or eighteen hours day and night; I was curious to discover, whether there was any verity in the art or not. Astrology in this time, *viz.* in 1633, was very rare in London, few professing it

it that understood any thing thereof. Let it not repent you (O noble Esquire) if now I make a short digression of such persons as then professed astrology, that posterity may understand in what condition I found it, and in whose hands that little that remained was lodged.

There lived then in Houndsditch one Alexander Hart, who had been a foldier formerly, a comely old man, of good aspect; he professed questionnaire astrology, and a little of physick; his greatest skill was to elect young gentlemen fit times to play at dice, that they might win or get money. I went unto him for resolutions for three questions at several times, and he erred in every one. To speak soberly of him, he was but a cheat, as appeared suddenly after; for a rustical fellow of the city, desirous of knowledge, contracted with Hart to assist for a conference with a spirit, and paid him twenty pounds of thirty pounds the contract. At last, after many delays, and no spirit appearing, or money returned, the young man indicts him for a cheat at the Old-Bailey in London; the Jury found the bill, and at the hearing of the cause this jest happened: some of the bench enquired what Hart did? ‘He sat like an Alderman
‘ in his gown,’ quoth the fellow; at which

the court fell into a great laughter, most of the court being Aldermen. He was to have been set upon the pillory for this cheat; but John Taylour, the Water Poet, being his great friend, got the Lord Chief Justice Richardson to bail him, ere he stood upon the pillory, and so Hart fled presently into Holland, where he ended his days. It was my fortune, upon the sale of his books in 1634, to buy Argoll's *Primum Mobile* for fourteen shillings, which I only wanted.

In Lambeth Marsh at the same time lived one Captain Bubb, who resolved horary questions astrologically; a proper handsome man, well spoken, but withal covetous, and of no honesty, as will appear by this story, for which he stood upon the pillory. A certain butcher was robbed, going to a fair, of forty pounds; he goes to Bubb, who for ten pounds in hand paid, would help him to the thief; appoints the butcher such a night precisely, to watch at such a place, and the thief should come thither; commanded him by any means to stop him; the butcher attends according to direction. About twelve in the night there comes one riding very fiercely upon a full gallop, whom the butcher knocks down, and seized both upon man and horse:

The

The butcher brings the man and horse to the next town, but then the person whom the butcher attacked was John, the servant of Dr. Bubb; for which the Captain was indicted and suffered upon the pillory, and afterwards ended his days in great disgrace.

There was also one Jeffry Neve, at this time a student in physick and astrology; he had formerly been a merchant in Yarmouth, and Mayor of the town, but failing in estate, went into the Low-Countries, and at Franeker took the degree of Doctor in Physick; he had some little smattering in astrology; could resolve a question of theft, or love-question, something of sickness; a very grave person, laborious and honest, of tall stature and comely feature; he died of late years, almost in the very street near Tower-Hill: He had a design of printing two hundred verified questions, and desired my approbation ere they went to the press; that I first would see them, and then give testimony. When I had perused the first forty, I corrected thirty of them, would read over no more: I shewed him how erroneous they were, desired his emendation of the rest, which he performed not. These were afterwards, in R. Saunders's custody, bought

by him either of his son or of a stationer: (a)

There was then William Poole, a nibbler at astrology, sometimes a gardener, an apparitor, a drawer of linen; as quoifs, handkerchiefs; a plaisterer and a bricklayer; he would brag many times he had been of seventeen professions; was very good company for drolling, as you yourself very well remember (most honoured Sir); (b) he pretended to poetry; and that posterity may have a taste of it, you shall here have inserted two verses of his own making; the occasion of making them was thus. One Sir Thomas Jay, a Justice of the Peace in Rosemary-Lane, issued out his warrant for the apprehension of Poole, upon a pretended suggestion, that he was in company with some lewd people in a Tavern, where a silver cup was lost, Anglice stolen. Poole hearing of the warrant, packs up his little trunk of books, being all his library, and runs to Westminster; but hearing some months after that the Justice was dead and buried, he came and enquired

(a) But first offered to be sold to me for twenty shillings. When Mr. Saunders died I bought them of his son for less.—E. A——.

(b) 17 December this William Poole was married to Alice How, at St. George's Church in Southwark. Mr. Lilly gave her to him.

where

where the grave was; and after the discharge of his belly upon the grave, left these two verses upon it, which he swore he made himself.

Here lieth buried Sir Thomas Jay, Knight,
Who being dead, I upon his grave did write.

He died about 1651, or 1652, at St. Mary Overy's in Southwark; and this was part of his last will.

‘Item; I give to Dr. Ardee all my books, and one manuscript of my own, worth one hundred of Lilly's Introduction.’

‘Item; If Dr. Ardee give my wife any thing that is mine, I wish the devil may fetch him body and soul.’ The Doctor, terrified with this curse, gave me all the books and his goods, which I presently gave to his widow.—*Interdum seria jocis.*

Now also lived this Dr. Ardee, but his true name was Richard Delahay, formerly an Attorney; he studied astrology and physick, being in necessity, and forced from Derbyshire, where he had lived, by the old Countess of Shrewsbury; he was of moderate judgment, both in astrology and physick. He had formerly been well acquainted with Charles Sledd, (a)

(a) Of this Charles Sledd, there is mention made in Dr. Dee's book of his discourse with spirits, set forth by Dr. Caufabon, page 17.

an apothecary, who used the crystal, and had a very perfect sight. This Dr. Ardee hath many times affirmed unto me, (*esto fides*) that an angel, one time, appeared unto him, and offered him a lease of his life for one thousand years: he died about the age of fourscore years; left his widow, who married into Kent, (*a*) worth two or three thousand pounds, and William Poole's estate came to four or five pounds.

In the years 1632, and 1633, John Booker became famous for a prediction of his upon a solar eclipse in the 19th degree of Aries 1663, taken out of Leovitius de magnis conjunctionibus, *viz.* *Ob Reges & Principes, &c.* Both the King of Bohemia, and Gustavus King of Sweden, dying during the effects of that eclipse.

John Booker was born in Manchester, of good parentage, in the year 1601; was in his youth well instructed in the Latin tongue, which he understood very well: He seemed from his infancy to be designed for astrology; for from the time he had any understanding, he would be always poring on, and studying almanacks. He came to London at fitting years, and served an apprenticeship to an haber-

(a) To one Moreland.

dasher in Laurence-Lane, London; but either wanting stock to set up, disliking the calling, he left his trade, and taught to write at Hadley in Middlesex several scholars in that school: He wrote singularly well both Secretary and Roman. In process of time he served Sir Christopher Clethero, Knight, Alderman of London, as his clerk, being a city Justice of Peace: He also was clerk to Sir Hugh Hammerfley, Alderman of London, both which he served with great credit and estimation; and by that means became not only well known, but as well respected of the most eminent citizens of London, even to his dying day.

He was an excellent proficient in astrology, whose excellent verses upon the twelve months, framed according to the configurations of each month, being blessed with success according to his predictions, procured him much reputation all over England: He was a very honest man, abhorred any deceit in the art he studied; had a curious fancy in judging of thefts, and as successful in resolving love-questions: He was no mean proficient in astronomy; he understood much in physick; was a great admirer of the antimonial cup; not unlearned in chymistry, which he loved well, but did not practise. He was inclined to a diabetes; and

and in the last three years of his life was afflicted with a dysentery, which at last consumed him to nothing: He died of good fame in 1667. Since his decease I have seen one nativity of his performance exactly directed, and judged with as much learning as from astrology can be expected.

His library of books came short of the world's approbation, and were by his widow sold to Elias Ashmole, Esq; who most generously gave her (*a*) far more money than they were worth; but out of his respects unto the deceased and his memory, he most willingly paid her the money. He left behind him two sons and two daughters. He left in writing very little but his annual prognostications. He began first to write about the year 1630; he wrote *Bellum Hibernicæ*, in the time of the long parliament, a very sober and judicious book: the epistle thereunto I gave him. He wrote lately a small treatise of Easter-Day, a very learned thing, wherein he shewed much learning and reading. To say no more of him, he lived an honest man, his fame not questioned at his death.

In this year 1633, I became acquainted with Nicholas Fiske, licentiate in physick,

(*a*) They cost me 140 pounds.

who was born in Suffolk, near Framingham (*b*) Castle, of very good parentage, who educated him at country schools, until he was fit for the university; but he went not to the academy, studying at home both astrology and physick, which he afterwards practised in Colchester; and there was well acquainted with Dr. Gilbert, who wrote *De Magnete*. He came afterwards unto London, and exercised his faculty in several places thereof. (For in his youth he would never stay long in one house.) In 1633 he was sent for out of Suffolk by Dr. Winston of Gresham College, to instruct the Lord Treasurer Weston's son in arithmetick, astronomy upon the globes, and their uses. He was a person very studious, laborious, of good apprehension, and had by his own industry obtained both in astrology, physick, arithmetick, astronomy, geometry and algebra, singular judgment: He would in astrology resolve horary questions very soundly; but was ever diffident of his own abilities: He was exquisitely skilful in the art of directions upon nativities, and had a good genius in performing judgment thereupon, but very unhappy he was, that he had

(*b*) There is no such place in Suffolk, it being mistaken for Framlingham in that county.

no genius in teaching his scholars, for he never perfected any: his own son Matthew hath often told me, that where his father did teach any scholars in his time, they would principally learn of him; he had Scorpio ascending, and was secretly envious to those he thought had more parts than himself; however, I must be ingenuous, and do affirm, that by frequent conversation with him, I came to know which were the best authors, and much to enlarge my judgment, especially in the art of directions: He visited me most days once after I became acquainted with him, and would communicate his most doubtful questions unto me, and accept of my judgment therein rather than his own: He singularly well judged and directed Sir Robert Holborn's nativity, but desired me to adjudge the first house, seventh and tenth thereof, which I did, and which nativity (since Sir Robert gave it me) came to your hands, and remains in your library; [oh learned Esquire] he died about the seventy-eighth year of his age, poor.

In this year also William Bredon, parson or vicar of Thornton in Buckinghamshire, was living, a profound divine, but absolutely the most polite person for nativities in that age, strictly adhering to Ptolomy, which he well understood; he had

had a hand in composing Sir Christopher Heydon's defence of judicial astrology, being that time his chaplain; he was so given over to tobacco and drink, that when he had no tobacco, he would cut the bell-ropes and smoke them.

I come now to continue the story of my own life, but thought it not inconvenient to commit unto memory something concerning those persons who practised when first I became a student in astrology; I have wrote nothing concerning any of them, which I myself do not either know, or believe to be true.

In October 1633 my first wife died, and left me whatever was hers: it was considerable, very near to the value of one thousand pounds.

One whole year and more I continued a widower, and followed my studies very hard; during which time a scholar pawned unto me, for forty shillings, *Ars Notoria*, (a) a large volume wrote in parchment, with the names of those angels, and their pictures, which are thought and believed by wise men, to teach and instruct in all the several liberal sciences, and is attained by observing elected times,

(a) Among Dr. Napier's MSS. I had an *Ars Notoria*, written by S. Forman in large vellum.

and those prayers appropriated unto the several angels.

I do ingenuously acknowledge, I used those prayers according to the form and direction prescribed for some weeks, using the word *astrologia* for *astronomia*; but of this no more: That *Ars Notoria*, inserted in the latter end of Cornelius Agrippa signifieth nothing; many of the prayers being not the same, nor is the direction to these prayers any thing considerable.

In the year 1634, I taught Sir George Peckham, Knight, astrology, that part which concerns sickness, wherein he so profited, that in two or three months he would give a very true discovery of any disease, only by his figures: He practised in Nottingham, but unfortunately died in 1635, at St. Winifred's Well in Wales; in which well he continued so long mumbling his *Pater Nosters* and *Sancta Winifrida ora pro me*, that the cold struck into his body; and, after his coming forth of that well, never spoke more.

In this year 1634, I purchased the moiety of thirteen houses in the Strand for five hundred and thirty pounds.

In November, the 18th day, I was again the second time married, and had five hundred pounds portion with that wife; she was of the nature of Mars.

Two

Two accidents happened to me in that year something memorable.

Davy Ramsfey, his Majesty's clock-maker, had been informed, that there was a great quantity of treasure buried in the cloyster of Westminster-Abbey; he acquaints Dean Williams therewith, who was also then Bishop of Lincoln; the Dean gave him liberty to search after it, with this proviso, that if any was discovered, his church should have a share of it. Davy Ramsfey finds out one John Scott, (*a*) who pretended the use of the Mosaical rods, to assist him herein: I was desired to join with him, unto which I consented. One winter's night Davy Ramsfey, with several gentlemen, myself, and Scott, entered the cloysters; we played the hazel-rod round about the cloyster; upon the west-side of the cloysters the rods turned one over another, an argument that the treasure was there: The labourers digged at least six foot deep, and then we met with a coffin; but in regard it was not heavy, we did not open, which we afterwards much repented: From the cloysters we went into the Abbey church, where, upon a sudden, (there being no wind when we

(*a*) This Scott lived in Pudding-Lane, and had some time been a page (or such like) to the Lord Norris.

began)

began) so fierce, so high, so blustering and loud a wind did rise, that we verily believed the west-end of the church would have fallen upon us; our rods would not move at all; the candles and torches, all but one, were extinguished, or burned very dimly: (a) John Scott, my partner, was amazed, looked pale, knew not what to think or do, until I gave directions and command to dismiss the Dæmons; which when done, all was quiet again, and each man returned unto his lodging late, about twelve o'clock at night; I could never since be induced to join with any in such-like actions.

The true miscarriage of the business, was by reason of so many people being present at the operation; for there was above thirty, some laughing, others deriding us; so that if we had not dismissed the Dæmons, I believe most part of the Abbey church had been blown down; secrecy and intelligent operators, with a strong confidence and knowledge of what they are doing, are best for this work.

In 1634, or 1635, a Lady living in Greenwich, who had tried all the known artists in London, but to no purpose, came weeping and lamenting her con-

(a) Davy Ramsfey brought an half quartern sack to put the treasure in.

dition, which was this: She had permitted a young Lord to have the use of her body, till she was with child by him; after which time he could not or would not endure her sight, but commanded his lacquies and servants to keep his doors fast shut, lest she should get into his chamber; or if they chanced to see her near his lodging, to drive her away, which they several times had done. Her desire unto me was to assist her to see him, and then she should be content; whereupon I ordered such a day, such an hour of that day, to try her fortune once more. She obeyed; and when she came to the King's Bench, where the Lord there was imprisoned, the outward door stood wide open: none speaking a word unto her, she went up stairs, no body molesting her; she found the Lord's chamber door wide open: he in bed, not a servant to be heard or seen, so she was pleased. Three days after she came to acquaint me with her success, and then drew out of her pocket a paper full of ratbane, which, had she not had admision unto him that day I appointed, she would in a pint of white wine have drank at the stair's foot where the Lord lodged. The like misfortune befell her after that; when the Lord was out of the prison: then I ordered her such a day to go and see a play

at Salisbury-Court; which she did, and within one quarter of an hour the Lord came into the same box wherein she was. But I grew weary of such employments, and since have burned my books which instructed these curiosities: For after that I became melancholly, very much afflicted with the hypocondraick melancholly, growing lean and spare, and every day worse; so that in the year 1635 my infirmity continuing, and my acquaintance increasing, I resolved to live in the country, and in March and April 1636 removed my goods unto Herisham, where I now live; and in May my person, where I continued until 1641, no notice being taken who, or what I was.

In the years 1637 and 1638, I had great lawfuits both in the Exchequer and Chancery, about a lease I had of the annual value of eighty pounds: I got the victory.

In the year 1640 I instructed John Humphreys, master of that art, in the study of astrology: upon this occasion, being at London, by accident in Fleet-Street, I met Dr. Percival Willoughby of Derby; we were of old acquaintance, and he but by great chance lately come to town, we went to the Mitre-Tavern in Fleet-Street, where I sent for old Will Poole the astrologer, living then in Ram-Alley:

Alley: being come to us, the Doctor produced a bill, set forth by a master of arts in Cambridge, intimating his abilities for resolving of all manner of questions astrologically: The bill was shewed, and I wondering at it, Poole made answer, he knew the man, and that he was a silly fool; 'I' quoth he, 'can do more than he; he sees me every day, he will be here by and by;' and indeed he came into our room presently: Poole had just as we came to him set a figure, and then shewed it me, desiring my judgment; which I refused, but desired the master of arts to judge first; he denied, so I gave mine, to the very great liking of Humphreys, who presently enquired, if I would teach him, and for what? I told him I was willing to teach, but would have one hundred pounds. I heard Poole, whilst I was judging the figure, whisper in Humphreys's ear, and swear I was the best in England. Staying three or four days in town, at last we contracted for forty pounds, for I could never be quiet from his solicitations; he invited me to supper, and before I had shewed him any thing, paid me thirty five pounds. As we were at supper a client came to speak with him, and so up into his closet he went with his client; I called him in before he set his figure, or resolved

the question, and instantly acquainted him how he should discover the moles or marks of his client: he set his figure, and presently discovers four moles the querent had; and was so overjoyed therewith, that he came tumbling down the stairs, crying, 'Four by G—, four by G—, I will not take one hundred pounds for this one rule.' In six weeks time, and tarrying with him three days in a week, he became a most judicious person.

This Humphreys was a laborious person, vain-glorious, loquacious, fool-hardy, desirous of all secrets which he knew not, insomuch that he would have given me two hundred pounds to have instructed him in some curiosities he was persuaded I had knowledge of, but, *Artis est celere artem*, especially to those who live not in the fear of God, or can be masters of their own counsels: He was in person and condition such another as that monster of ingratitude my *quondam* taylor, John Gadbury. After my refusal of teaching him, what he was not capable of, we grew strange, though I afforded him many civilities whenever he required it; for after the siege of Colchester he wrote a book against me, called *Anti Merlinus-Anglicus*, married a second wife, his first living in Cambridgeshire, then practised physick by a contrary name, having

having intentions to practise in Ireland- he went to Bristol, but there understanding the parliament's forces had reduced that kingdom, he came back to London, but durst not abide therein; but running from his second wife, who also had another husband, he went to sea, with intention for Barbadoes, but died by the way in his voyage. I had never seen John Booker at that time; but telling him one day I had a desire to see him, but first, ere I would speak with him, I would fit myself with my old rules, and rub up my astrology; for at that time [and this was 1640] I thought John Booker the greatest and most compleat astrologer in the world. My scholar Humphreys presently made answer, 'Tutor, you need not pump for any of your former knowledge, John Booker is no such pumper; we met,' saith he, 'the other day, and I was too hard for him myself, upon judgment of three or four questions.' If all the transactions happening unto that my scholar were in one volume, they would transcend either Guzman, Don Quixote, Lazarillo de Tormes, or any other of the like nature I ever did see.

Having now in part recovered my health, being weary of the country, and perceiving there was money to be got in

London, and thinking myself to be as sufficiently enabled in astrology as any I could meet with, I made it my business to repair thither; and so in September 1641 I did; where, in the years 1642 and 1643, I had great leisure to better my former knowledge: I then read over all my books of astrology, over and over; had very little or no practice at all: And whereas formerly I could never endure to read Valentine Naibod's Commentary upon Alcabitius, now having seriously studied him, I found him to be the profoundest author I ever met with; him I traversed over day and night, from whom I must acknowledge to have advanced my judgment and knowledge unto that height I soon after arrived at, or unto. A most rational author, and the sharpest expositor of Ptolomy that hath yet appeared. To exercise my genius, I began to collect notes, and thought of writing some little thing upon the σ of η and ν then approaching: I had not wrote above one sheet, and that very meanly, but James Lord Galloway came to see me; and, by chance, casting his eyes upon that rude collection, he read it over, and so approved of it, yea, so encouraged me to proceed farther, that then, and after that time, I spent most of my time in composing thereof,

thereof, and bringing it, in the end, into that method wherein it was printed 1644. I do seriously now profess, I had not the assistance of any person living, in the writing or composing thereof. Mr. Fiske sent me a small manuscript which had been Sir Christopher Heydon's, who had wrote something of the conjunction of h and y , 1603; out of which, to bring my method in order, I transcribed, in the beginning, five or six lines, and not any more, though that graceless fellow Gadbury wrote the contrary; but, *Semel & semper nebulo & mendax*. I did formerly write one treatise, in the year 1639, upon the eclipse of the sun, in the 11th degree of Gemini, 22 May 1639: It consisted of six sheets of paper. But that manuscript I gave unto my most munificent patron, and ever bountiful friend William Pennington, of Muncaſter in Cumberland, Esq; a wise and excellently learned person; who, from the year 1634, even till he died, continued unto me the most grateful person I ever was acquainted with. I became acquainted with him by means of Davy Ramſey.

Oh! most noble Esquire, let me now beg your pardon, if I digress for some small time, in commemorating his bounty unto me, and my requital of his

friendship, by performing many things successfully for his advantage.

In 1639 he was made captain, and served His Majesty in his then wars against the Scots; during which time a farmer's daughter being delivered of a bastard, and hearing, by report, that he was slain, fathered the child upon him. Shortly after he returned, most woefully vexed to be thus abused, when absent. The woman was countenanced by some gentlemen of Cumberland, in this her villany against him; so that, notwithstanding he had warrants to attach her body, he could never discover her: But yet, hunting her from one place to another, her friends thought it most convenient to send her to London, where she might be in most safety. She came up to the city, and immediately I had notice thereof, and the care of that matter left unto me. I procured the Lord Chief Justice Bramston's warrant, and had it lying dormant by me. She had not been in the city above one fortnight, but that I, going casually to the clerk of the assizes office for Cumberland, saw there an handsome woman; and hearing of her speak the northern tone, I concluded she was the party I did so want. I rounded the clerk in his ear, and told him I would give him five shillings to hold

hold the woman in chat till I came again, for I had a writing concerned her. I hasted for my warrant, and a constable, and returned into the office, seized her person before the clerk of the assizes, who was very angry with me: It was then sessions at Old-Bayley, and neither Judge nor Justice to be found. At night we carried her before the Recorder, Gardner. It being Saturday at night, she, having no bail, was sent to Bridewell, where she remained till Monday. On Monday morning, at the Old-Bayley, she produced bail; but I desiring of the Recorder some time to enquire after the bail, whether they were sufficient, returned presently, and told him one of the bail was a prisoner in Ludgate, the other a very poor man: At which he was so vexed, that he sent her to Newgate, where she lay all that week, until she could please me with good sureties; which then she did, and so was bound over to appear at the next assizes in Cumberland; which she did, and was there sentenced to be whipped, and imprisoned one whole year.

This action infinitely pleased Mr. Pennington, who thought I could do wonders; and I was most thankfully requited for it. All the while of this scandalous business, do what he could, he could not discover

discover what persons they were that supported her; but the woman's father coming to town, I became acquainted with him, by the name of Mr. Sute, merchant; invited him to a dinner; got George Farmer with me; when we supplied him with wine, he could neither see or feel. I paid the reckoning, being twenty two shillings. But next morning the poor man had never a writing or letter in his pocket. I sent them down to my friend, who thereby discovered the plots of several gentlemen in the business; after which, Mr. Sute returned to his old name again.

Mr. Pennington was a true royalist, whom Charles the Second made one of his Commissioners of Array for Cumberland. Having directions from me continually how matters did and would go betwixt the King and Parliament, he acted warily, and did but sign one only warrant of that nature, and then gave over. When the times of sequestrations came, one John Musgrave, the most bold and impudent fellow, and most active of all the north of England, and most malicious against my friend, had got this warrant under Mr. Pennington's hand into his custody; which affrighted my friend, and so it might, for it was cause enough of sequestration, and would have
done

done it. Musgrave intending and promising himself great matters out of his estate, I was made acquainted herewith. Musgrave being in London, by much ado, I got acquainted with him, pretending myself a bitter enemy against Pennington, whereat he very heartily rejoiced; and so we appointed one night to meet at the Five Bells, to compare notes; for I pretended much. We did meet, and he very suddenly produced upon the table all his papers, and withal, the warrant of array unto which my friend had set his hand; which when I saw, ‘I marry,’ said I, ‘this is his hand I will swear; now have at all; come, the other cup, this warrant shall pay for all.’ I observed where the warrant lay upon the table, and, after some time took occasion ignorantly to let the candle fall out, which whilst he went to light again at the fire, I made sure of the warrant, and put it into my boot; he never missing it of eight or ten days; about which time, I believe, it was above half way towards Cumberland, for I instantly sent it by the post, with this friendly caveat, ‘Sin no more.’ Musgrave durst not challenge me in those times, and so the business was ended very satisfactory to his friend, and no less to myself.

He was, besides, extremely abused by one Isaac Antrobus, parson of Egremond, a most evil liver, bold, and very rich; at last he procured a minister of that country, in hope of the parsonage, to article against him in London, before the committee of plundered ministers. I was once more invited to solicit against Antrobus, which I did upon three or more articles.

I. That Antrobus baptized a cock, and called him Peter.

II. He had knowledge of such a woman and of her daughter, *viz.* of both their bodies, in as large a manner as ever of his own wife.

III. Being drunk, a woman took a cord and tied it about his privy members unto a manger in a stable.

IV. Being a continual drunkard.

V. He never preached, &c.

Antrobus was now become a great champion for the Parliament; but, at the day of hearing, I had procured abundance of my friends to be there; for the godly, as they termed themselves, sided with him; the present Master of the Rolls was Chairman that day, Sir Harbottle Grimston.

Who

Who hearing the foulness of the cause, was very much ashamed thereof. I remember Antrobus, being there, pleaded he was in his natural condition when he acted so ungraciously.

‘What condition were you in,’ said the Chairman, ‘when you lay with mother and daughter?’

‘There is no proof of that,’ saith he.

‘None but your own confession,’ said the Chairman, ‘nor could any tell so well.’

‘I am not given to drunkenness,’ quoth he. ‘He was so drunk within this fortnight’ quoth I, ‘he reeled from one side of the street to the other; here is the witness to prove it:’ who presently, before the committee, being sworn, made it good, and named the place and street where he was drunk. So he was adjudged scandalous, and outed of his benefice, and our minister had the parsonage.

You cannot imagine how much the routing of this drunken parson pleased Mr. Pennington, who paid all charges munificently and thankfully.

But now follows the last and greatest kindness I ever did him. Notwithstanding the committee for sequestrations in Cumberland were his very good friends, yet the sub-sequestrators, of their own heads,
and

and without order, and by strength of arms, secured his iron, his wood, and so much of his personal estate as was valued at seven thousand pounds. Now had I complaint upon complaint: would I suffer my old friend to be thus abused? it was in my power to free him from these villains.

I hereupon advised what was best to do, and was counselled to get Mr. Speaker Lenthall's letter to the sub-sequestrators, and command them to be obedient to the committee of the county.

Whereupon, I framed a letter myself, unto the sub-sequestrators directed, and with it, myself and Mr. Laurence Maydwell (whom yourself well knew) went to Mr. Speaker, unto whom we sufficiently related the stubbornness of the officers of Cumberland; their disobedience to the committee; and then shewed him the letter, which when he had read over, he most courteously signed, adding withal, that if they proceeded further in sequestring Mr. Pennington, he would command a Serjeant at Arms to bring them up to answer their contempts: I immediately posted that letter to my friend, which when the absurd fellows received, they delivered him possession of his goods again; and, for my pains, when he came to London, gave me one hundred

hundred pounds: He died in 1652, of a violent fever. I did carefully, in 1642 and 1643, take notice of every grand action which happened betwixt King and Parliament, and did first then incline to believe, that as all sublunary affairs did depend upon superior causes, so there was a possibility of discovering them by the configurations of the superior bodies; in which way making some essays in those two years, I found encouragement to proceed further, which I did; I perused the writings of the ancients, but therein they were silent, or gave no satisfaction; at last, I framed unto myself that method, which then and since I follow, which, I hope, in time may be more perfected by a more penetrating person than myself.

In 1643, I became familiarly known to Sir Bulstrode Whitlocke, a member of the House of Commons; he being sick, his urine was brought unto me by Mrs. Lisle, (*a*) wife to John Lisle, afterwards one of the keepers of the Great Seal;

(*a*) She was afterwards beheaded at Winchester, for harbouring one Nelthrop, a rebel in the Duke of Monmouth's army 1685. She had made herself remarkable, by saying at the martyrdom of King Charles I. 1648, 'that her blood leaped within her to see the tyrant fall;' for this, when she fell into the state trap, she neither did nor could expect favour from any of that martyr's family. D. N.

having

having fet my figure, I returned anfwer, the fick for that time would recover, but by means of a furfeit would dangerously relapfe within one month; which he did, by eating of trouts at Mr. Sand's houfe, near Leatherhead in Surrey. Then I went daily to vifit him, Dr. Prideau deſpairing of his life; but I ſaid there was no danger thereof, and that he would be ſufficiently well in five or fix weeks; and ſo he was.

In 1644, I publiſhed *Merlinus Anglicus Junior* about April. I had given one day the copy thereof unto the then Mr. Whitlocke, who by accident was reading thereof in the Houſe of Commons: ere the Speaker took the chair, one looked upon it, and ſo did many, and got copies thereof; which when I heard, I applied myſelf to John Booker to liſenſe it, for then he was licenſer of all mathematical books; I had, to my knowledge, never ſeen him before; he wondered at the book, made many impertinent obliterations, framed many objections, ſwore it was not poſſible to diſtinguiſh betwixt King and Parliament; at laſt liſenſed it according to his own fancy; I delivered it unto the printer, who being an arch Preſbyterian, had five of the miniſtry to inſpect it, who could make nothing of it, but ſaid it might be printed, for in that I meddled

not with their Dagon. The first impression was sold in less than one week; when I presented some to the members of Parliament, I complained of John Booker the licenser, who had defaced my book; they gave me order forthwith to reprint it as I would, and let them know if any durst resist me in the reprinting, or adding what I thought fit; so the second time it came forth as I would have it.

I must confess, I now found my scholar Humphreys's words to be true concerning John Booker, whom at that time I found but moderately versed in astrology; nor could he take the circles of position of the planets, until in that year I instructed him. After my Introduction in 1647 became publick, he amended beyond measure, by study partly, and partly upon emulation to keep up his fame and reputation; so that since 1647, I have seen some nativities by him very judiciously performed. When the printer presented him with an Introduction of mine, as soon as they were forth of the press; 'I wish,' saith he, 'there was never another but this in England, conditionally I gave one hundred pounds for this.' After that time we were very great friends to his dying day.

In June 1644, I published Supernatural Sight; and, indeed, if I could have procured the dull stationer to have been at charges to have cut the icon or form of that prodigious apparition, as I had drawn it forth, it would have given great satisfaction; however, the astrological judgment thereupon had its full event in every particular.

That year also I published the White King's Prophecy, of which there were sold in three days eighteen hundred, so that it was oft reprinted: I then made no commentary upon it.

In that year I printed the Prophetical Merlin, and had eight pounds for the copy.

I had then no farther intention to trouble the press any more, but Sir Richard Napper having received one of Captain Wharton's Almanacks for 1645, under the name Naworth, he came unto me: 'Now, Lilly, you are met withal, see here what Naworth writes.' The words were, he called me 'an impudent senseless fellow, and by name William Lilly.'

Before that time, I was more Cavalier than Roundhead, and so taken notice of; but after that I engaged body and soul in the cause of Parliament, but still with much affection to his Majesty's person
and

and unto monarchy, which I ever loved and approved beyond any government whatsoever; and you will find in this story many passages of civility which I did, and endeavoured to do, with the hazard of my life, for his Majesty: But God had ordered all his affairs and counsels to have no successes; as in the sequel will appear.

To vindicate my reputation, and to cry quittance with Naworth, against whom I was highly incensed, to work I went again for Anglicus 1645; which as soon as finished I got to the press, thinking every day one month till it was publick: I therein made use of the King's nativity, and finding that his ascendant was approaching to the quadrature of Mars, about June 1645, I gave this unlucky judgment; 'If now we fight, a victory stealeth upon us;' and so it did in June 1645, at Naseby, the most fatal overthrow he ever had.

In this year 1645, I published a treatise call the Starry Messenger, with an interpretation of three suns seen in London 29 May 1644, being Charles the Second's birth-day: In that book I also put forth an astrological judgment concerning the effects of a solar eclipse, visible the 11th of August 1645. Two days before its publishing, my antagonist,

Captain Wharton, having given his astrological judgment upon his Majesty's present march from Oxford; therein again fell foul against me and John Booker: Sir Samuel Luke, Governor of Newport-pagnel, had the thing came to his garrison from Oxford, which presently was presented unto my view. I had but twelve hours, or thereabout, to answer it, which I did with such success as is incredible; and the printer printed both the March and my answer unto it, and produced it to fight, with my Starry Messenger, which came forth and was made publick the very day of the Parliament's great victory obtained against his Majesty in person at Naseby, under the conduct of the Lord Thomas Fairfax.

That book no sooner appeared, but within fourteen days complaint was made to the committee of examinations, Miles Corbet then being Chairman, my mortal enemy, he who after was hanged, drawn, and quartered, for being one of the King's Judges; he grants his warrant, and a messenger to the Serjeant at Arms seizeth my person. As I was going to Westminster with the messenger, I met Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir Christopher Wray, Mr. Denzil Hollis, Mr. Robert Reynolds, who, by great fortune, had the Starry Messenger sheet by sheet from me as it
came

‘ Holy Ghost, will not the Excise pay
‘ the soldiers?’

Corbet very ignorantly read, ‘ will not
‘ the Eclipse pay soldiers?’ at which the
Committee fell heartily to laugh at him,
and so he became silent.

There was a great many Parliament
men there; the chamber was full. ‘ Have
‘ you any more against Mr. Lilly?’ cried
the chairman.

‘ Yes,’ saith the Sollicitor for the Ex-
cise, ‘ since his Starry Messenger came
‘ forth we had our house burnt, and the
‘ Commissioners pulled by their cloaks in
‘ the Exchange.’ ‘ Pray, Sir, when was
‘ this,’ asked old Sir Robert Pye, ‘ that
‘ the house was burnt, and the Aldermen
‘ abused?’ ‘ It was in such a week,’ saith
he. ‘ Mr. Lilly, when came the book
‘ forth?’ ‘ The very day of Naseby fight,’
answered Mr. Reynolds, ‘ nor needs he
‘ be ashamed of writing it: I had it
‘ daily as it came forth of the press: It
‘ was then found the house to be burnt,
‘ and the Aldermen abused, twelve days
‘ before the Starry Messenger came forth.’
‘ What a lying fellow art thou,’ saith
Sir Robert Pye, ‘ to abuse us so!’ This
he spoke to the Sollicitor. Then stood
up one Bassell, a merchant: he inveighed
bitterly against me, being a Presbyterian,
and would have had my books burnt.

‘ You

‘ You smell more of a citizen than a scholar,’ replied Mr. Francis Drake. I was ordered to withdraw, and by and by was called in, and acquainted the Committee did discharge me. But I cried with a loud voice, ‘ I was under a messenger;’ whereupon the Committee ordered him or the Serjeant at Arms not to take any fees; Mr. Reynolds saying, ‘ Literate men never pay any fees.’

But within one week after, I was likely to have had worse success, but that the before-named gentlemen stoutly befriended me. In my Epistle of the Starry Messenger, I had been a little too plain with the Committee of Leicestershire; who thereof made complaint unto Sir Arthur Hazelrigg, Knight for that county; he was a furious person, and made a motion in the House of Commons against me, and the business was committed to that Committee, whereof Baron Rigby was Chairman. A day was assigned to hear the matter; in the morning whereof, as I passed by Mr. Pullen’s shop in St. Paul’s Church-yard, Pullen bad God be with you, and named me by name. Mr. Selden being there, and hearing my name, gave direction to call me unto him, where he acquaints me with Hazelrigg’s humour and malice towards me, called for the Starry Messenger, and having

read over the words mentioning that Committee, he asked me how I would answer them? I related what I would have said, but he contradicted me, and acquainted me what to say, and how to answer. In the afternoon I went to appear, but there was no Committee set, or would fit; for both Mr. Reynolds and Sir Philip Stapleton, and my other friends, had fully acquainted Baron Rigby with the business, and desired not to call upon me until they appeared; for the matter and charge intended against me was very frivolous, and only presented by a choleric person to please a company of clowns, meaning the Committee of Leicester. Baron Rigby said, if it were so he would not meddle with the matter, but exceedingly desired to see me. Not long after he met Sir Arthur, and acquainting him what friends appeared for me, said, 'I will then prosecute him no further.'

All the ancient astrologers of England were much startled and confounded at my manner of writing, especially old Mr. William Hodges, who lived near Wolverhampton in Staffordshire, and many others who understood astrology competently well, as they thought. Hodges swore I did more by astrology than he could by the crystal, and use thereof,
which

which indeed he understood as perfectly as any one in England. He was a great royalist, but could never hit any thing right for that party, though he much desired it: He resolved questions astrologically; nativities he meddled not with; in things of other nature, which required more curiosity, he repaired to the crystal: His angels were Raphael, Gabriel, and Uriel: his life answered not in holiness and sanctity to what it should, having to deal with those holy angels. Being contemporary with me, I shall relate what my partner John Scott, the same Scott as is before-mentioned, affirmed of him. John Scott was a little skilful in surgery and physick, so was Will Hodges, and had formerly been a school-master. Scott having some occasions into Staffordshire, addressed himself for a month or six weeks to Hodges, assisted him to dress his patients, let blood, &c. Being to return to London, he desired Hodges to shew him the person and feature of the woman he should marry. Hodges carries him into a field not far from his house, pulls out his crystal, bids Scott set his foot to his, and, after a while, wishes him to inspect the crystal, and observe what he saw there. ‘I see,’ saith Scott, ‘a ruddy complexioned wench in a red waistcoat,
‘drawing

‘drawing a can of beer.’ ‘She must be your wife,’ said Hodges. ‘You are mistaken, Sir,’ said Scott. ‘I am, so soon as I come to London, to marry a tall gentlewoman in the Old-Bailey.’ ‘You must marry the red waistcoat,’ said Hodges. Scott leaves the country, comes up to London, finds his gentlewoman married: Two years after going into Dover, in his return, he refreshed himself at an inn in Canterbury, and as he came into the hall, or first room thereof, he mistook the room, and went into the buttery, where he espied a maid, described by Hodges, as before said, drawing a can of beer, &c. He then more narrowly viewing her person and habit, found her, in all parts, to be the same Hodges had described; after which he became a suitor unto her, and was married unto her; which woman I have often seen. This Scott related unto me several times, being a very honest person, and made great conscience of what he spoke. Another story of him is as followeth, which I had related from a person which well knew the truth of it.

A neighbour gentleman of Hodges lost his horse; who having Hodges’s advice for recovery of him, did again obtain him. Some years after, in a frolick, he thought to abuse him, acquainting a neighbour

neighbour therewith, *viz.* That he had formerly lost a horse, went to Hodges, recovered him again, but saith it was by chance, I might have had him without going unto him: ‘Come, let’s go, I will now put a trick upon him; I will leave some boy or other at the town’s-end with my horse, and then go to Hodges and enquire for him.’ He did so, gave his horse to a youth, with orders to walk him till he returned. Away he goes with his friend, salutes Mr. Hodges, thanks him for his former courtesy, and now desires the like, having lost a horse very lately. Hodges, after some time of pausing, said; ‘Sir, your horse is lost, and never to be recovered.’ ‘I thought what skill you had,’ replies the gallant, ‘my horse is walking in a lane at the town’s-end.’ With that Hodges swore (as he was too much given unto that vice) ‘your horse is gone, and you will never have him again.’ The gentleman departed in great derision of Hodges, and went where he left his horse: when he came there, he found the boy fast asleep upon the ground, the horse gone, the boy’s arm in the bridle.

He returns again to Hodges, desiring his aid, being sorry for his former abuse. Old Will swore like a devil, ‘Be gone, be gone; go look your horse.’ This business ended

ended not so; for the malicious man brought Hodges into the star-chamber, bound him over to the assizes, put Hodges to great expences: but, by means of the Lord Dudley, if I remember aright, or some other person thereabouts, he overcame the gentleman, and was acquitted.

Besides this, a gentlewoman of my acquaintance, and of credit, in Leicestershire, having lost a pillion-cloth, a very new one, went to desire his judgment. He ordered her such a day to attend at Mountforrel in Leicestershire, and about twelve o'clock she should see her pillion-cloth upon a horse, and a woman upon it. My friend attended the hour and place; it being told, she must needs warm herself well, and then enquired if any passengers had lately gone by the inn? Unto whom answer was made, there passed by whilst she was at the fire, about half an hour before, a man, and a woman behind him, on horse-back. Inquiring of what colour the pillion-cloth was of; it was answered, directly of the colour my friend's was: They pursued, but too late.

In those times, there lived one William Marsh in Dunstable, a man of godly life and upright conversation, a Recufant. By astrology he resolved thievish questions with great success; that was his utmost
sole

sole practice. He was many times in trouble; but by Dr. Napper's interest with the Earl of Bolingbroke, Lord Wentworth, after Earl of Cleveland, he still continued his practice, the said Earl not permitting any Justice of Peace to vex him.

This man had only two books, Guido and Haly bound together: He had so mumbled and tumbled the leaves of both, that half one side of every leaf was torn even to the middle. I was familiar with him for many years: He died about 1647.

A word or two of Dr. Napper, who lived at Great Lindford in Buckinghamshire, was parson, and had the advowson thereof. He descended of worshipful parents, and this you must believe; for when Dr. Napper's brother, Sir Robert Napper, a Turkey merchant, was to be made a Baronet in King James's reign, there was some dispute whether he could prove himself a gentleman for three or more descents. 'By my faul,' saith King James, 'I will certify for Napper, that he is of
' above three hundred years standing in
' his family, all of them, by my faul,
' gentlemen,' &c. However, their family came into England in King Henry the Eighth's time. The parson was Master of Arts; but whether doctorated by degree or courtesy, because of his profession, I
know

know not. Miscarrying one day in the pulpit, he never after used it, but all his life-time kept in his house some excellent scholar or other to officiate for him, with allowance of a good salary: He out-went Forman in physick and holiness of life; cured the falling-sickness perfectly by constellated rings, some diseases by amulets, &c.

A maid was much afflicted with the falling-sickness, whose parents applied themselves unto him for cure: he framed her a constellated ring, upon wearing whereof, she recovered perfectly. Her parents acquainted some scrupulous divines with the cure of their daughter: 'The cure is done by enchantment,' say they. 'Cast away the ring, it's diabolical; God cannot bless you, if you do not cast the ring away.' The ring was cast into the well, whereupon the maid became epileptical as formerly, and endured much misery for a long time. At last her parents cleansed the well, and recovered the ring again; the maid wore it, and her fits took her no more. In this condition she was one year or two; which the Puritan ministers there adjoining hearing, never left off, till they procured her parents to cast the ring quite away; which done, the fits returned in such violence, that they were enforced to apply

ply to the Doctor again, relating at large the whole story, humbly imploring his once more assistance; but he could not be procured to do any thing, only said, those who despised God's mercies, were not capable or worthy of enjoying them.

I was with him in 1632, or 1633, upon occasion. He had me up into his library, being excellently furnished with very choice books: there he prayed almost one hour; he invocated several angels in his prayer, *viz.* (a) Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel, &c. We parted.

He instructed many ministers in astrology, would lend them whole cloak-bags of books; protected them from harm and violence, by means of his power with the Earl of (b) Bolingbroke. He would confess my master Evans knew more than himself in some things: and some time before he died, he got his cousin Sir Richard to set a figure to see when he should die. Being brought him; 'Well,' he said, 'the old man will live this winter, but in the spring he will die; welcome Lord Jesus, thy will be done.'

(a) The collect read on Michaelmas day, seems to allow of praying to angels. At some times, upon great occasions, he had conference with Michael, but very rarely.

(b) Lord Wentworth, after Earl of Cleveland.

He had many enemies: Cotta, Doctor of physick in Northampton, wrote a sharp book of witchcraft, wherein, obliquely, he bitterly inveighed against the Doctor.

In 1646, I printed a collection of Prophecies, with the explanation and verification of Aquila, or the White King's Prophecy; as also the nativities of Bishop Laud and Thomas Earl of Strafford, and a most learned speech by him intended to have been spoke upon the scaffold. In this year 1646, after a great consideration, and many importunities, I began to fix upon thoughts of an Introduction unto Astrology, which was very much wanting, and as earnestly longed for by many persons of quality. something also much occasioned and hastened the impression, *viz.* the malevolent barking of Presbyterian ministers in their weekly sermons, reviling the professors thereof, and myself particularly by name.

Secondly, I thought it a duty incumbent upon me, to satisfy the whole kingdom of the lawfulness thereof, by framing a plain and easy method for any person but of indifferent capacity to learn the art, and instruct himself therein, without any other master than my Introduction; by which means, when many understood it, I should have more partners
and

and assistants to contradict all and every antagonist.

Thirdly, I found it best as unto point of time, because many of the soldiers were wholly for it, and many of the Independant party; and I had abundance of worthy men in the House of Commons, my assured friends, no lovers of Presbytery, which then were in great esteem, and able to protect the art; for should the Presbyterian party have prevailed, as they thought of nothing less than to be Lords of all, I knew well they would have silenced my pen annually, and committed the Introduction unto everlasting silence.

Fourthly, I had something of conscience touched my spirit, and much elevated my conceptions, believing God had not bestowed those abilities upon me, to bury them under a bushel; for though my education was very mean, yet, by my continual industry, and God's great mercy, I found myself capable to go forward with the work, and to commit the issue thereof unto divine providence.

I had a hard task in hand to begin the first part hereof, and much labour I underwent to methodize it as it is.

I ingenuously confess unto you (Arts' great Mecænas, noble Esquire Ashmole,) no mortal man had any share in the

composition or ordering of the first part thereof, but my one only self. You are a person of great reading, yet I well know you never found the least trace thereof in any author yet extant.

In composing, contriving, ordering, and framing thereof (*viz.* the first part) a great part of that year was spent. I again perused all, or most, authors I had, sometimes adding, at other times diminishing, until at last I thought it worthy of the press. When I came to frame the second part thereof, having formerly collected out of many manuscripts, and exchanged rules with the most able professors I had acquaintance with, in transcribing those papers for impression, I found, upon a strict inquisition, those rules were, for the most part, defective; so that once more I had now a difficult labour to correct their deficiency, to new rectify them according to art; and lastly, considering the multiplicity of daily questions propounded unto me, it was as hard a labour as might be to transcribe the papers themselves with my own hand. The desire I had to benefit posterity and my country, at last overcame all difficulties; so that what I could not do in one year, I perfected early the next year, 1647; and then in that year, *viz.* 1647, I finished

I finished the third book of (*a*) naticities, (*b*) during the composing whereof, for seven whole weeks, I was shut up of the plague, burying in that time two maid-servants thereof; yet towards November that year, the Introduction, called by the name of Christian Astrology was made publick. There being, in those times, some smart difference between the army and the Parliament, the head-quarters of the army were at Windsor, whither I was carried with a coach and four horses, and John Booker with me. We were welcome thither, and feasted in a garden where General Fairfax lodged. We were brought to the General, who bid us kindly welcome to Windsor; and, in effect, said thus much:

‘ That God had blessed the army with
 ‘ many signal victories, and yet their work
 ‘ was not finished. He hoped God would
 ‘ go along with them until his work was
 ‘ done. They fought not themselves, but
 ‘ the welfare and tranquillity of the good
 ‘ people, and whole nation; and, for
 ‘ that end, were resolved to sacrifice both
 ‘ their lives and their own fortunes. As

(*a*) The name of the person whose nativity is directed and judged, is Mr. Thompson, whose father had been some time an inn-keeper at the White-hart in Newark.

(*b*) I devised the forms and fashions of the several schemes. E. A.

‘ for the art we studied, he hoped it was
 ‘ lawful and agreeable to God’s word :
 ‘ He understood it not ; but doubted not
 ‘ but we both feared God ; and therefore
 ‘ had a good opinion of us both.’ Unto
 his speech I presently made this reply :

‘ My Lord, I am glad to see you here
 ‘ at this time.

‘ Certainly, both the people of God,
 ‘ and all others of this nation, are very
 ‘ sensible of God’s mercy, love, and fa-
 ‘ vour unto them, in directing the par-
 ‘ liament to nominate and elect you Ge-
 ‘ neral of their armies, a person so religi-
 ‘ ous, so valiant.

‘ The several unexpected victories ob-
 ‘ tained under your Excellency’s conduct,
 ‘ will eternize the fame unto all poste-
 ‘ rity.

‘ We are confident of God’s going
 ‘ along with you and your army, until
 ‘ the great work for which he ordained
 ‘ you both, is fully perfected ; which we
 ‘ hope will be the conquering and sub-
 ‘ version of your’s and the Parliament’s
 ‘ enemies, and then a quiet settlement
 ‘ and firm peace over all the nation, unto
 ‘ God’s glory, and full satisfaction of ten-
 ‘ der consciences.

‘ Sir, as for ourselves, we trust in God ;
 ‘ and, as christians, believe in him. We
 ‘ do not study any art but what is lawful,
 ‘ and

‘and consonant to the scriptures, fathers,
 ‘and antiquity; which we humbly desire
 ‘you to believe,’ &c.

This ended, we departed, and went to visit Mr. Peters the minister, who lodged in the castle, whom we found reading an idle pamphlet come from London that morning. ‘Lilly, thou art herein,’ says he. ‘Are not you there also?’ I replied. ‘Yes, that I am,’ quoth he.—The words concerning me, were these:

From th’ oracles of the Sibyls so filly,
 The curst predictions of William Lilly,
 And Dr. Sybbald’s Shoe-lane Philly,
 Good Lord, deliver me.

After much conference with Hugh Peters, and some private discourse betwixt us two, not to be divulged, we parted, and so came back to London.

King Charles the First, in the year 1646, April 27, went unto the Scots, then in this nation. Many desired my judgment, in time of his absence, to discover the way he might be taken: which I would never be drawn unto, or give any direction concerning his person.

There were many lewd Mercuries printed both in London and Oxford, wherein I was sufficiently abused, in this year 1646. I had then my ascendant *ad* □ ♄, and ♁ *ad proprium*. The Presbyterians were, in

their pulpits, as merciless as the Cavaliers in their pamphlets.

About this time, the most famous mathematician of all Europe, (*a*) Mr. William Oughtred, parson of Aldbury in Surrey, was in danger of sequestration by the Committee of or for plundered ministers; (Ambo-dexters they were;) several inconsiderable articles were deposed and sworn against him, material enough to have sequestered him, but that, upon his day of hearing, I applied myself to Sir Bolstrode Whitlock, and all my own old friends, who in such numbers appeared in his behalf, that though the chairman and many other Presbyterian members were stiff against him, yet he was cleared by the major number. The truth is, he had a considerable parsonage, and that only was enough to sequester any moderate judgment: He was also well known to affect his Majesty. In these times many worthy ministers lost their livings or benefices, for not complying with the Three-penny Directory. Had you seen (O noble Esquire) what pitiful ideots were preferred into sequestered church-benefices, you would have been grieved in your soul; but when they came before the classis of divines, could

(*a*) This gentleman I was very well acquainted with, having lived at the house over-against his, at Aldbury in Surrey, three or four years. E. A.

those simpletons but only say, they were converted by hearing such a sermon, such a lecture, of that godly man Hugh Peters, Stephen Marshall, or any of that gang, he was presently admitted.

In 1647, I published the World's Catastrophe, the Prophecies of Ambrose Merlin, with the Key wherewith to unlock those obscure Prophecies; also Trithemius of the Government of the World by the presiding Angels; these came forth all in one book.

The two first were exquisitely translated by yourself, (most learned Sir) as I do ingenuously acknowledge in my Epistle unto the Reader, with a true character of the worth and admirable parts, unto which I refer any that do desire to read you perfectly delineated. I was once resolved to have continued Trithemius for some succeeding years, but multiplicity of employment impeded me. The study required, in that kind of learning, must be sedentary, of great reading, sound judgment, which no man can accomplish except he wholly retire, use prayer, and accompany himself with angelical consorts.

His Majesty Charles the First, having entrusted the Scots with his person, was, for money, delivered into the hands of the English Parliament, and, by several removals, was had to Hampton-Court about July or August 1647; for he was

there, and at that time when my house was visited with the plague. He was desirous to escape from the soldiery, and to obscure himself for some time near London, the citizens whereof began now to be unruly, and alienated in affection from the Parliament, inclining wholly to his Majesty, and very averse to the army. His Majesty was well informed of all this, and thought to make good use hereof; besides, the army and Parliament were at some odds, who should be masters. Upon the King's intention to escape, and with his consent, Madam Whorewood (whom you knew very well, worthy Esquire) came to receive my judgment, *viz.* In what quarter of this nation he might be most safe, and not to be discovered until himself pleased.

When she came to my door, I told her I would not let her come into my house, for I buried a maid-servant of the plague very lately. 'I fear not the plague, but the pox,' quoth she; so up we went. After erection of my figure, I told her about twenty miles (or thereabouts) from London, and in Essex, I was certain he might continue undiscovered. She liked my judgment very well; and, being herself of a sharp judgment, remembered a place in Essex about that distance, where was an excellent house, and all conveniences for his reception.

ception. Away she went, early next morning, unto Hampton-Court, to acquaint his Majesty; but see the misfortune: He, either guided by his own approaching hard fate, or misguided by (*a*) Ashburnham, went away in the night-time westward, and surrendered himself to Hammond, in the Isle of Wight.

Whilst his Majesty was at Hampton-Court, Alderman Adams sent his Majesty one thousand pounds in gold, five hundred whereof he gave to Madam Whorewood. I believe I had twenty pieces of that very gold for my share.

I have something more to write of Charles the First's misfortunes, wherein I was concerned; the matter happened in 1648, but I thought good to insert it here, having after this no more occasion to mention him.

His Majesty being in Carisbrook-Castle in the Isle of Wight, the Kentish men, in great numbers, rose in arms, and joined with the Lord Goring; a considerable number of the best ships revolted from the Parliament; the citizens of London were forward to rise against the Parliament; his Majesty laid his design to escape

(*a*) This Ashburnham was turned out of the House of Commons the 3d of November, 1667, for taking a bribe of five hundred pounds of the merchants. I was informed hereof 26 November, 1667.

out of prifon, by fawing the iron bars of his chamber window; a fmall fhip was provided, and anchored not far from the caſtle to bring him into Suffex; horfes were provided ready to carry him through Suffex into Kent, that fo he might be at the head of the army in Kent, and from thence to march immediately to London, where thoufands then would have armed for him. The Lady Whorewood came to me, acquaints me herewith. I got G. Farmer (who was a moſt ingenious lock-fmith, and dwelt in Bow-lane) to make a faw to cut the iron bars in funder, I mean to faw them, and aqua fortis beſides. His Majeſty in a fmall time did his work; the bars gave liberty for him to go out; he was out with his body till he came to his breaſt; but then his heart failing, he proceeded no farther: when this was diſcovered, as ſoon after it was, he was narrowly looked after, and no opportunity after that could be deviſed to enlarge him. About September the Parliament ſent their Commiſſioners with propoſitions unto him into the Iſle of Wight, the Lord William Sea being one; the Lady Whorewood comes again unto me from him or by his conſent, to be directed: After perufal of my figure, I told her the Commiſſioners would be there ſuch a day; I elected a day and hour
when

when to receive the Commissioners and propositions; and as soon as the propositions were read, to sign them, and make haste with all speed to come up with the Commissioners to London. The army being then far distant from London, and the city enraged stoutly against them, he promised he would do so. That night the Commissioners came, and old Sea and his Majesty had private conference till one in the morning: the King acquaints Sea with his intention, who clearly dissuaded him from signing the propositions, telling him they were not fit for him to sign; that he had many friends in the House of Lords, and some in the House of Commons; that he would procure more, and then they would frame more easy propositions. This flattery of this unfortunate Lord, occasioned his Majesty to wave the advice I and some others that wished his prosperity had given, in expectation of that which afterwards could never be gained. The army having some notice hereof from one of the Commissioners, who had an eye upon old Sea, hastened unto London, and made the citizens very quiet; and besides, the Parliament and army kept a better correspondence afterwards with each other.

Whilst the King was at Windsor-Castle, one walking upon the leads there, he
looked

looked upon Captain Wharton's Almanack; 'My book,' saith he, 'speaks well 'as to the weather:' One William Allen standing by; 'what,' saith he, 'saith his antagonist, Mr. Lilly?' 'I do not care 'for Lilly,' said his Majesty, 'he hath 'been always against me, and became a 'little bitter in his expressions.' 'Sir,' said Allen, 'the man is an honest man, 'and writes but what his art informs 'him.' 'I believe it,' said his Majesty, 'and that Lilly understands astrology, as 'well as any man in Europe.' *Exit Rex Carolus.*

In 1648 I published a Treatise of the three Suns, seen the winter preceding; as also an Astrological Judgment upon a Conjunction of Saturn and Mars 28 June, in 11 degrees 8 minutes of Gemini.

I commend unto your perusal that book and the Prophetical Merlin, which seriously considered, (Oh worthy Esquire) will more instruct your judgment (*De generalibus contingentibus Mundi*) than all the authors you yet ever met with.

In this year, for very great considerations, the Counsel of State gave me in money fifty pounds, and a pension of one hundred pounds *per Annum*, which for two years I received, but no more: upon some discontents I after would not or did require it. The cause moving them

was

was this; they could get no intelligence out of France, although they had several agents there for that purpose. I had formerly acquaintance with a secular priest, at this time confessor to one of the Secretaries; unto him I wrote, and by that means had perfect knowledge of the chiefest concerns of France, at which they admired; but I never yet, until this day, revealed the name of the person.

One occasion why I deserted that employment was, because Scott, who had eight hundred pounds *per Annum* for intelligence, would not contribute any occasion to gratify my friend: And another thing was, I received some affront from Gualter Frost their Secretary, one that was a principal minister belonging to the Council of State. Scott was ever my enemy, the other knave died of a gangrene in his arm suddenly after.

In 1648 and 1649, that I might encourage young students in astrology, I publickly read over the first part of my Introduction, wherein there are many things contained, not easily to be understood.

And now we are entered into the year 1649: his Majesty being at St. James's House, in January of that year, I begun its observations thus:

“ I am

“ I am ferious, I beg and expect justice; either fear or shame begins to question offenders.

“ The lofty cedars begin to divine a thundering hurricane is at hand; God elevates men contemptible.

“ Our demigods are sensible we begin to dislike their actions very much in London, more in the country.

“ Blessed be God, who encourages his servants, makes them valiant, and of undaunted spirits, to go on with his decrees: upon a sudden, great expectations arise, and men generally believe a quiet and calm time draws nigh.”

In Christmas holidays, the Lord Gray of Grooby and Hugh Peters, sent for me to Somers-House, with directions to bring them two of my Almanacks.—I did so; Peters and he read January's Observations.

‘ If we are not fools and knaves,’ saith he, ‘ we shall do justice:’ then they whifpered. I understood not their meaning till his Majesty was beheaded. They applied what I wrote of justice, to be understood of his Majesty, which was contrary to my intention; for Jupiter, the first day of January, became direct; and Libra is a sign signifying Justice; I implored for justice generally upon such as
had

had cheated in their places, being treasurers, and such like officers. I had not then heard the least intimation of bringing the King unto trial, and yet the first day thereof I was casually there, it being upon a Saturday; for going to Westminster every Saturday in the afternoon, in these times, at White-hall I casually met Peters; ‘Come, Lilly, wilt thou go hear the King tried?’ ‘When?’ said I. ‘Now, just now; go with me.’ I did so, and was permitted by the guard of soldiers to pass up to the King’s-Bench. Within one quarter of an hour came the Judges, presently his Majesty, who spoke excellently well, and majestically, without impediment in the least when he spoke. I saw the silver top of his staff unexpectedly fall to the ground, which was took up by Mr. Rushworth: but when I heard Bradshaw the Judge say to his Majesty,

‘Sir, instead of answering the court, you interrogate their power, which becomes not one in your condition.’

These words pierced my heart and soul, to hear a subject thus audaciously to reprehend his Sovereign, who ever and anon replied with great magnanimity and prudence.

After that his Majesty was beheaded, the Parliament for some years affected nothing either for the publick peace or tran-

tranquillity of the nation, or settling religion as they had formerly promised. The interval of time betwixt his Majesty's death and Oliver Cromwell's displacing them, was wholly consumed in voting for themselves, and bringing their own relations to be members of Parliament, thinking to make a trade thereof.

The week, or three or four days before his Majesty's beheading, one Major Sydenham, who had commands in Scotland, came to take his leave of me, and told me the King was to be put to death, which I was not willing to believe, and said, 'I could not be persuaded the Parliament could find any Englishman so barbarous, that would do that foul action.' 'Rather,' saith he, 'than they should want such a man, these arms of mine should do it.' He went presently after into Scotland, and upon the first engagement against them, was slain, and his body miserably cut and mangled.

In 1651 I published Monarchy or no Monarchy, and in the latter end thereof some hieroglyphicks of my own, composed, at spare time, by the accult learning, many of those types having representations of what should from thence succeed in England, and have since had verification.

I had

I had not that learning from books, or any manuscript I ever yet met withal, it is reduced from a cabal lodging in astrology, but so mysterious and difficult to be attained, that I have not yet been acquainted with any who had that knowledge. I will say no more thereof, but that the asterisms and signs and constellations give greatest light thereunto.

During Bradshaw's being President of the Council of State, it was my happiness to procure Captain Wharton his liberty, which when Bradshaw understood, said, 'I will be an enemy to Lilly, if ever he come before me.' Sir Bolstrode Whitlock broke the ice first of all on behalf of Captain Wharton: after him the Committee, unto whom his offence had been committed, spoke for him, and said he might well be bailed or enlarged: I had spoken to the Committee the morning of his delivery, who thereupon were so civil unto him, especially Sir William Ermin of Lincolnshire. who at first wondered I appeared not against him; but upon my humble request, my long continued antagonist was enlarged and had his liberty.

In 1651 I purchased one hundred and ten pounds *per Annum* in fee-farm rents for one thousand and thirty pounds. I paid all in ready money; but when his

H

Majesty

Majesty King Charles the Second, 1660, was restored, I lost it all again, and it returned to the right owner; the loss thereof never afflicted me, for I have ever reduced my mind according to my fortune. I was drawn in by several persons to make that simple purchase. The year I bought it, I had my ascendant directed into a Trine of Jupiter first, and in the same year into the Cauda Draconis—my fortune into a quadrant of Mercury. When Colchester was besieged, John Booker and myself were sent for, where we encouraged the soldiers, assuring them the town would very shortly be surrendered, as indeed it was: I would willingly have obtained leave to enter the town, to have informed Sir Charles Lucas, whom I well knew, with the condition of affairs as they then stood, he being deluded by false intelligence: at that time my scholar Humphreys was therein, who many times deluded the Governor with expectation of relief; but failing very many times with his lies, at last he had the bastinado, was put in prison, and enforced to become a soldier; and well it was he escaped so.—During my being there, the steeple of St. Mary's Church was much battered by two cannons purposely placed: I was there one day about three of the clock in the afternoon, talking
ing

ing with the cannoneer, when presently he desired us to look to ourselves, for he perceived by his perspective glass there was a piece charged in the castle against his work, and ready to be discharged. I ran for haste under an old ash-tree, and immediately the cannon-bullet came hissing quite over us. 'No danger now,' saith the gunner, 'but begone, for there are five more charging,' which was true; for two hours after those cannons were discharged, and unluckily killed our cannoneer and matros. I came the next morning and saw the blood of the two poor men lie upon the planks: we were well entertained at the head quarters, and after two whole days abiding there, came for London.

But we prosecute our story again, and say that in the year 1652 I purchased my house and some lands in Hertham, in the parish of Walton upon Thames, in the county of Surrey, where I now live; intending by the blessing of God, when I found it convenient, to retire into the country, there to end my days in peace and tranquillity; for in London my practice was such, I had none or very little time afforded me to serve God, who had been so gracious unto me. The purchase of the house and lands, and building, stood me in nine hundred and

fifty pounds sterling, which I have very much augmented.

The Parliament now grows odious unto all good men, the members whereof became insufferable in their pride, covetousness, self-ends, laziness, minding nothing but how to enrich themselves. Much heart-burning now arose betwixt the Presbyterian and Independant, the latter siding with the army, betwixt whose two judgments there was no medium. Now came up, or first appeared, that monstrous people called Ranters: and many other novel opinions in themselves heretical and scandalous, were countenanced by members of Parliament, many whereof were of the same judgment. Justice was neglected, vice countenanced, and all care of the common good laid aside. Every judgment almost groaned under the heavy burthen they then suffered; the army neglected; the city of London scorned; the ministry, especially those who were orthodox and serious, honest or virtuous, had no countenance; my soul began to loath the very name of a Parliament, or Parliament-men. There yet remained in the House very able, judicious, and worthy patriots; but they, by their silence, only served themselves: all was carried on by a rabble of dunces, who being the greater number, voted
what

what seemed best to their nonintelligent fancies.

In this year I published *Annus Tenebrosus*, which book I did not so entitle, because of the great obscurity of the solar eclipse, by so many prattled of to no purpose, but because of those underhand and clandestine counsels held in England by the soldiery, of which I would never, but in generals, give any knowledge unto any Parliament man. I had wrote publicly in 1650, that the Parliament should not continue, but a new government should arise, &c.

In my next year's *Anglicus*, upon rational grounds in astrology, I was so bold as to aver therein, that the Parliament stood upon a tottering foundation, and that the commonalty and soldiery would join together against them.

My *Anglicus* was for a whole week every day in the Parliament House, peeped into by the Presbyterians, one disliking this sentence, another finds another fault, others misliked the whole; so in the end a motion was made, that *Anglicus* should be inspected by the Committee for plundered ministers; which being done, they were to return them to the House, *viz.* report its errors.

A messenger attached me by a warrant from that Committee; I had private

notice ere the messenger came, and hasted unto Mr. Speaker Lenthall, ever my friend. He was exceeding glad to see me, told me what was done; called for Anglicus, marked the passages which tormented the Presbyterians so highly. I presently sent for Mr. Warren the printer, an assured Cavalier, obliterated what was most offensive, put in other more significant words, and desired only to have six amended against next morning, which very honestly he brought me. I told him my design was to deny the book found fault with, to own only the six books. I told him, I doubted he would be examined. 'Hang them,' said he, 'they are all rogues. I'll swear myself to the devil ere they shall have an advantage against you by my oath.'

The day after, I appeared before the Committee, being thirty six in number that day; whereas it was observed, at other times, it was very difficult to get five of them together. At first they shewed me the true Anglicus, and asked if I wrote and printed it. I took the book and inspected it very heedfully; and, when I had done so, said thus:

'This is none of my book, some malicious Presbyterian hath wrote it, who are my mortal enemies; I disown it.' The Committee looked upon one another

ther like distracted men, not imagining what I presently did; for I presently pulled out of my pocket six books, and said, ‘ These I own, the others are counterfeit, published purposely to ruin me.’ The Committee were now more vexed than before: Not one word was spoke a good while; at last, many of them, or the greatest number of them, were of opinion to imprison me. Some were for Newgate, others for the Gate-House; but then one Brown of Suffex, called the Presbyterian beadle, whom the company of Stationers had bribed to be my friend, by giving him a new book of Martyrs; he, I say, preached unto the Committee this doctrine, that neither Newgate or the Gate-House were prisons unto which at any time the Parliament sent prisoners: it was most convenient for the Serjeant at Arms to take me in custody.

Mr. Strickland, who had for many years been the Parliament’s Ambassador or Agent in Holland, when he saw how they inclined, spoke thus:

‘ I came purposely into the Committee this day to see the man who is so famous in those parts where I have so long continued: I assure you his name is famous all over Europe: I come to do him justice. A book is produced by

‘ us, and said to be his ; he denies it ;
 ‘ we have not proved it, yet will commit
 ‘ him. Truly this is great injustice. It
 ‘ is likely he will write next year, and
 ‘ acquaint the whole world with our in-
 ‘ justice ; and so well he may. It is my
 ‘ opinion, first to prove the book to be
 ‘ his, ere he be committed.’

Another old friend of mine, Mr. R.
 spoke thus :

‘ You do not know the many services
 ‘ this man hath done for the Parliament
 ‘ these many years, or how many times,
 ‘ in our greatest distresses, we applying
 ‘ unto him, he hath refreshed our lan-
 ‘ guishing expectations ; he never failed
 ‘ us of comfort in our most unhappy
 ‘ distresses. I assure you his writings have
 ‘ kept up the spirits both of the soldiery,
 ‘ the honest people of this nation, and
 ‘ many of us Parliament men ; and now
 ‘ at last, for a slip of his pen (if it were
 ‘ his) to be thus violent against him : I
 ‘ must tell you, I fear the consequence
 ‘ urged out of the book will prove ef-
 ‘ fectually true. It is my counsel, to
 ‘ admonish him hereafter to be more
 ‘ wary, and for the present to dismiss
 ‘ him.’

Notwithstanding any thing that was
 spoken on my behalf, I was ordered to
 stand committed to the Serjeant at Arms.

The

The messenger attached my person, said I was his prisoner. As he was carrying me away, he was called to bring me again. Oliver Cromwell, Lieutenant-General of the army, having never seen me, caused me to be produced again, where he stedfastly beheld me for a good space, and then I went with the messenger; but instantly a young clerk of that Committee asks the messenger what he did with me, where's the warrant? until that is signed you cannot seize Mr. Lilly, or shall. Will you have an action of false imprisonment against you? So I escaped that night, but next day obeyed the warrant. That night Oliver Cromwell went to Mr. R. my friend, and said, 'What never a man to take Lilly's cause in hand but yourself? None to take his part but you? He shall not be long there.' Hugh Peters spoke much in my behalf to the Committee; but they were resolved to lodge me in the Serjeant's custody. One Millington, a drunken member, was much my enemy; and so was Cawley and Chichester, a deformed fellow, unto whom I had done several courtesies.

First thirteen days I was a prisoner; and though every day of the Committee's sitting I had a petition to deliver, yet so many churlish Presbyterians still appeared, I could not get it accepted. The
last

last day of the thirteen, Mr. Joseph Ash was made Chairman, unto whom my cause being related, he took my petition, and said I should be bailed in despite of them all, but desired I would procure as many friends as I could to be there. Sir Arthur Hazelrigg, and Major Salloway, a person of excellent parts, appeared for me, and many now of my old friends came in. After two whole hours arguing of my cause by Sir Arthur and Major Salloway, and other friends, the matter came to this point; I should be bailed, and a Committee nominated to examine the printer. The order of the Committee being brought afterwards to him who should be Chairman, he sent me word, do what I would, he would see all the knaves hanged, ere he would examine the printer. This is the truth of the story.

The 16th of February 165 $\frac{1}{4}$, my second wife died; for whose death I shed no tears. I had five hundred pounds with her as a portion, but she and her poor relations spent me one thousand pounds, *Gloria Patri, & Filio, & Spiritui Sancto: sicut erat in principio & nunc & semper, & in sæcula sæculorum*; For the 20th of April 1655, these enemies of mine, viz. Parliament men, were turned out of doors by Oliver Cromwell. A German doctor
of

of physick being then in London, sent me this paper :

Strophe Alcaica: Generoso Domino Gulielmo Lillio Astrologo, de dissoluto nuper Parlamento.

Quod calculasti Sydere prævio,
Miles peregit numine conscio,
Gentis videmus nunc Senatam,
Marte Togæq; gravi levatum.

In the time of my imprisonment, Mr. Rushworth came to visit me, and told me, the army would do as much as I had predicted unto the Parliament.

In October 1654, I married the third wife, who is signified in my nativity by Jupiter in Libra; and she is so totally in her conditions, to my great comfort.

In 1655, I was indicted at Hicks's-Hall by a half-witted young woman. Three several Sessions she was neglected, and the Jury cast forth her bill; but the fourth time, they found it against me: I put in bail to traverse the indictment. The cause of the indictment was, for that I had given judgment upon stolen goods, and received two shillings and six pence.—And this was said to be contrary unto an Act in King James's time made.

This mad woman was put upon this action against me by two ministers, who had

had framed for her a very ingenious speech, which she could speak without book, as she did the day of hearing the traverse. She produced one woman, who told the court, a son of her's was run from her; that being in much affliction of mind for her loss, she repaired unto me to know what was become of him; that I told her he was gone for the Barbadoes, and she would hear of him within thirteen days; which, she said, she did.

A second woman made oath, that her husband being wanting two years, she repaired to me for advice: That I told her he was in Ireland, and would be at home such a time; and, said she, he did come home accordingly.

I owned the taking of half a crown for my judgment of the theft; but said, I gave no other judgment, but that the goods would not be recovered, being that was all which was required of me: the party, before that, having been with several astrologers, some affirming she should have her goods again, others gave contrary judgment, which made her come unto me for a final resolution.

At last my enemy began her before-made speech, and, without the least stumbling, pronounced it before the court; which ended, she had some queries put unto her, and then I spoke for myself,
and

and produced my own Introduction into court, saying, that I had some years before emitted that book for the benefit of this and other nations; that it was allowed by authority, and had found good acceptance in both universities; that the study of astrology was lawful, and not contradicted by any scripture; that I neither had, or ever did, use any charms, forceries, or enchantments related in the bill of indictment, &c.

She then related, that she had been several times with me, and that afterwards she could not rest a nights, but was troubled with bears, lions, and tygers, &c. My counsel was the Recorder Green, who after he had answered all objections, concluded, astrology was a lawful art.

‘Mistress,’ said he, ‘what colour was those beasts that you were so terrified with?’

‘I never saw any,’ said she.

‘How do you then know they were lions, tygers, or bears,’ replied he.— ‘This is an idle person, only fit for Bedlam.’ The Jury who went not from the bar, brought in, No true Bill.

There were many Presbyterian Justices much for her, and especially one Roberts, a busy fellow for the Parliament, who after his Majesty came in, had like to have lost life and fortune.

I had

I had procured Justice Hooker to be there, who was the oracle of all the Justices of Peace in Middlesex.

There was nothing memorable, after that happened unto me, until 1650, and the month of October, at what time Captain Owen Cox brought me over from his Majesty of Sweden, a gold chain and medal, worth about fifty pounds; the cause whereof was, that in the year 1657, and 1658, I had made honourable mention of him: the Anglicus of 1658 being translated into the language spoke at Hamburgh, printed and cried about the streets, as it is in London.

The occasion of my writing so honourably of his Majesty of Sweden was this: Sir Bolstrode Whitlock, Knight, upon the very time of Oliver's being made Protector, having made very noble articles betwixt Christina then Queen of Sweden, and the English nation, was in his being at Stockholm visited frequently by Charles Gustavus, unto whom Christina resigned during his abode, and used with all manner of civility by him, insomuch as some other Ambassadors took it ill, that they had not so much respect or equal: unto which he would reply, he would be kind where himself did find just cause of merit unto any. He was a great lover of our nation; but there was some other causes
also

also moving my pen to be so liberal, *viz.* The great hopes I had of his prevailing, and of taking Copenhagen and Elfinore, which if he had lived, was hoped he might have accomplished; and had assuredly done, if Oliver the Protector had not so untimely died ere our fleet of ships returned; for Oliver sent the fleet on purpose to fight the Dutch; but dying, and the Parliament being restored, Sir Henry Vane, who afterwards was beheaded, had order from the Council of State to give order to the fleet what to do now Oliver was dead, and themselves restored. Vane, out of state-policy, gave the Earl of Sandwich direction not to fight the Dutch. Captain Symons, who carried those letters, swore unto me, had he known the letters he carried had contained any such prohibition, he would have sunk both ship and letters. Oliver said, when the fleet was to go forth, ‘That if God blessed his Majesty of Sweden with Copenhagen, the English were to have Elfinore as their share; which if once I have,’ saith Oliver, ‘the English shall have the whole trade of the Baltick Sea: I will make the Dutch find another passage, except they will pay such customs as I shall impose.’ Considering the advantages this would have been to our English, who can blame my pen

pen for being liberal, thereby to have encouraged our famous and noble seamen, or for writing so honourably of the Swedish nation, who had most courteously treated my best of friends, Sir Bolstrode Whitlock, and by whose means, had the design taken effect, the English nation had been made happy with the most beneficial concern of all Christendom. I shall conclude about Oliver the then Protector, with whom obliquely I had transactions by his son-in-law, Mr. Cleypool; and to speak truly of him, he sent one that waited upon him in his chamber, once in two or three days, to hear how it fared with me in my sessions business; but I never had of him, directly or indirectly, either pension, or any the least sum of money, or any gratuity during his whole Protectorship; this I protest to be true, by the name and in the name of the most holy God.

In 1653, before the dissolution of the Parliament, and that ere they had chosen any for their Ambassador into Sweden, Mr. Cleypool came unto me, demanding of me whom I thought fittest to send upon that ambassy into Sweden: I nominated Sir B. Whitlock, who was chosen, and two or three days after Mr. Cleypool came again: 'I hope Mr. Lilly, my father, hath now pleased you: Your friend

‘ Sir B. Whitlock is to go for Sweden.’ But since I have mentioned Oliver Cromwell, I will relate something of him, which perhaps no other pen can, or will mention. He was born of generous parents in Huntingdonshire, educated some time at the university of Cambridge: in his youth was wholly given to debauchery, quarelling, drinking, &c. *quid non*; having by those means wasted his patrimony, he was enforced to bethink himself of leaving England, and go to New-England: he had hired a passage in a ship, but ere she launched out for her voyage, a kinsman dieth, leaving him a considerable fortune; upon which he returns, pays his debts, became affected to religion; is elected in 1640 a member of Parliament, in 1642 made a Captain of horse under Sir Philip Stapleton, fought at Edge-Hill; after he was made a Colonel, then Lieutenant-General to the Earl of Manchester, who was one of the three Generals to fight the Earl of Newcastle and Prince Rupert at York: Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, and Earl Leven the Scot, were the other two for the Parliament: the last two thinking all had been lost at Marston-Moor fight, Fairfax went into Cawood Castle, giving all for lost: at twelve at night there came word of the Parliament’s victory; Fairfax being then

laid down upon a bed, there was not a candle in the castle, nor any fire: up riseth Lord Fairfax, procures after some time, paper, ink, and candle, writes to Hull, and other garrisons of the Parliament's, of the success, and then slept.

Leven the Scot asked the way to Tweed: the honour of that day's fight was given to Manchester, Sir Thomas Fairfax's brigade of horse, and Oliver Cromwell's iron sides; for Cromwell's horse, in those times, usually wore head-pieces, back and breast-plates of iron. After this victory Cromwell became gracious with the House of Commons, especially the Zealots, or Presbyterians, with whom at that time he especially joined; the name Independent, at that time, *viz.* 1644, being not so much spoken of.

There was some animosity at or before the fight, betwixt the Earl of Newcastle and Prince Rupert; for Newcastle being General of his Majesty's forces in the North, a person of valour, and well esteemed in those parts, took it not well to have a competitor in his concernments; for if the victory should fall on his Majesty's side, Prince Rupert's forces would attribute it unto their own General, *viz.* Rupert, and give him the glory thereof: but that it happened, Prince Rupert, in that day's fight, engaged the Parliament's forces

forces too soon, and before the Earl of Newcastle could well come out of York with his army; by reason whereof, though Rupert had absolutely routed the Scots and the Lord Fairfax's forces; yet ere timely assistance could second his army, Sir Thomas Fairfax and Cromwell had put him to flight, and not long after all Newcastle's army. Amongst the most memorable actions of that day's this happened, that one entire regiment of foot belonging to Newcastle, called the Lambs, because they were all new clothed in white woollen cloth, two or three days before the fight. This sole regiment, after the day was lost, having got into a small parcel of ground ditched in, and not of easy access of horse, would take no quarter; and by mere valour, for one whole hour, kept the troops of horse from entering amongst them at near push of pike: when the horse did enter, they would have no quarter, but fought it out till there was not thirty of them living: those whose hap it was to be beaten down upon the ground as the troopers came near them, though they could not rise for their wounds, yet were so desperate as to get either a pike or sword, or piece of them, and to gore the troopers horses as they came over them, or passed by them. Captain Camby, then a trooper under Crom-

I 2

well,

well, and an actor, who was the third or fourth man that entered amongst them, protested, he never in all the fights he was in, met with such resolute brave fellows, or whom he pitied so much, and said, ' he saved two or three against their ' wills.'

After the fight, Manchester marched slowly southward, &c. but at last came with his army to Newbery fight; which ended, he came for London, and there he accuseth Cromwell, being his Lieutenant, to the Parliament, of disobedience, and not obeying his orders.

The House of Commons acquaint Cromwell herewith, and charge him, as he would answer it before God, that the day following he should give them a full account of Manchester's proceedings, and the cause and occasion of their difference, and of the reasons why Manchester did not timely move westward for the relief of Essex, then in the west, who was absolutely routed, enforced to fly, all his foot taken, and all his ordnance and train of artillery, only the horse escaping.

Cromwell the next day gave this account to Mr. Speaker in the House of Commons—by way of recrimination.

That after God had given them a successful victory at Marston over the King's forces, and that they had well refreshed
their

their army, Manchester, by their order, did move southward, but with such slowness, that sometimes he would not march for three days together; sometimes he would lie still one day, then two days; whereupon he said, considering the Earl of Essex was in the west, with what success he then knew not, he moved Manchester several times to quicken his march to the west, for relief of Essex, if he were beaten, or to divert the King's forces from following of Essex; but he said Manchester still refused to make any haste; and that one day he said, 'If any man but yourself, Lieutenant, should so frequently trouble me, I would call him before a Council of War. We have beaten the King's forces in the north; if we should do so in the west, his Majesty is then undone: He hath many sons living; if any of them come to the Crown, as they well may, they will never forget us.' This Major Hammond, a man of honour, will justify as well as myself. After which he marched not at all, until he had order from the Committee to hasten westward, by reason of Essex's being lost in Cornwall, which then he did; and at Newbery fight, it is true, I refused to obey his directions and order: for this it was; his Majesty's horse being betwixt

four and five thousand in a large common, in good order, he commands me, Mr. Speaker, to charge them; we having no way to come at them but through a narrow lane, where not above three horse could march abreast; whereby had I followed his order, we had been all cut off ere we could have got into any order. Mr. Speaker, (and then he wept; which he could do *toties quoties*) I considering that all the visible army you then had, was by this counsel in danger to be lost, refused thus to endanger the main strength, which now most of all consisted of those horse under my command, &c. This his re- crimination was well accepted by the House of Commons, who thereupon, and from that time, thought there was none of the House of Lords, very fit to be entrusted with their future armies, but had then thoughts of making a commoner their General; which afterwards they did, and elected Sir Thomas Fairfax their General, and Cromwell Lieutenant-General; but it was next spring first. Upon Essex's being lost in Cornwall, I heard Serjeant Maynard say, 'If now the King haste to London we are undone, having no army to resist him.'

His Majesty had many misfortunes ever attending him, during his abode at
 2 Oxford;

Oxford; some by reason of that great animosity betwixt Prince Rupert and the Lord Digby, each endeavouring to cross one another; but the worst of all was by treachery of several officers under his command, and in his service; for the Parliament had in continual pay one Colonel of the King's Council of War; one Lieutenant-Colonel; one Captain; one Ensign; one or two Serjeants; several Corporals, who had constant pay, and duly paid them every month, according to the capacity of their offices and places, and yet none of these knew any thing of each other's being so employed. There were several well-wishers unto the Parliament in Oxford, where each left his letter, putting it in at the hole of a glass-window, as he made water in the street. What was put in at the window in any of those houses, was the same day conveyed two miles off by some in the habit of town-gardeners, to the side of a ditch, where one or more were ever ready to give the intelligence to the next Parliament garrison: I was then familiar with all the spies that constantly went in and out to Oxford.

But once more to my own actions. I had in 1652 and 1653 and 1654 much contention with Mr. Gatacre of Rotherhithe, a man endued with all kind of

learning, and the ablest man of the whole synod of divines in the Oriental tongues.

The synod had concluded to make an exposition upon the bible; some undertook one book, some another. Gatacre fell upon Jeremy. Upon making his exposition on the 2d verse of the 10th chapter,

‘ Learn not the way of the heathen,
‘ and be not dismayed at the signs of
‘ heaven, for the heathen are dismayed at
‘ them.’

In his Annotations thereupon, he makes a scandalous exposition; and in express terms, hints at me, repeating *verbatim*, ten or twelve times an Epistle of mine in one of my former Anglicus.

The substance of my Epistle was, that I did conceive the good angels of God, did first reveal astrology unto mankind, &c. but he in his Annotations calls me blind buzzard, &c.

Having now liberty of the press, and hearing the old man was very cholerick, I thought fit to raise it up—and only wrote—I referred my discourse then in hand to the discussion and judgment of sober persons, but not unto Thomas Wiseacre, for *Senes bis pueri*: These very words begot the writing of forty-two sheets against myself and astrology. The next year I quibbled again in three or four
lines

lines against him, then he printed twenty-two sheets against me. I was persuaded by Dr. Gauden, late Bishop of Exeter, to let him alone; but in my next year's *Anglicus*, in August observations, I wrote, *Hoc in tumba jacet Presbyter & Nebulo*, in which very month he died.

Several divines applied themselves unto me, desiring me to forbear any further vexing of Mr. Gatacre; but all of them did as much condemn him of indiscretion, that in so sober a piece of work as that was, *viz.* in an Annotation upon a sacred text of scripture to particularize me and in that dirty language: they pitied him, that he had not better considered with himself ere he published it.

Dean Owen of Christ's-Church in Oxford, also in his sermons had sharp invectives against me and astrology; I cried quittance with him, by urging *Abbot Panormitan's* judgment of astrology contrary to Owen's, and concluded, 'An Abbot was an ace above a Dean.'

One Mr. Nye of the assembly of divines, a Jesuitical Presbyterian, bleated forth his judgment publicly against me and astrology: to be quit with him, I urged *Causinus* the Jesuit's approbation of astrology, and concluded, *Sic canibus catulos, &c.*

In

In some time after the Dutch Ambassador was offended with some things in Anglicus, presented a memorial to the Council of State, that Merlinus Anglicus might be considered, and the abuses against their nation examined; but his paper was not accepted of, or I any way molested.

In Oliver's Protectorship, I wrote freely and satyrical enough: he was now become Independent, and all the soldiery my friends; for when he was in Scotland, the day of one of their fights, a soldier stood with Anglicus in his hand; and as the several troops passed by him, 'Lo, 'hear what Lilly saith; you are in this 'month: promised victory, fight it out, 'brave boys, and then read that month's 'prediction.'

I had long before predicted the downfall of Presbytery, as you (most honoured Sir) in the figure thereof, in my Introduction, may observe; and it was upon this occasion. Sir Thomas Middleton of Chark Castle, enemy to Presbytery, seeing they much prevailed, being a member of the House, seriously demanded my judgment, if Presbytery should prevail, or not, in England? The figure printed in my Introduction, will best give you an account, long before it happened, of the sinking and failing of Presbytery; so will the
the

the second page of my Hieroglyphicks. Those men, to be serious, would preach well; but they were more lordly than Bishops, and usually, in their parishes, more tyrannical than the Great Turk.

Of the Year 1660; the Actions whereof, as they were remarkable in England, so were they no less memorable as to my particular Fortune and Person.

Upon the Lord General Monk's returning from Scotland with his army into England, suddenly after his coming to London, Richard Cromwell, the then Protector's authority was laid aside, and the old Parliament restored; the Council of State sat as formerly. The first act they put the General upon was, to take down the city gates and portcullises, an act which, the General said, was fitter for a Janizary to do than for a General; yet he effected the Commands received, and then lodged in the city with his army. The citizens took this pulling down of their gates so heinously, that one night the ruder sort of them procured all the rumps of beef, and other baggage, and publickly burnt them in the streets, in derision of the then Parliament,

Parliament, calling them that now sat, The Rump. This hurly-burly was managed as well by the General's soldiers as the citizens. The King's health was publickly drank all over the city, to the confusion of the Parliament. The matter continued until midnight, or longer. The Council of State, sitting at White-Hall, had hereof no knowledge, until Sir Martin Noell, a discreet citizen, came about nine at night, and then first informed them thereof. The Council could not believe it, until they had sent some ministers of their own, who affirmed the verity thereof. They were at a stand, and could not resolve what to do; at last Nevil Smith came, being one of them, and publickly protested there was but one way to regain their authority, and to be revenged of this affront, and to overthrow the Lord General Monk, whom they now perceived intended otherways than he had pretended; his counsel was, to take away Monk's commission, and to give a present commission to Major-General Lambert to be their General; which counsel of his, if they would take and put it speedily in execution, would put an end unto all the present mischiefs. The Council in general did all very well approve Nevil Smith's judgment; but presently up starts Sir Arthur Hazellrigg, and

and makes a sharp invective against Lambert, and concluded, he would rather perish under the King of Scots power, than that Lambert should ever any more have command under the Parliament.

The Lord General suddenly after brings in the long excluded Members to sit in Parliament, being persons of great judgment, and formerly enforced from sitting therein by the soldiery, and connivance of those who stiled themselves the godly part of the Parliament. These honourable patriots presently voted his Majesty's coming into England, and so he did in May 1660. But because Charles the Second, now (1667.) King of England, Son of Charles the First, grandchild to James the First, King of Great Britany, was so miraculously restored, and so many hundreds of years since prophesied of by Ambrose Merlin, it will not be impertinent to mention the prophecies themselves, the rather because we have seen their verification.

Ambrose Merlin's Prophecy wrote
about 990 Years since.

He calls King James, The Lion of
Righteousness; and saith, when he died,
or was dead, there would reign a noble
White

White King ; this was Charles the Firſt. The prophet diſcovers all his troubles, his flying up and down, his imprifonment, his death ; and calls him Aquila. What concerns Charles the Second, is the ſubject of our diſcourſe : In the Latin copy it is thus :

Deinde ab Austro veniet cum Sole super ligneos equos, & super ſpumantem inundationem maris, Pullus Aquilæ navigans in Britanniam.

Et applicans ſtatim tunc altam domum Aquilæ ſitiens, & cito aliam ſitiet.

Deinde Pullus Aquilæ nidificabit in ſumma rupe totius Britannicæ : nec juvenis occidet, nec ad ſenem vivet.

This, in an old copy, is Engliſhed thus :

‘ After then, ſhall come through the
 ‘ ſouth with the ſun, on horſe of tree,
 ‘ and upon all waves of the ſea, the
 ‘ Chicken of the Eagle, failing into Bri-
 ‘ tain, and arriving anon to the houſe of
 ‘ the Eagle, he ſhall ſhew fellowſhip to
 ‘ them beaſts.

‘ After, the Chicken of the Eagle ſhall
 ‘ neſtle in the-higheſt rock of all Britain ;
 ‘ nay, he ſhall nought be ſlain young ;
 ‘ nay, he nought come old.’

Another Latin copy renders the laſt verſe thus :

Deindè

Deindè pullus Aquilæ nidificabit in summo rupium, nec juvenis occidetur, nec ad senium perveniet. There is after this, *pacificato regno, Omnes occidet*; which is intended of those persons put to death, that sat as Judges upon his father's death.

The Verification.

His Majesty being in the Low-Countries when the Lord General had restored the seclused Members, the Parliament sent part of the Royal Navy to bring him for England, which they did in May 1660. Holland is East from England, so he came with the sun; but he landed at Dover, a port in the south part of England. Wooden-horses, are the English ships.

Tunc nidificabit in summo rupium.

The Lord General, and most of the gentry in England, met him in Kent, and brought him unto London, then to White-hall.

Here, by the highest Roock, (some write Rock,) is intended London, being the metropolis of all England.

Since which time, unto this very day I write this story, he hath reigned in England, and long may he do hereafter. 10
December 1667.

Had

Had I leisure, I might verify the whole preceding part concerning King Charles. Much of the verification thereof is mentioned in my Collection of Prophecies, printed 1645. But his Majesty being then alive, I forbore much of that subject, not willing to give offence. I dedicated that book unto him; and, in the conclusion thereof, I advised his return unto Parliament, with these words, *Fac hoc & vives.*

There was also a Prophecy printed 1588, in Greek characters, exactly decyphering the long troubles the English nation had from 1641 until 1660; and then it ended thus:

‘ And after that shall come a dreadful
 ‘ dead man, and with him a Royal G.’ [it is Gamma in the Greek, intending C. in the Latin, being the third letter in the alphabet,] ‘ of the best blood in the
 ‘ world, and he shall have the Crown, and
 ‘ shall set England on the right way, and
 ‘ put out all heresies.’

Monkery being extinguished above eighty or ninety years, and the Lord General's name being Monk, is the Dead Man. The Royal G. or C. is Charles the Second, who, for his extraction, may be said to be of the best blood in the world.

These

These two Prophecies were not given vocally by the angels, but by inspection of the crystal in types and figures, or by apparition the circular way, where, at some distance, the angels appear, representing by forms, shapes, and creatures, what is demanded. It is very rare, yea, even in our days, for any operator or master to have the angels speak articulately; when they do speak, it is like the Irish, much in the throat.

What further concerns his Majesty, will more fully be evident about 1672 or 1674, or, at farthest, in 1676. And now unto my own actions in 1660.

In the first place, my fee-farm rents, being of the yearly value of one hundred and twenty pounds, were all lost by his Majesty's coming to his restoration; but I do say truly, the loss thereof did never trouble me, or did I repine thereat.

In June of that year, a new Parliament was called, whereunto I was unwillingly invited by two messengers of the Serjeant at Arms. The matter whereupon I was taken into custody was, to examine me concerning the person who cut off the King's head, *viz.* the late King's.

Sir Daniel Harvey, of Surrey, got the business moved against me in great displeasure,

pleasure, because, at the election of new Knights for Surrey, I procured the whole town of Walton to stand, and give their voices, for Sir Richard Onslow. The Committee to examine me, were Mr. Prinn, one Colonel King, and Mr. Richard Weston of Gray's-Inn.

God's providence appeared very much for me that day, for walking in Westminster-Hall, Mr. Richard Pennington, son to my old friend Mr. William Pennington, met me, and enquiring the cause of my being there, said no more, but walked up and down the hall, and related my kindness to his father unto very many Parliament men of Cheshire and Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cumberland, and those northern countries, who numerously came up into the Speaker's chamber, and bade me be of good comfort: at last he meets Mr. Weston, one of the three unto whom my matter was referred for examination, who told Mr. Pennington, that he came purposely to punish me, and would be bitter against me; but hearing it related, *viz.* my singular kindness and preservation of old Mr. Pennington's estate, to the value of six or seven thousand pounds, 'I will do him all the good I can,' says he. 'I thought he had never done any good; let me see him, and let him stand behind me where
' I fit:'

‘ I fit :’ I did so. At my first appearance, many of the young members affronted me highly, and demanded several scurrilous questions. Mr. Weston held a paper before his mouth ; bade me answer nobody but Mr. Prinn ; I obeyed his command, and saved myself much trouble thereby ; and when Mr. Prinn put any difficult or doubtful query unto me, Mr. Weston prompted me with a fit answer. At last, after almost one hour’s tugging, I desired to be fully heard what I could say as to the person who cut Charles the First’s head off. Liberty being given me to speak, I related what follows, *viz.*

That the next Sunday but one after Charles the First was beheaded, Robert Spavin, Secretary unto Lieutenant-General Cromwell at that time, invited himself to dine with me, and brought Anthony Peirson, and several others, along with him to dinner : That their principal discourse all dinner-time, was only, who it was that beheaded the King ; one said it was the common hangman ; another, Hugh Peters ; others also were nominated, but none concluded. Robert Spavin, so soon as dinner was done, took me by the hand, and carried me to the south window : saith he, ‘ These are all ‘ mistaken, they have not named the man ‘ that did the fact ; it was Lieutenant-

‘ Colonel JOICE; I was in the room
‘ when he fitted himself for the work,
‘ stood behind him when he did it;
‘ when done, went in again with him:
‘ There is no man knows this but my
‘ master, *viz.* Cromwell, Commissary
‘ Ireton, and myself.’ ‘ Doth not Mr.
‘ Rushworth know it?’ said I. ‘ No, he
‘ doth not know it,’ saith Spavin. The
same thing Spavin since had often related
unto me when we were alone. Mr.
Prinn did, with much civility, make a
report hereof in the House; yet Norfolk
the Serjeant, after my discharge, kept
me two days longer in arrest, purposely to
get money of me. He had six pounds, and
his Messenger forty shillings; and yet I was
attached but upon Sunday, examined on
Tuesday, and then discharged, though
the covetous Serjeant detained me until
Thursday. By means of a friend, I cried
quittance with Norfolk, which friend was
to pay him his salary at that time, and
abated Norfolk three pounds, which we
spent every penny at one dinner, without
inviting the wretched Serjeant: but in
the latter end of the year, when the
King’s Judges were arraigned at the Old-
Bailey, Norfolk warned me to attend,
believing I could give information con-
cerning Hugh Peters. At the sessions I
attended during its continuance, but was
never

never called or examined. There I heard Harrifon, Scott, Clement, Peters, Hacker, Scroop, and others of the King's Judges, and Cook the Sollicitor, who excellently defended himself; I say, I did hear what they could say for themselves, and after heard the sentence of condemnation pronounced against them by the incomparably modest and learned Judge Bridgman, now Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England.

One would think my troubles for that year had been ended; but in January 166 $\frac{1}{2}$, one Everard, a Justice of Peace in Westminster, ere I was stirring, sent a Serjeant and thirty four musqueteers for me to White-Hall: he had twice that night seized about sixty persons, supposed fanaticks, very despicable persons, many whereof were aged, some were water-bearers, and had been Parliament-foldiers; others, of ordinary callings: all these were guarded unto White-Hall, into a large room, until day-light, and then committed to the Gate-House: I was had into the guard-room, which I thought to be hell; some therein were sleeping, others swearing, others smoaking tobacco. In the chimney of the room I believe there was two bushels of broken tobacco-pipes, almost half one load of ashes. Everard, about nine in the morn-

ing, comes, writes my mittimus for the Gate-House, then shews it me: I must be contented. I desired no other courtesy, but that I might be privately carried unto the Gate-House by two soldiers; that was denied. Among the miserable crew of people, with a whole company of soldiers, I marched to prison, and there for three hours was in the open air upon the ground, where the common house of office came down. After three hours, I was advanced from this stinking place up the stairs, where there was on one side a company of rude swearing persons; on the other side many Quakers, who lovingly entertained me. As soon as I was fixed, I wrote to my old friend Sir Edward Walker, Garter King at Arms, who presently went to Mr. Secretary Nicholas, and acquainted him with my condition. He ordered Sir Edward to write to Everard to release me, unless he had any particular information against me, which he had not. He further said, it was not his Majesty's pleasure that any of his subjects should be thus had to prison without good cause shewed before. Upon receipt of Sir Edward's letter, Everard discharged me, I taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. This day's work cost me thirty seven shillings. Afterwards Everard stood to be Burgees for Westmin-

Westminster; sent me to procure him voices. I returned answer, that of all men living he deserved no courtesy from me, nor should have any.

In this year 1660, I sued out my pardon under the Broad Seal of England, being so advised by good counsel, because there should be no obstruction; I passed as William Lilly, Citizen and Salter of London; it cost me thirteen pounds six shillings and eight pence.

There happened a verification of an astrological judgment of mine in this year 1660, which because it was predicted sixteen years before it came to pass, and the year expressly nominated, I thought fit to mention.

In page 111. of my Prophetical Merlin, upon three sextile Aspects of Saturn and Jupiter, made in 1659 and 1660, I wrote thus—

‘ This their friendly salutation com-
 ‘ forts us in England, every man now
 ‘ possesses his own vineyard; our young
 ‘ youth grow up unto man’s estate,
 ‘ and our old men live their full years;
 ‘ our nobles and gentlemen root again;
 ‘ our yeomanry, many years disconsolated,
 ‘ now take pleasure in their husbandry.
 ‘ The merchant sends out ships, and hath
 ‘ prosperous returns; the mechanick hath
 ‘ quick trading: Here is almost a new
 ‘ world;

‘ world; new laws, new Lords. Now
 ‘ my country of England shall shed no
 ‘ more tears, but rejoice with, and in
 ‘ the many blessings God gives or affords
 ‘ her annually.’

And in the same book, page 118, over-against the year 1660, you shall find, A Bonny Scot acts his part.

The long Parliament would give Charles the Second no other title than King of Scots.—

I also wrote to Sir Edward Walker, Kt. Garter King at Arms in 1659, he then being in Holland—

Tu, Dominusq; vester videbitis Angliam, infra duos Annos.—For in 1662, his moon came by direction to the body of the sun.

But he came in upon the ascendant directed unto the Trine of Sol and antiscion of Jupiter.—

And happy it was for the nation he did come in, and long and prosperously may he reign amongst us.

In 1663 and 1664, I had a long and tedious law-suit in Chancery, M. C. coming to Quartile of Saturn; and the occasion of that suit, was concerning houses; and my enemy, though aged, had no beard, was really saturnine. We came unto a hearing Feb. 166 $\frac{3}{4}$, before the Master of the Rolls, Sir Harbottle Grimston,

Grimston, where I had the victory, but no costs given me.

My adversary not satisfied with that judgment, petitioned that most just and honourable man the Lord Chancellor Hyde, for a re-hearing his cause before him.

It was granted, and the 13 June 1664, my M. C. then directed to Quartile of Venus and Sol. His Lordship most judiciously heard it with much attention, and when my adversary's counsel had urged those depositions which they had against me, his Lordship stood up, and said,

‘Here is not one word against Mr. Lilly.’ - -

I replied, ‘My Lord, I hope I shall have costs.’

‘Very good reason,’ saith he; and so I had: And, at my departure out of court, put off his hat, and bid God be with you.

This is the month of Dec. 1667, wherein, by misfortune, he is much traduced and highly persecuted by his enemies: is also retired, however not in the least questioned for any indirect judgment as as Chancellor, in the Chancery; [but in other things he hath been very foul, as in the articles drawn up by the Parliament against him, it appears. Which articles

I pre-

I presume you have not seen, otherwise you would have been of another mind, A W] for there was never any person sat in that place, who executed justice with more uprightnes, or judgment, or quicknes for dispatch, than this very noble Lord. God, I hope, in mercy will preserve his person from his enemies, and in good time restore him unto all his honours again: From my soul I wish it, and hope I shall live to see it. *Amen: Fiat ob tu Deus justitiæ.*

In 1663, and 1664, I was made churchwarden of Walton upon Thames, settling as well as I could the affairs of that distracted parish, upon my own charges; and upon my leaving the place, forgave them seven pounds odd money due unto me.

In 1664, I had another law-suit with Captain Colborn, Lord of the manor of Esher, concerning the rights of the parish of Walton. He had newly purchased that manor, and having one hundred and fifty acres of ground, formerly park and wood ground lying in our parish, conceived, he had right of common in our parish of Walton: Thereupon he puts three hundred sheep upon the common; part whereof I impounded: He replevins them, gave me a declaration. I answered it. The trial was to be

at

at the Affizes at Kingſton in April 1664. When the day of trial came, he had not one witneſs in his cauſe, I had many; whereupon upon conference, and by mediation, he gave me eleven pounds for my charges ſuſtained in that ſuit, whereof I returned him back again fifty ſhillings: forty ſhillings for himſelf, and ten ſhillings for the poor of the pariſh he lived in.

This I did at my own coſt and charges, not one pariſhioner joining with me. I had now M. C. unto Quartile of Venus and Sol—both in my ſecond, Ergo, I got money by this thing, or ſuit. Sir Bolſtrode Whitlock gave me counſel.

Now I come unto the year 1665, wherein that horrible and devouring plague ſo extreamly raged in the city of London. 27th of June 1665, I retired into the country to my wife and family, where ſince I have wholly continued, and ſo intend by permiſſion of God. I had, before I came away, very many people of the poorer fort frequented my lodging, many whereof were ſo civil, as when they brought waters, *viſ.* urines, from infected people, they would ſtand purpoſely at a diſtance. I ordered thoſe infected, and not like to die, cordials, and cauſed them to ſweat, whereby many recovered. My landlord of the houſe was afraid of thoſe poor people, I nothing at

all. He was desirous I should be gone. He had four children: I took them with me into the country and provided for them. Six weeks after I departed, he, his wife, and man-servant died of the plague.

In *Monarchy or no Monarchy*, printed 1651, I had framed an Hieroglyphick, which you may see in page the 7th, representing a great sickness and mortality; wherein you may see the representation of people in their winding-sheets, persons digging graves and sepultures, coffins, &c. All this was performed by the more secret Key of Astrology, or Prophetical Astrology.

In 1666, happened that miraculous conflagration in the city of London, whereby in four days, the most part thereof was consumed by fire. In my *Monarchy or no Monarchy*, the next side after the coffins, and pickaxes, there is representation of a great city all in flames of fire. The memorial whereof some Parliament men remembering, thought fit to send for me before that Committee which then did sit, for examination of the causes of the fire; and whether there was no treachery or design in the business, his Majesty being then in war both with the French and Dutch. The summons

to appear before that Committee was as followeth.

Monday, 22d October, 1666.

At the Committee appointed to enquire after the Causes of the late Fires.

ORDERED,

That Mr. Lilly do attend this Committee on Friday next being the 25th of October 1666, at two of the clock in the afternoon in the Speaker's chamber; to answer such questions as shall be then and there asked him.

ROBERT BROOKE.

By accident I was then in London, when the summons came unto me. I was timorous of Committees, being ever by some of them calumniated, upbraided, scorned, and derided. However I must and did appear; and let me never forget that great affection and care yourself (Oh most excellent and learned Esquire Ashmole) shewed unto me at that time. First, your affection in going along with me all that day; secondly, your great pains and care, in speaking unto many worthy Members of that Committee your acquaintance,

quaintance, that they should befriend me, and not permit me to be affronted, or have any disgraceful language cast upon me. I must seriously acknowledge the persuasions so prevailed with those generous souls, that I conceive there was never more civility used unto any than unto myself; and you know, there were no small number of Parliament men appeared, when they heard I was to be there.

Sir Robert Brooke spoke to this purpose:

‘ Mr. Lilly, This Committee thought
 ‘ fit to summon you to appear before them
 ‘ this day, to know, if you can say any
 ‘ thing as to the cause of the late fire, or
 ‘ whether there might be any design
 ‘ therein. You are called the rather hi-
 ‘ ther, because in a book of yours long
 ‘ since printed, you hinted some such thing
 ‘ by one of your Hieroglyphicks.’ Unto
 which I replied,

May it please your Honours,

‘ After the beheading of the late King,
 ‘ considering that in the three subsequent
 ‘ years the Parliament acted nothing which
 ‘ concerned the settlement of the nation
 ‘ in peace; and seeing the generality of
 ‘ people dissatisfied, the citizens of Lon-
 ‘ don discontented, the soldiery prone to
 ‘ mutiny,

‘ mutiny, I was desirous, according to
 ‘ the best knowledge God had given me,
 ‘ to make enquiry by the art I studied,
 ‘ what might from that time happen unto
 ‘ the Parliament and nation in general.
 ‘ At last, having satisfied myself as well as
 ‘ I could, and perfected my judgment
 ‘ therein, I thought it most convenient
 ‘ to signify my intentions and conceptions
 ‘ thereof, in Forms, Shapes, Types,
 ‘ Hieroglyphicks, &c. without any com-
 ‘ mentary, that so my judgment might
 ‘ be concealed from the vulgar, and made
 ‘ manifest only unto the wise. I herein
 ‘ imitating the examples of many wise
 ‘ philosophers who had done the like.’

‘ Sir Robert,’ said one, ‘ Lilly is yet
 ‘ *sub vestibulo.*’

I proceeded further. Said I, ‘ Having
 ‘ found, Sir, that the city of London
 ‘ should be sadly afflicted with a great
 ‘ plague, and not long after with an
 ‘ exorbitant fire, I framed these two
 ‘ hieroglyphicks as represented in the
 ‘ book, which in effect have proved very
 ‘ true.’

‘ Did you foresee the year,’ said one?

‘ I did not,’ said I, ‘ or was desirous :
 ‘ of that I made no scrutiny.’ I pro-
 ‘ ceeded——

‘ Now, Sir, whether there was any de-
 ‘ sign of burning the city, or any em-
 ‘ ployed

‘ ployed to that purpose, I must deal in-
 ‘ genuously with you, that since the fire,
 ‘ I have aken much pains in the search
 ‘ thereof, but cannot or could not give
 ‘ myself any the least satisfaction there-
 ‘ in. I conclude, that it was the only
 ‘ finger of God ; but what instruments
 ‘ he used thereunto, I am ignorant.’

The Committee seemed well pleased with what I spoke, and dismissed me with great civility.

Since which time no memorable action hath happened unto me, my retirement impeding all concourse unto me.

I have many things more to communicate, which I shall do, as they offer themselves to memory.

In *Anno* 1634, and 1635, I had much familiarity with John Hegenius, Doctor of Physick, a Dutchman, an excellent scholar and an able physician, not meanly versed in astrology. Unto him, for his great civility, I communicated the art of framing Sigils, Lamens, &c. and the use of the Mosaical Rods:—and we did create several Sigils to very good purpose. I gave him the true key thereof, *viz.* instructed him of their forms, characters, words, and last of all, how to give them vivification, and what number or numbers were appropriated to every planet ;

net: *Cum multis aliis in libris veterum latentibus; aut perspicuè non intellectis.*

I was well acquainted with the Speculator of John a Windor, a scrivener, sometimes living in Newbury. This Windor was club-fisted, wrote with a pen betwixt both his hands. I have seen many bonds and bills wrote by him. He was much given to debauchery, so that at some times the Dæmons would not appear to the Speculator; he would then suffumigate: sometimes, to vex the spirits, he would curse them, fumigate with contraries. Upon his examination before Sir Henry Wallop, Kt. which I have seen, he said, he once visited Dr. Dee in Mortlack; and out of a book that lay in the window, he copied out that call which he used, when he invocated——

It was that—which near the beginning of it hath these words,

*Per virtutem illorum qui invocant nomen tuum,
Hermeli—mitte nobis tres Angelos, &c.*

Windor had many good parts, but was a most lewd person: My master Wright knew him well, and having dealing in those parts, made use of him as a scrivener.

Oliver Withers, servant to Sir H. Wallop, brought up a Windor's examination

L

unto

unto London, purposely for me to peruse. This Withers was Mr. Fiske's scholar three years more or less, to learn astrology of him; but being never the wiser, Fiske brought him unto me: by shewing him but how to judge one figure, his eyes were opened: He made the Epistle before Dr. Neve's book, now in Mr. Sander's hands, was very learned in the Latin, Greek and Hebrew tongues.

Having mentioned Dr. John Dee, I hold it not impertinent to speak something of him; but more especially of Edward Kelly's Speculator.

Dr. Dee himself was a Cambro Briton, educated in the university of Oxford, there took his degree of Doctor; afterwards for many years in search of the profounder studies, travelled into foreign parts: to be serious, he was Queen Elizabeth's intelligencer, and had a salary for his maintenance from the Secretaries of State. He was a ready witted man, quick of apprehension, very learned, and of great judgment in the Latin and Greek tongues. He was a very great investigator of the more secret Hermetical learning, a perfect astronomer, a curious astrologer, a serious geometrician; to speak truth, he was excellent in all kinds of learning.

With

With all this, he was the most ambitious person living, and most desirous of fame and renown, and was never so well pleased as when he heard himself stiled, Most Excellent.

He was studious in chymistry, and attained to good perfection therein; but his servant, or rather companion, Kelly, out-went him, *viz.* about the Elixir or Philosopher's Stone; which neither Kelly or Dee attained by their own labour and industry. It was in this manner Kelly obtained it, as I had it related from an ancient minister, who knew the certainty thereof from an old English merchant, resident in Germany, at what time both Kelly and Dee were there.

Dee and Kelly being in the confines of the Emperor's dominions, in a city where resided many English merchants, with whom they had much familiarity, there happened an old Friar to come to Dr. Dee's lodging. Knocking at the door, Dee peeped down the stairs. 'Kelly,' says he, 'tell the old man I am not at home.' Kelly did so. The Friar said, 'I will take another time to wait on him.' Some few days after, he came again. Dee ordered Kelly, if it were the same person, to deny him again. He did so; at which the Friar was very angry. 'Tell

‘ thy master I came to speak with him and
‘ to do him good, because he is a great
‘ scholar and famous ; but now tell him,
‘ he put forth a book, and dedicated it to
‘ the Emperor : it is called Monas Hiero-
‘ glyphicas. He understands it not. I
‘ wrote it myself, I came to instruct him
‘ therein, and in some other more pro-
‘ found things. Do thou, Kelly, come
‘ along with me, I will make thee more
‘ famous than thy master Dee.’

Kelly was very apprehensive of what the Friar delivered, and thereupon suddenly retired from Dee, and wholly applied unto the Friar ; and of him either had the Elixir ready made, or the perfect method of its preparation and making. The poor Friar lived a very short time after : whether he died a natural death, or was otherwise poisoned or made away by Kelly, the merchant who related this, did not certainly know.

How Kelly died afterwards at Prague, you well know : he was born at Worcester, had been an apothecary. Not above thirty years since he had a sister lived in Worcester, who had some gold made by her brother's projection.

Dr. Dee died at Mortlack in Surrey, very poor, enforced many times to sell some book or other to buy his dinner with, as Dr. Napier of Linford in Buckinghamshire

inghamshire oft related, who knew him very well.

I have read over his book of Conference with Spirits, and thereby perceive many weakneses in the manage of that way of Mosaical learning: but I conceive, the reason why he had not more plain resolutions, and more to the purpose, was, because Kelly was very vicious, unto whom the angels were not obedient, or willingly did declare the questions propounded; but I could give other reasons, but those are not for paper.

I was very familiar with one Sarah Skelhorn, who had been Speculatrix unto one Arthur Gauntlet about Gray's-Inn-Lane, a very lewd fellow, professing physick. This Sarah had a perfect sight, and indeed the best eyes for that purpose I ever yet did see. Gauntlet's books, after he was dead, were sold, after I had perused them, to my scholar Humphreys: there were rare notions in them. This Sarah lived a long time, even until her death, with one Mrs. Stockman in the Isle of Purbeck, and died about sixteen years since. Her mistress one time being desirous to accompany her mother, the Lady Beconsfield, unto London, who lived twelve miles from her habitation, caused Sarah to inspect her crystal, to see if she, *viz.* her mother, was gone,

yea or not: the angels appeared, and shewed her mother opening a trunk, and taking out a red waistcoat, whereby she perceived she was not gone. Next day she went to her mother's, and there, as she entered the chamber, she was opening a trunk, and had a red waistcoat in her hand. Sarah told me oft, the angels would for some years follow her, and appear in every room of the house, until she was weary of them.

This Sarah Skelhorn, her call unto the crystal began,

' Oh ye good angels, only and only,' &c.

Ellen Evans, daughter of my tutor Evans, her call unto the crystal was this :

O Micol, O tu Micol, regina pigmeorum veni, &c.

Since I have related of the Queen of Fairies, I shall acquaint you, that it is not for every one, or every person that these angelical creatures will appear unto, though they may say over the call, over and over, or indeed is it given to very many persons to endure their glorious aspects; even very many have failed just at that present when they are ready to manifest themselves; even persons otherwise of undaunted spirits and firm resolution, are herewith astonished, and tremble; as it happened not many years since with us. A very sober discreet person, of virtuous
life

life and conversation, was beyond measure desirous to see something in this nature. He went with a friend into my Hurst Wood: the Queen of Fairies was invoked, a gentle murmuring wind came first; after that, amongst the hedges, a smart whirlwind; by and by a strong blast of wind blew upon the face of the friend,—and the Queen appearing in a most illustrious glory, ‘No more, I beseech you,’ (quoth the friend:) ‘My heart fails; I am not able to endure longer.’ Nor was he: his black curling hair rose up, and I believe a bullrush would have beat him to the ground: he was soundly laughed at, &c.

Sir Robert Holborn, Knight, brought once unto me (*a*) Gladwell of Suffolk, who had formerly had fight and conference with Uriel and Raphael, but lost them both by carelessness; so that neither of them both would but rarely appear, and then presently be gone, resolving nothing. He would have given me two hundred pounds to have assisted him for their recovery, but I am no such man.—Those glorious creatures, if well commanded, and well observed, do teach the master

(*a*) Mr. Gilbert Wakering gave him his berril when he died; it was of the largeness of a good big orange, set in silver, with a cross on the top, and another on the handle; and round about engraved the names of these angels, Raphael, Gabriel, Uriel.

any thing he desires; *Amant secreta, fugiunt aperta*. The Fairies love the southern side of hills, mountains, groves.—Neatness and cleanliness in apparel, a strict diet, an upright life, fervent prayers unto God, conduce much to the assistance of those who are curious these ways.

It hath been my happiness to meet with many rarities in my time unexpectedly. I had a sister lived in the Minories, in that very house where formerly had lived one Evans, not my tutor, but another far exceeding him in astrology, and all other occult learning, questioned for his life about 1612. I am sure it was when the present Earl of Manchester's father was Lord Chief Justice of England. He was found guilty by a peevish Jury: but petitioning King James by a Greek petition, as indeed he was an excellent Grecian; 'By my fault,' said King James, 'this man shall not die; I think he is a better Grecian than any of my Bishops:' so his life was spared, &c. My sister's master when new modelling the house, broke up a window, under which were Evans's secret manuscripts, and two moulds in brass; one of a man, the other of a woman. I bought the moulds and (a) book for

(a) From these manuscripts he gained his first knowledge.

five shillings; the secrets were wrote in an imperfect Greek character; but after I found the vowels, all the rest were presently clear enough.

You see, most worthy Sir, I write freely; it is out of the sincerity of my affection, many things wrote by me having been more fit for a sepulture than a book: But,

Quo major est virorum præstantium, tui similibus inopia; eo mihi charior est, & esse debet & amicitia tua: Quam quidem omnibus officiis, & studiis, quæ a summa benevolentia possunt, perpetuò colam: However, who study the curiosities before-named, if they are not very well versed in astrology, they shall rarely attain their desired ends. There was, in the late times of troubles, one Mortlack, who pretended unto Speculations, had a crystal, a call of Queen Mab, one of the Queen of Fairies; he deluded many thereby: at last I was brought into his company; he was desired to make invocation, he did so; nothing appeared, or would: three or four times in my company he was put upon to do the work, but could not; at last he said he could do nothing as long as I was in presence. I at last shewed him his error, but left him as I found him, a pretended ignoramus.

I may

I may seem to some to write incredibilia ; be it so, but knowing unto whom, and for whose only sake, I do write them, I am much comforted therewith, well knowing you are the most knowing man in these curiosities of any now living in England ; and therefore it is my hope, these will be a present well-becoming you to accept.

Præclara omnia quam difficilia sint, his præsertim temporibus. (Celeberrimè Armiger,) non te fugit ; and therefore I will acquaint you with one memorable story related unto me by Mr. John Marr, an excellent mathematician and geometrician, whom I conceive you remember : he was servant to King James and Charles the First.

At first, when the Lord Napier, or Marchiston made publick his Logarithms, Mr. Briggs, then reader of the astronomy lecture at Gresham-College in London, was so surprized with admiration of them, that he could have no quietness in himself, until he had seen that noble person the Lord Marchiston, whose only invention they were : he acquaints John Marr herewith, who went into Scotland before Mr. Briggs, purposely to be there when these two so learned persons should meet. Mr. Briggs appoints a certain day when to meet at Edinburgh : but failing thereof, the Lord Napier was doubtful he would

would not come. It happened one day as John Marr and the Lord Napier were speaking of Mr. Briggs; ‘ Ah, John,’ saith Marchifton, ‘ Mr. Briggs will not ‘ now come:’ at the very instant one knocks at the gate; John Marr halted down, and it proved Mr. Briggs, to his great contentment. He brings Mr. Briggs up into my Lord’s chamber, where almost one quarter of an hour was spent, each beholding other almost with admiration, before one word was spoke: at last Mr. Briggs began.

‘ My Lord, I have undertaken this ‘ long journey purposely to see your person, and to know by what engine of ‘ wit or ingenuity you came first to think ‘ of this most excellent help unto astronomy, *viz.* the Logarithms; but, my ‘ Lord, being by you found out, I wonder no body else found it out before, ‘ when now known, it is so easy.’ He was nobly entertained by the Lord Napier, and every summer after that, during the Lord’s being alive, this venerable man, Mr. Briggs, went purposely into Scotland to visit him. *Tempora nunc mutantur.*

These two persons were worthy men in their time; and yet the one, *viz.* Lord Marchifton, was a great lover of astrology, but Briggs the most satirical man against it that hath been known: but the
reason


reason hereof I conceive was, that Briggs was a severe Presbyterian, and wholly conversant with persons of that judgment; whereas the Lord Marchifton was a general scholar, and deeply read in all divine and human histories: it is the same Marchifton who made that most serious and learned exposition upon the Revelation of St. John; which is the best that ever yet appeared in the world.

Thus far proceeded Mr. William Lilly in setting down the account of his life, with some other things of note. Now shall be added something more which afterwards happened during his retirement at his house at Herisham, until his death.

He left London in the year 1665, (as he hath before noted) and betook himself to the study of physick; in which, having arrived at a competent degree of knowledge, assisted by diligent observation and practice, he desired his old friend Mr. Ashmole, to obtain of his Grace Dr. Sheldon, then Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, a license for the practice of physick; which upon application to his Grace, and producing a testimonial [October 8. 1670,] under the hands of two physicians of the college in London, on Mr. Lilly's behalf, he most readily granted, in the manner following, *viz.* ‘ G I L-

‘ GILBERTUS Providentia Divina
 ‘ Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus totius An-
 ‘ gliae Primas & Metropolitanus, Dilecto
 ‘ nobis in Christo GULIELMO LILLY
 ‘ in Medicinis Professori, Salutem, gra-
 ‘ tiam, & benedictionem. Cum ex fide
 ‘ digna relatione acceperimus Te in arte
 ‘ five facultate Medicinæ per non modi-
 ‘ cum tempus versatum fuisse, multifi-
 ‘ que de salute & sanitate corporis verè de-
 ‘ speratis (Deo Omnipotente adjuvante)
 ‘ subvenisse, eosq; sanasse, nec non in
 ‘ arte predictà multorum peritorum lau-
 ‘ dabili testimonio pro experientia, fideli-
 ‘ tate, diligentia & industria tuis circa
 ‘ curas quas susceperis peragendas in hu-
 ‘ jusmodi Arte Medicinæ meritò commen-
 ‘ datum esse, ad practicandum igitur &
 ‘ exercendum dictam Artem Medicinæ in,
 ‘ & per totam Provinciam nostram Cant’
 ‘ (Civitate Lond’ & circuitu septem mil-
 ‘ liarum eidem prox’ adjacen’ tantummòdo
 ‘ exceptis) ex causis prædictis & aliis nos
 ‘ in hac per te justè moventibus, præstito
 ‘ primitus per Te Juramento de agnos-
 ‘ cendo Regiam supremam potestatem in
 ‘ causis ecclesiasticis & temporalibus ac
 ‘ de renunciando, refutando, & recusando
 ‘ omni, & onnimodæ Jurisdictioni, Pcte-
 ‘ stati, Authoritati & Superioritati fora-
 ‘ neis juxta vim formam & effectum Sta-
 ‘ tui Parliamenti hujus Inclyti Regni
 ‘ Angliæ

' Angliæ in ea parte editi & provisi quan-
 ' tum nobis per Statuta hujus Regni
 ' Angliæ liceat & non aliter neque alio
 ' modo Te admittimus & approbamus,
 ' Tibiq; Licentiam & Facultatem nostras
 ' in hâc parte, Tenore præsentium quam-
 ' diu Te benè & laudabiliter gesseris be-
 ' nignè concedimus & elargimur. In
 ' cujus rei Testimonium Sigillum (quo
 ' in hâc parte utimur) præsentibus ap-
 ' poni fecimus. Dat. Undecimo Die
 ' Mensis Octobris, Anno Domini 1670.
 ' Nostræque Translationis Anno Octavo.'

Sigillum	Radulph. Snowe	}	Registrarii.
	E T		
	Edm. Sherman		
	S. Rich. Lloyd, Sur.		

Vicarii in Spiritualibus Generalis
per Provinciam Cantuariensem.

Hereupon he began to practise more
 openly, and with good success; and every
 Saturday rode to Kingston, where the
 poorer sort flockt to him from several
 parts, and received much benefit by his
 advice and prescriptions, which he gave
 them freely, and without money. From
 those that were more able, he now and
 then

then received a shilling, and sometimes an half crown, if they offered it to him, otherwise he demanded nothing; and, in truth, his charity towards poor people was very great, no less than the care and pains he took in considering and weighing their particular cases, and applying proper remedies to their infirmities, which gained him extraordinary credit and estimation.

He was of a strong constitution, and continued generally in good health, till the 16th of August 1674, when a violent humour discovered itself in red spots all over his body, with little pushes in his head. This, in the winter [18 December] following, was seconded by a distemper whereof he fell sick, and was let blood in the left foot, a little above the ankle.

The 20th of December following, a humour descended from his head to his left side, from eight o'clock at night till the next morning; and then staying a while in the calf of his leg, at length descended towards his toes, the anguish whereof put him into a fever. This humour fixed in two places on the top of his left foot (one in that where he was let blood two days before) which (upon application of pledgets) growing ripe, they were [28 Dec.] lanced by Mr. Agar of Kingston, his apothecary (and no less a skilful

skilful Surgeon :) after which he began to be at ease, his fever abated, and within five months the cure was perfected.

The 7th of November 1675, he was taken with a violent fit of vomiting for some hours, to which a fever succeeded, that continued four months: This brought his body exceeding low, together with a dimness in his eyes, which after occasioned him to make use of Mr. Henry Coley, as his amanuensis, to transcribe (from his dictates) his astrological judgments for the year 1677; but the monthly observations for that year, were written with his own hand some time before, though by this time he was grown very dim-sighted. His judgments and observations for the succeeding years, till his death, (so also for the year 1682,) were all composed by his directions, Mr. Coley coming to Hertham the beginning of every summer, and stayed there, till, by conference with him, he had dispatched them for the press; to whom, at these opportunities, he communicated his way of judgment, and other astrological arcanas.

In the beginning of the year 1681, he had a flux, which weakened him much, yet after some time his strength increased; but now his sight was wholly taken from
him,

him, not having any glimmering as formerly.

He had dwelt many years at Hertham, where his charity and kindness to his poor neighbours was always great and hearty; and the 30th of May 1681, towards the evening, a dead palsy began to seize his left side. The second of June, towards evening, he took his bed, and then his tongue began to falter. The next day he became very dull and heavy: sometimes his senses began to fail him. Henceforward he took little or nothing, for his larynx swelled, and that impeded his swallowing.

The fourth of June, Mr. Ashmole went to visit him, and found he knew him, but spake little, and some of that scarce intelligible; for the palsy began now to seize upon his tongue.

The eighth of June he lay in a great agony, infomuch that the sweat followed drop after drop, which he bore with wonderful courage and patience (as indeed he did all his sickness) without complaint; and about three o'clock the next morning, he died, without any shew of trouble or pangs. Immediately before his breath went from him, he sneezed three times.

He had often, in his life-time, desired Mr. Ashmole to take care of his funeral, and now his widow desired the

same: whereupon Mr. Ashmole obtained leave from Sir Mathew Andrews (who had the parsonage of Walton) to bury him in the chancel of that church.

The 10th of June, his coarfe was brought thither, and received by the minister (in his surplice) at the Litch-Gates, who, passing before the body into the church, read the first part of the Office for the Burial of the Dead. In the reading desk he said all the evening service, and after performed the rest of the office (as established by law) in the chancel, at the interment, which was about eight o'clock in the evening, on the left side of the communion table, Mr. Ashmole assisting at the laying him in his grave; whereupon afterwards [9 July 1681.] he placed a fair black marble stone, (which cost him six pounds four shillings and six pence) with this inscription following.

Ne Oblivione conteretur Urna
 G U L I E L M I L I L L I I
 A S T R O L O G I P E R I T I S S I M I,
 Q U I F A T I S C E S S I T
 Quinto Idus Junii Anno Christi Juliano
 M D C L X X X I.
 Hoc Illi posuit amoris Monumentum
 E L I A S A S H M O L E,
 A R M I G E R.

Shortly after his death, Mr. Ashmole bought his library of books of Mrs. Ruth Lilly, (his widow and executrix) for fifty pounds: he oft times, in his life-time, expressed, that if Mr. Ashmole would give that sum, he should have them.

The following Epitaphs (Latin and English) were made by George Smalridge, then a scholar at Westminster, after Student of Christ-Church in Oxford.

In Mortem Viri Doctissimi Domini GULIELMI
LILLY, Astrologi, nuper defuncti.

O Ccedit atque suis annalibus addidit atram
Astrologus, quâ non tristior ulla, diem
Pone triumphales, lugubris Luna, quadrigas;
Sol mæstum piceâ nube reconde caput.
Illum, qui Phœbi scripsit, Phœbesq; labores
Eclipsin docuit Stella maligna pati.
Invidia Astrorum cecidit, qui Sidera rexit
Tanta erat in notas scandere cura domos.
Quod vidit, visum cupiit, potiturq; cupito
Cœlo, & Sidereo fulget in orbe decus.
Scilicet hoc nobis prædixit ab ane Cometa,
Et fati emicuit nuncia Stella tui
Fallentem vidi faciem gemuiq; videndo
Illa fuit vati mortis imago suo,
Civilis timuere alii primordia belli
Jejunam metuit plebs stupefata famem
Non tantos tulerat bellumve fameſve dolores:
Auspiciis eſſent hæc relevanda tuis.
In cautam subitus plebem nunc opprimat ensis,
Securos fati mors violenta trahat.
Nemo est qui videat moneatq; avertere fatum,
Ars jacet in Domini funera merſa sui

Solus naturæ reservare arcana solebat,
 Solus & ambigui solvere jura poti.
 Lustrâsti erantes benè finâ mente Planetas
 Conspèctum latuit stellata nulla tuum
 Defessôs oculos pensârunt lumina mentis
 Firefias oculis, mentibus Argus eras.
 Cernere, Firefia, poteras ventura, sed, Arge,
 In fatum hæud poteras fat vigil esse tuum
 Sed vivit nomen semper cum sole vigebit,
 Immemor Astrologi non erit ulla dies
 Sæcia canent laudes, quas si percurrere cones,
 Arte opus est, Stellas quâ numerare soles
 Hæreat hoc carmen cinerum custodibus urnis,
 Hospes quod spargens marmora rore legat.
 “ Hic situs est, dignus nunquam cecidisse Propheta ;
 “ Fatorum interpres fata inopina subit.
 “ Versari æthereo dum vixit in orbe solebat :
 “ Nunc humilem jactat Terra superba virum.
 “ Sed Cœlum metitur adhuc resupinus in urnâ
 “ Vertitur in solitos palpebra clausa polos.
 “ Huic busto invigilant solenni lampade Musæ,
 “ Perpetuo nubes imbre sepulchra rigant.
 “ Ille oculis movit distantia Sidera nostris,
 “ Illam amota oculis traxit ad astra Dcus.”

AN ELEGY upon the Death of WILLIAM
 LILLY the Astrologer.

OUR Prophet's gone ; no longer may our ears
 Be charm'd with musick of th' harmonious spheres.
 Let sun and moon withdraw, leave gloomy night
 To shew their NUNCIO's fate, who gave more light
 To th' erring world, than all the feeble rays
 Of sun or moon ; taught us to know those days
 Bright TITAN makes ; follow'd the hasty sun
 Through all his circuits ; knew th' unconstant moon,
 And more unconstant ebbings of the flood ;
 And what is most uncertain, th' factious brood,

Flowing

Flowing in civil broils : by the heavens could date
 The flux and reflux of our datious state.
 He saw the eclipse of sun, and change of moon
 He saw, but seeing would not shun his own :
 Eclips'd he was, that he might shine more bright,
 And only chang'd to give a fuller light.
 He having view'd the sky, and glorious train
 Of gilded stars, scorn'd longer to remain
 In earthly prisons : could he a village love,
 Whom the twelve houses waited for above ?
 The grateful stars a heavenly mansion gave
 T' his heavenly soul, nor could he live a slave
 To mortal passions, whose immortal mind,
 Whilst here on earth, was not to earth confin'd.
 He must be gone, the stars had so decreed ;
 As he of them, so they of him, had need.
 This message 'twas the blazing comet brought ;
 I saw the pale-fac'd star, and seeing thought
 (For we could guess, but only LILLY knew)
 It did some glorious hero's fall foreshew :
 A hero's fall'n, whose death, more than a war,
 Or fire, deserv'd a comet : th' obsequious star,
 Could do no less than his sad fate unfold,
 Who had their risings, and their settings told.
 Some thought a plague, and some a famine near ;
 Some wars from France, some fires at home did fear :
 Nor did they fear too much : scarce kinder fate,
 But plague of plagues befell th' unhappy state
 When LILLY died. Now swords may safely come
 From France or Rome, fanaticks plot at home.
 Now an unseen, and unexpected hand,
 By guidance of ill stars, may hurt our land ;
 Unsafe, because secure, there's none to show
 How England may avert the fatal blow.
 He's dead, whose death the weeping clouds deplore
 I wish we did not owe to him that show'r
 Which long expected was, and might have still
 Expected been, had not our nation's ill
 Drawn from the heavens a sympathetick tear :
 England hath cause a second draught to fear.
 We have no second LILLY, who may die,
 And by his death may make the heavens cry.

Then let your annals, COLEY, want this day,
 Think every year leap-year; or if 't must stay,
 Cloath it in black; let a sad note stand by,
 And stigmatize it to posterity.

Here follows the Copy of an Indictment filed against Mr. Lilly, for which see Page 104 of his Life,

THE jurors for the Lord Protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, &c. upon their oaths do present, that William Lilly, late of the Parish of St. Clements Danes, in the County of Middlesex, Gent. not having the fear of God before his eyes, but being moved and seduced by the instigation of the devil, the 10th day of July, in the Year of our Lord, 1654, at the Parish aforesaid, in the County aforesaid, wickedly, unlawfully and deceitfully, did take upon him, the said William Lilly, by enchantment, charm and forcery, to tell and declare to one Anne East, the wife of Alexander East, where ten waistcoats, of the value of five pounds, of the goods and chattels of the said Alexander East, then lately before lost and stolen from the said Alexander East, should be found and become; and two shillings and sixpence in monies numbred, of the monies of the said

faid Alexander, from the faid Anne Eaft, then and there unlawfully and deceitfully, he, the faid William Lilly, did take, receive, and had, to tell and declare to her the faid Anne, where the faid goods, fo loft and ftolen as aforefaid, fhould be found and become: And alfo that he, the faid William Lilly, on the faid tenth day of July, in the Year of our Lord, 1654, and divers other days and times, as well before as afterwards, at the faid Parifh aforefaid, in the County aforefaid, unlawfully and deceitfully did take upon him, the faid William Lilly, by enchantment, charm and forcery, to tell and declare to divers other perfons, to the faid jurors, yet unknown, where divers goods, chattels and things of the faid perfons yet unknown, there lately before loft and ftolen from the faid perfons yet unknown, fhould be found and become; and divers fums of monies of the faid perfons yet unknown, then and there unlawfully and deceitfully, he the faid William Lilly did take, receive, and had, to tell and declare to the faid perfons yet unknown, where their goods, chattels and things, fo loft and ftolen, as aforefaid, fhould be found and become, in contempt of the laws of England, to the great damage and deceit of the faid Alexander and Anne, and of the faid other

persons yet unknown, to the evil and pernicious example of all others in the like case offending, against the form of the statute in this case made and provided, and against the publick peace, &c.

ANNE EAST,
EMME SPENCER,
JANE GOLD,
KATHERINE ROBERTS,
SUSANNAH HULINGE.

SEVERAL

SEVERAL
OBSERVATIONS
UPON THE
LIFE AND DEATH
OF
CHARLES I.
LATE
KING OF ENGLAND.

T O T H E
R E A D E R.

BY the ensuing discourse, I shall draw down upon me the malevolent influence of a number of people; with whose malice being already acquainted, I care the less: I can fall no lower than the earth; and whoever thrusts me down sooner than nature intended, must follow me sooner than he would be willing.

An impudent prick-eared Presbyterian Priest, rencounters me one day. ‘ Now Lilly, what say you Mr. Merlinus unto Charles, the son of Charles the present Scottish King; he’ll pull the rebels out of White-Hall by the ears.’ After a little modest scolding, the man was calm, and I promised silence as to his name, &c. I cannot

cannot wash the Blackmoor white : these woeful Priests have so hardned their hearts against this State, pipe I never so melodiously unto them, or though the Parliament act never so wisely and prudently for our and their goods, they will rebel against the State, and envy me.

If any busy-body object, it's besides my talk to write the life of the late King ; I say, no : I could do no less. I have no way injured him ; there is nothing I mention of him which I had not from those persons of credit, who either saw the actions done, or heard with their ears the words delivered. I have rather been sparing than lavish, even when I mention his worst or foulest actions : there are hundreds alive, who will swear I have more balsam than corrosive in the discourse. I would be sorry to belie the dead, as Mr. Fuller hath Paracelsus, who delivers him unto posterity for a drunkard, though those * who lived with him, knew no such thing by him, but report him virtuous. But that Mr. Fuller may know he hath wantonly abused his oratory, I let the ages to come know thus much of himself, viz. That he took the Covenant

* Bishop of Saltburg.

twice for the Parliament, before my face in the Savoy Church; invited others unto it; yet, Apostate-like, ran within few days to Oxford, and there whined to his companions, and protested, the Countess of R. made him take it. ‘ Let not thy
 ‘ jests, like mummy, be made of dead
 ‘ mens flesh. Abuse not any that are
 ‘ departed; for to wrong their memo-
 ‘ ries, is to rob their ghosts of their
 ‘ winding-sheets*.’ And yet this man must call Paracelsus a quackfalver, and give him besides, other Billingsgate language. Doctor Charlton † styles Paracelsus the ornament of Germany, &c. Let the world and writings of the man judge of the truth of Mr. Fuller’s scurvy language.

I’ll apologize for nothing I have now writ; only, if in 1644 I differ somewhat from what I now write about the White King and Eagle; I can say for myself, ‘ later counsels ever correct the former;’ and that’s answer enough. Besides, the White King’s tragedy is now acted, it was then on the stage. Long live the Parliament; God bless the Army; all

* Says Thomas Fuller in his Holy State, page 156.

† In his Mag. cure of wounds, page 30.

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TO THE READER.

happinefs unto the Commonwealth,
and unto all my difperfed friends in
England, Ireland, and Scotland. Adieu,
I am,

Corner-houfe, over
againft Strand-
Bridge, July 23.
1651.

WILLIAM LILLY.

OBSER-

O B S E R V A T I O N S

U P O N T H E

L I F E A N D D E A T H

O F

K I N G C H A R L E S I.

CHARLES STUART, late King of England, was born at Dumferlin in Scotland, about fifteen miles from Edinburgh, November 19, 1600. He lived forty eight years, and about seventy two days. He died in the beginning of his climacterical year, fatal many times where killing directions in the nativity threaten. Several characters are given of him ; some do too much magnify him, others as much vilify him. He was well educated by his father under careful tutors, men of great knowledge in all manner of qualities, fit for education of princes ; and came to the crown being,

being aged twenty-four years and about four months, even in the flower of his age. Of his infancy we have little to mention, only he was noted to be very wilful and obstinate by Queen Anne his mother, and some others who then were about him. His mother being told he was very sick and like to die, said, He would not then die, or at that time, but live to be the ruin of himself, and the occasion of the loss of his three Kingdoms, by his too much wilfulness: A sad prediction from a mother, who most entirely loved him; but it proved very true in the sequel. Some affirm she had that foresight of his condition from a stranger, who had not only great judgment in nati- vities, but in the more secret learning; others, that one English, a Scot, informed her thereof first. Queen Anne may be thought to have the spirit of prophecy in judging so rightly on her son and daughter; for she so much scorned and undervalued the Palsgrave for a husband unto the Lady Elizabeth, that in most of her language after and before the marriage, she would call her Goodwife Palsgrave; a name and title she thought good enough for any woman should marry that dull and unfortunate man: and indeed her fears and predictions proved most true. The old Scottish Lady his nurse was used to

affirm as much, and that he was of a very evil nature even in his infancy; and the lady, who after took charge of him, cannot deny it, but that he was beyond measure wilful, and unthankful: Yet while he was young, he followed his book seriously, which his elder brother Prince Henry could not endure; and therefore King James would frequently blame Prince Henry with the neglect of his book, and tell him how his brother Charles followed it; whereupon the Prince would reply, when that he himself should be King, he would make his brother Charles Archbishop of Canterbury. And to speak truly of him, he had many singular parts in nature; he was an excellent horseman, would shoot well at a mark, had singular skill in limning and pictures, a good mathematician, not unskilful in musick, well read in divinity, excellently in history, and no less in the laws and statutes of this nation; he had a quick and sharp conception, would write his mind singularly well, and in good language and stile, only he loved long Parentheses. He would apprehend a matter in difference betwixt party and party with great readiness, and methodise a long matter, or contract it in few lines: insomuch as I have heard Sir Robert Holborne oft say, he had a quicker conception, and would

fooner understand a case in law, or with more sharpness drive a matter unto a head, than any of his Privy Council; in-
 fomuch, that when the King was not at the Council Table, Sir Robert never cared to be there. He had also, amongst other his special gifts, the gift of patience; in-
 fomuch, that if any offered him a long discourse or speech, he would with much patience, and without any interruption or distaste, hear a speech or story out at length; but then he would expect the same civility from others. He was a great admirer of his Queen (if he dissembled not), very uxorious, seldom denying her any request, and for her sake was very civil to the old Queen of France her mother. The height of his affection unto the Queen, fully you may perceive in those transcendent expressions of his, in letters sent unto her, the copies whereof were intercepted at Naseby, and since printed; his conclusion being always, "Thine eternally," or, "Farewel dear heart."

He communicated his weightiest, and most private designs unto her; nay, there was very little of any moment, but she was advised with concerning it: and yet, what reason the Queen knew to the contrary, I could not learn, but she more than
 than

than once twitted him in the teeth with dissembling, &c. a quality which indeed he was as sufficiently master of as any man living, and which questionless he had partly from his father, and partly from the climate he was born in, *viz.* Scotland. An indulgent father, careful, if not too covetous to have provided patrimonies for his children; for he would often say, when some beggarly courtier propounded a monopoly or project unto him, affirming it would produce unto his coffers so many thousand pounds a year, or much increase his revenue; he would presently send for the Judges, or some of his Counsel at Law, and if they affirmed and consented he might by law grant the thing desired, he often would say, ‘ He knew no reason, but that he
 ‘ might grant the matter in question,
 ‘ sith the thing itself was just and law-
 ‘ ful, for he had many children to pro-
 ‘ vide for.’ Before the wars he was a great enemy to bloodshed, or wilful murder, insomuch, that when one Stamford had in an insurrection in Fleet-street, killed a man, he could by no means be drawn to sign a pardon unto him, though Stamford had been Buckingham’s favourite and countryman, and very great intercession had been made unto him for his pardon. Where he once really affected,

he was ever a perfect friend; witness his continuance of affection unto all Buckingham's friends after his death, yea, until his own last decay of fortune. He was a great lover, if not too much, of the clergy, and highly advanced them; in-
 fomuch, as under him they grew first insolent, and then saucy; and indeed, his indulgence unto them did in part procure unto himself the people's hate. Whether his indulgence unto the clergy, proceeded from a religious affection rather to advance the ways of righteousness, or God's cause, than his own private designs, it hath been by many controverted; but by judicious men adjudged, that his own self-ends were therein more sought after than propagating the gospel; so that he served himself by pretending to advance the clergy. He erred extreamly in this one business: when divers godly christians in Norfolk delivered him a petition against the tyrant Wren, their bishop; he sent for Wren, and bad him answer it. Novelty in doctrine he hated, as much as in ceremony. He loved not greatly the ancient nobility or gentry of this nation; but did rather prefer creatures of his own, or father's making. How much he loved any of the nobility or gentry, but for his own ends, he made it plainly appear at Oxford, where he procured fundry of the
 Eng-

English nobles, and many gentlemen, members of the House of Commons, to recede from the Parliament at Westminster, and convene at Oxford, where himself was ; and after that this mock Parliament, to satisfy his desire, had convened and assembled, done what they could, and thereby engaged their persons and estates for him ; yet, because they would not in all things comply with his tyrannical humour, in a letter of his unto the Queen, he complains of them unto her, and said, ‘ He was so troubled with a ‘ mongrel Parliament, he could do no ‘ thing, &c.’ This scornful epithet, or badge of disgrace, was all the reward any of those unfortunate gentlemen had from him ; but it was just they should be so paid their wages, that in so traiterous a way deserted the Parliament at Westminster, which fits to this day, &c. He cared not much for the Common Law, or very much for the Long Gown men ; he learned that disaffection of his from his father Jemmy, who could not endure the Lord Chief Justice Coke, because he ever said the Prerogative was bounded by Law, and was limitable ; but that excellent patriot was worsted for his dear affection to his country, by Egerton the Chancellor, who maintained the contrary ; and was worthily as well rewarded by the old Scot

FOR his labour, Jemmy taking the Great Seal from him before he was dead, yea, in a disgraceful manner. The Commonalty of England he neither cared for, took much notice of, or much disrespected; holding this opinion only, because he was their King, they ought in duty to serve him. The Citizens of London, though they much courted him with their flatteries, and large gifts, and in his latest extremities relieved him with considerable sums of money, yea even at Oxford in soap barrels; yet he slighted them, thought them ever too rich, and intended for them a severe revenge. Had he ever mastered the Parliament, he was advised, by one I well knew, to have demolished half the city: what he would have done had he been victorious, God knows. He would often say, it was the nursery of the present rebellion, for so he called the wars, &c. and that the body of the city was too large for the head. I have heard it from the mouths of many worthy gentlemen, whose hap it was to serve him in the late wars, that they did believe, had he, *viz.* the King, by arms conquered this Parliament, he would have proved the greatest tyrant the English nation ever had to rule over them, and therefore they did still pray for a reconcilment betwixt the Parliament and Him, but could never
endure

endure to hear he should conquer our armies, &c. And so much in a manner dropped out from the mouth of Rupert, who giving command for executing some things contrary to the laws; and being acquainted with his mistake, "Tush," quoth he, "we will have no more law in England henceforward but the sword." He had a natural imperfection in his speech, at some times could hardly get out a word, yet at other times he would speak freely and articulately; as the first day of his coming before the High Court of Justice, where casually I heard him; there he stammered nothing at all, but spoke very distinctly, with much courage and magnanimity. As a man he had his imperfections, for he was very covetous and gripple, and sparing of his treasure (qualities nothing commendable in a King;) and if at any time liberal, it was rather to the undeserving or boisterous fellows, than well meriting: by how much the more humbly any made their addresses unto him, by so much the more was he imperious, lofty, and at a distance with them; whereupon it most an end happened, that the impudent and bold were rewarded, and the virtuous slighted; which imperfection of his enforced a bold-spirited Courtier to say, ' There was no way

‘pudence, and cajoling him with unbecoming language.’ Yet he himself was never obscene in his speech, or affected it in others. I have only met with, or taken notice of, two passages, which argue him guilty of unbecoming language. First, in all or most of his letters unto the Queen, he terms the Parliament rebels, though they were lawfully convened, and not dissolved, or to be dissolved, without their own consent; but time, and their victories, acquainted him with more civil language, and taught him to style them a Parliament. In another letter of his unto her, he calls the Lord General Fairfax, who was then the Parliament’s General, their brutish General; a most uncivil term and epithet to bestow upon so brave a man, so civil, so valiant, and so much a gentleman as Fairfax was, and is. Assuredly the progenitors of the Lord Fairfax were gentlemen, and of good estates then, and at what time the ancestors of the Stuarts were but poor stewards unto a family in Scotland; and what a preferment it is now, or was some three hundred years since, to be bailiff or steward unto a Scottish family, let the whole world judge; for this was the true original of the rise and growth of the family of Stuarts, and no other; though since by marriage they came to be

Kings

Kings of Scotland, (as their own chronicles relate). He did not greatly court the ladies, nor had he a lavish affection unto many. He was manly, and well fitted for venerious sports, yet rarely frequented illicit beds. I do not hear of above one or two natural children he had, or left behind him. He had exquisite judgment by the eye, and physiognomy, to discover the virtuous from the wanton. He honoured the virtuous, and was very shy and choice in wandring those ways, and when he did it, it was with much cautiousness and secrecy; nor did he prostitute his affection, but unto those of exquisite persons or parts: and this the Queen well knew; nor did she wink at it. He had much of self-ends in all that he did, and a most difficult thing it was to hold him close to his own promise or word: he was apt to recede, unless something therein appeared compliable, either unto his own will, profit, or judgment; so that some foreign princes bestowed on him the character of a most false prince, and one that never kept his word, unless for his own advantage. Had his judgment been as sound, as his conception was quick and nimble, he had been a most accomplished gentleman: and though in most dangerous results, and extraordinary serious consultations, and very material, either for state

or

or commonwealth, he would himself give the most solid advice, and sound reasons, why such or such a thing should be so, or not so; yet was he most easily withdrawn from his own most wholesome and sound advice or resolutions; and with as much facility drawn on, inclined, to embrace a far more unsafe, and nothing so wholesome a counsel. He would argue logically, and frame his arguments artificially; yet never almost had the happiness to conclude or drive on a design in his own sense, but was ever baffled with meaner capacities. He feared nothing in this world, or disdained any thing more than the convention of a Parliament; the very name was a bugbear unto him. He was ever refractory against the summoning of a Parliament, and as willingly would embrace an opportunity to break it off. This his averieness being well known to some grave members, they contrived at last by wit, and the necessity of the times, that his hands were fast tied up in granting a triennial sitting, or a perpetuity as it were unto this present Parliament; a thing he often blamed himself for subscribing unto, and as often those who importuned him thereunto. And therefore I wonder at that passage of his (if it was his, which I doubt of) in that book published under
his

his name, and called his PORTRAITURE, wherein he maintains this Parliament was called as much by his own choice and inclination, as advice of others : whereas it is manifestly known even unto all, it was only necessity, and the importunity of the English, who would not fight with the Scots, and this only cause was it which gave occasion for calling of this Parliament ; the Scots at present being possessed of Newcastle. For the book itself, it maintains so many contradictions unto those things manifested by his own letters, under his own hands, unto the Queen, that I conceive the most part of it Apocrypha ; the Meditations or Psalms wholly were added by others : some loose papers he had, I do well know, but they were nothing so well methodised, but rather papers intended after for the press, or as it were a Memorial or Diary, than such a well couched piece, and to so little purpose. But it is answered by the learned Milton. He was seldom in the times of war seen to be sorrowful for the slaughter of his people or soldiers, or indeed any thing else : whether by nature or custom his heart was hardened, I leave for others to judge. When unfortunately the Parliament had lost some of their men in the west, at Marlborough, and the Devizes, and they brought in a
miserable

miserable condition, without hose or shoes, or scarce cloaths, into Oxford as a triumph, he was content to be a spectator of their calamities, but gave neither order for their relief, or commands for ease of their sufferings; nay, it was noted by some there present, he rejoiced in their sad affliction. So afterwards, when Hambden was wounded, or near that time in Buckinghamshire, it happened a very valiant soldier of the Parliament's side to be taken, stript stark naked, his body being shot in many places, and his shoulder broke: this poor soul in this condition and pickle, was set on a poor lean jade, and brought as a triumph before the King; where he stood accompanied with many Nobles. It would have pitied any one's heart, to have heard how this poor man was reviled and upbraided by lewd people, even as he passed close by the King's presence; who neither pitied the man, rebuked the unruly people, or gave order for cure of his wounds: but God cured the soldier instantly, for he died ere he was forty paces from the King's presence; and notwithstanding the misery of the man, and sharpness of his wounds, yet was the greatness of his spirit and courage so undaunted, that he rode very upright upon the poor jade, nothing daunted either at his own present condition,

dition, or presence of the King. It was observed, that a lewd woman, as he passed by, calling him Rebel, he only looked sternly at her, and said, 'You whore.' Some Nobles seeing the hard-heartedness of the King upon this sad accident, and how little he valued those who either fought for or against him, upon this meer occasion deserted him, and came for London, &c.

Even the looks and gestures of Princes are observed, you may see, and several either good or ill constructions grounded thereon. He was observed in his diet to feed heartily, and would drink wines at meals freely, but not in excess. He was rather violent than moderate in exercises: when he walked on foot, he rather trotted than paced, he went so fast. He was nothing at all given to luxury, was extremely sober both in his food and apparel; in the latter whereof he might rather be said to go cleanly and neat, then gaudy or riotously; and as to the former, he rather loved sober, full and substantial dishes, than kickshaws, which the extravagant Nobles feed for their wantonness sake; though many times, ere they are satisfied with curiosities in diet, their estates lie pawned for them. In the general he was not vicious; and yet who ever shall say he was virtuous, extremely
errs,

errs. He was a medley betwixt virtue and vice. He was magnificent in some measure, and was the only cause of the building that miracle of ships called the Royal Sovereign: and when some of his Nobles acquainted him with the vast charge thereof, he replied, ‘Why should
 ‘not he be admitted to build that ship
 ‘for his own pleasure, and which might
 ‘be upon occasion useful for service of
 ‘the kingdoms, as well as some Nobles
 ‘prodigally spent their patrimony in riotous and ungodly courses, nothing either
 ‘for their credits or reputations, or any
 ‘way beneficial to the kingdom?’ It was wisely said of him at that time, ‘Every
 ‘man had his proper vanity, and that was
 ‘his, if the people accounted it so.’ He was ill thought of by many, especially the Puritans then so called, for suffering the chapel at Somerset-House to be built for the Queen, where mass was publickly said. Yet was he no Papist, or favoured any of their tenets; nor do I remember any such thing was ever objected against him. Myself was once there to gaze, whilst the priest was at high mass: the sexton and others thrust me out very uncivilly, for which I protested never to come there again.

The actions of Kings and Princes are lookt upon with many eyes, whereof some
 ever

ever prove either squint or purblind. So long as we live in this world, our conversation cannot be with faints, but with the sons of Adam, who ever smell of some corruptions. Many also have blamed him for writing unto the Pope when he was in Spain: others think ill of him for the many reprieves he gave unto seminary priests; and Mr. Pryn sweats to purpose in aggravating his offence thereby. Why he might not as well in a civil way write unto the Pope, as write and send his Ambassador to the great Turk, I know not: and for his mercy to those priests, who had not occasioned rebellion in his dominions, truly charity bids me to make rather a good than ill construction. And were not the common law of this nation more in force than that canon of scripture, those things could not be justified, putting men to death for religion, or taking orders beyond sea, &c.

He was ambitious, and disdained in his youth to match with any of the English ladies; and therefore, upon hopes of a marriage with the present King of Spain's sifter, Monday the 27th of Feb. 1622. he set forward for Spain, went first into France, and from thence with his high thoughts passed the mountains. Neither had he success in the marriage desired, or did he get honour by that journey, although

though most magnificently entertained in Spain. Some private disgusts happened there and in that voyage, infomuch as he never, after his return into England, much cared for the Spaniard; which he made publickly known in several years of his reign. He was accompanied to Spain with the Duke of Buckingham, one whom formerly he extreamly hated, but after that journey as extreamly fancied, being his only great favourite. People generally were nothing satisfied with that his journey undertaken so rashly; yet many sober men judged very well of the marriage itself, and these did publickly aver, the Spaniard was rich, and a brave man, would not be troublesome unto us with unnecessary visits, would ever bring gold in his pockets; was a people, with whom the English merchants had a great and rich trade, and with whose natural conditions the English did pretty well sympathise; and for the Infanta's strictness in the Roman religion, there was by many prudent men very little question made, that it would produce any ill to this nation, which now had been Protestant above sixty years: and they did also consider that the Prince was very surely grounded in his own Protestant faith, and that the common law would well provide for the multiplicity of priests, who might presume

presume to come upon her account. The 27th of March, being Sunday 1625, King James died. All that whole year a most furious plague afflicted the city of London, there dying above fifty thousand people. Amongst those, whose misfortune it was to abide in the city, during that pestilent contagion, myself was one, and therein beheld God's great mercy unto me, being nothing at any time visited, though my conversation was daily with the infected. And I do well remember this accident, that going in July 1625, about half an hour after six in the morning, to St. Antholine's Church, I met only three persons in the way, and no more, from my house over against Strand-bridge, till I came there; so few people were then alive, and the streets so unfrequented.

In June 1625, Mary, daughter of Henry the Fourth, King of France, came over, and was married to the King the same month. Several constructions were made upon this marriage with France, and many disputations in private were had, whether she or the Infanta might have been better for this nation. However the Parliament, in regard of the sickness, was translated to Oxford, August 1, 1625, and the 12th of the same dissolved. There are two main reasons

given for its dissolution: one was, because the Duke of Buckingham his own favourite, should not be questioned concerning King James's death; and the second was, his Majesty made several propositions unto the people, which they would not consent unto. That King James was really and absolutely poisoned by a plaister, applied by Buckingham's mother unto King James's stomach, was evidently proved before a Committee. But whether Buckingham himself, or the late King, was guilty either in the knowledge of, or application of the plaister, I could never learn. Many feared the King did know of it, and they gave this reason; because, when the Parliament did order to question Buckingham for it, and had prepared their charge or articles, to present against him in the House of Lords, and to accuse him thereof, his Majesty, contrary to all expectation, and as an affront of both Houses, and in the Upper House, when the articles came up, gave Buckingham his hand to kiss, carried him away with him, &c. This action lost him the present Parliament's affections. Even the most sober of his friends held him very much overseen to deny a Parliament justice in any matter whatsoever; but in matter of poison, and the party poisoned being his father,
in

in that to prohibit a due course, or a legal proceeding against the party suspected, it was to deny justice with a refractory hand. But at that time he was lusty and young, and in his infancy of convening Parliaments, thought to make himself sure ever after, or to master the Commons of England. There is no pen, how able soever, can take off the blemish that will ever hang on him, for falling out with his Parliament, because they questioned, how and by what means his father came to his death.

The second of February 1625, he was crowned at Westminster. William Laud altered the old coronation oath, and framed another new. And in March following was a Parliament again summoned, and therein Montague questioned for Popish and Arminian tenets; and Buckingham was again also put to it by the Commons. In time of this Parliament he sent for the Bishops, and blamed their backwardness, for that they did not inform him, how he might promote the cause of the church. Indeed, he did well know what fawning Jacks most of them were, and how easily he might with hopes of profit win them to his side: they made up a good part of the House of Lords in number. Here again the Houses of Parliament were troubled with Buckingham

and Bristol, who was the wiser man of the two, but had least friends. These framed bills, and accused each other of treason. At that time most men pitied Bristol, and thought him ill rewarded for all his service in Spain; for it was conceived he acted not but according to commission. In this Parliament he committed Sir Dudley Diggs, and Sir John Elliot, Members of the House of Commons, because they most rigorously had managed an accusation against Buckingham: An high affront it was to the Parliament, and a great breach of privilege to commit a Member of that House, without the House's consent: that matter was much repented and very ill taken. By those and other his high miscarriages unto both Houses, they began to mistrust him; many gave sad conjectures of his actions, and thought that in the end he would either have or lose all. June 15, 1626, he dissolves the Parliament, only because they should not prosecute Buckingham. An argument of sound affection unto his favourite, to hazard the love of millions only for him; but a deep imprudence and high oversight, to slight a whole nation for love only of one man, and he but of yesterday; or a new creature, of but his father's stamping, and his own continuing.

It was in August this year, that Tilly overthrew his uncle the King of Denmark

mark in a pitchd field. How the King carried the business with his uncle, or what treasure he promised to supply him with, and did not perform, I know not. Sure I am, the old King, after this fight, could never endure our King, but would swear, he endeavoured what in him lay to make him lose his kingdom. This I had from the mouth of Dr. M. who heard the King of Denmark speak what I write.

In *Anno* 1627, he set forth men and ships to the Isle of Rhé in France, under the conduct of Buckingham. We lost our best men in that scurvy design, who were no better than butchered by the French, through the indiscretion of some that had principal command therein. But give me leave, before I proceed farther, to relate what I had from the mouth of an eminent Colonel, employed in that successless expedition, and one of the Council of War, and a sworn enemy to the Duke. Buckingham I well know was extremely blamed about the loss of our men, the day of their retreat unto the ships. The matter was thus carried: The night before the retreat, the Duke called a Council of War, and there shewed them the necessity of their retreat the next day, and that himself in martial discipline being wholly unexperienced, he left the managing of the next day's action

to the ordering of the Council of War, offering the service of his own person unto any hazard whatever as far as any private foldier. The Council committed the management of their retreat, by a free consent, unto old Sir William Courtney, a heavy dull covetous old man, who having been twenty or thirty years a private Captain in Holland, was, by Sir John Burrows's means, made Colonel in that expedition. And Burrows being now dead, and Courtney the oldest Colonel, it was referred unto him how with safety to bring off our men. But he, either through want of judgment, or forgetfulness, having not sufficiently provided for security of our rear, our men were most unfortunately many of them cut in pieces : and had not Sir Pierce Crosby with eight hundred Irish made good the retreat, all our men had been lost. Courtney himself fell into a salt-pan in the defeat, and was saved by means of his man Anthony's crying, ' O save my Captain : ' but the poor fellow lost his own life, and saved his master's.

A bullet by chance, during their stay in that island, was shot at the said Courtney ; and he having a piece of gold of twenty one shillings price in his fob, the bullet light there, bent the gold, and so he was preserved. Courtney, at his re-
turn,

turn, shewed me the gold, and told me the story. The King hearing of our loss at the Isle of Rhé, and landing of the Duke, instead of being angry at the loss of so many gallant men, or calling him to account, sent to comfort the Duke, desiring that he should not be troubled at the loss, for the chance of war was casual.

And now we are speaking of Rochelle, let me acquaint the world, that his Majesty was the sole cause of its losing, for he lent the King of France eight or ten of his own navy, by which means the Rochellers ships were sunk and destroyed, who before were ever able to relieve themselves with their own ships, against all opposition the Kings of France could make. And that it may appear, he willingly lent these ships unto the French, and was not forced unto it by Buckingham, as many have affirmed, I will relate this passage, perhaps not vulgarly known. Sir John Pennington, being Vice-Admiral, had commission to carry eight or more royal ships into France. When he arrived there, the French acquainted him the ships were to serve the French King against the Rochellers, and if that he the said Sir John would serve in that employment, he should be honourably rewarded. But this gallant man

being truly English, scorned the proffer, and utterly refused the employment, and ere he would resign the ships unto the French, came privately himself unto the King, and informed the King of the French intentions against Rochelle. But the King said only thus much: ‘Pennington, go and deliver your ships, and leave them in France:’ and then gave him a particular or private warrant under his own hand for his discharge, &c. He had much ado to get his ships again from the French, and then was enforced to send Sir John Pennington amongst the French, who seized above a hundred French ships, and kept them until ours were delivered. One thing is observable, that we had only two sailors assisted against Rochelle in our ships, and no more. This I relate in honour of the seamen.

The destruction of Rochelle is wholly laid upon our King’s score, as well and justly it may be, to his eternal dishonour and blemish; for had he not furnished the French with ships, Rochelle could not have been taken as it was. And verily I believe, the sad groans and miseries of those poor Protestants poured out unto Almighty God in their height of calamities against our King, were extreme instrumental in hastening down the anger of God against the late King. However,
 this

this action of his lost him the love of the Protestant Princes in all parts of the world, and his own subjects could after that action never well brook him, but daily were alienated in their affection from him, supposing him either not well grounded in the Protestant Faith, or else a meer state-juggler and no other. I know some have accused Buckingham to be instrumental about the lending those ships: 'tis possible he was. However, in March 1627, a Parliament was summoned again, Buckingham articulated against, and in June prorogued until October; after in March dissolved, because William Laud was remonstrated against by the Commons, his ruin laboured. There were also articles exhibited against Buckingham in the Parliament, but the latter of the two, *viz.* Buckingham was stabbed the 23d of August 1628, he being ready to go unto sea for relief of Rochelle, then besieged. Many complained of the King in this his various action about Rochelle, *viz.* in first aiding the French to destroy the Rochellers ships, then to take part with them against the King of France; but to no purpose. Some therefore compared him to a black witch, whom they say can bewitch and hurt cattle, but hath no ability to cure them again. It was an act of great inconstancy, and much dishonour

to

to himself and whole nation, though the nation had no hand in it. When first the news was brought unto the King of Buckingham's death, he was at a sermon, or in a church, or at service. He did not seem much troubled at the news, but stayed out the sermon with much patience, only gave Maxwell present directions to seize the Duke's cabinet, wherein his letters and private instructions were. All men generally, except a few court parasites, were glad of Buckingham's death: yet nothing was bettered in the court or commonwealth after his death; which moved many to affirm, that all the misgovernments in the realm proceeded not from Buckingham's ill advice, but most from the corrupt and depraved nature of the King's own haste. Sith I am upon the death of Buckingham, I shall relate a true story of his being admonished often of the manner of his death he should die, in this manner.

An aged gentleman, one Parker, as I remember, having formerly belonged unto the Duke, or of great acquaintance with the Duke's father, and now retired had a dæmon appeared several times unto him, in the shape or image of Sir George Villiers the Duke's Father. This dæmon walked many times in Parker's bed chamber, without any action of terror, noise
hurt

hurt, or speech; but at last one night broke out into these words: ‘ Mr. Parker, ‘ I know you loved me formerly, and my ‘ son George at this time very well: I ‘ would have you go from me, you know ‘ me very well to be his father, old Sir ‘ George Villiers of Leicestershire, and ‘ from me acquaint him with these and ‘ these particulars, &c. and that he above ‘ all refrain the counsel and company of ‘ such and such,’ whom he then nominated, ‘ or else he will come to destruction, and ‘ that suddenly.’ Parker did partly, though a very discreet man, imagine he himself was in a dream all this time, and being unwilling to proceed upon no better grounds, forbore addressing himself to the Duke; for he conceived, if he should acquaint the Duke with the words of his father, and the manner of his appearance unto him, (such apparitions being not usual) that he should be laughed at, and thought to dote, being he was aged. Some few nights passed without further trouble to the old man. But not very many nights after, old Sir George Villiers appeared again, walked quick and furiously in the room, seemed angry with Mr. Parker, and at last said, ‘ Mr. Parker, ‘ I thought you had been my friend so ‘ much, and loved my son George so ‘ well, that you would have acquainted ‘ him

‘ him with what I desired, but yet I
 ‘ know that you have not done it. By
 ‘ all the friendship that ever was betwixt
 ‘ you and me, and the great respect you
 ‘ bear my son, I desire you to deliver what
 ‘ I formerly commanded you unto my
 ‘ son.’ The old man, seeing himself thus
 solicited in this manner, promised the dæ-
 mon he would; but first argued it thus:
 That the Duke was not easy to be spoke
 withal, and that he would account him
 a vain man to come with such a message
 from the dead; nor did he conceive the
 Duke would give any credit unto him.
 Whereunto the dæmon thus answered;
 ‘ If he will not believe you have this dis-
 ‘ course from me, tell him of such a
 ‘ secret,’ and named it, ‘ which he knows
 ‘ none in the world ever knew but my-
 ‘ self and he.’ Mr. Parker being now
 well satisfied, that he was not asleep, or
 that the apparition was a vain delusion,
 took a fit opportunity therefore, and seri-
 ously acquainted the Duke with his fa-
 ther’s words, and the manner of his ap-
 parition. The Duke heartily laughed at
 the relation, which put old Parker to a
 stand: but at last he assumed courage,
 and told the Duke, that he acquainted
 his father’s ghost with what he now found
 to be true, *viz.* scorn and derision: ‘ But
 ‘ my Lord,’ saith he, ‘ your father bad
 ‘ me

‘ me acquaint you by this token, and he
 ‘ said it was such as none in the world
 ‘ but your two selves did yet know.’
 Hereat the Duke was amazed and much
 astonished; but took no warning or no-
 tice thereof, keeping the same company
 still, advising with such counsellors, and
 performing such actions, as his father by
 Parker countermanded. Shortly after,
 old Sir George Villiers, in a very quiet
 but sorrowful posture, appears again un-
 to Mr. Parker; and said, ‘ Mr. Parker, I
 ‘ know you delivered my words unto
 ‘ George my son; I thank you for so
 ‘ doing: but he slighted them; and now
 ‘ I only request this more at your hands,
 ‘ that once again you repair unto my son,
 ‘ and tell him, if he will not amend, and
 ‘ follow the counsel I have given him,
 ‘ this knife or dagger,’ and with that he
 pulled a knife or dagger from under
 his gown, ‘ shall end him; and do you
 ‘ Mr. Parker set your house in order, for
 ‘ you shall die at such a time.’ Mr. Par-
 ker once more engaged, though very un-
 willingly, to acquaint the Duke with
 this last message, and so did; but the
 Duke desired him to trouble him no fur-
 ther with such messages and dreams: told
 him, he perceived he was now an old
 man, and doted. And within a month
 after meeting Mr. Parker on Lambeth-
 Bridge,

Bridge, 'Now, Mr. Parker, what say you of your dream?' Who only returned, 'Sir, I wish it may never have success,' &c. But within six weeks after, he was stabbed with a knife, according to his father's admonition before-hand; and Mr. Parker died soon after he had seen the dream or vision performed.

The 29th of May, 1630, being Saturday, near unto one in the afternoon, the present King of Scotland was born. The next day the King came to Paul's-Cross, to give God thanks for the birth of his son, where were presented unto him these verses :

Rex ubi Paulinias accessit gratus ad aras,
 Immicuit medio lucida stella polo.
 Die divina mihi tractans ænigmata cœli,
 Hæc oriens nobis, quid sibi stella velit?
 Magnus in occiduo princeps modo nascitur orbe,
 Moxque sub eclipsi regna orientis erunt.

About May, 1633, he went into Scotland, and was crowned there the 18th of June, ☉ in 7° ♁, ♃ in 7° ♀. In July he had a dangerous passage from Brunt-Island, and hardly escaped drowning. Some of his household-stuff or plate was lost.

In 1634, he was infinitely troubled with faction in his court, which much displeased him; but by little and little he put all things in order again. Then also he levied

levied a general great tax upon the whole kingdom, vulgarly called Ship-money, because it was pretended it was for maintenance of the navy : and truly much of it was that way expended, and the sailors well paid their wages ; which occasioned for two years together a good fleet of royal ships to be set forth, much for the honour of the nation.

This ship-money was generally misliked, being a mere innovation, and a cleanly trick to poll the subjects, and cheat them into an annual payment. Myself was then a collector for it in the place I lived in. I remember my proportion was twenty two shillings, and no more. If we compare the times then, and the present in which I now live, you shall see great difference even in assessments, the necessity of maintaining our armies requiring it : for now my annual payments to the soldiery are very near or more than twenty pounds, my estate being no way greater than formerly. Against this ship-money many gallant men opposed, and at last in Parliament it was voted down.

In July 1637, *viz.* 23d day, there was great disturbance in Edinburgh, about a new Service-Book endeavoured to be obtruded on the Scots by the King and Canterbury. I have heard, an old woman begun the quarrel by casting her stool

stool at the priest, when he read the Service-Book. Many very modest divines exceedingly blame both the King and Canterbury for that book; it admitted unto the people, as I remember, the Communion but in one kind. However, by the prudence of some grave men, being then Privy-Counsellors in Scotland, matters were slubbered over all that winter in Scotland; but in May, or April, new tumults arose, and truly I may almost say, that that corrupt Common-Prayer-Book was the sole and whole occasion of all the miseries and wars that since that time have happened in both nations. Had his Majesty first endeavoured the imposition of that lame book upon the English, most men did believe we had swallowed it, and then the Scots must have done it afterwards; for the clergy at that time generally were such idle and lazy lubbers, and so pampered with court preferment, and places temporal in every shire of England, and such flattering sycophants, that doubtless the great hand of God was in it, that those rude Scots first broke the ice, and taught us the way to expel an insulting priesthood, and to resist the King; he endeavouring by unwarrantable means to intrude things contrary to the divine law of Almighty God upon our consciences.

In

In Anno 1638, the Queen-mother of France, and mother unto the English Queen, widow of Henry the fourth, King of France, landed in England, and came unto London the 31st of October. She was very meanly accompanied, and few of quality attending her. The King most humanely and generously receives and entertains her, though all men were extremely against it; for it was observed, that wherever, or unto what country this miserable old Queen came, there followed immediately after her either the plague, war, famine, or one misfortune or other. Strange it is unto me, how she could be so fatal to any land she entred into. True it is, and I do very well know, that some people born under an unfortunate constellation of heaven (without this, that they live above nature, and live wholly in the spirit) are so extreme unsuccessful in every thing they undertake, that let them use the greatest industry they can to be rich, all will not amount to obtain a poor living, though they are assisted not only with a good stock of money to begin their profession with, but have also many very profitable and assisting friends, and means for their better encouragement and furtherance. It is very possible, that such like ill fortune from her infancy might attend this

old Queen, as to be thought an unlucky preface of what mischief presently followed her in those countries she resided in.

In November, proclamation was made to dissolve the great assembly in Scotland, but to little purpose; for the Scots have this privilege belonging unto them, that where, and when they please, to obey no edicts or commands of their Kings, except those edicts fancy their own humours. This proclamation was laughed at, and slighted by the Scots, who made it appear they were in good earnest, and began to raise an army for their own defence, by no means enduring the half Popish Common-Prayer-Book. This raising of an army by the Scots, in opposition of the Common-Prayer-Book, made our prelates prick up their ears, and the lazy bishops most of all, who convened, and raised amongst their own Levitical Tribe great sums of money towards the maintenance of an army against the Scots, whom they now hated worse than Turks. Several particular men are summoned to appear at court, are enforced to lend vast sums of money towards the maintenance of an army. I have heard some affirm, the King had in his coffers at that time above six hundred thousand pounds: No
great

great sum for so provident a prince, and such large incomes as he had.

In or about the 27th of March 1639, the King set forward towards Scotland. His army followed immediately: the Earl of Arundel being made general, a man of great nobility, courage, and resolution, and one whose ancestors had been generals several times against the Scots with excellent success. There attended the King in this expedition most of the nobility of this nation, but with great unwillingness; for the English and Scots having now lived like brethren, or natives, or people of one nation, one amongst another for almost forty years, and having intermarried one with another, both the nobility or gentry, and others, they thought it a very strange thing, and not lawful or convenient, that this nation should now take up arms, and engage against the Scots, only to satisfy the insatiable lust of a few domineering priests, and half popish bishops; as also of an obstinate King, wholly led by the nose by these snuffling Priests. The common soldier was nothing well pleased, and marched most unwillingly upon this service. At last both armies, for many days, accosted each other; yet I never heard of so much as one house killed by either army; the Scots being

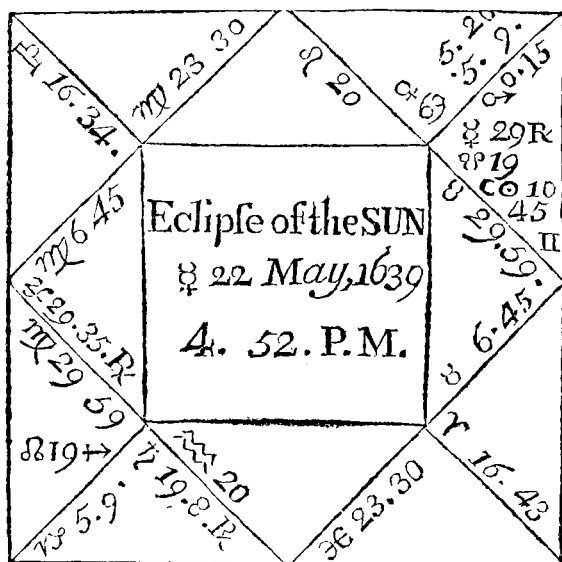
very tender of provoking the English, and they as willing to give no offence unto the Scots. In June of that year a peace was concluded betwixt both nations, the English nobility much desiring and furthering it.

The King himself was most greedy above all men of this union with the Scots, as will appear by this ensuing story. That day which was assigned for certain of the English nobility and Scottish to treat about those articles of agreement or pacification the Scottish nobility were to produce; the nobles of each nation being set, the Earl of Arundel began with much gravity to rebuke the Scots for their unadvisedness and rebellion in raising their army against their lawful King, and disturbing the peace of both nations; and yet he commended the good nature of the King, who was, notwithstanding their high provocations and misdemeanors, very inclinable to hear their just grievances, and to that purpose had appointed himself, being General of the English army, and some other select nobles of his council, to meet them that day, to treat with them, and to hear their grievances, and what they could say for themselves. This gallant man was proceeding further in his speech, and aggravating the Scots offences, when, lo,

unexpectedly his Majesty entered the room, called for the articles the Scots desired to be ratified, or consented unto, read them scarce over, but took pen and ink immediately, and signed them, without ever advising with any of his council; which so displeased the nobility of the English nation, that the very next day after signing the Scots articles, they all hastened home to their own habitations; the King staying behind, and for his daily exercise, played at a scurvy game called pigeon-holes, or nine-pins. His fellow gamesters also were equal to the game, *viz.* lackeys, pages, and such others, *ejusdem generis*. He again no sooner came to London, but as I remember, caused those articles to be burned by the common hangman; making himself as ridiculous in doing the one, as he was reputed weak and simple of judgment in doing the other. But at that time most imputed the burning of the Scots articles, unto the advices given him, and importunity of the proud clergy and bishops, who humoured him in every itching desire of his, even to his ruin.

There happened many memorable accidents in this year 1639; as first, five eclipses of the sun and moon; three of the sun, two of the moon; none was

vifible in our horizon, but the eclipse of the sun, which here began with us at London the 22d of May, being Wednesday, at 3 hours and 52 minutes after noon; its middle was at 4 hours and 52 minutes, and its end at 46 minutes after 5. The digits eclipsed were 8. 51 minutes, 41 seconds; the whole time of its continuance was 1 hour, and 54 minutes of time: The scheme of heaven follows.



His Majesty was in the field against the Scots at the very time of the eclipse; and some that were there with him said,
‘ They

‘ They felt not a more sharp cold day in
 ‘ all their lives than that was, the season
 ‘ of the year, and height of the sun con-
 ‘ sidered. I’ll meddle little with the prog-
 nostick part of this eclipse: yet I might
 tell you, that Mercury, at the time of
 the beginning of the eclipse, represented
 the clergy, and he was retrograde near to
 conjunction with Mars: one ill omen unto
 the clergy. At the middle of the eclipse
 the moon was their significator, and she
 combust and near the dragon’s-tail, which
 signified much calamity unto the priests.
 This eclipse signified unto the King much
 treachery and damage by his friends the
 Scots: the degree eclipsed was in the op-
 posite degree, almost, of the sun in his
 radix. As this eclipse shewed his troubles,
 or their beginning; so the moon’s eclipse
 in 8 ♃ in 1648, ended his afflictions,
 &c.

The effects of this eclipse had most in-
 fluence upon the King of Spain, it falling
 even in the very degree of the seventh
 house; so that upon the 11th or 12th of
 October 1639, upon our English coast,
 and under our noses, almost in our har-
 bour, the Hollander burnt and sunk a
 great navy of his, with many miserable
 souls in the navy, which were to be land-
 ed in Flanders. I know some have not
 stuck to affirm, that the eight thousand

men, transported in the Spanish navy, were intended to have been landed here in assistance of his Majesty: but it was a meer untruth; for who could have hindered their landing in Kent, if his Majesty had commanded it? Sure I am, the Spaniard took it ill at his Majesty's hand, that he suffered them to perish so near our harbour. They also took exception, that his Majesty having promised them ammunition and powder, which it seems they wanted, it came not at the place for them, either by neglect or treachery of our officers, until they were worsted. The truth of the story of these eight thousand Spaniards in the navy was thus. There was a part of that country where the Walloons inhabit, under the dominion of the King of Spain, in the Netherlands, which was taken notice to be very disaffected unto him: now upon landing these amongst the Walloons, so many of that people were to have been transported into Spain, &c. When his Majesty first heard of the Spanish and Dutch fleet, and their near approach, he said to one standing by him, 'I would I were well rid of both navies.' To speak the truth of him, either as he was virtuous or vicious, is not to wrong him; but in every trivial miscarriage to make him the
author

author of it, I hold it barbarous, and not the part of an honest moral man.

In this memorable year, the Scots, by act amongst themselves, thrust out all bishops; who after came sneaking hither, and had by Canterbury's means large and plentiful exhibitions for their maintenance. His Majesty took the expulsion of the bishops so ill, as that he resolved to check the sauciness of the Scots, his dear countrymen, and caused their trade with us to be prohibited, and their ships to be seized; which so enraged the Scottish nation, that they were again in 1640 in arms. The King summons a Parliament in April about the Scots, which Parliament would not give a farthing unto him towards maintenance of his intended army against the Scots; therefore in May he dissolves the Parliament; which gave great discontent all over the nation, and great encouragement unto the Scots: whereupon their army was suddenly ready, and their presumption such, as without invitation, they, the 17th of August 1640, entered England. The King prepares an army of English to resist them: but such was the general inclination even of the common soldiers, and so great an odium or hatred was cast upon William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, that nothing would serve the common soldiers but

but a Parliament; not a man of the English would fight against the Scots, who were now crept into the strong town of Newcastle: our soldiers were mutinous, the officers generally disaffected to the service: in some countries the new raised soldiers slew their officers, and would not go. All these commotions moved the King little to desist from the war, being continually furthered by the bishops and clergy, who in their convocation gave a large benevolence towards the maintenance of those wars, and commanded their tribes in their several pulpits to inveigh, and cry aloud against the profane Scots, and to persuade the people to assist as willingly as against Infidels or Turks. His Majesty again commanded the nobility to attend him in this Northern expedition, who leisurely, and rather unreasonably or unwillingly, than otherways, attended him at York.

All men knew this war was promoted by the clergy, whom the nobility began to disdain and scorn, and the gentry and yeomanry of England extremely to hate; for at this present time the high commission-court, and other bawdy courts, did most horrible injustice against the persons and estates of any gentleman, who by misfortune came thither. There was also one Wrenn, bishop of Norwich,
born

born in London, a fellow whose father sold babies and such pedlary ware in Cheapside. This fellow very peremptorily one day, as he sat in Judicature in the High Commission-Court, said openly, ‘ He hoped to live to see the time, when
 ‘ a Master of Arts, or a minister, should
 ‘ be as good a man as any Jack gentle-
 ‘ man in England.’ And verily the pride of this saucy citizen’s son, hath been one main cause of the ruin of the clergy. Concerning this Wrenn, I know Canterbury preferred him, and brought him to those Ecclesiastical advancements in court and church, which he enjoyed. I do also know, and have heard it from some who waited on Canterbury in his chamber, that he would oft say, that the rash actions and unwarrantable proceedings of this Wrenn would undo the clergy; but in regard he had been the sole means of his advancement, he could not well do any act prejudicial against him, but it would redound to the dishonour of himself, and the clergy in general: also he had many reluctancies in himself, for preferring so unworthy a scornful fellow, who proved the scandal and scorn of churchmen, and an extraordinary plague to the whole nation. For upon his plaguing and punishing many godly clothiers in the countries of Norfolk and
 Suffolk,

Suffolk, they were forced to leave their native country, and betake themselves and families into the United Provinces, where they have taught the Dutch the art and manufacture of cloathing, even to the utter impoverishment of this whole nation, &c. and yet this wretched Wrenn lives, &c.

As I remember, near upon, or in this year 1639, or 1640, the citizens of London were miserably abused by a beggarly Knight, one Sir Phillips of Ireland, who exhibited his bill against them, for certain misdemeanors pretended to be committed by some of their sub-officers in Ireland, about the parts of London-Derry. True it is, the citizens of London very gallantly, about the coming in of King James, or not long after, sent colonies of their own in great numbers, and at their own extreme great charges, to settle a civil plantation in the North of Ireland. They had a large patent from King James, and many privileges granted unto them for their so doing and planting. Above thirty years they had quietly possessed their own lands there, had built many beautiful market-towns, one or more city or cities, many churches in the territories assigned them. But near these years of 1639, or 1640, this Sir Phillips demanding some unreasonable things of the citizens,

zens, and being denied them, he in malice exhibits his bill for misdemeanors of their officers, against the Londoners in the Star-chamber; brought the cause unto a hearing; the court of Star-chamber fined the Londoners deeply, adjudged their plantations forfeited to the King, who as eagerly and greedily swallowed them for his own. This very act in or near this exigence of time, so imbittered the spirits of the citizens, that although they were singularly invited for loan of monies, and had as great plenty in their possessions as ever, yet would not contribute any assistance or money against the Scots, or advance of his Majesty in this his Scottish expedition. And though I do not attribute these casualties and losses of the cities, to be derived or caused from the eclipse of 1639, although the eclipse was in Gemini, which sign is the ascendant of London: yet certainly, that Eclipse did in a natural way threaten or portend much damage unto them, and did manifest the casualties, but was not the cause.

There was at last a cessation of arms by consent of both parties, Scots and English. Some petty scuffling there was to no purpose. The King, when he saw no other means could be thought on for to serve his turn, and that the common soldier unanimously refused engaging with
the

the Scots, by the constant and earnest desire of the English nobility, which attended him, he with much unwillingness at length was content to give summons for another Parliament to be convened the third day of November 1640. But you must understand in the mean while, when the King saw he could no ways engage the English against the Scots, he had sent unto Ireland for the then present Lord Deputy, the Earl of Strafford, formerly Sir Thomas Wentworth, a Yorkshire gentleman by birth, and one who had formerly been a great stickler against him, until, poisoned with court-preference, he turned Royalist, and so was made Lord Deputy of Ireland; a man of the rarest parts and deepest judgment of any Englishman living; I say, he sent for this Strafford to consult with him about composing these emergent differences. Strafford advises with Canterbury, all to little purpose; for the Bishop was a very ass in any thing but church-matters; the hand of providence now going along with the Parliament and commonwealth, who became masters of all public spirited people, the King daily declining. In April 1641, the Parliament accuse Strafford for several misdemeanors, treasons, tyrannies, &c. against the commonwealth, during his government in Ireland.

Ireland. The Parliament follow it so lustily, that notwithstanding Strafford spoke and defended himself as well as any mortal man in the world could do, yet he was found guilty, had his sentence to die, and did die. Thomas Earl of Arundel being Lord High Steward, the King signed the warrant for his death, either by himself or Commissioners. Thus died Strafford, the wisest politician this nation ever bred.

All men accuse the King for his falseness and cowardice unto this man, who being satisfied in his own conscience, that Strafford was not guilty of treason or death, but only of misdemeanors, yet signed a warrant, either under his own hand, or by commissioners. Some there are who do say, with the same pen, and at the same time, he signed the warrant against Strafford, and also the Act for a triennial or perpetual Parliament, which should not be dissolved without consent of both Houses. Many affirm, the Queen procured him to do both these things: others impute it to Hamilton. It matters not who did it, or persuaded him, it was his ruin, &c.

The matter is not great, who invited the Scots into England: some thought Pim, Hambden, and several other gentlemen were instrumental. It is very like

it was true, and that the King knew as much, but could not remedy it. The Parliament however in policy and judgment gave the Scots a round sum of money for their losses, and ordered them to depart this kingdom, which they did; so that in August 1641, the King went into Scotland purposely to pacify and compose the present threatening differences there.

In the same month of August 1641, I beheld the old Queen-Mother of France departing from London, in company of Thomas Earl of Arundel. A sad spectacle of mortality it was, and produced tears from mine eyes, and many other beholders, to see an aged, lean, decrepid, poor Queen, ready for her grave, necessitated to depart hence, having no place of residence in this world left her, but where the courtesy of her hard fortune assigned it. She had been the only stately and magnificent woman of Europe; wife to the greatest King ever lived in France, mother unto one King and unto two Queens. The King cared not much for the Earl of Arundel, being he was of a severe and grave nature, could not endure court-novelties or flatterers, was potent in allies, &c. But there was one thing or cause mainly above the rest, and that was, because the Earl of Arundel
being

being Lord High Steward and Judge in Strafford's trial, gave his voice that he was guilty of treason, &c. The Earl also had but a few years before given the King a touch of his own great heart, and the King's unthankfulness unto him and his family. The case was thus: A priest pretends the King had a right in a rectory: the Earl challenged for his, and had procured Canterbury for his friend and second. The matter had many debates: for Arundel was no fool, but stood stoutly for his right. Canterbury was as violent for the priest, and had procured the King to take cognizance, or hear the matter. The King upon some slight evidence maintained it was his, *viz.* belonged to the Crown. The Earl seeing the obstinateness of the King, and his siding with a petty priest against him, and his proper right, out of the greatness of his heart, said, 'Sir, this rectory was
' an appendant unto such or such a
' manor of mine, until my grandfather,
' unfortunately, lost both his life and
' seventeen Lordships more, for the love
' he bore to your grandmother.' This was a smart speech, and home to purpose: it so astonished the King, that he replied pretty mildly, 'My Lord, I would
' not have you to think that so poor a
' thing as this rectory or thing in question
Q ' shall

‘ shall stand in competition betwixt my
 ‘ respect unto you and your family, which
 ‘ I know to be deserving,’ &c. After
 that time the Earl little liked the King’s
 actions, and therefore took this opportune
 occasion of going away with the Queen-
 mother: and when one said unto him,
 his Majesty would miss him; ‘ It is an
 ‘ ill dog,’ said the Earl, ‘ that is not worth
 ‘ whistling; and though he is a King, he
 ‘ will find Arundel’s affection unto him
 ‘ would not have been inconsiderable,’
 &c. Some few years since, this Earl died
 at Padua, being the last man of the
 English nation, that maintained the gra-
 vity and port of the ancient nobility; a
 great lover of antiquities, and of the
 English nation. He brought over the
 new way of building with brick in the
 city, greatly to the safety of the city, and
 preservation of the wood of this nation.
 He was a great patron of decayed gentry;
 and being Lord High Marshal of Eng-
 land, carried too strict an hand against
 the yeomanry and commonalty; for which
 he was nothing beloved, but rather hated
 of them. However, the gentry and no-
 bility owe much unto his memory.

In October 1641, the Irish unanimously
 rebel and massacre the poor English, who
 were not able to relieve themselves, as
 matters at present were handled, wanting
 able

able governors to direct them. And the very truth is, the way which at first was taken to suppress the rebellion, did only support it: for confidence being given to some of the Irish nobility, and many of them furnished with arms, they furnish their own kindred, being native Irish; who were no sooner possessed of arms, but they became errant traitors to the English. A great question will here arise, whether the murder of the English was by consent or commission from the King unto the Irish? Many have affirmed in words and in print publickly, that he should be guilty of such a villanous act; which I cannot believe, in regard I could never have any assured relation, what those commissions were the Irish boasted of, they being only the affirmations of the Catholick Irish, purposely to win others unto their party, and seducing many by saying, they acted by the King's commissions. Had this been true, it had been more than equal unto his assisting for destruction of Rochelle; but I may hope better things, both as he was a Protestant, a Christian, and a King. Yet methink there is little satisfaction given unto this in his late pretended book. Two main things are objected against the King, which that book meddles not with, or answers. First, why his Majesty was

fo tender-hearted of the Irish, as not to suffer above forty proclamations to issue out against those rebels in Ireland, and those also to no purpose, or unopportunately, when too late. Besides, to shew his respect unto them, I know he obliterated with his own hands the word Irish rebels, and put in Irish subjects, in a manuscript discourse, writ by Sir Edward Walker, and presented unto him, which I have seen of the Irish rebellion, &c. Secondly, whereas the Parliament were sending over cloaths, and other necessaries, for the English soldiers in Ireland, the King seized them as they went, armed and furnished the English and Welsh against the Parliament. The reasons of these are omitted by the penner of his Portraiture.

In November 1641, the Parliament still sitting, the King comes for London, is entertained by them in the greatest state might be, and met on the way by some hundreds in gold chains; and nothing is now cried but ‘Hosanna, welcome home; your Majesty is welcome.’ The Queen perceiving a breach was likely to be betwixt the King and Parliament, thought politickly to engage the city for him. He gives the citizens good words, tells them, he will give them their lands in Ireland again, a promise he was never able to perform,

perform, &c. As I remember at their request, he also kept his Christmas at Whitehall, intending otherways to have kept it at Hampton-Court, and also knighted some of the Aldermen. At his return from Scotland, he affirmed in a speech he made unto both Houses, how he had left that kingdom in as quiet and good condition as could be expected. The devil was in the crags of the Scots, if he left them not contented, who gave them whatever they required, and signed whatever they desired or demanded, confirmed as much as their large consciences could require.

But now in January 1641, began a sea of misfortunes to fall upon us, and overwhelm our long-continued happiness, by disagreement of the King and the two Houses of Parliament, and partly by the daily coming to the Parliament House of many hundred citizens, sometimes in very rude manner. True it is, the King disliked these too frequent addresses unto both Houses in so tumultuous and unwarrantable a manner: whereupon, fearing the worst (as himself pretended) he had a court of guard before Whitehall of the trained-bands. He had also many dissolute gentlemen, and some very civil, that kept within Whitehall, with their swords by their sides, to be ready upon

any sudden occasion. Verily, mens fears now began to be great, and it was by many perceived, the King began to swell with anger against the proceedings of Parliament, and to intend a war against them: some speeches dropped from him to that purpose. It happened one day, as some of the ruder sort of citizens came by Whitehall, one busy citizen must needs cry, 'No Bishops:' some of the gentlemen issued out of Whitehall, either to correct the sauciness of the fool in words, if they would serve, else it seems with blows: what passed on either side in words, none but themselves knew; the citizen being more tongue than soldier, was wounded, and I have heard, died of his wounds received at that time. It hath been affirmed by very many, that in or near unto that place where this fellow was hurt and wounded, the late KING's head was cut off, the SCAFFOLD standing just over that place.

Those people or citizens who used thus to flock unto Westminster, were most of them men of mean or a middle quality themselves; no Aldermen, Merchants, or Common-Council Men, but set on by some of better quality; and yet most of them were either such as had publick spirits, or lived a more religious life than the vulgar, and were usually called Puritans,

tans, and had suffered under the tyranny of the Bishops: in the general they were very honest men, and well meaning. Some particular fools, or others, perhaps now and then got in amongst them, greatly to the disadvantage of the more sober. They were modest in their apparel, but not in language: they had the hair of their heads, very few of them, longer than their ears: whereupon it came to pass, that those who usually with their cries attended at Westminster, were, by a nick name, called Roundheads. The courtiers again wearing long hair and locks, and always sworded, at last were called by these men Cavaliers: and so after that this broken language had been used a while, all that adhered to the Parliament were termed Roundheads; all that took part or appeared for his Majesty Cavaliers; few of the vulgar knowing the sense of the word Cavalier. However, the present hatred of the citizens were such unto gentlemen, especially courtiers, that few durst come into the city; or if they did, they were sure to receive affronts, and be abused.

To speak freely and ingenuously, what I then observed of the city tumults, was this. First, the sufferings of the citizens who were any thing well devoted, had, during all this King's reign, been such,

and so great, being harrowed or abused continually, either with the High Commission Court, or the Star Chamber, that as men in whose breasts the spirit of liberty had some place, they were even glad to vent out their sighs and sufferings in this rather tumultuous than civil manner; being assured, if ever this Parliament had been dissolved, they must have been racked, whipped, and stripped by the snotty clergy, and other extravagant courses. And for any amendment which they might expect from the King, they too well knew his temper: that though in a time of Parliament he often promised to redress any grievances, yet the best friend he hath, cannot produce any one act of good for his subjects done by him in the vacancy of a Parliament. The losers usually have leave to speak, and so had the citizens.

All this Christmas 1641, there was nothing but private whisperings in Court, and secret councils held by the Queen, and her party, with whom the King sat in council very late many nights. What was the particular result of those clandestine consultations, it will presently appear.

January 4, 1641. By what sinister council led, I know not, but the King in person went into the then Lower House

House of Parliament, where the Commons sat, and for some things he had been informed of, demanded five of their principal members, *viz.* Pimm, Hollis, Hazlerigg, Hambden, and Stroud. In that book called his Portraiture, he affirms, he went to the House of Commons to demand justice upon those five members; and saith, 'He thought he had discovered some unlawful correspondencies and engagements they had made to embroil his kingdoms.' He confesseth he missed but little of procuring some writings, &c. to make his thoughts good. So here is no evidence against these members, but his own thoughts, as himself confesseth. But assuredly, had he demanded justice of the House of Commons against them, and proved his charge, he might have had it; but for himself to attach their bodies, and be Judge also (as he intended) was a matter most unequal. And surely, had it been in his power to have got their bodies, he would have served these members as he did Elliot, whom without cause he committed to the tower, and never would either release him, or shew cause of his commitment, till death.

All that time he had a guard with him at the doors of the House of Parliament, consisting of many gentlemen with halberts

berts and fwords. Truly, I did not hear there was any incivility offered by those gentlemen then attending unto any member of the House, his Majesty having given them strict commands to the contrary. This rash action of the King's lost him his Crown: for as he was the first of Kings that ever, or so imprudently, brake the privileges by his entrance into the House of Commons assembled in Parliament; so by that unparalleled demand of his, he utterly lost himself, and left scarce any possibility of reconciliation; he not willing to trust them, nor they him, who had so often failed them. It was my fortune that very day to dine in Whitehall, and in that room where the halberts, newly brought from the tower, were lodged, for use of such as attended the King to the House of Commons, Sir Peter Wich, ere we had fully dined, came into the room I was in, and brake open the chests wherein the arms were, which frighted us all that were there. However, one of our company got out of doors, and presently informed some members, that the King was preparing to come unto the House; else I believe all those members, or some of them, had been taken in the House. All that I could do further was presently to be gone. But it happened also the same day,

day, that some of my neighbours were at the court of guard at Whitehall, unto whom I related the King's present design, and conjured them to defend the Parliament and members thereof, in whose well or ill doing consisted our happiness or misfortune: they promised assistance if need were, and I believe would have stoutly stood to it for defence of the Parliament, or members thereof. The King lost his reputation exceedingly by this his improvident and unadvised demand: yet notwithstanding this his failing, so wilful and obstinate he was in pursuance of that preposterous course he intended, and so desirous to compass the bodies of these five members, that the next day he posted and trotted into the city to demand the members there. He convened a meeting at Guildhall. The Common Council assembled: but mum could he get there, for the word London-Derry was then fresh in every man's mouth.

But whereas the author of the King's Portraiture complains, 'That the insolvency of the tumults was such, that his Majesty's person was in danger in the streets.' This is a very untruth: for notwithstanding his Majesty dined in the city that day he required the five members of the citizens, yet he had no incivility

civility in the least measure offered unto his person; only many cried out as he passed the streets, ‘ Sir, let us have our ‘ just liberties, we desire no more.’ Unto which he several times answered, ‘ They ‘ should,’ &c.

An honest citizen, as I remember, threw into his coach a new sermon, the text whereof was, as I now remember, ‘ To thy tents, O Israel.’ Indeed the citizens (unto their everlasting honour be it spoken) did with much resolution protect the five members: and many thousands were willing to sacrifice their lives for defence of the Parliament, and the several members thereof.

The tenth of January approached and came: upon which day the five demanded members were brought into the House of Commons with as much triumph as could be expressed, several companies of trained bands marching to the Parliament to assist if need were. There were upon the River Thames I know not how many barges full of sailors, having some guns ready charged, if occasion were: and these also came in multitudes to serve the Parliament. A word dropped out of the King’s mouth a little before, which lost him the love of the seamen. Some being in conference with his Majesty, acquainted him, that he was lost in the
affection

affection of the seamen, for they intended to petition the house, &c. ‘I wonder,’ quoth the King, ‘how I have lost the ‘affection of those water-rats.’ A word sure that slipped out of his mouth unadvisedly; for all men must and do know, that the ships of England, and our valiant sailors, are the very strength of England.

His Majesty finding nothing thrived on his side, and seeing the abundant affection of the commonalty in general for the Parliament, the aforesaid tenth of January 1641, went unto Hampton-Court, and never after could by entreaty, or otherwise, be drawn to come unto his Parliament, though they in most humble wise, and by many and several addresses, exceedingly desired it. One misfortune follows another: for the 25th of February, 1641, the Queen went into Holland, and afterwards the King into Yorkshire. There was at this time a sufficient magazine of arms in Hull, being the remainder of those employed against the Scots. The Parliament sent down a member of their own, one Sir John Hotham, to take care of them; who undertook, and also did maintain the town, and preserve the arms therein for the Parliament. Although his Majesty, in April 1642, came unto the walls of the town to require them, yet
could

could he neither procure arms, or admittance into the town.

The Earl of Warwick, exceedingly beloved of the seamen, secured the navy; so that in few days the Parliament had store of arms for land soldiers, and plenty of stout ships for their sea occasions. His Majesty in the mean time being destitute both of the affections of his people, and means to supply an army, which it was perceived he intended shortly to raise, returned from viewing Hull unto York. The Parliament having perfect intelligence, and being assured he would raise an army against them, began to consider of their present condition; whom to make their General; how to raise men and money for their own, and commonwealth's, defence. But one would have blessed himself to see what running and trotting away here was both of Lords and Commons unto his Majesty. I do assure you a very thin house was left: of Lords who remained, Essex the people's darling was chief; a most noble soul, and generally well esteemed: he in this exigency was by both houses nominated and voted the Parliament's General. I do herein admire at the wonderful providence of Almighty God, who put it into the peoples hearts to make this man General, this very Earl, this
good

good man, who had suffered beyond belief, by the partial judgment of King James; who to satisfy the lechery of a lustful Scot, took away Essex's wife (being a lewd woman) for one Carr, alias Somerset; she pretending Essex was *Frigidus in Coitu*, and old Jemmy believing it.

Had Essex refused to be General, our cause in all likelihood had sunk in the beginning, we having never a Nobleman at that time, either willing or capable of that honour and preferment: indeed, scarce any of them were fit to be trusted. So that God raised up Essex to be a scourge for his son, whose father had so unjustly abused him. And for the Countess, she had abundance of sorrow ere she died, and felt the divine hand of heaven against her; for she was incapable of coition at least a dozen years ere she died, having an impediment in that very member she had so much delighted in and abused: and this I had from the mouth of one who saw her when bowelled. For Somerset himself, he died a poor man, contemptible and despised of every man; and yet I never heard any ill of that Scotchman, except in this alone business concerning the Earl of Essex, and his wife. In this summer the citizens listed themselves plentifully
for

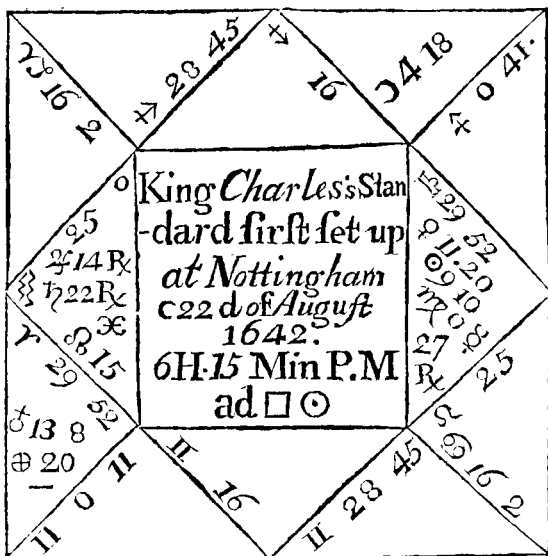
for soldiers. Horfe and arms were provided, and the Lord knows how many treacherous knaves had command in this first expedition in the Parliament army : fo that if God himfelf had not been on our fide, we muft of neceffity have perifhed.

The youth of the City of London made up the major part of Effex's infantry. His horfes were good, but the riders unskilful : for they were taken up as they came and lifted, or offered themfelves unto the fervice. The truth is, the Parliament were at that time glad to fee any mens willingnefs and forwardnefs unto their fervice ; therefore they promifed largely, and made fome pleafing votes ; fo that the plate and monies of the citizens came tumbling into Guild-hall upon the publick faith.

His Majesty in the interim, and at that time, was neceffitated for money and arms extreamly, having no magazine to command, but thofe of the northern counties ; yea, into what other county foever he came (and he traversed many) he was fo courteous, as he made fhift to feize their arms, and carry them along for his ufe, pretending for the fafety of the people, and his perfon.

The King had lain moft part at York, or rambled into fome other counties near adjacent until Auguft, and done little to
any

any purpose; for the several counties were generally nothing inclinable to his purpose: in most whereof, and in every county he came in, he rather received petty affronts than support: yet at last he came to Nottingham, and there set up his STANDARD (with a full resolution for war) the 22d of August, 1642, under this constellation, having some few horse with him; but in great expectation of more aid from the Welch, &c. whom he thought most doted on monarchy.



The heralds, or at least those who then were with the King, were ignorant how,
R
and

and in what manner to set up the Standard Royal: they therefore hung it out in one of the turrets, or upper rooms of Nottingham Castle, within the Castle Wall. King Richard the Third set up his Standard there, &c. His Majesty disliked his Standard was placed within the castle. He said it was to be placed in an open place, where all men that would might freely come unto it, and not in a prison: they therefore carried it, at his command, without the castle, towards or into the park there adjoining, into an open place and easy of access. When they came to fix it in the ground, they perceived it was a meer rock stone, so that they with daggers and knives made a small hole for the Standard to be put in; but all would not serve; men were enforced for the present to support it with the strength of their arms and bodies; which gave great occasion unto some gentlemen there present, to give a very sad judgment on the King's side, and to divine long beforehand, that he would never do any good by arms. I have also heard, that in eight or ten days he had not thirty attended the Standard, or lifted themselves.

All the remainder of his life after this August 22, 1642, was a meer labyrinth of sorrow, a continued and daily misfortune,

tune, unto which it seems providence had ordained him from the very entrance of his reign. His wars are wrote by several learned hands, unto whom I refer the reader. I shall only repeat a few more things of him, and then conclude. Favourites he had three; Buckingham stabbed to death; William Laud, and Thomas Earl of Strafford, both beheaded. Bishops and Clergymen, whom he most favoured, and wholly advanced, and occasionally ruined, he lived to see their bishopricks sold, the Bishops themselves scorned, and all the whole clergy of his party and opinion quite undone.

The English Noblemen he cared not much for, but only to serve his own turns by them: yet such as had the unhappiness to adventure their lives and fortunes for him, he lived to see them and their families ruined, only for his sake. Pity it is many of them had not served a more fortunate master, and one more grateful.

The Scots, his countrey-men, on whom he bestowed so many favours, he lived to see them in arms against himself; to sell him for more money than the Jews did Christ, and themselves to be handsomely routed, and sold for knaves and slaves. They made their best market of him at all times, changing their affection with his fortune.

The old Prince of Orange he almost beggared, and yet to no purpose, the Parliament one time or other getting all arms and ammunition which ever came over unto him. It is confidently averred, if the King had become absolute here in England, Orange had been King, &c.

The city of London, which he had so fore oppressed and slighted, he lived to see thousands of them in arms against him; and they to thrive, and himself consume unto nothing. The Parliament, which he so abhorred, and formerly scorned, he lived to know was superior unto him; and the scorns and slights he had used formerly to Elliot, and others, he saw now returned upon himself in folio.

With Spain he had no perfect correspondence, since his being there; less after he suffered their fleet to perish in his havens; least of all, after he received an Ambassador from Portugal; the Spaniard ever upbraiding him with falshood, and breach of promise. Indeed, the naticities of both Kings were very contrary.

With France he had no good amity; the Protestants there abhorring his leger-demain and treachery unto Rochelle; the Papists as little loving or trusting him, for some hard measure offered unto those of their religion in England. He cunningly

ningly would labour to please all, but in effect gave satisfaction to none.

Denmark could not endure him; sent him little or no assistance, if any at all: besides, the old King suspected another matter; and made a query in his drink.

The Swede extremely complained of him for nonperformance of some secret contract betwixt them, and uttered high words against him.

The Protestant PRINCES of Germany loathed his very name, &c.

The Portugal King and he had little to do; yet in one of his own letters to the Queen, though he acknowledges the Portugal's courtesy unto him, yet saith, that he would give him an answer unto a thing of concernment that should signify nothing.

The Hollanders being only courteous for their own ends, and as far as his money would extend, furnished him with arms at such rates as a Turk might have had them elsewhere: but they neither loved or cared for him in his prosperity, or pitied him in his adversity; which occasioned these words to drop from him, 'If he ere came to his throne, he would make Hans Butter-box know, he should pay well for his fishing, and satisfy for old knaveries,' &c.

In conclusion. He was generally unfortunate in the world, in the esteem both

of friends and enemies: his friends exclaim on his breach of faith; his enemies would say, he could never be fast enough bound. He was more lamented as he was a King, than for any affection had unto his person as a man.

He had several opportunities offered him for his restoring. First, by several treaties, all ending in smoke, by his own perverseness. By several opportunities and victories which he prosecuted not. First, when Bristol was cowardly surrendered by Fines: had he then come unto London, all had been his own; but loitering to no purpose at Gloucester, he was presently after well banged by Essex.

When in the west, *viz.* Cornwall, he worsted Essex: had he then immediately hastened to London, his army had been without doubt masters of that city; for Manchester was none of his enemy at that time, though he was General of the associated counties.

Or had he, ere the Scots came into England, commanded Newcastle to have marched southward for London, he could not have missed obtaining the city, and then the work had been ended.

Or when in 1645, he had taken Leicester, if then he had speedily marched for London, I know not who could have resisted him: but his camp was so overcharged

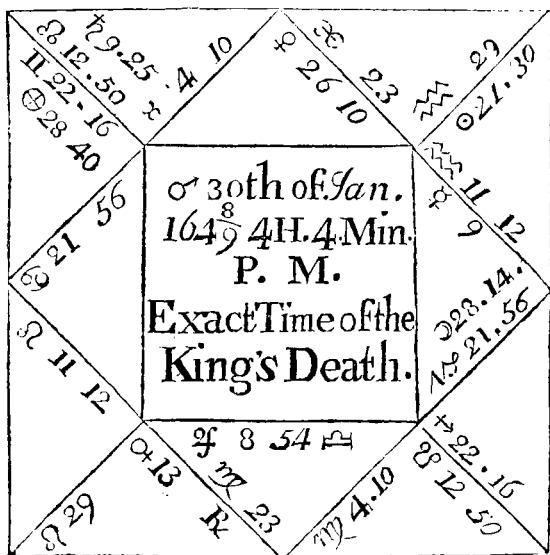
charged with plunder and Irish whores, there was no marching.

Amongst many of his misfortunes, this I relate was not the least; *viz.* when the Parliament last time were to send him propositions unto the Isle of Wight, he had advice, &c. that the only way, and that there was no other means remaining upon earth to make himself happy, and settle a firm peace betwixt himself and Parliament, and to bring him out of thralldom, but by receiving our Commissioners civilly; to sign whatever propositions they brought; and above all, to make haste to London, and to do all things speedily: he was willing, and he promised fairly to perform thus much. Our Commissioners were no sooner come, but one of them, an old subtil fox, had every night private and long conference with him; to whom, when his Majesty had communicated his intentions of signing the propositions, he utterly disliked the design, and told him plainly, ‘ He
 ‘ should come unto his Parliament upon
 ‘ easier terms; for he assured him, the
 ‘ House of Lords were wholly his, and
 ‘ at his devotion.’ This old man knew that well enough, himself being one of them: and in the House of Commons he had such a strong party, that the propositions should be mitigated, and made

more easy and more fit for him to sign. Upon this, the old Lord was to be Treasurer *apud Græcas Calendas*, and a cowardly son of his, Secretary of State. This was the last and greatest misfortune ever befel him, to be thus ruled and fooled by that backsliding old Lord, who was never fortunate either to Parliament or commonwealth. But by this action, and the like, you may perceive how easily he was ever convertible unto the worser advice. In like nature, the former time of propositions sent unto him, when of himself he was inclinable to give the Parliament satisfaction unto their propositions, the Scots Commissioners pretending what their cold affectionate country would do for him: upon this their dissembling, he had so little wit, as to slight the English, and confide in the Scots, though he well knew they only had been the sole means of ruining him and his posterity by their juggling, selling, and betraying him.

Whilst he was in prison at Carisbrook-Castle, horses were laid at several stages, both in Suffex and Kent, purposely to have conveyed him to the Kentish forces, and to have been in the head of them, and with the revolted ships, if he could have escaped; and he was so near escaping, that his legs and body, even unto the breast, were out at the window; but whether
fear

fear surpris'd him, or, as he said himself, he could not get his body out of the window, being full-chested; he tarried behind, &c. and escaped not. Many such misfortunes attended him; so that one may truly say, he was *Regum infelicitissimus*. Some affirm before his death several prodigies appeared. All I observed a long time before, was, that there appeared almost in every year after 1664, several paelia, or mock-suns; sometimes two, sometimes three. So also mock-moons, or paraselenes, which were the greatest prodigies I ever observed or feared. He was beheaded January 30, 1648. The figure of that moment is as followeth.



After

After the execution, his body was carried to Windfor, and buried with Henry the VIIIth, in the same vault where his body was lodged. Some, who saw him embowelled, affirm, had he not come unto this untimely end, he might have lived, according unto nature, even unto the height of old age.

Many have curiously enquired who it was that cut off his head: I have no permission to speak of such things; only thus much I say, he that did it, is as valiant and resolute a man as lives, and one of a competent fortune †.

King Charles being dead, and some foolish citizens going a whoring after his picture or image, formerly set up in the Old Exchange; the Parliament made bold to take it down, and to engrave in its place these words:

Exit Tyrannus Regum ultimus, Anno Libertatis Angliæ restitutæ primo, Anno Dom. 1648. Jan. 30.

For my part I do believe he was not the worst, but the most unfortunate of Kings.

† See above, in Lilly's History of his Life and Times, page 131, 132. where this secret is discovered.

Several English Prophecies, relating to the Life and Death of CHARLES STUART, late King of Britain.

WE usually say prophecies and oracles are best understood, when they are performed; many having complained of the ambiguity of oracles, and their ambodextrous interpretations; as many also finding fault with the obscurity of prophecies, imagining no mortal men can give the proper sense of any oracle or prophecy, except endued from above with the same divine spirits as were given unto the first authors. Were I to meddle with divine prophecies, I could transcend a volume in discourse of this subject; but I have confined my present endeavours in the ensuing treatise, only to manifest unto the whole world, and this nation principally, the certain and unquestionable events, of very many English prophecies, long since delivered unto us, and still remaining amongst us, which have so clearly and manifestly declared the actions of these present times wherein we live, and with that lively portraiture, that it were the highest of incredulities to
question

question their abilities in the gift of prophesying, or by unnecessary and ambiguous queries to make the world believe there can be any other interpretation rendered of their sayings, than such as we have visibly with our eyes beheld, even in this very age and time we now live in. And if any curious impertinent shall be so nice as to question by what divine fury, or heavenly rapture infused into them, either by dreams, visions, or any other nocturnal revelation, these reverend persons became so wise, so fore-knowing: I must first intreat such criticks to acquaint me how, and by what means either the Sybils, or many others, and especially Balaam the Prophet, came so truly to prophesy either of Christ, as the most learned believe he did, or of the kingdom of the Jews, or of both, in Numb. xxiv. ver. 17. ‘ Then shall come a star out of Jacob, and a scepter shall arise out of Israel.’ I willingly consent with the several expositions of the learned upon those words: yet do think it no heresy, if I say Balaam intended, by the star there mentioned, Jesus Christ; and by the scepter, that the people or nation of the Jews, should in future time become a great and mighty people, and have Kings to rule over them as other nations had at that present; whereas the Jews were
only

only governed by Moses at that time: yet we know Balaam was not of the people of the Jews; and yet in the 16th verse of that chapter he plainly saith, 'He heard the words of God, and knew 'the knowledge of the most High.' We must acknowledge that he prophesied very truly; for the scripture, against whose evidence there is no appeal to be made, confirms it. But if Balaam loved the ways of unrighteousness, and laboured with that continued infirmity of the clergy and priesthood, *viz.* covetousness, let us lament and pity human kind, that so excellent a man as he in many things, should blemish all his rare parts, with those filthy, but pleasing minerals, gold and silver.

If God Almighty, in those times of so great darkness or heathenism, did not leave some kindoms destitute of prophetick spirits, though the true causes by which they did prophesy, lie concealed unto posterity, or are manifested unto very few at present living; shall we now think, that in the purest times of Christianity, God either hath been, or is less merciful than unto former ages he was? or that he is not as able or willing to infuse into some Christians the spirit of prophecy as into some heathens of old? How truly did Homer deliver that prophecy of Æneas,
 many

many hundred years before it came to pass :

*At Domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur Oris,
Et Nati natorum, & qui nascentur ab illis.*

A prophecy it was of the greatness of the Roman empire ; which we all know was fully verified. How true is also that of Seneca :

————— *Venient Annis
Secula feris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, &c.*

Which was a prophecy of the discovery of the West-Indies and America, never known to the ancients, and to us not above one hundred and fifty years since. But I leave mentioning of heathen prophets, &c.

What shall we say of that prophecy of Henry the VIth, King of England, which he delivered so positively upon Henry the VIIth, then a boy, and holding water unto him : ‘ This is the lad or boy,’ saith he, ‘ that shall enjoy the crown for which we strive.’

Or of David Upan or Unanthony, who many years since prophesied of the pulling down of Charing-Cross. His prophecy was printed 1558 ; the words are these :

To

To tell the truth, many one would wonder,
Charing-Cross shall be broken asunder :

P. Shall preach, R. shall reach, S. shall stand
stiff.

R. Signifies Round-head. P. Pref-
bytery. S. The Soldier, &c.

Charing-Cross, we know, was pulled down 1647, in June, July, and August, part of the stones converted to pave before White-Hall. I have seen knife-hafts made of some of the stones, which being well polished, looked like marble.

But I leave further determination of these things unto some other pen, or discourse, and come unto the present intended discourse itself, wherein I shall make it very clearly to appear, that all, or most of our ancient English, Welch, and Saxon prophecies, had relation to Charles Stuart, late King of England, unto his reign, his actions, life and death; and unto the now present times wherein we live, and unto no other preceding King or times whatsoever: which I prove only by this undeniable argument, *viz.* no King or Queen reigning in this nation or kingdom did ever write or style him or herself, King or Queen of Britain, before King James, who being naturally King of Scotland, and successively of England and Wales, was the first that ever
either

either really was King of all Britain, or that did so entitle himself; nor was ever any King crowned in white apparel but King Charles. Besides there is a prophecy extant, and printed long before Queen Elizabeth died, *viz.*

When HEMPE is sponne,
England's donne.

O R,

When HEMPE is come and also gon,
Scotland and England shall be one.

Which words intimate, that both Henry the VIIIth, Edward the VIth, Mary, Philip, and Elizabeth, Kings and Queens of England, must first have reigned, before Merlin's Prophecy could take place: in King James both nations were united, and not before. Let me also add unto this, a very ancient prophecy of the Welch, *viz.*

Koronog fab Anē a wna ddiwedh ar y
daroganeu.

In English thus :

The sonne of Ann crowned, ends all our
prophecies.

We

We never had yet any King whose mother's name was Anne; but King Charles's mother was Anne, sister to the King of Denmark, late deceased.

The putting to death of the late King was prophesied of above eighty years before it was done, by Nostradamus: the book itself was printed about 1578, as I remember in century the 9th: these are the words,

Senat de Londres mettront a mort leur
Roy, *viz.*

The Senate or Parliament of London,
shall put to death their King.

These examples shew, that christians have had the spirit of prophecy, and foretold plainly many ages before, what should succeed.

The most significant of all our English prophecies, is that of Ambrose Merlin, which I have made choice of in the first place, repeating orderly a verse of the prophecy, and then how it was fulfilled.

A Prophecy of the White King,
wrote by Ambrose Merlin, nine
hundred years since, concern-
ing C H A R L E S the late
K I N G.

‘ **W**HEN the Lion of Rightful-
ness is dead, then shall arise a
White King in Brittain, first flying,
and after riding, after liggung downe,
and in this ligg down, he shall be lymed,
and after that he shall be led.’

We have seen with our own eyes, and
thousands besides, first King James, who
reigned peaceably, and was therefore called
Jacobus Pacificus, is dead, *viz.* that styling
himself King of Great-Britain, and reign-
ing two and twenty years, died 1625, the
27th of March. Many affirmed he had the
picture of a lion on his breast or side;
but it is probable he had some eminent
natural mole there, which might cause
that error; because in his nativity he had
both Saturn and Mars in Leone. In re-
gard of the great tranquillity and peace
we enjoyed in King James’s time, and
the little or no blood shed in his reign;
and in consideration of the propagation,
and

and free admittance of the gospel all over this kingdom, he was rightly by the Prophet styled, ‘The LION of Rightfulness.’ But if the Prophet had given him the name of Lion in any other sense, he had notoriously failed; being King James was the most pusillanimous Prince of spirit that ever we read of, and the least addicted unto martial discipline. But in judgment either in things divine or human (whilst sober or unbiassed) the most acute and piercing of any Prince either before or since. He was admonished of his death by a dream. He dreamed that his master Buchanan appeared unto him in his sleep, and gave him these two verses. I thought good for the rarity thereof to repeat them.

*Sexte verere Deum, tibi vitæ terminus instat,
Cum tua candenti flagrat carbunculus igne.*

The English whereof is;

Thou James the VIth of that name,
King of Scots, fear God, the term of
thy life is near or at hand, when thy
carbuncle-stone burns in the hot fire.

The King told his bed-chamber men,
and some other Lords, of these verses next
morning, relating them really, and averred

he made not the verses, nor could his master Buchanan ever almost get him to make a Latin verse. The success was thus: the King had a very large and fair carbuncle stone usually set in his hat; and we have seen him pictured many times with such a carbuncle fixed to his hat. But thus it happened: sitting by the fire, not long after, this great carbuncle fell out of his hat, and into the fire: a Scottish Lord took it up, and observed the King sickened, and also died very shortly after.

After King James was dead, Charles Stuart, his then only son, was proclaimed King of Great Britain, by a general consent of the people, his title being unquestionable. The occasion of the Prophet's calling him White King, was this: The Kings of England anciently did wear the day of their coronation purple cloaths, being a colour only fit for Kings: both Queen Elizabeth, King James, and all their ancestors did wear that colour the day of their coronation, as any may perceive by the records of the wardrobes. Contrary unto this custom, and led unto it by the indirect and fatal advice of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, he was persuaded to apparel himself the day of his coronation in a white garment. There were some dehorted him from
wearing

wearing the white apparel, but he obstinately refused their counsel. Canterbury would have it as an apparel representing the King's innocency, or I know not what other superstitious device of his. And of this there is no question to be made, myself, though not ocularly seeing him that day, yet have had it related verbally by above twenty, whose eyes beheld it; one or two were workmen that carried his Majesty's apparel that day; so that I challenge all the men upon earth living, to deny his wearing white apparel that day of his coronation, &c. It is also reported, and I believe it to be true, that such was his haste to have the crown upon his head, that he had not patience to wait the coming of the Archbishop, whose office it was to do it, but impatiently in great haste, he placed the crown upon his head with his own hands; which moved the Spanish Ambassador, who was then present, to say, 'The King's putting the crown upon his head so rashly with his own hands, was an ill omen.'

'First flying.'

King Charles summons a Parliament, November 1640: the troubles of Scotland arising in 1641, he left the English Parliament sitting, and went in person

himself to fettle the disturbed affairs of Scotland. He came home to London about November, and was himself and Queen royally entertained by the citizens, who cried then ‘ Hofanna,’ &c. But see how suddenly many of the same city cry ‘ Crucify, crucify.’ For lo, in January 1641, the citizens of London, and other rude people, in great numbers flock down unto the Parliament, and affront the King, the Bishops, and other temporal Lords: which rudeness and sauciness of theirs, as himself pretended, moved him, the 10th of January, 1641, first to fly or remove unto Hampton-Court, then to Windsor, then into Kent, from thence into Yorkshire; so that all the remainder of his life, until he surrendered his person to the Scots, was running and flying from one place to another. I must ingenuously acknowledge, my eyes were witness of very great rudeness in the citizens, and of as great a defect of civility and judgment in some courtiers, unto those ill-bred citizens.

‘ And after riding.’

The first horse his Majesty raised, were in Yorkshire, and these in or about July, August, and September, 1642, pretending they were for a guard for his person:
from

from which time, until the very time he rendered himself to his countrymen the Scots, which was May, 1646, he had an army of horse, and was frequently himself amongst them: though it is not once reported himself ever charged, as he was sometimes invited unto it by the Lord Charles Gerrard, a most gallant man, who would say unto him many times, ‘CHARGE, SIR,’ &c. And indeed, who would have lost three kingdoms, without first losing some blood in the quarrel!

‘ After ligg ing downe.’

From the time of his own voluntary rendition unto the Scots, until his dying day, he was never in the head of an army, but did ligg down or lie still, and was carried up and down from one place to another as a prisoner: yet had he very great liberty until he discharged himself of his own word or parol at Hampton-Court, and immediately escaped to the Isle of Wight.

‘ In this ligg down he shall be lymed.’

During the time of his imprisonment, or from that time the Scots sold his person unto us for two hundred thousand pounds,

it may properly be said, ‘ In this ligg down ‘ he shall be lymed,’ that is, he was attempted and allured first by one side, then another; or he was several times, and by several occasions, tempted or treated withal, (every one thinking themselves surest who possessed his person) sometimes by the Scots, other times by the English, as well Parliament as army: but notwithstanding all overtures, his person was still safe looked unto, &c.

‘ And after that he shall be led.’

After that propositions had been presented unto him at Hampton-Court, and last of all at the Isle of Wight, he refusing to sign them, or give such satisfaction as was required; from that time, *viz.* from December, 1648, until his death, he was led, *viz.* he was more strictly guarded and imprisoned than ever; nor from that time had the benefit of his liberty as formerly he had had, but was removed first to one castle, then to another; then to Windsor, then last of all to Whitehall. So that most properly he may be said to be now led. For I dare swear he went and came into all these places most unwillingly.

‘ And

‘ And there shall be shewed whether
‘ there be another King.’

Since King Charles did retreat from his Parliament, they on the behalf of the commonwealth acted as Kings, using regal command, raising armies, monies, taxes, & *quid non*, breaking his Majesty's Great Seal, making a new one of their own, and since have altered the frame of government, and converted monarchy into a commonwealth.

‘ Then shall bee gadered together much
‘ folk, and he shall take helpe for him.’

How many of the nobility, gentry, and clergy, and what numbers of the commonalty assisted him, we know, and they who were his assistants do well to their cost remember: for indeed, the greatest part of the nobility, and gentry, and priesthood, most cordially and unanimously followed him, and assisted him to the hazard of their lives, and consumption of estates. And we know, even whilst he was in Carisbrook-Castle, what a rebellion was raised by Goring, and others, &c. in Kent and Essex 1648, besides that great army of Scots and English routed in Lancashire.

‘ And

‘ And there shall be merchandise of men,
‘ as of an horse or an ox.’

This part of the prophecy was exactly verified in King Charles's, or the White King's Time; for in 1648, after the defeat of the wretched Scots in Lancashire, the English merchants did give money for as many of the common soldiers as were worth any thing, and sent them for Barbadoes and other foreign plantations. Some were sold dear, others cheap, according to the quality of the person or profession he was of. It is reported, that many of those miserable wretches, since their being at the Barbadoes, do say, they have left hell, *viz.* Scotland, and are arrived into heaven. There was in 1644, 1645, &c. exchanging of soldiers and prisoners; but in 1648, absolute merchandising of mens bodies, and not before. What price the Scots were sold for, I know not: he that gave but twelve pence apiece for any of that nasty people, gave too much.

‘ There shall bee fought helpe, and there
‘ shall none arise, but bed for head.’

What Prince or State of Europe, was not attempted since 1642, unto 1648, to assist his late Majesty? but in vain. Pro-
vidence

vidence being not to be deluded by any mortal man: each man that assisted, had only a bed for his head, *viz.* a grave or piece of earth for his burial. And how many royal English families, both of gentry and nobles, I pity to relate, who have miscarried for his sake.

‘ And then shall one gone there the fun
‘ arifeth, another there the fun gone
‘ downe.’

Intimating no more, but that the fear and sadness of those times should be such, as should cause several persons to leave this kingdom or nation, for their safety, as many nobles and gentry, who took part with him did, some going to Holland, others to France, others to several countries, as their fancies or occasions led them: or it may import his Majesty should go Eastward or North-East, as he did when he went first to the Scots; and the Queen before went Westward or South-West, *viz.* to France. I pity exceedingly the sad condition of many noble families, which still to this day continue, in foreign parts, poor, beggarly, and in a most uncomfortable condition.

‘ After this, it shall be said by Britain,
‘ (King is King,) King is no King: after
‘ this hee shall raise his head, and he
‘ shall be taken to be a King.’

After

After he went to the Scots, and whilst he was in durance, he was treated with both by England and Scotland, as a King. Yet afterwards it appeared he had not the power of a King, to conclude any thing: nay, afterward our Parliament made a vote,

‘ That no Addresses should be made unto
‘ him any more.’

But that vote was repealed, and addressses were made, but to no purpose. So that the Prophet said well, ‘ Sometimes King; ‘ after, King is no King,’ &c.

‘ ‘ Bee many things to done, but wife men
‘ reading, &c. and then shall a range of
‘ gleeds, and ever each hath bereaving,
‘ he shall have it for his owne.’

I conceive this intimates no more than the multiplicity of affairs in these times: but whether by the range of gleeds, he intend either the Parliament themselves, or the army, or the Parliament’s sub-officers, I know not. I conceive here are some words wanting in the copy, which might lead to explain these words, *viz.*

‘ And hee shall have it for his owne.’

Unles

Unless it be intended, those meant by the range of gleeds, *viz.* great oppressors, or those who then rule or command, shall have all for their own; the Latin copy hath no more, but

Post hæc erit tempus milvorum, & quod quisque rapuerit, pro suo habebit.

Viz. After these things, it shall be a time of kites or gleeds, and what every man can get or purloin, he will take it for his own. And this seems to be the genuine sense of it: for how many very poor men have we known to arrive unto great estates, since these times, even to thousands a year and more? Some, I know myself, were men of very mean fortunes in the beginning of this Parliament, that are now so elevated, so proud, so rich, so arrogant, having had a hand in some publick employments, they scorn their kindred and country, forget their birth and that neighbourhood which brought them to this height of honour: and although like poor sneaks they came to London in leather-breeches, and in 1642 were but vulgar fellows; yet now coach it with four or two horses, are impudent, because in authority: yet to require some of these, to write true English, or speak sense, were to command a
f—t

f—from a dead man: but such as these must know, if they have good estates as that they have, we of the commonalty must have an account of our treasure.

‘ And this shall last seven yeares, loe
‘ ravening and shedding of blood.’

If we consider that our wars began in *Anno* 1642, we shall then find that our distempers and wars have continued seven whole years, within our own kingdom; for one copy hath it,

Et septennio durabit guerra intra.

The war shall endure seven years within the bowels of the kingdoms: and whereas he mentions ravening, I conceive where the soldier is quartered, that action of ravening cannot be avoided. England hath felt free quarter, both of her own countrymen, and of the Scots and Scottish army, who were the truest harpies that ever lived, stealing and purloining wherever they came, even unto a dish-clout. You shall have one example of two Scots in Lancashire 1648, quartered there in a poor house, where they got a kettle of brags, being all their poor landlord had, and having it on the fire with oatmeal boiling in ale or milk; an alarum comes,
and

and one of their own countrymen passes by and invites these two soldiers to run away, for all was lost. But see their villany, and present reward of these two fools: away they trudge, but carry the kettle and porridge on a staff betwixt them, their landlord in vain crying out for his kettle. But it pleased God an honest trooper of ours, making haste to pursue the knaves, slew both these gluttons, and so returned the kettle to the right owner.

‘ And ovens shall be made like kirkes or
‘ churches.’

If it were not publickly done in many places of this kingdom before 1646, *viz.* that churches were many times as beaftly as ovens: yet in 1648, and 1649, Paul's church was made a horse-guard, and so continued until of late.

After, ‘ Then shall come through the
‘ south with the sun, on horse of tree,
‘ the chicken of the eagle sayling into
‘ Brittain, and arriving anone to the House
‘ of the eagle, hee shall shew fellowship to
‘ them beafts.’

Here the copies vary exceedingly, one saying only,

Deinde

Deinde Pullus Aquilæ veniet super ligneos equos anno & senio & erit guerra in Britania.

Viz. After the chicken of the eagle shall come upon wooden horses within a year and a half, and there shall be war in Britain.

Another copy hath it thus :

Deinde ab austro veniet cum sole super ligneos Equos ; & senio spumantem inundationem maris, pullus aquilæ navigans in Britanniam, & applicans statim tunc altam domum aquilæ sitiens & cito aliam sitiet, viz.

Afterwards the chicken of the Eagle shall come with the Sun upon wooden Horses, &c.

Verily, in a former treatise of ours, we were not much estranged from verity : yet our modesty was such, and our respect to his Majesty's person, we were in many things silent. But upon further consideration, this chicken of the eagle will prove one of his Majesty's children. And we remember, that the present Scots King did about July 1648, upon the South or South-East coast of England, come in person unto the revolted ships : he landed, or was victualled at Yarmouth, and then sailed towards Kent, but without success : He also after that attempted Yarmouth, but

but that attempt proved successless. But whereas, the prophecy mentions, 'He should shew (fellowship unto them 'beasts.)' These words are in no Latin copy that I have seen: however, at that time of the Prince's being at sea, here was no treaty or overture either offered by him unto the Parliament, or by them unto him; only the rest of the ships, which revolted not, were several ways dealt with to deliver them up unto him.

If by the eagle be intended King Charles lately dead, as doubtless he was, the chicken of the eagle must of consequence then be one of his children, and the present King of Scotland; and then the words may have this sense: That the Prince at that time should be desirous of getting some footing or landing-place in Kent (called here the High House of the Eagle) in regard Dover-Castle standeth in Kent on a rock: but failing there, he made his journey to Yarmouth, and so was desirous to procure that town: but herein he also was deceived. It is evident that the late King was the Eagle; for he did nothing but fly or ride up and down, during some years, before his restraint: and it must of necessity then follow, that the chicken here mentioned is the Scots King; for the chicken is mentioned before the death of the King to

T

come

come from the East; and so the Prince did upon wooden horses, *viz.* ships. It is true, the Prince got a castle or two in Kent, but to no purpose.

‘ After a year and a halfe shall be war
‘ in Britain.’

This shews a continuance of the wars, either abroad or at home for some certain time, or severall years. And we know in 1646, that most excellent man the Lord Fairfax had even ended our wars; but lo, in 1648, severall revolts and rebellions appeared against the Parliament; besides the Scottish treacherous invasion; all which manifest a continuance as it were of the wars: nor are we yet quit of wars, or shall be for some time hereafter.

‘ Then shall a sooth be nought worth,
‘ and every man shall keepe his thing, and
‘ gotten other mens goods.’

It is in Latin, *Tunc nihil valebit Mercurius.*

These words say only thus much, that after that time, when the chicken of the eagle, or prince of Wales, at that time should either personally land himself, or set on shore some forces of his in any part of England, which was in July 1648, or
August;

August; that then, and from that time, there would be no faith given to words, or any peace come from treaties: and we well know with what difficulty the last treaty with his Majesty was obtained. The Parliament had just cause to fear no good would come from thence. The White King, who ever loved to fish in troubled waters, gave such ambiguous answers unto the Parliaments' propositions, as signified nothing. Whereupon, considering the great engagement which lay upon them, they at last resolved,

Immedicabile vulnus ense recidendum. And so it was.

For verification of the latter part:

Sed quisque curabit quomodo, &c.

That every man, who under the Parliament hath pill'd, poled, or cheated the people; or any Parliament-man, who hath by the ruin of the commonwealth enriched himself, will be careful to preserve his ill gotten goods, I do as verily believe, as I do that there is a GOD in Heaven.

' After the White King feeble shall goe
' towards the west, beclipped about with
T 2 ' his

‘ his folke to the old place been running
‘ water.’

It is in the Latin ;

Ibit Rex debilis versus occidentem.

At what time His Majesty went from Hampton-Court, he went feeble, *viz.* accompanied with no more than two or three (a feeble company for a King); and he then went to the Isle of Wight, and there surrendred himself to one Hammond, governour of Carisbrough-Castle in the Isle of Wight. That castle stands near or upon the water. From this time of his surrendring himself unto Hammond, he was beclipped or straitly looked unto by the foldiers. This is that Hammond, as the King himself acknowledged at Windsor, unto Ad. A. who furnished him with that sinutty sheet Eleneticus; which accused me of connivance with one How of Gloucestershire, about Arabella Scroop, one of the natural daughters of the Earl of Sunderland. I challenge the whole world, and both How and his wife, and Hammond, to declare publickly, if I had the least engagement, or did give the least advertisement of any meeting of theirs in the Spring-garden, or had any connivance or plot in their design: all that

that ever I did, was a resolution of two or three horary questions, which promised the enjoyment of the woman. Not having met with a fit opportunity of the press, since that slander cast upon me, I took liberty herein to repeat this matter; giving that cavalier my most hearty thanks, that in publick took the pains to vindicate my reputation: and although I never had the happiness, since that his vindication of me, to see him; yet let my acknowledgment of that his courtesy be accepted from him. Indeed, that oracle of the law, whilst he lived, Sir Robert Holborne, Knight, and my singular friend, both acquainted me of the man, and his great labour to sift out the matter wholly, ere committed to the press. The Lord guide me in my ways, for I seriously protest unto posterity, I never received such injurious aspersions or calumnies, from those who in reason had cause to be my enemies, *viz.* the Royalists, as from many of our own party, or such as will or would be called Roundheads. Had not the virtue and honour of one not to be paralleled member of Parliament, been ever my support and defender, I had buried my conceptions in silence, and smothered my endeavours in deep obscurity. For really, so great is my respect and affection unto this honourable person, that

were my fortune necessitous (as GOD be thanked it is not) I durst not, nay, I would not do any dishonest or unbecoming action; fearing it might trench upon the honour of that all, and nothing but all gentleman, who lives only, and desires to live no longer, than he may serve this commonwealth, without doing injustice to any particular person, or oppression, or any thing that is dishonorable to the commonwealth, Parliament, or army. O, I abhor the incivility and absurdity of one now in some authority for the Parliament, who hearing a scandalous aspersion against me, without further enquiry, protested he would be mine enemy, if I ever came before him, &c.

‘ Then his enemies shall meet him, and
 ‘ March in her place shall be ordained about
 ‘ him, an host in a manner of a shield,
 ‘ shall be formed; then shall they fighten
 ‘ an oven front.’

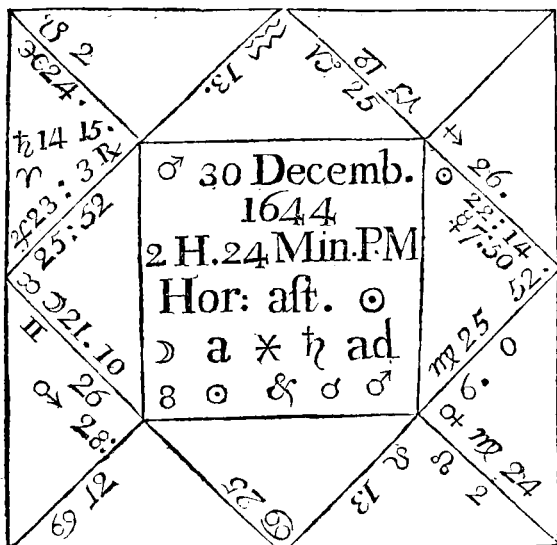
When His Majesty was brought from the Isle of Wight to Windsor, he was guarded before and behind, and on every side, with several troops of horse, so that it was impossible he should escape; so that it might well be said, he was in the midst of an oven, &c.

‘ After

‘ After the White King shall fall into a kirkyard, over a hall.’

We may justly wonder, how exactly this was fulfilled in the death of King Charles, or the White King. The truth of it was thus : that some few nights before his death, he was brought to Whitehall, the regal seat of his progenitors : against the day of his death a scaffold was framed over against the new Banqueting-House, built by King James : and when the King went unto execution, a way or passage was made out at one of the west windows for him, to pass out unto the scaffold, where his head was cut off. So that very pertinently it was prophesied, he should fall into a churchyard over a hall.

What manner of death the Archbishop of Canterbury should die †.



It may appear to all indifferent minded men, the verity and worth of astrology by this question; for there is not any amongst the wisest of men in this world could better have represented the person and condition of this old man, his present state and condition, and the manner of his death, than this present figure of heaven doth.

† See, Mr. Lilly's Christian Astrology, 4to.

Being

Being a man of the church, his ascendant is Capricornus, the cusp of the ninth house: Saturn is lord of the sign, now in Aries his fall; a long time retrograde, and now posited in the twelfth of the figure, or fourth from his ascendant; so that the heavens represent him in condition of mind, of a violent spirit, turbulent and envious, a man involved in troubles, imprisoned, &c. Jupiter, a general significator of churchmen, doth somewhat also represent his condition, being of that eminency he was of in our commonwealth. Jupiter, as you see, is retrograde, and with many fixed stars of the nature of Mars and Luna: an argument he was deep laden with misfortunes, and vulgar clamours, at this present.

The Moon is lady of the fourth in the figure, but of the eighth as to his ascendant: she separates from Saturn, and applies to the opposition of the sun, near the cusp of the eighth-house. Sol in a fiery sign; applying to an opposition of Mars, the dispositor of the aged Bishop. Mars being in an airy sign and humane, from hence I judged that he should not be hanged, but suffer a more noble kind of death, and that within the space of six or seven weeks, or thereabouts; because the Moon wanted seven degrees of the body of Mars.

He

282 Archbishop LAUD's Character.

He was beheaded about the 10th of January following.

I write not these things as that I rejoiced at his death; no, I do not: for I ever honoured the man, and naturally loved him, though I never had speech or acquaintance with him. Nor do I write these lines without tears, considering the great uncertainty of human affairs. He was a liberal Mæcenas to Oxford, and produced as good manuscripts as any were in Europe to that university, whereby the learned must acknowledge his bounty: Let his imperfections be buried in silence. *Mortuus est; & de mortuis nil nisi bonum.* Yet I account him not a martyr, as one as did; for by the sentence of the greatest court of England, viz. the Parliament, he was brought to his end,

M E M M O I R S

O F T H E

L I F E

O F T H A T

LEARNED ANTIQUARY,

ELIAS ASHMOLE, Esq.

Drawn up by himself by way of Diary,

With an APPENDIX of

ORIGINAL LETTERS,

Published by CHARLES BURMAN, Esq.

T H E
P R E F A C E.

THE bare mention of the person, whose Diary and Letters are now published, may sufficiently satisfy the world from whence they originally came, and where they are still preserved. The copy, from whence these papers are published, is in the hand-writing of Robert Plot, L. D. late professor of chymistry, chief keeper of the Ashmolean Musæum in the university of Oxford, and secretary of the Royal Society; and was by him transcribed for the use of a near relation of Mr. Ashmole's, a private gentleman in Staffordshire, who has been pleased to think they may be acceptable to the world for their exactness and singularity. They were collated a few years since by David Parry, M. A. of Jesus College in Oxford, and head-keeper of the same place, who corrected from the original manuscript (*a*) some few literal errors. The character of Mr. Ashmole is so well known,

(*a*) Inter MSS. Ashmol. Oxon. Num. 1136.

and

THE PREFACE.

and so excellently, though concisely drawn in these papers, as well as in that article published under his name, in the Supplement to the learned Mr. Collier's Historical Dictionary, partly extracted from these materials by the justly celebrated Mr. Edward Llwyd, superior bedel of divinity in the university of Oxford, that no recommendation of an obscure editor can be of any service, after so noted names. The usefulness of this kind of works I shall not descant upon: but only say thus much, That they let us into the secret history of the affairs of their several times; discover the springs of motion; and display many valuable, though minute circumstances overlooked, or unknown to our general Historians; and, to conclude all, satiate our largest curiosity.

Newington,
Feb. 17, 16-7.

CHARLES BURMAN.

THE

THE
L I F E
O F
ELIAS ASHMOLE, Esq.

IELIAS ASHMOLE, was the son and only child of Simon Ashmole of Litchfield, sadler, eldest son unto Mr. Thomas Ashmole of the said city, sadler, twice chief bailiff of that corporation; and of Anne, one of the daughters of Anthony Bowyer of the city of Coventry, draper, and Bridget his wife, only daughter to Mr. Fitch of Aulseley in the county of Warwick, gentleman.

I was born the 23^d. of May 1617, (and as my dear and good mother hath often told me) near half an hour after 3 o'clock in the morning.

When I rectified my nativity, An. 1647. I found it to be 3 hours 25 minutes 49 seconds A. M. the quarter ρ of π ascending. But upon Mr. Lilly's rectification

tion thereof, Anno 1667, he makes the quarter 36 ascending. I was baptized, the the 2d of June following, at St. Mary's church in Litchfield. My godfathers were Mr. Christopher Baxter, one of the proctors of the Bishop's Court, and Mr. Offey, sacrist of the cathedral church.

Before I was carried to church, it was agreed my name should be Thomas (as was my grandfather). But, when the minister had name the child, my godfather Offey answered Elias, at which his partners wondered; and being (at their return home) asked, why he so called me, he could render no account, but that it came suddenly into his mind, by a more than ordinary impulse of spirit. My godmother's name was Mrs. Bridges.

When I was about a year old, and set by the fire, I fell into it, and burned the right side of my forehead, it resting upon the iron bar of the grate (of which a scar always remained) but my good mother being near, presently took me up, and applied something for my cure.

I had the small-pox (yet but few) as also the swine-pox and the measles, when I was young; but know not the certain time of either.

Being about 8 or 10 years old (but the year I cannot remember) my mother
and

and I were invited to my Cousin Blackburn's in Long Parish; at that time they were building of a barn, and I getting up by ladders to the top thereof, fell down; in which fall the inside of my right knee struck against the edge of a great beam, which thereby received a deep triangular gash, of which I lay a long time before it was cured.

James Pagit, Esq; some time Puisne Baron of the Exchequer, married to his second wife, Bridget, one of my mother's sisters, and widow to Moyre, a confectioner in London. He had a sister, who first was married to Dr. Masters Chancellor of Litchfield; and after, to Dr. Twisden his successor in the said Chancellorship.

Thomas Pagit his second son (the chief instrument of my future preferments, which I acknowledge with all gratitude to his memory) being much beloved of his aunt Twisden, came often to Litchfield, when he was young; whose stay there, as it occasioned an acquaintance with my mother (sister to his mother-in-law) so it begat in him an affection towards me; insomuch, as having given some good character of me to his father, he became inclined to have me sent up to London: And because he and his sons were greatly affected to musick, and very

well skilled therein, he was desirous I should spend part of my time at the mŭſick ſchool (having before ſpent all at the grammar ſchool): and being competently grounded therein, I became a chorifter in the cathedral church, where I remained till the ſaid Baron ſent for me up to his houſe.

Mr. Meſſenger, and after him Mr. Toby Henchman taught me Latin.

Mr. Henry Hinde, organiſt of the cathedral, who died the 6th of Auguſt, 1641, taught me the virginets and organ.

1633. The 2d of July I began my journey from Litchfield: my father and mother brought me onward to the far end of Baſſet's heath.

The 5th of July, about 11 o'clock before noon, I entred London.

16 July, the before-mentioned Mrs. Twiſden died of the *iliaca paſſio*, and was buried the 18th following, in Litchfield cathedral, in a chapel on the right hand of the Lord Baſſet's tomb; where was a monument for Dr. Maſters and herſelf, but broken down by the ſoldiers in the Parliament war.

4 October, Mr. John Perſon, a phyſician in Coventry (who had my mother's eldeſt ſiſter) was buried.

1634. My father died about eleven o'clock before noon.

22. Mr. Simon Martin's letter, which gave me notice of his death, bears date, the 22d of June.

My father was born upon a Whitfunday in the morning.

He was bred up by his father to his trade; yet when he came to man's estate, followed it but little: He more affected war, than his profession, and spent many of his years abroad, which drew on him a course of expences and ill-husbandry. His first voyage was into Ireland, with Robert Earl of Essex, Anno 159 . . . Two other voyages he afterwards made, with his son, Robert Earl of Essex into the Palatinate, from whom he received good respect. He was an honest fair conditioned man, and kind to others; yet through ill husbandry, became a great enemy to himself and poor family.

1635. In this year I was taught on the harpsichord, by Mr. Farmelow, who lay in St. Michael's church-yard in Cornhill, and continued learning with him till 31 Jan. 1635-6.

11 July. I came to live at Mount-Pleasant, near Barnet, and stayed there the rest of the summer.

1637. August 21. I came to Smallwood, to Mr. Peter Mainwaring's, to ask his consent to marry his daughter.

September 4. The second time I went to Smallwood.

16. I returned to London.

1638. Jan. 23. I came from Mr. Justinian Pagitt.

March 27. I was married to Mrs. Elleanor Mainwaring, eldest daughter to Mr. Peter Mainwaring, and Jane his wife, of Smallwood in Com. Cest. gent. She proved a virtuous good wife. The marriage was in St. Benedict's church, near Paul's Wharf, by Mr. Adams, parson there.

July 16. I and my wife went towards her father's in Cheshire, about four, *post merid.* where he arrived the 22d of July.

30. I took possession of my house at Litchfield.

September 10. My uncle Thomas Ashmole, caused a privy sessions to be called at Litchfield, whereby I had some trouble about my house there: The bill was found *ignoramus*.

October 8. I came to London.

In Michaelmas term I began to solicit in Chancery, and had indifferent good practice.

December 20. I went from London towards Cheshire.

This term I preferred a bill in Chancery against my uncle Thomas Ashmole.

1639. Jan. 28. I returned from Smallwood to London.

About the beginning of March, Catherine wife to my brother Mr. Peter Mainwaring, and one of the daughters and coheirs of Mr. Newton of Pownall in com. Cest. came to full age.

March 5. *Post merid.* my sister Ann Mainwaring, was brought to bed of her first child.

In Trinity term (as I think) I became acquainted with Dr. Thomas Cademan the Queen's physician : About the beginning of July, Peter Venables, Baron of Kinderton wrote to me, to take upon me the management of his law business.

August 1. I went from London towards Smallwood

5. I arrived at Smallwood.

October 12. I and my wife returned towards London, beginning our journey from Smallwood this day.

October 20. I began to keep house, being arrived at London, this day.

1640. Jan. 11. My wife's sister Mrs. Mary Mainwaring, fell ill of an ague, and having had five fits ;

20. She took her bed.

February 6. 1 *Post merid.* She died, and was buried in the church of St. Clement Danes, near the entrance into the chancel. She had a very handsome funeral,

ral, with escutcheons of her arms, in a lozenge, pinned upon her velvet pall.

18. My cousin Philip Mainwaring (a younger son of the house of Keringham) married Mary the daughter and coheir of Sir John Miller of Islington.

May 14. Mr. Driver married Mrs. Miller, the other coheir.

April 4. I took lodgings in St. Clement's Lane.

May 19. My wife was brought to bed of a female child, still-born, about noon, which was buried the next day.

June 9. I was presented to the Lord Keeper Finch, and on the 12th, entertained by him upon the recommendation of my worthy friend Dr. Cademan.

About the beginning of September, my wife fell ill of a fever.

October 31. I removed myself to a chamber in the Middle Temple, in Elm Court, lent me by Mr. Thomas Pagit.

December 11. Joan Morgan, my maid, died of the small pox.

1641. January 18. I began my journey from Smallwood to London.

28. I entered London.

February 4. Mr. Hill moved me to an agreement with my uncle Thomas Ashmole.

February 6. I was admitted of Clement's Inn,

February

February 11. I was sworn an attorney in the court of Common Pleas.

April 22. William Clark came to London to be my servant, he continued with me until 1645.

24. He came to dwell with me.

May. About the beginning of May, my maid Elizabeth Coley fell sick of the plague, but escaped.

3. I borrowed of my cousin Riplingham 70*l.* and paid it 29 June.

June 21. My brother Mainwaring received 200*l.* from Mr. Simon Ives, upon a mortgage of Smallwood.

22. I was bound with my brother, for performance of covenants, about the beginning of June. Towards the end of Trinity Term I was sick for 3 or 4 days.

August 11. I went to Windsor, upon some business for Dr. Cademan, being the first time I saw that castle.

September 20. I and my wife went towards Smallwood.

23. We came to Litchfield.

October 12. My wife quickened.

October 25. I went towards London, leaving my wife behind me; because big with child.

29. I came to London.

30. I came to lodge in my chamber at Clement's Inn.

December 5. My dear wife fell suddenly sick about evening, and died (to my own grief, and the grief of all her friends). She was buried the next night about nine of the clock in the Astbury church in Cheshire, near the entrance of the south aisle of that church, *viz.* the West end of that aisle.

December 14. I went from London towards Cheshire.

16. Arriving at Litchfield, I first heard of my wife's death. She was a virtuous, modest, careful, and loving wife: her affection was exceeding great towards me, as was mine to her, which caused us to live so happily together. Nor was I less beloved and esteemed both by her father and mother, inasmuch as at her funeral, her mother sitting near the corps, with tears, professed to the Baron of Kinderton's lady (who after told it to me) and others present, that she knew not whether she loved me or her only son better.

18. I came to Smallwood.

1642. January 16, I visited my dear wife's grave.

January 18. I came from Smallwood.

28. I arrived at London.

February 3. Mr. Justinian Pagit having proposed to me one of his clerk's places in the *Nisi Prius* office the 10th day of December last; but finding the terms

terms too hard, I this day resigned it up.

March 7. I removed my goods to my chamber at Clement's Inn, and lay there.

August 9. Mr. Hutchinson of Clement's Inn, and myself, took a journey, first to see my old school-master Mr. Hinchman, at Drayton in Buckinghamshire, then to Oxford, so into Hampshire, and thence to London.

29. The troubles in London growing great, I resolved to leave the city and retire into the country: and this day I set forward from London towards Cheshire, to my father-in-law's house of Smallwood.

November 1643. Sir Thomas Mainwaring, Recorder of Reading, was knighted. I married his widow in 1649.

April 17. I went towards London with my cousin Mainwaring of Caringtham.

25. I came to London.

May, 8. I came from London.

17 I arrived at Smallwood.

July 2. I went towards Long Witton in Northumberland.

12. I came first to Newcastle with the young Baron of Kinderton.

17. I returned into Cheshire with the Baron of Kinderton's lady.

21. We came into Cheshire.

The rest of the summer I spent at Kinderton, in assisting Mrs. Venables, to get off the Baron's sequestration; but we could not prevail.

Octob. 16. I went a second journey into the North.

21. I returned towards Cheshire.

1645. The beginning of this year (as also part of the last) was spent at Oxford by Mr. Hill of Litchfield, and myself, in soliciting the Parliament there against Colonel Bagot, Governor of Litchfield, for opposing the execution of the King's Commission of Excise (Mr. Hill and myself being Commissioners :) whereupon January 8. a letter was sent to fetch the Colonel thither.

Feb. 3. Mr. Hill returned to Litchfield.

Mar. 22. I first became acquainted with Captain Wharton, between eight and nine in the morning.

Apr. 17. Captain Wharton moved me to be one of the four gentlemen of the Ordnance in the Garrison of Oxford, 11 *ante merid.*

May 9. I was entered a gentleman of the Ordnance, 9 *ante merid.*

15. I was affronted by a soldier at my battery at Dover-Peer, but had satisfaction.

Sept. 1. I was very much troubled with my eye for a week.

14. I christened Mr. Fox's son at Oxford, 4 *post meridiem*.

16. Mrs. Henchman died, my school-master's wife.

17. This afternoon Sir John Heydon, Lieutenant of the Ordnance, began to exercise my gunners in Magdalen Meadows.

Octob. 8. Mr. Wharton was made a Captain of Horse.

12. I saw Mrs. March in Brazen-Nose Library, being brought thither by Captain Swingfield, 2 *post merid*. This day Mr. Merick made a motion to me to be a Commissioner of the Excise at Worcester.

Dec. 8. I was recommended to be Commissioner for the Excise at Worcester, unknown to me; which when I knew, I accepted, and prepared for my journey thither.

16. The King caused Mr. ——— to be out of the Commission of Excise, and mine to be inserted in his place.

19. 2 *post merid*. Mr. Swingfield and myself received the Commission of Excise from the Clerk of the Crown.

21. Sir John Heydon gave me a letter of recommendation to my Lord Ashley at Worcester, of which this is a copy.

My L O R D,

‘ T H I S bearer, one of the gentlemen
 ‘ of the Ordnance to the garrison
 ‘ of

‘ of Oxford, having an employment in
 ‘ your Lordship’s government, by the Par-
 ‘ liament here put upon him, out of his
 ‘ desire to be made known and serviceable
 ‘ to your Lordship, hath intreated my
 ‘ mediation and attestation, to whose
 ‘ person, industry, and merits, during
 ‘ the time he hath been interested in his
 ‘ Majesty’s service, under my survey, I can
 ‘ no less than recommend him to your
 ‘ Lordship’s favour, as an able, diligent
 ‘ and faithful man, wherein your Lord-
 ‘ ship may be pleased to believe

‘ Your Lordship’s,

Dec. 21,
1645.

‘ Most affectionate servant,

‘ JOHN HEYDON.’

Dec. 22. I took my journey from Oxford to Worcester, 10 *ant. merid.* with Sir Charles Lucas.

23. 8 *ant. merid.* I arrived at Worcester.

27. 11 *Hor.* 15 min. *ant. merid.* Mr. Jordan Mayor of Worcester, Mr. Swingfield, and myself, took the Oath as Commissioners of Excise in the Town-Hall, and thence went unto the office, and entered upon the execution of the commission. The commission bears teste the 15th of December preceding.

ELIAS ASHMOLE, Esq. 301

1646. Jan. 1. 8 *Hor. ante merid.* I delivered Sir John Heydon's letter to my Lord Ashley, who promised me all kindness, and to fix me in the Train of Artillery in the Garrison.

3d. 3 *Hor. post merid.* Mr. Jordan, the Mayor of Worcester, Mr. Francis Grave, Mr. John Swingfield, and myself, the three Commissioners of the Excise; being met at Worcester, Mr. Gerald moved to have me Receiver and Register, and Mr. Swingfield to be Comptroller; which was agreed unto.

Jan. 19. I first heard of my mother Mainwaring's death from Mrs. Mary Brereton, my Lord Brereton's daughter.

March 12. 1 *Hor. post merid.* I received my commission for a Captainship in the Lord Ashley's regiment.

Apr. 18. A new commission for the Excise came to Worcester.

21. Colonel Baldwin, Mr. Swingfield, and myself, took our oaths to the said commission, 11 *Hor.* 40 minutes *ante merid.*

27. I was chosen Register to the said commission, 1 *Hor.* 30 minutes *post merid.*

28. Mr. Yardley was sworn one of our clerks, 3 hour *post merid.* upon my recommendation. This Mr. Yardley was one of the choir of Worcester, after the surrender of the garrison my servant some years,

years, and upon the King's return, made one of the gentlemen of his chapel.

May 19. 5 *Hor. post merid.* walking in the fields at Worcester, where some were shooting at Rovers, an arrow struck very near me, but I escaped hurt: thanks be to God.

22. 10 *ante merid.* Sir Ralph Clare moved me to take a command about the Ordnance in the fort of Worcester.

June 12. I entered upon my command as Comptroller of the Ordnance.

18. 1 *Hor. 10 minutes post merid.* I received my commission from Colonel Washington.

July 14. Lichfield-Close was surrendered to the Parliament.

July 24. Worcester was surrendered; and thence I rid out of town according to the articles, and went to my father Mainwaring in Cheshire.

July 31. Mr. Richard Harrison, minister of Tetnal formerly, and afterwards of Litchfield, told me of my mother's death, and that she died about the 8th or 9th of July, of the plague not long before, that city being visited this summer. She was a discreet, sober, provident woman, and with great patience endured many afflictions. Her parents had given her exceeding good breeding, and she was excellent at her needle; which (my father being

improvident) stood her in great stead. She was competently read in divinity, history, and poetry; and was continually instilling into my ears such religious and moral precepts, as my younger years were capable of. Nor did she ever fail to correct my faults, always adding sharp reproofs and good lectures to boot. She was much esteemed of by persons of note with whom she was acquainted. She lived in much friendship among her neighbours, and left a good name behind her. In fine, she was truly religious and virtuous.

Octob. 16. 4 *Hor.* 30 minutes *post merid.* I was made a Free-Mason at Warrington in Lancashire, with Colonel Henry Mainwaring of Karticham in Cheshire; the names of those that were then at the lodge, Mr. Richard Penket Wardén, Mr. James Collier, Mr. Richard Sankey, Henry Littler, John Ellam, and Hugh Brewer.

Oct. 25. I left Cheshire, and came to London about the end of this month, *viz.* the 30th day, 4 *Hor. post merid.* About a fortnight or three weeks before I came to London, Mr. Jonas Moore brought and acquainted me with Mr. William Lilly: it was on a Friday night, and I think on the 20th of Nov.

Dec. 3. This day, at noon, I first became acquainted with Mr. John Booker,

22. I was invited by Mrs. March, to keep my Christmas with her at Lime-house, which I did.

23. 4 *Hor.* 30 minutes I went thither.

1647. Feb. 10. A boil broke out of my throat, under my right ear.

14. The mathematical feast was at the White-Hart in the Old-Bailey, where I dined.

Mar. 1. I first moved the Lady Mainwaring, in way of marriage, and received a fair answer, though no condescension.

Apr. 14. I went to Sir Arthur Mainwaring's, with the Lady Mainwaring.

May 25. I went towards Bradfield.

27. 8 *Hor. ante merid.* Mr. Humphry Strafford and I went into Bradfield House.

Jun. 12. I went from St. James's to Engle-field, to table with Antipass Chervington; and the next morning about eight of the clock I came to his house.

14. I first became acquainted with Dr. Wimberley, minister of Engle-field, 3 *Hor. post merid.*

16. 1 *Hor. post merid.* it pleased God to put me in mind, that I was now placed in the condition I always desired, which was, that I might be enabled to live to myself and studies; without being forced to take pains for a livelihood in the world. And seeing I am thus retired, according to my heart's desire, I beseech God to
 bless

blefs me in my retirement, and to prosper my studies, that I may faithfully and diligently serve him, and in all things submit to his will: and for the peace and happiness I enjoy (in the midst of bad times) to render him all humble thanks, and for what I attain to in the course of my studies, to give him the glory.

June 25. Eleven *Hor. ante merid.* the Lady Mainwaring gave me a ring enameled with black, whereon was this posy: 'A true Friend's Gift.'

28. 7 *Hor.* 15 minutes *post merid.* I fell ill, and 10 *Hor.* 30 minutes *post merid.* took my bed. I was pained in my head, reins, thighs; and taking a *carduus posset* at night, and sweating upon it, I mended:

July 1. This day I was much pained in my head and eyes.

12. I went towards London.

23. The Lady Mainwaring entered upon her jointure-lands.

26. Ten *Hor. ante merid.* I began to be sick, and 5 *Hor.* 15 minutes *post merid.* I took my bed: the disease happened to be a violent fever.

30. About 2 *Hor. post merid.* (as I was afterwards told) Mr. Humphry Stafford, the Lady Mainwaring's second son (suspecting I should marry his mother) broke into my chamber, and had like to have killed me, but Christopher Smith with-

held him by force; for which all persons exceedingly blamed him, in regard it was thought I was near death, and knew nobody. God be blessed for this deliverance.

Aug. 1. I was in the extremity of my fever, senseless and raging.

14. Being somewhat mended of my fever, I this day got up. About this time the Lady Mainwaring fell into a fever, and Captain Wharton had the plague.

25. Was the first day I went down stairs.

31. I was very faint and ill again.

Septemb. 2. I fell ill again, and became light in my head.

9. I took a purge, which wrought very well, and mended.

28. I went to visit the Lady Mainwaring.

Octob. 26. I fell sick of a quartan ague, at Mr. Stafford's, having been invited there to dinner.

Novem. 11. I went towards London, and came thither the next day by noon.

25. My ague left me.

30. The Lady Mainwaring came to live at her house at Bradfield.

Dec. 16. Being much troubled with phlegm, I took an opening drink from Dr. Wharton.

1648. January 14. I went towards Bradfield from London.

Feb. 25. I was very ill as I went to Theale.

28. Very sick in the afternoon.

March 2. Being at Pangborne, I was very ill there.

12. Captain Wharton taken in his bed 3 *Hor. ante merid.* he was carried to Newgate, 6 *Hor. post merid.*

May 11. I entertained John Fox into my service.

22. The Lady Mainwaring fealed me a lease of the parks at Bradfield, worth ——— *per ann.*

June 6. Having entered upon the study of plants, this day, about three of the clock, was the first time I went a simpling. Dr. Carter of Reading, and Mr. Watlington an apothecary there, accompanying me.

29. The Lady Mainwaring fealed me a lease of the field mead, worth fifty pounds *per annum.*

August 26. Captain Wharton made an escape out of Newgate.

29. I began my journey towards Bristol, with Mr. Hutchinson.

31. We came to Bristol.

Sept. 6. We returned to Bradfield.

October 23. Going towards London, I was robbed in Maidenhead Thicket, 5 *Hor. post merid.*

Nov. 6. Having several times before made application to the Lady Mainwaring, in way of marriage; this day, 11 *Hor.* 7 minutes *ante merid.* she promised me not to marry any man, unless myself.

10. Two *Hor.* 15 minutes *post merid.* she sealed a contract of marriage to me.

15. I was sequestered of my lands in Berkshire.

21. The sequestration was taken off at Reading.

Decemb. 5, 1649. The Lady Mainwaring was sequestered by the committee of Reading, upon her son Humfrey Stafford's information.

Feb. 14. An order for receiving the Lady Mainwaring's rents.

April 7. Eleven *Hor.* 30 minutes *ant. merid.* I came to Mr. Watlington's house to table, who was an apothecary in Reading, and a very good botanist.

25. My journey to the physick garden in Oxford.

May 8. I was godfather to Elias Yardly at Reading.

June 3. This afternoon I kissed the Duke of Gloucester and Elizabeth's hands, at Sion House.

Aug. 1. The astrologers feast at Painters-Hall, where I dined.

Octob. 16. I accompanied the Lady Mainwaring to London.

31. The astrologers feast.

Nov. 16. Eight *Hor. ante merid.* I married the Lady Mainwaring. We were married in Silver-Street, London.

20. I was arrested by Mr. Ives for my brother Mainwaring's debt.

21. Captain Wharton was re-taken and carried to prison.

Decem. 19. I agreed with Mr. Myne, for printing my *Fasciculus Chemicus*.

21. I first began to learn to dissect a body.

1650. Feb. 18. I met Mr. Ives, and we came to an agreement.

June 3. Mr. Lilly and myself, went to visit Dr. Ardee, at his house in the Minories.

15. Myself, my wife, and Dr. Wharton, went to visit Mr. John TreDESCANT, at South-Lambeth.

21. I and my wife went towards Bradfield.

22. Ten *Hor.* 30 minutes *ante merid.* we arrived there.

24. Mr. William Forster and his Lady came to visit us.

25. I and Captain Wharton went to visit him at Rushall.

26. Nine *Hor.* 42 minutes *post merid.* we arrived at London.

July 2. Six *Hor. post merid.* I was served with a *subpœna* at Sir Humfrey Forster's suit.

29. Much troubled with the toothach on my right side.

Aug. 8. I being at the astrologers feast, two *Hor. post merid.* I was chosen steward for the following year.

Captain Wharton having been carried to the Gate-House the 21st of November last, the next day after, I went to Mr. Lilly, and acquainted him therewith, who professed himself very sorry, because he knew Bradshaw intended to hang him; and most generously (forgetting the quarrels that had been between the Captain and him) promised me to use his interest with Mr. Bulstrode Whitlock (his patron) to obtain his release. I thought it was prudent to have my name then (as the times stood) not to appear in print as the instrument that wrought Mr. Lilly to do this kindness for him; and therefore in Captain Wharton's Epistle to the reader before his Almanack, in 1651, wherein his publick acknowledgments are made of Mr. Lilly's assistance in this strait, all acknowledgments to me are omitted; tho' in truth, I was the only person that moved and induced, and constantly solicited Mr. Lilly to perfect his enlargement: having at all times, since my return to London, *anno* 1646, befriended Captain Wharton, not only in discovering all designs that I heard were laid against him,

him, either at Mr. Lilly's or elsewhere, but also affording him my purse freely and liberally, towards his support in many necessitous occasions. Upon Mr. Lilly's application to Mr. Whitlock, he advised, that the Captain should lie quiet, without making the least complaint: and after Christmas, when his being a prisoner was almost forgotten, Bradshaw out of the way, and Mr. Whitlock Chairman to the council of state; Mr. Lilly having also by this time, made some other of the said council the Captain's friends (upon his petition) he was discharged; no other engagement being taken from him, but that he would not thenceforward write against the Parliament or State. Hereupon he became utterly void of all subsistence (which whilst he was under troubles, some or other contributed unto, besides what he got by writing against those times) and thereupon, consulting with me, about a new course of life, and how he might subsist, I frankly offered him my house at Bradfield in Berks, for him, his wife and family, to live at, with some other advantages there; which he most gladly and thankfully accepting, he went thither, and past his time with quiet and comfort for the most part, till his Majesty was restored to the Crown: and hereupon he stiled me in his Alma-

nack for the year 1653, his 'Oaken Friend.'

Aug. 13. I bought of Mr. Milbourn all his books and mathematical instruments.

14. Eight *Hor.* 30 minutes *post merid.* I bought Mr. Hawkins's books.

October 18. I put in a plea and demur to Sir Humphrey Forster's bill.

Nov. 1. My cousin Bridget Smart (only daughter to my uncle Anthony Bowyer) was buried.

12. I agreed with Mr. Lyster for his house in Black Friars, where I afterwards dwelt.

23. Two *Hor.* *post merid.* he sealed me a lease of the said house at forty-four pounds *per ann.*

26. *Post merid.* I came thither to dwell.

1651. Jan. 1. I fell into a great looseness, which turned into a fever, but mended next day.

7. Captain Wharton returned from Bradfield, whether I sent him to receive my rents.

16. Four *Hor.* *post merid.* my demurrer against Sir Humfrey Forster's bill was argued, and held good.

22. About this time my left side of my neck began to break forth, occasioned by shaving my beard with a bad razor.

22. About this time I grew melancholly and dull, and heavy in my limbs and back.

About this time I began to learn seal-graving, casting in sand, and goldsmiths work.

Feb. 1. Three *Hor.* 30 minutes *post merid.* I agreed with Mrs. Backhouse of London, for her deceased husband's books.

March 7. I went to Maidstone with Dr. Child the physician. And 3 *Hor. post merid.* I first became acquainted with Dr. Flood.

18. This night my maid's bed was on fire; but I rose quickly (and thanks to God) quenched it.

April 3. *Post merid.* Mr. William Backhouse of Swallowfield in *com.* Berks, caused me to call him father thenceforward.

26. Five *Hor.* 30 minutes *post merid.* my father Backhouse brought me acquainted with the Lord Ruthin, who was a most ingenious person.

June 10. Mr. Backhouse told me I must now needs be his son, because he had communicated so many secrets to me.

July 21. I gave Mr. Grifmond my *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* to print.

August 11. Captain Wharton went to receive my rents at Bradfield.

Aug. 14.

August 14. The Astrologers feast at Painters Hall, London.

This night about one of the clock, I fell ill of a surfeit, occasioned by drinking water after venison. I was greatly oppressed in my stomach; and next day Mr. Saunders the Astrologian sent me a piece of Briony root to hold in my hand; and within a quarter of an hour, my stomach was freed of that great oppression, which nothing which I took from Dr. Wharton could do before.

About this time my brother Peter Mainwaring's wife died.

September 11. Captain Wharton went to receive my rents.

22. Mr. Vaughan began to engrave the pictures in Norton's Ordinal. He wrought and finished all the cuts for my *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum*, at my house in Black-Friars.

30. Captain Wharton arrested: I and Mr. Grifmond, bail.

October 9. My father Backhouse and I went to see Mr. Goodier, the great botanist, at Petersfield.

20. Mr. Lilly gave me several old astrological manuscripts.

November 10. About four *post merid.* my wife's eldest son, Mr. Edward Stafford, died.

11. Ten *post merid.* he was buried in Bradfield church,

12. Sir John Backhouse of Swallowfield's widow died.

December 7. Two *hor. post merid.* Dr. Paget lent me several Chymical manuscripts: and here began my acquaintance with him.

19. I sent Captain Wharton to receive my rents at Bradfield.

1652. January 21. The gum at the back end of the right side of my upper jaw cleft; and about nine *hor. post merid.* I felt a new tooth coming up.

26. Six *hor. post merid.* the first copy of my *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* was sold to the Earl of Pembroke.

29. Ten *hor. ante merid.* Mr. Lilly gave me his picture in oil colours, of which there never had been copy taken.

February 11. Two *hor.* forty-five minutes *post merid.* the statute of 3000*l.* and Mr. Stafford's counterpart of his lease of my wife's jointure was delivered to me, by direction of Sir Arthur Mainwaring's lady, who had been trusted with it.

About this time I began to learn Hebrew of Rabbi Solomon Frank.

March 1. I fell sick of the headach and a cold, which continued five weeks.

8. Six *hor.* fifteen minutes *ante merid.* Dr. Wharton let me blood.

10. This morning my father Backhouse opened himself very freely, touching the great secret.

April 9. I paid my man John Fox his wages, and discharged him of my service.

12. This morning I received more satisfaction from my father Backhouse, to the questions I proposed.

I sent Captain Wharton to Bradfield to receive my rents.

27. I went to the sessions at Newbury, where Colonel Evelin, governor of Wallingford (being set on by Sir Humfrey Forster) was exceeding bitter against me, to the wonder of the whole court.

May 28. The inquisition upon my statute of 3000*l.* was found at Maidenhead.

I and my wife tabled this summer at Mr. Tradescant's.

June 14. 11 *Hor. ante merid.* Dr. Wilkins and Mr. Wren came to visit me at Black Friars: this was the first time I saw the doctor.

23. Captain Wharton was sent to receive my rents; and July 16, brought his wife and family to Bradfield.

August 2. I went to Maidstone assizes to hear the witches tried, and took Mr. Tradescant with me.

16. I went towards Cheshire.

26. Dr. Wharton fell sick of a violent and dangerous fever about noon.

28. I arrived at Gawsworth, where my father-in-law, Mr. Mainwaring then lived.

September 11. Young John Tredescant died.

15. He was buried in Lambeth Church-yard by his grandfather.

23. I took a journey into the Peak, in search of plants, and other curiosities.

27. I came to Mr. John Tompson's, who dwelt near Dove Bridge; he used a call, and had responses in a soft voice. He told me Dr. Wharton was recovering from his sickness, and so it proved.

October 2. I came to Litchfield.

3. Mr. Anthony Diot moved me to refer controversy between me and my uncle Thomas Ashmole.

13. My said uncle quitted his title to me, which pretended to my house in Litchfield, and sealed to me a deed of bargain and sale.

14. He also sealed me a release, and gave me possession.

November 2. Four *hor. post merid.* I returned to London, and in an hour after to my house.

3. Mr. Lilly called before the committee of plundered ministers, and committed.

20. My wife went again to Mr. Tredescant's, to stay some time there.

21. I discharged my man Hobs of my service.

December 14. I was served with a *sub-pœna* at Sir Humphry Foster's suit, three *hor.* forty minutes *post merid.*

15. His bill was filed.

18. My sister Mrs. Dorothy Mainwaring came to live with my wife eleven *hor. ante merid.*

She stayed with her but till the 16th of January following.

January 13, 1653. I held a court at Bradfield, as lord of that manor.

Mr. Anthony Brook of Sunning was my steward. Sir Humphrey Forster coming thither, I arrested him.

17. My wife left Mr. Tredescant's, and came to Mr. Flint's.

March 18. The Astrologers feast was held.

April 8. Dr. Langbaine, provost of Queen's College, shewed me Mr. Selden's letter to him, wherein he said, he should be glad to be acquainted with me; for he found by what I had published, that I was affected to the furtherance of all good learning.

20. This morning I first became acquainted with Arise Evans, a Welch prophet; and speaking of the Parliament, I asked him when it would end? He answered, the time was short, and it was
even

even at the door. This very morning at eleven of the clock, the mace was taken away from the Speaker, and the Parliament dissolved; and I conjecture it was much about the time that Arise Evans and I had this discourse.

May 12. Three *hor. post merid.* My cousin William Ashmole came to London. He went to Mr. Sidley upon trial.

13. My father Backhouse lying sick in Fleet-street, over against St. Dunstan's church; and not knowing whether he should live or die, about eleven of the clock, told me, in syllables, the true matter of the Philosophers Stone, which he bequeathed to me as a legacy.

June 21. I agreed with Dr. Bathurst for the remaining years, in my house at Black-Friars.

July 25. Nine *hor.* thirty minutes, I was first acquainted with Mr. Selden; who used me very courteously, and encouraged me in my studies.

August 8. Eight *hor.* thirty minutes *ante merid.* I began my voyage with Dr. Carver into Cornwall, he going thither to open a mine for the Lord Mohun.

17. Nine *hor. post merid.* we came to Brecknock.

September 12. Nine *hor.* fifteen minutes *post merid.* we returned to London.

October 1. Seven *hor. post merid.* I first became acquainted with Mr. Ogilby.

4. I was troubled with the toothach: Major Rufwell, (Dr. Bathurst's apothecary) stopped it.

16. Sir John Heydon, lieutenant of the ordnance to King Charles the 1st, and my worthy friend died.

November 18. My aunt Bowyer, wife to my uncle Anthony Bowyer, was buried.

20. I was again troubled with the toothach for three days.

23. My good friend and neighbour Dr. Wimberley, minister of Englefield in Berkshire, died.

25. He was buried at St. Margaret's in Westminster, where formerly he had been parson.

This day I bound my cousin William Ashmole an apprentice to Mr. Clothier, a fadler.

1654. January 21. Doctor Wharton began his lecture at the Physician's College
10 *hor. ante merid.*

February 6. The hearing in Chancery came on, wherein Sir Humphrey Forster was plaintiff against me. As soon as my answer was opened, it was referred to Mr. Chaloner Chute my counsel to determine.

March 11. 4 *Hor. post merid.* Mr. Chute signed his award.

16. In pursuance whereof I received from Sir Humphrey Forster 350*l.* 11 *hor. ante merid.*

February 2. I acquainted Doctor Wharton with my secret for the cure of the *iliaca passio*; and he applied it this morning to Mr. Faithorne the graver, and it cured him.

July 3. My wife went to lodge at Mr. Wit's.

17. I came to Litchfield.

22. I returned thence.

August 22. Astrologers feast.

24. I made a journey to Canterbury, Dover, &c.

September 1. I returned to London.

15. I went to visit Mr. Oughtred, the famous mathematician.

28. I received 300*l.* from Sir Humphrey Forster.

Oct. 7. Mr. William Floyd's first wife (was) buried at Swallowfield in Berkshire.

November 24. 6 *Hor. post Merid.* my good father-in-law Mr. Peter Mainwaring died at Gawsworth.

December 8. Doctor Pordage was put out of Bradfield living. By his removal it fell to me to present, and knowing the worth and learning of Mr. Floyd (then living with my father Backhouse, as tutor to his children) I resolved to bestow it upon him; and thereupon sent for him up

to London, and on the 18th acquainted him with my intention.

30. I signed a presentation to him. He was examined by the Tryers, and passed with approbation: But designs being laid against him by Mr. Fowler and Mr. Ford, both ministers of Reading, who endeavoured to bring in Doctor Temple, supposing Sir Humphrey Forster had right of presentation, he thought better to resign his presentation to me, than to undergo a contest with those men.

1655. March 30. Hereupon I presented one Mr. Adams, who, having a living of 140*l.* *per ann.* and finding he must undergo a contest with those that opposed, Mr. Floyd thought fitter to keep his own living, than part with it in hopes of a far better.

November 28. The peace between England and France was proclaimed at Westminster 10 *hor.* 45 minutes *ante merid.*

1656. And at 11 *hor.* 45 minutes it was proclaimed at White-Hall.

April 17. Archbishop of Armagh (was) buried.

May 23. First show at Sir William Davenant's opera.

June 26. I fell sick, and had a great looseness.

July. In this month I was troubled with a great pain in my right breast.

12. I paid Mr. Faithorne 7*l.* for engraving my picture.

August 1. Journey to Mr. Sterill's in Effex.

7. Colonel Wharton came home upon his parole.

29. I signed and sealed my presentation for Bradfield living to Mr. Lancelot Smith 6 *hor.* 15 minutes *ante merid.* and delivered it to the committee.

This man, after some contest, enjoyed the living; and the right of presentation being acknowledged to be mine, I had no farther trouble.

This day the Astrologers feast was held

September 4. Cousin — Thompson (was) christened.

11. I went towards Litchfield.

13. About 9 *hor. ante merid.* I came first to Mr. Dugdale's at Blyth-Hall.

October 9. I returned to London.

December 19. I went towards Blyth-Hall.

1657. January 14. 10 *Hor.* 40 minutes *ante merid.* I returned to London.

February 22. My cousin Everard Mainwaring died. March. 27. I went towards Blyth-Hall.

April 20. 5 *Hor. post merid.* I bruised my great toe with the fall of a great form.

May 2. 7 *Hor. ante merid.* I returned to London.

19. I accompanied Mr. Dugdale in his journey towards the Fens 4 *Hor. 30 minutes ante merid.*

June 3. 9 *Hor. 30 minutes ante merid.* we came to York.

July 7. 6 *Hor. 45 minutes ante merid.* I returned to London.

September 22. I fell ill of the tooth-ach, which continued three days.

October 8. The cause between me and my wife was heard, where Mr. Serjeant Maynard observed to the court that there were 800 sheets of depositions on my wife's part, and not one word proved against me of using her ill, nor ever giving her a bad or provoking word.

9. The Lords Commissioners having found no cause for allowing my wife alimony, did, 4. *hor. post merid.* deliver my wife to me; whereupon I carried her to Mr. Lilly's, and there took lodgings for us both.

November 11. 2 *Hor. 15 minutes post merid.* I was admitted of the Middle Temple.

December 1. About 10 *hor. 30 minutes post merid.* it thundered and lightened, and at this time was the writ sealed for summons to the new Lords of the Parliament.

22. I and my wife came towards Albury.

28. I went to London ;

29. And thence towards Blyth-Hall, 1658. January 15. I came to Bradfield.

19. I returned to Albury.

March 30. I dined with the Florida Embassador at Mr. Martin Noell's.

May 7. I first went to the Record-Office in the Tower, to collect materials for my work of the Garter.

9. I was struck by a coach-horse, on the inside of my left thigh.

June 12. I first became acquainted with Sir Roger Twisden.

July 27. 4 *Hor. post merid.* I went towards Warwickshire and Staffordshire. In this journey I visited Sir Thomas Leigh, Sir Harvey Bagot, Sir Richard Lewson, and the Earl of Denbigh.

August 21. I returned to London.

November 13. I was entered into Mr. Henshaw's chamber in the Middle Temple, which I bought of him for 130*l.* being admitted to it this day 7 *hor.* 30 minutes *ante merid.*

17. 11 *Hor.* 15 minutes *ante merid.* I brought my goods thither, and 2 *hor. post merid.* came the rest.

1659. May 24. I became acquainted with Mr. Scipio Squire.

25. I went to Windfor, and took Mr. Hollar with me to take views of the castle.

July 2. Was the Antiquaries feast.

August 16. I came to Roe-Barnes, to table there.

21. My Study was broken up by the soldiers, upon pretence of searching for the King, but I lost nothing out of it.

October 2. Mr. John Watlington, an apothecary of Reading, and an able botanist (my very good friend) was buried.

5. Mr. Lilly received a gold chain from the King of Sweden.

November 2. Was the Astrologers feast.

December 12. Mr. Tredescant and his wife told me they had been long considering upon whom to bestow their closet of curiosities when they died, and at last had resolved to give it unto me.

14. This afternoon they gave their scrivener instructions to draw a deed of gift of the said closet to me.

16. 5 *Hor.* 30 minutes *post merid.* Mr. Tredescant and his wife sealed and delivered to me the deed of gift of all his rarities.

1660. January 3. My uncle Anthony Bowyer died.

March 2. I went into Warwickshire.

April 11. I returned to London.

June

June 6. 4 *Hor.* 15 minutes *post merid.* I first became acquainted with Sir Edmund Walker Garter.

16. 4 *Hor.* *post merid.* I first kissed the King's hand, being introduced by Mr. Thomas Chiffinch.

18. 10 *Hor.* *ante merid.* was the second time I had the honour to discourse with the King, and then he gave me the place of Windsor Herald.

22. This day the warrant bears date.

About this time the King appointed me to make a description of his medals, and I had them delivered into my hands, and Henry the VIIIth's closet assigned for my use.

July 19. This morning Mr. Secretary Morris told me the King had a great kindness for me.

August 6. Mr. Ayton, the King's chief gentleman-usher came to me into the closet, and told me, the King had commanded that I should have my diet at the waiters table, which I accordingly had.

10. The Officers at Arms took the oaths, and myself among them, as Windsor Herald.

14. This afternoon was the first publick meeting of the Officers at Arms in the Herald's Office.

21. I presented the King with the three books I had printed, *viz.* *Fasciculus Chemicus*, *Theatrum Chemicum*, and *The Way to Bliss*.

September 3. My warrant signed for the Comptroller's Office in the Excise.

17. I delivered my said warrant for the Excise to the Commissioners of Appeals.

October 24. 5 *Hor. post merid.* I came to the Excise Office, and took possession of the Comptroller's Office.

November 2. I was this night called to the bar in the Middle Temple Hall.

7. I had my admittance to the bar in the said hall.

December 28. I took my oath, as Comptroller of the Excise before Baron Turner.

1661. January 15. I was admitted a member of the Royal Society at Gresham College.

February 9. A warrant was signed by the King for my being Secretary of Surinam in the West Indies.

April 3. My patent for Comptrollership of the Excise bears teste.

13. The King gave my Lord Chamberlain order, to settle me as the first Herald, in case any dispute should happen.

May 16. The grant of Arms to me from Sir Edward Bysh Clarencieux bears date.

June

June 28. John Walsh was sworn my deputy.

November 6. Mr. Thomas Chiffinch dined at my chamber in the Middle Temple.

July 12. I christened Mr. Buttler the goldsmith's son, William.

1662. January 26. I paid in 50*l.* the half of my Royal Present to the King.

March 5. I sent a set of Services and Anthems to Litchfield cathedral, which cost me 16*l.*

April 22. Mr. John Tredescant died.

May 29. I was made one of the Commissioners for recovering the King's goods.

May 30. My Father Backhouse died this evening at Swallowfield.

This Easter Term I preferred a bill in Chancery against Mrs. Tredescant, for the rarities her husband had settled on me.

June 17. About 3 *Hor. post merid.* the Commissioners for the office of Earl Marshal first sat in Whitehall.

This afternoon my father Backhouse was buried in Swallowfield church.

29. 11 *Hor.* 36 minutes *ante merid.* I first kissed the Queen's hand.

August. I accompanied Mr. Dugdale in his visitation of Derby and Nottinghamshires.

9. I bought Mr. Tumepemine's interest in the lease of Homerich lands.

Sep-

September, I paid the other half of my Royal present to the King, *viz.* 50*l.*

December 5. I christened Captain Whar-ton's daughter, Anne.

1663. March. I accompanied Mr. Dugdale in his visitation of Staffordshire and Derbyshire.

May. Towards the end of this month I christened Mr. Timothy Eman's son of Windsor.

27. I fell ill of a feverish distemper.

July 6. I went towards Oxford, attending the body of Archbishop Juxon.

August 3. 9 *Hor. ante merid.* I began my journey to accompany Mr. Dugdale in his visitations of Shropshire and Cheshire.

October 10. I returned to London.

November 21. Mr. Povey brought the Earl of Peterborough to my chamber.

1664. January 19. Mr. Thomas first promised me a place in the White Office.

February 5. The Benchers of the Middle Temple granted me an assignment of my chamber in the Middle Temple.

8. My picture was drawn by Mr. Le Neve in my Herald's coat.

12. Mr. Dugdale fell sick of a fever.

13. I gave 20*l.* towards the repair of Litchfield minster.

March 17. I christened Secundus son to Mr. Lacy the Comedian,

May 18. My cause came to hearing in Chancery against Mrs. Tredescant.

June 17. I gave five volumes of Mr. Dugdale's Works to the Temple Library, and had this acknowledgment.

Parliamentum tentum 17th die Junii,
1664.

‘ Ordered that Mr. Ashmole of the ut-
‘ ter bar have their Masterships thanks for
‘ the books now presented by him to their
‘ Masterships for the library.’

27. The White Office was opened, wherein I was Comptroller.

July 16. I having bought the third part of my chamber upon the death of Mr. Perrot, the bench this day gave me an assignment of it.

August 9. Grand day at the reading in the Middle Temple, whereat I was one of the Stewards.

1665. February 8. About 8 *Hor. ante merid.* Mr. Thomas gave a warrant of attorney to confess a judgment to me of 1200*l.*

17. Sir Edward Bish sealed his deputation of me for visiting Berkshire.

May 11. I began to make my visitation of Berkshire at Reading.

August 26. I went towards Blyth Hall.

This

This year about 15 of July (the plague encreasing) I retired to Roe Barnes, and the following winter composed a good part of my work of the Garter there.

1666. January 17. I bestowed on the Bailiffs of Litchfield a large chased silver bowl and cover, which cost me 23l. 8s. 6d.

June. I presented the publick library at Oxford with three folio volumes, containing a description of the Consular and Imperial Coins there, which I had formerly made and digested, being all fairly transcribed with my own hand. In acknowledgment of which the following was entered in the register of benefactors :

Elias Ashmole armiger, & Regius Fecialis de Windesore, vir præstantissimus & rei antiquariæ peritissimus, accuratissimum antiquorum Numismatum Laudantium Catalogum in tria volumina distributum concinnavit, & Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ dono dedit.

August. This month I went to Blyth Hall, and returned the same month.

September 2. The dreadful fire of London began.

October 4. 1 Hor. 30 minutes *post merid.* some of my books, carried to my cousin Moyse's, were returned to my chamber at the Temple.

11. 1 *Hor.* 30 minutes *post merid.* my first boatful of books, which were carried to Mrs. Tredescant's the 3d of September, were brought back to the Temple.

18. 4 *Post merid.* all the rest of my things were brought thence to the Temple.

1667. May 21. I bought Mr. John Booker's study of books, and gave 140*l.* for them.

July 16. I went to Warwickshire.

24. I returned to London.

31. I went again towards Warwickshire.

August 21. I returned to Roe Barnes.

November 25. I took a lease of the Moggs in Litchfield from the Bailiffs, and that day paid 20*l.* part of 40*l.* fine.

1668. January 11. I paid to Mr. Rowlins 20*l.* the remaining part of my fine for the Moggs at Litchfield.

April 1. 2 *Hor. ante merid.* the Lady Mainwaring, my wife, died.

25. Mr. Joseph Williamson and Dr. Thomas Smith (afterwards Bishop of Carlisle) dined with me at my chamber in the Temple.

June 9. 5 *Hor. post merid.* the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury appointed me to execute the Office of Accomptant General in the Excise and Country Accomptant.

15. 5 *Hor. post merid.* they appointed me to execute the place of Country Accountant in the Excise.

August 10. I went towards Blyth Hall.

26. I returned to London.

September 4. 7 *Hor.* 30 minutes *ante merid.* I concluded with Mr. Laurence for his house in Shire Lane. At 7 *hor. post merid.* he sealed his assignment to me.

16. Doctor Currer, the Chymical Physician, my most entire friend, died.

October 1. He was buried at St. Clement Danes; and Dr. William Floyd preached his funeral sermon November 1.

November 3. I married Mrs. Elizabeth Dugdale, daughter to William Dugdale, Esq. Norroy King of Arms, at Lincoln's Inn Chapel. Dr. William Floyd married us, and her father gave her. The wedding was finished at 10 *hor. post merid.*

December 3. Doctor William Floyd married.

29. Justinian Pagitt, Esq. died.

1669. January 2. Mr. Justinian Pagitt was buried at St. Giles's in the fields.

April 15. Mr. Rose, the King's Gardener, and myself, went to Mrs. Tredescant's, and thence to Captain Forster's at South Lambeth, where I first was acquainted with him.

17. Mr. Oldenburgh (Secretary to the Royal Society) sent me a letter, that Count
Maga-

Magalotti would visit me at my chamber, from the Prince of Tuscany.

19. Count Magalotti and two other gentlemen of the Prince of Tuscany's chief attendants, came to my chamber to see my library and coins.

27. I felt the first touch of the gout, in my great toe, on my left foot, and in my left fore-finger.

June 5. I and my wife went to Hertham to visit Mr. Lilly.

14. We returned to London.

July 6. I went towards Oxford.

9. The possession of the Theatre (built by Dr. Sheldon Archbishop of Canterbury) was taken by the Vice Chancellor.

I received the honour of being made a Doctor of Physick at Oxford.

August 11. I and my wife went again to Mr. Lilly's.

22. Sir William Backhouse of Swallowfield died.

September 3. I returned to London from Mr. Lilly's.

Mrs. Dorcas Pagitt, wife to Justinian Pagitt, Esq. was buried.

21. I went towards Swallowfield to serve at the funeral of Sir William Backhouse.

28. He was buried at Swallowfield.

29. I let a lease of Homerich lands to H. Aldrich for seven years.

Novemb. 3. This evening Dr. Yates, Principal of Brazen-Nose College, presented me with a diploma from the university of Oxford, for my degree of Doctor of Physick, between six and seven at night.

About the middle of December, my friendship began to be renewed with Dr. Wharton, which had been discontinued for many years, by reason of his unhand-some and unfriendly dealing with me.

1670. March 14. I bestowed a grave-stone on Mr. Booker formerly, and this day paid for it: it had this inscription in capital letters.

Ne oblivione contereretur urna
Johannis Bookeri Astrologi
qui fati cessit
 VIto Idus Aprilis, Anno Christi Juliano
 MDCLXVII.
Hoc illi posuit amoris monumentum.
 Elias Ashmole
Armiger.

16. I was entertained by Monsieur Lionberg, the Swedish Envoy.

31. I obtained the King's warrant to my book of the Garter.

May 5. The Earl of Anglesea visited me at my chamber in the Temple.

10. I dined at Sir Charles Cotterel's with the Danish Envoy, and after dinner they went to my chamber in the Temple; where I so satisfied the Envoy touching the King of Sweden's precedence in the Order before his master's, that he thereupon waved the further prosecution of that affair.

June 22. Captain Burgh, my old acquaintance, died.

July 5. The Lord Hatton, my much honoured friend, died this morning.

I fell ill of a surfeit; but thanks be to God, I recovered the next day.

9. I dined with the Swedish Envoy.

27. Sir Gilbert Talbot, Master of the Jewel House, and Mr. Joseph Williamson, dined at my chamber in the Temple.

August 19. Six *Hor. post merid.* my cousin Moyses of Tottenham, died.

24. Myself and wife went to Captain Wharton's, at Greenwich.

Sept. 25. Eleven *Hor.* 30 minutes *ante merid.* I became acquainted with the Count de Monroux, Envoy from the Duke of Savoy.

Octob. 8. I moved my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury for a licence for Mr. Lilly, to practise physick; which he granted.

Nov. 18. I fell ill of the gout, in my great toe on the right foot.

20. I bled with leeches, and was well the next morning.

1671. Jan. 9. My sister Dugdale died.

13. I became acquainted with Mr. Peter Arnold the Chymist.

April 4. My brother Dugdale married to Mrs. Pigeon.

May 16. I let a lease of my house in Litchfield, to Mr. Edmund Falkingham, for 7 years.

July 20. I went towards Blyth-Hall with my wife.

31. I came to Litchfield.

Aug. 10. I and my wife went to Litchfield, where we were entertained by the Bailiffs at a dinner, and a great banquet.

15. We went to the Earl of Denbigh at Newnham.

18. Four *Hor. post merid.* I arrived at London.

Sept. 21. I went again towards Blyth-Hall.

Octob. 5. I came to Litchfield, where I met my brother Mainwaring.

16. I and my wife returned to London.

19. My brother Mainwaring came to London.

Decemb. 7. My brother Mainwaring took his oath as one of my deputies: so did Mr. Street.

1672. Jan. 24. I was entertained at dinner by the Venetian Agent.

May 3.

May 8. Two *Hor.* 40 minutes, *post merid.* I presented my book of the Garter to the King.

July 20. I and my wife went to Mr. Lilly's, wherewestayed till September the 2d.

Aug. 20. My good friend Mr. Wale, sent me Dr. Dee's original books and papers.

Sept. 14. The Earl of Peterborough having about June, by the Duke of York's command, called at my chamber in the Temple, for one of my books of the Garter, to carry to the Duke, then at sea; the Duke received it with much pleasure, and the Earl believed he had read it all over.

27. Mr. Philip Floyd's patent passed the Great Seal for the reversion of my office of Comptroller of the Excise.

Octob. 12. Ten *Hor.* 30 minutes *ante merid.* I sprained my right foot.

17. The Earl of Peterborough presented me to the Duke of York, who told me he had read a great part of my book; that I had done a great deal of honour to the Order of the Garter; that I had taken a great deal of pains therein; and deserved encouragement, 9 *Hor.* 20 minutes *ante merid.*

Decemb. 17. Being at the Treasury chamber, the Lord Treasurer Clifford very courteously invited me to his lodgings in the court.

20. I waited on him, and was received with great kindness.

23. The Earl of Bristol gave great commendations of my book; and said, 'he thought the Knights of the Garter were obliged to present me with some considerable gift, and that himself would move it.'

1673. Jan 11. This evening I sat with the Lord Treasurer two hours.

27. Ten *Hor.* 40 minutes *ante merid.* the Earl of Bedford gave his approbation, with great commendation of my book of the Garter.

Feb. 3. Ten *Hor.* 30 minutes *ante merid.* I delivered my petition to the Earl of Arlington, for the custom of paper, with a desire of his opinion about it. He answered, it was but a reasonable request, and he would confer with the Lord Treasurer about it, before he moved the King; and that he would do me service.

13. Eight *Hor.* 20 minutes *post merid.* I moved the Lord Treasurer for my arrears of my pension as Windsor Herald, and to favour my petition for getting the custom of some paper. The first he said should be done; and to the second, he would be my friend: and so he was.

March 13. My book of the Garter was sent to Captain Bartie, to be presented to the King of Denmark.

16. I grew indisposed with a fulness in my stomach; but taking some physick, I grew well.

25. The Earl of Denbigh came to my house to visit me.

April 2. Seven *Hor. post merid.* coming from Windsor in a coach with Sir Edward Walker, the coach overturned, and I sprained my left wrist.

17. I delivered my book of the Garter to Sir John Finch, to present it to the Duke of Tuscany.

May 24. I received the Lord Treasurer's warrant for one hundred and six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence, the arrears of my pension.

June 18. I received my Privy-Seal for four hundred pounds out of the custom of paper, which the King was pleased to bestow upon me, for my work of the Garter.

29. I was let blood.

July 4. The learned and ingenious Sir Robert Murrey died.

Sept. 29. I renewed my lease of Homerich lands, from the vicars of Litchfield.

Octob. 4. I and my wife came from Hersham to London, having spent a good part of the summer with Mr. Lilly.

12. The Lady Forster, Sir Humfrey Forster's widow, died.

Novemb. 8. This morning Dr. Wharton was found almost dead in his bed of an apoplexy, and palsy on his left side.

12. He sent for me at midnight, and because some differences had formerly fallen out between us, he desired to be reconciled to me: which he was.

15. Ten *Hor.* 15 minutes *ante merid.* Dr. Wharton died, and was buried in Basinghall church in a vault.

Decemb. 3. Dr. Teme, the physician, died this evening. He was buried at St. Andrew's Underhaft the 7th of January following.

1674. Feb. 25. Nine *Hor.* 30 minutes *ante merid.* I desired Mr. Hayes, the Earl Marshal's Secretary, to move his Lord, to give me leave to resign my Herald's place.

April 2. The Earl Marshal came to see my chamber in the Temple.

13. He gave me a George in gold, which his grandfather wore when he went Embassador into Germany.

24. My wife and I went to Mr. Lilly's, where we stayed till the 8th of September following.

May 29. About Five *post merid.* the order was made in the Chapter House at Windsor, for recommending me to the Knights of the Garter.

June 20. I dined with the Duke of Lauderdale at Ham, whither he had invited me, and treated me very kindly.

July 1. Sir John Davis, some time of Panborne in Berkshire, died.

20. I met with Mr. Thomas Henshaw upon his return from Denmark, having brought me a gold chain, and that King's medal thereat, from the said King.

27. I first spake with the Prince Elector of Brandenburg's Envoy.

August 1. I lent Mr. Edward Hopkins four hundred pounds, upon a mortgage of his lands in Little Pipe near Litchfield.

4. Sir William Swan, the King's Resident at Hamburg, gave me an account of his sending my books of the Garter to the Duke of Saxony, and Prince Elector of Brandenburg, and gave me a letter from the said Prince.

Sept. 17. I waited on the King, and shewed him the gold chain the King of Denmark sent me: he liked it well, and gave me leave to wear it.

October 2. Eleven *Hor.* 30 minutes *ante merid.* I and my wife first entered my house at South-Lambeth.

5. This night Mr. Tredescant was in danger of being robbed, but most strangely prevented.

28. I waited on the Earl Marshal, to gain his leave for disposing of my Herald's place. He told me I was a person of that ability, that he was loath to leave me; and put off the discourse to a further time.

Novemb. 17. I received a case of excellent pistols, and a silver hilt for a sword, sent me as a present, from the Earl of Castlemaine, from Liege.

26. Mrs. Tredescant being willing to deliver up the rarities to me, I carried several of them to my house.

Decemb. 1. I began to remove the rest of the rarities to my house at South-Lambeth.

2. This night my affair about the enlarging my control upon the counties, was settled.

18. Mr. Lilly fell sick, and was let blood in the left foot, a little above the ankle: new moon the day before, and the sun eclipsed.

20. Mr. Lilly had a great pain in his left leg, which lasted twenty four hours, and put him into a great fever.

23. My wife went to see him.

26. I went to visit him also.

28. The humour being fixed in two places upon the top of his left foot (one being the place he was let blood in) and now grown ripe, they were lanced by Mr. Agar, an apothecary (and no less a good surgeon)

surgeon) of Kingston: after which he began to be at more ease, and the fever abated.

I was present at the operation.

1675. Jan. 6. I wore the chain of gold, sent me from the King of Denmark, before the King, in his proceeding to the chapel, to offer gold, frankincense, and myrrh.

20. The Earl of Winchelsea, Sir William Swan, and Mr. Thynn, were entertained at my chamber in the Temple.

29. This afternoon I obtained the Earl Marshal's leave to resign my Herald's place.

Feb. 10. Colonel Gervais Hollis, a Master of the Requests, died.

21. Two *Hor. post merid.* I sealed the counterpart of Mr. Hopkins's mortgage of Little Pipe in *com.* Stafford, to me for four hundred pounds.

25. Mr. Dethick offered me three hundred pounds, if I would resign my Herald's place to him.

March 1. This night Mr. Sandford offered me the like sum, if I would resign it to him.

9. Colonel Gervais Hollis's body was carried through London, towards Mansfield in Nottinghamshire, where he was buried.

24. Lord Hatton and his sisters dined with me.

26. Mr. Smith, of Moorfields, died; he had an excellent good library of books.

April 17. My brother Dugdale having agreed with me for my Herald's place, this morning moved the Earl Marshal that he might succeed me; which he granted.

The same morning I agreed with my carpenter for building the additional rooms I made to my house at South-Lambeth.

27. This afternoon Sir William Swan told me, the Prince Elector of Brandenburg had given order for a present to me, and that it lay ready for me at Ham-
burgh.

May 1. Ten *Hor.* 30 minutes *ante merid.* I and my wife came to my house at South-Lambeth, to lie there.

5. Ten *Hor.* 20 minutes *ante merid.* I laid the first stone of my new building there.

20. This day Monsieur Swerene, the Prince Elector of Brandenburg's Envoy, came to visit me at my chamber in the Temple.

25. My wife, in getting up of her horse near Farnham Castle, fell down, and hurt the hinder part of her hand and left shoulder.

June 6.

June 6. Mr. Richard Hodgkinson (my old friend, and fellow gentleman of the Ordnance in the garrison of Oxford) was buried.

25. Six *Hor.* 30 minutes *ante merid.* the foundation of St. Paul's Church in London was laid.

27. Dr. Barlow (my old and worthy friend) was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln.

July 15. This morning a jury of sewers set out my brick wall made towards the highway, at my house at South-Lambeth.

21. Four *Hor.* *post merid.* I surrendered my Herald's place to his Majesty in Chancery, before Sir — Clerk, one of the Masters of that court.

Aug. 28. One *Hor.* 40 minutes *post merid.* I and my wife came to dwell at my house in South-Lambeth.

Octob. 7. Monf. la Mere (lately sent from the Prince of Orange to his Majesty) gave me a visit at my chamber in the Temple.

8. I first became acquainted with Monsieur Spanheim, the Prince Elector Palatine's Envoy to his Majesty; 9 *Hor.* 30 minutes *ante merid.* He was the Prince Elector Palatine's Plenipotentiary at Cologne; and there Sir Joseph Williamson delivered to him my book of the Garter, to present to the said Prince.

26. My brother Dugdale was created Windsor Herald.

27. Mr. Thomas Rofs (tutor to the Duke of Monmouth) died.

29. Between nine and ten *Hor. post merid.* my uncle Ralph Ashmole died.

Novemb. 2. I fell ill of a cold.

7. Great pain in my farther tooth, on the left side of my upper jaw, which continued three or four days.

16. Eleven *Hor. ante merid.* I began to plant my garden walls with fruit-trees.

This day Robert Chaloner, Lancaster Herald, died.

Decemb. 4. I first became acquainted with Mr. Butler, chaplain to the Duke of Ormond, and an able astrologian.

1676. Feb. 27. Sir Thomas Chicheley and Sir Jonas Moore came to dine with me.

March 10. I fell ill of the toothach, and the farthest tooth in the upper side of my left jaw was very loose.

29. My teeth fell looser, and put me to so great trouble, I could not chew my meat for a week.

31. My brother Harrison of Litchfield, died.

April 6. I was afflicted with the vertigo, and drew out my tooth that had so greatly troubled me.

7. The officers of Arms seeming unwilling to let me have the funeral-turn, which was my due, I acquainted the Earl Marshal with it: and this day, Sir Thomas St. George waiting on him, he told him, he would have me have the benefit of it. His Lordship afterwards told me, that he said to Sir Thomas, 'That he
'esteemed me the best officer in the office; and if he could have persuaded me
'to have staid in the office, I should not
'have wanted the best employment, and
'have been made the fore-horse in the
'team; and that I had deserved greatly,
'in getting money for rebuilding the
'office.'

Apr. 16. This evening the gout took me in my left foot, and held me for a fortnight.

Aug. 8. I fell ill of a looseness, and had above twenty stools.

Sept. 4. Mr. Ogilby died.

November 20. I fell ill of the gout in my left toe: This fit held me a fortnight.

Decemb. 18. My old friend Major Brooke, the stationer, died.

22. He was buried.

1677. Feb. 6. My uncle Ralph Ashmole's widow died.

7. In the afternoon I took cold in my head.

14. I took cold in my right ear.

19. Mr.

19. Mr. Richard Edlin, one of my clerks, died this night.

20. Sir Edward Walker, Garter, died suddenly.

21, 23, 25. I took *pile macri* which did me much good.

21. Mr. Richard Edlin was buried in St. Alhallow's Church-Yard.

22. The Bishop of Salisbury wrote to me, that he had moved the King to bestow Garter's place upon me. I wrote back to excuse my accepting of it, with desires to move no further on my behalf.

26. The Earl Marshal sent his Secretary, Mr. Hayes, to have my opinion, whether Garter's place was in the King's or his dispose. I gave my opinion, that it was in the King's disposal.

Mar. 6. The Bishop of Salisbury came to my house, to acquaint me with the King's command, that I should assist him in making good the King's title to Garter's place.

28. 7 *Hor. ante merid.* I laid the foundation of my back buildings to my house at South-Lambeth.

30. There was a hearing before some of the Lords of the Council and some Knights of the Garter, between the King and Earl Marshal, at which Garter's place was adjudged to be solely in the King's disposal.

31. Mr.

31. Mr. Bartie earnestly pressed me to accept of Garter's place, intimating my Lord Treasurer thought me fittest for it; which I excused: nevertheless he gave me an opportunity to speak with my Lord, which when I had, I forebore saying any thing of this matter to him.

Apr. 1. Mr. Bartie set more earnestly upon me to be Garter; but I absolutely refused.

2. My father Dugdale was pitched upon to be Garter, and the King gave his consent: whereupon the Earl Marshal sent for him out of Warwickshire by this night's post.

10. My father Dugdale came to town.

11. The Earl Marshal told my father Dugdale, that I had carried myself very fairly in the matter between him and the King, touching Garter's place.

May 10. 9 *Hor. ante merid.* The first foundation of the rebuilding of Cheapside was laid.

12. About noon I sprained my right foot, near my ankle.

24. My father Dugdale was created Garter, principal King at Arms.

25. He was Knighted.

June 1. He took his oath in a chapter, called to that purpose.

7. My Lord Treasurer agreed to have my comptrol continue upon the vouchers.

July 2.

July 2. I sealed a lease of my house in Litchfield to Mr. Falkingham, for eight years.

Another to Henry Aldrich of the lands in Homerich, for seven years.

Another to Mr. William Webb, of the Moggs in Litchfield, for eleven years.

10. I made a feast at my house in South-Lambeth, in honour of my benefactors to my work of the Garter.

Aug. 1. I received four hundred pounds, being the mortgage-money I formerly lent upon Mr. Hopkin's estate, at Little Pipe near Litchfield.

Sept. 10. 1 *Hor. post merid.* Mr. Rose, the King's gardener, died.

17. Count Wallestein, Envoy Extraordinary from the Emperor, Marquis de Este Borganiainiers, Envoy Extraordinary from the King of Spain, Monsieur Swerene, Envoy Extraordinary from the Prince Elector of Brandenburgh, and the Count of Flamburgh, bestowed a visit on me at my house at South-Lambeth.

28. There was a fire in the Inner Temple.

Oct. 4. Mr. Loggan began to draw my picture in black lead.

16. My Lord Bishop of Oxford gave me a visit at Mr. Loggan's.

31. Myne Heere van Zeelin (Secretary to the Prince of Orange) came to visit me at my chamber in the Temple. Nov.

Nov. 4. Mr. Rawlins, Town-clerk of Litchfield, acquainted me, that Mr. Richard Dyott, Parliament-man for that city, was likely to die, and that the Bailiffs, &c. were willing to chuse me in his room: but I answered, I had no inclination to accept of that honour, and therefore desired him to give my thanks to all that were so well affected to me.

10. Myne Heere van Zeelin, and the Dutch Embassadors, came to my house to visit me.

Dec. 10. Doctor Plot (*a*) came to me, to request me to nominate him to be Reader, at Oxford, of the philosophical lecture upon natural things. I told him if the university liked him, he should have my suffrage.

19. 2 *Hor. post merid.* Mrs. Ogilby died.

This morning my tooth, next my foretooth, in my upper jaw, was very loose, and I easily pulled it out.

Having received several letters from Litchfield, to request me to stand for a Parliament-man there: I at length consented, provided it was not too late: and upon attempting it by others for me, found it was so; for I found the magistrates and friends not so cordial to me as I expected, and therefore drew off and would not stand.

(*a*) See Appendix.

1678. Feb. 9. One of my middle teeth, in my lower jaw, was broke out while I was at dinner.

Mar. 23. The gout took me in my right toe.

Apr. 4. 11 *Hor.* 30 minutes *ante merid.* my wife told me, that Mrs. Tredescant was found drowned in her pond. She was drowned the day before about noon, as appeared by some circumstance.

6. 8 *Hor.* *post merid.* She was buried in a vault in Lambeth Churchyard, where her husband and his son John had been formerly laid.

22. I removed the pictures from Mrs. Tredescant's house to mine.

May 11. My Lord Bishop of Oxford, and Dr. Nicholas, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, gave me a visit at my house, 7 *Hor.* 30 min. *ante merid.*

June 18. Mr. Lea and his wife's release to me of the one hundred pounds I was to pay after Mrs. Tredescant's death, bears date.

July 17. About eight of the clock this morning I was served with a subpœna out of the Chancery, at Mr. Searles's suit.

Aug. 5. The Earl of Peterborough came to visit me at my chamber in the Temple, and to see my collection of coins.

Sept. 28. I took my purging pills.

29. I bled with leeches.

1679. Jan. 26. 10 *Hor. post merid.* The fire in the Temple began next room to my chamber, and burned my library, &c.

Mar. 25. I entered upon the house and ground adjoining to my house at South-Lambeth, which Mr. Bartholmew let me a lease of.

31. 9 *Hor.* 45 minutes *ante merid.* Mr. Bartholmew sealed my lease.

April I first became acquainted with the Lord Roberts

June 8. I went to Sir — Napier, at Great Linford in Buckinghamshire, and came thither next day 8 *Hor. post merid.*

14. I returned to London.

27. I visited Monsieur Spanheim.

Aug. 15. My Lord Grace of Canterbury, (Dr. Sancroft) came to visit me at my house, and spent a great part of the day with me in my study.

25. Sir Jonas Moore, Surveyor of the Ordnance, and my old friend, died.

Sept. 2. Sir Jonas Moore was buried in the Tower-Church.

About the end of October I was much troubled with the vertigo.

1680. Mar. 15. 8 *post merid.* I fell ill of the gout in my left great toe.

20. It fell into my right great toe, and this fit held me for five weeks.

Apr. 17. My wife fell ill of a rheumatism.

June 28. The Countess of Clarendon came to visit me and my wife.

July 26. The Archbishop of Canterbury's sister and niece came to visit my wife.

Sept. 6. The Earl of Radnor, Lord President of the Council, with his Lady and daughters, dined at my house.

15. 5 *Hor.* 30 minutes *post merid.* Sir Charles Cotterell presented me to the Prince Elector Palatine, in the Council-chamber, whose hand I kissed, and had much discourse with him about the Order of the Garter, into which he was ready to be elected.

16. 2 *Hor.* *post merid.* I presented the said Prince with one of my books of the Garter; which he courteously received: and now I had much discourse with him.

18. Sir Charles Cotterell told me this morning, that one of the Prince Elector's gentlemen came to him the day before, to desire me to dine with him this day. Hereupon I attended him accordingly, and he placed me next himself, on his left hand, and received me with great respect; and when he rose, took me aside, and told me he had heard much of my worth and esteem, and desired to have a correspondence with me, after he returned into his country.

Sept. 24.

Sept. 24. This day between eleven and twelve, my esteemed good friend Mr. John Staniesby of Clement's-Inn died. He fell sick at Northampton the 17th instant, between eleven and twelve of the clock, as he was coming towards London from his native country, Derbyshire. He was buried the 26th of September at night, in a vault, in St. Clement Danes church, under the seats belonging to the gentlemen of Clement's-Inn. He gave me this legacy by his will, *viz.* 'ITEM, I give
 ' to my honoured friend Elias Ashmole
 ' Esq. and his wife, each of them a ring
 ' of twenty shillings value, and likewise
 ' what books in my study he shall please
 ' to make choice of (many of them being
 ' his noble gift to me after I had lost
 ' many of my own by the fire at my
 ' chamber).'

The Prince Elector Palatine, at his departure, on September 18, put a medal of gold into Sir Charles Cotterell's hands, which had his father's picture on the one side, and an escutcheon of his arms on the other, supported by a lion; and bade him to deliver it to me, and to assure me, that when he came home, he would also send me one of his own.

27. This day, Sir Charles Cotterel sent me the medal.

November 4. Mr. Bartholomew fealed me a new lease of my house, &c. in South-Lambeth.

16. I received from the hands of Sir Robert Southwell, lately returned from Berlin, a gold chain with a medal, from the Elector of Brandenburg. It is composed of ninety links of philagreen links in great knobs, most curious work. Upon the one side is the Elector's effigy, on the other, the view of Strallsund, and made upon the rendition of that city into his hands. It weighs twenty two ounces.

29. I waited on the King, and acquainted him with the honour the Elector had done me, and shewed him the chain. He liked it well, and commended the workmanship.

1681. Feb. 9. Mr. William Chiffinch, Closet-keeper to the King, dined at my house, and then told me that his nephew Thomas Chiffinch (son to Thomas Chiffinch, my most worthy friend) died the week before.

March 15. Between nine and ten *ante merid.* Mr. Butler, the minister and astrologian, brought me acquainted with Sir Edward Deering, brother to Sir Edward Deering, now one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury,

April 5. Having been very lame in the hollow of my right foot most part of the

winter (occasioned, as I suppose, by applying pultices to my gout, which relaxed my tendons) this evening my pains were so encreased I could scarce go, and put me into so great a heat, that I became very feverish, and my urine pricked me fore as it came from me.

6. I took my usual sweat, which made me well, and strengthened my tendons, so that the next day I went to London, and walked much up and down the streets, without any pain: at night I became hot, and slept ill.

9. 11 *Hor.* 45 minutes *post merid.* I fell into a cold fit of an ague, which, with the hot fit, held me seven hours.

11. I took, early in the morning, a good dose of Elixir, and hung three spiders about my neck, and they drove my ague away—*Deo gratias.*

14. Dr. Gunning, Bishop of Ely, came this afternoon to visit me at my house, and staid in my study till night.

May 19. My worthy friend and my neighbour, both at the Temple and in the country, Thomas Siderfin Esq; died, near Epsom, about 4 *Hor.* *post merid.*

24. Mr. Siderfin was buried in Lambeth Church.

25. At the end of dinner Mr. Lilly's left side of his mouth was drawn aside, but recovered again.

30. This evening the dead palsy seized on the left side of my old friend Mr. William Lilly, astrologer.

June 2. Mr. Lilly took a vomit: at night he took his bed.

4. I went to visit him, but found him beyond hope.

9. 3 *Hor. ante merid.* Mr. Lilly died.

10. 8 *Hor. post merid.* He was buried in the chancel of Walton Church.

12. I bought Mr. Lilly's library of books of his widow for fifty pounds.

12. I sold one of my chambers at the Temple to Mr. ——— Holt, for one hundred and thirty eight pounds: and in this evening he was admitted.

17. This day my god-daughter——the only child of my neighbour Thomas Sinderfin Esq; died.

July 1. Mr. Sawbridge the stationer, an old friend of Mr. Lilly's and mine, died.

6. Mr. Sawbridge was buried in the middle aisle of St. Bridget Church in Fleet-street.

This day my wife went towards Blyth-Hall, with Sir William Dugdale, her father, to visit her mother.

Aug. 12. Sir George Wharton died at Enfield between one and two in the morning.

18. My wife returned from Blyth-Hall.

25. Sir

25. Sir George Wharton was buried in the Tower.

September 19. My wife miscarried, having gone about three months.

October 1. I took purging physick.

2. I took my sweat for the prevention of the gout.

4. About 8 *Hor. ante merid.* I fell sick of the cholick, which held me with sharp pains, especially on my right side, for 24 hours; and then I was presently eased, by applying bay-salt and bran, heated in a frying-pan; but before nothing else could ease me.

24. Mr. Thomas Flatman came to my house to visit me.

November 1. Mrs. Lilly came to my house, and stayed a week.

4. About 9 *Hor. ante merid.* I sealed an assignment of my judgment of 1200*l.* formerly given me by Sir Robert Thomas, and about an hour after, received from Sir Robert Clayton 800*l.* a composition agreed on with Sir Robert Thomas, out of which I gave him 70*l.*

December 18. (a) About 4 *post merid.* my dear mother-in-law, the Lady Dugdale, died.

21. She was buried in a sepulchre made in the chancel of Shustock church, by

(a) Vide last page of Sir William Dugdale's Life—London, 1714. 8vo.

Sir William Dugdale, for himself and her.

1682. Mar. 10. About 5 *Hor. post merid.*
I received a summons, to appear at a lodge to be held the next day at Masons-Hall in London.

11. Accordingly I went, and about noon was admitted into the fellowship of Free-Masons, by Sir William Wilton Knight, Captain Richard Borthwick, Mr. William Wodman, Mr. William Grey, Mr. Samuel Taylour, and Mr. William Wife.

I was the senior fellow among them (it being thirty five years since I was admitted) there was present besides myself the fellows afternamed, Mr. Thomas Wife, Master of the Masons-company this present year; Mr. Thomas Shorthose, Mr. Thomas Shadbolt, — Waidssford, Esq; Mr. Nicholas Young, Mr. John Shorthose, Mr. William Hamon, Mr. John Thompson, and Mr. William Stanton. We all dined at the Half-Moon-Tavern in Cheapside, at a noble dinner prepared at the charge of the new-accepted Masons.

April 1. My wife fell ill of a rheumatism: it began in her left ancle, then into her left knee and right toe.

18. Sir Charles Cotterell carried me to the Morocco Ambassador.

Alcade, Abdelloe, and Bomonzore came to my house, and dined with me.

May 17. George Smaldrige was elected out of Westminster-School to go to Christ Church in Oxford.

20. The Marquis of Worcester and Earl of Aylesbury, with their eldest sons, gave me a visit at my house this afternoon.

22. This night, scratching the right side of my buttocks, above the fundament, thence proceeded a violent sharp humour.

25. I applied pultices thereunto (and now was not able to sit or lie upon my bed) it was made of white bread crumbs, oil of roses and rose-leaves.

28. The pultices having well drawn the humour out, I applied *Unguentum Nutritum* to it.

June 4. Being hard bound in my body I was five hours before I could go to stool, and suffered much torment.

9. I purged with pills.

13. I went abroad again, thanks be to God.

17. Bomonzore dined with me, and gave me several excellent receipts.

July 5. The Morocco Embassador dined at my house.

13. The Astrologer's feast was restored by Mr. Moxon.

16. The Lord Lansdown, and Sir William Haward gave me a kind visit at my house.

20. The Morocco Embassador made ready to go away, but the Alcade slipt out of his lodgings, and hindered his journey.

21. The Alcade was taken.

22. This morning I gave the Morocco Embassador a large magnifying glass. In the afternoon the Alcade returned to the Embassador's lodgings.

23. About 3 in the morning the Embassador went away.

August 16. I went towards Oxford, to see the building prepared to receive my rarities, where I arrived about 7 of the clock in the evening.

17. Between 8 and 9. I first saw the said building. I was invited by the Vice-Chancellor, and dined with him at Queen's College.

22. 6 *Hor.* 30 minutes *post merid.* I arrived back at my house.

October 23. My Lord Chancellor Finch sent for me to cure him of his rheumatism, I dined there, but would not undertake the cure.

1683. January 23. I took a great cold, going by water, and kept my chamber three days.

29. The Astrolagers feast was held at the Three Cranes in Chancery-Lane: Sir Edward Deering and the Town-clerk of London were stewards.

February 2. My picture (after sent to Oxford) came home 3 *Hor. post merid.* I acquainted Mr. Woolrich, in part, with the secret of raising flowers from a virgin-earth.

15. I began to put up my rarities in cases to send to Oxford.

March 7. I took purging pills, which wrought very well.

10. The gout fell into my left great toe this morning.

14. The last load of my rarities were sent to the barge, and this afternoon I relapsed into the gout.

21. The gout fell into my right great toe.

April 8. Major Huntingdon came to my house, to visit me.

10. I took my pills, and purged very well.

11. The pains in my feet returned.

24. Mr. Anthony Bowyer, and his lady, came to visit me and my wife.

25. I went first abroad, after so long confinement, by reason of my gout.

26. Dr. Smallwood, Dean of Litchfield, died.

August

August 6. The surveyors of the highways began to raise the causeway at Horshead Still.

9. They finished their work, all at my charge.

September 5. I took pills,

6. I took a sweat,

7. I took leeches: all wrought very well.

17. Monsieur Job Ludolph came to visit me.

23. I first saw Dr. Lister, at my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury's at dinner.

24. The Prince Elector of the Rhine's secretary dined with me. As also a nobleman of that country, a son of a patrician of Nurembergh, and Dr. Lister.

26. A fitch took me at the setting on of my left hip.

28. I was very much troubled with it.

October 8. Monsieur Lodolph, and his son, dined with me.

10. I gave Mr. Heyfeg a book of the Garter: my wife gave him three gold buckles.

16. The Commissioners of the Excise dined with me.

30. I took leave of Monsieur Ludolph and his son, who were returning into Germany.

November, Monsieur Ludolph went from London.

December. 7. A boil began under my chin.

26. 6 *Hor.* 30 minutes *ante merid.* I had a long fit of a vertigo.

1684. February 4. Mr. Jean Schielderas, the Bishop of Bergen's son, and Mr. Godfreed Rofs, a Prussian, visited me.

March 5. 11 *Hor. ante merid.* a green staff was sent me by the Steward of St. Thomas's Hospital, with a signification that I was chosen one of the Governors.

April 6. Major Huntingdon dined with me.

8. There was an installation of George Prince of Denmark.

21. Major Huntingdon died: and this day Mr. Thomas Henshaw, Mr. Rogers, Dr. More, and Dr. Bernard dined at my house.

30. Major Huntingdon was buried at St. Botolph Aldersgate church.

May 5. 2 *Hor. post merid.* I laid the foundation of my new stable.

14. I took a sweat.

19. Sir Thomas Walcot came to visit me.

June 27. I bruised my left great toe.

July 18. 10 *Hor.* 15 minutes *ante merid.* my two coach-horses were brought to me.

22. My coach was brought to me.

23. I went towards Oxford.

28. I returned home.

August 4. Several French gentlemen, and Johannes Serenius Chodowiefkey, a Polander, came to visit me.

6. I rubbed the skin near my rump, whereupon it began to be very sore.

8. I purged.

9. I took leeches.

10. I purged again.

12. I applied a plaister to it.

15. Mr. Agur applied a balsam.

17. The sore began to break.

18. Dr. Plott, sent from Oxford to visit me, came to me.

19. I fell into a looseness, which continued for two days.

24. Mr. Agur lanced the sore.

26. Being hard bound, I was two hours before I could go to stool, and then with exceeding great trouble.

31. I was lanced again, to prevent a fistula.

September 10. By this time the sore, near my fundament, was healed.

October 20. Sir Thomas Duppa, and Mr Matthews dined with me.

November 19. Dr. Plott presented me with his book *de Origine Fontium*, which he had dedicated to me.

24. My teeth began to be loose.

December 8. Mr. Haak brought Mr. Bowen of Upton in Pembrokeshire, to visit me.

19. Dr. Chamberlain propos'd to me to bring Dr. Lister to my wife, that he might undertake her.

22. They both came to my house, and Dr. Lister did undertake her.

1685. January 24. I was much troubled with my teeth, in my upper jaw, on my left side, which, by fits, continued for a week; and then I held pills in my mouth, made of burned allom, pepper, and tobacco, which drew much rheum from me, and so I was eas'd.

February 6. King Charles II. my gracious master, died.

14. About 9 *post merid.* he was buried.

13. I took a violent cold, which held me till the 5th of next month.

26. I took my purging pills;

27. I took my sweat, both worked very well.

March 2. 5 *Hor.* 15 minutes *post merid.* I received an obliging letter from the Bailiffs, Justices, &c. of Litchfield; so also from the Dean, inviting me to stand to be one of their Burgesses for Parliament. I sent them word that I would stand:

3. Whereupon they set about getting votes for me, and I found the citizens

very affectionate and hearty. About a fortnight after my Lord Dartmouth told me, the King would take it kindly from me, if I would give way to Mr. Lewson. Upon this I applied myself to my Lord Treasurer, and desired to know of him the King's pleasure, by whom I found it was the King's desire, and then I immediately wrote down, to acquaint my friends that I would resign; but they would not believe my letter, which occasioned me to go to the King, and let him know so much; who told me he did not know I stood, when he gave Mr. Lewson encouragement to go down, for if he had, he would not have done it. I told him I was all obedience, which he took very kindly. I then wrote down again, to assure them I would sit down, and so Mr. Lewson, with the assistance of my votes, carried it at the day of election.

April 1. 6 *Hor. post merid.* I first became acquainted with Mr. Negos, secretary to the Duke of Norfolk.

27. Mr. — of Nurembergh, and a French gentleman, which Mr. Labadie brought along with him, dined with me.

May 1. Judge Walcot, and Mr. Cook, the Prothonotary dined with me.

4. Monsieur Spanheim, Envoy extraordinary from the Elector of Brandenburg, and his Lady, and Monsieur Bessor his agent

agent here, with Sir Charles Cotterel, his Lady, and son, dined with me.

5. The Duke of Norfolk invited me to dine with him the next day; which I did, and was well received.

13. I took my purging pills,

14. And my sweat.

29. I visited Dr. Smith, Bishop of Carlisle, who was of my ancient acquaintance at Oxford.

31. This night again a pain (in my sleep) took me in my middle toe of my right foot, which removed to my ankle, and after three days went away.

June 2. A pain took the uppermost tooth but one, on the right side of my uppermost jaw.

4. My said tooth sunk so low I could not chew.

9. A boil rose in the left side of my throat.

17. This evening I had a grievous fit of the toothach.

July 9. The Countess of Clarendon, Bishop of St. Asaph, Mr. Henshaw, Mr. Evelyn, Dr. Tenison, and Mr. Frazer supped at my house.

11. The Earl of Radnor fell sick about noon.

17. 1 *Hor. post merid.* The Earl of Radnor died.

20. Dr. Ridgley (my old acquaintance) gave me a visit.

21. I went to Windsor, to the installation of the Duke of Norfolk, Earl of Peterborough, and Lord Treasurer.

25. The Earl of Radnor's body was carried into Cornwall.

August 4. I and my wife went to Mr. Napier's at Brookhill.

5. We went to Mr. Hutchinson's at Delroe.

8. We returned home.

10. A boil began to appear in my right groin.

13. This night my boil broke.

15. Another appeared a little higher, but it died.

24. I went to Windsor, to the Installation of the Earl of Feversham.

September 5. Passing upon the Thames, I took a great cold.

9. I took a purge.

10. I took a sweat.

October 13. I took my sweat.

28. The Earl of Peterborough shewed me his rare collection of gems and ancient rings.

30. I became acquainted with Mr. Cary, who came lately from Berlin. He told me his Electoral Highness of Brandenburg did often speak, with a great deal of honour, of me, and designed to have my
my

my book of the Garter translated into Dutch.

November 10. This morning I had some discourse with Mr. Gerard, about purchasing Mr. Plommer's farm.

16. Mr. Dean of Windsor, and Dr. Chamberlain the Civilian, brought Sir John Faulconer of Scotland, to dine with me. I found him a very ingenious gentleman, well read in his own country antiquities and coins.

December 3. I first sat upon the Commission of Sewers, it being opened this morning, and myself named therein; but nothing further was done at this sitting.

14. Sir John Faulconer dined with me, and I gave him divers of my English coins.

16. I waited on the Earl of Clarendon, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, as far as St. Albans in his journey thither. The jolting of the coach, which drove very hard, raised a swelling in my left breech.

1686. January 9. Mr. Cook, my neighbour at South Lambeth, having lately set up a pale along his garden, and encroached upon the church-way about two foot, I undertook to complain of it; and this day Mr. Cooper, his landlord, and myself, upon a debate on the matter, agreed (by his consent) to set it back a

foot and an half, which was done accordingly.

20. The Commissioners of Sewers met, and I (with some others of the Commissioners) took my oath.

February 1. Sir John Faulconer, a Scotch gentleman, died.

4. He was buried this night in the church of St. Margaret Westminster.

10. This morning I dreamed, that being at my old house in Shire-Lane, the side of the garret seemed to totter and fall, infomuch that I thought the house itself would presently fall down.

This afternoon, about one of the clock my wife's father, Sir William Dugdale, died.

14. I moved the Duke of Norfolk, on my brother Dugdale's behalf, that he would move the King, that he might succeed him, which he promised to do; (but I found him more inclinable to prefer Sir Thomas St. George). In his discourse he told me, no man was fitter for the place than myself, if I would accept of it; but I made the same excuse to him as I did to his father, after the death of Sir Edward Walker.

19. The Duke of Norfolk proposed to me, to give my brother Dugdale the place of Norroy, and the next day gave him assurance of it.

March 26. This night I pissed so much, that I feared a diabetes, notwithstanding I had kept myself very temperate all the spring time.

27. This morning I grew ill and very hot, and was troubled with a sharpness of urine. I took syrup of white lilies in posset-drink, and the next day an emulsion of the four cooling seeds, (this kept me temperate) with water of violets and wood-bine, to wash my mouth; and giving myself rest and ease, I thank God, I recovered in a few days.

April 5. I took my sweat.

May 6. My wife took Dr. Nagel's tincture.

17. I first dined at St. Thomas's Hospital, the general court being held there this day.

20. 11 *Hor.* 15 minutes *ante merid.* I first sat upon the commission for charitable uses.

23. Dr. Plot presented me with his Natural History of Staffordshire.

26. Mr. Plummer sealed his part of the conveyance of the farm to me, and his wife acknowledged a fine before the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

July 10. This morning early the fang-tooth in the right side of my upper jaw fell out.

13. I began to repair my barn at South Lambeth for Goodman Ingram.

25. I took my sweat.

August 2. I and my wife went to Brockhill to Mr. Napier's.

7. We went to Delroe to Mr. Hutchinson's.

9. We returned to South Lambeth.

13. The gout fell into my left great toe: I applied leeches.

28. I applied black snails to my right foot, they being bruised; but they blistered and poisoned the top of my foot, and after several breakings out, it was healed towards the middle of October.

September 8. I took my usual sweat.

23. 5 *Hor.* 30 minutes *post merid.* I agreed upon conditions with Goodman Ingram, to make him a lease of the farm I bought of Mr. Plummer, except the oat-field.

29. Sir Philip Floyd (who had the reversion of my office in the Excise) died.

October 7. I waited upon the King, upon his return to town from Windsor, who was pleased to receive me with much kindness.

12. I took a great cold in my neck, which held me six days.

25. 6 *Hor.* 45 *post merid.* I sealed the lease of John Ingram.

26. The running gout seized on my wife's right instep. It continued shifting into her arms and knees with great torment till after Easter, and then she began to set her feet on the ground, yet was not able to go abroad till towards Midsummer.

29. I received a letter from Sir Henry Chauncey, Treasurer of the Temple, to invite me to the bench, but I wrote him an excuse; and next day gave reasons for my refusal.

December 7. The Commissioners of Excise moved the Lord Treasurer, shewing the necessity of my having another clerk, and obtained 80*l.* *per An.* salary for him.

23. 10. *Hor.* 30 minutes *ante merid.* I received my order from the Lord Treasurer, for a new clerk, with 80*l.* *per An.* salary.

23. This day my nephew Dugdale (Sir John Dugdale's son) was married.

1687. January 5. The Earl of Rochester surrendered his staff.

6. About 6 *post merid.* the Commission for the Lord Commissioners was opened and read.

8. This morning the Commissioners of Excise, and myself, waited on the new Lords Commissioners of the Treasury.

13. The gout fell into my right hand, which disabled me from using my pen for above a quarter of a year.

16. I took my sweat.

17, 18, 19. I was much troubled with the wind cholick.

24. I applied leeches to my right hand.

27. The swelling of my hand abated.

28. There were two tides this morning.

February 8. This afternoon the gout swelled my hand again, and the night passed with great torment.

4. This night my hand did most grievously pain me.

March 3. This afternoon I and my wife were both suddenly struck with a cold and hoarseness.

I felt the effects of this hoarseness, in the back part of my throat, for a long time after.

22. 2 *Hor.* 30 minutes *post merid.* An issue was made in my left arm.

April 16. My wife took Mr. Bigg's vomit, which wrought very well.

19. She took *pulvis sanctus*, in the afternoon she took cold.

N. B. That both were too strong physick for her.

21. My wife fell very ill, and into a great weakness.

26. I purged with my usual pills.

27. I took my usual sweat.

Towards the end of this month my wife began to mend, but not fully recover till a fortnight after.

July 16. This morning I received a Parcel of books from J. W. Irnhoff of Nurembergh, among which was his *Excellentium Familiarum in Gallia Genealogia*.

August 31. Sir John Chardin, and Mr. Bever, came to South Lambeth, to visit me.

September 14. 10 *Hor.* 40 minutes *ante merid.* I sat for a second picture to Mr. Ryley.

October 5. 11 *Hor.* 7 minutes *ante merid.* the Earl Marshal's Court first sat in the Painted Chamber at Westminster.

7. Dr. Plot came to me at my office, and told me, that the Earl Marshal had chosen him Register of the Court.

8. 10 *Hor. ante merid.* I went first to the Earl Marshal's Court, and when his Lordship rose, he invited me to dine with him; which I did.

9. I took my usual sweat. (a)

(a) Here ends Mr. Ashmole's M. S.

WHAT remains further, I shall give you in the words of Mr. John Aubrey, F. R. S. who in his designed Survey of the County of Surrey, (repositied in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford) towards the beginning, has these words — “ And now I am come as a
 “ mourner to perform my last office at
 “ the grave of my worthy friend Elias
 “ Ashmole, Esq. whose body lieth buried
 “ in the South aisle (of the Church of
 “ South Lambeth) at the East end, on the
 “ North side of it, under a black marble,
 “ with this inscription.

*Hic jacet inclytus ille & eruditissimus
 Elias Ashmole Leichfeldensis Armiger,
 inter alia in Republica Munera,
 Tributi in cervicias contra rotulator,
 Facialis autem Windforiensis titulo
 per annos plurimos dignatus,
 Qui post duo connubia in Uxorem duxit tertiam
 Elizabetham Gulielmi Dugdale
 Militis, Garteri Principalis Regis Armorum
 filiam ;
 Mortem obiit 18 Maii, 1692, anno ætatis 76.
 Sed durante Musæo Ashmoleano, Oxon.
 nunquam moriturus.*

Near it, is an atchievement set up for the same person, whereon is the following
 coat

coat of arms, *viz.* Quarterly, Sable and Or, the first quarter on a *Fleur de lis*; of the second: Ashmole, impaling Dugdale, *viz.* Argent, a cross malines Gules, and a Torteaux, with this Motto—*Ex una omnia.*

Over the entrance to the Musæum, fronting the street is the following inscription in capital letters:

Musæum Ashmolcanum, Schola Naturalis Historiæ, Officina Chymica.

Over the door of Mr. Ashmole's Library, at the top of the stairs, is the following inscription, in letters of gold, *viz.*

Libri Impressi & Manuscripti e donis Clariss. Virorum D. Eliæ Ashmole & Martini Lister quibus non paucos addidit Vir industrias nec infime de Re Antiquariâ Promeritus D. Johannes Aubrey de Easton Peirce apud Wiltonienses Arm. & Soc. Reg. Socius.

A N

A P P E N D I X

O F

Original Letters sent to and from
Mr. Ashmole.

A letter of thanks from the corporation
of Litchfield, upon the receipt of a
silver bowl, presented to them by
Mr. Ashmole.

For the truly honoured Elias Ashmole,
Esq. at his chamber in the Middle
Temple, over Serjeant Maynard's cham-
ber. In his absence, to be left with
the Butler or Porter of the Middle
Temple, London.

Honoured Sir,

UPON Thursday, being the 17th
day of this instant January (a day
ever to be rubrical amongst our city re-
mem-

membrances) we received your Tina Argentea, your munificent silver bowl, cloathed, in its delivery, with all those rich circumstances of advantage, that could possibly either enable the gift to bespeak the goodness and prudence of the giver, or invite the fairest acceptation in the receiver. For if we consider the person from whom, it is the gift of an Elias, a herald, not only proclaiming, but actually contributing good things to our city; and that by the hands of a Zacharias, a faithful messenger, who with the gift, did emphatically communicate the sense and good affection of the giver. And if we consider the time it was presented, it was the day of our Epiphany sessions of the peace for this city, where our Bailiffs, High-Steward, Sheriff, Grand Jury, and the rest of the body politick of this ancient and loyal corporation, together with other persons of quality both of the clergy and laity were convened together, and so became present at this great offering: As if some propitious star arising in the East, had (at this time) gone before our Magus, steering its course to this our city of Litchfield (the Sarepta of our Elias) and stood over the new-erected pyramids of our cathedral (where as yet a star appears) darting its benign influence upon this poor and loyal city, inviting the
 Magi

Magi from afar, to offer some tribute to it: A city that hath nothing to glory in, but its ancient and modern loyalty to God and Cæsar, evidenced by her ancient bearing in the city escutcheon (three Knights martyred) as ancient as the days of Dioclesian, and her name signifying a field of blood then spilt; to which may be well added her modern and unparalleled loyalty to that blessed saint (now in heaven) King Charles the martyr; universally witnessed by those honourable marks, erases, and wounds of loyalty, she yet bears upon her persons, temples, streets, and walls; (trophies of honour) sufficiently blazing to the world the true heraldry of her ancient arms: nor have you only given us this great cratera (upon which you have wisely imprest our city arms) to solace the best of the city, after their time of suffering; but, like one of those true Magi that offered to Christ in his poorest condition, you have largely offered to the repair of his church, our ruined cathedral, which, by the unwearied labour, prudence, piety, and charity of our good (a) Bishop, a second Cedda, and the charity of yourself, and others, happily deposited in his hands, is (almost to a miracle) so well and so soon restored

(a) Dr. Hacket.

again.

again. But you have likewise annually and liberally offered, relieved, and refreshed Christ in his members, the poor of our city. And as if you intended piously to engross and cover all our necessities, under that warm and nourishing mantle of Elias, we have received intimation of your promises of greater good intended this great city. Now, Sir, give us leave to conclude (having been already too tedious) by informing you that, according to your desire, (upon the first receipt of your Poculum Charitatis, at the sign of the George for England) we filled it with catholick wine, and devoted it a sober health to our most gracious King, which being of so large a continent, past the hands of thirty to pledge; nor did we forget yourself in the next place, being our great Mæcenas; assuring you that (God willing) we shall take courie that this great Tina Argentea shall, with our city-mace, and other publick ensigns of dignity and authority, be carefully transmitted, by indenture, from Bailiffs to Bailiffs, in a continual succession, so long as this ancient and loyal corporation through the favour of Princes (which we hope, we shall never forfeit) shall have a charter to give it life and being. For which end your many other multiplied favours to this poor

C c

city,

city, we, the present Bailiffs of this city, do, in the name (and by the desire) of our whole company, return you most hearty thanks, subscribing ourselves, what we truly are,

Sir,

Your obliged faithful friends,

Litchfield, 26
Jan. 1666.

To serve you,

JOHN BARNES,
HEN. BAKER.

A Preface to the Catalogue of Archbishop Laud's Medals, drawn up by Mr. Ashmole, and preserved in the publick Library at Oxford, and referred to in Page 332 of this Work.

Lectōri Benevolō, *ἐν παρατίθει καὶ ἐν δαίμονεσσιν.*

CUM Oxoniam (Britannici lumen orbis principium, grandeque decus) commentandi gratia annos aliquot ante, me contulisset, Collegio Reginensi Præpositi (tunc temporis autem in inclytâ hac Univerſitate, Proto Bibliothecarii Bodleiani)
Doctōris

Doctoris Barlow postulatio, imo & expostulatio me non mediocriter afficere.

Querebatur enim eximiæ doctrinæ Vir, inter Academicos, (temporibus difficillimis illis quidem, & tyrannide Cromwelliana invaleſcente, duriffimis) paucos tum superesset plurimis, artis & naturæ dotibus suspiciendis, Ostracismo etiamnum pulsus, aut (nec vanus timor) propediem pellendis, qui ad rei Antiquariæ studium & veterum Numismatum cognitionem, quibus tamen aſſatim illic abundant Archiva, (paupertate & nova tyrannide preſſi) adjeciſſent animum. Supra laudati Doctoris, inquam, rogatu, conqueſtuque, hoc ultro mihimet (ut brevem illorum descriptionem exhiberem) penſum impoſui: Tum ad novitios & in rei Nummariæ ſcientia parum exercitatos, melius informandos, tum ad eorum Genium excitandum, qui ad tantum, tam proficuum, tam dignum, tam honorificum, tam denique neceſſarium erudito viro ſtudium aſpirare niterentur.

Hoc igitur ſic mihi propoſitum ſpontequæ ſuſceptum (arduum illud quidem, & laborioſæ plenum opus alexæ penſum) lætus aggredior, indies factione Cromwelliana, non ſine damno publico ingraveſcente, & paulo poſt Britanniæ *παλιγγυεſία* & ſacræ Regiæ Majeſtatis (auſpicato & quaſi poſtliminio) reſtitutum, *σὺν θεῷ* ad finem perduxī.

Sed cum hujus exſcriptum, manu propria

pria cuperem exarare, ut ingenue fatear, mihi fuit ante hunc diem illud abfolvere, cum negotiorum (quæ me continuo circumvallat) turba, modicum mihi fubinde fpatium, ad aliquid per intervalla & quafi furtim nonnunquam ex eo tranfcribendum permiferit. Verum antequam huic Operi confiderando te Lector accingas, de nonnullis, & ad promptiorem ejus diligentiam, & ad faciliorem ejufdem ufum, te monitum cupio.

Atque ut aggrediar, totum opus de antiquis Numifmatis quibus Oxoniæ ditescunt Archiva, in tria dividitur Volumina. Primum est Confularium Nummorum, aliquosque Illuftrium Romæ Familiarum, reliqua duo Imperatoria Numifmata continent.

Huc accedit, quod Monetam, confulum Alphabetico locarim ordine potius, quam illam in annorum confulatus cujusque feriem redigerim: Multi etenim Confulares Nummi, nequaquam ab iis, quibus affimilantur, excufi funt. Sed ab illis Triumviris Monetilibus Augufti regno, qui vellent ifta ratione, vel quod forfan ab ipsis ducerent originem, ut præclaras illorum actiones aliquot exciperet, actueretur æternitas. Quod autem attinet ad Imperiales Nummos (qui hic incipiunt à Julio Cæfare, atque cum Heraclio definunt) hi ad eos perfecte referuntur annos,

nos, in quibus conflati, proculque fuere; cum relatione tamen ad tempus vel præcedens, vel subsequens Incarnationem Christi Salvatoris nostri, quod characteribus istis expressi, A. C. hoc est, ante Incarnationem Christi, & J. C. id est, ab Incarnatione Christi. Qui characteres notantur in capite cujuscumque paginæ, paucis exceptis, qui sufficiens ad hoc, ut ad manifestam sui temporis cognitionem deducere me queant, lumen desiderare videntur. Atque istos quidem sub imperatoris cujusque regni finem, Anno ante eosdem in margine nullo designato, collocare, quam eosdem, cæteros inter intrudere certa sine ratione, satius elegi. Idemque circa Imperatrices omnes, eandemque ob rationem, a me præstitum est.

Præterea, ut ex quo genere metalli, quodlibet ex dictis Numismatis cufum est, constare possit; metalla per has sequentes distinximus notas AV. enim denotat aurum, AR. indicat argentum, Æ, denique significat Æs.

Porro cum Ænei Nummi diversæ magnitudinis existant; ad triplicem præsertim (qua dignoscantur) juxta numericas figuras (1.) (2.) & (3.) characteribus illorum præfixas (exceptis parvulis valdeque minutis aliquot, qui peculiariter pro talibus exhibentur) ad triplicem, inquam, præciue magnitudinem, revocari possunt.

Adde superioribus, quod ubi quempiam argenteum Nummum, formam habentem secundæ magnitudinis æreorum invenio, quod ut duxtaxat ab ordinario distinguitur denario, figuram illi (2.) solem adjungere.

Hanc, hoc gemino cum voto, præfatiunculam claudere mihi est animus D. O. M. enixe deprecatus, tum ut generousum hæc in parte Benefactorum numerum adaugeat: Tum ut eos qui prisca Numismata celeberrimum hoc in Ærarium conferunt, novis, quibus suam sublevent inopiam, Numismatis, nunquam egere patiatur.

Pene omiferam quemlibet post annum, hic a me de industria relictum esse spatium, ut quid è novo dictum ad Thesaurum, antiqui ferentur Nummi, ad hunc quoque Catalogum, pari (quo superiores) modo, referri valeant.

Scriptum in meo Medio Templi Museo, decimo Calendos Junias,
Anno Jul. 1666.

E. ESHMOLE.

A copy

A copy of a letter from Doctor Barlow to Mr. Ashmole, on his present of his books, describing Archbishop Laud's cabinet of medals.

For my honoured Friend Elias Ashmole, Esq. at his chamber in the Middle Temple, these; London.

My dear Friend,

IT is a good while since I received your excellent present to our University-Library, and, 'ere this, told you so; and returned our many and hearty thanks, had I not been suddenly and unexpectedly called away to Worcester, whence I am now returned. At the visitation of Bodley's Library (when the Vice-Chancellor and all the Curators were met) I presented your books to the Vice-Chancellor, and the rest, in your name, as a testimony of your kindness and love to learning and our University; as also of your ability to enrich Bodley's Library with your own works. Anyman who has a mind to it, and money, may give us good books of other mens making, but very few of their own; *' pauci quos æquus*

'*amavit Jupiter.*' Some more generous and ingenuous souls, a Selden, a Dugdale, or an Ashmole may do this, none else. The Vice-Chancellor and Curators were exceeding well satisfied with, and very thankful for, your great charity and munificence to the publick. Care is taken, that your name and gift be recorded in our register, (*a*) to your deserved honour, and the encouragement of others, by your good example, if not to an equal, yet to a like liberality. And sure I am, it will be an honour to you, and a comfort to your friends, when they shall find in our register, that you have been so great a benefactor to Bodley's Library. My love and respects to yourself and my honest friend Mr. Dugdale. God Almighty bless you both, And,

Sir,

Your affectionate friend,

Queen's College,
Oxon. Decemb.
28, 1668.

T. BARLOW.

(*a*) P. 41.

For

For Elias Ashmole, Esq. at his
House in Lambeth.

Sir,

THE bearer hereof will need no recommendation from me, when you shall understand, that it is Doctor Plott, the learned author of the Natural History of Oxfordshire. It is upon the reputation of your own worth, as well as your magnificent gift intended to the University, that he has the ambition to be better known to you. They are (I hear) designing to create a philosophical lecture upon natural things; and their inclination to pitch upon this knowing gentleman for that purpose (whose talent and merits are so eminent) I am sure, cannot miss of your concurrent suffrage. I am only sorry, that the affair, which carries me this morning out of town, deprives me of so desired an opportunity of kissing your hand at Lambeth; who am, for many great obligations,

Sir,

Your most humble
And obedient servant,

Whitchall, 7
Dec. 1677.

J. EVELYN.

For

For the worshipful and learned
 Elias Ashmole, Esq. at his
 house in South Lambeth, near
 London.

Most worthy and learned Sir;

BEING informed by my friend Mr. Gadbury, that there were several passages in my history, which did some way reflect on your great worth and learning, and also intimate me to be guilty of gross rudeness and heat, I found it my duty to make this recantation; and so let you know that whatever in that kind may occur, I utterly repent and disown; and am both heartily sorry and ashamed, that any way I should prove so unhappily offensive to so good and learned, so industrious and renowned a gentleman, whose books I am not worthy to bear after him. And, Sir, if it will please you to let me see a copy of the passages, as you have collected them, (which on occasion I promise to return) with your confutations and reasons annexed, I do solemnly protest, that I will make a publick recantation, or otherwise as you shall think fit: and also, if ever King Edward sees another impression, I will alter those passages

passages as far as truth and equity shall acquire, still protesting in *verbo Sacerdotis*, that I never had any but honourable and respectful thoughts of you and Sir William Dugdale, (*Dii! quanto nomina*) and what I did, proceeded from a desire of finding out the truth, however my frailty might betray me to an error. Sir, the honour of a line, especially with an intimation of your good will, will be highly acceptable to the real honourer of your learning and goodness.

Emanuel College, Camb.
Oct. 15, 1688.

J. BARNES.

My humble duty to his Grace at Lambeth: and pray, Sir, have me recommended to my good master Doctor Goad and Mr. Gadbury, &c.

For

For my worthy friend M. Joshua Barnes, at Emanuel College in Cambridge.

Sir,

MY present weak indisposition has took me off from too much reflecting those reflections you have made on me in your book, * and moulded in me more peaceable thoughts, than to be disturbed at what you have done. Your letter makes me think there was no ill meaning in what you did, and perhaps nothing more than an inadvertent and overhasty humour, which the civility of a penny-post letter would have cleared and prevented. I need not trouble myself, nor you, with giving you an account of those passages that concern me: they are easily found out, for they carry my name along with them. All I expect from you is, that your acknowledgments to others (as you have occasion) be what you have now made to me, and (if ever an oppor-

* The History of King Edward the III. Folio, wherein Mr. Barnes reflected on Mr. Athmole's Order of the Garter, in a very gross manner.

tunity

tunity be offered) to reprint your History, then to rectify your copy.

Sir,

I am,

Your very humble servant.

Octob. 23,
1688.

E. ASHMOLE.

A copy of a letter from the Chapter of the Church of Litchfield to Mr. Ashmole, communicated from the Registers of that cathedral.

Honoured Sir,

Whatever interest this city and church have in your birth and education, hath already rebounded, in so much honour thereby, and in your continual bounty, to both, that we have not the confidence to back, with that topick, this our petition for your free gift towards finishing the ring of ten bells, instead of our former six bad and useles ones.

ones : nor, in truth, have we any other arguments, but your charity and our necessity ; of the former, you have given us good proof, as we acknowledge with all thankfulness : and of the latter, we have too much, through the misfortunes of the work. The deceitfulness of the ground first making our honest bellfounder lose his casting the four biggest, to the damage of 30%. and now his error in oversizing the eight bells he hath cast, so far that they have swallowed up all the metal for the ten ; and that requires 80%. more to be added to our poor fund for the two other bells, proportionable to that bigness. But yet an error so much on the better hand, that would make extremely for the advantage and glory of the Cathedral (the bigness of such a ring far more besitting the place ; and these eight being judged so very good, that all are loth to have them broken, and cast into less) if possibly that additional sum could be raised. To this purpose 'Squire Diot, Mr. Walmisley the Subchantor, and other Vicars and ringers are most industriously undertaking a new collection, and we and several others are willing anew to contribute ; and if you will please to put to the helping hand of your piety and munificence, you will add signally to those instances thereof already in our publick cata-

A P P E N D I X. 399

catalogue of benefactors, and will highly oblige both those zealous undertakers, and especially,

Sir,

Your thankful humble fervants,

Litchfield,
Oft. 15,
1688.

L. ADDISON.
H. GRESWOLD.
T. BROWNE.
J. HUTCHINSON.
C. COMYN.

F I N I S.

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