

Mr. William Lilly's True history of King James the First, and King Charles the First. With sundry observations, remarkable passages, and many secret transactions not 'till now divulged / Faithfully published from his own copy.

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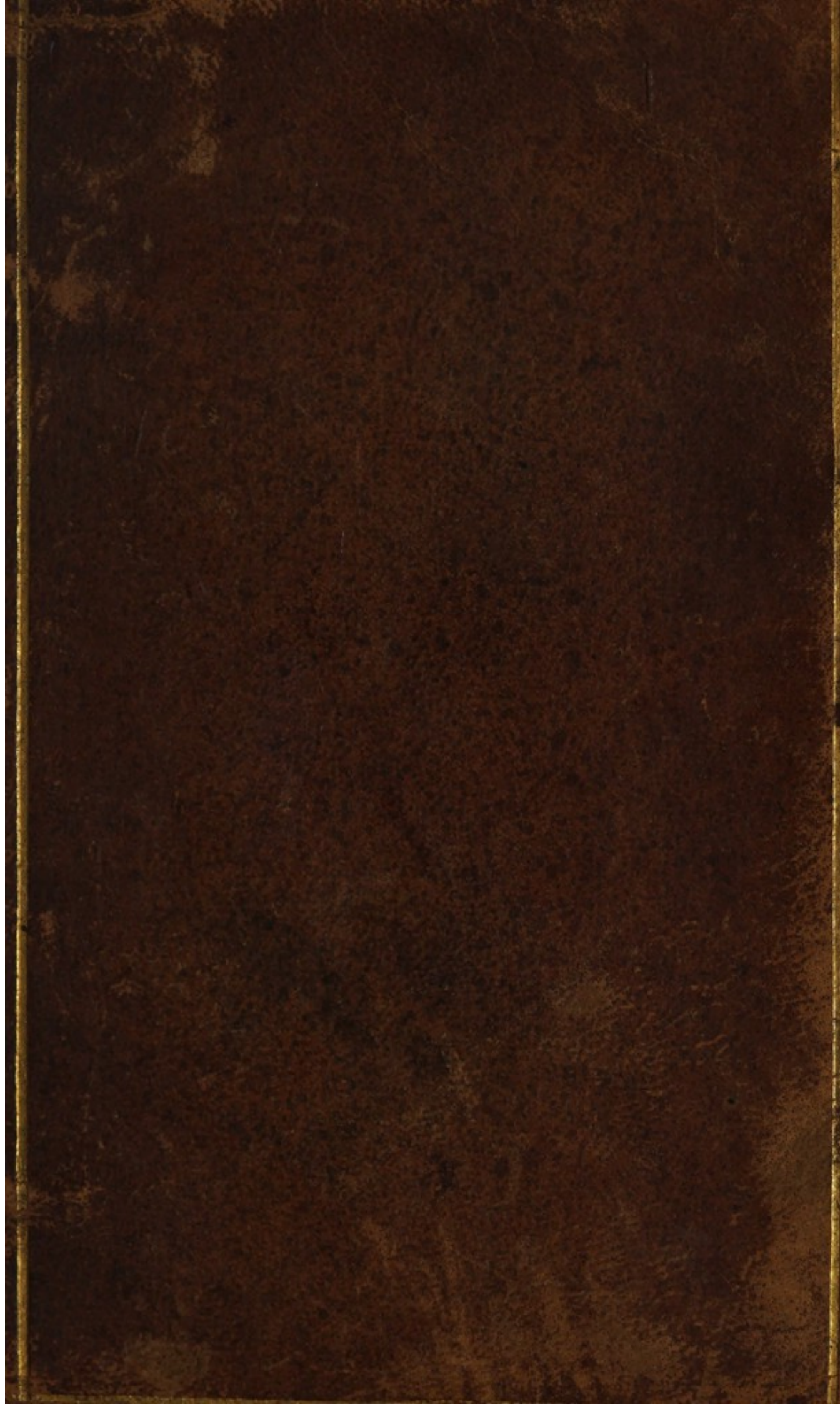
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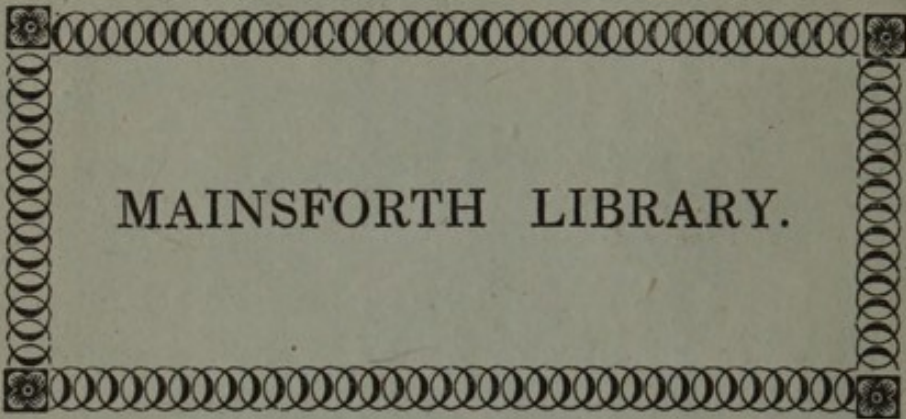
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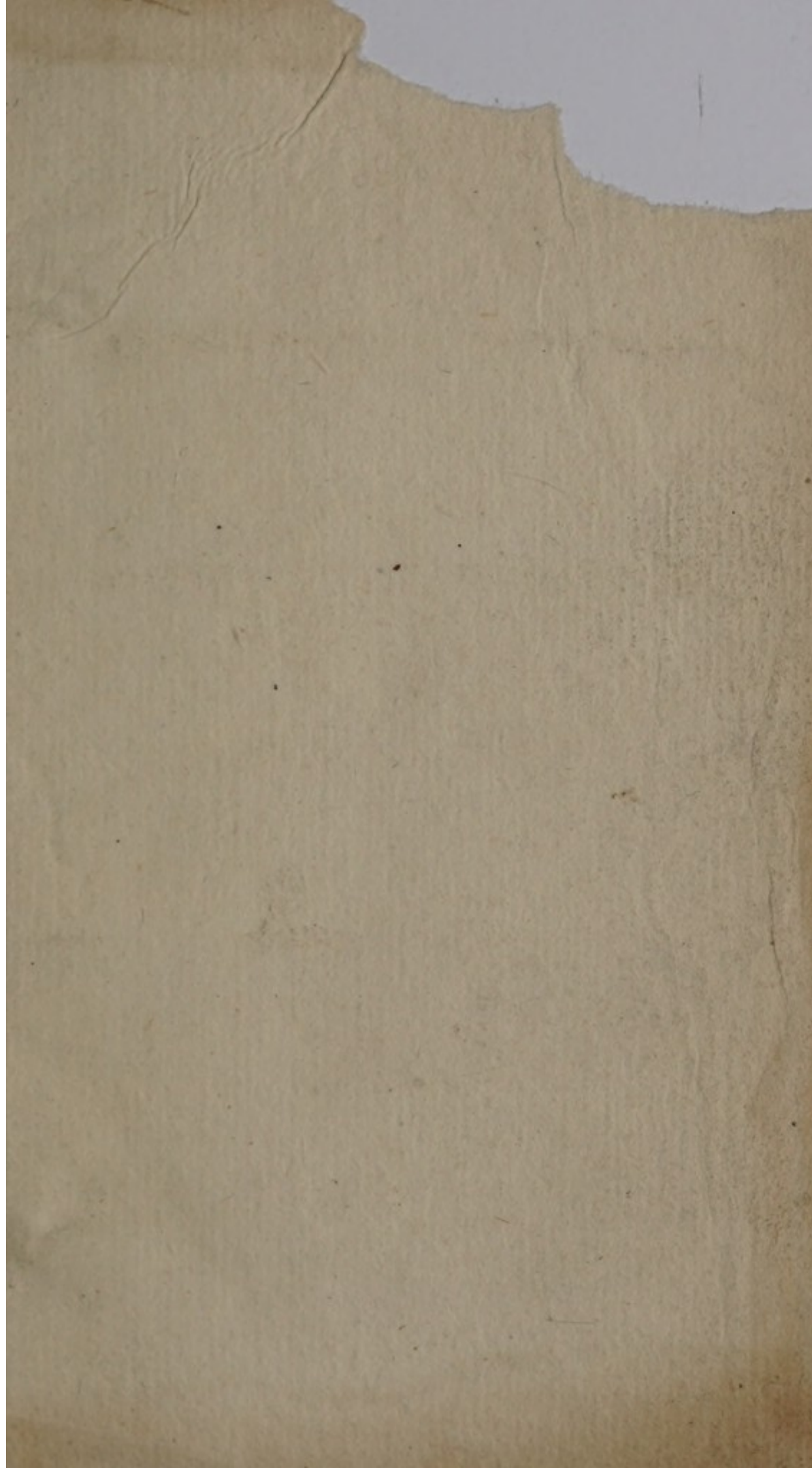
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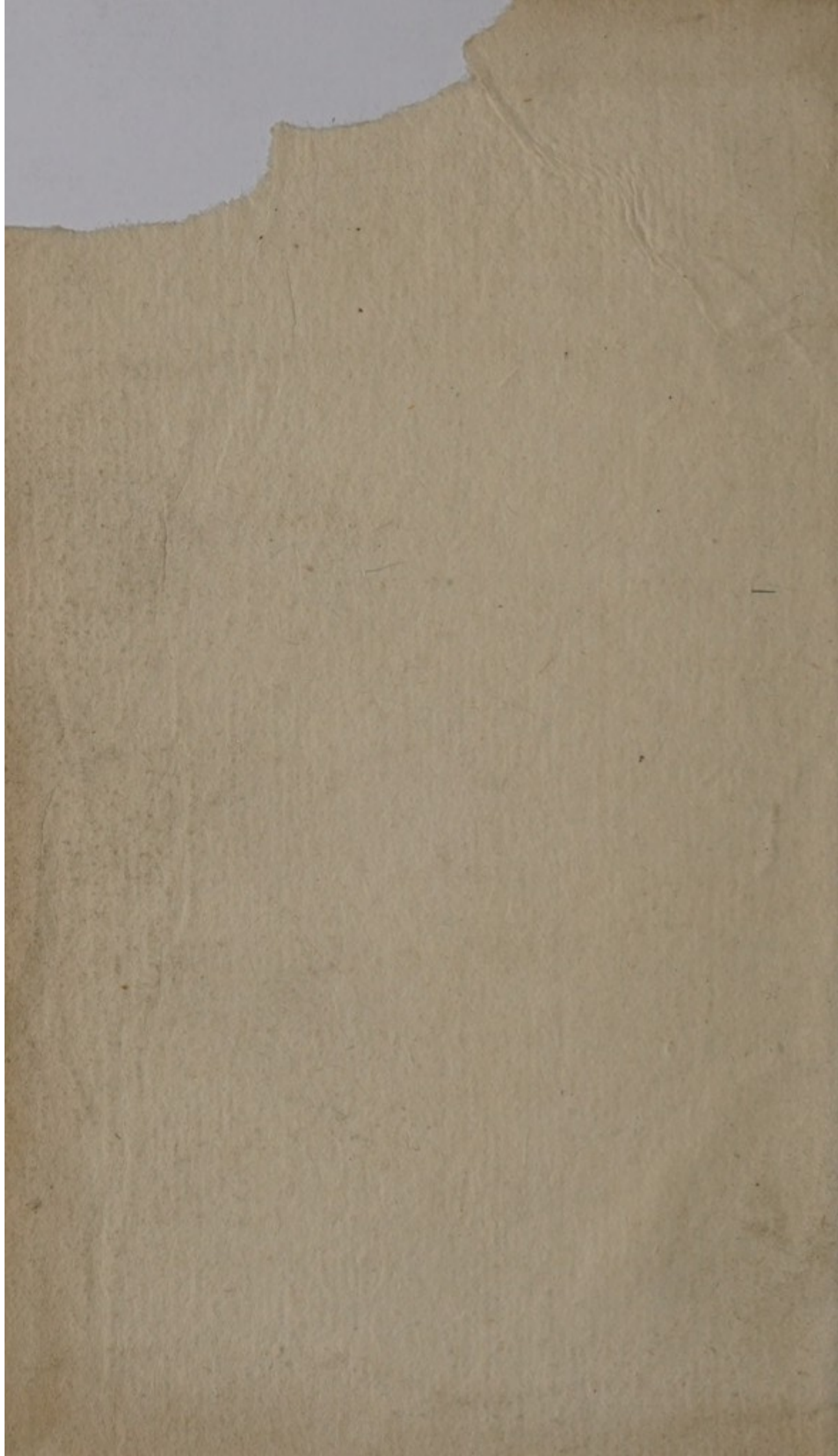


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Mr. WILLIAM LILLY'S
True HISTORY
 OF
 King JAMES the First,
 AND
 King CHARLES the First.

With Sundry Observations, Remarkable
Passages, and many Secret Transactions
 not 'till now divulged.

Faithfully Publish'd from his own COPY.

CONTAINING,

- I. An Account of King JAMES's being Poysoned
 by the Duke of *Buckingham's* Mother.
- II. The precipitate Measures taken by King CHARLES
 at his coming to the Crown; and of his assisting
 the *French* to destroy the *Rochellers*.
- III. The Duke of *Buckingham's* unfortunate Expedi-
 tion to the Isle of *Rhe* in *France*; his Character;
 and a full Relation of that Amazing Apparition
 which foretold his Death.
- IV. Characters of Archbishop *Laud*, Bishop *Wren*,
 General *Fairfax*, Earl of *Arundel*, Earl of *Straf-*
ford, Earl of *Essex*, &c.
- V. Of the *Irish* MASSACRE; the King's Executi-
 on; a farther Account of the Person who Behead-
 ed him; and of his private Interment at *Windſor*.
- VI. Several *Prophecies*, foretelling his untimely Fate.

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HISTORICAL
MEDICAL



TO THE
READER.



Y^e 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 ;

A 3

I can

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-ear'd 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 promis'd Silence as to his Name, &c. I cannot wash the Blackmoor white ; these woful *Priests* have so hardned their

To the Reader. iij

their Hearts against this *State*,
Pipe I never so melodiously unto
them, or tho' 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 Task 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

iv *To the Reader.*

been sparing than lavish, even when I mention his worst or foulest Actions; there are Hundreds alive, who will swear I have more Balsom 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, tho' those * who lived with him, knew no such thing by him, but report him Vertuous: But that Mr. *Fuller* may know he hath wantonly abused his Oratory, I let the Ages to come know thus much of himself,

* *Bishop of Saltzburg.*

To the Reader.

V

self, viz. That he took the Covenant 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 Fests, — like Mummy, be made of Dead Mens Flesh. Abuse not any that are departed ; for to wrong their Memories, is to rob their Ghosts of their Winding-Sheets **. And yet this Man must call Paracelsus a Quackfalver, and give him be-

* Says Tho. Fuller in his Holy State, Page 156.

vj *To the Reader.*

besides, other *Billingsgate* Language : Doctor *Charlton* † stiles *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 my self, *Later Counsels* ever correct *the former* ; and that's Answer enough ; besides, the *White King's*

† In his *Mag. Cure of Wounds*, Pag. 30.

To the Reader. vij

King's Tragedy is now Acted, it was then on the Stage. Long live the *Parliament*; God Bless the *Army*; all Happiness unto the *Common-Wealth*, and unto all my dispersed Friends in *England*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland*. Adieu.
I am,

Corner-house, over-
against *Strand-*
Bridge, July 23.
1651.

William Lilly.

O B-

To the Reader.

King's Tragedy is now Acted, it
was then on the Stage. Long
the Parliament; God bless
the Army; all Happinels unto
the Common-Wealth, and unto all
my dispersed Friends in England,
Ireland, and Scotland. Adieu.
I am,

William Lilly.

Corner house, over-
against Court-
gate, July 23.
1651.

O B.



SEVERAL
OBSERVATIONS
UPON THE
LIFE and DEATH
OF
CHARLES
LATE
KING of *ENGLAND*.



CHARLES STUART, late King of *England*, was Born at *Dumferlin* in *Scotland*, about Fifteen Miles from *Edinburgh*, *Novemb.* 19. 1600. He lived Forty Eight Years, and about Seventy Two Days. He died in the beginning of his Climacterical

rical Year, fatal many times where killing Directions in the Nativity threaten. Several *Characters* are given of him; some do too much magnifie 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 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 Nativities, 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

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 *Scotish* 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 unskillful 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 Pa-

renthefes. He would apprehend a Matter in difference betwixt Party and Party with great readines, and methodise a long Matter, or contract it in few Lines; infomuch as I have heard Sir Robert Holborne oft say, He had a quicker Conception, and would sooner understand a Case in *Law*, or with more Sharpness drive a Matter unto a Head, than any of his Privy Council; infomuch, 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, infomuch, 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

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 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 *Council 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 it self was just und lawful, for he had many Children to provide for.* Before the Wars he was a great Enemy to Bloodshed, or wilful Murther, insomuch, that when one *Stamford* had in an Insurrection in *Fleetstreet*, 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; insomuch, 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* deliver'd 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

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 *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 nothing, &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 trayterous 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 *Femmy*, who could not endure the Lord Chief-Justice *Cook*, because he ever said the *Prerogative* was bounded by *Law*, and was limitable; but that Excellent

Patriot

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, *Femmy* 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 master'd 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

Tyrant the *English* Nation ever had to rule over them, and therefore they did still pray for a Reconcilement betwixt the *Parliament* and *Him*, but could never endure to hear he should conquer our Armies, &c. And so much in a manner dropp'd 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 sometimes 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;

slighted ; which Imperfection of his enforced a bold-spirited *Courtier* to say, *There was no Way to get any Boon from him, but by Impudence and Cajoling him with unbeseeming 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 unbeseeming 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

Rise and Growth of the Family of *Stuarts*, and no other; tho' since by Marriage they came to be 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 Venereous Sports, yet rarely frequented illicide 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 Cautioness 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

and though in most dangerous Results, and extraordinary serious Consultations, and very material, either for State 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 Averseness being well known to some grave Members, they contrived at last by Wit, and the Necessity of the Times, that his Hands were fast tyed 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

therefore I wonder at that Passage of his (if it was his, which I doubt of) in that Book published under 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 that present being possessed of *Newcastle*. For the Book it self, 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 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 Parliaments 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 ones 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* cur'd the Soldier instantly, for he died e'er 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,

Jade, nothing daunted either at his own present Condition, or Presence of the King. It was observed, that a lewd Woman, as he pass'd by, calling him *Rebel*, he only look'd 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 extream 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 e'er they are satisfied with Curiosities in Diet, their Estates lye pawned for them. In the general he was not Vitious, and yet who e'er shall say he was Virtuous, extreamly 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 *Chappel* 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: My self 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 prove either squint or purblind: So long as we live in this World, our Conversation cannot

cannot be with *Saints*, 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* Sister, 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 most magnificently entertained in *Spain*; some private Disgusts happened there and in that Voyage, inso-

much 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 extreemly hated, but after that Journey as extreemly 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 it self, 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 sympathize; 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 60 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 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

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, my self 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. Antholines* 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 Sicknes, 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 Favorite, should not be questioned concerning King *James's* Death; and the second was, his Majesty made several Propositions unto the People, which they

they would not consent unto. That King *James* was really and absolutely poisoned by a Plaister, applied by *Buckingham's* Mother unto King *James* his 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 in 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 *Parliaments* 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 Poyson, and the Party poysoned being his Father, 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

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*,

Commons, because they most rigorously had managed an Accusation against *Buckingham*: An high Affront it was to the *Parliament*, and a great Breach of Priviledge to commit a Member of that *House*, without the *House* consent; that Matter was much resented 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* 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

who heard the *King of Denmark* speak what I write.

In *Anno* 1627, he set forth Men and Ships to the *Isle of Rhe* 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 Collonel, employed in that successless Expedition, and one of the Council of War, and a sworn Enemy to the *Duke. Buckingham* I well know was extreamly 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 Days *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 Soldier. The Council committed the Management of their *Retreat*, by a free consent, unto old Sir *William Courtney*, a heayy dull covetous old Man, who having been Twenty or Thirty Years a private Captain in *Holland*, was, by Sir *John Burrows*

Burrows 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 800 *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 return, shewed me the *Gold*, and told me the Story. The King hearing of our Loss at the *Isle of Rhe*, 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 *Rochell*, let me acquaint the World, that his Majesty was

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 e'er he would resign the Ships unto the *French*, came privately himself unto the King, and informed the King of the *French* intentions against *Rochel*: 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 *Rockel* in our Ships, and no more; this I relate in Honour of the Seamen.

The Destruction of *Rockel* 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, *Rockel* 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 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-Jugler and no other. I know some have accused *Buckingham* to be Instrumental about the lending those Ships; it's possible he was: However in *March* 1627, a Parliament was Summoned again, *Buckingham* Articled against, and in *June* Prorogued until *October*,
after

after in *March* dissolved, because *William Laud* was remonstrated against by the Commons, his Ruin labour'd. There were also Articles exhibited against *Buckingham* in the Parliament, but the latter of the two, viz. *Buckingham*, was stabb'd the 23d of *August* 1628, he being ready to go unto Sea for Relief of *Rochel*, then besieged. Many complained of the King in this his various Action about *Rochel*, 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 himself and whole Nation, tho' 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 stay'd 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 af-

firm, 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 dye, 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, 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

willing to proceed upon no better Grounds, forbare 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 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 *Dæmon* 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 Discourse

‘ 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 seriously acquainted the Duke
 with his Father’s Words, and the manner of
 his Apparition. 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 Fa-
 ther’s Ghost with what he now found to be
 true, *viz.* Scorn and Derision; but my
 Lord, saith he, your Father bad 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 ama-
 zed and much astonished, but took no warn-
 ing or notice thereof, keeping the same
 Company still, advising with such Counsel-
 lers, 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 unto
 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

‘ 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. *Parker* once more engaged,
 though very unwillingly, to acquaint the
 Duke with this last Message, and so did ;
 but the Duke desired him to trouble him no
 further with such Messages and Dreams,
 told him he perceived he was now an old
 Man, and doted. And within a Month af-
 ter meeting Mr. *Parker* on *Lambeth-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 af-
 ter, he was stabb’d 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 pre-
 sent 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.

*Dic divina mihi tractans ænigmata cæli,
 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 into Order again. Then also he 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 disliked, being a mere *Innovation*, and a cleanly Trick to poll the Subjects, and cheat them into an Annual Payment. My self was then a Collector for it in the Place I lived in; I remember my Proportion was 22 Shillings, and no more: If we compare the Times
 then,

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 20 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 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 flubbered 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 swal-
lowed

lowed it, and then the *Scots* must have done it afterward; for the Clergy at that Time generally were such idle and lazy Lubbers, and so pamper'd 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 *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 humanly and generously receives and entertains her, though all Men were extremely against it; for it was observed, that where-ever, 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 (with-
out

out 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 Presage 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

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, and 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 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

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 *Snaf-fling 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 Louse 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.

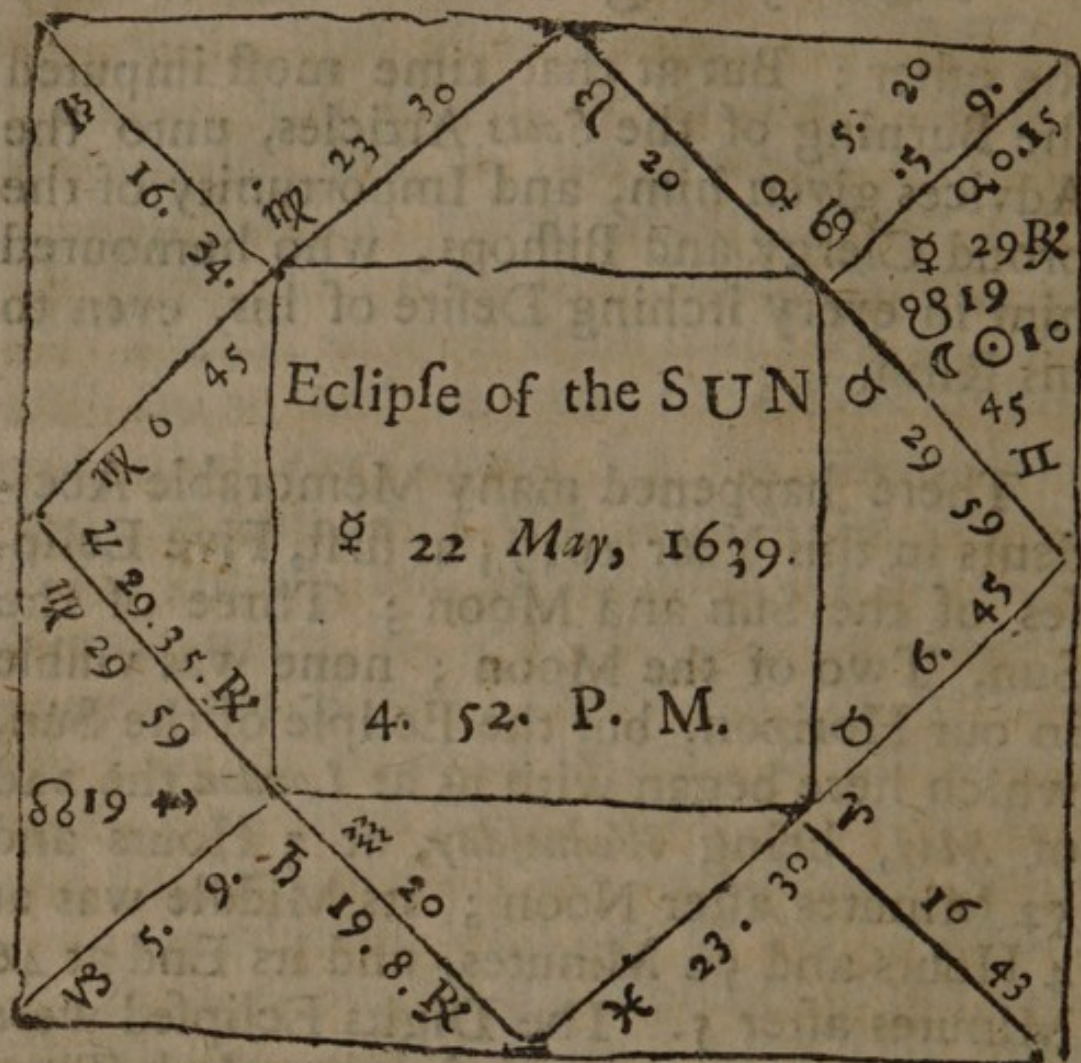
The King himself was most greedy above all Men of this *Union* with the *Scots*, as will appear by this ensuing Story: That Day which was assigned for certain of the *English* Nobility and *Scotish* to treat about those Articles of Agreement or Pacification the *Scotish* Nobility were to produce; the 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

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ing

ing 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 enter'd 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
the

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 visible 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 felt not a more sharp cold Day in all their Lives than that was, the Season of the Year, and Height of the Sun consider'd.* I'll meddle little with the Prognostick 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

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 opposite Degree, almost of the *Sun* in his Radix. As this Eclipse shewed his Troubles, or their Beginning; so the *Moon* her Eclipse in 8 ♄ in 1648, ended his Afflictions, &c.

The Effects of this Eclipse had most Influence 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 Harbour, the *Hollander* burnt and sunk a great Navy of his, with many miserable Souls in the Navy, which were to be landed 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 hinder'd 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 Countrey 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 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 Sawciness of the *Scots*, his dear Country-men, and caused their Trade with us to be prohibited, and their Ships to be seized; which
so

so enraged the *Scotish* 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, entred *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 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

in their several Pulpits to inveigh, and cry aloud against the *Prophane Scots*, and to perswade 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 unseasonably 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* extreamly 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 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* Gentleman in *England*. And verily the Pride of this sawcy 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;

joyed ; 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 Church-men, and an extraordinary Plague to the whole Nation : For upon his plaguing and punishing many godly Clothiers in the Countries of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, they were enforced 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,

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 30 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, 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 Moneys, 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

ses of the Cities, to be derived or caused from the Eclipse of 1629, 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 *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 meanwhile, 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-Preferment, 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

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 Common-wealth, who became Masters of the Affections of all Publick-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* ; 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. *Tho.* 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 Cowardise 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

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 those 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's 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

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Fortune

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 Lord High Steward and Judge in *Strafford's* Tryal, 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

such or such a Mannor 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 astonish'd the King, that he reply'd pretty mildly : *My Lord, I would not have you think that so poor a Thing as this Rectory or Thing in question 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's an ill Dog (said the Earl) that's 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 Gravity 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 England, 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 Nobility 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 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 Murther 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 *Rochel* ; but I may hope better Things, both as he was a Protestant, a Christian, and a King.

Yet

Yet methinks 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 so 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, &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 Craggs 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 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

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 dropp'd 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 Sawciness 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, dy'd 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

and were usually called *Puritans*, 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

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 rack'd, whipp'd, and stripp'd 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 Loofers 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 of Parliament,

ment, 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 discover'd 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 Halberds and Swords: Truly, I did not hear there was any Incivility offered by those Gentlemen

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 unparallel'd Demand of his he utterly lost himself, and left scarce any possibility of Reconcilement; 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 Wick*, ere we had fully Dined, came into the Room I was in, and brake open the Chests wherein the Arms were, which frightened 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, that some of my Neighbours were at the Court of Guard at *White-Hall*, unto whom I related the King's present

sent 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 Demands; 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 *Guild-Hall*, 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 Insolency 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 in the least Measure offered unto His Person, only many cried out as he passed the Streets; *Sir, let us have our just Liberties,*

Death of King CHARLES. 61

Liberties, we desire no more. Unto which he several Times answer'd, *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 *Thames* River 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 dropp'd 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 of the Seamen, for they intended to Petition the House, &c. I wonder, quoth the King, *how I have lost the Af-*
G *fection*

fection of those Water-Rats. A Word sure that slipp'd 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 *Jan.* 1641, went unto *Hampton-Court*, and never after could by Intreaty, or otherwise, be drawn to come unto his Parliament, tho' 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 Hotbom*, 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 he neither procure Arms, or Admittance into the Town.

The Earl of *Warwick*, exceedingly be-
lov'd 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, re-
turned from viewing *Hull* unto *York*. The
Parliament having perfect Intelligence, and
being assured he would raise an Army a-
gainst 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 bless'd himself to see
what running and trotting away here was
both of Lords and Commons unto His Maje-
sty. 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 ad-
mire at the wonderful Providence of Al-
mighty G O D, who put it into the Peo-
ples Hearts to make this Man General, this
very Earl, this good Man, who had suffered
beyond Belief, by the partial Judgment of

King *James*; who to satisfy the Letchery 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 *Femmy* 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 dy'd, and felt the Divine Hand of Heaven against her; for she was incapable of Coition at least a Dozen Years ere she Dy'd, 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 dy'd 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 Soldiers; Horse and Arms were provided, and the Lord knows how many treacherous Knaves had

had Command in this first Expedition in the Parliament Army ; so that if GOD himself had not been on our Side, we must of Necessity have perished.

The Youth of the City of *London* made up the major Part of *Essex's* Infantry ; his Horses were good, but the Riders unskilful, for they were taken up as they came and lifted, or offered themselves unto the Service ; the Truth is, the Parliament were at that Time glad to see any Mens willingness and forwardness unto their Service ; therefore they promised largely, and made some pleasing Votes ; so that the Plate and Moneys of the Citizens came tumbling into *Guild-Hall* upon the Publick Faith.

His Majesty in the Interim, and at that Time, was neecessitated for Money and Arms extreamly, having no Magazine to command, but those of the *Northern* Counties ; yea, into what other County soever he came (and he traversed many) he was so Courteous, as he made shift to seize their Arms, and carry them along for his Use, pretending for the Safety of the People, and his Person.

The King had lain most Part at *York*, or rambled into some other Counties near adjacent until *August*, and done little to any Purpose ; for the several Counties were ge-

nerally 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, 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 III^d 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 carry'd 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 inforced 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

All the remainder of his Life after this *August 22, 1642*, was a meer Labyrinth of Sorrow, a continued and daily Misfortune, 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* stabb'd 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 Countreymen, 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,

ted, 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 beggar'd, and yet to no Purpose, the Parliament one Time or other getting all Arms and Ammunition which ever came over unto him: It's confidently averred, if the King had become absolute here in *England*, *Orange* had been King, &c.

The City of *London*, which he had so sore 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 Sights he had used formerly to *Elliot*, and others, he saw now returned upon himself in Folio.

With *Spain* he had no perfect Correspondency, 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 Nativities of both Kings were very contrary.

With

With *France* he had no good Amity ; the Protestants there abhorring his Legerdemain and Treachery unto *Roche*l ; the Papists as little loving or trusting him, for some hard Measure offered unto those of their Religion in *England*. He cunningly 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 not Performance 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 occasion'd these Words
to

to drop from him, *If he e're 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 any 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 surrendred by Fines; had he then come unto *London*, all had been his own; but loitering to no Purpose at *Glocester*, he was presently after well bang'd by *Essex*.

When in the *West*, viz. *Cornwall*, he worsted *Essex*; had he then immediately hasted 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, e're the *Scots* came into *England*, Commanded *Newcastle* to have marched Southward for *London*, he could not have missed

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 over-charg'd 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 Thraldom, 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.*

tion. 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 *Sussex* and *Kent*, purposely to have conveyed him to the *Kentish* Forces, and to

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have

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 his Breast, were out at the Window; but whether Fear surprized him, or, as he said himself, he could not get his Body out at 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 infœlicissimus*. Some affirm before his Death several Prodigies appear'd; all I observ'd a long time before, was, That there appear'd almost in every Year after 1644. several *Parelia*, 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 *Windsor*, 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 enquir'd 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 Mr. Lilly's History of his Life and Times, Page 90. where this Secret is discover'd. — *It was Cornet Joyce, (afterwards made a Colonel) who took of King from Holmby House, that Beheaded him.*



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 Obscureness 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

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clearly

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 their Abilities in the Gift of *Prophecy*, or by unnecessary and ambiguous *Queries* to make the World believe there can be any other Interpretation rendred 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 Prophecy either of *Christ*, as the most Learned believe he did, or of the Kingdom of the *Jews*, or of both, in *Numb.* 24. vers. 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

Kings to rule over them as other Nations had at that present; whereas the *Jews* were only govern'd 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 Infirmary 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 Kingdoms destitute of Prophetick Spirits, though the true Causes by which they did Prophecy, 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
Aneas,

80 *Observations on the Life and*
Aeneas, many Hundred Years before it came
to pass :

*At Domus Aeneae 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 seris, 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 150 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 *Upanthony*, who many
Years since prophesied of the pulling down
of *Charing-Cross* ; his Prophecy was printed
1558 ; the Words are these :

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

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

R. Signifies Round-head. P. Presbytery.
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 Knive-hafts made of
some of the Stones, which being well Po-
lish'd look'd like Marble.

But I leave further Determination of
these Things unto some other Pen, or Dis-
course, and come unto the present intended
Discourse it self, 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 un-
deniable Argument, *viz.* no King or Queen
reigning in this Nation or Kingdom did e-
ver write or style Him, or Her self, King
or Queen of *Britain*, before King *James*,
who

who being naturally King of *Scotland*, and successively of *England* and *Wales*, was the first that ever 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 H E M P E is sponne,
Englands donne.*

O R,

*When H E M P E 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.

Karonog fab Anē yō wna diwedh ar y
dro gane.

In

In *English* thus;

The Sonne of Ann Crowned, ends all our Prophecies.

We never had yet any King whose Mother's Name was *Anne*, but King *Charles* his Mother was *Anne*, Sister to the King of *Denmark*, late deceas'd.

The putting to Death of the late King was Prophefied of above Eighty Years before it was done, by *Nostradamus*; the Book it self 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 Pro-

A Prophecy of the White King,
wrote by *Ambrose Merlin*,
Nine Hundred Years since, con-
cerning *CHARLES* the late
KING.

*W*HEN the Lyon of Rightfulnesse is dead,
then shall arise a White King in Brit-
taine first flying, and after riding, after ligg-
ing 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 flyling
himself King of *Great-Britain*, and reigning
Two and Twenty Years, died 1625, the
27th of *March*. Many affirmed he had the
Picture of a Lyon on his Breast, or Side;
but it's probable he had some Eminent natu-
ral Mole there, which might cause that Er-
ror; because in his Nativity he had both
Saturn and *Mars* in *Leone*. In regard 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 Considera-
tion

tion of the Propagation, and free Admittance of the Gospel all over this Kingdom, he was rightly by the Prophet styled, *The LYON of Righteousness*. But if the Prophet had given him the Name of Lyon 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 Humane (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
I Morning,

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 sickned, 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

him from 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, my self, though not occularly 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's 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 settle

the disturbed Affairs of *Scotland* ; he came Home to *London* about *November*, and was himself and Queen royally entertained by the Citizens, who cryed then *Hosanna*, &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 Sawciness 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 Witnesses 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 which Time, until the very Time he rendered

dred himself to his Countrymen the Scots, which was May, 1646, he had an Army of Horse, and was frequently himself amongst them, though it's 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 down.

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 downe* or lye 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 bee lymed.

During the Time of his Imprisonment, or from that Time the Scots sold his Person unto us for 200,000 Pounds, it may properly be said (*In this ligg down he shall be lymed*) that is, He was attempted and allu-

red 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 possess'd 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.

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 *White-Hall*. 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 there shall be shewed whether there be another King.

Since King *Charles* did retreat from his
Parliament,

Parliament, they on the behalf of the *Commonwealth* acted as Kings, using Regal Command, raising Armies, Moneys, 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 togather 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 there shall be Merchandise of Men, as of an Horse or an Ox.

This Part of the Prophecy was exactly verified in King Charles, or the *White King's* Time;

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 Men's Bodies, and not before; what Price the Scots were sold for, I know not; he that gave but Twelve-pence a-piece for any of that nasty People, gave too much.

There shall bee sought 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? Providence 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

*And then shall one gone there the Sun ariseth,
another there the Sun 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 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

That no Addresses should be made unto him any more.

But that Vote was Repealed, and Addresses were made, but to no purpose. So that the Prophet said well, (Sometimes King is King) *after King is no King, &c.*

Bee many things to done, but wise men reading, &c. and then shall a rang 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.

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

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 my self, 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 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

*And this shall last seven Yeares, loe Ravening
and shedding of bloud.*

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 *Scotish* Army, who were the truest Harpies that ever lived, stealing and purloining where ever 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 Brass, being all their poor Landlord had, and having it on the Fire with Oatmeal boiling in Ale or Milk, an Alarum comes, 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,

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 beastly 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 Beasts.

Here the Copies vary exceedingly, one saying only,

Deinde Pullus Aquilæ veniet super ligneos equos Anno & senio & erit guerra in Brittania.

Viz. After the Chicken of the Eagle shall come upon wooden Horses within a Year
K and

98 *Observations on the Life and*
and a half, and there shall be War in Britain.

Another Copy hath it thus :

Deinde ab Austro veniet cum Sole super ligneos Equos ; & sunio 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 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 his being at Sea, here was no Treaty or Overture either offered by him unto the Parliament,

ment, 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 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 come from the *East*; and so the Prince did upon wooden Horses, *viz.* Ships; it's 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,
K 2 either

either Abroad or at Home for some certain Time, or several Years. And we know in 1646, that most excellent Man the Lord *Fairfax* had even ended our Wars; but lo in 1648, several Revolts and Rebellions appeared against the Parliament; besides the *Scotish* 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*; 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,

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tions, 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 pilled, 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 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 surrendered himself to one *Hammond*, Governor of *Carisbrough-Castle* in the *Isle of Wight*. That Castle stands near or upon the Water. From this Time of his surrendering himself unto *Hammond*, he was beclipped or straitly look'd unto by the Soldiers; this is that *Hammond*, as the King himself acknowledg'd at *Windsor*, unto *Ad. A.* who furnished him with that smutty Sheet *Elencticus*; 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 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

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*, Kt. 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 Parallel'd Member of Parliament, been ever my Support and Defender, I had buried my Conceptions in Silence, and smother'd my Endeavours in deep Obscurity. For really, so great is my Respect and Affection unto this Honourable Person ; that were my Fortune necessitous (as G O D 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

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 e'er came before him, &c.

Then his enemies shall meet him, and March in her place shall be ordained about him, an Hoast in the manner of a shield, shall be formed, then shall they fighten an Oven front.

When His Majesty was brought from the *Ile 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 the White King shall fall into a Kirk-yard, 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

That some few Nights before his Death, he was brought to *White-Hall*, 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 Prophefied, *He should fall into a Church-yard over a Hall.*



What



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

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

could

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.

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

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 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 Humane Affairs: He was a liberal *Mæccenas* 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.

F I N I S.

