

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

Transcribed by [Todd Carnes](#)



TO THE
R E A D E R

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

An impudent prick-eared Presbyterian Priest, rencounters me one day. 'Now Lilly, what say you Mr. Merlinus unto Charles, the son of Charles the present Scottish King; he'll pull the rebels out of White-Hall by the ears.' After a little modest scolding, the man was calm, and I promised silence as to his name, &c. I cannot wash the Blackmoor white: these woeful Priests have so hardened their hearts against this state, pipe I never so melodiously unto them, or though the Parliament act never so wisely and prudently for our and their goods, they will rebel against the State, and envy me.

If any busy-body object, it's besides my talk to write the life of the late King; I say, no: I could do no less. I have no injured him; there is nothing I mention of him which I had not from those persons of credit, who either saw the actions done, or heard with their ears the words delivered. I have rather been sparing than lavish, even when I mention his worst or foulest actions: there are hundreds alive, who will swear I have more balsam than corrosive in the discourse. I would be sorry to belie the dead, as Mr. Fuller hath Paracelsus, who delivers him unto posterity for a drunkard, though those¹ who lived with him, knew no such thing by him, but report him virtuous. But what Mr. Fuller may know he hath wantonly abused his oratory, I let the ages to come know thus much of himself, viz. That he took the Covenant twice for Parliament, before my face in the Savoy Church; invited others unto it; yet, Apostate-like, ran within few days to Oxford, and there whined to his companions, and protested, the Countess of R. made him take it. 'Let not thy jests, like mummy, be made of dead mens flesh. Abuse not any that are departed; for to wrong their memories, is to rob their ghosts of their winding-sheets².' And yet this man must call Paracelsus a quacksalver, and give him besides, other

¹ Bishop of Salsburg

² Says Thomas Fuller in his Holy State, page 156.

Billingsgate language. Doctor Charlton³ 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 myself 'later counsels ever correct the former;' and that's answer enough. Besides, the White King's tragedy is now acted, it was then on the stage. Long live the Parliament; God bless the Army; all happiness unto the Commonwealth, 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.

3 In his Mag. Cure of wounds, page 30.

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

UPON THE

LIFE AND DEATH

OF

KING CHARLES I.

CCHARLES STUART, late King of England, was born at Dumferlin in Scotland, about fifteen miles from Edinburgh, November 19, 1600. He lived forty eight years, and about seventy two days. He died in the beginning of his climacterical year, fatal many times where killing directions in the nativity threaten. Several characters are given of him; some do too much magnify him, others as much vilify him. He was well educated by his father under careful tutors, men of great knowledge in all manner of qualities, fit for education of princes; and came to the crown being, 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 for she so much scorned and undervalued the Palsgrave for a husband unto the Lady Elizabeth, that in most of her language after and before the marriage, she would call her Goodwife Palsgrave; a name and title she thought good enough for any woman should marry that dull and unfortunate man: and indeed her fears and predictions proved most true. The old Scottish Lady his nurse was used to affirm as much, and that he was of a very evil nature even in his infancy; and the lady, who after took charge of him, cannot deny it, but that he was beyond measure wilful, and unthankful: Yet while he was young, he followed his book seriously, which his elder brother

Prince Henry could not endure; and therefore King James would frequently blame Prince Henry with the neglect of his book, and tell him how his brother Charles followed it; whereupon the Prince would reply, when that he himself should be King, he would make his brother Charles Archbishop of Canterbury. And to speak truly of him, he had many singular parts in nature; he was an excellent horseman, would shoot well at a mark, had singular skill in limning and pictures, a good mathematician, not unskilful in musick, well read in divinity, excellently in history, and no less in the laws and statutes of this nation; he had a quick and sharp conception, would write his mind singularly well, and in good language and stile, only he loved long Parentheses. He would apprehend a matter in difference betwixt party and party with great readiness, and methodise a long matter, or contract it in few lines: insomuch as I have heard Sir Robert Holborne oft say, he had a quicker conception, and would sooner understand a case in law, or with more sharpness drive a matter unto a head, than any of his Privy Council; insomuch, 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; insomuch, that if any offered him a long discourse or speech, he would with much patience, and without an interruption or distaste, hear a speech or story out at length; but then he would expect 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 communicate his weightiest, and more 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 Counsel at Law, and if they affirmed and consented he might by law grant the thing desired, he often would say, 'He knew no reason but that he might grant the matter in question, fith the thing itself was just and lawful, for he had many children to provide for.' Before the wars he was a great enemy to bloodshed, or wilful murder, insomuch, that when one Stamford had in an insurrection in Fleet-Street, killed a man, he could by 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 extreemly in this one business: when divers godly christians in Norfolk delivered him a petition against the tyrant Wren, their bishop; he sent for Wren, and

bad him answer it. Novelties in doctrine he hated, as much as in ceremony. He loved not greatly the ancient nobility or gentry, but for his own ends, he made it plainly appear at Oxford, where he procured sundry 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 traiterous a way deserted the Parliament at Westminster, which fits to this day, &c. He cared not much for the Common Law, or very much for the Long Gown men; he learned that disaffection of his from his father Jemmy, who could not endure the Lord Chief Justice Coke, because he ever said the Prerogative was bounded by Law, and was limitable; but that excellent patriot was worsted for his dear affection to his country, by Egerton the Chancellor, who maintained the contrary; and was worthily as well rewarded by the old Scot for his labour, Jemmy taking the Great Seal from him before he was dead, yea, in a disgraceful manner. The Commonalty of England he neither cared for, took much notice of, or much disrespected; holding this opinion only, because he was their King, they ought in duty to serve him. The Citizens of London, though they much courted him with their flatteries, and large gifts, and in his latest extremities relieved him with considerable sums of money, yea even at Oxford in soap barrels; yet he flighted them, thought them ever too rich, and intended for them a severe revenge. Had he ever mastered the Parliament, he was advised, by one I knew, to have demolished half the city: what he would have done had he been victorious, God knows. He would often say, it was the nursery of the present rebellion, for so he called the wars, &c. and that the body of the city was too large for the head. I have heard it from the mouths of many worthy gentlemen, whose hap it was to serve him in the late wars, that they did believe, had he, *viz.* The King, by arms conquered this Parliament, he would have proved the greatest tyrant the English nation ever had to rule over them, and therefore they did still pray for reconciliation betwixt the Parliament and Him, but could never endure to her he should conquer our armies, &c. And so much in a manner dropped out from the mouth of Rupert, who giving command for executing some things contrary to the laws; and being acquainted with his mistake, "Tush," quoth he, "we will have no more law in England henceforward but the sword." He had a natural imperfection in his speech, at some times could hardly get out a word, yet at other times he would speak freely and articulately; as the first day of his coming before the High Court of Justice, where casually I heard him; there he stammered nothing at all, but spoke very distinctly, with much courage and magnanimity. As a man he had his imperfections, for he was very covetous and gripple, and sparing of his treasure (qualities nothing commendable in a King;) and if at any time liberal, it was rather to the undeserving or boisterous fellows, than the well meriting: by how much the more humbly any made their addresses unto him, by so much the more was he imperious, lofty, and at a distance with them; whereupon it most an end happened, that the impudent and bold were rewarded, and the virtuous slighted; which imperfection of his enforced bold-spirited Courtier to say, 'There was no way to get any boon from him, but by impudence, and cajoling him with unbecoming language.' Yet he himself was never obscene in his speech, or affected it in others. I have only met with, or taken notice of, two passages, which argue him guilty of unbecoming language. First, in all or most of his letters unto th Queen, he terms Parliament rebels, though they were lawfully convened, and not dissolved, or to be dissolved, without their

own consent; but time, and their victories, acquainted him with more civil language, and taught him to style them a Parliament. In another letter of his unto her, he calls the Lord General Fairfax, who was then the Parliament's General, their brutish General; a most uncivil term and epithet to bestow upon so brave a man, so civil, so valiant, and so much a gentleman as Fairfax was, and is. Assuredly the progenitors of the Lord Fairfax were gentlemen, and of good estates then, and at what time the ancestors of the Stuarts were but poor stewards unto a family in Scotland: and what a preferment it is now, or was some three hundred years since, to be bailiff or steward unto a Scottish family, let the whole world judge; for this was the true original of the rise and growth of the family of Stuarts, and no other; though since by marriage they came to be Kings of Scotland, (as their own chronicles relate). He did not greatly court the ladies, nor had he a lavish affection unto many. He was manly, and well fitted for venerious sports, yet rarely frequented illicit beds, I do not hear of above one or two natural children he had, or left behind him. He had exquisite judgment by the eye, and physiognomy, to discover the virtuous from the wanton. He honoured the virtuous, and was very shy and choice in wandring those ways, and when he did it, it was with much cautiousness and secrecy; nor did he prostitute his affection, but unto those of exquisite persons or parts: and this the Queen well knew; nor did she wink at it. He had much of self-ends in all that he did, and a most difficult thing it was to hold him close to his own promise or word: he was apt to recede, unless something therein appeared compliable, either unto his own will, profit, or judgment; so that some foreign princes bestowed on him the character of a most false prince, and one that never kept his word, unless for his own advantage. Had his judgment been as found, as his conception was quick and nimble, he had been a most accomplished gentleman: and though in most dangerous results, and extraordinary serious consultations, and very material, either for state or 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 in his own sense, but was ever baffled with meaner capacities. He feared nothing in this world, or disdained anything 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 tied up in granting a triennial sitting, or a perpetuity as it were unto this present Parliament; a thing he often blamed himself for subscribing unto, and as often those who importuned him thereunto. And therefore I wonder at that passage of his (if it was his, which I doubt of) in that book published under his 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 Parliament; the Scots at present being possessed of Newcastle. For the book itself, it maintains so many contradictions unto those things manifested by his own letters, under his own hands, unto the Queen, that I conceive the most part of it Apocrypha; the Meditations or Psalms wholly were added by others: some loose papers he had, I do well know, but they were nothing so well methodised, but rather papers intended after for the press, or as it were a Memorial or Diary, than such a well couched piece, and to so little purpose. But it is answered by learned Milton. He was seldom in the times of war seen to be sorrowful for the slaughter of his people or soldiers, or indeed

anything 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 Parliament's side to be taken, stript stark naked, his body being shot in many places, and his shoulder broke: this poor soul in this condition and pickle, was set on a lean jade, and brought as a triumph before the King, where he stood accompanied by many Nobles. It would have pitied anyone's heart, to have heard how this poor man was reviled and upbraided by lewd people, even as he passed close by the King's presence; who neither pitied the man, rebuked the unruly people, or gave order for cure of his wounds: but God cured the soldier instantly, for he died ere he was forty paces from the King's presence; and notwithstanding the misery of the man, and sharpness of his wounds, yet was the greatness of his spirit and courage so undaunted, that he rode very upright upon the poor jade, nothing daunted either at his own present condition, or presence of the King. It was observed, that a lewd woman, as he passed by, calling him Rebel, he only looked sternly at her, and said, 'You whore.' Some Nobles seeing the hard-heartedness of the King upon this sad accident, and how little he valued those who either fought for or against him, upon this ⁴eer⁴ 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 modest in exercise: when he walked on foot, rather trotted than paced, he went so fast. He was nothing at all given to luxury, was extreme 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 kicks⁵aws⁵, which the extravagant Nobles feed for their wantonness sake; though many times ere they are satisfied with curiosities in diet, their estates lie pawned to them. In the general he was not vicious; and yet who ever shall say he was virtuous, extreemly 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 the time, 'Every man had his proper vanity, and that was his, if the people accounted it so.' He was ill thought of by many, especially the Puritans then so called, for suffering the chapel at Somerset-House to be built for the Queen, where mass was publicly said. Yet he was no Papist, or favoured any of their tenets; nor do I remember such thing was ever objected against him. Myself was once there to gaze, whilst the priest was at high mass: the sexton and others thrust me out very uncivilly, for which I protested never to come there again.

The actions of Kings and Princes are lookt upon with many eyes, whereof some ever prove either squint or purblind. So long as we live in this world, our conversation cannot be with saints, but with the sons of Adam, who ever smell of some corruptions. Many also have

⁴ This word is illegible in my copy. - T.C.

⁵ Another illegible word – T.C.

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 offense 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 it not the common law of this nation more in force than that cannon 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. Nether had he success in the marriage desired, or did he get honour by that journey, although magnificently entertained in Spain. Some private disgusts happened there and in that voyage, insomuch 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 itself, and these did publickly aver, the Spaniard was rich, and a brave man, would not be troublesome unto us with unnecessary visits, would ever bring gold in his pockets; was a people, with whom the English merchants had a great and rich trade, and with whose natural conditions the English did pretty well sympathise; and for the Infata's strictness in the Roman religion, there was by many prudent men very little question made, that it would produce any ill to this nation, which now had been Protestant above sixty years: and they did also consider that the Prince was very surely grounded in his own Protestant faith, and that the common law would well provide for the multiplicity of priests, who might presume to come on her account. The 27th of March, being Sunday 1625, King James died. All that whole year a most furious plague afflicted the city of London, there dying above fifty thousand people. Amongst those, whose misfortune it was to abide in the city, during that pestilent contagion, myself was one, and therein beheld God's great mercy unto me, being nothing at any time visited, though my conversation was daily with the infected. And I do well remember this accident, that going in July 1625, about half an hour after six in the morning, to St. Antholine's Church, I met only three persons in the way, and no more, from my house over against Strand-bridge, till I came there; so few people were then alive, and the streets so unfrequented.

In June 1625, Mary, daughter of Henry the Fourth, King of France, came over, and was married to the King the same month. Several constructions were made upon this marriage with France, and many disputations in private were had, whether she or the Infata might have been better for this nation. However the Parliament, in regard of the sickness, was translated to Oxford, August 1, 1625, and the 12th of the same dissolved. There are two main reasons given for its dissolution: one was, because the Duke of Buckingham his own favourite, should not be mentioned concerning King Jame's death; and the second was, his Majesty made several propositions unto the people, which they would not consent unto. That King James was really and absolutely poisoned by a plaister, applied by Buckingham's mother unto King James's stomach, was 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 for it, and had prepared their charge or articles, to present

against him in the House of Lords, and to accuse him thereof, his Majesty, contrary to all expectation, and as an affront of both Houses, and in the Upper House, when the articles came up, gave Buckingham his hand to kiss, carried him away with him, &c. This action lost him the present Parliament's affections. Even the most sober of his friends held him very much overseen to deny a Parliament justice in any matter whatsoever; but in matter of poison, and the party poisoned being his father, in that to prohibit a due course, or a legal proceeding against the party suspected, it was to deny justice with a refractory hand. But at that time he was lusty and young, and in his infancy of convening Parliaments, thought to make himself sure ever after, or to master the Commons of England. There is no pen, how able soever, can take off the blemish that will ever hang on him, for falling out with this Parliament, because they questioned, how and by what means his father came to 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 know well 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 his service in Spain; for it was conceived he acted not but according to commission. In this Parliament he committed Sir Dudley Diggs, and Sir John Elliot, Members of the House of Commons, because they most rigorously had managed an accusation against Buckingham: An high affront it was to the Parliament, and a great breach of privilege to commit a Member of that House, without the House's consent; that matter was much 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 found affection unto his favourite, to hazard the love of millions only for him; but a deep impudence and high oversight, to slight a whole nation for love of only 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 pitch field. How the King carried the business with his uncle, or what treasure he promised to supply him with, and did not perform, I know not. Sure I am, the old King, after this fight, could never endure our King, but would swear, he endeavoured what in him lay to make him lose his kingdom. This I had from the mouth of Dr. M. who heard the King of Denmark speak what I write.

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

the managing of the next day's action to 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 heavy dull covetous old man, who having been twenty or thirty years a private Captain in Holland, was, by Sir John Burrow's means, made Colonel in that expedition. And Burrows being now dead, and Courtney the oldest Colonel, it was referred unto him how with safety to bring off our men. But he, either through want of judgment, or forgetfulness, having not sufficiently provided for security of their rear, our men were most unfortunately many of them cut in pieces: and had not Sir Pierce Crosby with eight hundred Irish made good the retreat, all our men had been lost. Courtney himself fell into a salt-pan in the defeat, and 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 Rhé, and landing of the Duke, instead of being angry at the loss of so many gallant men, or calling him to account, sent to comfort the Duke, desiring that he should not be troubled at the loss, for the chance of war was casual.

And now we are speaking of Rochelle, let me acquaint the world, that his Majesty was the sole cause of its losing, for he lent the King of France eight or ten of his own navy, by which means the Rochellers ships were sunk and destroyed, who before were ever able to relieve themselves with their own ships, against all opposition the Kings of France could make. And that it may appear, he willingly lent these ships unto the French, and was not forced unto it by Buckingham, as many had affirmed, I will relate this passage, perhaps not vulgarly known. Sir John Pennington, being Vice-Admiral, had commission to carry eight or more royal ships into France. When he arrived there, the French acquainted him the ships were to serve the French King against the Rochellers, and if that he the said Sir John would serve in that employment, he should be honourably rewarded. But this gallant man being truly English, scorned the proffer, and utterly refused the employment, and ere he would resign the ships unto the French, came privately himself unto the King, and informed the King of the French intentions against Rochelle. But the King said only thus much: 'Pennington, go and deliver your ships, and leave them in France:' and then gave him a particular or private warrant under his hand for this discharge, &c. He had much ado to get his ships again from the French, and then was enforced to send Sir John Pennington amongst the French, who seized above a hundred French ships, and kept them until ours were delivered. One thing is observable, that we had only two sailors assisted against Rochelle in our ships, and no more. This I relate in honour of the seamen.

The destruction of Rochelle is wholly laid upon our King's score, as well and justly it may be, to his eternal dishonour and blemish; for had he not furnished the French with ships, Rochelle could not have been taken as it was. And verily I believe, the sad groans and miseries of those poor Protestants poured out unto Almighty God in their height of calamities against our King, were extreme instrumental in hastening down the anger of God against the late King. However, this action of his lost him the love of the Protestant Princes in all parts of the world, and his own subjects could after that action never well brook him, but daily were alienated in their affection from him, supposing him either not well grounded in the Protestant Faith, or else a meer state-juggler and no other. I know some have accused Buckingham to be instrumental about the sending of those ships: tis possible he was. However, in March 1627, a Parliament was summoned again, Buckingham articted against, and in June prorogued until

October; after in March dissolved, because William Laud was remonstrated against by the Commons, his ruin laboured. There were also articles exhibited against Buckingham in the Parliament, but the latter of the two, *viz* Buckingham was stabbed the 23d of August 1628, he being ready to go unto sea for relief of Rochelle, then besieged. Many complained of the King in this various action about Rochelle, *viz* In first aiding the French to destroy the Rochellers ships, then to take part with them against the King of France; but to no purpose. Some therefore compared him to a black witch, whom they say can bewitch and hurt cattle, but hath no ability to cure them again. It was an act of great inconstancy, and much dishonour to himself and whole nation, though the nation had no hand in it. When first the news was brought unto the King of Buckingham's death, he was at a sermon, or in a church, or at service. He did not seem much troubled at the news, but stayed out the sermon with much patience, only gave Maxwell present directions to seize the Duke's cabinet, where his letters and private instructions were. All men generally, except a few court parasites, were glad of Buckingham's death: yet nothing was bettered in the court or commonwealth after his death; which moved many to affirm, that all the misgovernments in the realm proceeded not from Buckingham's ill advice, but most from the corrupt and depraved nature of the King's own haste. Sith I am upon the death of Buckingham, I shall relate a true story of his being admonished often of the manner of his death he should die, in this manner.

An aged gentleman, one Parker, as I remember, having formerly belonged unto the Duke, or of great acquaintance with the Duke's father, and now retired, had a dæmon appeared several times unto him, in the shape or image of Sir George Villiers the Duke's father. This dæmon walked many times in Parker's bed chamber, without any action of terror, noise, hurt, or speech; but at last one night broke out into these words: 'Mr. Parker, I know you loved me formerly, and my son George at this time very well: I would have you go from me, you know me very well to be his father, old sir George Villiers of Leicestershire, and from me acquaint him with these and these particulars, &c. and that he above all refrain the counsel and company of such and such,' whom he then nominated, 'or else he will come to destruction, and that suddenly.' Parker did partly, though a very discreet man, imagine he himself was in a dream all this time, and being unwilling to proceed upon no better grounds, forbore addressing himself to the Duke; for he conceived, if he should acquaint the Duke with the words of his father, and the manner of his appearance unto him, (such apparitions being not usual) that he should be laughed at and thought to dote, being he was aged. Some few nights later passed without further trouble to the old man. But not very many nights after, old Sir George Villiers appeared again, walked quick and furious 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 our friendship that was ever 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 with me, tell him of such a secret,' and named it, 'which he knows none in the world ever knew but myself 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 father'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 amazed and much astonished; but took no warning or notice thereof, keeping the same company still, advising with such counselors, and performing such actions, as his father by Parker countermanded. Shortly after, old Sir George Villiers, in a very quiet but sorrowful posture; appears 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 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 undr his gown, 'shall end him; and do you Mr. Parker set your house in order, for you shall die at that 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 after meeting Mr. Parker on Lambeth Bridge, 'Now, Mr. Parker, what say you of your drream?' Who only returned, 'Sir, I wish it may never have success,' &c. But within six weeks after, he was stabbed with a knife, according to his father's admonition before-hand; and Mr. Parker died soon after he had seen the vision or dream performed.

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

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

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

In 1634, he was infinitely troubled with faction of his court; but by little and little he put all things in 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 annual payment. Myself was then a collector for it in the place I lived in. I remember my proportion was twenty two shillings, and no more. If we compare the times then, and the present in which I now live, you shall see great difference even in assessments, the necessity of maintaining our armies requiring it: for now my annual payments to the soldiery are very near or more than twenty pounds, my estate being no way greater than formerly. Against this ship-money many gallant men opposed, and at last in Parliament it was voted down.

In July 1637, viz. 23d day, there was great disturbance in Edinburgh, about a new Service-Book endeavoured to be obtruded on the Scots by the King and Canterbury. I have heard, an old woman begun the quarrel by casting her stool at the priest, when he read the Service-Book. Many very modest divines exceedingly blame both King and Canterbury for that book; it admitted unto the people, as I remember, the Communion but in one kind. However, by the prudence of some grave men, being then Privy-Counsellors in Scotland, matters were slubbered over all that winter in Scotland; but in May, or April, new tumults arose, and truly I may almost say, that that corrupt Common-Prayer-Book was the sole and whole occasion of all the miseries and wars that since that time have happened in both nations. Had his Majesty first endeavoured the imposition of that lame book upon the English, most men did believe we had swallowed it, and then the Scots must have done it afterwards; for the clergy at that time generally were such idle and lazy lubbers, and so pampered with court preferment, and places temporal in every shire of England, and such flattering sycophants, that doubtless the great hand of God was in it, that those rude Scots first broke the ice, and taught us the way to expel an insulting priesthood, and to resist the King; he endeavouring by unwarrantable means to intrude things contrary to the divine law of Almighty God upon our consciences.

In Anno 1638, the Queen-mother of France, and mother unto the English Queen, widow of Henry the fourth, King of France, landed in England, and came unto London the 31st of October. She was very meanly accompanied, and few of quality attending her. The King most humanely and generously receives her and entertains her, though all men were extremely against it; for it was observed, that wherever, or unto what country this miserable old Queen came, there followed immediately after her either the plague, war, famine, or one misfortune or other. Strange it is unto me, how she could be so fatal to any land she entered into. True it is, and I do very well know, that some people born under an unfortunate constellation of heaven (without this, that they live above nature, and live wholly in the spirit) are so extreme unsuccessful in everything they undertake, that let them use the greatest industry they can 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 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 their ears, and the lazy bishops most of all, who convened, and raised amongst their own Levitical Tribe great sums of money towards the maintenance of an army against the Scots, whom they now hated worse than the Turks. Several particular men are summoned to appear at court, are enforced to lend vast sums of money towards the maintenance of an army. I have heard some affirm, the King had in his coffers at that time above six hundred thousand pounds: No great 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 the 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 and the gentry, and others, they thought it a very strange thing, and not lawful or convenient, that this nation should now take up arms, and engage against the Scots, only to satisfy the insatiable lust of a few domineering priests and half popish bishops; as also of an obstinate King, wholly led by these snaffling 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 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 Scottish to treat about those articles of agreement or pacification the Scottish nobility were to produce; the nobles of each nation being set, the Earl of Arundel began with much gravity to rebuke the Scots for their unadvisedness and rebellion in raising an army against their lawful King, and disturbing the peace of both nations; and yet he commended the good nature of the King, who was, notwithstanding their high provocations and misdemeanors, very inclinable to hear their just grievances, and to that purpose had appointed himself, being General of the English army, and some other select nobles of his council, to meet them that day, to treat with them, and to hear their grievances, and what they could say for themselves. This gallant man was proceeding further in his speech, and aggravating the Scots offences, when, lo, unexpectedly his Majesty entered the room, called for the articles the Scots desired to be ratified, or consented unto, read them scarce over, but took pen and ink immediately, and signed them without ever advising with any of his council; which so displeased the nobility of the English nation, that the very next day after signing the Scots articles, they all hasted 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*⁶. 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 the doing one, as he was reputed weak and simple of judgment in doing the other. But at that time most imputed the burning of the Scots articles, unto the advices given him, and importunity of the proud clergy and bishops, who humoured him in every itching desire of his, even to his ruin.

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

⁶ Latin for "of the same kind." T.C.



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, season of the year, and height of the sun considered.' I'll meddle little with the pronostick part of this eclipse: yet I might tell you, that Mercury, at the time of the beginning of the eclipse, represented the clergy, and he was retrograde near to conjunction with Mars: one ill omen unto the clergy. At the middle of the eclipse the moon was their significator, and she combust and near the dragon's-tail, which signified much calamity unto the priests. This eclipse signified unto the King much treachery and damage by his friends the Scots: the degree eclipsed was in the opposite degree, almost, of the Sun in his radix. As this eclipse shewed his troubles, or their beginning; so the moon's eclipse in 8th in 1648, ended his afflictions, &c.

The effects of this eclipse had most influence upon the King of Spain, it falling 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 hindered their landing in Kent, if his Majesty had commanded it? Sure I am, the Spaniard took it ill at his Majesty's hand, that he suffered them to perish so near our harbour. They also took exception, that his Majesty having promised them ammunition and powder, which it seems they wanted, it came not at the place for them, either by neglect or treachery of our officers, until they were worsted. The truth of the story of these

eight thousand Spaniards in the navy was thus. There was a part of that country where the Walloons inhabit, under the dominion of the King of Spain, in the Netherlands, which was taken notice to be very disaffected unto him: now upon landing these amongst the Walloons, so many of that people were to have been transported into Spain, &c. When his Majesty first heard of the Spanish and Dutch fleet, and their near approach, he said to one standing by him, 'I would I were well rid of both navies.' To speak the truth of him, either as he was virtuous or vicious, is not to wrong him; but in every trivial miscarriage to make him the author of it, I hold it barbarous, and not the part of an honest moral man.

In this memorable year, the Scots, by act amongst themselves, thrust out all bishops; who after came sneaking hither, and had by Canterbury's means large and plentiful exhibitions for their maintenance. His Majesty took the expulsion of the bishops so ill, as that he resolved to check the sauciness of the Scots, his dear countrymen, and cause their trade with us to be prohibited, and their ships to be seised; which so enraged the Scottish nation, that they were again in 1640 in arms. The King summons a Parliament in April about the Scots, which Parliament would not give a farthing unto him towards maintenance of his intended army against the Scots; therefore in May he dissolves the Parliament; which gave great discontent all over the nation, and great encouragement unto the Scots: whereupon their army was suddenly ready, and their presumption such, as without invitation, they, the 17th, of August 1640, entered England. The King prepares an army of English to resist them: but such was the general inclination even of the common soldiers, and so great an odium or hatred was cast upon William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, that nothing would serve the common soldiers but 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 service: in some countries the new 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 toward the maintenance of those wars, and commanded their tribes in their several pulpits to inveigh, and cry aloud 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 extremely to hate; for at this present time the high commission-court, and other bawdy courts, did most horrible injustice against the persons and estates of any gentleman, who by misfortune came thither. There was also one Wrenn, bishop of Norwich, born 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 saucy citizen's son, hath been one main cause of the ruin of the clergy. Concerning this Wrenn, I know Canterbury preferred him, and brought him to those Ecclesiastical advancements in court and church, which he enjoyed. I do also know, and have heard it from some who waited on Canterbury in his chamber, that he would oft say, that the rash actions and unwarrantable proceedings of this Wrenn would undo the clergy; but in regard he had been the sole means of his advancement, he could not well do any act prejudicial against him, but it would redound to the dishonour of himself, and the clergy in general: also he had many reluctancies in himself, for preferring so unworthy a scornful fellow, who proved the scandal and scorn of churchmen, and an extraordinary plague to the whole nation. For upon his plaguing and punishing many godly clothiers in the countries of Norfolk

and Suffolk, they were forced to leave their native country, and betake themselves and their 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 Wrenn lives, &c.

As I remember, near upon, or in this year 1639, or 1640, the citizens of London were miserably abused by a beggarly Knight, one Sir Phillips of Ireland, who exhibited his bill against them, for certain misdemeanors pretended to be committed by some of their sub-officers in Ireland, about the parts of London-Derry. True it is, the citizens of London very gallantly, about the coming in of King James, or not long after, sent colonies of their own in great numbers, and at extreme great charges, to settle a civil plantation in the North of Ireland. They had a large patent from King James, and many privileges granted unto them for their so doing and planting. Above thirty years they had quietly possessed their own lands there, had built many beautiful market-towns, one or more city or cities, many churches in the territories assigned them. But near those years of 1639, or 1640, this Sir Phillips demanded 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 monies, and had as great plenty in their possession as ever, yet would not contribute any assistance or money against the Scots, or advance his Majesty in this his Scottish expedition. And though I do not attribute these casualties and losses of the cities, to be derived or caused from the eclipse of 1639, although the eclipse was in Gemini, which sign is the ascendant of London: yet certainly, that Eclipse did in a natural way threaten or portend much damage unto them, and did manifest the casualties, but was not the cause.

There was at last a cessation of arms by consent of both parties, Scots and English. Some petty scuffling there was to no purpose. The King, when he saw no other means could be thought on for to serve his turn, and that the common soldier unanimously refused engaging with the Scots, by the constant and earnest desire of the English nobility, which attended him, he with much unwillingness at length was content to give summons for another Parliament to be convened the third day of November 1640. But you must understand in the mean while, when the King saw he could no ways engage the English against the Scots, he had sent unto Ireland for the then present Lord Deputy, the Earl of Strafford, formerly Sir Thomas Wentworth, a Yorkshire gentleman by birth, and one who had formerly been a great stickler against him, until, poisoned with court-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 this Stafford to consult with him about composing these emergent differences. Stafford arrives with Canterbury, all to little purpose; for the Bishop was a very ass in anything but church-matters; the hand of providence now going along with the Parliament and commonwealth, who became masters of all publick spirited people, the King daily declining. In April 1641, the Parliament accused Stafford for several misdemeanors, treasons, tyrannies, &c. Against the commonwealth, during his government in Ireland. The Parliament follow it so lustily, that notwithstanding Stafford spoke and defended himself as well as any mortal man in the world could do, yet he was found guilty, had his sentence to die, and did die. Thomas Earl of Arundel being Lord High Steward, the King signed the warrant for his death, either by himself or Commissioners. Thus died Stafford, the wisest politician this nation ever bred.

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

The matter is not great, who invited the Scots into England: some thought Pim, Hambden, and several other gentlemen were instrumental. It is very like it was true, and that the King knew as much, but could not remedy it. The Parliament however in policy and judgment gave the Scots a round sum of money for their losses, and ordered them to depart this kingdom, which they did; so that in August 1641, I beheld the old Queen-Mother of France departing from London, in company of Thomas Earl of Arundel. A sad spectacle of mortality it was, and produced tears from mine eyes, and many other beholders, to see an aged, lean, decrepid, poor Queen, ready for her grave, necessitated to depart hence, having no place of residence in this world left her, but where the courtesy of her hard fortune assigned it. She had been the only stately and magnificent woman of Europe; wife to the greatest King ever lived in France, mother unto one king and unto two Queens. The King cared not much for the Earl of Arundel, being he was of a severe and grave nature, could not endure court-novelties or flatterers, was potent in allies, &c. But there was one thing or cause mainly above the rest, and that was, because the Earl of Arundel being Lord High Steward and Judge in Stafford's trial, gave his voice that he was guilty of treason, &c. The Earl also had but a few years before given the King a touch of his own great heart, and the King's unthankfulness unto him and his family. The case was thus: A priest pretends the King had a right in a rectory: the Earl challenged for his, and had procured Canterbury for his friend and second. The matter had many debates: for Arundel was no fool, but stood stoutly for his right. Canterbury was as violent for the priest, and had procured the King to take cognizance, or hear the matter. The King upon some slight evidence maintained it was his, *viz.* Belonged to the Crown. The Earl seeing the obstinateness of the King, and his siding with a petty priest against him, and his proper right, out of the greatness of his heart, said, 'Sir, this rectory was an appendant unto such or such a manor of mine, until my grandfather, unfortunately, lost both his life and seventeen Lordships more, for the love he bore to your grandmother.' This was a smart speech, and home to purpose: it so astonished the King, that he replied pretty mildly, 'My Lord, I would not have you to think that so poor a thing as this rectory or thing in question shall stand in competition betwixt my respect unto you and your family, which I know to be deserving,' &c. After that time the Earl little liked the King's actions, and therefore took this opportune occasion of going away with the Queen-mother; and when one said unto him, his Majesty would miss him; 'It is an ill dog,' said the Earl, 'that is not worth whistling; and though he is a King, he will find Arundel's affection unto him would not have been inconsiderable,' &c. Some few years since, this Earl died at Padua, being the last man of the English nation, that maintained the 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 Marshall 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 furnished their own kindred, being native Irish; who were no sooner possessed of arms, but they became errant traitors to the English. A great question will here arise, whether the murder of the English was by consent or commission from the King unto the Irish? Many have affirmed in words and in print publicly, that he should be guilty of such a villanous act; which I cannot believe, in regard I could never have any assured relation, what those commissions were the Irish boasted of, they being only the affirmations of the Catholick Irish, purposely to win others unto their party, and seducing many by saying, they acted by the King's commissions. Had this been true, it had been more than equal unto his assisting for destruction of Rochelle; but I may hope better things, both as he was a Protestant, a Christian, and a King. Yet methink there is little satisfaction given unto this in his late pretended book. Two main things are objected against the King, which that book meddles not with, or answers. First, why his Majesty was 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 necessities, 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 to 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 otherwise to have kept it at Hampton-Court, and also knighted some of the Aldermen. At his return from Scotland, he affirmed in a speech he made unto both Houses, how he had left that kingdom in as quiet and good condition as could be expected. The devil was in the crags of the Scots, if he left them not contented, who gave them whatever they required, and signed whatever they desired or demanded, confirmed as much as their large consciences could require.

But now in January 1641, began a sea of misfortunes to fall upon us, and overwhelm our long-continued happiness, by disagreement of the King and two Houses of Parliament, and partly by the daily coming to the Parliament House of many hundred citizens, sometimes in very rude manner. True it is, the King disliked these too frequent addresses unto both Houses in so tumultuous and unwarrantable a manner: whereupon, fearing the worst (as himself pretended) he had a court of guard before Whitehall of the trained-bands. He had also many dissolute gentlemen, and some very civil, that kept within Whitehall, with there swords by their sides, to be ready upon any sudden occasion. Verily, mens fears now began to be great, and it was by many perceived, the King began to swell with anger against the proceedings of Parliament, and to intend a war against them: some speeches dropped from him to that purpose. It happened one day, as some of the ruder sort of citizens came by Whitehall, one busy citizen must needs cry, 'No Bishops:' some of the gentlemen issued out of Whitehall, either to correct the sauciness of the fool in words, if they would serve, else it seems

with blows: what passed on either side in words, none but themselves knew; the citizen being more tongue than soldier; was wounded, and I have heard, died of his wounds received at that time. It hath been affirmed by very many, that in or near unto that place where this fellow was hurt and wounded, the late KING's head was cut off, the SCAFFOLD standing just over that place.

Those people or citizens who used thus to flock unto Westminster, were most of them men of mean or a middle quality themselves; no Aldermen, Merchants, or Common-Council Men, but set on by some of better quality; an yet most of them were either such as had publick spirits, or lived a more religious life than the vulgar, and were usually called Puritans, and had suffered under the tyranny of the Bishops: in the general they were 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 usually with their cries attended at Westminster, were, by nick name, called Roundheads. The courtiers again wearing long hair and locks, and always sworded, at last were called by these men Cavaliers: and so after that this broken language had been used a while, all that adhered to the Parliament were termed Roundheads; all that took part or appeared for his Majesty Cavaliers; few of the vulgar knowing the sense of the word Cavalier. However, the present hatred of the citizens were such unto gentlemen, especially courtiers, that few durst come into the city; or if they did, they were sure to receive affronts, and be abused.

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

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

January 4, 1641.⁷ By what sinister council led, I know not, but the King in person went to the then Lower House of Parliament, where the Commons sat, and for some things he had been informed of, demanded five of their principal members, *viz* Pimm, Hollis, Hazlerigg, Hambden, and Stroud. In that book called his Portraiture, he affirms, he went to the House of Commons to demand justice upon those five members; and faith, 'He thought he had discovered some unlawful correspondencies and engagements they had made to embroil the 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

⁷ At this time the English new year began in March, not January. Hence what may appear to the modern reader as an apparent error in the dating of this event is actually correct. T.C.

them, and proved his charge, he might have had it; but for himself to attach their bodies, and be Judge also (as he intended) was a matter most unequal. And surely, had it been in his power to have got their bodies, he would have served these members as he did Elliot, whom without cause he committed to the tower, and never would either release him, or shew cause of his commitment, till death.

All that time he had a guard with him at the doors of the House of Parliament, consisting of many gentlemen, with halberts and swords. Truly, I did not hear there was any incivility offered by those gentlemen then attending unto any member of the House, his Majesty having given them strict commands to the contrary. This rash action of the King's lost him his crown: for as he was the first of Kings that ever, or so impudently, brake the privileges by his entrance into the House of Commons assembled in Parliament; so by that unparalleled demand of his, he utterly lost himself, and left scarce any possibility of reconciliation; he not willing to trust them, nor they him, who had so often failed them. It was my fortune that very day to dine in Whitehall, and in that room where the halberts, newly brought from the tower, were lodged, for use of such as attended the King to the House of Commons, Sir Peter Wich, ere we had fully dined came into the room I was in, and brake open the chests wherein the arms were, which 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 the House. All that I can do further was presently to be gone. But it happened also the same day, that some of my neighbors were at the court of guard at Whitehall, unto whom I related the King's present design, and conjured them to defend the Parliament and members thereof, in whose well or ill doing consisted our happiness or misfortune: they promised assistance if need were, and I believe would have stoutly stood to it for defence of the Parliament, or members thereof. The King lost his reputation exceedingly by this his improvident and unadvised demand: yet notwithstanding this his failing, so wilful and obstinate he was in pursuance of that preposterous course he intended, and so desirous to compass the bodies of these five members, that the next day he posted and trotted into the city to demand the members there. He convened a meeting at Guildhall. The Common Council assembled: but mum could he get there, for the word London-Derry was then fresh in every man's mouth.

But whereas the author of the King's Portraiture complains, 'That the 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, we desire no more.' Unto which he several times answered, 'They should,' &c.

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

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

'how I have lost the affection of those water-rats.' a word sure that slipped out of his mouth unadvisedly; for all men must and do know, that the ships of England, and our valiant sailors, are the very strength of England.

His Majesty finding nothing thrived on his side, and seeing the abundant affection of the commonalty in general for the Parliament, the aforesaid tenth of January 1641, went unto Hampton-Court, and never after could by entreaty, or otherwise, be drawn to come unto his Parliament, though they in most humble wise, and by many and several addresses, exceedingly desired it. One misfortune follows another: for the 25th of February, 1641, the Queen went into Holland, and afterwards the King into Yorshire. There was at this time a sufficient magazine of arms in Hull, being the remainder of those employed against the Scots. The Parliament sent down a member of their own, one Sir John Hotham, to take care of them; who undertook, and also did maintain the town, and preserve the arms therein for the Parliament. Although his Majesty, in April 1642, came unto the walls of the town to require them, yet could he neither procure arms, or admittance into the town.

The Earl of Warwick, exceedingly beloved of the seamen, secured the navy; so that in few days the Parliament had store of arms for land soldiers, and plenty of stout ships for their sea occasions. His Majesty in the mean time being destitute both of the affections of his people, and means to supply an army, which it was perceived he intended shortly to raise, returned from viewing Hull unto York. The Parliament having perfect intelligence, and being assured he would raise an army against them, began to consider of their present condition; whom to make their General; how to raise men and money for their own, and commonwealth's defence. But one would have blessed himself to see what running and trotting away their was both of Lords and Commons unto his Majesty. I do assure you a very a very thin house was left: of Lords who remained, Essex the people's darling was chief; a most noble soul, and generally well esteemed: he in this exigency was by both houses nominated and voted the Parliament's General. I do herein admire at the wonderful providence of Almighty God, who put it into the peoples hearts to make this man General, this very Earl, this good 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 Coitus*⁸, and old Jemmy believing it.

Had Essex refused to be General, our cause in all likelihood had sunk in the beginning, we having never a Nobleman at that time, either willing or capable of that honour and preferment indeed, scarce any of them were fit to be trusted. So that God raised up Essex to be a scourge for his son, whose father had unjustly abused him. And for the Countess, she had abundance of sorrow ere she died, and felt the divine hand of heaven against her; for she was incapable of coition at least a dozen years ere she died, having an impediment in that very member she had so much delighted in and abused: and this I had from the mouth of one who saw her when bowelled. For Somerset himself, he died a poor man, contemptible and despised of every man; and yet I never heard any ill of that Scotchman, except in this alone business concerning the Earl of Essex and his wife. In this summer the citizens listed themselves plentifully for soldiers. Horse and arms were provided, and the Lord knows how many treacherous knaves had command in this first expedition of the Parliament army: so that if God himself had not been on our side, we must of necessity perished.

The youth of the city of London made up the major part of Essex's infantry. His horse were good, but the riders unskilful: for they wee taken up as they listed, or offered themselves

8 "Cold in bed"...Literally "frigid in sex".

unto 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 plates and monies of the citizens came tumbling into Guildhalls upon the publick faith.

His Majesty in the interim, and at that time, was necessitated for money and arms extremely, 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 mad 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 generally nothing inclinable to his purpose: in most whereof, and in every county he came in, he rather received petty affronts than support: yet at last he came to Nottingham, and there set up his STANDARD (with a full resolution of 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 Third set up his Standard there, &c. His Majesty disliked his Standard was placed within the castle. He said it was to be placed in an open place, where all men that would might freely come unto it, and not in a prison: they therefore carried it, at his command, without the castle, towards or into the park there adjoining, into an open place and easy of access. When they came to fix it in the ground, they perceived it was a meer rock stone, so they with daggers and knives made a

small hole for the Standard to be put in, but all would not serve; men were enforced for the present to support it with the strength of their arms and bodies; which gave great occasion unto some gentlemen there present, to give a very sad judgment on the King's side, and to divine long beforehand, that he would never do any good by arms. I have also heard, that in eight or ten days he had not thirty attend the Standard, or listed themselves.

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 hands, unto whom I refer the reader. I shall only repeat a few more things of him, and then conclude. Favourites he had three, Buckingham stabbed to death; William Laud, and Thomas Earl of Strafford, both beheaded. Bishops and Clergymen, whom he most favoured, and wholly advanced, and occasionally ruined, he lived to see their bishopricks sold, the Bishops themselves scorned, and all the whole clergy of his party and opinion quite undone.

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

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

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

The city of London, which he had so 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 slights 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 natiivities of both Kings were very contrary.

With France, he had no good amity; the Protestants were abhorring his legerdmain and treachery unto Rochelle; the Papists as little loving or trusting him, for some hard measure offered unto those of their religion in England. He cunningly would labour to please all, but in effect gave satisfaction to none.

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

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

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

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

The Hollanders being only courteous for their own ends, and as far as his money would extend, furnished him with arms at such rates as a Turk might have had them elsewhere:

but they neither loved or cared for him in his prosperity, or pitied him in his adversity; which occasioned these words to drop from him, 'If he ere came to his throne, he would make Hans Butter-box know, he should pay well for his fishing, and satisfy for old knaveries.' &c.

In conclusion. He was generally unfortunate in the world, in the esteem both of friends and enemies: his friends exclaim on his breach of faith; his enemies would say, he could never be fast enough bound. He was more lamented as he was a king, than for any affection had unto his person as a man.

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

When in the west, *viz.* Cornwall, he worsted Essex: had he 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, ere the Scots came into England, commanded Newcastle to have marched southward for London, he could not have missed obtaining the city, and then the work had been ended.

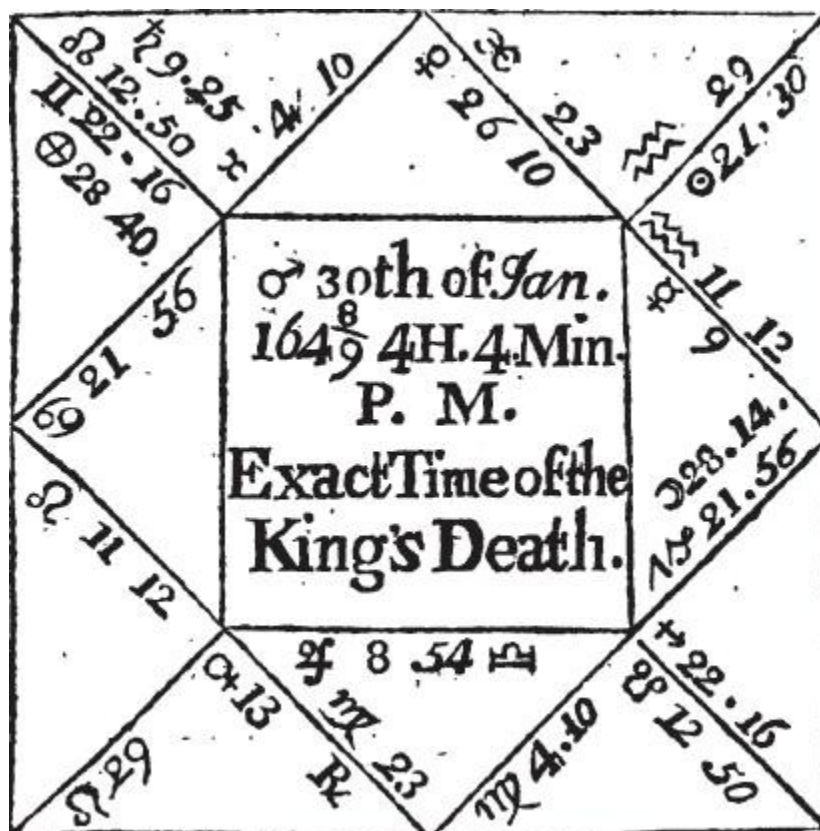
Or when in 1645, he had taken Leicester; if then he had speedily marched for London, I know not who could have resisted him: but his camp was so overcharged with plunder and Irish whores, there was no marching.

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, had had advice, &c. that the only way, and that there was no other means remaining upon earth to make himself happy, and settle a firm peace betwixt himself and Parliament, and to bring him out of thralldom, but by receiving our Commissioners civilly; to sign whatever propositions they brought; and above all, to make haste to London, and to do all things speedily: he was willing, and he promised fairly to perform thus much. Our Commissioners were no sooner come, but one of them, an old subtil fox, had every night private and long conference with him; to whom, when his Majesty had communicated his intentions of signing the propositions, he utterly disliked the design, and told him plainly, 'He should come unto his Parliament upon easier terms; for he assured him, the House of Lords were wholly his, and at his devotion.' This old man knew that well enough, himself being one of them: and in the House of Commons he had such a strong party, that the propositions should be mitigated, and made more easy and fit for him to sign. Upon this, the old Lord was to be Treasurer *apud Gracus Calendus*⁹, 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 have been in

9 Possibly from the Latin *ad kalendas Græcas*...i.e. "at the Greek calends" in other words, never, since the Greeks had no calends. T.C.

the head of them, and with the revolted ships, if he could have escaped; and he was so near escaping, that his legs and body, even unto the breast, were out at the window: but whether fear surprised him, or, as he said himself, he could not get his body out of the window, being full-chested; he tarried behind, &c. and escaped not. Many such misfortunes attended him; so that one may truly say, he was *Regum infælicissimus*¹⁰. Some affirm before his death several prodigies appeared. All I observed a long time before, was, that there appeared almost in every year after 1664, several parelia¹¹, or mock-suns; sometimes two, sometimes three. So also mock-moons, or paraselenes¹², 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 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 enquired who it was that cut off his head: I have no permission to speak of such things; only thus much I say, he that did it, is as valiant and resolute a man as lives, and one of competent fortune¹³.

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

10 He was an "unfortunate King". T.C.

11 A sun dog or sundog (scientific name parheliion, plural parhelia, e.g. "with the sun") is a relatively common halo, an atmospheric optical phenomenon mostly associated with the refraction of sunlight by small ice crystals making up cirrus or cirrostratus clouds. T.C.

12 See footnote #11 above. T.C.

13 In Lilly's *History of his Life and Times*, Lilly reveals that this was one Lieutenant-Colonel Joice. T.C.

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.