



THE
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The Life of William Lilly

student in Astrology

By William Lilly

~ transcribed and annotated by Sue Ward ~





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The Life of William Lilly student in Astrology,

wrote by himselfe in the 66th year of his age, at Hersham
in the parish of Walton uppon Thames in the county of Surrey : propria manu.

Transcribed from the autograph

by

Sue Ward

with annotations, commentaries and biographical notes,
including Elias Ashmole's addenda.
Nativities of some notable persons appended.

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Preface

Lilly's "Life" is more a series of anecdotes, or after-dinner stories, than an autobiography. Yet these are points in his life which Lilly thought important to recount. Clearly, this recounting is done largely to satisfy his friend Elias Ashmole, and we see this in his directly addressing Ashmole throughout the body of the work, not just in the dedication.

The information Lilly provides seems to fall into roughly two categories: that relating to his public life, and that relating to his interest in magic and occult matters generally. In this we see again that it is in reference to Ashmole that he includes this material. There is very little of his personal life to be found, and this was probably because Lilly intended that his "Life" should be published.¹ To this day, we know very little about his domestic life, although a picture can be pieced together from his letters to Ashmole (*Notes*) which relates to the latter part of his life after he had settled permanently in Hersham.

In both cases it appears that Lilly is taking this opportunity to tell his side of the story, and he does so in some detail. The importance to him of these matters is evidenced by the amount of that detail he recalls, even to what was said and by whom. Possibly he kept a journal, but none has been found.

To the casual reader, the frequent mention of the acquisition of private libraries and papers, or their ownership and whereabouts, must seem unusual in the context of an autobiography. One is tempted to deduce a conceit on Lilly's part: in addressing his audience, he wants them to know of his involvement in these rather important and scholarly matters. Perhaps even his reference to Ashmole's possession of such documents and books can be viewed in the same way. This explanation is more alluring when we read some of Lilly's remarks concerning the libraries of certain individuals.² Certainly, both he and Ashmole went to great lengths, and expense in some cases, to obtain objects of, to them at least, great value. This, however, does not explain the occasions when such collections were apparently freely given to one or other of them.

While we must acknowledge the value placed on printed works at a time when they were very expensive items, we should also consider the nature of those collections. They seem to fall into the general category of occultism, including astrological, magical, medical and

¹ "Memorandum-the lives of John Dee, Dr. Nepier, Sir William Dugdale, William Lilly, Elias Ashmole, esq.,-Mr. Ashmole haz and will doe himselfe: as he told me formerly but nowe seemes to faile." (*Aubrey*).

² John Booker for example (p.38).

alchemical texts. This in itself offers an explanation of the assiduousness of Lilly and Ashmole in their collecting: to amalgamate and preserve such works in the public arena. We should note the complaints of Lilly and his contemporaries of the exclusivity of the usual repositories of such knowledge, that is, religious institutions such as monasteries. We know how strongly Lilly felt about freedom of access from the dedication and address in *Christian Astrology*. However, I believe that there is a further reason which addresses the matter overall and takes precedence over the personal. The turbulence of the times is witnessed in the destruction of personal and religious estates. Private libraries of individuals and religious houses were lost along with the buildings themselves in some cases.

In his foreword to *Two Antiquaries*³ Richard Ollard brings this very important consideration to our attention: “[Aubrey] was alive to the possibilities, even, as it seemed to him, the possibilities of violent political change. What that meant for the preservation of irreplaceable documents he had known from his childhood when philistine parsons were still using manuscripts pillaged from monastic libraries at the Dissolution to line pie-dishes or stop up the bungs of cider barrels. As a young man he had seen the wanton destruction of great collections in the Civil War.” Even as late as 1688, such upheaval remained a very real possibility and we see this in Aubrey’s report of Ashmole’s anger at Anthony Wood’s apparent refusal to send Aubrey’s manuscripts to the museum at Oxford (the Ashmolean) for safety. The reason given for Ashmole’s outburst was that because Wood was a Roman Catholic there was a grave risk of his library and papers being seized and possibly destroyed.⁴

Lilly’s apparent interest in the supernatural is clearly and openly divulged to his friend, but Ashmole had intended to publish at least part of this autobiographical account and we might assume that Lilly was fully aware of that. Thus such openness might strike the modern reader as incautious, but it is well to remember that Lilly’s view of life was one which was magical and did admit Hermetic philosophy. He had lived his own life according to its principles and had experienced some of its more spectacular results. Ashmole was accomplished in the Hermetic sciences himself, so Lilly would have had to work hard to impress this man if that was his intention. Lilly’s evidence does show experience and knowledge in these matters, and it is my view that this was the reason that he was pressed to record these stories.

³ *Two Antiquaries: A Selection from the Correspondence of John Aubrey and Anthony Wood*, by Maurice Balme, Durham Academic Press, 2001.

⁴ 22 December 1688 (MS Aubrey 12, f.2), from a letter to Wood: “...Mr Ashmole desired to speake with me about it, and is most outrageously angry; and charged mee to write to you, as soon as I could, and to order you to putt the Box in the Musaeum: for he lookes upon you as a P[apist] and sayeth, so does the whole University, ... and he sayes, he expects to heare of your being plundered, and papers burnt...” (Notes) With the impending arrival of the Protestant William of Orange, the danger was clear.

Editorial Interventions and Additions

As far as I know, this is the first time that Lilly's own manuscript has been published unchanged and in its entirety. While I am aware that, had the manuscript gone to publication, a printer would have made many changes to the original, I have felt it important to stay as close to it as possible. To this end, I have maintained the margin and footnotes written by Lilly and Ashmole. Sometimes these were simply to clarify certain points, at other times they contained additional information provided by Ashmole as he read the manuscript through. An unknown hand in the marginalia seems to belong to a proof-reader who also makes notes apparently in preparation for the printer. An example of the original page layout is to be found page 100 and shows how these margin notes were inserted.

There is no pagination in the manuscript so page numbering has been inserted whilst maintaining the original page length. There was no standardised spelling in the 17th century, and through this regional accents become apparent. For this reason, I have not modernised the spelling beyond inserting the silent "e" at word endings and a capital "F" to replace "ff". The punctuation remains as in the original except for the inclusion of occasional full-stops and capitalisation of sentence beginnings. This has been done only where it is very clear that this is required and where no punctuation has been used. I have kept in mind that Lilly spent a great deal of time referring to texts written in Latin in which punctuation is little used and capital letters at the beginning of sentences never used.

Contractions of 'which', 'where', 'our', etc. have been expanded to assist reading. Lacunae and illegible script have been checked with the 1715 transcription.

I hope these interventions will aid reading flow and help the reader to a better appreciation of William Lilly.

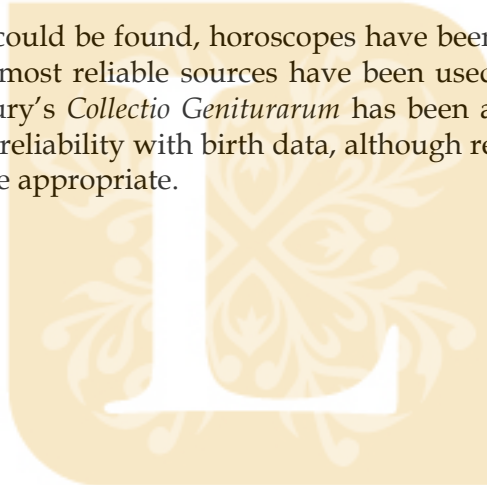
Additional Documents

Further sources, in transcription, have been appended as follows:

1. Elias Ashmole wrote a continuation of this autobiography with the intention of publishing it along with his own;
2. A table of contents has been added to assist readers in locating various parts of the manuscript. Lilly did include a few 'chapter' headings and these have been maintained;
3. Footnotes to clarify certain points and to provide definitions of archaic words and phrases;
4. Footnoted biographical and anecdotal information of some of the characters is included. The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (OUP, 2004) has been relied upon in most cases. This has been done to

broaden the scope of the *Autobiography*, and, as with all other editorial interventions and additions, to help the reader to a greater appreciation of the age in which Lilly lived and prospered.

5. An index of the people Lilly mentions;
6. A copy of Lilly's license to practice medicine is attached to the manuscript and I have therefore included it here;
7. My transcription of Lilly's last will and testament;
8. Lilly's own nativity and directions.
9. A review of various points relating to Lilly's life and work, including a brief analysis of his nativity and directions, his relationship with Ashmole, and Lilly's interest in the occult. This paper is based on that presented to the annual conference of the Astrological Association of Great Britain in 2004, and later published in its *Journal* in 2005.
10. Where they could be found, horoscopes have been included as an appendix. The most reliable sources have been used for these data, and John Gadbury's *Collectio Geniturarum* has been avoided because of his known unreliability with birth data, although reference is made to this text where appropriate.



Acknowledgements

Some years ago, I had intended to publish this transcription and discovered that David Plant had also transcribed the manuscript for a similar purpose. He had gone one step further and had obtained a translation into English of the Latin dedication from Graeme Tbyn. David Plant and I then combined our transcriptions for the purposes of publication although this never took place. I should then offer my thanks and appreciation for the work that Graeme and David did which helped to complete my own transcription of the manuscript.



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The Autobiography



**The Life of William Lilly student in Astrology, wrote by himselfe
in the 66th year of his age, at Hershham in the parish of Walton
uppon Thames in the county of Surrey : propria manu.
Excellentissimo viro Armigero Elias Ashmole. D. D. D.
nos vita meas Laboris.
[Dico - D; Dedico. D; Devoso. D.]**

Peragrationes totius vitae mea, tibi (oh illustrissime ac literatissime Armiger Elias Ashmole libenter quamuis laboriosissimas communico) cum quam plurimus ejusdem circumstantias adhuc aut ignotas aut latentes quæ mihi per tot annorum spatium contigerunt; Profiteor me in hisce scribendis omnem sinceritatem observasse nec innaniter aut leviter aliquid scripsisse; non enim nostræ facultatis aut intentionis fuit, aliquid in lucem proferre, sine matura deliberatione et consulte;

scripsi, eo desiderio summopere motus; ut presentis et futuri sciant;

Quis fui; ubi natus; quomodo vixi; quibusque studijs versatus fui;

Si humanitas vestra candide acceperit hasce subsequentes Chartulas, mirum in modum gaudebo, sin aliter; clementer, prudentiam vestram obsecro, ut qualescunq sint mittentur flammis.

Non ignoro, sed optime scio, non est una omnium ad scientiam properantium intentio, nec finis – quidem unus: aliqui enim multa scire cupiunt eo tantum fine, ut sciant: et fructum suæ curiositatis unum et in nihilo consistentem recipiunt: alij, scire volunt propter commodum temporale, ut assequanter dignitates, divitias, et honores; multique hodie ad scientiam se in hunc finem conferre reperiuntur: ex numero horum non fui.

Vester senilis jam amicus, Lillius⁵

⁵ Translated by Graeme Tobyn:

“To the most excellent man Elias Ashmole Esquire, I dedicate these labours of my life.

I communicate these journeyings of all my life to you, o most illustrious and most learned esquire Elias Ashmole, willingly If most laboriously, together with very many circumstances of the same kind, still either unknown or hidden, which have befallen me through the space of so many years.

I declare that in these writings I have observed all sincerity and have written nothing vainly or without due consideration, for it was not my purpose or intention to bring anything to the light without mature deliberation and counsel. I have written especially motivated by this desire, that the present and future should know;

Who I have been, where I was born, how I have lived, in what studies I have been versed. If your kindness will freely accept these following papers, I shall rejoice exceedingly; if otherwise, I beg your prudence kindly to commit them to the fire.

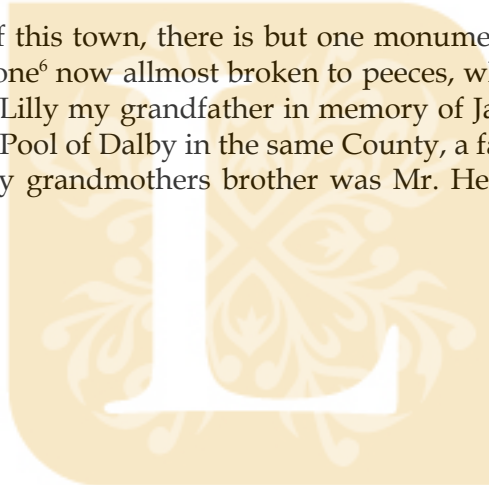
I am not unaware, but know very well, that all pursuing knowledge have not one intention, nor even one final aim; for some wish to know much as an end in itself – to know, and the fruit of their inquiry they receive alone, nothing more. Others wish to know for their own worldly advantage, that they may pursue high position, riches and honours; many today apply themselves to learning for this end; I was never among the number of these.

Your old and present friend, Lilly”

I was born in the County of Leicester, in an obscure town in the northwest borders thereof called Diseworth, 7 miles south of the town of Derby, one mile from Castle Donnington, a town of great rudeness, wherein, it is not remembred, that any of the Farmers thereof, did ever educate any of their sooners to Learning, onely my grandfather sent his younger soon into Cambridge, whose name was Robert Lilly, and died Vicar of Cambden in Glocestershire about 1640.

The town of Diseworth did formerly belong unto the Lord Seagrave, for there is one Record in the hands of my cozen Melborn Williamson, which mentions one acre of Land abutting North uppon the Gates of the Lord Seagrave, and there is one Close called Hall close, wherein the ruines of some antient buildings appear, and particularly where the Dovehouse stood, and there is also the ruins of decayed fishponds, and other out houses. This town came at length to bee the inheritance of Margaret Countess of Richmond mother of Henry the 7th, which Margaret gave the town and Lordshipp of Diseworth unto Christs Colledge in Cambridge, the Master and Fellows whereof have ever since and at present enjoy and possess.

In the Church of this town, there is but one monument, and that is a white Marble stone⁶ now allmost broken to peeces, which was placed there by Robert Lilly my grandfather in memory of Jane his wife, the daughter of Mr. Pool of Dalby in the same County, a family now quite extinguished; my grandmothers brother was Mr. Henry Pool one of the Knights of



⁶ While Lilly's remarks here refer to the status of this church, Ashmole had a long-standing interest in monuments in English churches.

Rhodes, (or Templers), who beeing a Soldier in Rhodes at the taking thereof by Solyman the Magnificent, and escaping with his life, came afterwards into England, and married the Lady Parron, or Perham of Oxfordshire and was called during his life Sir Henry Pool. William Pool the Astrologer⁷, knew him very well and remembers him to have been a very tall person, and reputed of great strength in his younger yeares.

The impropriation⁸ of this town of Diseworth, was formerly the inheritance of 3 sisters, whereof 2 became Votaries, one in the Nunnery of Langly in the parish of Diseworth, valued at the suppression, I mean the whole Nunnery, at 32^l per annum and this sisters part is yet enjoyed by the family of the Grayes, who now and for some yeares past have the enjoyment and possession of all the Lands formerly belonging to the Nunnery in the parish of Diseworth and are at present of the yearly value of 350^l per annum. One other of the sisters gave her part of the great Tythes unto a Religious house in Bredon uppon the Hill and, as the inhabitants repoart, became a religious person afterwards. The third sister married, and her part of the tythes in succeding ages, became the Earle of Huntingdons, who not many yeares since sold it to one of his servants.

The Donation of the Vicaridge is in the gift of the Grayes of Langly, unto whom they pay yearly, I mean unto the Vicar, as I am informed, 6^l per annum. Very lately, some charitable Citizens have purchased one third portion of the Tythes, and given it for maintenance of a preaching minister, and its now of the value per annum of about £50.

There have been 2 Hermitages in this parish, the last Hermite was well remembered by one Thomas Cook, a very antient inhabitant, who in my younger yeares acquainted mee hearwith.

⁷ Lilly appears to have maintained a relationship with this member of his grandmother's family.

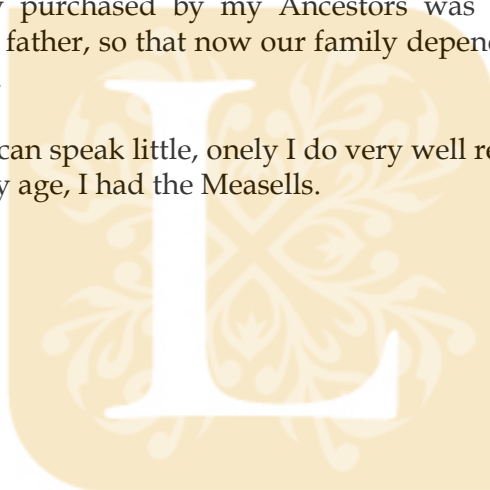
⁸ Improprate: to place tithes or ecclesiastical property in lay hands. (OED)

This town of Diseworth is divided into 3 parishes, one part belongs unto Lockington, in which parish my fathers house, over against the west end of the steeple stands, in which I was born⁹. Some other farmes are in the parish of Bredon, the rest in the parish of Diseworth.

In this town, but in the parish of Lockington was I born, the first day of May 1602; my fathers name was William Lilly, soon¹⁰ of Robert, the soon of Robert, the soon of Rowland etc. My mother was Alice, the daughter of Edward Barham of Fiskerton Mills in Nottinghamshire, 2 miles from Newark uppon Trent. This Edward Barham was born in Norwich, and well remembred the Rebellion of Kett the Tanner¹¹ in the dayes of Edward the sixt.

Our family have continued many ages in this town as yeomen, besides the farme my father and his ancestors lived in, both my father and grandfather had much freehold Land, and many houses in the town not belonging to the Colledge¹², as the Farm wherein they wear all born, doth and is now at this present of the value of 40^l per annum and in possession of my brothers soon¹³: but the Freehold Land and houses formerly purchased by my Ancestors was all sold by my grandfather and father, so that now our family depend wholly uppon a Colledge lease.

Of my infancy I can speak little, onely I do very well remember that in the 4th year of my age, I had the Measells.



⁹ The house still stands, as does the church.

¹⁰ Son.

¹¹ Robert Kett (c. 1492-1549), a yeoman tanner and farmer who led the rebellion in 1549. Following the massacre of the rebels by the Earl of Dudley, Kett was executed.

¹² Christ's College, Cambridge.

¹³ Possibly the "Robert" and "William Lilly" referred to in Lilly's will.

I was during my minority putt to learn at such Schools and of such masters as the rudeness¹⁴ of the place and country afforded, my mother intending I should bee a Scholler from my Infancy, seeing my fathers backsliding in the world, and no hopes by plain husbandry to recruit a decayed estate; therefore uppon Trinity tuesday 1613¹⁵, my father had mee to Ashby de la Zouch, to bee there instructed by one Mr. John Brinsly¹⁶, one in those tymes of great abilitys for instruction of youth in the Latin and Greek tounge; hee was very severe in his life and conversation, and did breed up many Schollers for the Universitys; in Religion he was a strict Puritan, not conformable wholly to the Ceremonys of the Church of England. In this town of Ashby de la Zouch for many yeares together Mr. Arthur Hildersham¹⁷ exercised his Ministry; at my beeing there, and all the while I continued in Ashby, hee was silenced.

This is that famous Hildersham who left behind him a Commentary uppon the 51st Psalm, as also many sermons uppon the 4th of John, both which are printed: hee was an excellent Text man, of exemplary life, pleasant in discourse, a strong enemy to the Brownists¹⁸, and dissented not from the Church of England in any article of faith, but onely about wearing the Surplice, baptizing with the Cross, and kneeling at the Sacrament; most of the people of the town wear directed by his judgment, and so continued and yet do continue Presbiterianly affected; for when the Lord of Loughborough in 1642, 1643, 44 and 45 had his Garrison in that town, if by chance at any tyme any Troopes of horse had lodged within the town, though they came late at night to their Quarters, yet would one

or other of the town presently give Sir John Gell¹⁹ of Derby notice, so that ere²⁰ next morning most of his Majestys troopes wear seised in their Lodgings, which mooved the Lord of Loughborough

¹⁴ Rude: primitive or unsophisticated. (OED)

¹⁵ Trinity Sunday fell on 2nd June in 1613.

¹⁶ John Brinsley (fl. 1581-1624) Puritan minister, schoolmaster and an important and influential writer on education. Unusual for the time, but perhaps making an early impression on Lilly, Brinsley emphasised skill and continuing practice in the vernacular. (John Morgan, *ODNB*)

¹⁷ Arthur Hildersham (1563-1632) Church of England clergyman and puritan, suspected of and punished for nonconformity on a number of occasions.

¹⁸ A name used to refer to those seeking separation from the established Church.

¹⁹ Sir John Gell (baptised 1593, d.1671), a Parliamentary army officer. In 1643 he was made commander-in-chief of parliament's forces in Staffordshire, Warwickshire and Derbyshire, and in 1644 was made governor of Derby. A man of dubious loyalty, he was imprisoned for treason in 1653. At the Restoration in 1660 he was pardoned, possibly as a result of his lending Charles I £900 in gold. (Trevor Brighton, *ODNB*)

²⁰ Before.

merrily to say, there was not a fart let in Ashby but it was presently carried to Derby:

The several Authors I there learned were these, Sententia Pueriles, Cato, Corderius, Æsops Fables, Tullies Offices, Ovid De Tristibus, lastly Virgill, then Horace as also Cambdens Greek Grammar, Theognis and Homer his Iliads; I was onely entred into Udalls Hebrew Grammar, hee²¹ never taught Logick, but often would say, it was fitt to bee learned in the Universitys.

In the 14th year of my age, by a fellow scholler of swart black complexion I had like to have my right eye beaten out as wee wear at play. The same year, about Michaelmas, I gott a Surfett and thereupon a feaver, by eating Beech nutts.

In the 16th year of my age, I was exceedingly troubled in my dreames; concerning my Salvation, and damnation, and also concerning the safety or destruction of my father and mother (their Soules); in the nights I frequently wept, prayed and mourned, for fear my sinns might offend God.

In the 17th year of my age my mother died.

In the 18th year of my age, my Mr. Brinsly was inforced to leave keeping School, beeing persecuted by the Bishops Officers; hee came to London, and then Lectured in London, where hee afterwards died. In this year by reason of my fathers poverty, I was also inforced to leave School, and so came to my fathers house, where I lived in much penury for one year, and taught school one quarter of a year, untill Gods providence provided better for mee.²²

²¹ Brinsley.

²² Most of these “accidents” can be found with Lilly’s nativity.

ex tempore

For the 2 last years of my beeing at School, I was of the highest form in the school, and cheifest of that form; I could then speake Latin as well as English, could make verses uppon any Theam, all kinds of verses, Hexamiter, Pentamiter, Phaleuciums, Iambick, Sapphick, etc. so that if any Schollers from remote Schools came to dispute, I was ringleader to dispute with them; I could capp verses, etc.; if any minister came to examine us, I was brought forth against him, nor would I argue with him unless in the Latin tounge, which I found few of them could well speake without breaking Priscians head²³, which if once they did, I would complain to my Master: Non bene intelligit Linguam Latinam, nec prorsus loquitur.

In the derivation of words, I found most of them defective, nor indeed wear any of them any good Grammarians; all and every of those Schollers who wear of my form and standing went to Cambridge, and prooved excellent Divines; onely poor I, William Lilly, was not so happy, fortune then frowning uppon my fathers present condicon, hee not in any capacity to maintain mee at University.

Of the meanes how I came unto London.

Worthy Sir²⁴, I take much delight to recount unto you even all and every Circumstance of my life, whether good, moderate or evill: Deo gloria.

My father had one Samuell Smatty for his Atturney unto whom I went sundry tymes with letters, who perceiving I was a Scholler, and that I lived miserably in the Country, loosing my tyme²⁵ nor any ways likely to do better if I continued there, pittying my condition sent word for mee to come speak with him, and told me hee had lately been at London, where there was a

²³ Violating the rules of grammar. Brinsley promoted disputations on grammar. (ODNB)

²⁴ Ashmole.

²⁵ "Losing my time", probably "wasting my time".

gentleman, wanted a youth to attend him and his wife who could write etc.

I acquainted my father with it, who was very willing to be rid of mee, for I could not work, drive the plough, or indure any Country Labour; my father oft would say I was good for nothing.

I had onely 20^s and no more to buy mee a new suit, hose, doublet, etc.; my doublet was fustian. I repaired to Mr. Smatty (when I was accoutred) for a letter to my master; which hee gave mee. Uppon Munday 3^o April 1620, I departed from Diseworth and came to Leicester, but I must acquaint you before I came away, I visited my Freinds, amongst whom I had given mee about tenn shillings, which was a great comfort unto mee.

On Tuseday the 4th of Aprill, I took leave of my father then in Leicester Gaole for debt, and came along with Bradshaw the Carrier, the same person with whom many of the Duke of Buckingham's kindred had come upp with:

Hark, how the waggons
crack with their rich Lading.

It was a very stormy week, cold and uncomfortable, I footed²⁶ it all along – wee could not reach London untill Palm sunday 9^o Aprill, about halfe one houre after 3 in the afternoon, at which tyme, wee entred Smithfeilds; when I had gratified the Carrier and his servants, I had 7^s 6^d left and no more, one suit of cloathes uppon my back, 2 shirts, 3 bands, one payre of shoos, as many stockings. Uppon delivery of my letter, my Master entertained mee, and next day bought mee a new cloake of which you may imagine (good Esquire²⁷) whether I was not proud of; besides I saw and eat good white bread, contrary to our diett in Lecestershire.

²⁶ Footed: walked.

²⁷ Ashmole.

My Masters name was Gilbert Wright, born at Markett Bosworth in Lecestershire; my mistris was borne at Ashby Dela Zouch in the same County and in the town where I had gone to School.

This Gilbert Wright could neither write or read, hee lived uppon his Annuall Rents, was of no Calling or Profession, hee had for many yeares been servant to the Lady Paulet in Hertfordshire, and when Serjant Puckering was made Lord Keeper, hee made him Keeper of his Lodgings at White Hall. When Sir Thomas Egerton²⁸ was made Lord Chancellor, hee entertained him into the same place, and when hee married a widdow in Newgate markt, the Lord Chancellor recommended him to the Company of Salters²⁹, London, to admitt him into their Company, and so they did and my Master in 1624, was Master of that Company.

Hee was a man of excellent naturall parts, and could speak publiqly uppon any occasion very rationally and to the purpose: you see now, what profession I was brought upp unto. I write this that the world may know hee was no taylor, or myselfe of that or any other Calling or profession: my worke was to go before my M^r. to Church, to attend my Master when he went abroad, to make clean his shoos, sweep the street, fetch faggots and beere when wee had Lodgers, make fires, sweep the house, help to drive Bucks, when wee washed sett water in a tubb from the Thames; I have helped to carry 18 tubbs of water in one morning, weed the garden, all manner of Drudgerys I willingly performed; scrape trenchers, etc. If I had any profession it was of this nature. I should never have denied my beeing a Taylor³⁰, had I been one, for there is no Calling so base, which by Gods mercy may not affoord a livelyhood, and had not my master entertained mee, I would have been of a very mean profession ere I would have returned into the Country again. So, this page ends the actions of 18 years of my life.

²⁸ Sir Thomas Egerton's wife, Lady Elizabeth who died in 1648, was related to a friend of Elias Ashmole (*Notes*).

²⁹ Still in existence today and one of the twelve great Livery Companies of the City of London.

³⁰ These remarks refer to accusations made by his enemies that his master had been a tailor or scrivener. It is interesting, in a time when social status was of the utmost importance, that Lilly should place himself at a lower status to that of a tailor.

My Master married this his second wife for her estate, for shee was competently rich, shee married him for considerations hee performed not (nocturnall Society) so that they lived very uncomfortably. Shee was about 70 yeares of age, hee 66 or more, yet never was any woaman more jealous of a husband than shee, insomuch that when soever hee went into London, shee was confident of his going to woomen; by those meanes my life was the more uncomfortable, it beeing very difficult to please two such opposite natures, however, as to the things of this world, I had inough and indured their discontents with much silence.

My Mistris was very curious to know of such as then wear called Cunning or Wise men whether shee should bury her husband? Shee frequently visited such persons, and this occasion begott in mee a little desire to learn something that way, but wanting money to buy bookes, I layd aside those notions, and indeavored to please both M^r. and M^{rs}.

**Of my mistris death and occasion
thereof by meanes of a Cancer in her breast.**

In 1622 shee complained of a pain in her left breast, wherein there appeared at first an hard knott no bigger than a small peason³¹; it increased in a little tyme very much, was very hard and sometymes would looke very red; she tooke advise of Chirurgions, had oyles, Cearcloths³², plates of Lead, and what not; in 1623 it grow very bigg and spread all over her breast, then for many weekes pultises wear applied unto it, which in continuance of tyme broak the skinn, and then abundance of watery thinn stuff came from it, but nothing else; at length the matter came to suppuration, but never any great store issued forth; it was exceeding noysome³³, and painfull.

³¹ Pea.

³² Cerecloth: cloth smeared or impregnated with wax or other glutinous matter. (OED)

³³ Noisome: evil-smelling. (OED)

From the beginning of it, untill she died, shee would permitt no Chirurgion to dress it but onely my selfe, I applied every thing unto it, and her paines wear so great all the winter before shee died, that I have been called out of my bed 2 or 3 tymes in one night to dress it and change plasters. In 1624 by degrees with sizzers³⁴ I cutt all the whole breast away, I mean the sinnews and Nerves etc - in one fortnight or little more, there appeared as it wear more flesh, all raw, so that shee could scarce indure any unguent to bee applyed. I remember there was a great cleft through the midle of her breast, which when that fully appeared shee died, which was in September 1624, my Master being then in the Country. His kindred in London would willingly have had Mourning for her, but by advise of an especiall friend of his, I contradicted them, nor would I permitt them to looke into any Chest or Trunk in the house; shee was decently buried, and so fond of mee in the tyme of her sickness, shee would never permitt mee out of her chamber, gave me 5^l in old gold, and sent mee unto a private Trunk of hers at a friends house where shee had one hundred pounds in gold; shee bad mee bring it away and take it, but when I opened the Trunk, I found nothing therein, for a kinsman of hers had been there a few days before, and carried all away; she was in great passion at my relating thereof, because shee could no way gratifie my paines in all her sickness, advised mee to helpe my selfe when she was gone, out of my Masters goods, which I never did.

Courteous Esquire³⁵; bee not weary of reading hearof, or of what followes -

When my Mistris died, shee had under her Arme hole a small scarlet bagg full of many things, which one that was there delivered unto mee; there was in this bagg severall Sigills - some of 4 in Tinn, others of the nature of ♀: some of Iron, and one of Gold, pure Angell

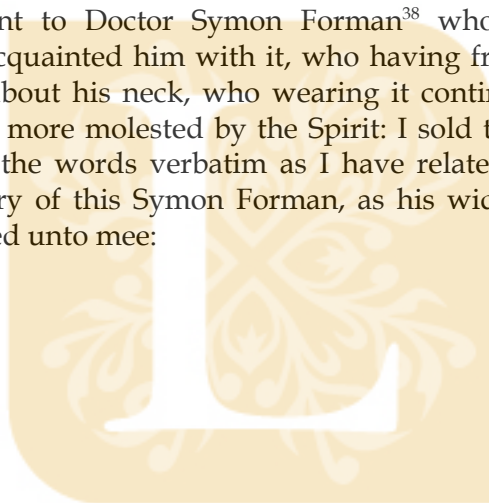
³⁴ Scissors.

³⁵ Ashmole.

Gold³⁶, of the bigness of a 33^s peece of King James coyne; in the Circumference on one side was wrote I mean ingraven: Vicit Leo de tribu Juda Tetragrammaton: + : within the midle there was ingraven, an holy Lamb: in the other circumference, there was, Amraphel. and 3 + : in the midle, Sanctus Petrus α and Omega.

The occasion of framing this Sigill was thus: her former husband, travelling into Sussex, happened to lodge in an Inn, and to lye in a chamber thereof, wherein, not many months before a country Grasier³⁷ had layn, and in the night cutt his own throat; after this nights lodging, hee was perpetually and for many yeares followed by a Spirit, which vocally and articulately provoked him to cutt his throat; hee was used frequently to say, I defie thee, I defie thee, and to spit at the spirit; this spirit followed him many yeares, hee not making any body acquainted with it, at last hee grew melancholly and discontent, which being carefully observed by his wife, shee many tymes hearing him pronounce, I defie thee etc., shee desired him to acquaint her with the cause of his distemper: which he then did.

Away shee went to Doctor Symon Forman³⁸ who lived then in Lambeth, and acquainted him with it, who having framed this Sigill and hanged it about his neck, who wearing it continually until hee died, was never more molested by the Spirit: I sold the sigill for 32^s, but transcribed the words verbatim as I have related; Sir you shall now have a story of this Symon Forman, as his widdow³⁹, whom I well know related unto mee:



³⁶ An angel was an old coin of high gold content.

³⁷ Grazier: someone who feeds cattle for market.

³⁸ Simon Forman (1552-1611) astrologer and medical practitioner. This story, as told to Lilly, marks the beginning of a lifelong fascination with Forman for both Lilly and Ashmole. (**Nativity, page 97**)

³⁹ In 1599, Forman married Jean Baker when she was sixteen years old (NAPL). She would have been in her eighties as Lilly wrote this manuscript.

But before I relate his death, I shall acquaint you something of the man, as I have gathered from some Manuscripts of his own writing.

Of Doctor Symon Forman⁴⁰.

Hee was a Chandlers soon in the Citty of Westminster the soon of, the soon of, etc. and after this fashion, hee reccorded 5 or 6 of his Ancestors.

only into Holland for
a month in 1680
1560 a mistake. [EA]

Hee travelled into forraign Countrys for many yeares, purposely to bee instructed in Astrology, and other more occult Sciences, as also in Phisick, taking his Degree of D^r beyond the Seas; beeing sufficiently furnished and instructed with what hee desired, hee returned into England towards the latter end of the raign of Queen Elizabeth, and florished untill that yeare of King James, wherein the Countess of Essex, the Earl of Somerset and Sir Thomas Overbury⁴¹, their matters wear questioned.

Hee lived in Lambeth with very good repoart of the neighborhood, especially of the poor, unto whom hee was charitable.

Hee was a person that in Horary Questions, (especially Thefts) was very judicious and fortunate, so also in sicknesses, which indeed was his Master peece; in resolving questions about marriage, hee had good Success, in other questions very moderate. Hee was a person of indefatigable paines etc., I have seen sometymes halfe one sheet of paper wrote of his judgment uppon one question, in writing whereof hee used much Tautology, as you may see your selfe (most excellent Esquire) if you read a great book of Doctor Floods⁴², which you have, who had all that book from the Manuscripts of Forman, for I have seen the same, word for word, in an English Manuscript sometymes Doctor Willoughbys of Glocestershire⁴³.

Had Forman lived to have methodized his own papers I doubt not but hee would have advanced, the mathematicall part thereof very completely; for hee was very observant, and kept notes of the success of his judgments, as in many of his figures I have observed.

⁴⁰ *NAPL* provides interesting supporting information regarding Forman, the editor referring to Lilly's autobiography. It is clear from the former work that Lilly had seen many of Forman's papers.

⁴¹ In 1613 during the scandal following the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, it emerged that Frances, Countess of Essex and her confidante Mrs. Turner, had visited the astrologer and magician Simon Forman, with a view to procuring respectively the love of the Earl of Somerset and Sir Christopher Maynwaring. [Thomas page 278]

⁴² Doctor Robert Fludd (bap. 1574, d.1637) physician, mystic and philosopher.

⁴³ Possibly Percivall Willughby (1596-1685), physician and obstetrician. He and Lilly were friends from 1640 when Willughby arrived with his family, who seems also to have attended one of Lilly's female relations prior to her death. (Joan Lane, *ODNB*). This Willughby was not from Gloucester and is noted later by Lilly as being from Derby.

I very well remember to have read in one of his Manuscripts what followeth.

Beeing in bed one morning (sayth hee) I was desirous to know, whether I should ever bee a Lord, Earl, or Knight, etc. wheruppon I sett this figure following; and thereuppon his judgment, by which hee concluded, that within two yeares tyme, hee should bee a Lord or great Man: but, sayth hee, before the two yeares wear expired, the Doctors putt mee in Newgate, and nothing came.

Not long after, hee was desirous to know the same things concerning his honor or greatshipp. An other figure was sett, and that promised him to bee a great Lord within one yeare. But hee setts down, that in that year hee had no preferment at all; onely I became acquainted with a Merchants wife, by whom I gott weele⁴⁴.

There is an other figure concerning one Sir Ayre his going into Turky: whether it would bee a good voyage or not: the Doctor repeates all his Astrologically reasons, and musters them together, and then gave his judgment, it would bee a fortunate voyage, but under the figure hee concluded, this proved not so, for hee was taken prisoner by Pyrates ere hee arrived in Turky and lost all.

Hee sett severall questions, to know, if hee should attain the Philosophers Stone: and the figures according to his straining, did seem to signifie as much; and then hee tuggs uppon the aspects and Configurations and elected a fitt tyme to begin his operation; but by and by in Conclusion, hee adds, so the worke went very forward, but uppon the □ of ☿ to Sol⁴⁵ – my glass broke, and I lost all my paines: hee setts down five or six such judgments, but still complaines all came to nothing uppon the malignant aspects of ♄ and ☿⁴⁶.

⁴⁴ "Well". For Forman's numerous love affairs see *NAPL*.

⁴⁵ "...but uppon the square of Mars to Sun..."

⁴⁶ "...malignant aspects of Saturn and Mars."

Although some of his Astrologically judgments did fayle, more particularly those concerning him selfe, hee beeing no way capable of such preferment as hee ambitiously desired, yet I shall repeat some other of his judgments, which did not fayle, beeing performed by conference with spirits.

My Mistris went once unto him, to know when her husband being then in Cumberland would return, hee having promised to bee at home near the tyme of her Question. After some consideration, hee told her to this effect, Margery, for so her name was, thy husband will not bee at home this 18 dayes, his kindred have vexed him, and hee is come away from them in much Anger, hee is now in Carlile; And hath but 3^d. in his purse – when hee came home, hee confessed all to bee true, and that uppon leaving his Kindred; hee had but 3^d. in his purse.

I shall now relate one story more, and then to his Death.

One Coleman, Clerk to Sir Thomas Beaumont⁴⁷ of Lecestershire having had some liberall favors, both from his Lady and her daughters, bragged of it etc. The Knight brought him into the Starr Chamber, had his servant sentenced to be pillored, whipt, and after during life to bee imprisoned: the sentence was executed in London and was to bee in Lecestershire: 2 Keepers wear to convey Coleman from the Fleet to Leicester.

My Mistris taking consideration of Coleman, and the miserys hee was to suffer; went presently to Forman, acquainting him therewith, who after consideration swore Coleman had layne both with the mother and daughters and besides sayd, that the old Lady beeing afflicted with fitts of the mother, called him into her chamber, to hold down the fitts with his hands, and that hee holding his hands about the breast, shee cryed, Lower, Lower, and putt his hands bilow her belly: and then –

Hee also told my mistris, in what posture, hee lay with the young Ladys, etc and sayd, they intend in Leicester to

⁴⁷ Sir Thomas Beaumont of Stoughton, Lecestershire (c.1555-1614). His suit in 1607 in the Star Chamber had more to do with John Coleman's allegedly making the affair public knowledge than with the act itself.

whipp him to death, but I assure thee Margery hee shall never come there, yet they sett forward to morrow sayth hee.

And so his 2 Keepers did, Colemans leggs beeing locked with an Iron chain under the horses belly – in this nature they travelled the first and second day, on the third day the 2 Keepers seeing their prisoners Civillity the two preceding days, did not lock his chain under the horses belly as formerly, but lockt it onely to one side, in this posture they rode some miles beyond Northampton, when on a sudden one of the Keepers had necessity to untruss⁴⁸, and so the other and Coleman stood still, by and by the other Keeper desired Coleman to hold his horse, for hee had occasion also: Coleman immediately tooke one of the swords, and rann through 2 of the horses, killing them stark dead, getts uppon the other with one of their swords, farewell Gentlemen (quoth hee) tell my M^r. I have no mind to bee whipt in Lecestershire and so went his way.

The 2 Keepers in all haste, went to a Gentlemans house near at hand, complaining of their misfortune, and desired horses of him to pursue their Prisoner, which hee with much civillity graunted, but ere the Horses could bee made ready, the Mistris of the House came down and inquiring what the matter was, went to the stable and commanded her horses to bee unsaddled, with this sharp speech –

Lett the Lady Beamount and her daughters live honestly, none of my horses shall go forth uppon this occasion.⁴⁹

I could relate many such storys of his performing, as also what hee wrote in a booke left behind him, viz: This I made the Devill write with his own hand in Lambeth feilds, 1596; in June or July as I now remember.

Hee professed to his wife, there would bee much trouble about Carr and the Countess of Essex, who frequently resorted unto him, and from whose company hee would sometymes lock himselfe in his study one whole day⁵⁰.

⁴⁸ To relieve himself.

⁴⁹ Knowledge of this scandal was widespread.

⁵⁰ These remarks refer to the scandal of the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury by Frances Howard, Countess of Essex, in which Forman was implicated posthumously. (NAPL)

Now wee come to his death, which happened as followeth; the Sunday night before hee died, his wife and hee beeing at supper in their garden house, shee beeing pleasant, told him shee had been informed hee could resolve whether man or wife should dye first; whether shall I (quoth shee) bury you or no? Oh Trunco, for so hee called her, thou wilt bury mee, but thou wilt much repent it; yea, but how long first? I shall dye (sayd hee) ere Thursday night; Munday came, all was well. Tuesday came, hee not sick. Wednesday came, and still hee was well; with which his impertinent wife much twitt him in the teeth⁵¹.

Thursday came, and dinner was ended, hee very well, hee went down to the waterside, and tooke a payr of Oares to go to some buildings hee was in hand with at Pudle Dock; beeing in the midle of the Thames, hee presently fell down, onely saying, an Impost, an Impost and so died: a most sad storm of wynd immediately following; hee died worth 1200^l and left onely one Son called Clement.

All his raritys, secret manuscripts, of what quality so ever Doctor Napper of Lindford⁵² in Buckinghamshire had, who had been a long tyme his Schollar, and of whom Forman was used to say, Hee would bee but a Dunc: yet in continuance of tyme hee prooved a singular Astrologer and Phisition, ^xSir Richard Napper now living I beleeve hath all those raritys in his possession which wear Formans, beeing Kinsman and heyre unto Doctor Napper: I hope you will pardon this digression.

^x His son Tho: Napper Esq: most generously gave most of these M.S: to EA. [EA]

After my mistris was dead I lived most comfortably, my M^r. having great affection for mee.

The year 1625 now comes on, and the plague exceeding violent⁵³; I will relate what I observed, the Spring before it broke forth; against our Corner house⁵⁴, every night there would come down about 5 or 6 of clock

⁵¹ Twit: taunt. (*OED*)

⁵² Dr. Richard Napier (1559-1634), parson, astrologer and physician and Forman's friend. He inherited all of Forman's precious papers and books which were passed on to his nephew Sir Richard Napier, MD. The latter's son, Thomas, then gave the collection to Ashmole in 1677 (i.e. after Lilly had completed this manuscript). (*NAPL*) (**Nativity, page 98**)

⁵³ The plague of 1625 was especially severe. (*OHE*)

⁵⁴ Lilly's London home.

sometymes one hundred or more boys, some playing, others as if in serious discourse, and just as it grew darke, would all bee gone home; many succeeding yeares, there was no such or any concourse, usually no more than of 4 or 5 in a Company; in the Spring of 1665 the boys and youth of severall parishes in like numbers appeared again, which I beholding, called Thomas Sanders my Landlord, and told him, the youth and young boys of severall parishes did in that nature assemble and play, in the beginning of the year 1625 God Bless us (quoth I) from a plague this year; but then there succeeded one and the greatest ever was in London.

In 1625 the visitation increasing, and my M^r. having a great charge of money and plate, some his own, some other mens, left mee and a fellow servant to keep the house, and himselfe in June went into Lecestershire, hee was in that year Feffee⁵⁵ Collector for 12 poor alms people living in Clement Danes Churchyard, whose Pensions I in his absence payd weekly, to his and the parishes great satisfaction.

My M^r. was no sooner gone down, but I bought a base Viall⁵⁶, gott a M^r. to instruct mee; the intervalls of tyme I spent in bowling in Lincolns Inn feilds with Watt the Cobler, Dick the blacksmith, and such like companions; wee have sometymes been at our worke at six in the morning, and so continued untill 3 or 4 in the afternoon, many tymes without bread or drink all that while.

Sometymes I went to Church and heard funerall Sermons, of which there was then great plenty, at other tymes I went early to St. Antolines⁵⁷ in London, where there was every morning a Sermon.

The most able people of the whole Citty and Suburbs wear out of town, if any remained, it was such who wear engaged by parish Offices to remain. No habit of a gentleman or woaman continued; the woefull Calamity of that year was greevous, people dying on the open feilds and in the open streets.

⁵⁵ Feoffee: one of a board of trustees holding land for charitable or other public purposes. (OED)

⁵⁶ Bass-viol.

⁵⁷ St. Antholin's church, Budge Row, Watling Street was a centre for Puritan preachers. The church was destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666.

At last in August the bills of mortality⁵⁸ so increased that very few people had thoughts of surviving the Contagion; the Sunday before the great bill came forth, which was of 5000 and od hundreds, there was appointed a Sacrament at Clement Danes, during the distributing whereof I do well remember we sang 13 parts of the 119 psalme.⁵⁹

M^r. Jacob our Minister, for wee had 3 that day, the Communion was so great, fell sick as hee was giving the Sacrament, went home and was buried of the plague the thursday following. M^r. James another of the Ministers fell sick ere hee had quite finished, had the plague, and was 13 weekes ere hee recovered. M^r. Whitacre the last of the 3 escaped not onely then, but all the contagion following without any sickness at all, though hee officiated at every funerall, and buried all manner of people, whether they died of the plague or not: hee was given to drink, seldome could preach more than one quarter of one houre at a tyme, etc.

In November my M^r. came home, my fellow servants and my diet came weekly to six shillings six pence, sometymes 7^s. so cheape diet was at that tyme.

In february of that year my M^r. married again one who after his death became my wife. In the same year hee settled uppon mee during my life 20^l per annum which I have enjoyed ever since even to the writing hearof.

22: May 1627 my M^r. died at the Corner house in the Strand, where I also lived so long. Hee died intestate, my M^{rs}. relinquishing the administration it came to his elder brother, who assigned the estate over unto mee for payment of my Masters debts, which beeing payd, I faithfully returned the remaining part unto his administrator: nor had I one penny of the estate, more than 20^l which was allowed me by Contract to undertake the payment of my Masters debts.

⁵⁸ Lists of those who had died which were posted in public places in each parish.

⁵⁹ Lilly is drawing attention to the long duration of the sacrament; Psalm 119 has twenty-two parts of seven verses each.

Of my marriage the first tyme.

My Mistris had been twice married to old men, was now resolved to bee cozened⁶⁰ no more. Shee was of a brown ruddy complexion, corpulent, of but mean stature, plain, of no education, yet a very provident person, and of good conditions. Shee had many Sutors, old men, which shee declined, some gentlemen of decayed fortune, which shee liked not, for shee was covetous and sparing. By my fellow servant shee was observed frequently to say shee cared not, if shee married a man that would love her, so that hee had never a penny, and would ordinarily talk of mee when shee was in bed: this servant gave mee incoragement to give the onsett⁶¹. I was much perplexed hearat, for, should I attempt her, and bee slighted, shee would never care for mee afterwards; but again, I considered that if I should attempt and fayle, shee would never speak of it, or would any beleeve I durst bee so audacious as to propound such a question, the disproportion of yeares and fortune beeing so great betwixt us: however all her talke was of husbands, and in my presence saying one day after dinner, shee respected not wealth but desired an honest man; I made answer, I thought I could fitt her with such an husband; shee asked mee, where? I made no more ado, but presently saluted her, and told her, my selfe was the man: shee replyed I was too young; I said nay: what I had not in wealth, I would supply in love: and saluted her frequently, which she accepted lovingly, and the next day at dinner made mee sitt down at Dinner with my hatt on my head, and sayd shee intended to make mee her husband, for which I gave her many salutes, etc.

Esquire dogged paper.⁶²

⁶⁰ Cozen: cheat or dupe. (*OED*)

⁶¹ To approach her in the matter.

⁶² A note by Lilly to Ashmole at a page ending.

I was very careful to keep all things secret, for I well knew if shee should take Councell of any freind, my hopes would bee frustrated, therefore I suddenly procured her Consent to marry, unto which shee assented, so that uppon the 8th day of September 1627 at St. Georges in Southwark I was married unto her, and for two whole yeares wee kept it secret. When it was divulged and some people blamed her for it; she constantly replied, that shee had no kindred, if I proved kind and a good husband, shee should make mee a Man; if I proved otherwise, she onely undid her selfe.

In the 3 or 4th yeare after our marriage, wee had strong suites of Law with her first husbands kindred, but overthrew them in the ende.

During all the tyme of her life, which was until October 1633, we lived very lovingly, I frequenting no Company at all; my exercises wear sometymes Angling, in which I ever delighted, my companions 2 aged men; I then frequented lectures, 2 or 3 in a weeke, I heard M^r. Sute in Lombard Street, M^r. Googe⁶³ of Black Fryers, D^r. Mickletwait⁶⁴ of the Temple, D^r. Oldsworth, with others the most learned men of those tymes, and learned in judgment to Puritanisme. In October 1627, I was made free of the Salters Company London⁶⁵.

How I came to study Astrology.

It happened one Sunday 1632, as my selfe and a Justice of peace his Clerk wear before Service discoursing of many things, hee chanced to say, that such a person was a great Schollar, nay so learned that hee could make an Almanack, which to mee then was strange; one speech begott an other, till at last he sayd hee would bring mee acquainted with one Evans⁶⁶ in Gunpowder Alley, who had formerly lived in Staffordshire, that was an excellent wise man, and studied the black Arts.

⁶³ William Gouge (1575-1653) Church of England clergyman and author, recommended to St. Ann Blackriars by Arthur Hildersham (cf.). Usher describes his sermons as the "most celebrated in London". His conformity was questioned and he fell foul of Archbishop Laud on a number of occasions.

⁶⁴ Paul Micklethwaite (1588/9-1639) Church of England minister, renowned preacher whose library revealed a wide interest in Jewish studies and included a book written by John Dee. (Nicholas Rogers, *ODNB*)

⁶⁵ It is unclear whether this was as a result of his marriage as Lilly tells us that the marriage was kept a secret during this time.

⁶⁶ John Evans (b. 1594/5 d. in or after 1659). He had offered tuition in English, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, etc. (Bernard Capp, *ODNB*) '2 August 1675: "Mr: Lilly told me that John Evans who first taught him Astrology informed him that he was acquainted with Kellys [Edward Kelly, John Dee's scryer] Sister in Worcester, & that she shewed him some of the gold her Brother had transmuted. & that Kelley was first an Apothecary in Worcester.'" (*Notes*).

The same weeke after, wee went to see M^r. Evans, when wee came to his house, hee having been drunk the night before, was uppon his bed, if it be Lawfull to call that a bed whereon hee then lay; he roused upp himselfe, and after some complements, hee was content to instruct mee in Astrology; I attended his best opportunitys for 7 or 8 weeks, in which tyme I could sett a figure perfectly; books hee had not any except Haly de judicijs Astrorum, and Origanus his Ephemerides, so that as often as I entred his house, I thought I was in the wilderness; now something of the man.

Hee was by byrth a Welshman, a M^r. of Arts, and in sacred orders, hee had formerly had a Cure of soules in Staffordshire, but now was come to try his fortunes at London, beeing in a manner inforced to fly for some offences very scandalous committed by him in those parts where hee had lately lived⁶⁷, for hee gave judgement uppon things lost, the onely shame of Astrology. Hee was the most perfect Saturnine person my eyes ever beheld, either before I practised or since; of a midle stature, broad forehead, beetle browed, thick shoulders, flatt nosed, full lipps, down looked⁶⁸, black curling stiff hair, splay footed; to give him his right, hee had the most peircing judgment naturally uppon a figure of theft, and many other questions that ever I mett with all: yet for money hee would willingly give contrary judgment, much addicted to debauchery, and then very abusive and quarrellsome, seldom without a black eye or one bruise or other, this is the same Evans who made so many Antimoniall Cupps⁶⁹, uppon the sale whereof he principally subsisted: hee understood Latine very well, the Greek toung not at all.

Hee had done some Acts above and beyond Astrology, for hee was well versed in the nature of spirits, and had many tymes used the Circular way of invoking, as in the tyme of our familiarity hee told mee.

⁶⁷ He had left Enfield, Middlesex under a cloud. (*ibid.*)

⁶⁸ Looking downwards.

⁶⁹ Cups made of glass of antimony, to communicate emetic qualities to wine. (*OED*) Even though he had been charged with causing the deaths of two of his patients through the use of these cups, Evans continued to offer them for sale as late as 1659. (*ibid.*)

Two of his Actions I will relate, as to mee delivered.

There was in Staffordshire a young gentlewooman, that had for her preferment married an aged rich person, who beeing desirous to purchase some land for his wifes maintenance, by this young gentlewoman, his wife, was desired to buy the land in a gentleman her very dear freinds name, but for her use; after the aged man was dead, the widdow could by no meanes procure the Deed of purchase from her freind, whereuppon shee applyes her selfe to Evans, who for a somme of money promiseth to have her deed safely delivered into her own hands; the somme was 40 pounds.

Evans applyes himselfe to the Invocation of the Angell Salmon, of the nature of Mars – reads his Lettany in the Common prayer book every day at select houres, weares his Surpless – lives orderly all that tyme; at the fortnights end, Salmon appeared, and having received his commands what to do, in a small tyme, returnes with the very Deed desired, lays it down gently uppon a table where a white cloth was spread, and then beeing dismissed, vanished. The Deed was by the gentleman, who formerly kept it, placed amongst many other of his Evidences in a large woodden Chest, and in a Chamber at one end of the house, but uppon Salmons remooving and bringing away the Deed, all that bay of the building was quite blown down, and all his own proper Evidences torne all to peeces. The second story followeth.

Sometymes before I became acquainted with him, hee then living in the Minories, was desired by the Lord Bothwell⁷⁰ and Sir Kellam Digby⁷¹, to show them a Spirit; hee promised so to do, the tyme came, and they wear all in the body of the circle, when lo, uppon a sudden, after some tyme of Invocation, Evans was taken from out of the Room and carried into the Feild near Battersey Causeway close to the Thames.

⁷⁰ A letter to Ashmole from Lilly: '24 Jan.1667: "...I also in a Trunk, send you the greatest Arcana's any privat person in Euroap hath[,] they wear the 10: years Collection of the Lord Bothwell: given to Sir R. Holborn & by him to mee: I more esteem your love and generous spirit, then all those wear they many more:..." (Notes) Lilly may have had this collection of occult books for some time because Sir Robert Holborn, barrister and politician, died in 1648. He was said to be an "avid follower" of astrology and a "devotee" of William Lilly. (D.A. Orr, ODNB).

⁷¹ Sir Kenelm Digby (1603-1665), natural philosopher, courtier, virtuoso with a wide variety of interests and academic accomplishments, and one of the founders of the Royal Society, as was Ashmole. Digby was interested in alchemy and had his own laboratory. (*Aubrey*) A friend and probably a student of Rev. Richard Napier, he later became of student of Thomas Allen at Oxford, also an astrologer. He was a student of Johannes Hunyades the alchemist. (Michael Foster, ODNB). (**Nativity, page 96**)

Next morning a Country man going by to his labour and espying a man in black Cloathes, came unto him and awaked him, and asked him how hee came there. Evans by this understood his own condition, inquired where hee was, how farr from London, and in what parish hee was, which when he understood, hee told the Laborer hee had been late at Battersea the night before, and by chance was left there by his freinds.

Sir Kellam Digby and the Lord Bothwell went home without any harme, came next day to hear what was become of him; just as they in the afternoon came into the house, a messenger came from Evans to his wife to come to him at Battersea; I inquired⁷² uppon what account the Spirits carried him away, who sayd, hee had not at the tyme of the Invocation made any Suffumigation, at which the Spirits wear vexed.

It happened that after I discovered what Astrology was, I went weekly unto little Brittain⁷³, and bought many bookes of Astrology, not acquainting Evans therewith.

Mr. Bedell^{A, 74} minister of Totenham high cross near London⁷⁵, who had been many years Chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton⁷⁶ whilst he was Ambassador at Venice, and assisted Pietro Soave Polano in composing and writing the Councell of Trent, was lately dead, and his Library beeing sold into Little Brittain, I bought amongst them my choycest bookes of Astrology. The occasion of our falling out was thus; a woaman demanded the resolution of a question, which when hee had done, shee went her way, I standing by all the while and observing the figure asked him, why hee gave the judgment hee did, syth⁷⁷ the signifiers showed quite the contrary, and gave him my reasons; which when hee had pondered, hee called mee Boy, and must hee bee contradicted by such a Novice: but when his heat was over, hee sayd had hee nott so judged, to please the woaman, shee would have given him nothing, and hee had wife and family to provide for; uppon this wee never came together after.

A. Bedwell.

⁷² Presumably Lilly enquired of Evans.

⁷³ Little Britain is an area of London near St. Paul's Cathedral. Then associated with booksellers, as was Paternoster Row and St. Paul's Churchyard a little later.

⁷⁴ William Bedwell (bap.1563, d.1632), Arabist and mathematician. He was a close friend of the Huguenot scholar Isaac Casaubon, the father of Meric Casaubon who produced the 1659 edition of John Dee's magical diaries *Conversations with Spirits*. (ODNB).

⁷⁵ Tottenham High Cross, a monument rebuilt in 1600, is about five miles from central London, but now within the boundaries of Greater London.

⁷⁶ Sir Henry Wotton (1568-1639), diplomat and writer. His first embassy to Venice was in 1604. (A.J. Loomie, ODNB).

⁷⁷ Since.

Beeing very meanly introduced⁷⁸ ⁷⁹, I applied my selfe to study those bookes I had obtained, many tymes 12 or 15 or 18 houres day and night. I was curious to discover whether there was any verity in the Art or not. Astrology at this tyme, viz in 1633, was very rare in London, few professing it that understood anything thereof. Let it not repent you (oh noble Esquire) if now I make a short digression of such persons as then professed Astrology, that posterity may understand in what condition I found it, and in whose hands that little that remained, was lodged⁸⁰.

There lived in Houndsditch one Alexander Hart, who had been a soldier formerly, a comly old man, of good aspect; hee professed Questionary Astrology and a little of Phisick; his greatest skill was to elect young gentlemen fitt tymes to play at Dice, that they might winn or gett money. I went unto him for resolution of 3 questions at severall tymes, and hee erred in every one.

To speake soberly of him, hee was but a Cheat as appeared suddenly after, for a rusticall young fellow of the Citty, desirous of Knowledge, contracted with Hart, to assist him for conference with a Spirit, and payd him 20^l of 30^l – the Contract.

At last, after many delays, and no spirit appearing or money returned, the young man indites him for a Cheat at the old Baily in London, the Jury found the Bill; at hearing the cause, this jeast happened; some of the Bench inquired what Hart did; hee sate like an Alderman in his Gown quoth the fellow, at which the Court fell into a great Laughter, most of the Bench beeing Aldermen.

Hee was to have been sett uppon the Pillory for this Cheat, but John Taylor⁸¹ the water poet, beeing his great freind, gott the Lord Cheife Justise Richardson⁸² to beile him ere hee stood uppon the Pillory, and so Hart fled presently into Holland, where he ended his days; it was my fortune uppon sale of his bookes in 1634 to buy Argolls primum mobile for 14s. which I onely wanted.

⁷⁸ To the study of Astrology.

⁷⁹ According to Lilly's address to the Reader in *Christian Astrology*, this occurred after only six weeks of instruction.

⁸⁰ Readers are referred to *Christian Astrology* and Lilly's Dedication to Bulstrode Whitelock, as also his address to the Reader therein where Lilly remarks upon this further.

⁸¹ John Taylor (1578-1653) English poet and pamphleteer, known as the 'Water-poet'. (*Chambers*) See also *Aubrey*.

⁸² Sir Thomas Richardson (bap. 1569 d. 1635), judge, was Lord Chief Justice between 1631 and 1635.

In Lambeth Marsh at the same tyme lived one Captain Bubb, who resolved horary questions Astrologically, a propper handsome man, well spoken but withall covetous and of no honesty, as will appear by this story, for which hee stood uppon the Pillory.

A certain Butcher was robbed going to a faire of 40^l; hee goes to Bubb, who for 10^l in hand payd would helpe him to the theefe; appoints the Butcher such a night precisely to watch at such a place, and the theefe should come thither; commanded him by any meanes to stop him; the butcher attends according to direction, about 12 in the night, there comes one riding very feircely uppon a full gallop, whom the butcher knocks down, and seized both uppon man and horse, the butcher brings the man and horse to the next town, but then the person whom the butcher attacked, was John, the servant of Doctor Bubb: for which the Captain was indited, and suffered uppon the Pillory and afterwards ended his dayes in great disgrace.

There was also one Jeffery Neve⁸³ at this tyme student in Phisick and Astrology, hee had formerly been a merchant in Yarmouth and Mayor of the town, but failing in estate went into the Low Countrys, and at Franecker took the degree of Doctor of Phisick; hee had some little smattering in Astrology, could resolve a question of Theft, or love question, something of sickness; a very grave person, laborious, and honest; of tall stature and comely featured; hee died of late yeares almost in the very street, near Tower Hill.

I have seen
his Diploma

There was then William Pool⁸⁴, a nibbler at Astrology, sometymes a Gardiner, an Apparitor⁸⁵, a Drawer of Linnen, as quoifs, handkerchiffs, a plasterer, a bricklayer; hee would brag many tymes hee had been of 17 professions; was very good company for drolling, as yourself very well remember (most honoured Sir).

Doctor Neve had intention of printing 200 verified questions, desired my approbation of them ere they went to the press, I first would see them, and then give testimony, when I had perused the first forty, I corrected 30 of them, would read over no more, I showed him how erronious they wear, desired his emendation of the rest, which he performed not; these are now in R. Sanders custody, bought by him either of his soon or of a stationer. [WL] But first offered to be sold to me for 20^s. When M^r. Saunders died I bought them off his son for less. EA⁸⁷

This William Pool was married to Alice How, at St. Georges Church Southwark. M^r Lilly gave her to him.⁸⁶ [E.A.]

This William Pool pretended to poetry, and so that posterity may have a taste of it, you shall hear have inserted 2 verses of his own

⁸³ Dr. Jeffrey Le Neve (1579-1653), astrologer and medical practitioner. See *Gadbury* for an opposite opinion of Le Neve's abilities as an astrologer, he also provides Le Neve's nativity.

⁸⁴ It seems that this is the same William Poole to whom Lilly was related.

⁸⁵ A servant or attendant of a civil or ecclesiastical officer. (OED)

⁸⁶ This is one of the few pieces of personal information about Lilly.

⁸⁷ Ashmole's addendum. The manuscript entitled *Vindicta Astrologiae ...collected, composed and Published by Geffrey le-Neve, Doctor of Physicke (1579-1654)*. (Notes) This manuscript is now in the Bodleian Library.

making; the occasion of making them was thus: One Sir Thomas Jay, a justice of peace in Rosemary Lane, issued out his warrant for apprehension of Poole, uppon a pretended suggestion that hee was in Company with some lewd people in a Tavern, where a silver cupp was lost, Anglice⁸⁸ stolen: Pool hearing of the warrant, packs up his little Trunk of books, beeing all his Library, and runns to Westminster – but hearing some months after that the Justice was dead and buried, hee came and inquired where the Grave was, and after discharge of his belly uppon the Grave, left these 2 verses uppon it, which hee swore hee made himselfe,

Hear lyeth buried Sir Thomas Jay Knight,
Who beeing dead, I uppon his Grave did shite.

Hee died about 1651 or 1652 at St. Mary Overys in Southwark, and this was part of his last will –

Now I give to Doctor Ardee all my bookes, and one Manuscript of my owne, worth one hundred of Lillys Introduction.

Item, if Doctor Ardee give my wife any thing that is mine, I wish the Devill may fetch him body and Soule: the Doctor terrified with this curse, gave mee all the bookes and his goods, which I presently gave to his widdow: interdum seria jocos.

Now also lived this Doctor Ardee, but his true name was Richard Delahay, formerly an Atturney, hee studied Astrology and Phisick, beeing in necessity, and forced from Derbshire where hee had lived, by the old Countess of Shrewsbury; hee was of moderate judgment both in Astrology and Phisick; hee had been formerly well acquainted with Charles Sledd, an Apothecary, who used the Christall, and had a very perfect sight. This Doctor Ardee hath many tymes affirmed unto mee (esto fides) that an Angell one tyme appeared unto him, and offered him a lease of his life for one thousand yeares; hee died about the age of four score yeares, left his widdow who married into Kent[^]; worth 2 or 3 hundred pounds; William Pooles estate came to 4 or 5 pounds.

Of this Charles Sled there is mention made in D^r. Dees Booke his Discourse with Spirits, set forth by D^r. Causabon. pag. 17.⁸⁹

[^]to one Moreland.

⁸⁸ In English. (OED)

⁸⁹ *A True & Faithful Relation of What passed for many Yeers Between Sr. John Dee ... and Some Spirits...* transcribed by Meric. Causaubon, D.D., London, 1659. Charles Sled is mentioned during one of Dee's "conversations" with a spirit.

In the yeares 1632 and 1639, John Booker⁹⁰ became famous for a prediction of his, uppon a Solar Eclipse in the 19th degree of ♄ 1633, taken out of Leoviti⁹¹us de magnis conjunctionibus; viz: oh Reges et principes etc. – both the King of Bohemia, and Gustavus of Sweden dying during the effects of that Eclipse.

John Booker was born in Manchester of good parentage, in the year 1601. Was in his youth well instructed in the Latin tounge, which he understood very well, he seemed from his infancy to bee designed for Astrology, for from the tyme hee had any understanding, hee would bee allways poring and studying Almanacks.

Hee came to London at fitting yeares, and served an apprenticeship to an Haberdasher in Laurence Lane London, but either wanting stock to sett up, or disliking the Calling, he left at his trade and taught to write at Hadley in Middlesex severall Schollars in that Schoole; hee wrote singularly well both Secretary⁹¹ and Roman⁹²; in process of tyme, he served Sir Christopher Clothro, Knight, Alderman of London, as his Clerk, being a Citty Justice of peace; hee also was Clerk to Sir Hugh Hammersly, Alderman of London, both which hee served with great credit and estimation; and by that meanes became not only well known, but as well respected of the most eminent Citizens of London, even to his dying day.

Hee was an excellent proficient in Astrology, whose excellent verses uppon the 12 months, framed according to the configurations of each month, beeing blessed with success according to his predictions, procured him much reputation all over England; hee was a very honest man, abhorred any deceit in the Art hee studied; had a curious fancy in judging of thefts, and as succesful in resolving Law Questions; hee was no mean Proficient in Astronomy, hee understood much in Phisick, a great admirer of the Antimoniall Cupp, not unlearned in Chymistry, which hee loved well, but did not practise.

⁹⁰ John Booker (1602?-1667), astrologer, friend of Ashmole and Lilly. (Nativity, page 92)

⁹¹ A type of handwriting used mainly in legal documents of the 15th to 17th centuries. (OED)

⁹² Of handwriting: round and bold (1601). (OED)

Hee was much inclined to a Diabetes, and in the last 3 yeares of his life was afflicted with a Disentery which at last consumed him to nothing. Hee died of good fame in 1667 – since his disease I have seen one Nativity of his performance, exactly directed, and judged with as much learning as from Astrology can be expected.

they	cost	mee
140 ^l .		[E.A.]

His Library of bookes came short of the worlds expectation, wear by his widdow sold to Elias Ashmole Esquire, who most generously gave her farr more money than they wear worth, but out of his respects unto the deceased and his memory, hee most willingly payd her the money; hee left behind him 2 sons and 2 daughters; hee left in writing very little, but his Annuall Prognostications. Hee began first to write about the year 1630 – hee wrote *Bellum Hybermicale*, in the tyme of the Long Parlament⁹³, a very sober and judicious booke, the Epistle thereunto I gave him; he wrote lately a small Treatise of Easter day, a very Learned thing, wherein hee showed much learning and reading; to say no more of him, hee lived an honest man, his fame not questioned at his death.

In this year 1633, I became acquainted with Nicholas Fisk⁹⁴, Licentiate in Phisick, who was born in Suffolk near Frammingham⁹⁵ Castle, of very good parentage, who educated him at Country Schools untill hee was fitt for University; but hee went not to the Academy, studying at home both Astrology and Phisick, which hee afterwards practised in Colchester, and there was well acquainted with Doctor Gilbert, who wrote *de Magnete*;⁹⁶ hee came afterwards unto London, and excersised his facultys in severall places thereof, (for in his youth hee would never stay long in one house); in 1633 hee was sent for out of Suffolk by Doctor Winston of Gresham Colledge to instruct the Lord Treasurer Westons soons in Arithmetick, Astronomy, uppon the Globes and their uses.

⁹³ The Long Parliament began in 1640.

⁹⁴ Dr. Nicholas Fiske (1579-1659), astrologer and medical practitioner. Sir Robert Holborne was one of his clients. Fiske became a close friend of Lilly. His son Matthew was also an astrologer.

⁹⁵ Framlingham.

⁹⁶ William Gilbert (1544-1603) first described electricity in his work on magnetism in this book of 1600, it was he who established the scientific study of magnetism and who is often considered to be the father electrical studies. (*Britannica*)

Hee was a person very studious, laborious, of good apprehension and had by his own industry obtained both Astrology, Phisick, Arithmetick, Astronomy, Geometry and Algebra singular judgment; hee would in Astrology resolve horary questions very soundly, but was ever diffident of his own abilitys; hee was exquisitly skillfull in the Art of Directions uppon Nativitys, and had a good Genius in performing judgment thereuppon, but very unhappy hee was that hee had no Genius in teaching his Schollers⁹⁷, for hee never perfected any; his own son Mathew hath often told mee, that where his father did teach any Schollers in his tyme, they would principally learn of him; hee had Scorpio ascending, and was secretly envious to those hee thought had more parts than him selfe; however I must be ingenious, and do affirm, that by frequent conversation with him, I came to know which wear the best Authors, and much to enlarge my judgment, especially in the Art of Directions.

Hee visited mee most days once after I became acquainted with him, and would communicate his most doubtful questions unto mee, and accept of my judgment therein rather than his own; hee singularly well judged and directed Sir Robert Holborns Nativity⁹⁸, but desired mee to adjudge the 1st house, 7th and 10th thereof, which I did, and which Nativity is (since Sir Robert gave it to mee) come by your hands and remaines in your Library (oh Learned Esquire); hee died about the 78 year of his age, poor.

In this year also, William Bredon, Parson or Vicar of Thornton in Buckinghamshire was living; a profound Divine but absolutely the most polite person for Nativitys in that age, strictly adhearing to Ptolemy, which hee well understood; hee had a hand in composing Sir Christopher Heydons⁹⁹ defence of Judiciall Astrology¹⁰⁰, beeing at that tyme his Chaplain; hee was so given over to Tobacco and drink, that when hee had no Tobacco, he would cutt the Bell ropes, and smoke them.

⁹⁷ Fisk's nativity given in *Gadbury*, page 127-8.

⁹⁸ Holborne's nativity given in *Gadbury* page 124.

⁹⁹ Sir Christopher Heydon (1561-1623), soldier and writer on astrology. Heydon's nativity given in *Gadbury* page 180.

¹⁰⁰ This manuscript was given to Dr. Richard Forster and following his death in 1616, came into the hands of Nicholas Fiske who was encouraged by Ashmole and Lilly to publish it. (Bernard Capp, *ODNB*).

I now come to continue the story of my own life but thought it not inconvenient to committ unto memory something concerning those persons who practised when first I became a Student in Astrology. I have wrote nothing concerning any of them which I my selfe do not either know or beleewe to bee true.

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

One whole year and more I continued a widdower and followed my studys very hard, during which tyme a Scholler pawned unto mee for 40^s. Ars Notoria, a large Volumn wrote in Parchment, with the names of those Angells and their Pictures which are thought and beleewed by Wise men to teach and instruct in all the 7 Liberall Sciences, and this is attained by observing elected Tymes and those prayers appropriated unto the severall Angells.

Among Sir Napiers
MS. I had an Ars
Notoria written by S.
Forman. Large
Vellum. [E.A.]

I do ingeniously acknowledge, I used those prayers according to the form and direction prescribed for some weeks, using the word Astrologia for Astronomia, but of this no more. That Ars Notoria, inserted in the latter end of Cornelius Agrippa¹⁰¹ signifyeth nothing, many of the prayers beeing not the same, nor is the Direction unto those prayers any thing considerable.

In the year 1634 I taught Sir George Peckham Knight Astrology, that part which concerns sicknesses, wherein hee so profited, that in 2 or 3 months hee would give a very true discovery of any disease, onely by his figures; hee practised in Nottingham, but unfortunately died 1635 at St. Winifreds well in Wales, in which well hee continued for so long mumbling his Pater nosters, and Sancta Winifride ora pro me, that the cold struck into his body, and after his comming forth of that well, never spoke more.

¹⁰¹Robert Turner's 1657 edition; his own translation omitting diagrams essential to understanding the text. It was printed with Agrippa's *Opera Omnia*.

In this year 1634 I purchased the moyity of thirteen houses in the strand for 530^{L102}.

In November, 18th day I was again the second tyme married, and had 500^L portion with that wife; shee was of the nature of Mars.

Two Accidents happened unto mee in that yeare, something memorable.

Davy Ramsey, his Majestys Clockmaker¹⁰³, had been informed that there was a great quantity of Treasure buried in the Cloysters of Westminster Abbey, hee acquaints Dean Williams therewith, who was also then Bishop of Lincoln; the Dean gave him Liberty to search after it, with this Proviso, that if any wear discovered, his Church should have a share of it; Davy Ramsey finds out one John Scott, who pretended the use of the Mosaicall Rodds, to assist him hearin; I was desired to joyn with him, unto which I consented; one winters night Davy Ramsey with severall gentlemen, my selfe and Scott enter the Cloysters; wee playd the hasell Rods round about the Cloyster; uppon the west side of the Cloysters, the Rodds turned one over an other, an argument that the Treasure was there; the Laborers digged at least six foot deepe, and then wee mett with a Coffin, but in regard it was not heavy, wee did not open, which wee afterwards much repented; from the Cloysters, wee went into the Abbey Church, when uppon a sudden, (there beeing no wynd when we begann) so feirce, so high, so blustering and loud a wynd did rise that wee verily believed the west end of the Church would have fallen uppon us; our rodde would not moove at all, the Candles and Toarches all but one extinguished or burnt very dimly.

This Scot lived in Pudding Lane, and had sometime been a Page (or such like) to the Lord Norris. [E.A.]

Davy Ramsey brought an halfe quarter sack to putt the treasure in.

John Scott my partner was amased, looked pale, knew not what to think or do, untill I gave directions and commanded to dismiss the Dæmons, which when done, all was quiet again, and each man returned unto his Lodging late about 12 of clock at night: I could never since bee induced to joyne with any in such like Actions.

The true miscarriage of the operation of the business was by reason of so many people beeing present at the Operation, for there was about 30, some laughing, others deriding us, so that if wee had not dismissed the Dæmons, I beleieve, most part of the Abbey Church had been blown down. Secrecy, and intelligent operators, with a strong confidence and knowledge of what they are doing, are the best for this worke.

In the same year 1634 or 1635, a Lady living in Greenwich who had tryed all the known Artists in London but to no purpose, came

¹⁰²Used as an example in *Christian Astrology* page 219. At today's value this would be approximately £40,000, this amount, however, would not buy one house in London, much less a half share of thirteen.

¹⁰³David Ramsay (c. 1575-1660), father of William Ramesey (1627-1676?), astrologer and physican, author of *Astrologia Restaurata* (1653).

weeping and lamenting her condition, which was this; shee had permitted a young Lord to have the use of her body, till shee was with child by him, after which tyme, hee could not, or would indure her sight, but commanded his lacquies and servants to keep his door fast shutt, least shee should gett in to his chamber, or if they chanced to see her near his lodging to drive her away, which they severall tymes had done; her desire unto mee was to assist her to see him, and then shee should bee content; whereuppon I ordered such a day, such an houre of that day to try her fortune once more.

Shee obeyed, and when shee came to the Kings bench where the Lord was imprisoned, the outward dore stood wide open, none speaking a word unto her, shee went upp staires, nobody molesting her, shee found the Lords chamber dore wide open, hee in bed, not a servant to bee heard or seen: so shee was pleased. Three days after, shee came to acquaint mee with her success, and then drew out of her pocket a paper full of Ratsbane¹⁰⁴, which had she not had admission unto him that day I appointed, shee would in a pint of white wyne have drunk at the stayres foot where the Lord lodged.

The like misfortune befell her after that, when the Lord was out of prison, then I ordered her such a day, to go see a Play at Salisbury Court, which shee did, and within one quarter of an houre, the Lord came into the same Box wherein shee was – but I grew weary of such imployments, and since have burned my bookes, which instructed those Curiositys: for after that, I became melancholly, very much afflicted with the Hypochondriack melancholly, growing lean and spare, and every day worse, so that in the year 1635, my infirmity continuing and my acquaintance increasing, I resolved to live in the country, and in March and Aprill 1636 remooved my goods unto Hersham where I now live, and in May my person, where I continued until 1641: no notice being taken who, or what I was.

¹⁰⁴Rat poison.

In the yeares 1637 and 1638 I had great Lawsuites both in the Exchequer and chancery, about a lease I had of the annuall value of 80^l. I gott the victory.

In the year 1640, I instructed John Humphrys, M^r. of Art in the study of Astrology, uppon this occasion. Beeing at London, by accident in Fleet street, I mett Doctor Peircivall Willoughby¹⁰⁵ of Derby; wee wear of old acquaintance, and hee but by great chance lately come to town, wee went to the Miter Tavern in Fleet street, where I sent for old William Pool the Astrologer living then in Ram Alley; being come to us, the D^r. produced a bill set forth by a M^r. of Arts in Cambridge, intimating his abilitys for resolving of all manner of Questions Astrologically; the bill was showed, and I wondering at it, Poole made Answer, hee knew the man, and that hee was a silly foole; I, quoth hee, can do more than hee; hee see's mee every day, hee'l bee hear by and by, and indeed hee came into our Room presently; Pool had just as wee came to him sett a figure, and then showed it mee desiring my judgment, which I refused, but desired the M^r. of Arts to judge first; hee denyed, so I gave myne, to the very great liking of Humfrys, who presently inquired, if I would teach him, and for what? I told him I was willing to teach, but would have 100^l. I heard Pool whilst I was judging the figure whisper in Humphrys eare, and swear I was the best in England; staying 3 or 4 days in town, at last wee contracted for 40^l, for I could never bee quiet from his sollicitations; hee invited mee to supper and before I had showed him any thing, payd me 35^l.

As wee wear at supper, a Client came to speak with him, and so up into his closset hee went with his client; I called him in before hee sett his figure or resolved the question, and instantly acquainted him how he should discover the moles or markes of his Client; hee sett his figure and presently discovers 4 moles the Querent had, and was so overjoyed therewith, that hee came tumbling down the stayres, crying foure by G¹⁰⁶, foure by G, I will not take one hundred pounds for this one Rule; in six weeks tyme and tarrying with him 3 days in a weeke, hee became a most judicious Person.

¹⁰⁵See the earlier comment regarding Dr. Willoughby of Gloucester.

¹⁰⁶"...by God..."

This Humphres was a laborious person, vainglorious, loquacious, fool hardy, desirous of all secrets, which hee knew not, inso much that hee would have given mee 200^l to have instructed him in some curiosities hee was perswaded I had knowledge of, but *Artis est celare Artem*, especially to those who live not in the fear of God, or can be Masters of their own Councells: hee was in person and condition such an other as that Monster of Ingratitude my quondam Taylor John Gadbury.¹⁰⁷

After my refusall of teaching him, what hee was not capable of, wee grew strong, though I afforded him many Civillities when ever hee required it, for after the Seige of Colchester, hee wrote a book against mee, called the *Antimerlinus Anglicus*, married a second wife, his first living in Cambridgeshire, then practised Phisick by a contrary name; having intentions to practise in Ireland, he went to Bristoll, but there understanding the Parlements forces had reduced that Kingdome, hee came back to London but durst not abide therein, but running from his second wife, who also had another husband, hee went to sea, with intention for Barbados, but died by the way in his voyage.

I had never seen John Booker at that tyme, but telling him one day I had a desire to see him, but first ere I would speak with him I would fitt my selfe with my old Rules and rubb up¹⁰⁸ my Astrology, for at that tyme, and this was 1640, I thought John Booker the greatest and most complete Astrologer in the world: my Scholler Humfrys presently made answer; Tutor, you need not pumpe for your former knowledge, John Booker is no such pumper, wee mett sayth hee the other day, and I was too hard for him my selfe uppon judgment of 3 or 4 questions; if all the transactions happening unto that my Scholler wear in one Volumn, they would transcend either Guzman, Don Quixot, Lazarillo de Tormes or any other of the like nature I ever did see.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷John Gadbury (1627-1704), astrologer. A prolific writer and, although, supported by Lilly early in Gadbury's career, became his enemy. For Gadbury's nativity, see *Gadbury* page 190. Also see "Monster of Ingratitude" by Peter Stockinger and Sue Ward, *The Tradition Journal*, 2009 www.thetraditionjournal.com, which provides a full exploration of this relationship.

¹⁰⁸Polish, revise or rehearse.

¹⁰⁹Lilly is here referring to his student's exaggeration and fantasies.

Having now in part recovered my health, beeing weary of the Country, and perceiving there was money to bee gott in London, and thinking myselfe to bee as sufficiently inabled in Astrology as any I could meet with, I made it my business to repair thither and so in September 1641 I did, where all the years 1642 and 1643 I had great leasure to better my former knowledge; I then read over all my books of Astrology, over and over, had very little or no practise at all, and whereas formerly I could never indure to read Valentin Naibod his Commentary uppon Alcabitius, now having seriously studied him, I found him to bee the profoundest Author I ever mett with, him I traversed over day and night, from whom I must acknowledge to have advanced my judgment and knowledge unto that height I soon after arrived at, or unto: a most rationall Author, and the sharpest Expositor of Ptolemy that hath yet appeared.

To excercise my Genius, I began to collect notes and thought of writing some little thing uppon the Conjunction of ♃ and ♄¹¹⁰ then approaching – I had not wrote above one sheet, and that very meanly, but James Lord Galloway came to see mee, and by chance casting his eyes uppon that rude collection, hee read it over, and so approoved of it, yea so incouraged mee to proceed further, that then and after that tyme I spent most of my tyme in composing thereof, and bringing it in the end unto that Method wherein it was printed 1644: I do seriously now profess, I had not the assistance of any person living in the writing or composing thereof. M^r. Fiske sent mee a small Manuscript which had been S^r. Christopher Heydons, who had wrote something of the conjunction of ♃ and ♄ 1603, out of which, to bring my Method in order, I transcribed in the beginning five or six lines, and not any more, though that graceless fellow Gadbury wrote the contrary; but semel et semper Nebulo et mendax¹¹¹.

Prophetically
Merline

¹¹⁰"...Conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn..."

¹¹¹Ever and always a good-for-nothing and a liar.

I did formerly write one Treatise in the year 1639 uppon the Eclipse of the Sun in the 11th degree of Gemini 22° May 1639: it consisted of six sheets of paper, but that manuscript I gave unto my most munificent Patron and ever bountifull freind William Pennington of Muncaster in Cumberland Esquire; a wise and excellently learned person, who from the year 1634 even till hee died continued unto mee the most gratefull person I ever was acquainted with; I became acquainted with him by meanes of Davy Ramsey.

Oh most noble Esquire, let mee now begg your pardon if I digress for some small tyme in commemorating his bounty unto mee, and my requitall of his freindship, by performing many things successfully for his advantage.

In 1639 hee was made Captain, and served his Majesty in his then Warrs against the Scotts; during which tyme a Farmers daughter beeing delivered of a bastard, and hearing by report that hee was slaine, fathered the Child uppon him; shortly after hee returned, most woefully vexing to bee thus abused when absent; the woaman was countenanced by some gentlemen of Cumberland in this her villany against him, so that, notwithstanding hee had warrants to attach her body, hee could never discover her, but yet hunting her from one place to an other, her freinds thought it most convenient to send her to London, where shee might bee in most safety, shee same upp to the Citty, and immediately I had notice thereof, and the care of that matter left unto mee, I procured the Lord Cheif Justice Bramstons warrant and had it lying Dormant by mee; shee had not been in the Citty above one fortnight, but that I going casually to the Clark of the Assizes officer for Cumberland, saw there an handsome woaman, and hearing of her speake the Northern Tone¹¹², I concluded shee was the party I did so want; I rounded the Clark in his ear, and told him I would give him 5^s. to hold the woaman in chatt till I came again, for I had a writing concerned her; I hasted for my warrant and a Constable, and returned into the Office, seized her person before the Clark of Assizes, who was very angry with mee; it was then Sessions at old Bayly and neither Judge or Justice to bee found; at night wee carried her before the Recorder Gardner; it beeing Saterdag at night, shee having no baile, was sent to Bridewell¹¹³, where shee remained till Munday.

¹¹²Northern accent.

¹¹³Bridewell prison.

On munday morning at old Baily, shee produced Baile, but I desiring of the Recorder some tyme to inquire after the baile, whether they wear sufficient, returned presently and told him one of the baile was a prisoner in Ludgate, the other a very poor man, at which hee was so vexed hee sent her to Newgate, where shee lay all that week until shee could please mee with good suretys, which then shee did, and so was bound over to appear at the next assizes in Cumberland, which she did, and was there sentenced to be whipt and imprisoned one whole yeare.

This Action infinitely pleased M^r. Pennington, who thought I could do wonders, and I was most thankfully requited for it; all the while of this scandalous business, do what hee could, hee could not discover what persons they wear that suppoarted her, but the woamans father comming to London, I became acquainted with him by the name of M^r. Sute, merchant, invited him to a dinner, gott George Farmer¹¹⁴ with mee, where wee so plyed him with wyne, hee could neither see or feelee; I payd the reckoning beeing 22^s. – but next morning the poor man had never a writing or Letter in his pocket; I sent them down to my freind, who thereby discovered the plotts of severall gentlemen in the business, after which M^r. Sute returned to his old name again.

M^r. Pennington was a true Royallist, whom Charles the second made one of his Commissioners of Array for Cumberland; having direction from mee continually how matters did and would go betwixt the King and Parlament, hee acted warily, and did but signe one only Warrant of that nature, and then gave over; when the tymes of Sequestrations came, one John Musgrave¹¹⁵, the most bold and impudent fellow, and most active of all the North of England and most malitious against my freind, had gott this Warrant under M^r. Penningtons hand into his Custody, which affrighted my freind, and so it might, for it was cause inough of sequestration, and would have done it, Musgrave intending and promising him selfe great matters out of his estate; I was made acquainted hearwith, Musgrave beeing in London: by much ado, I gott acquainted with him, pretending my selfe a bitter enemy against

¹¹⁴Possibly the same person as “G.Farmer” who provided the means for Charles I’s attempted escape from Carisbrooke Castle.

¹¹⁵John Musgrave (fl. 1642-54), pamphleteer. (David L. Smith, ODNB).

M^r. Pennington, whereat hee very hartily rejoyced; and so wee appointed one night to meet at the 5 Bells to compare Notes, for I pretended much; wee did meet, and hee very suddenly produced uppon the table all his papers, and with all, the Warrant of Array unto which my freind had sett his hand, which when I saw, I marry sayd I, this is his hand I will swear, now have it all, come the other cupp, this warrant shall pay for all; I observed where the warrant lay uppon the table, and after some tyme tooke occasion ignorantly to let the Candle fall out which whilst hee went to light it again at the fire, I made sure of the Warrant and putt it into my bootes, hee never missing it of 8 or 10 days, about which tyme I beleewe it was above halfe way towards Cumberland, for I instantly sent it by the Post, with this freindly Caveat, sinn no more: Musgrave durst not challenge mee in those tymes, and so the business was ended – very satisfactory to my freind, and no less to my selfe.

Hee was besides extremely abused by one Isaac Antrobus, Parson at Egremond, a most evill liver, bold, and very rich; at last hee procured a Minister of that Country in hope of the Parsonage, to article against him in London before the Committee of plundered Ministers; I was once more invited to sollicit against Antrobus, which I did uppon 3 or more Articles –

1. that Antrobus baptized a Cock, and called him Pater;
2. hee had knowledge of such a woaman and of her daughter, viz of both their bodys, in as large a manner as ever of his own wife;
3. beeing drunk, a woaman tooke a Corde and tyed it about his privy members unto a Manger in a stable;
4. for beeing a continuall drunkard;
5. hee never preached etc.

Antrobus was now become a great Champion for the Parlament, but at the day of hearing,

I had procured abundance of my freinds to bee there, for the Godly, as they termed themselves, sided with him; the present M^r. of the Rolls was chair man that day, S^r. Harbottle Grimston¹¹⁶, who hearing the fowlness of the cause was very much ashamed thereof; I remember Antrobus beeing there, pleaded hee was in his naturall condition when hee acted so ingraciously –

What condicion wear you in, sayd the Chair man, when you lay with mother and daughter;
Theres no proof of that, sayth hee;
None but your own confession, sayd the Chairman, nor any could tell so well;
I am not given to drunkenness (quoth he);

Hee was so drunk within this fortnight (quoth I), hee reeled from one side of the street to the other, heares the witness to proove it, who presently before the Committee beeing sworne, made it good, and named the place and street where hee had been drunk.

So hee was adjudged scandalous, and outed¹¹⁷ of his benefice, and our Minister had the Parsonage. You cannot imagine how much the routing of this drunken Parson pleased M^r. Pennington, who payd all charges munificently, and thankfully.

But now follows the last and greatest kindness I ever did him; notwithstanding the Committee for Sequestrations in Cumberland wear his very good freinds, yet the sub-Sequestrators of their own heads and without order, and by strength of armes, secured his Iron, his wood, and so much of his personall estate as was valued at 7000^l.

Now had I Complaint uppon Complaint, would I suffer my old freind to bee thus abused it was in my power to free him from these villains – I hearuppon advised what was best to do, and was councelled to gett M^r. Speaker Lenthall¹¹⁸ his letter to the Subsequestrators, and command them to bee obedient to the Committee of the County.

¹¹⁶Sir Harbottle Grimston (1603-1685), barrister and politician. In his early years he became a friend of Bulstrode Whitelock. (Christopher W. Brooks, *ODNB*)

¹¹⁷Removed from.

¹¹⁸William Lenthall (1591-1662), lawyer and Speaker of the House of Commons. (*ODNB*)

Whereuppon I framed a letter my selfe, unto the Subsequestrator directed, and with it my selfe and M^r. Laurence Maydwell (whom yourself well know) went to see M^r. Speaker unto whom wee sufficiently related the stubbornness of the officers in Cumberland, their disobedience to the Committee and then shewed him the letter, which when hee had read over, hee most courteously signed, adding withall that if they proceeded further in sequestering M^r. Pennington hee would command a Serjant at Armes to bring them upp to answer their Contempts: I immediately posted that letter to my freind, which when the absurd fellows received, they delivered him possession of his goods again: and for my paines when hee came to London, gave mee one hundred pounds: hee died in 1652, of a violent feaver.

I did carefully in 1642 and 1643 take notice of every grand action which happened betwixt King and Parlament, and did first then incline to beleve that as all Sublunary affaires did depend uppon Superior causes, so there was a possibility of discovering them by the Configurations of the superior bodys, in which way making some Essays in those 2 yeares, I found incouragment to proceed further, which I did. I perused the writings of the Antients but therein they wear silent or gave no satisfaction; at last I framed unto my selfe that Method, which then and since I follow, which I hope in tyme may bee more perfected by a more penetrating person than my selfe.

In 1643 I became familiarly know to S^r. Bolstrode Whitlock¹¹⁹ a member of the house of Commons, hee being sick, his urine was brought unto me by M^{rs}. Lisle, wife of John Lisle¹²⁰, afterwards one of the Keepers of the great Seal; having sett my figure, I returned answer, the sick for that tyme would recover, but by meanes of a surfett would dangerously relapse within one month, which hee did, by eating of Troute at M^r. Sands house near Leathered in Surrey; then I went daily to visit him, D^r. Prideau dispairing of his life, but I sayd there was no danger thereof, and that hee would bee sufficiently well in 5 or 6 weeks, and so hee was.

¹¹⁹Sir Bulstrode Whitlock (1605-1675), lawyer and politician. Patron and friend of William Lilly who bequeathed his Hersham estate to Whitlock's son, Carlton, at the death of his wife, Ruth. (See Lilly's Will, page 99)

¹²⁰John Lisle (1609/10-1664) politician, regicide.

.In 1644 I published Merlinus Anglicus Junior, about Aprill, I had given one day the Coppy thereof unto the then M^r. Whitlock, who by accident was reading thereof in the house of Commons ere the Speaker tooke the Chair – one lookt uppon it, and so did many, and gott Coppies thereof, which when I heard, I applied my selfe to John Booker to License it, for then hee was Licenser of all Mathematicall Bookes; I had to my knowledge never seen him before; hee woondred at^a it, made many impertinent obliterations, framed many objections, swore it was not possible to distinguish betwixt King and Parlament, at last licensed it according to his own fancy; I delivered it unto the Printer, who beeing an arch Presbiterian had five of the Ministry inspect it, who could make nothing of it, but sayd it might bee printed, for in that I medled not with their Dagon¹²¹; the first impression was sold in less than one week; when I presented some to the Members of Parlament, I complained of John Booker the Licenser, who had defaced my booke; they gave me order forthwith to reprint it as I would, and let them know if any durst resist mee in the reprinting, or adding what I thought fitt, so the second tyme it came forth as I would have it.

Merl. Anglic.,

a. the booke. [E.A.]

I must confess I now found my Scholler Humphrys words to bee true concerning John Booker, whom at that tyme I found but moderately versed in Astrology, nor could hee take the Circles of Position of the planets untill that year I instructed him; after my Introduction in 1647 became publiq, hee amended beyond measure, by study partly, and partly uppon Emulation to keep upp his fame and reputation, so that since 1647 I have seen some Nativitys by him very judiciously performed; when the Printer presented him with an Introduction of mine, as soon as they wear forth of the press: I wish, sayth hee, there was never an other but this in England. Conditionally I gave one hundred pounds for this; after that tyme wee wear very great freinds to his dying day.

Jo. Booker.

Introduction.

¹²¹Dagon: idol. (OED)

In June 1644, I published Supernaturall Sigh[t]s, and indeed if I could have procured the Dull Stationer to have been at Charges to have cutt the Icon or forme of that prodigious Apparition as I had drawn it forth, it would have given great satisfaction, however the Astrologically Judgment thereuppon had its full event in every particular.

That year also I published the white Kings Prophecy, of which there wear sold in 3 days eighteen hundred, so that it was oft reprinted: I then made Commentary uppon it. In that year I printed Prophetically Merline, and had eight pounds for the Coppy.

I had no further intention to trouble the press any more, but Sir Richard Napper, having received one of Captain Whartons¹²² Allmanacks for 1645, under the name of Naworth¹²³, hee came unto mee; Now Lilly, you are mett with all, see hear what Naworth writes; the words wear, hee called mee an impudent senseless fellow, and by name William Lilly.

Before that tyme I was more Cavalier then Roundhead, and so taken notice of, but after that, I engaged body and soule in the cause of Parliament, but still with much affection to his Majestys person and unto monarchy, which I ever loved and approoved beyond any Government whatsoever, and you will find in this story many passages of Civillity, which I did and indeavored to do with the hazard of my life for his Majesty; but God ordered all his affaires and Councells to have no successes, as in the sequel will appear.

To vindicate my reputation and to cry Quittance with Naworth, against whom I was highly insensed, to work I went again for Anglicus 1645, which as soon as finished I gott to the Press, thinking every day one month till it was publiq; I therein made use of the Kings Nativity and finding that his Ascendant was approaching to the Quadrature of Mars, about June 1645 I gave this unlucky judgment: if now wee fight, a victory stealeth uppon us, and so it did in June 1645 at Naseby, the most fatall overthrow hee ever had.

¹²²Sir George Wharton (1617-1681), royalist astrologer. Friend of Ashmole, enemy, and later, friend of Lilly. (ODNB)

¹²³Wharton's pen-name.

In this year 1645 I published a Treatise called the Starry Messenger, with an Interpretation of 3 Suns seen in London 19^o November 1644 being Charles the second¹²⁴ his byrth day; in that book I allso putt forth an Astrologically judgment concerning the effects of a Solar Eclipse visible the 11th of August 1645; 2 dayes before its publishing, my Antagonist Cap: Wharton having given his Astrologically Judgement uppon his Majestys present March from Oxford, therein again fell fowle against mee and John Booker; S^r. Samuel Luke¹²⁵ Governor of Newport Pagnell, had the thing came to his Garrison from Oxford, which presently was presented unto my view, I had but 12 houres or there abouts to answer it, which I did with such success as is incredible, and the printer printed both the March and my answer unto it, and produced it to light with my Starry messenger, which came forth and was made publiq the very day of the Parlements great victory obtained against his majesty in person at Naseby, under the conduct of the Lord Thomas Fairfax.

That booke no sooner appeared, but within 14 days Complaint was made to the Committee of examinations, Miles Corbet¹²⁶ the beeing Chairman, my mortall enemy, hee who after was hanged, drawn and quartered for beeing one of the Kings Judges; hee graunts his Warrant, and a Messenger to the serjant at Armes seisseth my person. As I was going to Westminster with the Messenger, I mett S^r. Phillip Stapleton¹²⁷, S^r. Christopher Wray,¹²⁸ M^r. Denzill Hollis¹²⁹, M^r. Robert Reynolds¹³⁰, who by great fortune had the Starry messenger sheet by sheet from mee as it came from the Press; they presently fell a smiling at me; Miles Corbett, Lilly will punish thee soundly, but fear nothing, wee will dine, and make haste to bee at the Committee tyme inough to do thy business, and so they most honorably performed, for they as soon as they came satt down and putt M^r. Reynolds purposely into the Chaire, and I was called in, but Corbett beeing not there, they bid mee withdraw, until hee came, which when hee did

¹²⁴Underlined to bring attention to the error, it should read: "*Charls the first*".

¹²⁵Sir Samuel Luke (bap. 1603 d. 1670), parliamentary army officer. (ODNB)

¹²⁶Miles Corbet (1594/5-1662), politician and regicide. He was one of nine to be hanged, drawn and quartered following the Restoration of 1660. (Sarah Barber, ODNB)

¹²⁷Sir Philip Stapleton (bap. 1603, d. 1647), politician and army officer. By this time both Stapleton and Holles had considerable influence and power. (Andrew J. Hopper, ODNB)

¹²⁸Sir Christopher Wray (bap. 1601, d. 1646), politician. (ODNB)

¹²⁹Denzil Holles (1598-1680), politician. (ODNB)

¹³⁰Sir Robert Reynolds (1600/1-1678), politician and lawyer. (ODNB)

I was commanded to appear, and Corbet desired to give the cause of my beeing in restraint, and of the Committees order; M^r. Reynolds was purposely putt into the Chair and continued till my business was over. Corbet produced my Anglicus of 1645, and sayd there wear many scandalous passages therein against the Commissioners of the Excise in London; hee produced one passage, which beeing openly read by him selfe, the whole Committee adjudged it to signify the errors of Sub-officers but had no relation to the Commissioners themselves, which I affirmatively maintained to bee the true meaning as the Committee declared.

Then Corbet found out an other dangerous place as hee thought, and the words wear thus in the printed book – In the name of the father, Son and holy Ghost, will not the Excise pay the Soldiers; Corbet very ignorantly read, will not the Eclips pay Soldiers, at which the Committee fell hartily to Laugh at him, and so hee became silent.

There was a great many Parliament men there, the Chamber was full; have you any more against M^r. Lilly cry'd the Chairman; Yes sayth the Sollicitor for the Excise, since his Starry Messenger came forth, wee had our house burnt, and the Commissioners pulled by their Cloaths in the Exchange – Pray Sir, when was this, asked old S^r. Robert Pym, that your house was burnt and the Aldermen abused; It was in such a week, sayth hee; M^r. Lilly, when came your book forth? The very day of Naseby fight, answered M^r. Reynolds, nor need hee bee ashamed of writing it, I had it daily as it came forth of the press. It was then found the house to bee burned and the Aldermen abused 12 days before the Starry messenger came forth; what a lying fellow art thou, sayth Sir Robert Pym, to abuse us so, this hee spoke to the Sollicitor; then stood up one Bassell, a Merchant; hee inveighed bitterly against mee, beeing a Presbiterian, and would have had my bookes burnt: you smell more of a Citizen than a Scholler, replied M^r. Francis Drake; I was

ordered to withdraw, and by and by was called in, and acquainted, the Committee did discharge mee; but I cry'd with a lowd voice, I was under a messenger; wheruppon the Committee ordered him nor the Serjant at Armes to take any Fees, M^r. Reynolds saying, Literate men never pay any fees.

But within one week after, I was likely to have had worse success, but that the before named gentlemen stoutly befreinded mee. In my Epistle of the Starry Messenger, I had been a little too plain with the Committee of Lecestershire who, thereof made complaint unto Sir Arthur Hazellrigg¹³¹ Knight for that county; hee was a furious person, and made a motion in the house of Commons against mee, and the business was committed to that Committee whereof Baron Rigby was Chair man; a day was assigned to heare the matter, in the morning whereof, as I passed by M^r. Pullens shopp in Pauls Churchyard, Pullen bad, God bee with you; ^AM^r. Seldon¹³², beeing there and hearing my name, gave direction to call mee unto him, where hee acquaints mee with Hazellriggs humour and malice towards mee, called for the Starry Messenger, and having read over the words mentioning the Committee, hee asked me how I would answer them; I related what I would have sayd, but hee contradicted mee and acquainted mee what to say and how to answer.

I have 24^l per an: in Lecestershire my tennant wrote me word all went for taxes.

A. and named mee by name.

In the afternoon I went to appear, but there was no Committee satt or would sitt, for both M^r. Reynolds and S^r. Phillip Stapleton and my other freinds, had fully acquainted Baron Rigby with the business, and desired not to call uppon mee until they appeared, for the matter and Charge intended against mee was very frivolous, and onely presented by a chollerick person to please a Company of Clowns, meaning the Committee of Leicester; Baron Rigby sayd if it wear so, hee would not medle with the matter, but exceedingly desired to see mee; not long after, hee met Sir Arthur, and acquainting him what freinds appeared for mee, I will then persecute him no further.

¹³¹Sir Arthur Hesilrige (1601-1661), baronet, army officer and politician, a staunch republican.

¹³²Probably John Selden (1584-1654) lawyer, politician, historical and linguistic scholar. (ODNB)

All the antient Astrologers of England wear much startled and confounded at my manner of writing, especially old M^r. William Hodges, who lived near Woolverhampton in Staffordshire, and many others who understood Astrology competently well, as they thought; Hodges swore I did more by Astrology then hee could by the Christall and use thereof, which indeed hee understood as perfectly as any one in England; hee was a great Royallist, but could never hitt any thing right for that party, though hee much desired it; hee resolved Questions Astrologically, Nativitys hee medled not with; in things of other nature which required more curiosity, hee repaired to the Christall. His Angells wear Raphael, Gabriel and Uriel; his life conformed not in holiness and sanctity to what it should, having to deale with those holy Angells.

^x the same Scott as is before mentioned.

Beeing contemporary with mee, I shall relate what my ^xpartner¹³³ John Scott affirmed of him; John Scott was a little skillfull in Chirurgy and Phisick, so was Will Hodges, and had formerly been a Schoolmaster; Scott having some occasions into Staffordshire adressed himselfe for a month or six weeks to Hodges, assisted him to dress his patients, let blood etc. Beeing to returne to London, hee desired Hodges to show him the person and feature of the woaman hee should marry; Hodges carrys him into a feild not farr from his house, pulls out his Christall, bids Scott set his foot to his, and after a while, wishes him to inspect the Christall and observe what hee saw there; I saw, sayth Scott, a ruddy complexioned wench in a red wastcoat drawing a cann of bear. Shee must bee your wife, sayd Hodges; you are mistaken Sir, sayd Scott, I am so soon as I come to London to marry a tall gentlewoaman in old Bayly; you must marry the red Wastcoat, sayd Hodges; Scott leaves the Country, comes up to London, finds his gentlewoaman married; 2 yeares after, going unto Dover, in his return hee refreshed himselfe at an Inn in Canterbury, and as hee came into the Hall or first Room thereof, hee mistook the Room and went into the Buttery, where hee espied a mayd described by Hodges as before sayd, drawing a Cann of bear etc. Hee then more narrowly veiwing her person and habit, found her in all parts to bee the same Hodges had described, after which hee became a Sutor unto her, and was married unto her, which woaman I have often seen¹³⁴; this Scott related unto mee severall tymes, beeing a very honest person and made great conscience of what hee spoke.

¹³³ It would appear that Lilly refers to Scott as his partner in magical pursuits, although he does not explain this. This might have similar connotations as that of the partnership between John Dee and Edward Kelly.

¹³⁴ As this was John Scott's wife, it indicates that Lilly was a frequent visitor to that household, or vice versa.

An other story of him is as followeth, which I had related from a person which well knew the Truth of it.

A neighbour gentleman of Hodges, lost his horse, who having Hodges advice for recovery of him, did again obtain him. Some yeares after, in a froliq, hee thought to abuse him, acquainting a Neighbour therewith, viz that hee had formerly lost a horse, went to Hodges, recovered him again, but, sayth hee, it was by chance, I might have had him without going unto him, come, lets go, I will now putt a trick uppon him; I will leave some boy or other at the Townes end with my horse, and then go to Hodges and inquire for him.

Hee did so, gave his horse to a youth with orders to walke him till hee returned; away hee goes with his freind, salutes M^r. Hodges, thanks him for his former curtesy, and now desires the like, having lost a horse very lately; Hodges, after some tyme of pawsing, sayd, Sir, your horse is lost and never to bee recovered; I thought what skill you had, replies the Gallant, my horse is walking in a Lane at the towns end. With that Hodges swore (as hee was too much given unto that vice) your horse is gone and you will never have him again; the gentleman departed in great derision of Hodges, and went where hee left his horse; when hee came there, hee found the boy fast a sleep uppon the ground, the horse gone, the boys Arm in the bridle.

Hee returns again to Hodges, desiring his ayd, beeing sorry for his former abuse; old William swore like a Devill, bee gone, bee gone, go seek your horse: this business ended not so, for the malicious man brought Hodges into the Starr Chamber¹³⁵, bound him over to the Assizes, putt Hodges to great expense, but by meanes of the Lord Dudley, if I remember aright, or some other person thereabouts, hee overcame the Gentleman and was acquitted.

Besides this, a gentlewoaman of my acquaintance and of credit in Lecestershire, having lost a pillion Cloth, a very new one, went to desire his judgment; hee ordered her such a day to attend at Mount Sorrell in Lecestershire, and about 12 of clock shee would see her pillion Cloth uppon a horse and a woaman uppon it; my freind attended the houre, and place; it beeing cold shee must need warm herselfe well, and then inquired if

¹³⁵Court of the Star Chamber: a court of civil and criminal jurisdiction noted for its arbitrary procedure, and abolished in 1641. (OED)

any passengers lately gone by the Inn, unto whom answer was made, there passed by whilst shee was at the fire about halfe an houre before, a man and a woaman behind him on horse back; inquiring what Colour the pillion Cloth was of, it was answered, directly of the colour my freinds was of: they pursued, but too late.

In those tymes there lived one William Marsh in Dunstable, a man of godly life and upright conversation, a Recusant¹³⁶; by Astrology hee resolved theevish questions with great success, that was his allmost sole Practise. Hee was many tymes in trouble, but by Doctor Napper¹³⁷ his interest with the ^xEarle of Bullenbrook, hee still continued his practise, the sayd Earle not permitting any Justice of peace to vex him.

^x Lord Wentworth
after Earle of
Cleveland. [E.A]

This man had onely 2 bookes, Guido and Haly bound together; hee had so mumbled and tumbled the leaves of both, that half one side of every leaf was torne even to the middle, I was familiar with him for many yeares, hee died about 1647.

A word or two of Doctor Napper, who lived at great Lindford in Buckinghamshire, was Parson and had the ~~impropriation~~ Advowson [E.A.] thereof; hee descended of worshippfull parents, and this you must beleeve, for when Doctor Nappers brother, Sir Robert Napper, a turky Merchant, was to bee made a Barronet in King James raign, there was some dispute whether hee could proove himselfe a gentleman for 3 or more Descents; By my Soule, sayth King James, I will certifie for Nappier, that hee is of above 300 yeares standing in his family, all of them by my soule, gentlemen, etc. However, their family came into England in King Henry the 8th his tyme: the Parson was M^r. of Arts, but whether Doctorated by degree or Curtesy because of his profession I know not; miscarrying one day in the Pulpitt hee never after used it, but all his life tyme kept in his house some excellent Schollar or other to officiate for him, with allowance of a good Salary: hee outwent Forman in Phisick and holiness of life, cured the falling sickness perfectly by Constellated¹³⁸ Rings, some diseases by Amulets etc.

¹³⁶Recusant: a Roman Catholic who refused to attend services of the Church of England. (*OED*)

¹³⁷Doctor Richard Napier (1559-1634), astrologer, physician and Church of England clergyman. Student and friend of Doctor Simon Forman who bequeathed to Napier all his manuscripts and books in trust for his son Clement. Sir Kenelm Digby was among his circle of friends. Napier bequeathed most of his estate to his nephew, also Richard, later Sir Richard Napier (1607-1676), physician. His son, Thomas, made over all Sir Richard's manuscripts to Ashmole. (Jonathan Andrews, *ODNB*)

¹³⁸Ornamented with stars. (*OED*)

A mayd was much afflicted with the falling sickness, whose parents applied themselves unto him for cure, he framed her a constellated Ring, uppon wearing whereof shee recovered perfectly; her parents acquainted some scrupulous Divines with the cure of their daughter; the cure is done by inchantment say they, cast away the ring, its diabolicall, God cannot bless you if you do not cast the ring away; the ring was cast into the well, whereuppon the mayd became Epileptically as formerly, and indured much misery for a long tyme, at last her parents clensed the Well and recovered the Ring again; the mayd wore it and her fitts tooke her no more; in this condition shee was one year or two, which the Puritan Ministers there adjoyning hearing, never left off, till they procured her parents to cast the Ring quite away, which done, the fitts returned in such violence, that they wear inforced to apply to the Doctor again, relating at large the whole story, humbly imploring his once more assistance, but hee could not be procured to do any thing, only sayd, those who despised Gods mercys wear not capable or worthy of enjoying them.

I was with him in 1632 or 1633¹³⁹ uppon occasion, he had mee upp into his Library, beeing excellently furnished with very choyce bookes, there hee prayed almost one hour; hee invocated severall Angells in his prayers, viz. ^DMichael, Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel etc; we parted.

D: the Collect read on Michaelmas day, seems to allow of praying unto Angells.

^X Lord Wentworth after Earle of Cleveland. [E.A]

Hee instructed many Ministers in Astrology, would lend them whole Cloakebaggs of books, protected them from harme and violence, by meanes of his power with the Earle of ^XBullenbrook. Hee would confess my M^r. Evans¹⁴⁰ knew more then himselfe in some things, etc. Sometymes before he died, hee gott his cozen¹⁴¹ Sir Richard to sett a figure to for when hee should dye; beeing brought him, well, the old man will live this winter, but at the Spring hee will dye; welcome Lord Jesus, thy will bee done; hee had many enemys, Cott, a Doctor of Phisick in Northampton, wrote a sharpe booke of Witchcraft, wherein obliquely, hee bitterly inveighed against the Doctor.

at sometyme uppon great occasions hee had conference with Michael, but very rarely, etc.

Venerable Esquire, this side hath detrimented my penn of your own making and made it useless, what precedes was written with it without emendation; viz. every side.

☞ 25 November 1667 11 h. A.M.¹⁴²

¹³⁹This is very early in Lilly's astrological and magical studies.

¹⁴⁰John Evans, Lilly's first tutor in Astrology.

¹⁴¹Sir Richard Napier was his nephew, the son of his brother Robert.

¹⁴²Lilly's note to Ashmole at the page ending.

In 1646 I printed a Collection of Prophecys, with the explanation and verification of Aquila, or the White Kings prophecy, as also the Nativitys of Bishop Laud¹⁴³ and Thomas Earl of Strafford¹⁴⁴, and a most learned Speech by him intended to have been spoken uppon the Scaffold. In this year 1646, after great consideration and many importunities, I began to fix uppon thoughts of an Introduction unto Astrology, which was very much wanting, and as earnestly longed for by many persons of Quality; something also much occasioned and hastened the impression; viz, the malevolent barking of Presbyterian Ministers in their weekly sermons, reviling the Professors thereof, and my selfe particularly by Name.

Secondly, I thought it a duty incumbent uppon mee to satisfie the whole Kingdom of the Lawfullness thereof, by framing a plain and easy Method for any person but of indifferent capacity to learn the Art, and instruct himselfe therein without any other M^r. then my Introduction¹⁴⁵; by which meanes, when many understood it, I should have more partners and assistants to contradict all and every Antagonist.¹⁴⁶

Thirdly I found it best as unto point of tyme, because the soldiery wear wholly for it, and many of the Independant party, and I had abundance of worthy men in the house of Commons my assured freinds, no lovers of Presbitery, which then wear in great esteem and able to protect the Art, for should the Presbyterian party have prevailed, as they thought nothing less then to bee Lords of all, I knew well they would have silenced my penn Annually, and committed the Introduction unto everlasting silence. Fourth, I had something of Conscience touched my Spirit and much elevated my Conceptions, beleiving God had not bestowed those abilitys uppon mee, to bury them under a bushell, for though my education was very mean, yet by my continuall industry and Gods great mercy, I found myselfe capable to go forward with the work, and to committ the issue thereof unto divine Providence. I had a hard taske in hand to begin the first part thereof, and much labour I underwent to methodize it as it is; I ingeniously confess unto you (Arts great Macænas noble Esquire Ashmole) no mortall man had any share in the Composition or ordering the first part thereof, but my one onely selfe; you are a person of great reading, yet I well know you never found the least trace thereof any Author yet extant.

¹⁴³William Laud (1573-1645), Archbishop of Canterbury. Lilly presents the horary "What manner of Death Canterbury should dye?" (CA p.419) dated 3rd December 1644 (OS). He notes correctly that Laud was beheaded on 10th January 1644/5 (OS).

¹⁴⁴Thomas Wentworth, first earl of Strafford (1593-1641). Both Wentworth and Laud were beheaded for treason under Acts of Attainder. The traditional form of execution in cases of treason was to be hanged, drawn and quartered, which draws attention to the purpose of Lilly's horary question.

¹⁴⁵Thus a classical (and expensive) education was no longer required in order to learn Astrology. Lilly had collected together all the information required to become proficient in the art, and then published in the vernacular.

¹⁴⁶This is an interesting statement where Lilly justifies revealing astrological secrets to non-scholars and the non-professional classes.

In composing, contriving, ordering and framing thereof viz. first part, a great part of that year was spent, I again perused all or most Authors I had, sometymes adding, at other tymes diminishing, until at last I thought it worthy of the press; when I came to frame the second part thereof, having formerly collected out of many Manuscripts and exchanged Rules with the most able Professors I had an acquaintance with, in transcribing those papers for impression, I found uppon a strict inquisition, those Rules wear for the most part defective, so that once more I had a new difficult labour, to correct their deficiency. to now rectifie them according unto Art, and lastly considering the multiplicity of daily Questions propounded unto mee, it was as hard a labour as might bee to transcribe the papers themselves with my own hand.

The desire I had to benefit posterity and my Country at last overcame all difficultys, so that what I could not do on one year, I perfected early the next year 1647; and then in that year viz. 1647, I finished the 3rd book of ^xNativitys, during the composing whereof, for 7 whole weeks, I was shutt upp of the plague, burying in that tyme 2 maydservants thereof, yet towards November of that year, the Introduction, called by the name of Christian Astrology, was made publike.

^x The name of the person whose Nativity is directed and judged therein is M^r: Thompson, whose father has been sometime an Innkeeper at ye White hart in Newark.

I devised the forms and fashions of the severall Schemes. E.A.

There beeing in those tymes some smart differences betwixt the Army and Parlament, the head Quarters of the Army wear at Windsor, whither I was carried with a Coach and 4 horses, John Booker with me, wee wear welcome thither and feasted; in a quarter¹⁴⁷ where the Generall Fairfax¹⁴⁸ lodged, wee wear brought to the Generall, who kindly bad us welcome to Windsor, and in effect sayd this much:

That God blessed the Army with many signal victorys, and yet their work was not finished, hee hoped God would go along with them until his work was done, they sought not themselves, but the wellfare and tranquillity of the good people and whole Nation; and for that end, wear resolved to sacrificize both their lives and their own fortunes: as for the Art wee studied, he hoped it was Lawfull and agreeable to Gods word, hee understood it not but hee doubted not, but wee both feared God, and therefore had a good opinion of us both; unto his speech

¹⁴⁷Accommodation.

¹⁴⁸Ferdinando Fairfax (1584-1648), second Lord Fairfax of Cameron and parliamentary army officer. (ODNB)

I presently made this reply:

My Lord I am glad to see you heare at this tyme; Certainly both the people of God and all others of this Nation, are very sensible of Gods mercy, love and favour unto them, in directing the Parlament to nominate and elect you Generall of their Armyes, a person so Religious, so valiant. The severall unexpected Victoryes obtained under your Excellencys Conduct, will eternize your fame unto all posterity. Wee are confident of Gods going along with you and your Army, until the great worke for which hee ordained you both, is fully perfected, which wee hope will bee the conquering and subversion of yours and the Parlements enemyes, and then a quiet settlement and firm peace over all the whole Nation, unto Gods glory and full satisfaction of tender Consciences. S^r., as for ourselves, wee trust in God, and as Christians beleeve in him; wee do not study any Art, but what is Lawfull and consonant to Scriptures, Fathers and Antiquity, which wee humbly desire you to beleeve, etc.

This ended, wee departed, and went to visett M^r. Peeters¹⁴⁹ the Minister who lodged in the Castle, whom wee found reading an idle pamphlett come from London that morning. Lilly thou art hearin, (sayth hee) are not you there also I replied; yes that I am, quoth hee – the words concerning mee wear:

From the Oracles of the Sibills so silly
The curst predictions of William Lilly
And Doctor Sybbalds shoo lame filly
Good Lord deliver mee.

After much conference with Hugh Peeters, and some private discourse betwixt us two, not to be divulged¹⁵⁰, wee parted, and so came back to London.

King Charles the first, in the year 1646, 27 Aprill went unto the Scotts, then in this nation, many desired my judgment in the tyme of his absence, to discover the way hee might bee taken, which I would never bee drawn unto, or give any direction concerning his person.

There wear many lewd Mercurys¹⁵¹ printed both in London and Oxford, wherein I was sufficiently abused in this year 1646; I had then my Ascendant ad □ ☉ and ☽ ad ✕¹⁵² proprium. The Presbiterians wear in the Pulpits as merciless, as the Cavaliers in their Pamphletts.

¹⁴⁹Hugh Peter (Peters) (bap. 1598, d. 1660), Independent minister. Preached in support of Parliament and the army. His closeness to Oliver Cromwell led to his execution for treason in 1660. (Carla Pestana, *ODNB*).

¹⁵⁰Peters was in favour of the king's execution and actively promoted it and lobbied for support.

¹⁵¹Pamphlets often with the word "Mercury" in the title.

¹⁵²"my Ascendant [directed - i.e. by the system of primary directions] to square Mars and the Moon to sextile [that Ascendant]."

At this tyme the most famous Mathematician of all Euroap M^r. William Outred¹⁵³, Parson of Albury in Surrey was in danger of Sequestration by the Committee of or for Plundered ministers¹⁵⁴ (Ambodexters they weare); severall inconsiderable Articles wear deposed and sworn against him, materiall inough to have sequestred him, but that uppon his day of hearing, I applied myself to Sir Bolstro Whitlock and all my own old freinds, who in such numbers appeared on his behalfe, that though the Chair man and many other Presbiterian Members wear stiff against him, yet hee was cleared by the Major number: the truth is hee had a considerable Parsonage, and that onely was inough to sequester any moderate Judgment, hee was also well known to affect his Majesty; in those tymes many worthy Ministers lost their Livings or Benefices for not complying with the threepenny Directorys. Had you seen (oh noble Esquire) what pittifull Ideots wear preferred unto sequestred Church Benefices, you would have greived in your soule; but when they came before the Classis of Divines, could those simpletons but onely say, they wear converted by hearing such a Sermon such a Lecture of that godly man Hugh Peeters, Steven Marshall¹⁵⁵ or any of that Gang, hee was presently admitted.

This Gent: I was very well acquainted with, having lived at the house over-against his at Albury in Surrey 3 or 4 yeares. [E.A.]

In 1647 I published the Worlds Catastrophe, the Prophecys of Ambrose Merline, with the Key wherwith to unlock those abstruse Prophecys, also Tritemius, of the government of the world by the Presiding Angells: these came forth all in one book.

The 2 first wear exquisitly translated by yourself (most learned Sir) as I do ingeniously acknowledge in my Epistle unto the Reader, with a true Character of your worth and admirable parts, unto which I refer any that do desire to read you perfectly delineated: I was once resolved to have continued Tritemius for some succeeding yeares, but multiplicity of imployment impeded mee; the study required in that kind of learning must bee sedentary, of great reading, sound judgment, which no man can accomplish except hee wholly retyre, use prayer, and accompany him selfe with Angelical Consorts.

¹⁵³William Oughtred (bap.1575, d. 1660), mathematician, alchemist, astrologer, Church of England clergyman. He was greatly admired and respected at home and abroad. His students and admirers included Jonas Moore, Seth Ward, Christopher Wren, Laurence Rooke, Thomas Wharton, Elias Ashmole and Lilly. Some of these went on to become founder members of the Royal Society.

¹⁵⁴This was in 1646. (Frances Willmoth, ODNB).

¹⁵⁵Stephen Marshall (1594/5?-1655), Church of England clergyman, prominent and influential politically.

His Majesty Charles the first having intrusted the Scotts with his person, was for money delivered into the hands of the English Parlament, and by severall Remoovalls was had to Hampton Court about July or August 1647, for hee was there, and at that tyme when my house was visited with the plague, hee was desirous to escape the Soldiery and to obscure him selfe for sometyme near London, the Citizens whereof began now to bee unruly and alienated in affection from the Parlament, inclining wholly to his Majesty, very averse to the Army; his Majesty was well informed of all this, and thought to make good use hearof; besides, the Army and Parlament wear at some odds who should bee Masters; uppon the Kings intention to escape, and with his consent, Madam W: whom you know very well (worthy Esquire) came to receive my judgment, viz: in what quarter of this Nation hee might bee most safe, and not to bee discovered, until himselfe pleased.

Whorewood¹⁵⁶
[EA]

When shee came to my dore, I told her I would not let her come in, for I buried a mayd servant of the plague very lately; I fear not the plague but the Pox, quoth shee, so upp wee went; after erection of my figure, I told her about twenty miles or thereabouts from London and in Essex, I was certain hee might continue undiscovered: shee liked my judgment very well, and beeing herselfe of a sharp judgment, remembred a place in Essex about that distance, where was an excellent house and all Conveniencys for his Reception; away shee went early next morning unto Hampton Court to acquaint his Majesty; but see the misfortune; hee either guided by his own approaching hard fate, or misguided by ^{AD}Ashburnham¹⁵⁷, went away in the night tyme Westward, and surrendred himselfe unto Hammond in the Isle of Wight.

AD. this Ashburnham was turned out of the house of Commons the 3rd week of Novem. 1667 for taking a bribe of 500^l of the Merchants; I was informed hearof 26 No. 1667, the very day I did write this side of the paper.

Whilst his Majesty was at Hampton Court, Alderman Adams¹⁵⁸ sent his Majesty one thousand pounds in Gold, five hundred whereof hee gave to Madam W: I beleieve I had 20 peeces of that very Gold for my share.

¹⁵⁶Lady Jane Whorwood (1614/15-1684), daughter of a minor official in the royal stable, a royalist sympathiser who became a close friend of Charles I. The incidents which Lilly recounts are a few of several attempts that Lady Jane made to secure the king's escape. A letter warning the governor of the Isle of Wight that a ship was leaving the Thames to effect the king's escape added that Lady Jane was aboard that ship and described her as "*a tall, well-fashioned, and well-languaged gentlewooman, with a round visage and pockholes in her face*", and Anthony Wood adds that she had red hair. (C.H. Firth, ODNB)

¹⁵⁷John Ashburnham (1602/3-1671), courtier and politician. The bribe of £500.00 was taken from French merchants. (Sean Kelsey, ODNB)

¹⁵⁸Sir Thomas Adams (bap.1586, d.1668), local politician. He was alderman from 1639-1649 and lord mayor from 1645-6. (ODNB)

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

His Majesty being in Carsebrook Castle¹⁵⁹ in the Isle of Wight, the Kentish men in great numbers rose in Armes and joyned the Lord Goring¹⁶⁰; a considerable number of the best shippes revolted from the Parliament; the Citizens of London went forward to rise against the Parliament; his Majesty layd his designe to escape out of prison, by sawing the Iron Barrs of his Chamber window; a small shipp was provided and anchored not far from the Castle to bring him into Sussex, horses were provided ready to carry him through Sussex into Kent, that hee might be in the head of the Army in Kent and from thence to march immediatly to London, where thousands then would have armed for him; the Lady W: came to mee, acquaints mee hearwith; I gott ^xG. Farmer to make a Saw, to cutt the Iron Barrs in sunder, I mean to saw them, and Aqua fortis¹⁶¹ besides; his Majesty in a small tyme did his work, the barrs gave liberty for him to go out; hee was out with his body till hee came to his breast, but, then his hart failing, hee proceeded no further; when this was discovered, or soon after it, was his Majesty narrowly looked after, and no opportunity after that could be devised to enlarge him.

Whorewood

^x He was a most ingenious lock-smith and dwelt in Bow Lane.

About September the Parliament sent their Commissioners with propositions unto him into the Isle of Wight, the Lord William Sea¹⁶² being one; the Lady W: came again unto mee from him, or by his consent, to be directed; after perusal of my figure, I told her the Commissioners would be there such a day; I elected a day and houre when to receive the Commissioners and Propositions, and so soon as the propositions were read, to sign them, and make haste with all speed to come up with the Commissioners to London, the Army being then far distant from London and the Citty enraged stoutly against them; hee promised hee would do so; that night, the Commissioners came, and old Sea and his Majesty had private conference till one in the morning; the King acquaints Sea with his intention, who clearly dissuaded him from signing the Propositions, telling him they were not fitt for him to signe, that hee had

¹⁵⁹Carisbrooke Castle, Isle of Wight.

¹⁶⁰George Goring (1585-1663), first earl of Norwich, courtier and diplomat. He captured Colchester for the king and was its commander when it surrendered to Parliamentary forces at the end of August 1648 following a siege. It was to this siege that Lilly and John Booker were sent to boost the morale of the parliamentary army.

¹⁶¹Aqua fortis (strong water) or nitric acid.

¹⁶²William Fiennes, first Viscount of Saye and Sele, (1582-1662), politician. It seems unlikely that parliament would have sent Saye to negotiate with the king because it had broken off negotiations in January 1648. This suggests that Saye went secretly and that Lilly was, directly or indirectly, privy to this information, because history records Saye's visit as "rumoured". (ODNB)

many freinds in the house of Lords, and some in the house of Commons, that hee would procure more, and then they would frame more easy propositions: this flattery of this unfortunate Lord occasioned his Majesty to wave the advise I and some others that wished his prosperity had given, in expectation of that which afterwards could never bee gained. The Army, having some notice hearof from one of the Commissioners who had an eye uppon old Sea, hasted unto London, and made the Citizens very quiet, and besides, the Parlament and Army kept a better correspondency afterwards with each other.

Whilst the King was at Windsor Castle, one day walking uppon the leades thereof, hee looked uppon Captain Whartons Almanack; my booke, sayth hee, speakes well as to the weather; one William Allen standing by; what, sayth he, sayth his Antagonist Mr. Lilly? I do not care for Lilly, sayd his Majesty, hee hath been allways against mee, and become a little bitter in his expressions; Sir, sayd Allen, the man is an honest man and writes but what his Art informs him; I beleieve it sayd his Majesty, and that Lilly understands Astrology as well as any man in Euroap: Exit Rex Carolus.

In 1648, I published a Treatise of the 3 Suns, seen the winter preceding, as also an Astrologically judgment uppon a Conjunction of ♄ and ♀, 28 June, in 11° 8' of ♊¹⁶³. I commend unto your perusall that book and the Prophetically Merlin, which seriously considered (Oh worthy Esquire) will more instruct your judgment De generalibus contingentibus Mundi then all the Authors you yet ever mett with.

In this year for very great considerations the Councell of State gave mee in money 50L and a pension of 100L per annum, which for 2 yeares I recieved, but no more, upon some discontents I after would not or did not require it: the cause mooving them was this; they could gett no intelligence out of France, although they had severall Agents there for that purpose: I had formerly acquaintance with a Secular priest, at this tyme Confessor to one of the Secretaries¹⁶⁴, unto him I wrote, and by that meanes had perfect Knowledge of the cheifest concernements for France, at which they admired; but I never yet until this day revealed the name of the Person; one occasion why I deserted that employment was, because Scott, who had 800L per annum for intelligence would not contribute any thing to gratify my freind, and an other occasion was, I received some affront from ^xone that was a principall Minister belonging to the Councell of State: Scott was ever my enemy, the other knave died of a Gangrene in his Arme suddenly after.

^x Gualter Frost,
their Secretary
[EA]

¹⁶³ ...A Conjunction of Saturn and Mars, 28 June, in 11° 8' of Gemini."

¹⁶⁴ Gualter Frost (bap.1698, d.1652) political agent and government official.

In 1648 and 1649, that I might encourage young students in Astrology, I publicquely read over the first part of my Introduction, wherein there are many things contayned not easily to bee understood.

And now wee are entred into the year 1649; his Majesty beeing at St. James house, in January of that year I begann its observations this:

I am serious, I beg and expect Justice, either fear or shame begins to question Offenders.

The Lofty Cedars begin to divine a thundering Hericano¹⁶⁵ is at hand; God elevates men contemptible.

Our Demigods are sensible wee begin to dislike their Actions very much in London, more in the Country.

Blessed be God who incourages his servants, makes them valiant, and of undaunted spirits to go on with his Decrees.

Uppon a sudden, great expectations arise, and men generally beleieve a quiet and calm tyme drawes nigh.

In Christmas holy dayes, the Lord Gray of Grooby and Hugh Peeters sent for mee to Somerset house, with directions to bring them 2 of my Allmanacks – I did so; Peeters and hee read Januarys observations – If wee are not fooles and Knaves, sayth hee, wee shall do Justice, then they whispered. I understood not their meaning till his Majesty was beheaded; they applied what I wrote of Justices to bee understood of his Majesty, which was Contrary to my intention, for 2¹⁶⁶ the first day of January became direct, and ♄ is a sign signifying Justice; I implored for Justice generally uppon such as had cheated in their places, beeing Treasurers and such like Officers. I had not then heard the least intimation of bringing the King unto Triall, and yet the first day thereof^D I was casually there, it beeing uppon a Saterdag, for going to Westminster every Saterdag in the afternoon in those tymes; at white Hall I casually met Peeters; Come Lilly, wilt thou go hear the King tryed? When sayd I; Now, just now, go with mee; I did so and was permitted by the guard of Soldiers to pass up to the Kings Bench; within one quarter of an houre came the Judges, presently his Majesty who spoke excellently well and majestically without impediment in the least when hee spoke. I saw the silver Topp of his staff unexpectedly fall to the ground, was tooke up by Mr. Rushworth¹⁶⁷; but when I heard Bradshaw¹⁶⁸, the Judge, say to his Majesty, Sir, instead of answering the Court, you interrogate their power, which becomes not one in your Condition, the words peirced my hart and soule, to hear a Subject thus

D. of his tryall.

¹⁶⁵Hurricane.

¹⁶⁶Jupiter ... Libra

¹⁶⁷Possibly John Rushworth (c.1612-1690), historian and politician. He was implicated, along with William Lilly, of being part of a secret meeting on 29th January 1649 having the alleged intention of persuading the king to repent and accept the justice of proceedings of the high court. (Joad Raymond, (ODNB). The king was executed on 30th January 1649.

¹⁶⁸John, Lord Bradshaw (bap.1602, d.1659), lawyer, politician, regicide. Appointed Lord President of the High Court of Justice for the trial of Charles I. (ODNB)

audaciously to reprehend his Sovereign, who ever and anon replied with great Magnanimity and prudence.

After that his Majesty was beheaded, the Parliament for some yeares effected nothing, either for the publiq peace, or tranquillity of the Nation, or settling Religion, as they had formerly promised; the intervall of tyme betwixt his Majestys death and Oliver Cromwells displacing them, was wholly consumed with voting for themselves, and bringing their own relations to bee Members of Parliament, thinking to make a Trade thereof.

The weeke or 3 or 4 days before his Majestys beheading, one Major Sydenham, who had Commands in Scotland, came to take his leave of mee, and told mee the King was to bee putt to death, which I was not willing to beleieve, and said, I could not be persuaded, the Parliament could find any Englishman so barbarous that would do that fowle Action. Rather (sayth hee) then they should want such a man, these Armes of mine should do it; hee went presently after into Scotland, and uppon the first ingagment against them was slaine, and his body miserably cutt and mangled.

In 1651 I published Monarchy or no Monarchy and in the latter end thereof, some Heirogliphicks of my own, composed at spare tyme by the occult learning, many of those Types having representation of what should from thence succeed in England, and have since had verification. I had not that learning from bookes, or any Manuscript I ever yet mett with all, it is deduced from a Caball lodging in Astrology, but so misterious, and difficult to bee attained that I have not yet been acquainted with any who had that Knowledge. I will say no more thereof, but that the Asterismes and Signes and Constellations give greatest light thereunto.

A.D. Bradshaw.

During Bradshaws beeing president of the Councell of State, it was my happiness to procure Capt: Wharton his Liberty, which when hee^{AD} understood sayd, I will bee an enemy to Lilly if ever hee come before mee; Sir Bolstrod Whitlock broake the Ice first of all on behalfe of Captain Wharton, after him the Committee unto whom his offence had been committed, spoke for him, and sayd hee might well bee bailed or enlarged; I had labored the Committee the morning of his delivery, who thereuppon wear so civill unto him, especially Sir William Armin of Lincolnshire, who at first woondred I appeared not against him, but uppon my humble request, my long continued Antagonist was enlarged and had his Liberty.

In 1651, I purchased 110^L per Annum in fee Farm Rents for one thousand and thirty two pounds; I payd all in ready money; but when his Majesty King Charles the Second 1660 was restored, I lost it all again, and it returned to the right Owner; the loss thereof never afflicted mee, for I have ever reduced my mind according to my fortune; I was drawn in by severall persons to make that simple purchase. That yeare I bought it, I had my Ascendant directed unto a Δ of 2¹⁶⁹ first, and in the same year unto Cauda draconis – my \oplus unto a Quadrate of 8.¹⁷⁰

When Colchester was beseiged, John Booker and myselfe wear sent for, where wee encouraged the Soldiers, assuring them the Town would very shortly bee surrendred, as indeed it was; I would willingly have obtained leave to enter the town, to have informed Sir Charls Lucas¹⁷¹, whom I well knew, with the condicion of affaires as they stood, hee beeing deluded by fals intelligence: at that tyme, my Scholler Humphrys was therein, who many tymes deluded the Governor¹⁷² with expectations of releefe, but fayling very many tymes with his lyes, at last hee had the Bastinado¹⁷³, was putt in prison, and inforced to become a Soldier; and well it was hee escaped so. During my beeing there, the Steeple of St. Marys Church was much battered by 2 Cannons purposely placed; I was there one day about 3 of clock in the afternoon, talking with the Cannoneer, when presently hee desired us to look for ourselves, for hee perceived by his perspective glass there was a peece Charged in the Castle against his worke, and ready to bee discharged; I rann for haste under an old Ash tree and immediatly the Cannon-bullet came hissing quite over us; no danger now, sayth the Gunner, but begone, for there are five more charging, which was true, for 2 houres after those Cannons wear discharged and unluckily killed our Cannoneer and his Montross. I came the next morning, and saw the blood of the 2 poor men lye uppon the planks; wee wear well entertained at the head quarters, and after 2 whole days abiding there, came for London.

¹⁶⁹“... a trine of Jupiter...”

¹⁷⁰“...my Part of Fortune unto a Quadrate of Mercury.”

¹⁷¹Charles Lucas (1612/13-1648), royalist army officer. A native of Colchester and one of the military commanders during its siege, he was executed after the surrender to parliamentary forces.

¹⁷²George Goring (cf.)

¹⁷³Punishment of beating the soles of the feet with a stick. (OED)

But wee prosecute our story again, and say that in the year 1652, I purchased my house and some lands in Hersham in the parish of Walton uppon Thames, in the County of Surrey, where I now live, intending, by the blessing of god, when I found it convenient to retyre into Country, there to end my days in peace and tranquillity, for in London, my practise was such, I had none or very little tyme afforded mee to serve God, who had been so gracious unto mee; the purchase of the ^xhouse and Lands and building stood mee in nine hundred and fifty pounds sterling¹⁷⁴.

^x since much augmented by him. [EA]

The Parlament now growes odious unto all men, the Members whereof became insufferable in their Pride, Covetousness, selfe ends, lazyness, minding nothing by how to enrich themselves; much hartburning now arose betwixt the Presbiterian and Independant, the latter siding with the Army, betwixt whose two judgments there was no Medium; now came up or durst appeared that Monstrous people called Ranters¹⁷⁵, and many other Novell opinions in themselves Hereticall and Scandalous wear Countenanced by Members of Parliament, many whereof wear of the same judgement. Justice was neglected, vice Countenanced, all care of the Common good layd aside; every judgment allmost groaned under the heavy burthen¹⁷⁶ they then suffered; the Army neglected, the Citty of London scorned, the Ministry, especially those who wear Orthodox and serious, honest or vertuous, had no Countenance; my Soul begann to loath the very name of a Parliament or Parliament men; there yet remained in the house very able, judicious and worthy Patriots, but they in their silence onely served themselves; all was carried on by a rabble of Dunces, who beeing the greater number, Voted what seemed best to their non intelligent fancys.

In this year I published *Annus tenebrosus*¹⁷⁷, which booke I did not intitle because of the great obscurity of the Solar Eclipse by so many pratles of to no purpose, but because of those under hand and clandestine Councells held in England by the Soldiery, of which I would never but in generall give any knowledge unto any Parliament Man. I had wrote publiqly in 1650 that the Parliament should not continue, but a new Government should arise, etc.

¹⁷⁴Equal to about £100,000 at current values.

¹⁷⁵A religious sect which spurned traditional moral and social values. (EB)

¹⁷⁶Burden.

¹⁷⁷The Dark Year.

In my next yeares Anglicus¹⁷⁸, uppon rationall grounds in Astrology, I was bold as to averr therein that the Parlament stood uppon a tottering foundation, and that the Commonalty and Soldiery would join together against them. My Anglicus was for a whole weeke every day in the Parlament house peeped into by the Presbiterians, one disliking this sentence, an other finds an other fault, others misliked the whole, so in the end, a motion was made that Anglicus should bee inspected by the Committee of plundered minsters, which beeing done, they wear to return its errors to the house, viz: repoart ^A them.

A. its errors

A messenger attached mee by a warrant from that Committee; I had private notice ere the messenger came, and hasted unto M^r. Speaker Lenthall, ever my freind; hee was exceeding glad to see mee, told mee what was done, called for Anglicus, marked the passages which tormented the Presbiterians so highly: I presently sent for M^r. Warren the printer an assured Cavalier, obliterated what was most offensive, putt in other more significant words, and desired to have onely six amended against next morning, which very honestly hee brought mee. I told him my design was to deny the book found fault with, to own onely the six bookes, I told him I doubted hee would bee examined; hang them, sayd hee, all rogues, I'll swear myselfe to the Devill ere they shall have an advantage against you by my Oath.

The day after, I appeared before the Committee, beeing 36 in number that day, whereas it was observed at other tymes it was very difficult to get five of them together. At first they showed mee the true Anglicus, and asked if I wrote and printed it; I tooke the booke and inspected it very heedfully, and when I had done so – this is none of my book, some malitious Presbiterian hath wrote it, who are my mortall enemys, I disown it; the Committee lookt uppon one an other like distracted men, not imagining what I presently did, for I presently pulld out of my pocket six bookes; these I own, the other are counterfett, published purposely to ruine mee.

¹⁷⁸1653

The Committee wear now more vexed then before; not one word was spoke a good while; at last many of them, or the greatest number of them wear of opinion to imprison mee; some wear for Newgate¹⁷⁹, others for the Gate house, but then one Brown of Sussex, called the Presbyterian Bedle, whom the Company of Stationers had bribed to bee my freind by giving him a new book of Martyrs, hee I say preached unto the Committee this Doctrine, that neither Newgate or the Gatehouse wear prisons unto which at any tyme the Parliament sent prisoners, it was most convenient for the Serjant at Armes to take mee in Custody.

Mr. Strickland¹⁸⁰ who had for many yeares been the Parlments Ambassador or Agent in Holland, when hee saw how they inclined, spoke thus –

I came purposely unto this Committee this day to see the Man, who is so famous in those parts whereof I have so long continued, I assure you his name is famous all over Euroap, I come to do him Justice, a booke is produced by us, and sayd to bee his; hee denyes it, we have not proved it, yet will committ him; truly this is great injustice, its like hee will write next year, and acquaint the whole world with our injustice, and so hee well may; its my opinion first to proove the booke to bee his ere hee bee committed.

An other, an old freind of myne, Mr. R.¹⁸¹ spoke thus –

You do not know the many services this man hath done for the Parliament this many yeares, or how many tymes in our greatest distresses wee applying unto him hee hath refreshed our languishing expectations; hee never failed us of comfort in our most unhappy distresses; I assure you his writings have kept upp the spirits both of the Soldiery, the honest people of this Nation, and many of us Parliament men, and now for a slipp of his penn (if it wear his) to bee thus violent against him; I must tell you I fear the Consequences urged out of the book will proove effectually true; its my counsell to admonish him hereafter to bee more wary, and for the present to dismiss him.

¹⁷⁹Newgate prison.

¹⁸⁰Walter Strickland (1598?-1671), politician and diplomatist. Appointed parliamentary ambassador to the United Provinces in 1642. He was an influential ally of Oliver Cromwell. (Timothy Venning, *ODNB*)

¹⁸¹Possibly Sir Robert Reynolds (cf.)

Notwithstanding any thing that was spoke on my behalfe I was ordered to stand committed to the Serjant at Armes, the Messenger attached my person, sayd I was his prisoner; as hee was carrying mee away, hee was called to bring mee again, Oliver Cromwell, Leiftennant Generall of the Army, having never seen mee, caused mee to be produced again, where hee steadfastly beheld mee for a good space, and then I went with the Messenger, but instantly, a young Clerk of that Committee askes the Messenger what hee did with mee; where's your warrant, until that is signed you cannot seize M^r. Lilly or shall; will you have an Action of false imprisonment against you?

So I escaped that night, but next day obeyed the warrant. That night, Oliver Cromwell went to M^r. R. my freind; What never a man to take Lillys cause in hand but yourselfe? None to take his part but you, hee shall not bee long there; Hugh Peters spoke much in my behalfe to the Committee but they wear resolved to lodge mee in the Serjants Custody. One Millington¹⁸², a drunken member, was much my enemy, and so was Crawley¹⁸³ of Chichester, a deformed fellow, unto whom I had done severall Curtesys¹⁸⁴.

Cawley.

Full 13 days I was a prisoner, and though every day of the Committees sitting, I had a petition to deliver, yet so many churlish Presbiterians still appeared, I could not get it accepted; the last day of the 13, M^r. Joseph Ash was made Chair man, unto whom my cause beeing related, hee took my petition, and sayd I should bee bailed in despite of them all, but desired I would procure as many freinds as I could to bee there; Sir Arthur Hazellrigg and Major Salloway, a person of excellent parts, appeared for mee, and many now of my old freinds came in; after 2 whole houres arguing my cause by Sir Arthur and Major Salloway and their freinds, the matter came to this point: I should be bailed, and a Committee nominated to examine the Printer; the Order of the Committee beeing brought afterwards to him who should bee Chair man, hee sent mee word; do what I would, hee would see all the Knaves hanged ere hee would examine the Printer: this is this truth of the story.

¹⁸²Probably Gilbert Millington (c.1598-1666), barrister, politician, regicide. Reportedly a frequenter of brothels and alehouses, and a drunk. (Richard L.Greaves, *ODNB*)

¹⁸³William Cawley (bap.1602, d.1667), politician and regicide. (*ODNB*)

¹⁸⁴Favours.

The 16^o of February 1653 my second wif[e died, for¹⁸⁵] whose death, I shed no teares¹⁸⁶; I had 500^L with her as a portion, but shee and her poor relations spent mee 1000^L.

Gloria patri et filiu et spiritui sancto: sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper, et in secula seculorum: for 20th of Aprill 1653 these enemys of mine, viz: Parlament men, wear turned out of dores by Oliver Cromwell.^{A.B}

A.B: A German D^r.
of Phisick, beeing
then in London, sent
mee this paper:
Strophe Alcaica:
Generoso Dn^o.
Gulielmo Lillio
Astrologo, de
dissoluto nuper
Parlamento.
Quod calculasti
Sydere prœvio,
Miles peregit
numine conscio,
Gentis videmus
nunc Senatum,
Marte Togaque gravi
levatum.:

In tyme of my imprisonment M^r. Rushworth came to visit mee, told mee the Army would do as much as I had predicted unto the Parlament.

In October 1654 I married the third wife¹⁸⁷, who is signified in my Nativity by Jupiter in Libra: and shee is so totally in her condition, to my great Comfort.

In 1655 I was indited at Hicks hall by a halfe witted young woaman; 3 severall sessions shee was neglected and the Jury cast forth her Bill, but the 4th tyme they found it against mee; I putt in Bail to traverse¹⁸⁸ the Inditement; the cause of the Inditement, for that I had given judgment uppon stolen goods and received 2^s. and 6^d.¹⁸⁹ – and this was sayd to bee contrary unto an Act in King James tyme made.

This mad woaman was putt uppon this Action against mee by 2 ministers, who had framed for her a very ingenious speech, which shee could speake without booke, as shee did the day of hearing the Traverse: shee produced one woaman, who told the Court, a soon of hers was runn from her, that beeing in much affliction of mind for his loss, shee repayred unto mee to know what was become of him, that I told her hee was gone for the Barbados, and she would hear of him within 13 days, which shee sayd shee did.

A second woaman made oath, that her husband beeing wanting 2 yeares, shee repayred unto me for advise, that I told her hee was in Ireland and would bee at home such a tyme and shee sayd hee did come home accordingly.

I owned the taking of halfe a Crowne for my judgment of the theft, but sayd I gave no other judgment but that the goods would not bee recovered, beeing that was all that was required of mee, the party before that, having been with severall Astrologers, some affirming shee should have her goods, others gave contrary judgment, which made her come unto mee for a finall resolution.

¹⁸⁵Page torn.

¹⁸⁶ Cf.

¹⁸⁷ Ruth Nedham (Needham). (**Nativity, page 94.**)

¹⁸⁸ To deny an allegation in pleading. (*OED*).

¹⁸⁹ Two shillings and sixpence.

At last my enemy began her before-made speech, and, without the least stumbling pronounced it before the Court; which ended, shee had some Queries putt unto her, and then I spoke for myselfe and produced my own Introduction¹⁹⁰ unto the Court, saying that I had some yeares before emitted that book for the benefitt of this and other nations, that it was allowed by Authority and had found good acceptance in both Universitys, that the study of Astrology was Lawfull and not contradicted by any Scriptures, that I neither had or ever did use any Charms, Sorcerys or Inchantments related in the bill of Inditement, etc.

Shee then related that shee had been severall tymes with me, and that afterwards shee could not rest a nights, but was troubled with Beares, Lions and Tygres, etc. My Councell was the Recorder Green, who after hee had answered all objections, concluded, Astrology was a Lawfull Art.

Mistris, sayd hee, what colour was those beasts you wear so terrified with –

I never saw any (sayd shee);

How do you then know they wear Lions, Tygres or beares, replied hee – this is an idle person onely fitt for Bedlam. The Jury went not from the Barr¹⁹¹, brought in No true Bill.

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

I had procured Justice Hooker to bee there, who was the Oracle of all the Justices of peace in Middlesex.

There was nothing memorable after that happened unto mee until 1658* and month of October, at what tyme Captain Owen Cox¹⁹² brought mee over from his Majesty of Sweden a gold Chain and Medall, worth about 50^l, the cause whereof was that in the year 1657 and 1658, I had made honorable mention of him, the Anglicus of 1658 beeing translated into the Language spoke at Hamburgh, printed, and cryed about the streets as it is in London.

* 1659. [EA]

¹⁹⁰ *Christian Astrology*

¹⁹¹ That is, they did not retire to consider their verdict.

¹⁹² Owen Cox (d.1665). Having been a successful and daring parliamentary naval officer, in 1658 Cox joined the naval forces of the King of Sweden, for whom he fought with great success. He was something of a hero, a follower of Astrology, and another member of Lilly's colourful circle of acquaintances. According to John Gadbury (cf.) he had warned Cox of disaster before his loss at sea in 1665. (Bernard Capp, *ODNB*)

The occasion of my writing so honorably of his Majesty of Sweden was this, Sir Bolstrodt Whitlock, Knight, uppon the very tyme of Oliver's beeing made Protector, having made very noble Articles betwixt Christiana then Queen of Sweden, and the English Nation, was, in his beeing at Stockholm, visited frequently by Charles Gustavus, unto whom Christiana resigned during his aboad, and used with all manner of Civillity by him, in so much as some other Embassadors tooke it ill, that they had not so much respect or equall, unto which hee would reply, hee would bee kind where himselfe did find just cause of merit unto any: hee was a great lover of our Nation, but there was some other causes also mooving my penn to bee so liberall, viz: the great hopes I had of his prevailing, and of taking Copenhagen and Elsinore which, if hee had lived, was hoped hee might have accomplished: and had assuredly done, if Oliver the Protector had not so untimely died, ere our fleet of shippes was returned, for Oliver sent the Fleet of purpose to fight the Dutch, but dying, and the Parliament restored, Sir H. Vane¹⁹³, who afterwards was beheaded, had order from the Councill of State, to give Order to the Fleet what to do now Oliver was dead and themselves restored. Vane out of State Policy, gave the Earle of Sandwich direction not to fight the Dutch, Captain Symons, who carried those Letters swore unto mee, had hee known the letters hee carried had contained any such prohibition, hee would have sunk both shipp and letters. Oliver sayd when the fleet was to go forth that if God blessed his Majesty of Sweden with Copenhagen, the English wear to have Elsinore as their share, which, if once I have (sayth Oliver), the English shall have the whole trade of the Baltiq sea, I will make the Dutch find an other passage, except they will pay such customes as I shall impose.

Considering the advantage this would have been to our English, who can blame my Penn for beeing liberall, thereby to have encouraged our famous and noble Seamen; or for writing so honorably of the Swedish Nation who had so courteously treated my best of Freinds S^r. Bolstrodt Whitlock, and by whose meanes had the Design taken effect, the English Nation had been made happy with the most beneficial Commerce of all Christendome.

I shall conclude about Oliver the then Protector, with whom obliquely I had transactions by his son in law, Mr. Claypool¹⁹⁴; and to speake truly of him, hee sent one that waited uppon him in his Chamber, once in 2 or 3 days, to hear how it fared with mee in my Sessions business. But I never had of him directly or indirectly either Pension or any the least Somm of money, or any gratuity, during his whole [Protectorship; this I protest to bee true, by the name and in the name of the most holy God.]¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ Sir Henry Vane the younger (1613-1662), politician and author, beheaded for treason.

¹⁹⁴ John Claypole (Claypoole) (1625-1688), army officer and courtier. Married to Oliver Cromwell's daughter, Elizabeth (bap.1629, d.1658). Close to Cromwell and a prominent supporter.

¹⁹⁵ Missing from this copy of the manuscript.

In 1653 before the dissolution thereof^A, and that ere they had chosen any for their Embassadors into Sweden, M^r. Claypool came unto mee, demanding of mee whom I thought fitt to send uppon that Embassy into Sweden. I nominated S^r. B. Whitlock, who was chosen, and 2 or 3 days after, M^r. Claypool came again; I hope, M^r. Lilly, my father hath now pleased you, your freind Sir B. Whitlock is to go for Sweden: But since I have mentioned Oliver Cromwell, I will relate something of him, which perhaps no other penn can or will mention.

A. Parliament.

Hee was born of generous parents in Huntingdonshire, educated sometye at the University of Cambridge; in his youth was wholly given to debauchery, quarrelling, drinking etc. quid non; having by those meanes wasted his patrimony, hee was inforced to bethink himselfe of leaving England and go to New England; hee had hyred passage in a ship, but ere shee launched out for her voyage, a kinsman dyeth, leaving him a considerable fortune, uppon which hee returns, pays his debts, became affected to Religion, is elected in 1640 a member of Parliament, in 1642 made a Captain of horse under Sir Phillip Stapleton¹⁹⁶, fought at Edge Hill: after hee was made a Collonel, then Leiftennant Generall to the Earle of Manchester, who was one of the 3 Generalls to fight the Earl of Newcastle and Prince Rupert at York; Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, and Earl Leven the Scott wear the other 2 for the Parliament; the last 2 thinking all had been lost at Marston Moor fight, Fairfax went into Cawood Castle giving all for lost – at 12 at night there came word of the Parlements Victory, Fairfax beeing then layd down uppon a bed; there was not a candle in the Castle nor any fire; up riseth Lord Fairfax, procures after sometye paper, inke, Candle, writes to Hull, and other Garrisons of the Parlements of the success and then slept.

Leven the Scott, askt the way to Tweed; the honor of that days fight was given to Manchester, Sir Thomas Fairfax his Brigade of horse, and Oliver Cromwell his Ironsides, for Cromwells horse in those tymes usually wore head peeces, back and side breast plates of Iron. After this victory, Cromwell became gracious with the house of Commons, especially the Zelots, or Presbiterians, with whom at that tyme hee especially joined, the name Independant at that tyme viz: 1644 beeing not so much spoken of.

¹⁹⁶ Sir Philip Stapleton (bap.1603, d.1647) politician and army officer.

There was some animosity at or before the fight betwixt the Earle of Newcastle and Prince Rupert, for Newcastle beeing Generall of his majestys forces in the north, a person of valour, and well esteemed in those parts, took it not well to have a Competitor in his Concernments, for if the Victory should fall on his Majestys side, Prince Ruperts forces would attribute it unto their own Generall, viz: Rupert, and give him the glory thereof; but that it happened, Prince Rupert in that days fight engaged the Parlements forces too soon and before the Earle of Newcastle could well come out of York with his Army, by reason whereof, though Rupert had absolutely routed the Scotts and the Lord Fairfax forces, yet ere tymely assistance could second his Army, Sir Tho: Fairfax and Cromwell had putt him to flight, and not long after, all Newcastles Army.

Amongst the most memorable Actions of that daye, this happened, that one intire Regiment of foot belonging to Newcastle, called the Lambes, because they wear all new cloathed in white woollen Cloth 2 or 3 dayes before the fight, this sole Regiment after the day was lost, having gott into a small parcell of ground, ditched in, and not of easy access of horse, would take no quarter, and by meer Valour, for one whole houre kept the Troopes of horse from entring amongst them at near push of Pike; when the horse did enter, they would have no quarter, but fought it out, till there was not 30 of them living; those whose happ it was to bee beaten down uppon the ground, as the Troopers came near them, though they could not rise for their wounds, yet wear so desperate, as to gett either a pike or sword or peece of them and to gore the Troopers horses as the came over them or passed by them. Captain Camby, then a Trooper under Cromwell, and an Actor, who was the 3rd or 4th man that entered amongst them, protested hee never in all the fights hee was in, mett with such resolute, brave fellows, or whom hee pityed so much: and sayd, hee saved 2 or 3 against their wills.

After the fight, Manchester marched slowly Southwards etc. but at last came to Newbery fight, which ended, hee came for London, and there accuseth Cromwell beeing his Liefetennant, to the Parlament of disobedience and not obeying his Orders.

The house of Commons acquaint Cromwell hearwith, and charge him, as hee would answer it before God, that the day following, hee should give them a full account of Manchesters proceedings, and the cause and occasion of their difference, and the reason, why Manchester did not tymely moove Westward, for the reliefe of Essex then in the West, who was absolutely routed, inforced to fly, all his foot taken and all his Ordinance, and train of Artillery, only the horse escaping.

Cromwell the next day gave his account to M^r. Speaker in the house of Commons, by way of Recrimination.

That after God had given them a successful victory at Marston over the Kings forces, and that they had well refreshed their Army, Manchester by their Order did moove Southward, but with such slowness, that sometymes hee would not march for 3 days together; sometymes hee would lye still one day, then two days, whereuppon hee sayd, considering the Earle of Essex was in the West, with what success hee then knew not, hee mooved Manchester severall tymes to quicken his March to the West for reliefe of Essex if hee wear beaten, or to divert the Kings forces from following Essex; but hee sayd, Manchester still refused to make haste, and that one day he sayd, if any man but yourself Lieftennant should so frequently trouble mee, I would call him before a Councell of Warr; wee have beaten the Kings forces in the North, if wee should do so in the West, his Majesty is then undone, hee hath many sons living, if any of them come to the Crown, as they well may, they will never forgett us^{AB,197}; after which hee marched not at all, untill hee had Order from the Committee to hasten Westward, by reason of Essex his being lost in Cornwall, which then hee did, and at Newbery fight tis true I refused to obey his directions and order, for thus it was; his Majestys horse beeing betwixt 4 and 5 thousand in a large Common in good order, hee commands mee, M^r. Speaker, to charge them, wee having no way to come at them, but through a narrow lane, where not above 3 horse could march abreast; whereby had I followed his order, wee had been all cutt off ere wee could have gott into any order; M^r. Speaker, and then he wept, (which hee could do toties quoties) I considering that all the visible Army you then had was by this councell in danger to bee lost, refused thus to indanger your mean strength, which now most of all consisted of those horse under my Command, etc.

AB. this Major Hamond a man of honor, will justifie as well as my selfe.

This his Recrimination was well accepted by the house of Commons, who thereuppon and from that tyme, thought there was none of the house of Lords very fitt to bee intrusted with their future Armys, but had then thoughts of making a Commoner their Generall, which afterwards they did, and elected Sir Thomas Fairfax their Generall and Cromwell Lieftennant Generall, but it was next Spring first; uppon Essex his being lost in Cornwall, I heard Serjant Maynard¹⁹⁸ say: if now the King haste to London wee are undone, having no Army to resist him.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷ This is meant as an insertion into Cromwell's address, rather than a comment by Lilly.

¹⁹⁸ Probably Sir John Maynard (1604-1690), lawyer and politician, friend of Bulstrode Whitelock. (ODNB)

¹⁹⁹ Such detail as Lilly provides in this account demonstrates how well informed he was politically and militarily.

His Majesty had many misfortunes ever attending him, during his aboad at Oxford, some by reason of that great animosity betwixt Prince Rupert and the Lord Digby, each indeavoring to cross one an other, but the worst of all was by Treachery of severall Officers under his Command and in his service, for the Parlament had in continuall pay one Collonell of the Kings councill of Warr, one Leifetennant Collonell, one Captaine, one Ensigne, one or 2 Serjants, severall Corporalls, who had constant pay and duly payd them every month, according to the Capacity of their Offices and places; and yet none of these knew any thing of each others beeing so imployed: there wear severall well wishers unto the Parlament in Oxford, where each left his letter, putting it in at the hole of a glass window, as hee made water in the street; what was putt in at the window in any of those houses was the same day convayed 2 miles off by some of the habit of Town Gardners, to the side of a ditch, where one or more wear ever ready to carry the intelligence to the next Parlament Garrison: I was then familiar with all the Spies that constantly went in and out to Oxford.²⁰⁰

But once more to my own Actions; I had in 1652 and 1653 and 1654 much contention with Mr. Gatacre²⁰¹ of Redriff, a man indued with all kind of Learning, and the ablest man of the whole Synod of Divines in the Orientall Touns.

The Synod had concluded to make an exposition uppon the Bible, some undertook one book, some an other; Gatacre fell uppon Jeremy, uppon making his Exposition on the 2 verse of the 10th Chapter - Learn not the way of the heathen, and be not dismayed at the signes of heaven, for the heathen are dismayed at them.

In his annotations thereuppon, hee makes a scandalous exposition, and in express termes, hints at mee, repeating verbatim 10 or 12 lines of an Epistle of mine in one of my former Anglicus. The substance of my Epistle was that I did conceive the good Angells of God, did first reveale Astrology unto mankind, etc. but hee in his Annotations calls mee blind Bussard, etc.

Having now Liberty of the Press, and hearing the old man was very Cholerick, I thought fitt to raise it upp and onely wrote I referred my discourse then in hand to the discussion and judgment of sober persons, but not unto Thomas Wiseacre, for Senes bis pueri²⁰²: these very words begott the writing of 42 sheets against my selfe and Astrology. The next year I quibbled again in 3 or 4 lines against him, then hee printed 22 sheets against me. I was persuaded by Doctor Gawdy, late Bishop of Excester, to let him alone, but in my next

²⁰⁰ This presents a fascinating glimpse into the intrigue of espionage and intelligence gathering. No less interesting is Lilly's admitting to knowing them all, further demonstrating his closeness to the power centre at that time.

²⁰¹ Thomas Gataker - he changed the spelling from "Gatacre" - (1574-1654) Church of England Clergyman and scholar. He was widely known in London and appears to have bequeathed a book to Bulstrode Whitelock's wife. (Brett Usher, ODNB).

²⁰² Old men are twice boys.

yeares Anglicus, in August observations, I wrote, Hoc in tumbo jacet Presbiter et Nebulo²⁰³; in which very month hee died.

Severall Divines applyed themselves unto mee, desiring me to forbear any further vexing of M^r. Gatacre, but all of them did as much condemn him of indiscretion, that in so sober a peece of worke as that was, viz: in an annotation uppon a Sacred text of Scripture, to particularise mee in that dirty language; they pittied him that hee had not better considered with himselfe ere hee published.

Dean Owen of Christ Church in Oxford, hee also in his sermons had sharp invectives against mee and Astrology; I cryed quittance with him by urging Abbot Panormiton his judgment uppon Astrology, contrary to Owens, and concluded, An Abbott was an ace above a Dean.

One M^r. Nye of the Assembly of Divines, a Jesuiticall Presbyterian, hee bleated forth his judgment publiqly against mee and Astrology; to bee quit with him, I urged Causinus the Jesuit his approbation of Astrology, and concluded, sic canibus catulos²⁰⁴ etc. In some tyme after, the Dutch Embassador was offended with some things in Anglicus, presented a Memoriall to the Councill of State that Merlinus Anglicus might bee considered, and the abuses against their Nation examined; but his paper was not accepted of, or I in any way molested.

In Olivers Protectorship, I wrote freely and satyricall inough; hee was now become Independent, and all the Soldiery my freinds, for when hee was in Scotland the day of one of their fights, a Soldier stood with Anglicus in his hand, and as the severall Troopes passed by him, Lo, hear what Lilly sayth, you are in this month promised victory, fight it out brave boys, and then read that months prediction.

I had long before predicted the Downfall of Presbitery, as you (most honored Sir) in the figure thereof in my Introduction²⁰⁵, may observe, and it was uppon this occasion: Sir Thomas Middleton²⁰⁶ of Chark castle²⁰⁷, enemy to Presbitery, seeing they much prevailed, beeing a Member of the House, seriously demanded my judgment, if Presbitery should prevail or not in England? and the figure printed in my Introduction, will best give you an account, long before it happened, of the sinking and fayling of Presbitery: so will the 2nd page of my Heiroglyphicks; those men, to bee serious, would preach well, but they wear more Lordly then Bishops, and usually in their parishes more Tyranicall then the great Turke.

²⁰³ In this way the Presbyterian and idler lies dead in the tomb.

²⁰⁴ Thus from the dogs, the pups.

²⁰⁵ The horary "If Presbytery shall stand?" (11th March, 1646/7 OS), Christian Astrology, p.439.

²⁰⁶ Sir Thomas Myddelton (1586-1666), parliamentary army officer. (ODNB)

²⁰⁷ Chirk Castle, Denbighshire.

**Of the year 1660 the Actions whereof, as they wear
remarkable in England, so wear they no less then
very memorable as to my particular fortune and person.**

Uppon the Lord Generall Monke his returning from Scotland with his Army into England, suddenly after his coming to London, Richard Cromwell, the then Protector, his Authority was layd aside and the old Parlament restored; the Councell of State satt as formerly; the first Act they putt the Generall uppon was to take down the Citty of Londons Gates and Portcullises, an Act which the Generall sayd was fitter for a Janizary²⁰⁸ to do then for a Generall; yet he effected the Commands received, and then lodged in the Citty with his Army; the Citizens tooke this pulling down of their Gates so heinously, that one night the ruder sort of them procured all the Rumps of beefe and other baggage, and publiqly burnt them in the streets, in derision of the then Parlament, calling them that now satt, the Rump: this hurliburly was mannaged as well by the Generalls Soldiers as the Citizens; the Kings health was publiqly drunk all over the Citty, and confusion to the Parlament; the matter continued until Midnight, or longer, the Councill of State sitting at white Hall had hearof no knowledge, until Sir Martin Noell²⁰⁹, a discreet Citizen, came about nine at night and then first informed them thereof; the Councill could not beleieve it, until they had sent some Ministers of their own, who affirmed the verity thereof; they wear at a stand and could not resolve what to do; at last Nevill Smyth came, beeing one of them, and publiqly protested, there was but one way to regain their Authority, and to bee revenged of this affront, and to overthrow the Lord Generall Monk, whom now they perceived intended otherways then hee had pretended; his Councell was, to take away Monks Commission and to give present Commission to Major Generall Lambert to bee their Generall, which Councill of his, if they would take and putt it speedily in execution, would putt an end to all the present mischiefs; the Councell in generall did all very well approve Nevill Smyths judgment, but presently, upp starts Sir Arthur Hazellrigg, and makes a sharp invective against Lambert, and concluded hee would rather perish under the King of the Scotts²¹⁰ power then that Lambert should ever any more have Command under the Parlament.

The Lord Generall suddenly after, brings in the long secluded Members to sitt in Parlament, beeing persons of great judgment and formerly inforced from sitting therein by the Soldiery and connivance of those who styled themselves the Godly party of the Parlament. These honorable Patriots, presently voted his Majestys coming into England, and so hee did in May 1660; but because Charles the Second^A now King of England, soon of Charles the first, grandchild of King James first, King of great Brittany; was so miraculously restored, and so many hundreds of yeares since prophecied of by Ambrose Merlin, it will not bee impertinent to mention the Prophecys themselves, the rather because wee have seen their verification.

A. 1667

²⁰⁸ Probably referring to the child-soldiers of the Turkish empire.

²⁰⁹ Sir Martin Noell (bap.1614 d.1665), financier and merchant. (ODNB)

²¹⁰ Charles II.

**Ambrose Merline his prophecy, wrote about
990 yeares since.**

Hee calls King James, the Lyon of Righteousness, and sayth when hee died or was dead, there would raign a noble White King; this was Charles the first; the prophet discovers all his troubles, his flying up and down, his imprisonment, his death, and calls him Aquila: what concerns Charles the second, is the subject of our discourse: In the Lattin Coppy, its thus;

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

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

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

This in our old coppy is englished thus:

After, then shall come through the South with the Sun, on horse of Tree, and uppon all waves of the Sea, the Chicken of the Eagle, sailing into Brittain, and arriving anon to the house of the Eagle, hee shall show fellowship to them beasts.

After, the Chicken of the Eagle shall nestle in the highest Rooch of all Brittain; nay hee shall naught bee slain young: nay hee naught come old: and other Latin Coppy, renders the last verse thus;

Deinde pullus Aquilæ nidificabit in summo rupium, nec juvenis occidetur, nec ad senium perveniet: there is after this, pacificato regno, Omnes occidet: which is intended of those persons putt to death that satt as Judges uppon his fathers Death.

Verification;

His Majesty beeing in the Low Countrys, when the Lord Generall had restored the seclused members, the Parlament sent part of the Royall Navy to bring him for England, which they did in May 1660; Holland is East from England, so hee came with the Sun; wooden horses are the English shipps.

Tunc nidificabit in summo rupium,

The Lord Generall and most of the Gentry of England mett him in Kent, and brought him unto London, then to White hall; hear, by the highest rooch, some write Rock, is intended London, beeing the Metropolis of all England. Since which tyme, unto this very day I write this story, hee hath raigned in England, and long may hee do hereafter. 10th Dec. 1667.

Had I leasure, I might verifie the whole preceding part concerning King Charles: much of the verification thereof is mentioned in my Collection of Prophecys printed 1645, but his Majesty beeing then

but he landed in Dover, a Port in ye South part of England. [E.A.]

alive, I forebore much of that Subject: not willing to give offence; I dedicated that booke unto him, and in the conclusion thereof, I advised his return unto Parliament, with these words: Fac hoc et vives. There was also a Prophecy printed in 1588 in Greek Characters exactly deciphering the long troubles the English Nation had from 1641 until 1660, and it ended thus:

And after that, shall come a Dreadfull dead man, and with him a Royall G (its Gamma in the Greek, intending C in the Latine beeing the 3rd letter of the Alphabett) of the best blood in the world, and hee shall have the Crown, and shall sett England on the right way, and putt out all Heresys.

Monkery beeing then extinguished above 80 or 90 yeares, and the Lord Generalls name beeing Monk, is the Deadman. The royall G or C is Charles the second, who for his extraction may bee sayd, to bee of the best blood in the World.

Thes 2 prophecys wear not given vocally by the Angells, but by inspiration of the Christall in Types and figures, or by apparition the Circular way, where at some distance the Angells appear representing by formes, shapes and Creatures what is demanded; it is very rare, yea, even in our dayes, for any Operator or Master to have the Angells speake articulately, when they do speak, its like the Irish, much in the Throat.²¹¹

What further concerns his Majesty will more fully bee evident about 1672 or 1674 or at furthest 1676.

And now unto my own Actions in 1660.

In the first place my Fee Farm Rents, beeing of the yearly value of 120^l, wear all lost by his Majestys coming to his Restauration; but I do say truly, the loss thereof did never trouble mee, or did I repine thereat.

In June of that year, a new Parliament was called, whereunto I was unwillingly invited by 2 messengers of the Serjant at Armes; the matter whereuppon I was taken into Custody, was to examine mee concerning the person who cutt off the Kings head, viz: the late Kings.

Sr. Daniel Harvey of Surrey gott the business mooved against mee in great displeasure, because at the Election of new Knights for Surrey, I procured the whole town of Walton to stand and give their voices for S^r. Richard Onslow²¹²; the Committee to examine mee wear M^r. Prinn²¹³, one Collonell King²¹⁴, M^r. Richard Weston²¹⁵ of Grays Inn. Gods providence appeared very much for mee that day, for walking

Onslow

²¹¹ This reads as almost an aside and yet it reveals Lilly's knowledge and experience of magical practices.

²¹² Sir Richard Onslow (bap.1601, d.1664), politician. (ODNB)

²¹³ William Prynne (1600-1669), pamphleteer and lawyer.

²¹⁴ Possibly the Colonel King referred to as a "rabid presbyterian" (Andrew Sharpe, ODNB).

²¹⁵ Sir Richard Weston (1620-1681). judge and politician. (ODNB)

in Westminster Hall, M^r. Richard Pennington, soon of my old freind M^r. Wm: Pennington, mett me, and inquiring the Cause of my beeing there, sayd no more, but walked upp and down the Hall, and related my kindness to his father unto very many Parlament men of Cheshire and Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cumberland and those Northern Countrys, who numerously came upp into the Speakers Chamber and bad mee bee of good comfort; at last hee meets Master Weston, one of the 3 unto whom my matter was referred for examination, who told M^r. Pennington hee came purposely to punish mee and would bee bitter against mee; but having it related, viz: my singular kindness and preservation of old M^r. Penningtons estate to the value of 6 or 7 thousand pounds, I'll do him all the good I can, I thought hee had never done any good, let me see him, and let him stand behind mee where I sitt.

I did so; at my first appearance, many of the young Members affronted mee highly, and demanded severall scurrilous questions. M^r. Weston held a paper before his mouth, bad mee answer nobody but M^r. Prinn; I obeyed his Command, and saved my selfe much trouble thereby, and when M^r. Prinn putt any difficult or doubtful Querie unto mee, M^r. Weston prompt mee with a fitt answer: at last after all most one houres tugging, I desired to bee fully heard, what I could say, as to the Person who cutt Charles the first his head off. Liberty beeing given mee to speake, I related what follows, viz:

That the next Sunday but one after Charles the first was beheaded, Robert Spavin Secretary unto Leiftennant Generall Cromwell at that tyme, invited himselfe to dine with mee, and brought Anthony Peirson²¹⁶ and severall others along with him to dinner; that their principal discourse all Dinner tyme was onely, who it was that beheaded the King; one sayd it was the Common hangman, an other Hugh Peeters; others also wear nominated, but none concluded.

Robert Spavin, so soon as Dinner was done, tooke mee by the hand and carried mee to the South window; sayth hee, these are all mistaken, they have not named the man that did the fact: it was Leiftennant Collonell Joyce²¹⁷, I was in the Room when hee fitted himselfe for the worke, stood behind him when hee did it, when done went in again with him; there's no man knows this but my M^r., viz: Cromwell, Commissary Ireton and myself; doth not M^r. Rushworth know it, sayd I; no, hee doth not know it sayd Spavin: the same thing Spavin since had often related unto mee when wee wear alone;²¹⁸ M^r. Prinn did with much Civillity make repoart hearof in the house; yet Norfolk, the Serjant, after my discharge, kept mee 2 days longer in Arrest, purposely to gett money of mee, hee had six pounds and his Messenger 40^s. and I was attached but uppon the Sunday, examined on Tuseday and then discharged, though the Covetous Serjant detayned mee until Thursday: by meanes of a freind, I cryed quittance

²¹⁶ Anthony Pearson (bap.1627, d.1666), Quaker administrator. In 1648 he was Sir Arthur Hesilrige's secretary. (Richard L.Greaves, ODNB)

²¹⁷ George Joyce (b.1618), parliamentary army officer.

²¹⁸ Historians dispute Spavin's account based largely on Spavin's unsavoury character. The identity of the two executioners has never been discovered.

with Norfolk, which freind was to pay him his Salary at that tyme, and abated Norfolk 3 pounds, which wee spent every penny at one Dinner, without inviting the wretched Serjant.

But in the latter end of the year, when the Kings Judges wear arraigned at the old Baily, Norfolk warned mee to attend, beleeving I could give information concerning Hugh Peeters; at the Sessions I attended during its continuance, but was never called or examined: there I heard Harrison, Scott, Clement, Peeters, Hacker, Scroop and others of the Kings Judges²¹⁹, and Cook the Sollicitor who excellently defended himselfe; I say I did hear what they could say for themselves, and after heard the sentence of Condemnation pronounced against them by the incomparably modest and learned Judge Bridgman, now Lord Keeper of the great Seal of England.

One would think my troubles for that year had been ended, but in January 166½ one Everard, a Justice of Peace in Westminster, ere I was stirring, sent a Serjant and 34 Muskiteers for mee to white Hall, hee had twice that night seised about 60 persons, supposed Phanatiks, very despicable persons, many whereof wear aged, some wear waterbearers, and had been Parlament Soldiers, others of ordinary Callings; all these wear guarded unto white Hall into a large Room till day light, and then committed to the Gate house; I was had into the gard Room, which I thought to bee Hell, some therein wear sleeping, others swearing, others drinking²²⁰ Tobacco; in the Chimney of the Room I beleeve there was 2 bushells of broken tobacco pipes, allmost halfe one load of Ashes. Everard about 9 in the morning comes, writes my Mittimus for the Gate house, then shows it mee, I must be contented, I desired no other Curtesy, but that I might be privately carried unto the Gate house by 2 Soldiers, that was denied. Amongst the miserable Crew of people, with a whole Company of Soldiers, I marched to Prison, and there for 3 houres was in the open ayre uppon the ground where the Common house of Office came down; after 3 houres I was advanced from this stinking place up the stayres, where there was on one side a company of rude, swearing persons, on the other side many Quakers, who lovingly entertained mee.

As soon as I was fixed, I wrote to my old honored freind Sir Edward Walker²²¹, Garter King at Armes, who presently went to M^r. Secretary Nicholas²²², and acquainted him with my condition, hee ordered Sir Edward to write to Everard to release mee, unless hee had any particular information against mee, which hee had not; hee further sayd, it was not his Majestys pleasure that any of his Subjects should bee thus had to prison without good cause showed before. Uppon receipt of Sir Edwards letter, Everard discharged mee, I taking the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy; this days worke cost mee 37^s.

²¹⁹ Those who presided at the trial of Charles I.

²²⁰ Should be "smoking".

²²¹ Sir Edward Walker (1612-1677), herald. George Wharton calculated his nativity in 1645. Although Lilly's friend, Walker wrote him a letter of reprimand for Lilly's publication of *Monarchy or No Monarchy* in 1651. (Hubert Chesshyre, *ODNB*).

²²² Sir Edward Nicholas (1594-1661), government official.

Afterwards Everard stood to bee Burgess for Westminster, sent to me to procure him voices²²³; I returned answer that of all men living, hee deserved no curtesy from mee, nor should have any.

This side of paper hath spoiled 2 penns.²²⁴

In this year 1660, I sued out my pardon under the broad Seal of England, beeing so advised by good Councill, because there should bee no obstruction; I passed as William Lilly, citizen and Salter of London; it cost mee 13^l 6^s 8^d.

There happened a verification of an astrologicall judgment of mine in this year 1660, which because it was predicted 16 yeares before it came to pass, and the year expressly nominated, I thought fitt to mention.

In page 111 of my Prophetical Merline, uppon three sextill aspects of ♄ and ♃²²⁵ made in 1659 and 1660, I wrote thus –

This their freindly salutation comforts us in England; every man now possesses his own Vyneyard; our young youth growing unto Mans estate, and our old men live their full yeares. Our Nobles and Gentlemen roote again; our yeomanry, many yeares disconsolated, now take pleasure in their husbandry: the Merchant sends out shippes and hath prosperous Returns; the Mechanick hath a quick Trading; hear's allmost a new world, new Laws, new Lords; now my Country of England shall shedd no more teares, but rejoyce with, and in the many blessings God gives or affoards her Annually.

And in the same booke, page 118, over against the year 1660, you shall find –

A Bonny Scott acts his part,
The Long Parliament would give Charles the Second no other tytle then, King of Scotts.

I allso wrote to Sir Edward Walker Knight, Garter King at Armes, in 1659, hee beeing then in Holland –

Tu, dominusque vester videbitis Angliam, infra duos Annos²²⁶ – for in 1662 his ☿ came by Direction to the body of the ☉.²²⁷

But hee came in uppon the Ascendant directed unto the △ of ☉ and Antiscion of ♃²²⁸ – and happy it was for the Nation hee did come in, and long and prosperously may hee raign amongst us, it beeing the prayer of – *William Lilly*.

²²³ Supporters or votes.

²²⁴ Lilly's note at the end of the page.

²²⁵ " ...Saturn and Jupiter..."

²²⁶ You, and your lord will see England, below two years.

²²⁷ "...his [Charles II] Moon came by Direction to the body of the Sun."

²²⁸ "...unto the trine of Sun and Antiscion of Jupiter..."

On 1663 and 1664, I had a long and tedious Law Sute in Chancery, MC comming to □ of ♄;²²⁹ and the occasion of that Sute was concerning houses, and my enemy though aged, had no beard, was really Saturnine – we came unto an Hearing February 166¾ before the M^r. of the Rolls S^r. Harbottle Grimston, where I had the Victory, but no Costs given mee.

My adversary not satisfied with that Judgement, petitioned that most just and honorable man, the Lord Chancellor Hyde, for a Rehearing his cause before him; it was graunted, and the 13th June 1664 my M.C. then directed to □ of ♀ and ☉,²³⁰ his Lordshipp most judiciously heard it with much attention, and when my Adversarys Councell had urged these depositions which they had against mee, his Lordship stood upp and sayd –
Heares not one word against M^r. Lilly –

I replyed, My Lord, I hope I shall have Costs,
Very good reason sayth hee and so I had, and at my departure out of Court, putt off his hatt and bad God bee with you.

This is the month of December 1667 wherein by misfortune hee is much traduced and highly persecuted by his enemys, is also retyred, however not in the least questioned for any indirect judgment as Chancellor in the Chancery, for there was never any person satt in that place, who executed Justice with more uprightness, or judgment or quickness for dispatch, then this very noble person from his enemys, and in good tyme restore him unto all his Honors again: from my Soule I wish it, and hope I shall live to see it – Amen: fiat oh tu Deus justiciæ.

but in other things he hath been very foul, as in the articles drawne up by the Parliament against him it appears. Which articles I presume you have not seen, otherwise you would have been of another mind. [E.A.]

In 1663 and 1664 I was made Churchwarden of Walton uppon Thames, setling as well as I could the affaires of that distracted parish, uppon my own Charges²³¹, and uppon my leaving the place forgave them 7 pounds odd money due unto mee.

In 1664 [obliteration] I had an other Law Suite, with Captain Colborn, Lord of the Manor of Esher concerning the Rights of the parish of Walton; hee had newly purchased that Manor and having 150 acres of grounde formerly Park and wood ground, lying in our parish, conceived hee had Right of Common in our parish of Walton; thereuppon hee putts 300 sheep uppon the Common, part whereof I impounded; he replevins them, gave mee a Declaration; I answered it; the Tryall was to bee at the Assizes in Kingston in Aprill 1664; when the day of Tryall came, hee had not one witness in his cause, I had many; whereuppon, uppon conference, and by mediation, hee gave mee eleaven pounds for my Charges sustained in that Suite, whereof I returned him back 50^s – 40^s for himselfe and tenn shillings for the poor of the parish hee lived in. This I did at my own cost and charges, not one parishioner joyning with mee: I had now M.C. unto □ of ♀

²²⁹ “...comming to square of Saturn...”

²³⁰ “...my M.C. then directed to square of Venus and Sun,...”

²³¹ Meaning “at my own cost.”

and ☉²³², both in my second, Ergo I gott money of this thing, a Suite. Sir Bolstro Whitlock gave mee Councill.

Now I come unto the year 1665, wherein that horrible and devouring plague so extremely raged in the Citty of London; 27th of June 1665, I retyred into Country unto my wife and family²³³, where since I have wholly continued, and so intend by permission of God; I had, before I came away, very many people of the poorer sort frequented my lodging, many whereof wear so civill as when they brought water, viz: Urine, from infected people, would stand purposely at a distance. I ordered those infected and not like to dye Cordialls, and caused them to sweat, whereby many recovered. My Landlord of the house was afraid of those poor people, I nothing at all, hee was desirous I should bee gone; hee had 4 children, I took them with mee into Country and provided for them; six weekes after I departed hee, his wife and many servants died of the plague.²³⁴

In Monarchy or no Monarchy, printed 1651 I had framed an Heiroglyphick, which you may see in page the 7th representing a great Sickness and mortallity; wherein you may see the representation of people in their winding sheets, persons digging Graves and Sepulchres, Coffins etc. All this was performed by the more Secret Key of Astrology, or propheticall Astrology.

In 1666 happened the miraculous Conflagration in the Citty of London whereby in 4 days the most part thereof was consumed by fire. In my Monarchy or no Monarchy, the next side after the Coffin and Pickaxes, there is Representation of a great Citty all in flames of fire, the memoriall whereof some Parlament man remembering, thought fitt to send for mee before that Committee which then did sitt for examination of the Causes of the fire, and whether there was no Treachery or design in the business, his Majesty beeing then in Warr both with the French and Dutch: the Summons to answer before that Committee was as followeth;

²³² "...unto square of Venus and Sun."

²³³ By "family", Lilly means those of his household.

²³⁴ The plague was particularly severe in 1665 and it is interesting to note that Lilly had sent his wife, Ruth, and his household to Hersham before him. He himself had been staying in rented accommodation, suggesting that he had either sold or let his London home in The Strand.

Munday 22nd October 1666

At the Committee appointed to enquire after the causes of the late fires;

Ordered:

That M^r. Lilly do attend this Committee on Friday next beeing the 25th of October 1666, at two of the clock such Questions as shall bee then and there asked him.

Robert Brooke.

By accident I was then in London when the Summons came unto mee; I was timorous of Committees, being ever by some of them calumniated, upbraided, frowned, and derided; however I must and did appear; and let mee never forgett that great affection and care yourselfe (Oh most excellent and learned Esquire Ashmole) showed unto mee at that tyme; first your affection, in going along with mee all that day, secondly your great paines and care in speaking unto many worthy Members of that Committee your acquaintance, that they should befreind mee, and nott permitt mee to bee affronted, or have any disgracefull language cast uppon mee. I must seriously acknowledge your persuasions so prevailed with those Generous Soules, that I conceive there was never more Civillity used unto any then my selfe, and you know, there wear no small numbers of Parlament men appeared when they heard I was to bee there.

Sir Robert Brooke spoke to this purpose;

M^r. Lilly, this Committee thought fit to summon you to appear before them this day to know if you can say any thing as to the Cause of the late fire or whether there might be any designes therein, you are called the rather hither, because in a book of yours long since printed, you hinted some such thing by one of your Heiroglyphicks; unto which I replyd,

May it please your Honors;

after the beheading of the late King, considering that in the 3 subsequent yeares the Parlament acted nothing which continued the settlement of the Nation in peace, and beeing the generallity of people dissatisfied, the Citizens of London discontented, the Soldiery prone to Mutiny, I was desirous according to the best knowledge God had given mee, to make inquiry, by the Art I studied, what might from that tyme happen unto the Parlament and Nation in generall; at last having satisfied myselfe as well as I could, and perfected my judgment therein, I thought it most convenient to signifie my intentions and Conceptions thereof, in Forms, Shapes, types, Heiroglyphicks etc. without any Commentary, that so my judgment might bee concealed from the Vulgar and made manifest onely unto the wise, I hearin immitating the examples of many wise Philosophers who had done the like.

Sir Robert, sayth one, Lilly is yet sub vestibulo, I proceed further (sayd I), having found, Sir, that the Citty of London should be sadly afflicted with a great plague, and not long after with an exhorbitant Fire, I framed those 2 Heiroyglyphicks as represented in the book, which in effect have prooved very true.

Did you foresee the year, sayth one –

I did not sayd I, or was desirous, of that I made no scrutiny, (but you see, that its in the next page). I proceeded –

Now Sir, whether there was any designe of burning the Citty or any employed to that purpose, I must deale ingeniously with you, that since the fire, I have taken many paines in the search thereof, but cannot or could give my selfe any the least satisfaction therein, I conclude, That it was the onely finger of God: but what instruments hee used thereunto, I am ignorant.

Exit Lillius.

finitur ¶ 18. Dec: 1667²³⁵

The Committee seemed well pleased with what I spoke and dismissed mee with great civillity.

Since which tyme, no memorable Action hath happened unto mee, my retyrement impeding all concourse unto mee. I have many more things to communicate which I shall do as they offer themselves to memory.

In anno 1634 and 1635, I had much familiarity with John Heginus, Doctor of Phisick, a Dutchman, an excellent Scholler and an able Phisition, not meanly versed in Astrology; unto him for his great Civillity, I communicated the Art of framing Sigils, Lamens, etc and the use of the Mosaicall Rodds: and wee did create several Sigills to very good purpose, I gave him the true Key thereof, viz: instructed him in their Forms, Characters, Words, and last of all, how to give them Vivification, and what Number or Numbers wear appropriated to every planet²³⁶: cum multis aliis in Libris veterum latentibus; aut perspicue non intellectis²³⁷.

I was well acquainted with the Speculator of John-a-Windor, a Scrivener sometymes living in Newbery; this Windor was clubfisted, wrote with a penn betwixt both his hands, I have seen many bonds and bills, wrote by him; hee was much given to Debauchery, so that at sometymes, the Dœmons would not appear to the Speculator; hee would then Suffumigate, sometymes to vex the Spirits, hee would curse them, fumigate with Contrarys; uppon his examination before S^r. Henry Wallop K^t.²³⁸, which I have seen, hee sayd hee once visited D^r. Dee in Mortlack, and out of a book that lay in the window, hee coppied out that Call which he used when hee invocated – it was that – which near the beginning of it hath these words,

²³⁵ Lilly's note at the end of the page.

²³⁶ Lilly again provides evidence of the extent of his studies in these magical matters.

²³⁷ With many other ways hidden in the books of the ancients; or not clearly understood.

²³⁸ Sir Henry Wallop (1568-1642), politician.

per virtutem illorum qui invocant nomen tuum Hermeli – mitte nobis tres Angelos, etc.²³⁹

Windor had many good parts, but a most lewd person. My M^r. Wright knew him well, and having dealings in those parts, made use of him as a Scrivener.

Oliver Withers servant to Sr. H. Wallopp, brought upp a Windors examination unto London purposely for mee to peruse. This Withers was Mr. Fisks Scholler 3 yeares more or less to learn Astrology of him, but beeing never the wiser; Fisk brought him unto mee, by showing him but how to judge one figure, his eyes wear opened; hee made the Epistle before D^r. Neves booke, now in M^r. Sanders hands, was very learned in the Latine, Greek and Hebrew touns, I desire you, Esquire, to translate that Epistle.

Having mentioned Doctor John Dee²⁴⁰, I hold it not impertinent to speak something of him, but more especially of Edward Kelly²⁴¹, his Speculator. Doctor Dee himselfe was a Cambro-Brittain, educated in the University of Oxford; hee tooke his degree of Doctor²⁴², afterwards for many yeares in search of the profounder studys, travelled into Forraign parts.

Born in London.
Cambridge

To bee serious hee was Queen Elizabeths Intelligencer and had a Salary for his maintainance from the Secretary of State; hee was a ready witted man, quick of apprehension, very learned, and of great Judgment in the Latin and Greek Touns; hee was a very great Investigator of the more Secret Hermeticall learning, a perfect Astronomer, a curious Astrologer, a serious Geometrician; to speake truth, hee was excellent in all kinds of learning.

With all this, hee was the most ambitious person living, and most desirous of fame and renown, and was never so well pleased as when hee heard himself stiled, Most Excellent. Hee was studious in Chimistry, and attained good perfection therein, but his servant, or rather Companion Kelly outwent²⁴³ him, viz: about the Elixir or Philosophers Stone: which neither Kelly or Dee attained by their own labour and industry; it was in this manner Kelly obtained it, as I had it related from an antient Minister, who knew the certainty thereof from an old English Merchant, resident in Germany at that tyme both Kelly and Dee wear there.

Stoad -

Dee and Kelly, beeing in the confines of the Emperors Dominions in a

²³⁹ Through the virtue of those who are calling your name Hermeli - send to us three angels, etc.

²⁴⁰ John Dee (1527-1609), mathematician, astrologer, antiquarian. He appears to have gained his doctorate in medicine in Prague in 1584 or 1585. (R. Julian Roberts, *ODNB*) (**Nativity**)

²⁴¹ Sir Edward Kelley (1555-1597/8), alchemist.

²⁴² Ashmole has inserted a cipher character (or two) in this margin note which appears to translate as "this" or "this in". It seems to refer to the university where Dee obtained his doctorate.

²⁴³ Surpassed.

Citty where resided many English Merchants, with whom they had much familiarity; there happened an old Frier to come to Doctor Dees lodging, knocking at the dore, Dee peeped down the stayres; Kelly, tell the old man I am not at home. Kelly did so; the Fryer sayd, I will take an other tyme to waite uppon him; some few days after, hee came again; Dee orderd Kelly if it wear the same person to deny him again; he did so, at which the Frier was very angry, tell thy M^r. I came to speak with him and to do him good because here is a great Scholler and famous, but now tell him he putt forth a book and dedicated it to the Emperor; (its called *Monas Heiroliphicas*²⁴⁴) hee understands it not; I wrote it my selfe, I came to instruct him therein, and in some other more profound things; do thou Kelly come along with mee; I will make thee more famous than thy Master Dee.

Kelly was very apprehensive of what the Frier delivered and thereuppon suddenly retyred from Dee and wholly applied unto the Frier, and of him either had the Elixir ready made or the perfect method of its preparation and making; the poor Frier lived a very short tyme after; whether hee died of a naturall death, or was otherways poisoned or made away by Kelly, the Merchant who related this did not certainly know. How Kelly died afterwards at Prague you well know²⁴⁵; hee was born at Worcester, and had been an Apothecary; not above 30 yeares since; hee had a sister lived in Worcester who had some gold, made by her brothers Projection.

Doctor Dee lived at Mortlack in Surrey, very poor, inforced many tymes to sell some book or other to buy his dinner with, as Doctor Napper of Lindford in Buckinghamshire oft related, who knew him very well.

I have read over his book of Conference with Spirits, and there by perceive many weaknesses in the mennay of that way of Mosaicall learning: but I conceive, the reason why hee had not more plain resolutions and more to the purpose was because Kelly was very vicious, unto whom the Angells wear not obedient or willingly did declare the Questions propounded: but I could give other reasons: but they are not for paper.

I was very familiar with one Sarah Skelhorn, who had been Speculatrix unto one Arthur Gauntlett about Grays Inn Lane, a very lewd fellow, professing Phisick; this Sarah had a perfect sight, and indeed the best eyes for that purpose I ever yet did see; Gauntlets bookes after hee was dead wear sold, after I had perused them, to my Scholler Humfrys; there wear rare notions in them; this Sarah lived long tyme even until her death with one M^{rs}. Stockman in the Isle of Purbeck, and died about 16 yeares since; her M^{rs}. one tyme beeing desirous to accompany her mother the Lady Beckonsfeild unto London, who lived 12 miles from her habitation, caused Sarah to inspect her Christall to see if shee, viz: her mother, was gone, yea or

²⁴⁴ *Monas Hieroglyphica*, Antwerp c.1564. It is this book that Dee claimed to have written in twelve days.

²⁴⁵ It is reported that Kelley died from injuries sustained when attempting to escape imprisonment.

not; the Angells appeared and showed her mother opening a trunk and taking out a red wastcoat, whereby she perceived shee was not gone; next day shee went to her mothers, and there, as shee entred the Chamber, shee was opening a trunk and had a red wastcoat in her hand. Sarah told mee oft, the Angells would for some yeares follow her and appear in every room of the house, until she was weary of them.

This Sarah Skelhorn, her Call unto the christall begann,
Oh ye good Angells, onely and onely, etc.

Ellen Evans, daughter of my Tutor Evans, her Call unto the Christall was thus

O Micol, o tu Micol, regina Pigmerorum, veni, etc.

Syth I have related of the Queen of Fairyes, I shall acquaint you that its not for every one, or every person that those Angelicall Creatures will appear unto, though they may say over the Call, over and over; or indeed is it given to very many persons to indure their glorious aspects; even very many have failed just at that present when they are ready to manifest themselves; even persons otherwise of undaunted spirits and firme resolutions are hearwith astonished and tremble, as it happened not many yeares since with us; a very sober discreet person of vertuous life and Conversation was beyond measure desirous to see something in this nature; hee went with a freind into my Hurst wood; the Queen of Fairyes was invocated; a gentle murmuring wynd came first; after that, amongst the hedges a smart whirlwind; by and by, a strong blast of wynd blew uppon the face of the Freind – and the Queen appearing a little. No more I beseech you (quoth the freind) my hart fayles, I am not able to indure longer; nor was hee, his black curling hair rose up, and I beleeve a bullrush would have beat him to the ground; hee was soundly laughed at, etc.

in a most illustrious glory. [E.A]

+ M^r. Gilbert Wakering gave him his Berrill when hee dyed; it was of the largeness of a good big Orange, set in silver with a Cross on the top and another on the Handle, and round about engraved the names of these Angells, Raphael, Gabriell, Uriell. [E.A.]

Sr. Robert Holborn Kt.²⁴⁶, brought once unto mee Gladwell⁺ of Suffolk, who had formerly had Sight and Conference with Uriel and Raphael; but lost them both by carelessness, so that neither of them both would but rarely appear and then presently bee gone, resolving nothing; hee would have given mee 200^l to have assisted him for their recovery, but I am no such man. Those glorious Creatures, if well commanded and well observed, do teach the M^r. anything hee desires; Amant secreta, fugiunt aperta²⁴⁷. The Fairys love the Southern side of Hills, Mountains, Groves, Neatness and cleanliness in apparrell, a strict diet, an upright life, fervent prayers unto God, conduce much to the assistance of those who are curious these ways.

It hath been ever my happiness to meet with many Raritys in my tyme, unexpectedly; I had a sister lived in the Minorys, in that very house where formerly had lived one Evans, not my Tutor, but an other farr exceeding him in Astrology and all other occult Learning, questioned for his life, about 1612; I am sure it was when the present

²⁴⁶ cf. footnote 70.

²⁴⁷ They love remote places, they flee from open spaces.

Earle of Manchesters father was lord Chief Justice of England; he was found guilty by a peevish Jury, but petitioning King James by a Greek petition as indeed hee was an excellent Grecian, by my Soule, sayd King James, this man shall not dye, I think he is a better Grecian than any of my Bishops; so his life was spared, etc. My sisters M^r., a new modelling the house, breaking up a window, under which wear Evans secret manuscripts, and 2 molds in brass, one of a man, the other of a woaman, I bought Molds and⁺ books for five shillings; the secrets wear wrote in an imperfect greek Character, but after I found the Vowells, all the rest wear presently clear inough.

+ from these MS he gained his first knowledge.
[EA]

You see, most worthy Sir, I write freely, its out of the sincerity of my affection, many things wrote by mee having been more fitt for a Sepulture then a Book.

But

Quo major est virorum præstantium, tuj similium inopia; eo mihi charior est, et esse debet amicitia tua: quam quidam omnibus officijs, et studijs, quae a summa benevolentia possunt, perpetuo colam.

However, who study the curiositys before named, if they are not very well versed in Astrology, they shall rarely attain their desired Ends. There was in the late tymes of trouble, one Morlack, who pretended unto Speculation, had a Christall, a Call of Queen Mab, one of the Queen of Fairys; hee deluded many thereby, at last I was brought into his company; hee was desired to make invocation, hee did so; nothing appeared or would, 3 or 4 tymes in my company hee was putt uppon to do the worke, but could not; at last hee sayd, hee could do nothing as long as I was in presence, I at last showed him his error, but left him as I found him, a pretended ignoramus.

I may seem to some to write incredibilia, be it so, but knowing unto whom and for whose onely sake I do write them, I am much comforted therewith, well knowing you are the most Knowing man in these Curiosities of any now living in England and therefore it is my hope, these will bee a Present well becomming you to accept.

Præclara omnia quam difficilia sint, his præsertim temporibus, (Celeberrime Armiger) non te fugit.

And therefore I will acquaint you with one memorable story related unto mee by M^r. John Marr²⁴⁸, an excellent mathematician and Geometrician, whom I conceive you remember, hee was servant to King James and Charles the first.

At first when the Lord Nappier of Marchiston made publiq his Logarithms, M^r. Briggs²⁴⁹ then Reader of the Astronomy Lecture at Gresham Colledge London, was so surprised with admiration of them, that hee would have no quietness in himselfe, until hee had seen that noble person the Lord Marchiston, whose onely invention

²⁴⁸ John Marr, clerk of the kitchen to the Prince of Wales, later Charles II. He was highly skilled in mathematics and had constructed sun-dials for the king. (Christopher J.Scriber, ODNB)

²⁴⁹ Henry Briggs (bap.1561, d.1631, mathematician.

they wear; hee acquaints John Marr hearwith, who went into Scotland before M^r. Briggs, purposely to bee there when those 2 so learned persons should meet at Edinborough: M^r. Briggs appoints a certain day when to meet at Edinborough, but fayling thereof, the Lord Nappier was doubtfull hee would not come; it happened one day as John Marr and the Lord Nappier wear speaking of M^r. Briggs; Ah John, sayth Marchiston, M^r. Briggs will not now come; at the very instant, one knocks at the Gate, John Marr hasted down and it prooved M^r. Briggs, to his great contentment; hee brings Master Briggs upp into my Lords chamber where allmost one quarter of an houre was spent, each beholding the other allmost with admiration, before one word was spoken.

At last M^r. Briggs begann

My lord, I have undertaken this long journey purposely to see your person, and to know by what Engine of witt or Ingenuity you came first to think of this most excellent helpe unto Astronomy, viz: the Logarithms, but My Lord beeing by you found out, I wonder nobody else found it out before; now known, it is so easy: hee was nobly entertained by the Lord Nappier, and every summer after that during the Lords beeing alive this venerable man M^r. Briggs went purposely unto Scotland to visit him; Tempora non mutantur.

These 2 persons wear worthy men in their tyme, and yet the one, viz: Lord Marchiston, was a great Lover of Astrology, but Briggs the most Satyricall man against it, that hath been known; but the reason hearof I conceive was, that Briggs was a severe Presbiterian, and wholly conversant with persons of that judgment, whereas the Lord Marchiston was a generall Schollar and deeply read in all Divine and humane Historys: its the same Marchiston who made that most serious and learned exposition uppon the Revelation of St. John, it beeing the best that ever yet appeared in the worlde.

Ashmole's Addendum to the Manuscript

This far proceeded M^r: William Lilly in setting downe the account of his Lyfe, with some other things of Noate: now shall be added something more which afterwards happened during his retyrement at his House at Hersham, untill his death.

He left London in the year 1665 (as he hath before noted) and betooke himselfe to the study of Phisick, in which having arrived at a competent degree of Knowledge, assisted by dilligent observation and practise, he desired his old friend M^r. Ashmole, to obtayne of his Grace Doctor Shelden then Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, a Lycence for the practise of Phisick; which upon application to his Grace, and producing a ⁺Testimoniall under the hands of two Phisitians of the Colledge in London on M^r: Lillys behalfe, he most readily granted.

⁺ 8: Octob: 1670.
[E.A.]

Hereupon he began to practise more openly, & with good success, & every Saterday rode to Kingston, where the poorer sort flockt to him from severall parts & received much benefit by his advice & prescriptions, which he gave them freely & without money; from those that were more able he now and then received a Shilling, & sometymes an halfe Crowne, if they offered it to him, otherwise he demanded nothing: and in truth his Charity toward poore people was very great, no less then the care & paines he tooke in considering & weighing their particular Cases, & applying propper remedies to their Infirmities, which gained him extraordinary credit & estimation.

[E.A.]

From Ashmole's Autobiographical Notes...,

[16 August 1674]

He [Lilly] was of a strong Constitution, & continued generally in good health, till the 16th: of August 1674, when a violent humour discovered it selfe in red spots all over his Body, with litle Pushes in his head. This, in the Winter following was seconded by a distemper, whereof he fell sick, & was let blod in the left foote, a litle above the Ankle.

[18 December 1674]

M^r: Lilly fell sick, & was let blood in the left foote a litle above the Anle (new Moone the day before, & the Sun Ecclipsed).

[20 December 1674]

M^r: Lilly had a great paine in his left Leg which lasted 24 houres, & put him into a great Feaver.

[20 - 28 December 1674]

28. Dec:

The 20th of December following, a humour descended from his head by his left side from 8 a'clock at Night till the next Morning, & then staying a while in the calfe of his Leg, at length descended toward his Toes, the anguish whereof put him into a Feaver. This humour fixed in two places on the top of his left foote (one in that where he was let blood two daies before) which (upon application of Plegets²⁵⁰) growing ripe, they were lanced by M^r: Agar of Kingston his Apothecary²⁵¹ (& no less a skilfull Chirurgeon) after which he began to be at ease, his Feaver abated, & within five Moneths the Cure was perfected.

[7 November 1675 and later]

The 7th: of November 1675. he was taken with a violent fitt of Vomiting, for some houres, to which a Feaver succeeded, that continued 4 Moneths; this brought his Body exceeding low, together with dimnes in his Eyes, which after occasioned him to make use of M^r: Henry Coley as his Amanuensis to transcribe (from his dictates) his Astrologically Judgments for the yeare 1677. but the Monethly Observations for that yeare, were written with his owne hand sometye before, though by this tyme he was grown very dim sighted. His Judgments & Observations for the Succeding yeares till his death (So also for the yeare 1682) were all composed by his directions, M^r: Coley coming to Hersham the begining of every Sommer, & staid there, till by Conference with him, he had dispatched them for the Press: to whome at these oppertunities, he comunicated his way of Judgment & other Astrologically Arcana's.

[Early 1681]

In the yeare 1681. he had a Flux, which weakned him much, yet after some tyme his strength encreased, but now his sight was wholly taken from him, not having any Glymmering as formerly.

[4 June 1681]

The 4th: of June M^r: Ashmole went to visit him, & found he knew him, but spake litle, & some of that scarce intelligible; for the Palsey began now to seize upon his Tongue.

²⁵⁰ Pledget: a small compress, often covered in some medicament, for applying over a wound or sore. (OED)

²⁵¹ Thomas Agar (d.1703?), he was the first mayor of Kingston on Thames, 1685-6, and bailiff twelve times. Agar is mentioned in Lilly's will and referred to as his "son" in his correspondence with Ashmole. As there is no evidence of Lilly's ever having children, we might assume that he viewed Agar as his son. Certainly, use of terms such as "family" often referred to whomever made up the household and included employees and those for whom the householder was responsible. Such a term might also refer to a more esoteric relationship such as that between Ashmole and William Backhouse.

[8 June 1681]

The 8th: of June he lay in a great Agony, insoemuch that the Sweat followed drop after drop, which he bare with wonderfull courage & patience (as indeed he did all his sicknes) without Complaint.

[9 June 1681]

3H: A:M: M^r: Lilly died.

And about 3 a'clock the next Morning he dyed, without any shew of trouble or pangs; imediately before his breath went from him, he Sneezed three tymes.

He had often in his lyfetime desired M^r: Ashmole to take care of his Funerall, & now his Widdow desired the same; whereupon M^r: Ashmole obteyned leave from Sir Mathew Andrews (who had the Parsonage of Walton) to bury him in the Chancell of that Church.

[10 June 1681]

The 10th: of June his Corps were brought thither & received by the Minister (in his Surplis) at the Lichegates, who passing before the Body into the Church, read the first part of the Office for the Buriall of the dead. In the reading Deske he said all the Evening Service & after performed the rest of the Office (as established by Law) in the Chancell at the Interment which was about 8 a'clock in the Evening, on the left side of the Communion Table, M^r: Ashmole assisting at the laying him in his Graue, whereon afterwards he placed a faire black marble Stone...²⁵²

[12 June 1681]

Shortly after his death, M^r: Ashmole bought his Library of Bookes of M^{rs}: Ruth Lilly (his Widdow & Executrix) for 50li: he having oft tymes in his lyfe tyme exprest that if M^r: Ashmole would giue that summe, he should haue them.

²⁵² This marble stone and its inscription can still be seen at St. Marys Church, Kingston upon Thames.

Appendix 1

Transcription of Lilly's Licence to Practice as a Physician

Gilbertus Providentia Divina Cantuarionsis Archioprscoque totiūo Angliæ Primao et Metropolitanus Ditecto Nobio in expo??? Gulielmo Lilly in Medicinio Professori Salutem gratia et bene dictionem. Cum ex fidedigna relacone acceperimuo Te in arte sive facultato Medicinæ – non modicum tempuo versatum fuisse multsque de salute et sanitate corporio vere desperatio (Dea omni potente adjuvente) subvenisse, eosque sanasse, Necnon in aste quodcamque multaue agitaue laudabili testimonia pro experientia fidelitate, diligentia et industria tuio circa curao quao ressoperia opagendao in hujusmodi Arte Medicinæ merita commendatum esse Ad practicandigiti et exercandi deam Artem Medicinæ in et -- totam Provinciam n-am Cant (civitate Londinium et circuitu septem Milliarum eidem proxadjacon tantummodo exceptio) ex causio prædictio et alijo ---- in hac gote justo moventibuo **Præstito** primituo ap te Juramento de agnascendo Regiam supremam potestatem in causio ecclesiastico et temporabibuo ac de renuntiando refutando et recusando omni omnimodæ Jurisdicconi, protestati authoritati et supioritati forneio juxta vim formam et effectum Statuti Parliamenti hujuo inclyti Regni Angliæ in ea gote editi et provisi quantum nobio -- Statuta hujuo Regni Angliæ liceat et non abiter neque alio modo Te admittimuo et approbamuo, **Tibque** Licentiam et Facultatem nostra in hac gote **Tenore** Præsontium quamdiu Te bene & laudabili ior gessorio benigne concedimus et elargimur. **In cujus rei Testimonium Sigillum** (quo in hac gote utimur) præsentibus apponifreimuo. **Dat:** Undecimo die Mensie Octobrio Anno Domini 1670. Nostraque Translationio Anno Octavo.

Radulphus Snowe
et
Edmundus Sherman

Reg: [?]

Rich: Lloyd Sur.

Appendix 2

Last Will and Testament of William Lilly

In the Name of God Amen – William Lilly –

I William Lilly of Hersham in the Parish of Walton upon Thames in the Countie of Surrey Student in Astrology being at the writing hereof of perfect memory doe make and ordaine this my last will and Testament in manner and forme following rendring my Soule into the hands of God in the Body I leave to be buried at the diffraction of Ruth Lilly my wife, my worldly Estate I thus disposest of I give and bequeath unto Ruth Lilly my wife during her naturall life all that parcel of Ground called the Hurst wood containing by estimation Eighteene Acres be it more or lesse and all the profitts thereof. It I give and bequeath unto Ruth Lilly my wife during her naturall life the Close called Conyers adjoining to the Hurst wood and all the profits thereof. It. I give and bequeath unto my said wife during her naturall life all thos sic closes called Roberts lane Closes being by estimation fifteene Acres be they more or lesse and all the profits thereof. It. I give and bequeath unto my said wife during her naturall life the wood Leacroft and the Corner Leacroft and the Three Closes called Glinons [?] lying all together and containing by estimation Two and Twenty Acres be they more or lesse and all the profits thereof: the reversion and reversions of all which said Lands after the decease of Ruth Lilly my said wife I give and bequeath unto Carlton Whitlock Sonn of Sir Boulstrode Whitlock Kt. and to his heires and Assignes forever. It. I give and bequeath unto my Brother Robert Lilly the sume of Five pounds. It. I give unto William Lilly his Sonne the Summe of Twentie Shillings. Item I give unto my Sister Suzan Benton the Sume of Tenn Shillings. It. [deleted, see below]

All which said Legacies to be paid within one yeare next after my Decease. It. I desire of my wife that she will give unto Mary Willson at the day of her marriage Twenty pounds for a peece of Plate. Item I will unto everyone of my Six servants the Sume of Twenty shillings a peece. It. I give unto the Poore of the Parish of Walton Towne the Summe of Five pounds at the Day of my Buriall by my good Friend Thomas Best. It. I give and bequeath unto the Poore of Hersham and Burwood the sume of Five pounds to be distributed by Henry Rogerson and John Coles at the day of my Buriall. It. all the rest of my Goods Cattelle Chattels Reall and Personall moveables and immoveables plate money jewels houshall stuff Library of Bookes or whatever is knowne to be mine I give and bequeath unto Ruth Lilly my wife whome I nominate my full and sole Executrix of this my last

Will and Testament hereby revoking and renouncing all former wills and Testaments by me in anywise heretofore made or declared. In witness hereof hereunto I have Subscribed my name and set my seale the Fifth of January in the Six and twentieth yeare of the Raigne of our Sovereigne Lord King Charles the Second One thousand Six Hundred and Seventy fower: William Lilly: Sealed declared and delivered up by the said William Lilly in the presence of those witnesses whose names are Subscribed Thomas Agar, Henry Rogerson.

Obliterated

Ann Rogersuns Legacy of £5: - - - by me William Lilly: 8^o Jan: 1677/8: Richard Stevens, Thomas Teel: William South.



[illegible]

Appendix 4

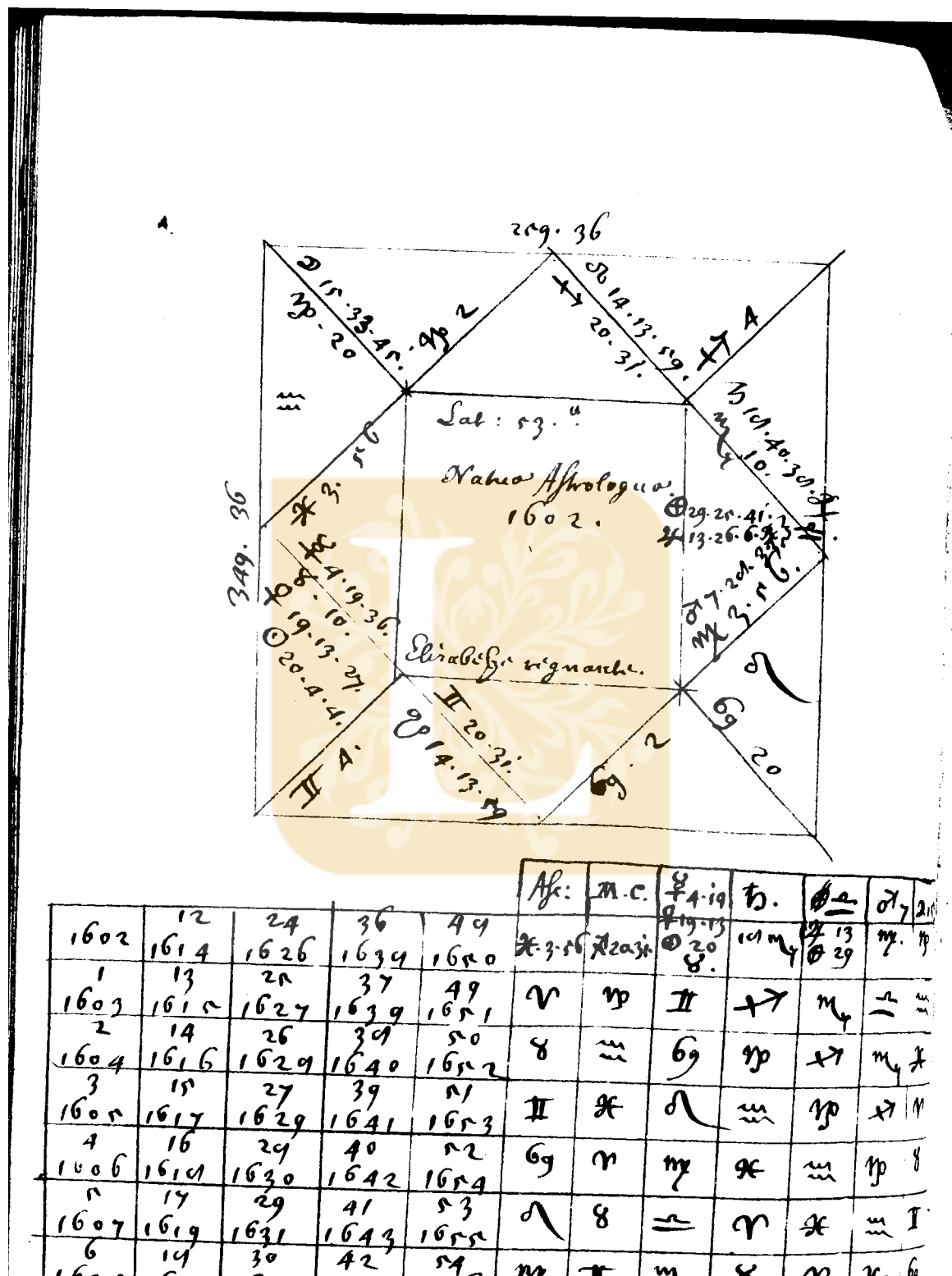
Nativities

Most of the following nativities have been calculated from the data provided in various sources as quoted. However, only those which are copies of originals can be accepted as accurate representations of what the astrologer delineated.

N.B. Charts are here calculated in the Julian Calendar using astrological software. When the year number is near to changing in March, the software makes no allowance for that, so year numbers have been advanced by one where necessary. For example, William Oughtred was born on 5th March 1574 (JC), software will make up for the difference with the Gregorian Calendar, but in this case the year will be 1575 in modern accounting where the year begins on the 1st January.



William Lilly's Nativity



Elias Ashmole

The first of the two natiivities of from *Notes* where Professor josten provides a facsimile which is partly in Ashmole's hand. The second whilst very similar shows differences and is from Lilly's full delineation of Ashmole's nativity (this will be translated and published soon.)

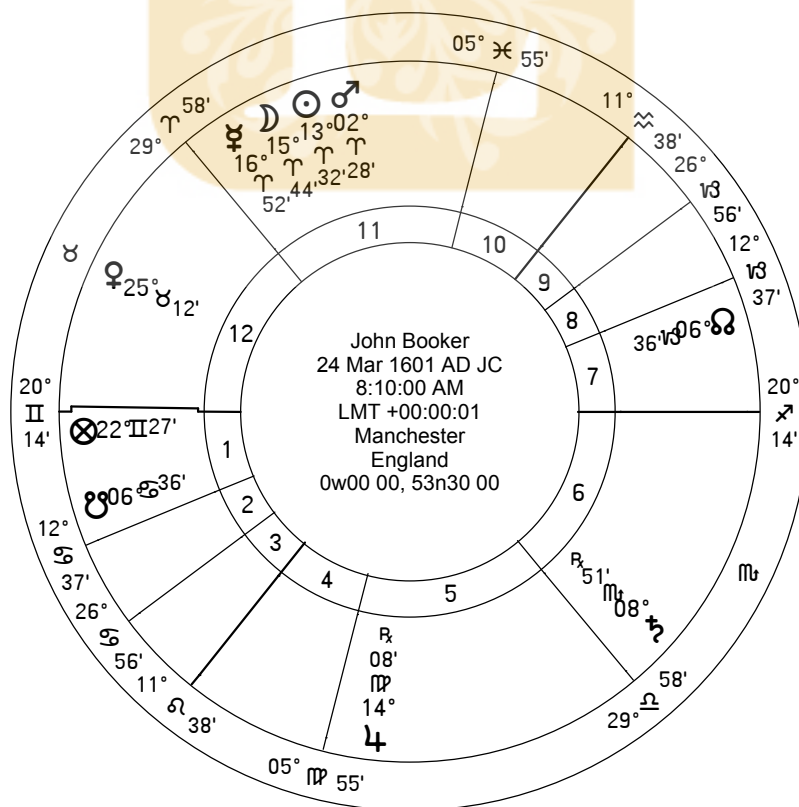


John Booker

There is some confusion regarding the year of Booker's birth. The new year began at the Vernal (Spring) Equinox which, of course, varies annually. However, in 1600, 1601, and 1602 the Equinox occurred on the 10th March (OS). Around the time of the year change annotations would be made as 1600/1, 1601/2, and 1602/3. In each of the following examples the date, given by Booker's contemporaries, is noted as 1601. This has led to confusion as to whether this means 1600/1, or 1601/2.

Aubrey gives the date as "March 23, 1601, 20h 10' P.M." (Aubrey 112), and Gadbury repeats this (Gadbury 181). Harvey draws no conclusions, but accepts "with reservations" the year as 1600/1 (Harvey 1:116). Josten quotes the *Dictionary of National Biography* giving the year as 1603 (Notes 401), the *DNB* gives their source for that year as a nativity in the Ashmolean MSS. The revised edition (*ODNB*) gives a date of 1602 without quoting the source. Ashmole gives no clue (Notes). Harvey comments that in the 1822 edition of Lilly's *Life and Times* there is an engraving of Booker which includes his personal sigil. Around that sigil is his birth date and time which is exactly the same as that provided by Aubrey and Gadbury.

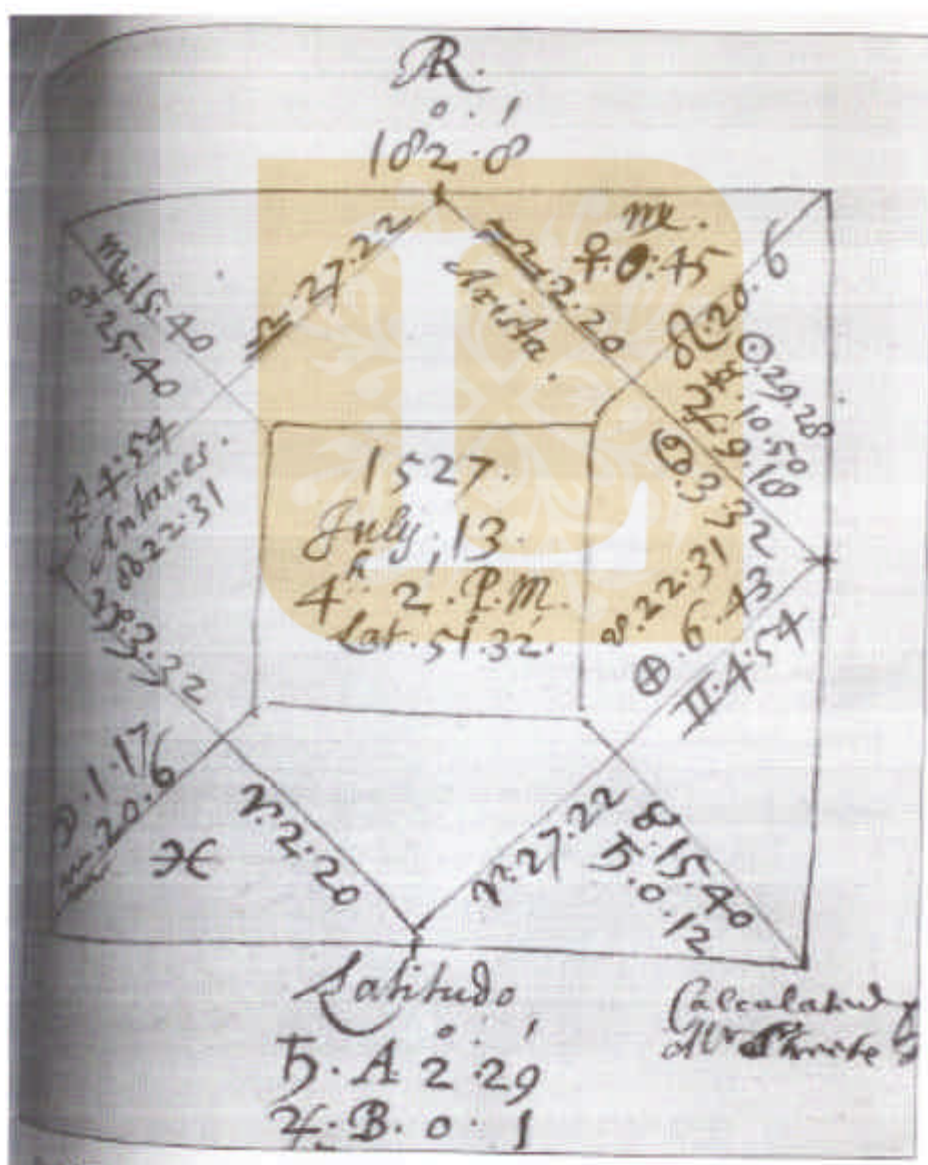
Booker was a personal friend of William Lilly and Elias Ashmole, and it would be a safe assumption to make that they would know his birth data accurately, then passing it on to Aubrey. Therefore the following nativity is calculated for 8.10 am 24th March 1600/1 (OS) at Manchester.

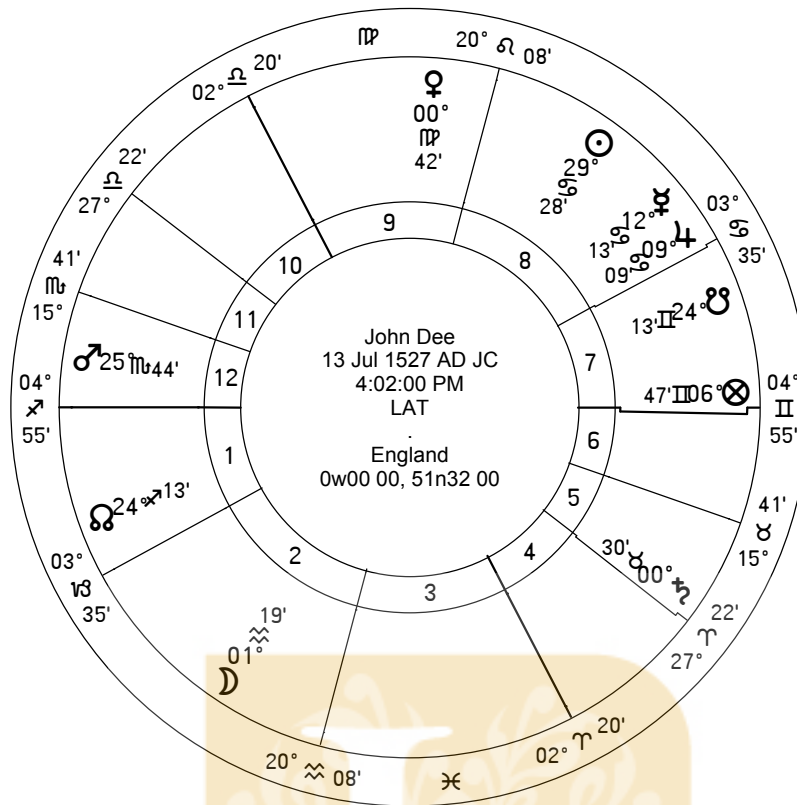


Doctor John Dee

Aubrey provides these data attributing it to a copy he made from “John Dee’s papers in the hands of Elias Ashmole (Aubrey 211). “Johannes Dee, natus Londini, 1527, Julii 13, 4h 2’ P.M.”.

The following chart was reproduced in *The Queen's Conjuror* by Benjamin Wooley and was found in the Ashmolean collection in the Bodleian. A note in Ashmole's hand reads, "Calculated by Mr. Streete". This implies that the chart was not simply copied from an original, but recalculated which presents something of a problem. While this is not the place to enter into a discussion of the mathematics of astrological calculations, it is an opportune moment to extend my opening remarks.





Streete's calculations closely approximate those resulting from the use of computer software. All house cusp positions using the Regiomontanus system are within three minutes of arc of each other. Likewise the planetary positions are within twenty minutes of arc, except Mercury which holds a difference of one and a quarter degrees. However, we should not be misled by the similarity between the mathematician's results and those of the computer. It is unusual for there to be such a close comparison.

Thomas Streete (1622-1689)²⁵³ was acknowledged and respected as an astronomer and mathematician. Although not a member of the Royal Society his work on longitude was recommended and recognised by some of its leading members. His astronomical tables (*Astronomia Carolina: a New Theorie of Coelestial Motions*, 1661) were highly praised and continued to be the foremost of their kind into the 18th century. The ODNB provides an enthusiastic appreciation of Street's work. Aubrey notes that "He had the true motion of the moon by which he could doe it - (he hath finished the tables of the moon and also of Mercury, which was never made perfect before)..." (Aubrey 238).²⁵⁴

The accuracy of Dee's nativity when compared to modern computations suggests that

²⁵³ Aubrey provides a clear example of how date notation can become confused (see John Booker's nativity). He notes his birth as 5th March 1621, i.e. before the year changed at the Spring Equinox to 1622.

²⁵⁴ Aubrey also provides Streete's birth data as "natus March 5th, 1621, at 5h 43' 12" P.M., latitude 51° 46' ". Streete was born in Cork, Ireland.

the talented Streete did indeed recalculate this horoscope and did not copy it from Dee's original. This presents the aforementioned problem that this might well not be the same horoscope that Dee himself calculated. We would do well to remember that the heavens do not always conform to the programmer's algorithm whereas the astrologers of old would often combine observation with mathematics. Therefore, if Dee's own copy of his horoscope is different from Streete's calculations that does not mean that Dee was wrong.

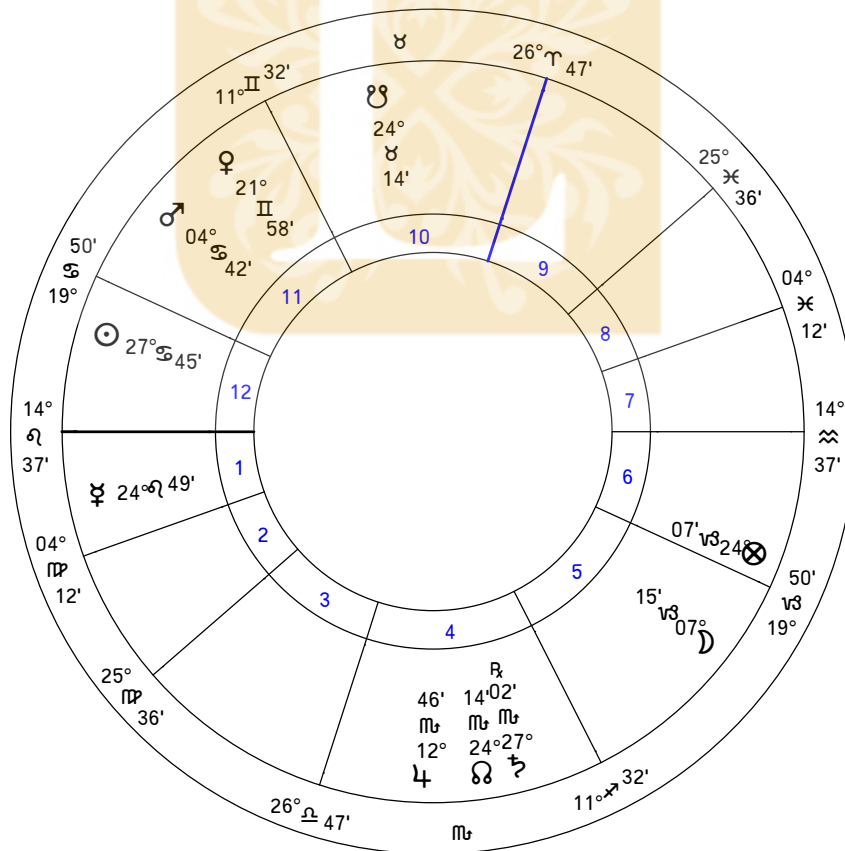


Sir Kenelm Digby

We rely again on Aubrey's reading of documents having belonged to Richard Napier and in the hands of Ashmole. Ashmole quotes as follows: "Sir Kenelme Digby natus July 11, 5h 40' A.M. 1603, 14 Leo ascending,". He goes on to note that there is another horoscope giving the time and Ascendant as 4h A.M. and 26° Cancer rising, and furthermore that there are two other horoscopes with Leo and Cancer ascending. (Aubrey 1:224) Harvey provides one further birth time of 5.30 a.m., but unusually does not provide his source (Harvey 1:124).

Digby was born at Gayhurst in Buckinghamshire and the following horoscope is calculated for 52°N which is reasonably accurate, but in any case reflects the common use of this latitude for locations south of Leicester. It appears that longitude was inconsistently applied and obviously not from the Greenwich meridian instituted later.

The following calculation uses the time of 5.40 a.m. simply because of its appearance of having been rectified from the 'rounded' half-hour alternatives. This does not assume that this birth time is correct, but rather accepts that this might have been the basis of the horoscope delineated by the astrologer. Moreover Aubrey describes him as "...such a goodly handsome person, gigantesque [very tall] and great voice, and had so gracefull



elocution and noble address, etc., that had he been drop't out of the clowdes in any part of the world, he would have made himselfe respected.", which descriptions are traditionally more suited to the sign of Leo than to Cancer.



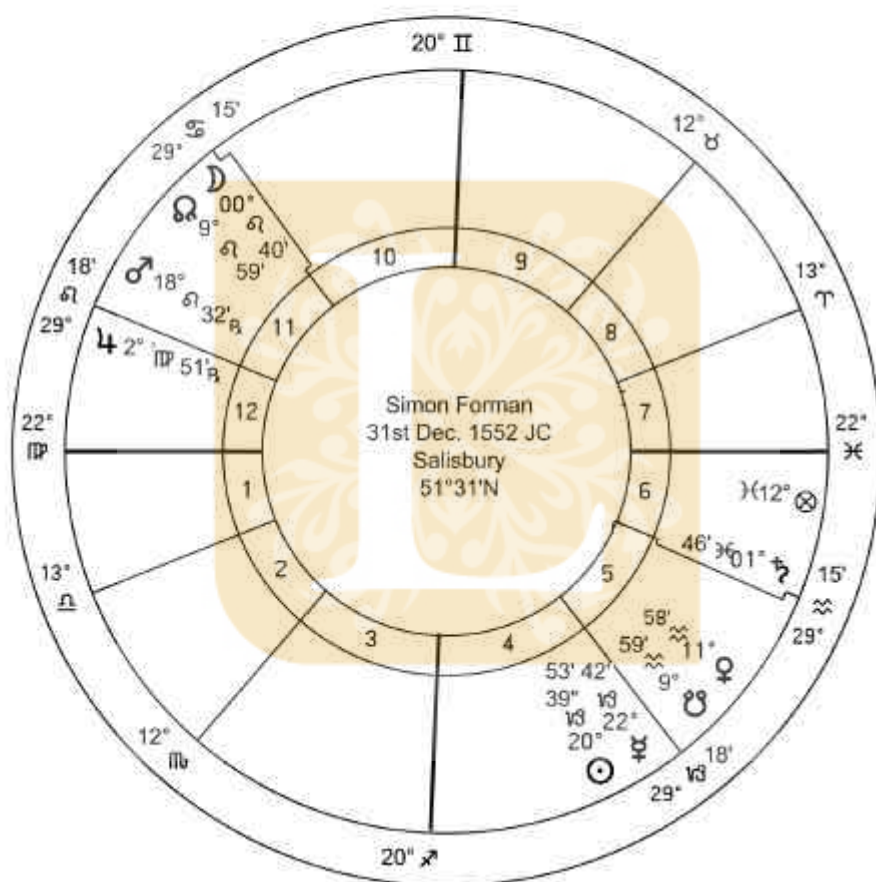
Dr. Simon Forman

"Bodleian MS. Ashm. 206. Fol. 218. has Forman's nativity by himself:

Simon Forman the Sonn of Maria and Willm. Borne 1552. 7 post merid at 45 mite post 9. Sub latitud. 51.30.31 31 decebr.

The positions given by Forman for himself are these:" (Harvey, a list of the positions then follows.)

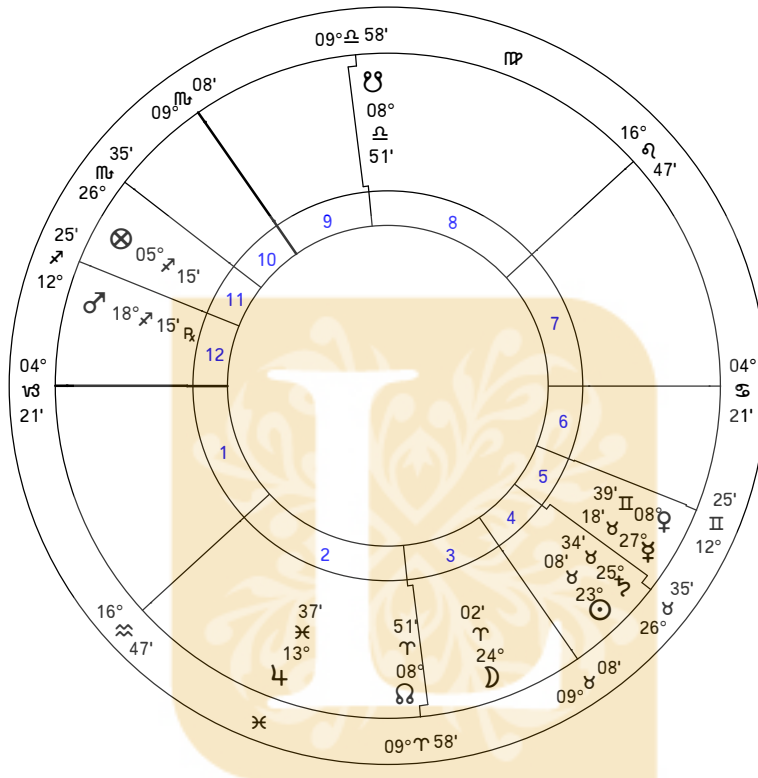
The following chart is a copy of that in Forman's own hand in the above-mentioned manuscript.



Doctor Richard Napier

“Dr. Richard Napier:- he was no Doctor, but a divine (rector Lindfordiensis) and practised physick – natus Maii 4, 1559, 11h. 4’ P.M. in urbe Exoniae.” (*Aubrey*)

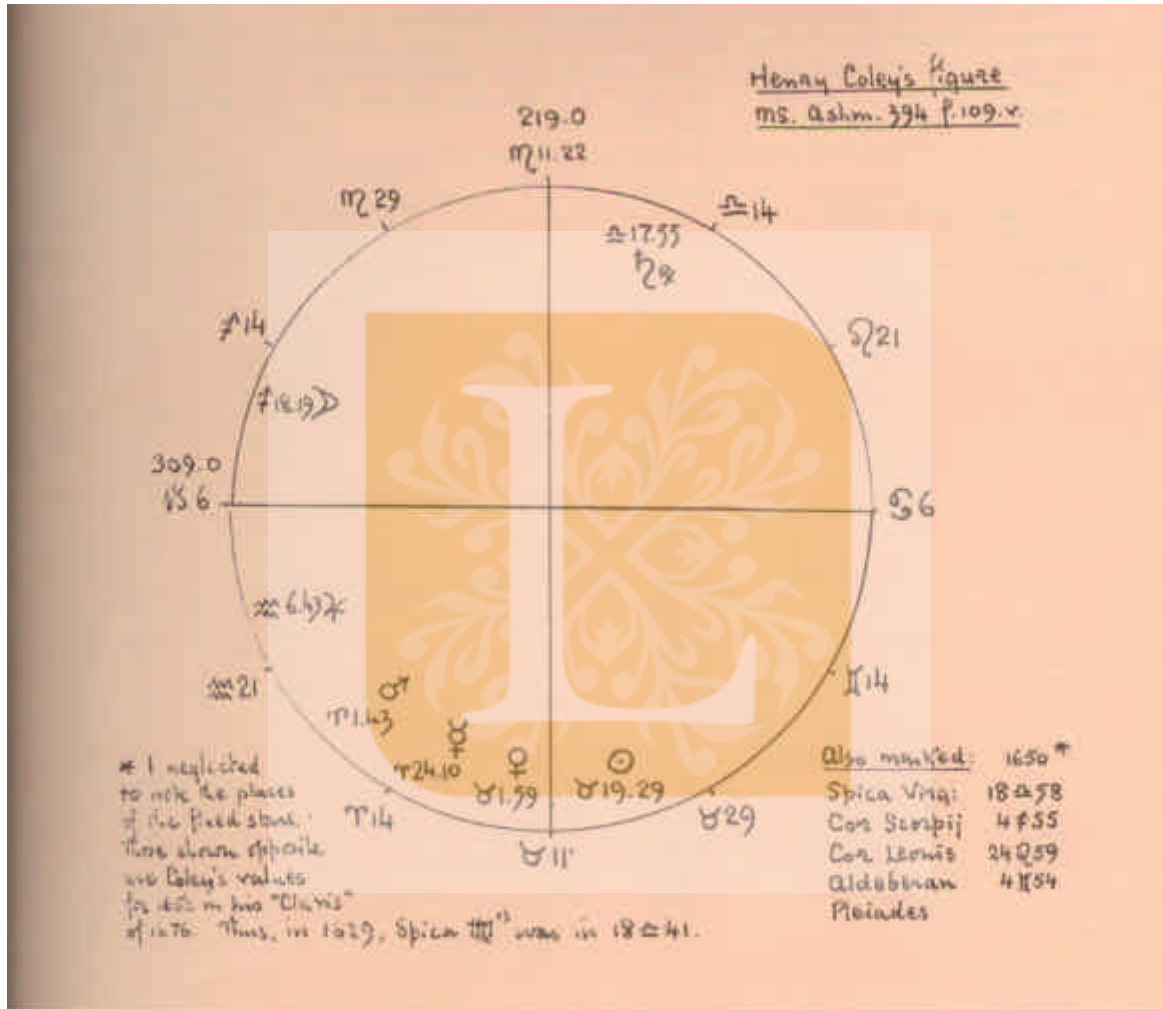
The following chart is speculatively based upon these data, “Exoniae” being Exeter in Devon.



Ruth Nedham (Needham)

"MS. Ashm. 394 contains 276 ff. of transcriptions in Ashmole's hand. At fol. 109.v. is the following:

'Nativity of Ruth 3^d wife of M^r. W^m. Lilly, with M^r. Hen: Coley's Judgm^t. Thereon. Nata 29. Ap: 1629 11^h. 28. P.M. 2 â q 7 ad p # & o 5 sub Lat. 51°32' ' Here follows Coley's figure...' I neglected to note the places of the fixed stars."



'Tis very p[ro]bable this may be the true position of the Heavens, at the Birth of the Native (or neere it) I shall not be positive in regard the day is not exactly given. The native is moderately well described by the sign J and W in G with the Virgins Spike [Spica], in ' to R, to which may be added the position of V in K. in the Ascendant, w^{ch} never failes (in a Naturall Sence) to give a very obliging temper, disposition & deportment: & further I add, that S in A in pfect \$ to the R, adorns the Intellect, &

gives the Native a most serene understand^g above the generallity of her Sex (w^{ch} is excellently verified in the Native & this I may boldly affirme without flattery. Now that she may be of a crazy Consitution the " of W & S may very well intimate, as the one being Lord of the Ascend^t & the other of the sixt house, very aptly denote the same. – And for the stricktnes of her Judgm^t In point of Religion the afores^d: Configuracōn also the position of W. In the 9th house in his Exaltacōn neere so benevolent a fixed Star (ie Spica) & Retrograde in my Judgm^t (according to the Rule of second Causes) doth eminently promote the same.

This being premised concerning the Face of Heavin in generall, the Fate of the Native (considering her quality & capacity oif Birth) should be very ppitious & happy; for here is no less then three planets in their essential dignities, also V (partly Lord of the seconde) in the Ascend^t & second House, is not only in ' to the R, but in \$ to the very Cusp of the second House, with many other Arguments w^{ch} might be vuged very considerable. Hence the Native neede not doubt but (during lyfe) to live much above the frownes of Fortune, very comfortably & and in much tranquility, & heere it must be understood, that a Womans Fate is partly included in her Husbände. – Now since there appeares so great Sympathy betweene the Natives Geniture & her Husbände (as I am well acquainted with) there is no doubt but the Native may continue to the end of her daies in as great splendor as whe will desire, as to the concernes of this world, therefore this may be something of encouragem^t Unto her that her Fate is Naturally so happy –

11 Aprill 1680

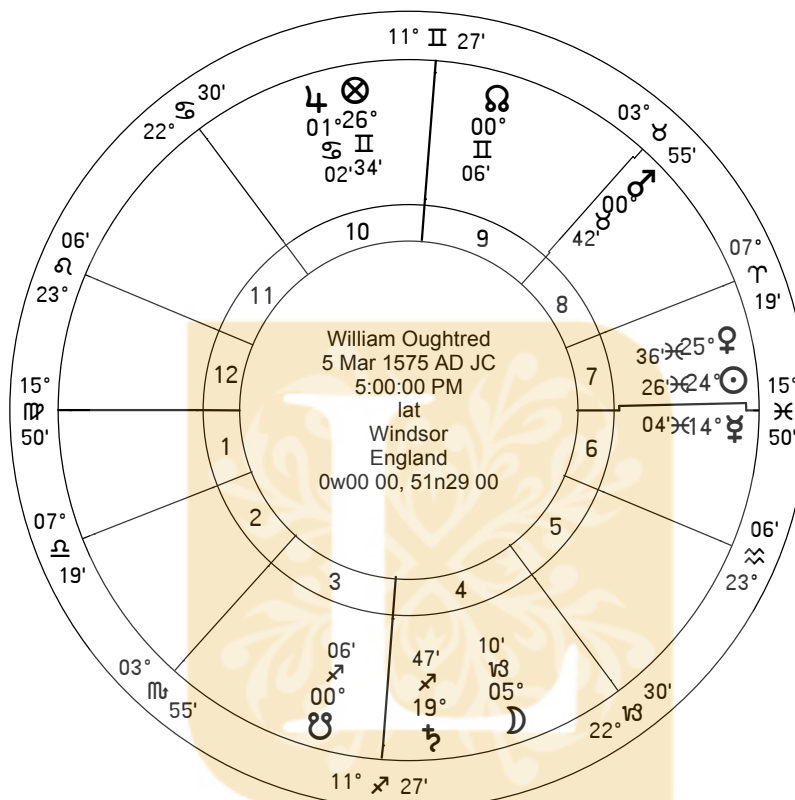
Tis to be observed that W is now neere in " to he [sic] Ascend^t by Transit, & will within few moneths come to the Quartile of his opposite place, w^{ch} advises the native to be exceedingly carefull to prserve her health & keep from cold. W in D may afflict the Stomack & consequently the Head, but when he is once pasd out of D into E I hope she wilbe more healthfull, ye rarely so strong in Body as might be wished, yet moderately cheerfull & pleasant to her owne great content, & the satisfaction of her tender Husband, & this I comit you both to Gods proteccōn, most heartily wishing you both health & long lyfe, & finally eternally felicity hereafter.
H.C.'" (Harvey)

William Oughtred

Aubrey provides the following information (Aubrey 105):

“Gulielmus Oughtred natus 5 Martii 1574, 5h P.M.”.

Using this data the chart below is speculative.



Appendix 5

Beyond the Great Fire: Lilly and Ashmole

by

Sue Ward

*A paper based on a presentation given at the AA Conference,
Bath Spa, September 2004.*

We know too little about William Lilly and his work, but we know enough to avoid constant references to his prediction of the Great Fire of London. As much of an achievement as this might seem, it has become hackneyed and his achievements go beyond that. So, in order to broaden our working knowledge of Lilly, I will offer some lesser known horoscopes and documents with the aim of improving our understanding of the man through his relationship with Elias Ashmole and through his own nativity which I present here. Sometimes more questions are raised than answered, but at least we will have a clearer understanding of what those might be.

In this original research I shall be referring to primary sources in all cases: Lilly's own autobiography in manuscript¹ and Ashmole's autobiographical notes². Manuscript references are provided where relevant.

Lilly' involvement in post-Restoration politics

We begin later in Lilly's life in 1673, at the advanced age of 71 years. After the Restoration in 1660, Lilly, like many other prominent Parliamentary supporters of the Civil War years, found it advisable to exercise caution in his public life. Charles I had promised that, with the exception of the regicides, there would be no reprisals; even so, in 1660 and again in 1661, Lilly was in trouble with the authorities. In the first case he was called before a Parliamentary committee to give evidence regarding Charles I's execution because it was thought that Lilly might know who the executioner had been; in the second case, he was arrested for "fanaticism"³. So, his caution was well-founded although he continued undeterred to publish his annual almanacs with their mundane predictions. But had his enthusiasm for, and involvement in English politics faded? Had he lost his influence and power? This paper provides evidence of Lilly's continuing interest and involvement in public affairs, and of his close connection with the powerful.

The following horoscope⁴ is a clear demonstration of Lilly's enduring authority. While we cannot say for certain that Charles II knew that Ashmole was consulting his friend



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consultation went on for a longer period because there are other similar matters with which Ashmole concerns himself and which can be found in his *Autobiographical Notes*....⁵

The king had prorogued Parliament in April 1671, their first meeting having been in January of that year. During the prorogation another war with the Dutch had erupted and the king needed to finance the military action urgently. His reason for recalling Parliament was solely to obtain money for the war.

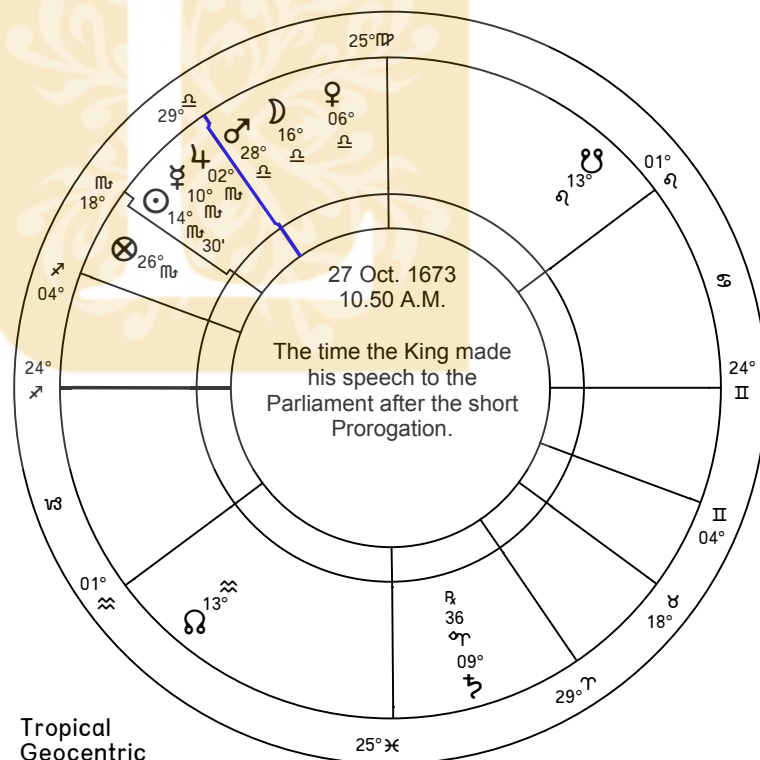
In February of 1673 Parliament did vote for an amount of money, but it was to be spread over three years on condition that the king complied with certain requests. One of these was the Test Act by which every holder of civil or military office had to take the sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to Church of England custom. It was also required that the oaths of supremacy and allegiance had to be sworn, along with a declaration against transubstantiation which was guaranteed to be refused by all Roman Catholics. These conditions were severe, and they brought about the resignation from the admiralty of the King's brother James.⁶

The King's Speech

27 Oct 1673 AD JC
10:57:00 AM
lat
London
England
0w00 00
51n30 00

Considerations
Moon is in the Via Combusta.
Moon is Void of Course.

Aspects
☉ 4°12'31" S
☿ 4°7'58" S
☽ 7°20' S
♂ 4°05' S
♂ 3°40' S
☿ 3°15' S
☽ 1°17' S
♂ 0°32' A
☿ 3°15' A
♂ 3°44' A
☿ 4°12' A
☽ 4°32' A



Tropical
Geocentric
True Node
Regiomontanus

When the Test Act had received royal assent in March, Parliament adjourned. By its next meeting, to which Ashmole's chart refers, the Prince of Orange had deployed agents to excite more opposition.⁷ So, the King's anxiety is understandable. Charles gave ground and Parliament had its way, and although the King got his money, in the following year of 1674, Parliament withdrew England from the war.⁸ This had further serious ramifications for Charles; the war with the Dutch had been joined to support the French, whose king had been subsidising Charles. If Charles could not send military support to the French then the subsidies would cease. It is interesting to keep these important historical points in mind in relation to Lilly's letters to Ashmole on the subject before considering the final judgement.

"30 Oct. 1673"

A letter from William Lilly to Ashmole 'in sheer lane':

'Charissime Patrone, et Ptolemee,

I have seriously weighed and considered your profound judgment, uppon the figure sent mee, and I am very glad of the honor his Majesty did you, but more satisfied at your prudent and well grounded answer about the success – which certainly will correspond with your grave judgment. Mars on the cusp of the M.C. will asperse his honor – and because hee disposeth of Part of Fortune: they will bee ill satisfied with the dispose of monyes, etc. Moon and Mercury are for the Parl: the most inferior planets / Moon in via combust. – Mercury sub radiis, going to combustion, Trine Saturn, And Mars. Saturn Rx. will pass the bill when least expected. Or when Sun Lord of the 8. – South Node in the 8. they will not give plentifully but plead poverty of the subject. But it is Actum agere to add to what you have sayd."

"3 Nov. 1673"

A letter from William Lilly to Ashmole 'in sheer lane':

'Doctissime Patrone

I long to hear what was done on Friday, I fear his Majestys occasions found Difficulty: it was malus dies. you will find Mars in the 10th: many aspersions uppon – but when the male aspects separate – melius sperandum / the Presb. have frequent meetings, more then of late, pray much for the Parliament – the hand of Joab¹¹ is in all these difficultys – vincet qui patitur - ..."

"6 Nov. 1673"

A letter from William Lilly to Ashmole 'in sheer lane' -- '& a Hamper':

'Docte Patrone

Vincit qui patitur. our Novembers observations¹³ come near the present Matters now agitated. You mistake the Significator of the King – had the Chauncellor onely spoke, you had been right – but himself speaking hath no other Significator but the Lord of the ascendant – which you may know, by the 4 Votes – all which reflect on his Majestys honor etc., its true, when Kings speake, the Sun hath some signification- but in the main, is still the Asc. and his Lords- and this is Naturall-well: I hope well, and am positive for his Majesty in all conferences- assured that those prophetick spirits who long since hinted at him, have delivered nothing but Divine oracles, which shall in fullness of tyme bee verified.: but syth the tymes are so ticklish, I shall acquiesce – Oh Saturn in Aries – and the late Comet therein but syth wee may not be publiq, wee will bee silent in private – however great judgments are impending – this – tibi tantum¹⁴. ...”

The Judgement

Chart square: *“The time the King made his speech to the Parliament after the short prorogation”.*

Beneath that: *“Prorogued 4. Nov following 10H. 30’ A.M. ☽ ad ☿ & ♀.”*

Above the figure: *“☿ upon the Cusp of M.C. will asperse the King’s honour.”* [Extracted from Lilly’s letter.]

Beneath figure: *“♄ Rx, Money will be had when least expected perhaps upon △ ☽ ☉, 18 Nov. ♀ in the 8 They will not give plentifully but plead poverty”.* [Extracted from Lilly’s letter.]

“Upon △ ♄ and ☿ 26 Decem: the bill may pass for money.” [Extracted from Lilly’s letter.]

The Moons applicacon by conj. to ☿ Lord of the 10th: his applicacon by conj. to ♃ Lord of the Ascendant shewes there wilbe a notable harmony & unity betw: the King & Parliament within a few daies

In this passage Ashmole is referring to the King as Mars, ruler of the 10th.

There is no application of the Moon to Mars, they are out of joint moieties. Here and throughout these and Lilly’s comments, they address the actual movements of the planets in the heavens, which is usual in mundane matters.

☿ Lord of the 10th culminating, entring ♄ & disposing of ♃ Lord of the Ascendant & ♄ partly Lord thereof, so also the ☉ & ♄ & ☽ when she enters into ♄ manifests that the King wilbe able to dispose of and controle the House of Commons in all things, shall please him, nor will they be able to carry on any thing if he contradict it

Ashmole is again putting the king to the 10th house. He is saying that the king will be in control because Mars is on the MC and rules it, and that it will soon enter its own sign strengthening it further. Also, the Sun, Mercury and Jupiter are all in Scorpio and in the 10th, so the King will be able to dispose of all of these in due course, as also when the Moon changes signs.

♄ in the second shewes there will meanes bee to which add that the

The 2nd house according to Ashmole represents Parliament's finances, so he says that they have enough money.

☽ is ad___ the Cuspe of the 2nd in the radix [it is at 16° Libra in the event and the natal 2nd is at 11° Libra] spared ["enough to" is deleted] to gratifie the Kings Demands enough though ♄ Lord thereof being Rx. & in his fall will cause it to come hardly, which ☿ disposing both of ♄ and ☾ (the former being in his 2nd house [of the nativity]) he will have a considerable supply.

The Moon is separating from an aspect with the king's natal 2nd house which is at 11° Libra. He thinks this shows that there will be enough money granted to satisfy the kings demands. Although, because Saturn is Rx. and in fall and is ruler of the event 2nd it will be difficult to obtain. But Mars disposes of both the ruler of the 2nd and the POF which is in the natal 2nd, so he judges that the king will get a large sum of money.

The Cusp of the 9th is the degree Ascending in the radix & ♄ Lord thereof disposed by ☿ sig: that Religion Priviledges & Prophets wilbe settled as hee likes, & wars particularly as is already established seeing ♄ is also Lady of the 9th well dignified and posited in the 9th house, But being opposed by ♄ ___ will ___ with great difficulties. ☽ herein is in place of the Duke of Yorkes ♄ & his ♄ in △ to his place there. His ☿ in △ to this Ascendant. His ☾ in the place of ♄ here. All evident testimony he will grow into better esteeme with the parliament then he lately was.

These remarks refer to the nativities of both King Charles and his brother James, the latter having been unpopular for some time and an avowed Roman Catholic.

It is clear why Lilly disagreed with Ashmole. His last letter on the subject of the 6th November 1673 seems to refer to a different or incomplete judgment made by Ashmole, to that referred to in Lilly's letter of the 30th October where he is in agreement with Ashmole.

The king obviously could not "dispose of" and "control" Parliament because, as already mentioned, Parliament insisted on strict conditions and later withdrew England from the war with the Dutch. And so the king's 'special relationship' with the King of France was brought to an end.

Lilly's relationship with Ashmole

One of the things that is made clear from the above correspondence is the trust that each had for the other. Lilly was able to confide in his friend even though their politics and religious practices differed; nevertheless, Lilly would not accept incorrect Astrology and continues to instruct Ashmole. We know that theirs was a close and enduring friendship. It began when, during the evening of Friday 20 November 1646, Jonas Moore (the famous mathematician and Royalist) introduced Ashmole to Lilly. Ignoring the prohibition on Royalist officers, to whose ranks Ashmole had belonged, he returned to London on 30 October 1646.

It is interesting that this followed so soon after Ashmole had joined a Masonic lodge on 16 October 1646. Josten's comments are also interesting; he writes:

"Perhaps his newly acquired masonic connexions had influenced Ashmole's decision. Certainly, on his return to London, his circle of friends soon included many new acquaintances among astrologers, mathematicians, and physicians whose mystical leanings might have predisposed them to membership of speculative lodges, yet it is not known if any of them belonged to the craft. To many orthodox minds the study of mathematics and astrology, which to all intents and purposes still were but two aspects of one discipline, savoured of heresy and atheism, a suspicion which might easily have fostered the formation of mathematicians' lodges or other secret societies, yet no evidence supporting such a conjecture is known."

I would venture to take this further and argue that such a group could well have centred around a mutual interest in the study of the hermetic sciences. We know of Ashmole's longstanding practice of alchemy, as we do Lilly's early magical practices. It is a "conjecture" which often arises when considering William Lilly's life and his wide circle of friends and acquaintances which seems to have flourished in spite of religious, political and social differences. This is especially outstanding when we consider the upheavals of the period which often focused on these differences.

Ashmole notes on 2 January 1647¹⁵ *"At night I dreamed that Mr. Lilly had assured me, he would procure me Jupiter [Mrs March¹⁶] by his art."* Josten thinks that "art" probably means magic, but when referring to the period some twelve years earlier, Lilly says in his autobiography: *"...and since have burned my bookes, which instructed those Curiosities: for after that, I became melancholly, very much afflicted with the Hypochondriack melancholly, growing lean and spare, and every day worse, so that in the year 1635, my infirmity continuing and my acquaintance increasing, I resolved to live in the country, and in March and Aprill 1636 remooved my goods unto Hersham wher I now live, and in may my person, wher I continued until 1641, no notice being taken who or what I was..."*

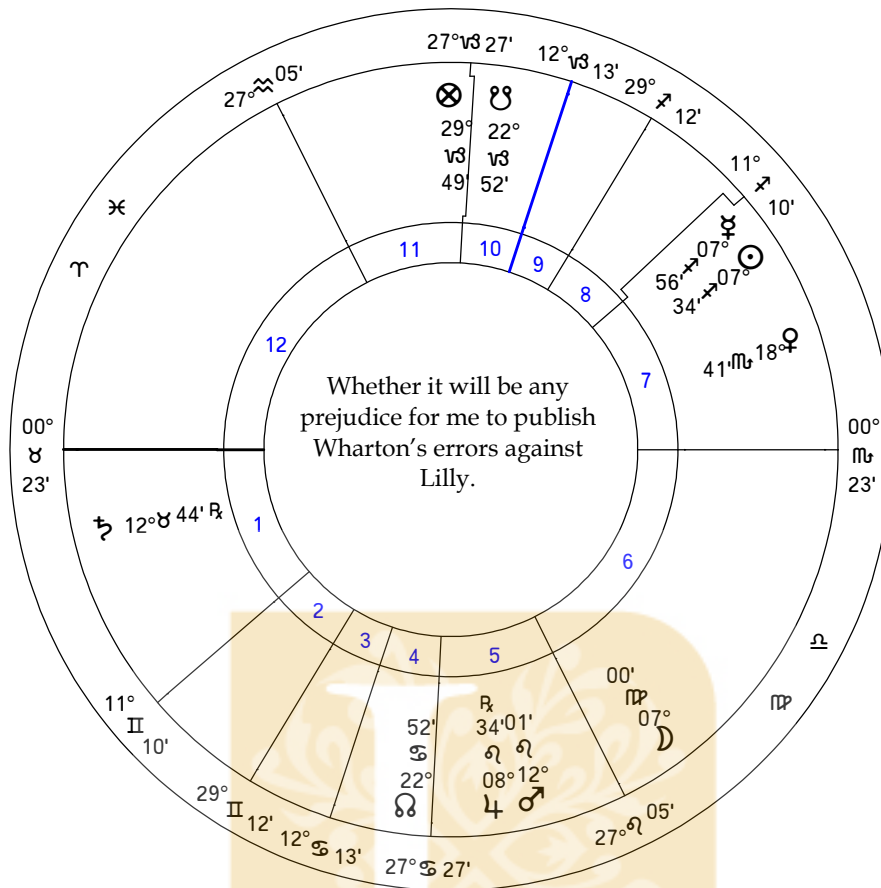
The "curiositys" to which Lilly refers related, in one instance, to his assisting a pregnant lady to gain access to her estranged lover and perhaps were not the same as the "art" to

which Ashmole refers. Nevertheless, he tells us that he burned those books, implying that he had ended those activities. It is difficult to believe that Lilly would burn his books, especially considering how expensive and highly prized books were. Ashmole's reference to Lilly's "art" also suggests that he had not discontinued these practices. One of the reasons for Lilly's departure from London was to lead a quieter life, without fame and publicity, but perhaps his renown extended beyond his astrological abilities.

In his autobiography, Lilly tells us that he began his astrological education with the astrologer-magician John Evans in 1632. In 1634 Lilly acquired a parchment book known as *Ars Notoria*, a well-known grimoire attributed to Solomon. He explains that it has "*the names of those Angells and their Pictures which are thought and beleaved by Wise men to teach and instruct in all the 7 Liberall Sciences and this is obtained by observing elected Tymes and those prayers appropriated unto the several Angells. I do ingeniously acknowledg, I used those prayers according to the form and direction prescribed for some weeks, using the word Astrologia for Astronomia, but of this no more.*" Lilly began teaching Astrology in this same year; whether his rapid progress in Astrology was due to natural or supernatural means is open to speculation, but he seems to imply it was at least partly due to the latter.

Lilly was already in high standing when Ashmole arrived in London, but it has always been assumed that it was because of the part he had played as Parliament's astrologer. We should now consider whether Lilly's status and influence was based on something along with his renown as an astrologer.

At the beginning of their acquaintanceship things did not run smoothly. Ashmole was a friend of Lilly's rival and enemy George Wharton¹⁷, whose Royalist pamphlets ran the latter into numerous scrapes with Parliament. On 19 November 1646, the day before he was introduced to Lilly, Ashmole asks the horary question: "*Whether it will be any prejudice for me to publish Wharton's errors against Lilly.*" Wharton had produced two such almanacs in 1647 supposedly revealing Lilly's astrological errors. So on the day before his first meeting with Lilly, Ashmole begins to have second thoughts about this joint enterprise. Unfortunately, either Ashmole's grasp of Astrology was not very good, or it was too late to turn back.



The Ascendant is very early, and because this is not a copy of the chart Ashmole judged, but a calculation based on his data, we cannot be sure what he was examining. Taurus is a sign of short ascension, rising in about an hour, so allowance must be made for the possibility that late degrees of Aries rose. Either way it is not a good start. An early Ascendant, especially with Saturn there, suggests that the querent should delay any decision. If Ashmole is signified by Venus we see that he is in detriment and opposes the 1st house. In other words, he puts himself in a position where he damages himself, and has put himself into the hands of his enemies. Notably, Saturn rules the 11th and 12th houses, perhaps signifying pretended friends, but certainly bringing scandal to Ashmole through an friend.

If late degrees of Aries rise and he is Mars, then we see a conjunction with Jupiter (peregrine and an accidental infortune because it rules the unfortunate 8th and its other sign of Pisces is intercepted in the unfortunate 12th). But this is a separating conjunction, and the next application of Mars is with Saturn. Actually, this is a mutual application

which indicates a sudden event, and as the malefics are involved, a sudden, evil event would be anticipated. Saturn remains the ruler of the 11th and 12th houses and in the 1st, so the previous delineation maintains. Therefore, he should have judged that such an action was prejudicial to him. I would speculate that late degrees of Aries rose and that the die had already been cast.

A year later, on 16 November 1647¹⁸, the horary perfected and Ashmole notes: *"This morning Lilly told me of my discovering his secrets to Wharton."* Josten also notes that Ashmole does appear to have supplied Wharton with information which provided the latter with his ammunition, so Ashmole did not simply publish the pamphlet. Two months after that on 5 January 1648¹⁹, Ashmole writes: *"This evening I delivered to Mr. Lilly Picatrix²⁰ and was reconciled with him."*

We might speculate on how Lilly perceived Ashmole's treachery when we consider Lilly's "Epistle to the Reader" in *The World's Catastrophe* (1647): *"But one day, happily complaining of my want of convenient time, to Translate these succeeding Treatises unto Elias Ashmole Esquire, my noble Friend, ... This worthy Gentleman no sooner heard my complaint, but offered Balsom to the wound, and most humanely and courteously proffered his learned indeavours..."* Lilly continues in praise of Ashmole's abilities, *"...that being in years so young, should understand and distinguish terms and names, so obsolete, and not frequently vulgar; and yet hath he rendred them in our mother-tongue in so compliant and decent Phrase, as might well have become an Antiquary of double his years."*

We also know that Ashmole had worked with Lilly on *Christian Astrology*²¹ which was published in November 1647. In that same month Lilly confronted Ashmole. Whether Lilly had provided Ashmole with paid employment is unknown, but it is possible as Ashmole was in need of money. He had not yet procured an advantageous marriage and he still had not resumed his law practice. Lilly had been betrayed by the person he had tried to help and who had been working closely with him, perhaps even under his personal tutelage and protection.

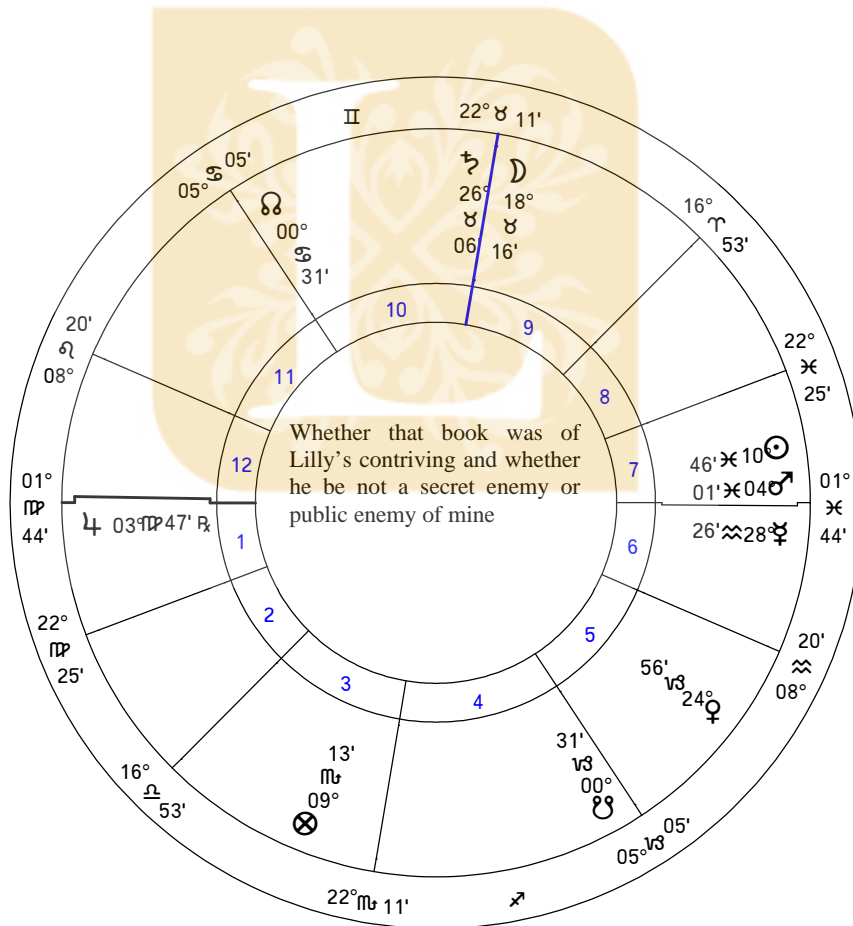
Although they had been reconciled, a month and a half later on 19 February 1648²² Ashmole had further cause for concern: *"At noon I received the book written in the behalf of Mr. Lilly. At 2: after noon I first read it. Now scandal threatens to fall upon me upon the ☐ of 5 and 8 which was the 18th day."* This "book" was in fact a pamphlet supposedly written by a cavalier officer²³. It answered and refuted Wharton's allegations in his pamphlet against Lilly.

This reply was published in London in January 1648, and moreover it has been suggested that Lilly himself wrote it. However, in the postscript the anonymous author relates a meeting he had with Wharton subsequent to the publication of Wharton's broadside: *"I met Wharton since my last coming to towne, and inquiring of the man seriously, wheretofores he thus abused Lilly about Hows, and why he imputed such ignorance to him, when as all men who read his writings know otherwise, ... he sincerely professed, that he did much*

admire Lilly's parts, but knew not how to be revenged of him otherwayes then by thus aspersing him, and that he was importuned hereunto by one M. and by one Ashinole [the "in" is almost certainly a printer's misreading of "m"] an Atturney, as for his part he protested he knew no one thing of it either true or false. He further sayd that if he mentioned not Lilly in his Mercuries [the name of Wharton's almanacs], they would not sell;..."

On the same day Ashmole drew a horary for the question: "Whether that book was of Lilly's contriving and whether he be not a secret enemy or public enemy of mine ..., 2 ♀ ascending."²⁴

From the question, it is clear that Ashmole is wondering how long Lilly had known about his complicity with Wharton, especially when he mentions "a secret enemy". It is possible that Lilly had known about it for some time and had awaited the publication of *Christian Astrology* before dealing with Ashmole's treachery. Either Lilly hid his knowledge from Ashmole throughout their reconciliation, or the second pamphlet supporting him did indeed reveal information that Lilly had not been privy to. If that is so then clearly Lilly could not have written it himself.



In this chart we know the Ascendant that Ashmole calculated, but care is still required with all the other house cusps. He says that it was 4 hours after noon, but to achieve this Ascendant I have used a time of 4.30 pm.

The notable thing about this horary is the angularity; all but Venus are angular. Our problem here is in deciding which planet Ashmole considered to be Lilly's significator. It is tempting to view the question in two parts: did Lilly have something to do with the writing of the pamphlet, and is he an enemy to Ashmole? If Lilly *had* been connected with the publishing or writing of the pamphlet, then by necessity it would mean that he was Ashmole's enemy. However, it is also possible that Lilly was Ashmole's enemy and yet had nothing to do with the pamphlet.

Using the astrological rules given by Lilly (*Christian Astrology* p. 384), where a potential enemy is named, the 7th and its ruler are significant. Judging by the Sun and Mars in the 7th, I suggest that Ashmole had more than just Lilly to fear. Mercury and Jupiter, significators of the two parties, are in a mutually applying opposition. Of this Lilly says: "*the enmity, difference or controversie is approaching, is not yet over, will grow to a greater height then now it is, and the party enquired after [Lilly in this case], doth what in him lyes to thwart and crosse the occasions of the querent.*" In other words, this opposition, because it is applying, means that Lilly is going to do everything he can to obstruct Ashmole. This is more so, since the aspect is mutually applying which is a sudden and ill application arguing that a great deal of contention and animosity were to follow.

Moreover, Lilly says that if the ruler of the 7th (Jupiter) is in conjunction or in aspect with any planet which is in square or opposition to the ruler of the Ascendant (Mercury), or the Moon, without reception, then "*the quesited is averse and an enemy to the querent*". In this chart, Jupiter is in aspect by mutually applying square with Saturn and Saturn is in square to Mercury; worse still is that Saturn disposes Mercury. So, we have both arguments for Lilly's being Ashmole's enemy. There is no need to consider the secret enemy part of the question, because since he has named Lilly, the rules refer back to the 7th house.

What needs to be considered in this chart is the prominence of Saturn; it is in the 10th and is fairly strong because of its mutual reception with Venus and because of its position. Venus is in the Saturn ruled 5th, the turned 11th of Lilly's assistants. We should also note that the 7th cusp is close to Lilly's natal Ascendant. So, I think that there is no doubt that Lilly was doing everything he could to neutralise, and possibly avenge, Ashmole's disloyalty.

Mercury and Jupiter in each other's houses show direct confrontation, but whereas Mercury is moving further into Lilly's hands, Lilly is retrograding out of Ashmole's. In fact, after Ashmole collides with Jupiter, he is confronted by a dignified Mars, and as he does that, he becomes combust and is obliterated by the Sun: Ashmole is vanquished.

As to whether or not Lilly wrote the pamphlet or was complicit in its writing and publishing remains uncertain. It seems doubtful that Lilly wrote it; his style of writing was well known, and a letter from him is printed in the same pamphlet. He may well have known that it was going to be published, but whether he caused it to be published is doubtful. We might consider that he had little need to extend himself in his own defence because he had many friends who would do that for him as is indicated in Ashmole's horary chart. The last passage referring to the conversation the author was supposed to have had with Wharton, is interesting. Either Wharton *did* say those things, or it was based on detailed information from someone else of Ashmole's involvement. It is noticeable that the prominent and exalted Moon, the carrier of messages, is ruler of the 11th of Ashmole's friends.

It is unlikely that either pamphlet changed anyone's mind about Wharton or Lilly. But these allegations (that Lilly had tricked a lady into marrying his client), were very dangerous for Lilly, and had to be countered.

On the 14th March 1648 Wharton was imprisoned, and there is a suggestion that Ashmole suspected Lilly of causing the arrest. Notice that the Moon in the preceding horoscope signifies Ashmole's friends and after its trine to Venus, it runs straight into Saturn of imprisonment. Saturn and Venus are co-operating through mutual reception. The Moon also applies to the friend's 12th.

Wharton escaped Newgate in September 1649 but was recaptured on 21st November 1649. The next day Ashmole approached Lilly on Wharton's behalf, and that is the first mention we find of their meeting since February 1648. So, their estrangement had been prolonged, although Ashmole had attended at least two Astrologers' Feasts during this period and it is possible that they had met there.

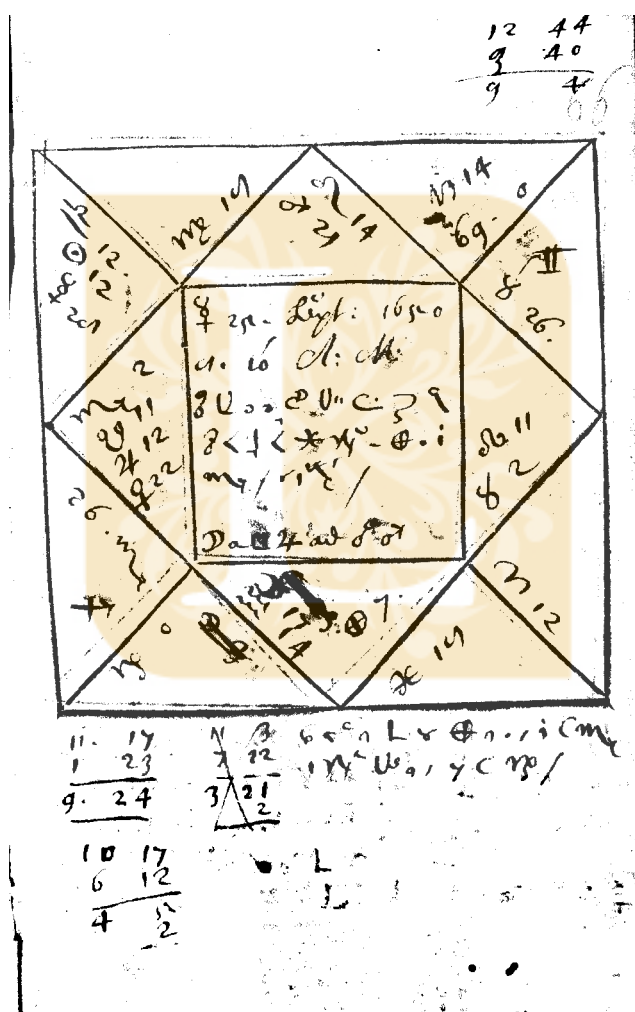
Ashmole recounts that when he had apprised Lilly of the situation regarding Wharton, Lilly replied: *"himselfe very sorry, because he knew ... it was intended to hang him, and most generously (forgetting the quarell that had been betweene the Captaine and him) promised me to use his Interest with Mr: Bulstrode Whitlock (his Patron) to obteyne his release."* Without labouring the point, Lilly achieved this, although Ashmole insists that he had to *"constantly solicit"* Lilly's assistance.

The ice seems to have been broken because on 26th January 1650 Ashmole proposed a horary question to Lilly²⁵. Then on 7 April²⁶ he asks the horary question, *"Whether Mr. Lilly will prove a real friend to me in the suit against Sir Humphrey?"* which gives evidence of his having approached Lilly for personal assistance. A little later that month on 29th April 1650²⁷ he notes that at about 8.30 am he gave *"chambers to Lilly"*. Presumably meaning that Lilly had come to him for legal services. However, on the same day, Ashmole posed another horary question to Lilly, and again on 7th May 1650. Then, at

the publication of Ashmole's book *Fascilus Chemicus*, Lilly's name is the first in a list of names, possibly of Ashmole's friends, who were to receive a copy.

Lilly's nativity

A further indication of the strengthening of their friendship is demonstrated when Ashmole and Lilly together visited Dr: Ardee on 3rd June 1650²⁸. Ashmole asked at least one further horary of Lilly leading to the horary of interest here. Their friendship had been repaired enough for Lilly to reveal his natal data to Ashmole. However, their reconciliation was not complete and Ashmole remained distrustful of Lilly because his note for the 25th September 1650 at 8.10 am²⁹ records the following rather well-known horary:



“Whether Mr. Lilly told me true last night, when he said that he had ♄ ascending and ⊕ in 1 ♍ in his nativity.”

Ashmole attempted to rectify Lilly's horoscope resulting in an Ascendant of 25° Virgo. "He saith he hath 3.56 of ♄ ascending in his nativity."

"This scheme I believe is the truer, for midheaven came to the ☉ as well as ☽ to ☽ at one time, and when he married first he had a good estate with his old wife." (MSAshm. 312). But at another point Ashmole gives Lilly's Ascendant as 3° 56 Pisces, indicating that he had by that time accepted Lilly's word. Gadbury's rectification³⁰ is well known, even being included in the Regulus edition of *Christian Astrology*; the Ascendant there is 4° 36 Pisces.

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directions, the last entry being for 1664, Ashmole writes: *"Thus far Mr. William Lilly's nativity was directed by himselfe. He dyed the 9 of June 1681 of dead palsey."*, implying that Ashmole accepted this horoscope as correct. Josten also notes that it is likely that this is the true scheme and that Ashmole's suspicions were unfounded. I agree that it is the true nativity, but I doubt that Lilly gave Ashmole the whole truth. However, finally, we have the nativity of William Lilly, Astrologer.



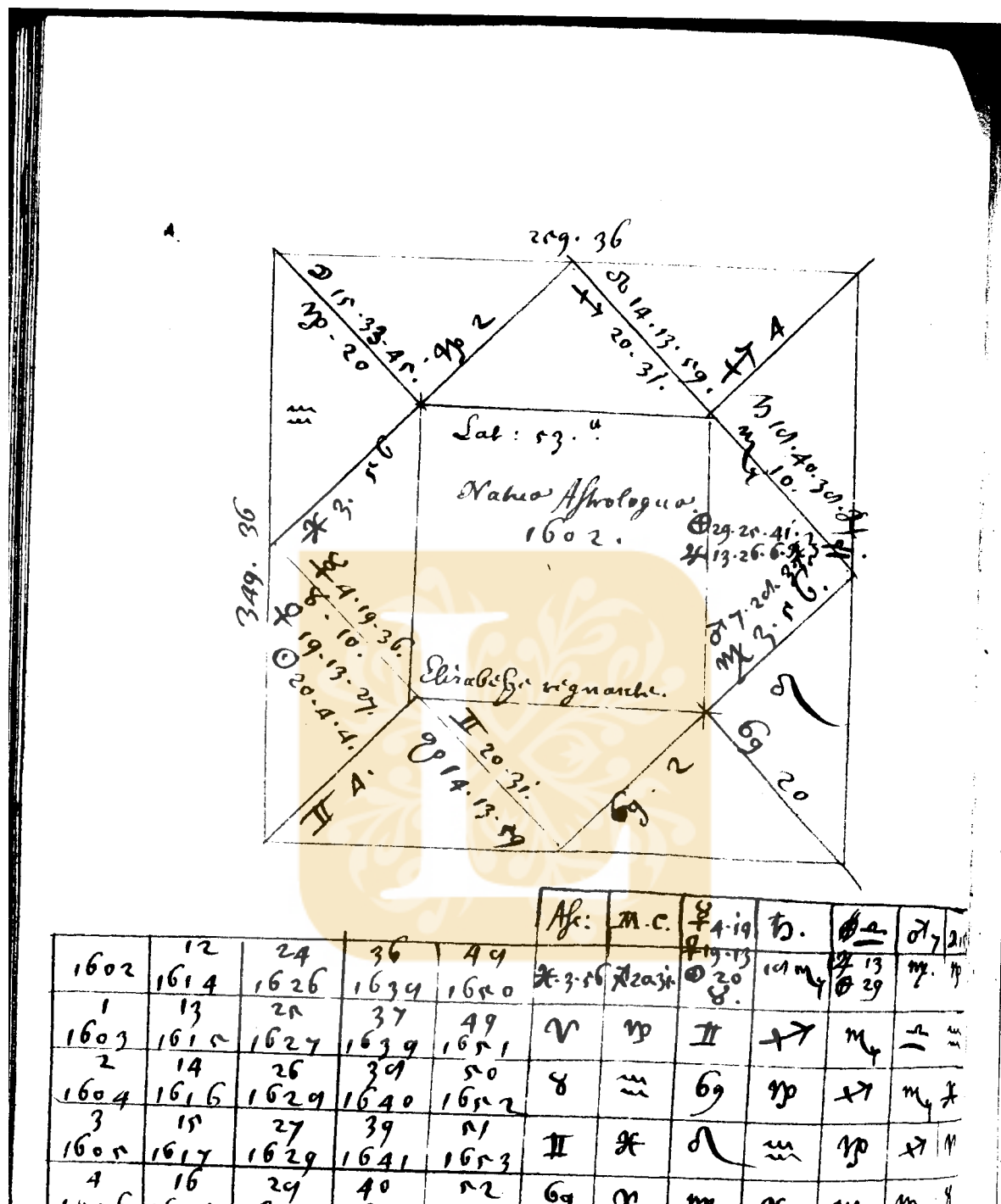


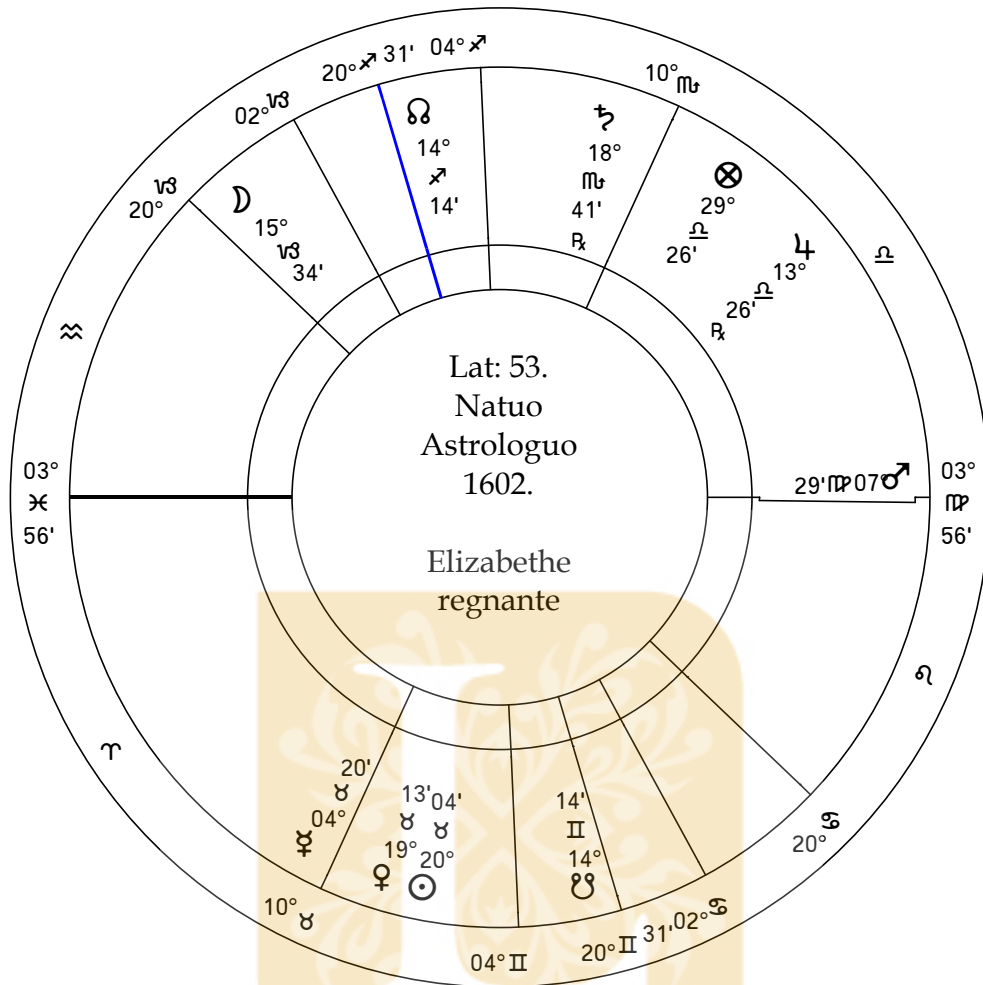
Figure 1: Lilly's nativity with a list of profections

Each planet is calculated precisely to seconds of arc, and the Part of Fortune is placed at 29°26' Libra. So, Lilly did tell the truth about his Ascendant, but perhaps he still did not

trust Ashmole completely. The Part of Fortune is calculated from the positions of the Ascendant, Sun and Moon, so by giving Ashmole the incorrect position, Lilly cast doubt on those three very important positions. In fact, with the Part of Fortune itself and the Midheaven, Lilly caused uncertainty about what are known as the five Hylegiacal places which are crucial for directions. Such a device would also ensure that should anyone ever publish his nativity - as Gadbury did - Lilly would always know the source of that information.

The following reproduction shows part of Lilly's directions.

3 25. 16	20 27 31	20 8 4	20 8. 4. 15	20 24 11 30	20 25 26	19 25 41	19 25 46	19 25 49	19 25 13	19 25 19	19 25 24
Ascendant	Mid. Celi	Direct	Ascendant	Direct	Direct	Direct	Direct	Direct	Direct	Direct	Direct
1602											
1603	1602	1603	1604	1605	1606	1607	1608	1609	1610	1611	1612
1604	1605	1606	1607	1608	1609	1610	1611	1612	1613	1614	1615
1605	1606	1607	1608	1609	1610	1611	1612	1613	1614	1615	1616
1606	1607	1608	1609	1610	1611	1612	1613	1614	1615	1616	1617
1607	1608	1609	1610	1611	1612	1613	1614	1615	1616	1617	1618
1608	1609	1610	1611	1612	1613	1614	1615	1616	1617	1618	1619
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1615	1616	1617	1618	1619	1620	1621	1622	1623	1624	1625	1626
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1701	1702	1703	1704	1705	1706	1707	1708	1709	1710	1711	1712
1702	1703	1704	1705	1706	1707	1708	1709	1710	1711	1712	1713
1703	1704	1705	1706	1707	1708	1709	1710	1711	1712	1713	1714
1704	1705	1706	1707	1708	1709	1710	1711	1712	1713	1714	1715
1705	1706	1707	1708	1709	1710	1711	1712	1713	1714	1715	1716
1706	1707	1708	1709	1710	1711	1712	17				



We see evidence of this temperament in his moving from and to London after his inheritance. He left London in the first place to escape fame, for peace and quiet (phlegmatic), and returned for the opposite reason (sanguine). Eventually he set up home permanently in Hersham.

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The laziness associated with the phlegmatic temperament is not apparent in what we know of Lilly and in that regard we might accept the detrimented Moon as being obsessively hardworking. It is in square to a sanguine and angular Jupiter which would lift the gloom associated with that Saturnian Moon. However, its application to the sextile of Saturn, repeats the emphasis on work and also reminds of us of his first removing from London due to "*hypocondriak melancholly*".

Although Saturn is in poor condition, we might accept its conjunction with Agena as improving its more malefic qualities. Agena is a first magnitude star of the nature of Venus and Jupiter, and as its nature is not Saturnian but rather the opposite, we might expect a mollification.

Jupiter as the strongest planet rules both the 9th and 10th houses, and is in the sign of Saturn's exaltation. So, there is some justification for describing a scholar of some achievement. We might also note that Mercury, although a long way from the Ascendant, is still in the 1st. But what can be said about Mercury in Taurus? In the system of humours, Mercury is choleric because it is oriental of the Sun. So, we gain another clue about Lilly's **speed of thought and sharpness of tongue**. When we add that to its trine to Mars in Virgo, we get an image of not only a quick and volatile mind, but one which is also enthusiastic and passionate.

Focusing on Jupiter, we see a likeable, affable man with a generous spirit. We know that he was sociable and a genial host who kept a good table. He had many friends and supporters, and the letters that exist show that he was held in high regard, and that his help was often sought. This idea is supported by Jupiter's dispositor, Venus, which is in its own sign.

1634: a busy year

We might also look briefly at one year in his life and compare it to his own profections and directions. In 1634 he notes the following events in his autobiography, and because of that they must have had a special place in his memory:

- bought Argol's *Primum Mobile*;
- taught Astrology to Sir George Peckham;
- bought a half share of thirteen house in The Strand for £530 (Master B's. Houses);
- on the 18th November he married Jane Rowley ("of the nature of Mars");
- he, Davy Ramsey and others went to Westminster Abbey and dowsed for treasure;
- at the end of this year, or the beginning of the next he interceded magically for an unmarried and pregnant young woman;

- his developed melancholia which began to affect his physical health and he lost weight. The following year it increased to hypochondriac melancholy;
- his public profile increased to beyond his capacity;
- Davy Ramsey introduced him to Sir William Pennington of Muncaster with whom Lilly became very friendly;
- Taught the magical art of constructing sigils, lamens and the use of divining or dowsing rods to the Dutchman John Heginus.

The natural ruler of buying and selling, teaching, magic and Astrology is Mercury, as the natural ruler of property (real estate), and melancholy is Saturn. His renown is associated with the Sun and possibly the Moon, and Venus is the natural ruler of love and marriage. Therefore we should find all of these planets activated in his profections and directions, as we should the accidental rulers of these matters in his nativity. This has Jupiter ruling the 1st and 10th houses, Mercury ruling the 7th and 4th houses, and Saturn ruling the 11th and 12th houses, with the Moon ruling the 6th.

His profections for that year had Scorpio on the Ascendant and Leo (Natal 8th) on the MC (natal intercepted 6th), Mercury, Venus and the Sun fell in Capricorn (natal 11th and 12th), Saturn in Cancer (natal 5th and 6th), Jupiter and Part of Fortune in Gemini (natal 3rd and 4th), Mars in Taurus (natal 2nd), and the Moon was in Virgo (natal 7th).

Keeping these planets in mind, Lilly notes that in 1634 the Ascendant was directed to the opposition of Saturn, the conjunction of the Sun and the conjunction of Venus. The MC was directed to the 12th cusp. The Sun's converse directions were to the terms of Mercury, the sextile of the Sun, Mercury and the Moon. The converse Part of Fortune met with the contra-antiscium of Saturn (with latitude) and the square of Saturn itself. Jupiter was in sextile to its natal position and conjunct the North Node. Finally, Mars came to the conjunction of Saturn (with latitude).

All of the planets one would expect to find involved in the various events of that year, both naturally and accidentally, are indeed repeatedly prominent, enough to ensure that subjectivity is diminished.

And so, the mutual distrust faded and the friendship held firm for the rest of Lilly's life. There is a touching moment in one of Lilly's letters³² to Ashmole in 1677, when at the end of giving his general news and before sending love, Lilly writes just two words: "*my eys.*"³³ In that brief but moving comment we can read of Lilly's fears and grief over his rapidly diminishing eyesight, and he confides all of that in his dear friend.

Notes

¹ MS Ashmole 421

² *Elias Ashmole: His Autobiographical and Historical Notes*, ... Ed. C.H. Josten, OUP, 1966.

- 3 A term relating to religious beliefs and, during this period of the new Act of Uniformity, often aimed at Nonconformists.
- 4 MS Ashm. 436 10v
- 5 For example, MS Ashm. 1136, f. 159v and MS. Ashm. 240, f. 263.
- 6 *The Later Stuarts 1660 – 1714*, Sir George Clark, OUP, Oxford.
- 7 *King Charles II*, Arthur Bryant, London, 1936.
- 8 *History of England*, G.M. Trevelyan. London 1976.
- 9 MS Rawl. D. 864, ff. 61-62v
- 10 MS Rawl. D. 864, ff. 63-64v
- 11 Referring to 2 Sam. XIV. 19.] i.e. someone putting word's into another's mouth, or manipulating the situation from behind the scenes.
- 12 MS Rawl. D. 864, ff. 65-66v
- 13 The observations for November in his almanac for 1673. Interestingly he writes of "Clandestine treaties in many countries, underhand transactions, Counsels, neither pleasing the people or many of their Superiors."
- 14 "you only" or between us.
- 15 MS Ashm. 1136, f.219
- 16 Ashmole pursued this lady for marriage.
- 17 Ashmole had met Wharton in Oxford in 1645. Ashmole had begun his studies at Brasenose College, and Wharton was already an established astrologer.
- 18 MS Ashm. 1136, f.205
- 19 MSAshm. 1136, f.184
- 20 A grimoire of astrological magic.
- 21 In one of Ashmole's notes in the manuscript of Lilly's autobiography he says: "I devised the forms and fashions of the severall schemes."
- 22 MS Ashm. 1136, f. 185v
- 23 MS Ashm. 546
- 24 MS Ashm. 1136, f. 185v
- 25 MS Ashm. 374, f. 6v
- 26 MS Ashm 374, f. 25
- 27 MS Ashm. 374, f. 31v
- 28 MS Ashm. 1136, f. 22v
- 29 MS Ashm. 374, f.66
- 30 *Collectio Geniturarum*, John Gadbury, 1662, London.
- 31 MSAshm. 394, f.108v
- 32 MS Rawl. D. 864, ff. 126-7v
- 33 MS Rawl. D. 864, ff. 126-7v.

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